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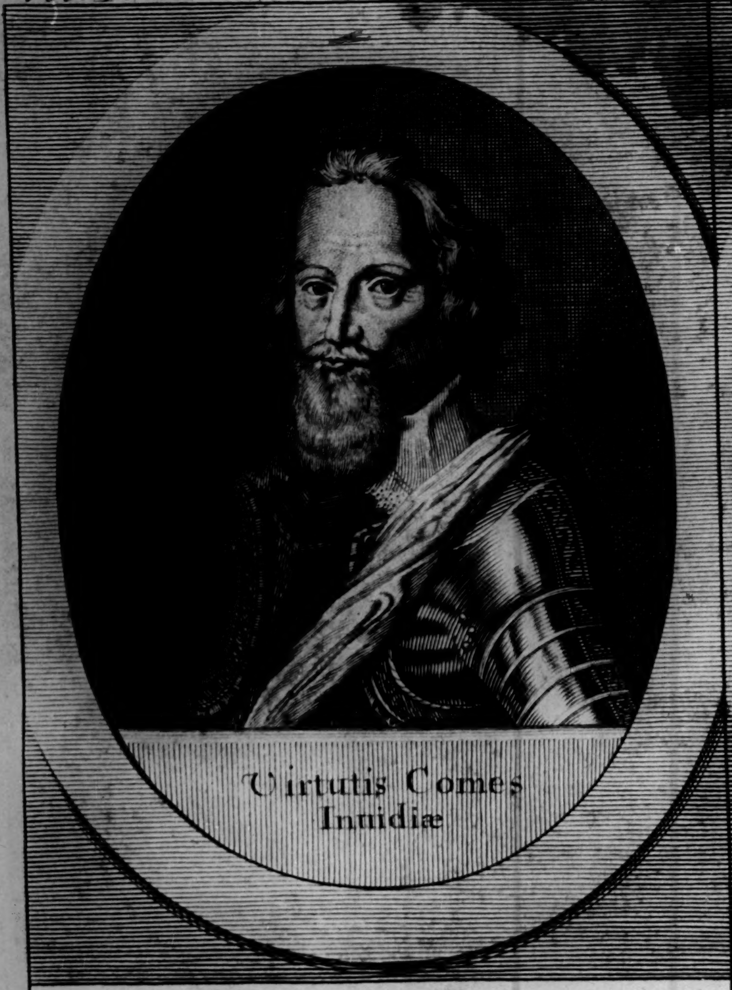
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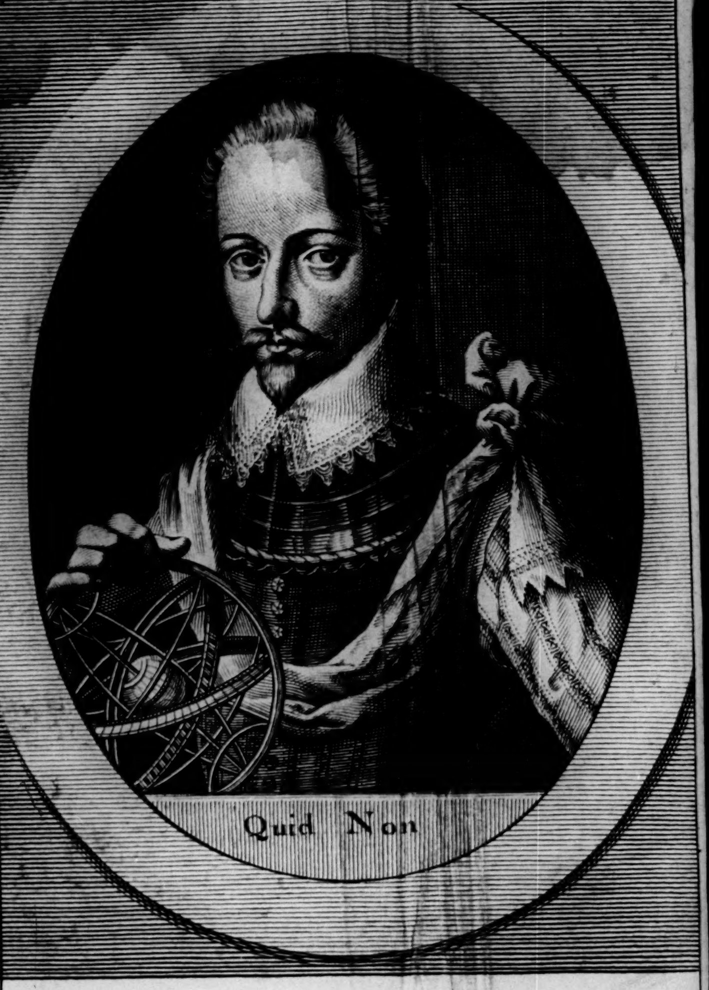

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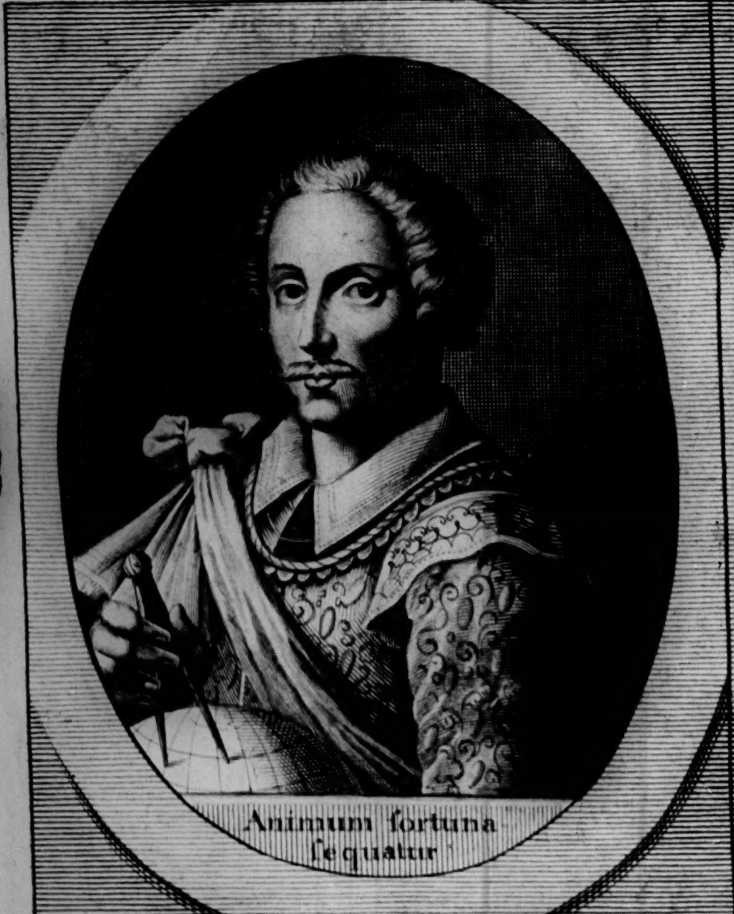
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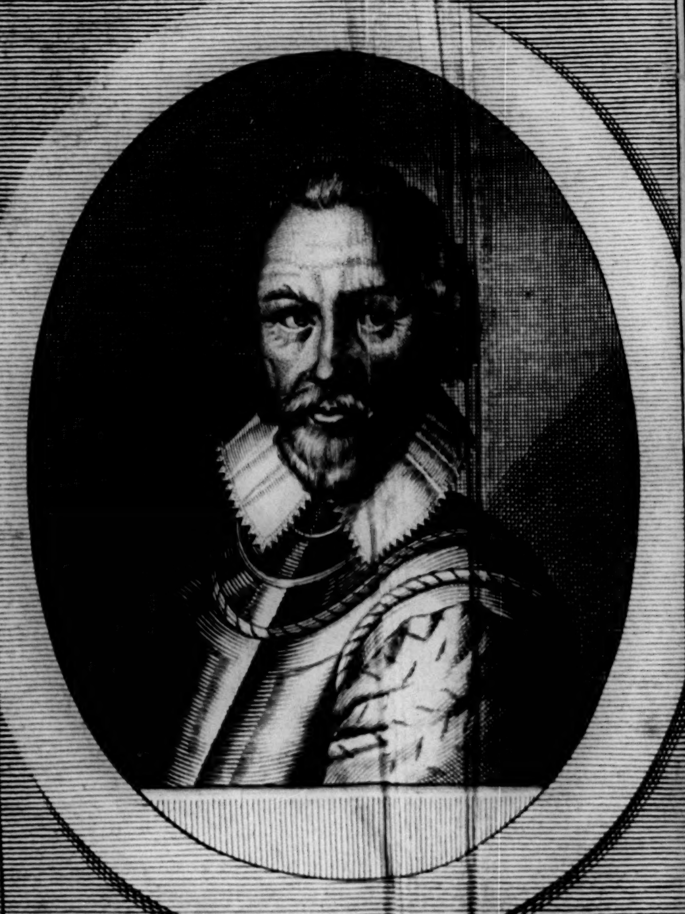

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To which is Prefixed, A
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By *JOHN HARRIS*, A. M. Fellow of the *Royal Society*.

In Two VOLUMES.

LONDON:
Printed for *Thomas Bennet*, at the *Half-Moon*, in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; *John Nicholſon*, at the *King's-Arms*, in *Little-Britain*; and *Daniel Midwinter*, at the *Roſe* and *Crown*, in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. MDCCV.

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TO THE
QUEEN'S
MOST
Excellent MAJESTY.

MADAM,

YOUR gracious Acceptance of my late Book, which I had the Honour to Dedicate to His Royal Highneſs, makes me preſume to lay *This* at Your Majeſty's Feet.

The Diſcoveries that have been ſucceſſively made of the Religions, Manners, Cuſtoms, Politicks, and Natural Products of all Parts of the World, will *here* give Your Majeſty an *agreeable* and *uſeful* Entertainment: And, I'm ſure, it will add to Your Satisfaction to ſee, that they have been chiefly made by thoſe of Your *Own Nation.* It hath been thought by ſome a laudable Reaſon for ſending our Gentlemen Abroad, that they may the better learn to value their Native Country. And this I dare ſay, That when either a Man hath actually travell'd the whole World over himſelf, or carefully conſider'd the Accounts which thoſe give us that have done ſo, he will be abundantly convinced, that Our own Religion, Government and Conſtitution is, in the Main, much preferable to any he ſhall meet with Abroad; And eſpecially under the happy Influence of Your Majeſty's Reign, whom Providence ſeems graciouſly to have deſign'd to make us Great and Happy, even whether we will or no.

Your Majeſty's Goodneſs to all Your Subjects, makes our Duty and Loyalty, by no means a Burthen, but a ſubſtantial Pleaſure. Your Wiſdom and penetrating Judgment diſappoints all the Deſigns of the Enemies of Your Government, and nips them in the Bud. Your ſincere and ſteady Affection for the Eſtabliſh'd Church, damps all the Hopes of *Faction* and *Fanaticiſm*; And Your entire Compliance in all Things with Our Laws and Conſtitutions, Your Lenity, Love of, and Goodneſs to Your People, whoſe Eaſe and Happineſs You really ſtudy much more than Your Own, fruſtrates and blaſts all the barbarous Contrivances of thoſe, who would enſlave Us to Arbitrary Power, *French* and *Popiſh* Tyranny: And who wou'd deprive Us of the greateſt Bleſſing We ever yet had, Your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Excellent Government! This, *Dread Sovereign,* all the World ſees, and juſtly admires in Your Majeſty: *This* makes Your Armies conquer Empires Abroad, and every One call You Bleſſed, *pray* heartily to GOD for You, and *bleſs* GOD for You, at Home.

And as theſe are Vertues, *Madam,* that can never loſe their juſt Reward; ſo I doubt not but GOD will give it *You,* in a great Meaſure, *here*; and make *You* the Glorious Inſtrument of Settling the Peace and Liberty of *Europe* on a ſafe and laſting Foundation.

The mighty Succeſs Your juſt Arms have obtain'd already, againſt the Common Enemy, doth fairly foretell *This.* And as I doubt not but This is the Univerſal Prayer of all *true Engliſh* Men; ſo is it deſired by none, with greater Zeal and Earneſtneſs, than by,

MADAM,

Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful,

And moſt Obedient Subject and Servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

TO THE READER.

THough the Contents are very full and particular, yet I judge it may be ſatisfactory to give ſome Account of this Work in general.

The former of theſe Volumes begins with the moſt early Diſcoveries, and Settlements of Trade, and reaches down to the Year 1626, where Purchas ends his Collection. But you will find here a ſuccinct Account, of the Books of very many other Authors, which are neither in Him nor Hackluit.

This Volume is divided into Five Books.

The Firſt of which contains an Account of the ſeveral Circum-Navigations of the Globe, by Columbus, Ferd. Magellane, Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Tho. Candiſh, Oliver Noort, Sebald de Wert, George Spitbergen, William Corneliſon, Schooten of Horne, &c.

The Second Book gives you the firſt Engliſh Voyages to the Eaſt-Indies, both before and after the Settlement of the Eaſt-India Company.

As alſo, the firſt Voyages of the Dutch to thoſe Parts, with their ſeveral Succeſſes there, till their Pretenſions to a Property and Sovereignty at the Banda Iſlands.

You will find here alſo, that the French, finding the great Advantage the Engliſh and Dutch made of the Trade to the Eaſt-Indies, fitted out Ships to come in for a Part with them: And here you have in particular the admirable Voyage of Monſieur Beauleu to the Eaſt-Indies, taken from the large Collections of Mouſieur Thevenot: In which you have a juſt Account of the Engliſh, Dutch and Portugueſe in that Part of the World, and on what Foundations and Principles each proceeded in their Pretences and Meaſures. To which is added all the Diſcoveries of the Spaniards, Portugals and Italians, relating to the Eaſt-Indies, and the adjacent Countries.

The Third Book contains the beſt Deſcriptions and Accounts of the ſeveral Parts of Africa, beginning with the Author called Leo-Africanus; and at the End of each Chapter, adding what Mormoll hath further obſerved. And to this is annex'd all that Mr. George Sandys relates of Africk, of his own Knowledge. You have here alſo the Subſtance of Ludolphus his excellent Hiſtory of Æthiopia, as alſo, Sir Tho. Herbert's Travels thro' a good Part of this Country: The Marrow of which Book we thought fit to bring in here; tho' Sir Thomas began *his Travels but in the Year in which* Purchas *ends his Collection, and was Thirty Years in compleating them. But then his Exactneſs and Fidelity will ſufficiently atone for this, and you will find him much more accurate, than thoſe Writers in* Purchas: *Which yet, to illuſtrate the Matter the more fully, we have put together with him.*

In the Fourth Book you have an Account of whatever is material in all the Voyages to Ruſſia, *and the* Northern *and* North-Eaſtern *Parts: In the Beginning of which we have been much beholding to* Hackluit, *who hath been very expreſs and particular, with Regard to this Part of the World.*

After this you have all the Attempts to diſcover a North-Eaſt *and* North-Weſt Paſſage *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *in a continued* Series *of Time, from the firſt to the laſt; together with a* Map *of the* North Pole, *ſhewing* how far, *and* which Way, *each Perſon went; how they* return'd, *or where they* periſh'd: *This ends with* Capt. Wood's *Voyage; and with it is connected all the Accounts of* Greenland, *and the adjacent* Northern *Parts.*

The Fifth Book contains the Diſcoveries of our own and all other Nations in America: *With an Account of the Settlement of our Plantations, Trade, &c. there: In which Book, as there is nothing at all omitted that is in* Hackluit *and* Purchas, *ſo there is beſides above a Third part more added.*

The Second Volume *hath nothing out of* Purchas *and* Hackluit; *but is entirely New: Being taken from the beſt of all the Modern Authors extant, and is divided into Four Parts, according to the general Diviſion of the World. The Account of the* Appendix *you have in the Title Page, as alſo of the* Introduction; *of which therefore I ſhall ſay nothing: Only I ought to advertiſe you, that in the* Contents *you will find every Author's Name, and to what Part of the World he travell'd, &c. And that the* Index *is ſo very large and compleat, that you may there readily find the Deſcription of any Part of the World; or an Account of any* Bird, Beaſt, *or* Plant *remarkable therein, that hath been deſcrib'd by Travellers.*

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INTRODUCTION.

PART the Firſt.

Of the Origination of Mankind, the Peopling of the World, and the Migration of Nations.

Whoever will carefully and unprejudicately conſider, That there hath in all Ages, and amongſt all Nations been a conſtant Tradition, That Mankind had its Original *ex non Genitis*, or from ſome firſt Parents not begotten in the common way, but immediately created by God himſelf: Whoever will obſerve that the Increaſe of Mankind daily exceeds the Decreaſe, and that Nations uſually have doubled their People in about 360 Years, if not ſooner: Whoever will enquire into the original Invention of Arts and Sciences, and ſatisfy himſelf from Hiſtory, as he may eaſily do, that they all had their Riſe within the compaſs of five or ſix Thouſand Years: Whoever will judiciouſly conſult the Hiſtory of the moſt antient Times, and from thence obſerve, that we have no authentick Accounts of any Tranſactions, Originals of Kingdoms, Wars, or Inſtitutions of Laws, Governments and Commonwealths beyond that Time; but that the Plantations of all known Parts of the World, nay even the Original and *Apotheoſes* of the Heathen Deities themſelves, fall all within that Period. Whoever, I ſay, will candidly conſider theſe Evidences, muſt conclude that we have all the moral Aſſurances poſſible, That the World had a Beginning, and that Mankind had its firſt Original about the Time we have ſo particular an Account of in the Sacred Hiſtory of the Bible: And conſequently, abſtracting from the Divine Authority of *Moſes*'s Hiſtory, it cannot but be lookt upon as the moſt valuable Piece of Antiquity extant in the World. For 'tis plainly to him only that we are indebted for our Knowledge of the Time and Manner of the Beginning of the World; of the firſt Parents of Mankind; of the Cauſe of the Frailty and Depravity of Human Nature, of the Inventors of Arts, the Original of Nations, the firſt Founders of Empires and Kingdoms, and of the Inſtitutions of Laws and Government. Which things in all other antient Hiſtories are ſo intermix'd with Fables and ridiculous unaccountable Stories, that all we can learn from them is, that they knew nothing of the matter, but what they ſtole from him deſignedly, or had conveyed to them by immemorial Tradition from him. The ambitious Pretences of almoſt all Nations to Antiquity, and to the Vain-glory of being *Aborigines*, hath occaſioned their Hiſtorians to intermingle ſo many Fables and Lies with the Accounts of their Origination, that there is hardly any heed to be given to what they relate; nor ought they to merit our Belief any further than as they are collaterally confirmed by other Hiſtories: But the Account which *Moſes* gives us of the peopling of the Earth after the Deluge by *Noah*'s Children, is ſo conformable to all the authentick Records yet remaining in any Languages, that it carries with it irreſiſtible Evidence; and its Brevity and manner of Relation is as admirable as its Truth and Intelligence is valuable: For we have more Information from him in one Chapter, than we can get without him from all the large Volumes of other Authors. Unleſs therefore Men will be ſo ridiculouſly capricious, as to deny the Authority of an Author, only becauſe he hath Divine Inſpiration to ſupport him, the Hiſtory which *Moſes* gives us of the Original of Mankind and the Peopling of the World, ought to claim the greateſt ſhare of our Veneration and Regard.

His Account of the Peopling of the Earth before the Deluge, is deſignedly ſhort, his Intention being only to relate the moſt remarkable Paſſages, and to give an account of the Succeſſion of the Holy Line down to *Noah*, and thence to his own Time.

Bp Patrick on Gen.

But he is very particular about the *Seat of Paradiſe*; telling us that it was placed *in Eden Eaſtward*; that is, Eaſtward of *Judea*, or from the Deſert of the *Amorites*, where *Moſes* was when he wrote this Account. Perhaps the Name *Eden* might be derived from the Pleaſantneſs of the Place: But we read of the Place or Country of *Eden* in ſeveral Places of Scripture, as in 2 *Kings* 19. 12. *Iſa.* 37. 12. *Ezek.* 27. 23. and this *Eden* was Eaſtward of *Judea*: For in the Scripture the Inhabitants of *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Perſia*, are called the Children of the Eaſt. This *Eden* was part of the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, as is plain from 2 *Kings* 19. 12. and that Kingdom antiently contained, not only the Country than called *Aſhur*, but alſo *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, &c. in ſome part of which laſt Province the Biſhop of *Ely* thinks Paradiſe was ſituated; though the generality of Authors call the Region *Meſopotamia*.

Out of *Eden Moſes* tells us a River went, and from thence (*i. e.* below the Garden) was parted into two Heads. This River, according to the beſt Accounts I can find, was a Conjunction of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*: For tho' theſe Rivers have different Springs, and run a long way aſunder, yet at laſt they meet in *Apamia* (as *Ptolemy* ſaith;) which *Apamia*, *Bochart* ſaith, was the Place the *Arabians* now call *Alcatſar*, about 45 Miles from *Bagdat*, and then run together for a great way. This united Stream probably ran through the Country of *Eden*, and had the Garden of that Name ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of it; whoſe Southern End was at the parting again of the two Rivers; but how far it went Eaſtward, or ſpread it ſelf along the River, 'tis hardly poſſible to determine.

This River, *Moſes* ſaith, *became into four Heads*: The judicious Commentator abovementioned well obſerves he doth not ſay, *was parted*, but *became into four Heads*, that is, *Streams*: For Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſhews, that ſo all Diviſions of a great River are called. Which four Streams were, *Tigris* and *Euphrates* before they joined, and *Piſhon* and *Gihon* afterwards. *Piſhon* probably was the Weſtern River *Paſitigris*, the ſame with *Oroatis*, according to *Salmaſius*; and ſo 'tis drawn in the Maps of Sir *Walter Raleigh* and the moſt learned *Bochart*: And this, as our Mr. *Carver* obſerves from *Xenophon*, was called ſimply *Phyſeus*: and *Bochart* notes from *Arrian. Peripl.* that there was a Place called *Paſinum* lying near *Euphrates*; in all which Names there are ſome Remains of the Name *Phiſon* or *Piſon*. And *Strabo* tells us, that from ſome deep Trenches, which were cut to carry the Water of *Euphrates* into *Tigris*, came the Name of *Paſitigris*. But be this as it will, *Moſes* ſaith, *that this River compaſſed the whole Land of* Havilah. In *Gen.* 10. *Moſes* mentions two *Havilahs*, one deſcended from *Joktan*, v. 29. but this cannot be the *Havilah* here mentioned, becauſe his Poſterity were planted Eaſtward: But the other *Havilah*, v. 7. is ſaid to be deſcended from *Cuſh*, and gave riſe to a more Weſtern People ſeated on that part of *Arabia Felix*, which borders on this Stream. For we read *Gen.* 25. 18. that the *Iſhmaelites*, which certainly were the Inhabitants of *Arabia Deſerta*, are bounded by *Shur* towards *Egypt*, and by *Havilah* in the way to *Aſſyria*. And after this, 1 *Sam.* 15. 7. we read that *Saul* found *Havilah* in the ſame Situation. And *Bochart*, in his *Phaleg. lib.* 4. *c.* 11. *col.* 225. *Edit. Amſtelod.* obſerves from *Strabo*, that there were a People called Χαυλοταῖοι, which were Inhabitants of *Arabia*.

The next Stream *Moſes* calls *Gihon*, of which Name indeed there are hardly any Footſteps remaining; but by the Country it is ſaid to encompaſs, it muſt be the Eaſtern Diviſion of the River after its parting at *Eden*. This Country he calls *Ethiopia* or *Cuſh*; by which we are to underſtand, not that in *Africa*, but in *Aſia* (for the Antients mention two *Ethiopia*'s.) This *Bochart* aſſerts, and *Steph. Morinus*, in his Treatiſe of Paradiſe, proves to be the Country of *Suſiana*, which the *Greeks* called Κίσσια, and the *Perſians* at this time call *Chuzeſtan*, or the Country of *Chus*.

The Name of the Third River, he ſaith, is *Hiddekel*, which in *Dan.* 10. 4. is called the Great River, and therefore muſt be *Tigris*: For *Rauwolff* tells us in his Travels, *p.* 11. *c.* 9. that in his time the River *Tigris* was called by the People of *Caruch*, on the Confines of *Media*, *Hiddekel*. And *Pliny* ſaith, *lib.* 6. *c.* 27. that the *Tigris* is ſo called from its Swiftneſs; but that where it runs ſlower, 'tis called *Diglito*, and the *Arabians* call it *Deglat* and *Degela*; all which Words plainly are Corruptions of the Name *Hiddekel*. The *Targum* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* renders it *Diglat*.

The fourth River, *Euphrates*, *Moſes* doth only barely mention, becauſe it was very well known to thoſe to whom he wrote, and at that time. The Seat therefore of Paradiſe was thus placed: The Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (i. e. *Hiddekel*) joined ſomewhere in the antient *Babylonia*, or, as ſome call it, *Meſopotamia*, into one great Stream, on the Eaſt ſide of whoſe Banks the Garden of *Eden* was placed; at the Southward End of which the River parted again into two Streams, then called *Piſon* and *Gibion*; but in proceſs of time *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as before their Conjunction, which Name we find in the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers given to them. Mr. *Whiſton*, in his *New Theory of the Earth*, p. 104. ſuppoſes the antient Paradiſe to be at the joint Courſe of the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, either before they fall into the *Perſian* Gulph, where they now unite together, and ſeparate again, or rather where they antiently divided themſelves below the Iſland *Ormus*, where the *Perſian* Gulf, under the Tropick of *Cancer*, falls into the *Perſian* Sea. So that the exact Place of Paradiſe is now under Water, being a Branch, or Bay, of the great Ocean. What this Gentleman's Reaſons are that induce him to be ſo particular as to the Seat of Paradiſe, the Reader will ſee in his Ingenious Theory.

This ſhort Account of the Situation of Paradiſe I thought proper to give you here, becauſe 'tis a Geographical Matter, and therefore proper for this Place: and tho' no doubt the Site of thoſe Rivers was much changed by the Flood, yet 'tis likely *Moſes* deſcribes them as they were in his Time, and as ſuch they do not diſagree with the Accounts we have of thoſe Places from other hands.

There is little more neceſſary to be taken notice of here, of Matters tranſacted before the Deluge, unleſs the mention of *Cain*'s going out from the Preſence of the Lord *into the Land of* Nod, *on the Eaſt of* Eden; his dwelling there, and building a City, which he called after his Son's Name, *Enoch*. By which we may underſtand, that *Cain*'s Guilt and Remorſe of Mind was ſo great, that he could not bear the View of the *Schechinah*, or Divine Glory, the then viſible Mark of God's Preſence, and which abode probably in the Place where *Adam* ſettled himſelf after his Expulſion out of Paradiſe: and therefore wandred away Eaſtward from *Eden*, into a Country, that from his wandring up and down there, had the Name of *Nod* given it, that is, *the Land of Vagabonds*. This Place *Junius* thinks, was in that Tract of Land, where the firſt *Nomades* afterward dwelt (who perhaps took their Rambling way of living from this firſt Vagabond *Cain*) and which he ſuppoſes was near *Suſiana*, or *Chuzeſtan*. Here, after he had moved up and down for a great while, till his Progeny grew numerous, he at laſt ſettled, and built a City, and called it *Enoch* (as was antiently very uſual) after the Name of a Son he had then born. After this *Moſes* mentions only a few Paſſages of *Cain*'s Offspring; looking upon them, as ſome of the Fathers ſpeak, as ſuch a wicked Generation of Men, as were not worthy to be numbred in the Book of the Living; whereas he gives a plain Account of the Genealogy of *Seth* (*Adam*'s Son) down to the time of the Deluge, and thence to his own Age.

As to all other Matters from hence to the Flood; as how far the Earth was peopled by the *Antediluvians*, in what Parts of the World they ſettled, whether they had any Ships or Boats, and what Travels or Voyages they made, we can advance nothing but mere Conjecture, and therefore ſhall ſay nothing of it; but proceed to conſider the Peopling of the Earth after the Flood, by *Noah* and his Family, the only Survivors in that Univerſal Deluge.

Of the Capacity, Form and Figure of the Ark, I need ſay nothing, it having been ſufficiently proved over and over, that it was capable of holding all thoſe Creatures (and their Food) which were included in it during the time that the Waters of the Deluge cover'd the Earth, which was a whole Year: Only 'tis proper for my purpoſe to obſerve, that 'tis exceeding probable the Ark did not move far from the Place where *Noah* built it, but was only juſt, as it were, lifted up from the ground by the advancing Waters, and then ſet down again: For its very great Bulk and Cheſt-like Figure was very improper for Sailing; and we read of no Oars, Maſts or Sails that it had to move it, or Rudder to ſteer it: And there was no Wind to drive it from Place to Place; for the Wind came not till after the Ark was ſafe a-ground on the Mountains of *Ararat*, as is fairly concludable from the Text. This being ſo, and it being alſo probable, that tho' *Cain*'s Progeny rambled about the Earth, and ſettled themſelves remote from the Seat of *Adam*, and his Poſterity of the Holy Line; yet 'tis very likely that theſe, I ſay, fixed themſelves ſomewhere near to and about Paradiſe, in the Province of *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, &c. For there, as *Bochart* well obſerves, was the greateſt Plenty of the *Gopher Wood* (that is, *Cypreſs*, as our *Fuller* in his Miſcellanies hath, I think, proved) of which God commanded *Noah* to make the Ark: And here alſo long after this, *Arrianus* tells us, *lib.* 7. *Alexander* built a Navy of Cypreſs Trees Wood.

Now we are told by *Moſes*, that the Ark reſted on the Mountains of *Ararat*, which now all Learned Writers do agree, ſignifies that long Ridge of Mountains which is now called *Taurus*, as it was by *Pliny*, and runs through *Armenia*, *Aſſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, &c. from *Cilian* to *Parapomiſus*. On the higheſt and more Eaſtern part of this Tract of Hills did the Ark reſt; or, as *Epiphanius* calls them, and *Bochart* from him, the *Gordiæan Mountains*; which, as *Theodoret* obſerves on *Iſaiah* 16. 13. were always reckoned the higheſt in the World. *Porcius Cato* ſaith expreſly, that about 250 Years before *Ninus*, the Earth was drowned by a Deluge, and that Mankind was reſtored again in *Scythia Saga*; which Country Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſaith is certainly under the Mountain *Parapomiſus*. To the ſame purpoſes Dr. *Heylin* produces a Tradition of the Inhabitants thereabouts, that near the Foot of Mount *Caucaſus* there was a large Vineyard in *Margiana*, which was of *Noah*'s planting. Mr. *Whiſton* alſo, in his *New Theory of the Earth*, obſerves very juſtly, that it being plain from *Moſes*'s Text, and from the Nature of the thing, that the Ark reſted on the higheſt Hill of all *Aſia*, nay indeed of the whole Earth (for the Water was fifteen Cubits above the Tops of all the other Mountains, when the Ark was a-ground on Mount *Ararat*) *Parapomiſus* (the antient *Caucaſus*) muſt be the Place where the Ark reſted, becauſe it is agreed, that that Hill was the higheſt of all in *Aſia*. Theſe Mountains were not above 200 or 300 Miles from *Eden*, and probably about half as far from the Place where *Noah* built the Ark, according to *Bochart*: And the Courſe of the Rains and the Riſe of the Water coming from the South, might eaſily and gently drive the Ark ſo far Northerly, as to ſet it down on the Top of thoſe vaſt high Hills. And that it was the moſt Eaſterly part of theſe Mountains on which the Ark reſted, ſeems plain from the Account which *Moſes* gives us of the firſt Removal after the Deluge, which he ſaith was *from the Eaſt*, into the Plains of *Shinar*, *Gen.* 11. 2. and alſo becauſe we find by all ancient Hiſtory, that tho' we meet with none, or at leaſt but very few Colonies ſent Eaſtward after the Confuſion of Tongues at *Babel*; yet the Eaſtern Parts of the Earth have always been moſt numerous, as well as moſt polite and great.

After the Waters were aſſwaged, and the Earth grew dry by degrees, no doubt the Family of *Noah* began to come down from the Mountains, and to diſperſe themſelves into ſuch parts of the adjacent Countries, as probably by Birth-right, Lot, or ſome other ways of Diviſion each Party had appointed for them. And as theſe Families increas'd and grew numerous, they muſt of neceſſity extend farther and farther; ſo that at laſt, they and their Poſterity came to *overſpread the whole Earth*, as *Moſes* expreſly tells us, *Gen.* 9. 19. Bp. Patrick on Gen.

From whence it appears (as a very great Man obſerves) that *Noah* either had no Children after the Flood, or elſe that none of them lived to have any Poſterity.

'Tis more than probable, that from *Ararat* they went down towards the *South* firſt of all, peopling *Aſſyria*, *Babylon*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and then *Ethiopia* by degrees: So that the Pretence of the *Egyptians* of being the moſt antient People of the World, was as vain as that of the *Ethiopians*, who contended with *them* for Antiquity, of whom they were but a Colony, as we learn from *Gen.* 13. 13.

But in order to give a more particular Account of the Peopling of the World, and the Origin of Nations, let us begin with the *Eaſt*, which by the general Voice of all

Antiquity, hath been pronounced the moſt antient Part of the World; and it hath been by one common Conſent always owned, that all Learning, Arts and Sciences, and Knowledge of antient Times, hath been derived from thence. This, as Dr. *Jackſon* obſerves, is apparent from the Riſe and Increaſe of Arts and Sciences, which were in the Eaſt in a good degree of Perfection, as early as we have any account of Time in profane Hiſtory, and were from thence propagated into other Parts of the World: and this alſo is confirmed by the State and Grandeur of the Eaſtern Kingdoms, long before *Greece* or *Italy* made any Noiſe or Figure in the World, and which 'tis plain were originally Colonies from thence.

The Ark therefore reſting on the *Gordiæan* Hills, or Eaſtern Part of the Mountain *Taurus*, and the pleaſant Plains of *Babylon*, *Meſopotamia*, &c. being below them to the Southward, nothing can be more likely than that ſome of *Noah's* Family would go down and ſettle themſelves thereabouts firſt of all, as knowing alſo that thereabout was the antient Seat of Paradiſe: And accordingly the Accounts that we have of the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians*, are the moſt antient of any. The *Gentile* Writers of Hiſtory all agree that *Babylon*, or *Babel*, was firſt built by the Firſt *Belus*; which Word doubtleſs comes from *Baal*, which ſignifies *Lord* or abſolute Commander: And therefore this Perſon can be no other but *Nimrod*, whoſe Kingdom *Moſes* tells us, *Gen.* 10. 10. was *Babel*, and who is called *a mighty Hunter before the Lord*: Which antient Exerciſe of Hunting qualified him for Monarchy, as an excellent Commentator ſhews: For he not only enured himſelf to labour and toil by it, but thereby alſo gathered together a great Company of Young Men, robuſt and active, who by this means became qualified for Battle, and were fitted to purſue and conquer *Men* as well as *Beaſts*. This *Nimrod* or *Belus*, *Bochart* ſhews was the antient *Bacchus*, who is mentioned to be a Conqueror in the Eaſt as far as *India*, and whoſe Name, he thinks, came from *Bar-Chus*; that is, the Son of *Cuſh*, who was *Nimrod's* Father, *Gen.* 10. 8. Some Writers indeed ſay, that *Ninus*, his eldeſt Son, built *Babylon*, or a Son that went by that Name; which may be conſiſtent enough, for the Father might begin it, and the Son finiſh it. As for the Account which *Cteſias* gives, that *Babylon* was firſt built by *Semiramis*, it cannot be underſtood of that *Semiramis* whom the *Greek* Hiſtories ſo much celebrate: For, as *Salmaſius* obſerves, ſhe lived near 2000 Years after *Belus*; (*Exercit in Solinum*) and beſides, both *Beroſus* and *Abydenus*, who compiled the Hiſtory of the Country from the antient Records, ſay it was built by *Belus*.

Bp *Patrick* in locum.

This mighty *Nimrod*, *Moſes* ſaith, built alſo three other Cities in the plain Land of *Shinar*; which comprehended not only that part of *Aſſyria* where *Babylon* ſtood, but alſo that Country bordering upon *Tigris* to the Foot of the Mountains of *Armenia*. Theſe Cities were, 1. *Erec*, which was, as *Bochart* ſhews, the *Arecka* of *Ptolomy*, and the *Arecha* of *Ammianus*. This was ſituate in the Country of *Suſiana* upon *Tigris*, and from hence came the *Areccæi Campi* mentioned by *Tibullus*, as *Salmaſius* obſerves. This *Erec* probably was the *Arderica* or *Anderica* of *Herodotus*, and from hence came that Colony mentioned *Ezra* 4. 9. called in the *Chaldee* ארכוי, by the *Septuagint* 'Αρχυαιοι, and in the Vulgar *Latin Erchuæi*, as *Bochart* thinks.

2. *Acchad*, which the LXX render *Archad*; and therefore *Bochart* thinks was the *Argad* of *Cteſias*, the ſame with *Sittace* or *Sittacene*, a City that had a River called *Argad* running by it, as *Ælian* ſhews, *lib.* 16. *c.* 42 *de animalibus*.

3. *Chalne*, called *Iſa.* 10. 9. *Chalno*, and *Ezekiel* 27. 23. *Channe*. From hence doubtleſs came the Country called *Chalonitis*, of which *Strabo*, *Polybius*, and *Pliny* make mention, whoſe chief City ('tis like) antiently was this *Chalne*, afterwards by *Pacorus* King of *Perſia* called *Cteſiphon*, as *Ammianus* expreſly ſaith, *lib.* 23. and *Strabo*, *lib.* 16. ſaith this *Cteſiphon* was near to *Babylon*.

But whether theſe three Cities were built before or after the Confuſion of Languages is not certain. There is all the reaſon in the world to believe that *Aſſyria* was alſo conquered in ſome meaſure by *Nimrod*: For tho' in *Gen.* 10. 11. it ſtands in our Tranſlation, *Out of that Land* (that is, *Babylonia*) *went forth* Aſhur; yet as *Bochart* and Bp *Patrick* prove, it ought to be tranſlated, *He* (*i. e.* Nimrod) *went out into* Aſſyria, and built *Niniveh*, *Rehoboth*, &c. and ſo 'tis rendred in the Margin of our Bible, and *Bochart* ſhews that *Aſhur* here is not the Name of a Perſon, but of a Place. Add to this, that *Aſſyria* is call'd *the Land of* Nimrod, *Mich.* 5. 6. For *Niniveh*, the Capital City of *Aſſyria*, is plainly the Habitation or Seat of *Ninus*; and therefore 'tis highly probable that, according to the antient Cuſtom (ſee *Gen.* 4. 17.) *Nimrod* built this City, and called it after the Name of his Son *Ninus*. This Place ſtood on the Weſt ſide of *Tigris*, was a very great and flouriſhing City for a long while, but at laſt utterly deſtroyed by the *Medes*, and never ſince rebuilt. The ſame *Nimrod*, *Moſes* tells us, alſo built *Rehoboth*, from the Signification of the Word, which in the *Hebrew* is *Streets*. *Bochart* conjectures that this is that City which *Ptolomy* calls *Birtha* and *Amianus*, *Virta*, ſituate on the Weſt of *Tigris*, at the Mouth of the River *Lycus*, becauſe *Beritha* or *Birtha* in the *Chaldee*, hath the ſame ſenſe as *Rehoboth* in the *Hebrew*. There is mention of a City called *Rehoboth*, *Gen.* 36. 37. which was the Birth-place of *Saul*, one of the Kings of *Edom*, or *Idumea*; but this was ſituate a little below *Cercuſium*, at the Mouth of the River *Chaboras*, or *Euphrates*, as *Bochart* ſhews from the *Nubian* Geographer, *Ammianus*, *Procopius*, &c. *lib.* 4. *c.* 21. and therefore was too far from *Niniveh* to be the Place here mentioned.

Nimrod alſo, as *Moſes* ſaith, built the City *Calah* or *Calach*, which *Bochart* ſhews was probably the Capital of the Country called *Calachene*, which was ſeated about the Fountain of the River *Lycus*. The City *Reſen* is ſaid alſo to have been built by *Nimrod*, which from the Situation, the Greatneſs of the Place, and the Similitude of the Name (*Lariſſa* being eaſily derivable from the *Chaldee* Genitive Caſe *Lereſen*) *Bochart* thinks to have been the *Lariſſa* of *Xenophon*, *lib.* 3. *Anabas*. For he ſaith it was ſituate on the *Tigris*, was eight Miles about, had its Walls 100 foot high and 25 thick: He ſaith alſo that the *Greeks* found it in Ruins, and without Inhabitants, when they came into this part of the World, it having been deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, when they got the Empire from the *Medes*.

Aſſyri

But this Country of *Aſſyria*, into which *Nimrod* made this Expedition, which was a very large Tract of Land, and in ſome ſenſe comprehended all *Syria*; for the Names are oftentimes confounded; tho *Aſſyria* properly was only that Country of which *Niniveh* was the Capital City, and was ſometimes called *Adiabene* and *Aturia*. This *Aſſyria*, I ſay, had its firſt Inhabitants from *Aſhur*, (as well as its Name) one of the Sons of *Shem*. *Syria* had its firſt Name from *Sur* or *Sor*, which was *Tyre*, the Metropolis of *Phœnicia*; and the firſt Inhabitants of this Part were the Sons of *Canaan*, the youngeſt Son of *Ham*: but afterwards *Syria* became a common Name for almoſt all the Country round about. Some of the *Syrians* were doubtleſs derived from *Arphaxad*, the Brother of *Aſhur*; for we find in *Ptolomy*, a Country of *Aſſyria* called *Araphacitis*, which is very eaſily derivable from his Name. And no queſtion a good part of the antient *Syria* was peopled by *Aram* (and his Poſterity) another Brother of *Aſhur*: For we find that the *Syrians* were antiently called *Aramæi*. *Homer* mentions the *Arimoi* (*Iliad.* 2.) and *Strabo* ſaith, that by thoſe *Arimoi* many underſtood the *Syrians*: Nay the Inhabitants of that Country do to this day call themſelves *Aramæans*: But the large Extent of the antient *Syria* will not permit us to think all the Inhabitants all round about *Babylon* and *Tyre* came from this *Aram*; and therefore Learned Men have in my opinion limited it only to thoſe Places which have the Word *Aram* either prefixed or ſubjoined to their proper Name; as *Padan Aram*, which is *Meſopotamia*; *Aram Sobah* the antient *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*; *Aram Damaſck*, the Country about *Damaſcus*, &c. See *Patrick* on *Gen.* 10. 23. And this is confirmed, by finding the Remains of the Names of *Aram's* Sons in *Syria*. The Vally of *Damaſcus* is called by the *Arabians* to this day *Gaut* and *Gauta*, which Bp *Patrick* obſerves differs only in the Letters, but not in the Pronunciation, from *Utz* or *Uz*, the Son of *Aram*. *Grotius* takes notice of a City in *Syria*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Cholla*, plainly derivable from *Chull* or *Hull*, another Son of this *Aram*; from whom *Bochart* thinks the Country of *Cholobotene*, a part of *Armenia*, was peopled, the *Armenians*, *Syrians* and *Arabians* being much alike, as *Strabo* obſerves, in Body, Speech, and manner of Life.

In *Meſopotamia* there is mention made in good Authors, of the Mountain *Maſius*, from whence *Xenophon* ſaith there is a River flows, called *Maſca*. The Inhabitants of this Mountain, *Stephanus* ſaith, are called *Maſiani*: In all which Words there is a plain Alluſion to the Name of *Maſh*, another of *Aram's* Sons; and this Perſon being 1 *Chron.* 1. 17. called *Meſech*, 'tis very likely from him the *Meſcheni* were deſcended, whom *Pliny* places between *Adiabene* and *Armenia Major*. And ſince we learn from *Ammianus Marcellus*, that the ſecond

Capital City of the Province of *Suſiana* next to *Suſa*, was called *Sela*, 'tis very likely another Son of *Aram*, whom *Moſes* calls *Salah*, might give Riſe and a Name to it. There is alſo mention in profane Authors (as well as in *Acts* 2. 9.) of the *Elamites*, whoſe Capital City was *Elymais*: Theſe dwelt between *Media* and *Meſopotamia*, and very probably were derived and denominated from *Elam*, the eldeſt Son of *Shem*, *Gen.* 10.22. *Pliny* alſo and *Ptolomy* mentioning *Elamites* at the Mouth of the River *Eulæus* below *Suſiana*. What *Joſephus* ſaith of the *Elamites*, that they were Περσῶν ἀρχηγέται, the Founders of the *Perſians*, may be very right, when taken in a large Senſe. Perſia. And now we mention *Perſia*, the Learned *Bochart*, and others prove, that the Sons of *Cuſh* (all but *Nimrod*) ſeated themſelves round about the *Perſian* Sea, where he finds many Remainders of their antient Names, in the Geographical Writers among the *Greeks*. 'Tis almoſt agreed by every one, that the *Medes*, the Inhabitants of that antient, but long extinct Kingdom of *Media*, were derived from *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*, *Gen.* 10. 2. The *Medes* being deſtroyed, *Pliny*, *lib.* 6. *c.* 7 ſaith, the *Sarmatæ*, *who are, as is ſaid, the Offſpring of the* Medes, *do now inhabit the* Palus Mæotis. And *Pomponius Mela*, *lib.*4. *c.*3. ſaith, the *Sarmatæ are a Nation in Habit and Arms next like to the* Parthians. Of which People, the *Parthians*, ſaith *Trogus*, *lib.* 41. *Their Speech is a Mixture of the* Scythian *and* Median *Languages, and their Arms like* Scythians, *but their Habit after they grew rich, was like the* Medes. From whence 'tis plain the *Sarmatæ*, *Parthians* and *Medes*, were People nearly alike, and probably a-kin; and therefore the Great *Bochart*'s Conjecture is very probable, that the Word *Sarmatæ* is derived from the *Chaldee* ראש מדי, that is, *Sear Madai*, the Offſpring of the *Medes*.

Arabia. *Cuſh* himſelf, the Father of *Nimrod*, certainly gave Riſe and Name to the famous Country of *Arabia*: For tho' *Cuſh* be in our Bible uſually tranſlated *Ethiopia*, yet the Paraphraſe of *Jonathan* is here to be rather followed, who tranſlates it *Arabia*: For *Cuſh* is the ſame with *Cuſhan*, which in *Habbak.* 3 7. is made the ſame with *Midian*; and *Moſes* his Wife, which certainly was a *Midianite*, *Exod.* 2. 16, 21. is called a *Cuſhite*. And an Excellent Commentator on *Geneſis* ſhews from *Ezekiel* 29. 10. That *Cuſh* cannot be *Ethiopia*, but muſt be *Arabia*. Of which alſo ſee *Bochart*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 2. who makes it probable from abundance of Circumſtances, that the *Cuſhites* were thoſe who afterwards were called *Scenitæ* becauſe of their living in Tents; and then *Saracens*, from their Rapines and Robberies: Which agrees mightily with the Inhabitants of *Arabia*. And from *Havilah* or *Chavilah*, one of the Sons of this *Cuſh*, came the People called by *Pliny*, *Charelæi*, by *Eratoſthenes*, *Chaulothæi*, who, as *Strabo* ſaith, were ſeated in *Arabia Fælix*. *Ptolomy* alſo ſaith, that there was in *Arabia Fælix* a City called *Saptha*, not far diſtant from the Sea; which plainly and eaſily may be derived from *Sabta*, another Son of *Cuſh*, according to *Moſes*. 'Twere endleſs to mention all the Authorities and Arguments to prove, that all parts of *Arabia* were peopled by the Poſterity of *Cuſh*; and therefore having ſhewed you where a great Stock of People were placed ready to ſend Colonies into the adjacent Countries, I ſhall enquire next into the Peopling of *Egypt*, that famous Place for Learning and Antiquity.

Egypt. *Egypt*, *Plutarch* calls Χημία, and 'tis certain that the Heathen *Jupiter* was there called *Hammon*, in both which Words there is a plain Alluſion to *Ham*; and indeed in the Scripture *Egypt* is in many Places called the Land of *Ham*: And *Stephanus Byzantinus* ſaith, that not only a part of *Africa*, but even all that Region, was called *Ammonia* from *Ammon*; and for this he quotes the Authority of *Alexander Polyhiſtor*. *Ham* was the ſecond Son of *Noah*, whoſe Son *Mizraim* is on good grounds ſuppoſed to be the Father of them who inhabited *Egypt* at firſt. There are plain Remains of his Name in the firſt *Egyptian* Month, which they called *Meſori*, and the Country it ſelf was called *Meſtra*, as *Grotius* and *Capellus* obſerve. The City of *Alcairo* is at this time by the *Arabians* called *Meſer*: and *Bochart* obſerves well, that *Moſes*'s word *Miſraim* being of the Dual Number, cannot ſo well be the Name of a Perſon, but will very properly ſignify *Egypt*, becauſe it conſiſts of two Parts, the *Upper* and the *Lower*: For all that Part of it which lies againſt the *Nile* while it runs in one Stream, is called the *Higher* or *Upper Egypt*; but the *Lower* is that where the River is divided into many Streams; and this the *Greeks* call *Delta*, from the Letter Δ. it being of a Triangular Form. *Bochart* obſerves, that 'tis probable *Egypt* might be called *Mizraim*, or in the Singular *Mazor*, from its being naturally fortified on every ſide; for *Mazor* is a fortified Place. That this is the caſe of *Egypt*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 1. *p.* 18. takes notice very particularly: *On the Weſt*, ſaith he, *are inacceſſible Deſerts*; *on the South the Cataracts of* Nile, *and the Mountains of* Ethiopia; *on the Eaſt*, *Deſerts*, Barathra, *and the* Palus Sertonidis; *and on the North, a Sea almoſt without Ports or Havens*. And *Strabo* ſaith, that *Egypt* was a Country content with their own Commodities, becauſe it was not eaſily acceſſible to Strangers, *lib.* 16. *p.* 819.

'Tis not eaſy to ſay at what time from the Flood *Egypt* was peopled; but 'tis probable it was very early, ſince it ſeems to have given Denomination to *Ham*'s ſecond Son *Mizraim*, whom 'tis likely *Moſes* calls ſo from the Place of his Birth. We find in *Iſaiah* 19. 11. that the latter *Pharoahs* called themſelves *the Sons of antient Kings*, no doubt from a Tradition of the great Antiquity of *Egypt*. And if *Elmacinus* may be credited, the *Egyptian* Kingdom was Coæval with that of *Nimrod* in *Babylon*, who he ſaith began to reign there in the 130th Year of his Life, which was ſcarce 200 Years after the Flood. But that was certainly time enough to produce great numbers of People, eſpecially if you ſuppoſe the firſt Planters of Mankind after the Flood to have had two or more Children at a Birth; which is very probable, ſince, as one well obſerves, they were bid twice to encreaſe and multiply, and to repleniſh the Earth, *Gen.* 11. 1, 7. and it appears from the Text, that *Cain* and *Abel*, the firſt Children of *Adam*, were Twins, as Dr. *Lightfoot* notes. Between this *Mizraim* and his Brother *Phut*, *Bochart* Africa. ſhews that all *Africa* was divided. All *Egypt*, and ſeveral Parts of *Africa*, as far as the Lake *Tritonis* (which biſſected *Africa* nearly) was the Part of *Mizraim*; but all the reſt, beyond that Lake as far as the *Atlantick* Ocean was the Portion or Diviſion of *Phut*: Of which Name *Phut*, there are many Remains; as the City *Putea*, which is mentioned by *Ptolomy*, *lib.* 3. *c.* 1. and by him called Φοῦτ. There is a River alſo called by the Name of *Fut*, and mentioned by *Pliny*, *lib.* 5. *c.* 1. This River is in *Mauritania Tingitania*, and runs into the Ocean; and *Bochart* ſhews that the *Africans* were Lybia. called *Phutæi*, becauſe many of them were *Nomades*, and rambled about from Place to Place, the primary Signification of *Phut* or *Phuts* being *ſcatter'd or diſperſed*; and that the old *Africans* were ſuch, both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela* aſſert. 'Tis well known alſo that *Africa*, or a conſiderable part of it, was called *Lybia*; which Name certainly comes from the *Hebrew Lub*, ſignifying thirſty or dry, according to that of *Lucan*, *lib.* 1.

--------per calidas Lybiæ ſitientis arenas.

And *Lub* or *Lubia* is alſo the *Arabick* Name for *Lybia*.

Ethiopia. Let us next conſider *Ethiopia*, another famous Part of *Africa*. This, *Bochart* very probably proves to have been that Part of the Earth which in the Scripture is called *Lud*, and conſequently may be ſuppoſed to receive its firſt People from *Ludim* the eldeſt Son of *Mizraim*, *Gen.* 10. 13. for the *Hebrew Lud* ſignifies (as well as the *Arabick*) *winding* or turning in and out like a River? And he proves from *Herodotus*, *Agatharchides*, *Strabo*, *Eratoſthenes*, &c. that againſt *Ethiopia* the *Nile* had a great number of Windings and Turnings, like the *Meander*. And this ſeems to be confirmed very much from the Country about the *Meander*'s being called *Lydia*, as we learn from *Pliny*'s words, *lib.* 5. *c.* 29. *Lydia autem perfuſa fluctuoſi Amnis Meandri recurſibus.* And *Herodotus* ſpeaking of the *Ethiopick Nile*, ſaith, σκολιὸς δὲ πάντα καθάπερ ὁ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος. He ſhews alſo that the *Ethiopians* were very famous for their ſhooting in Long Bows; which is the Account the Scriptures give of the *Ludim*, *Iſa.* 66. 19. *Jerem.* 46.9. In the former of theſe Places of Scripture he obſerves alſo, that *Phul* and *Lud* are joined together; which confirms *Lud* to be *Ethiopia*, becauſe *Phul* is certainly the ſame with that City which the *Greeks* called *Phylæ*, which was inhabited by the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians*, as it were in common, and ſtood about 100 *Stadia* from the *Nile*, as *Strabo* expreſly ſaith, *lib.* 27. and *Herodotus* confirms this at large, *lib.* 8. 'Tis plain alſo from *Diodorus*, that the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians* were Nations nearly allied in their Religious and Civil Cuſtoms, and that they had the ſame Letters and Hieroglyphicks, and the ſame Sacerdotal Veſtments, &c. And he ſaith alſo, that the *Ethiopians* contended with the *Egyptians* for Antiquity (*lib.* 1.) alledging, that they living more Southerly than the *Egyptians*, had a ſtronger Sun, which therefore muſt contribute more early and efficaciouſly to Generation: They ſaid alſo that the Land of *Egypt* was all adventitious, and gained from the Sea, by the

Mud which *Nilus* threw up into a heap: But *Moſes* ſeems to have effectually determin'd this Diſpute by ſaying, that *Mizraim* begat *Ludim*; and therefore the *Ethopians* or *Ludim* muſt be leſs antient than the *Egyptians*. And indeed 'tis exceeding probable. that the Ark reſting on the *Gordiæan* or *Armenian* Mountains, the firſt Deſcent of the Sons of *Noah* was into the South, and having peopled *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, went, or ſent Colonies after this into *Ethiopia*, and the yet more Southern Parts. I omit *Bochart*'s other Arguments to prove the *Ethiopians* to be the *Ludim* of *Moſes*, which, who ſo pleaſes, may conſult in *lib*. 4. *c*. 26. of his *Phaleg*.

The *Egyptians*, 'tis highly probable, ſent out Colonies into many of the neighbouring Parts, as their Stock of People increaſed: But one would wonder any of them ſhould ramble ſo far as the *Euxine* Sea. And yet ſome are of opinion, that the *Chineſe* were the Offspring of the *Egyptians*: *Hornius* ſaith, 'tis paſt doubt that there are many things among them of *Egyptian* Original; as their antient way of writing, and their Philoſophy: And he thinks it not an improbable Conjecture, that part of *Seſoſtris* his Army might go thither, the Way not being ſo very great, but that ſome of them (eſpecially the Horſe, for which *Egypt* was famous) might march thither: For the *Scythians*, and of late Ages the *Tartars* have made Incurſions into *Egypt*. To this he adds, that the *Chineſe* Records ſay they were peopled firſt from the Weſt; and that the Province of *Xenſi* was the firſt inhabited, and after that *Hanan*, *Peking*, *Xangtung*, &c. *Hiſtor*. *p*. 53, 54.

Herodotus, *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, and *Ammianus*, all agree, that the *Colchi*, which inhabited the Eaſtern Parts of the *Euxine* beyond *Trapiſond*, were derived from the *Egyptians*. Since, as *Herodotus* ſhews, their *Language*, *Manners* and *Religious Rites* did very much agree, and the Name of *Colchi* being eaſily derivable from the Word *Caſluchim* (by only omitting the l, which before an S hath not a good Sound) as *Bochart* obſerves; we may eaſily believe the *Colchi* were derived from the *Egyptians*, ſince *Moſes* tells us, *Gen*. 10. 14. that the *Caſluchim* were the Offspring of *Mizraim*, the People of *Egypt*. And this receives Confirmation from *Moſes* ſaying that from theſe came the *Philiſtim*, and that the *Caphtorim* were near the *Caſluchim*. Theſe *Caphtorim* all the Antients take to be the *Cappadocians*; but *Bochart* ſhews they were not all the Inhabitants of that Country, but that Part which was next to *Trapiſond*, where *Colchis* ended: For here *Strabo* mentions a City called *Side*, and the Country *Sidene*; but *Bochart* ſhews that *Side* in the *Greek* hath the very ſame Signification as *Caphtor* in the *Hebrew*; and therefore 'tis highly probable that the ſame Country might be called *Caphtor* in one Language, which was *Sidene* in the other. And now we are in this part of the World, let us conſider the People whom we find by the *Greeks* called *Moſchi* and *Tybareni*: For theſe are uſually joined together by *Herodotus*. *Strabo* ſaith the *Moſchi* inhabited the Mountains called *Moſchici*, North-Eaſt of *Cappadocia*; and, as the Learned *Bochart* thinks alſo, all the Mountains from the River *Phaſis* to the *Pontus Cappadocicus*: And the *Tybareni*, *Strabo* places between the *Trapezuntii* and the Inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*. Theſe People, 'tis highly probable, came from *Meſheck* and *Tubal*, two Sons of *Japhet* mentioned by *Moſes*, *Gen*. 10. 2. For theſe are as conſtantly joined together in Scripture, as they are in Profane Authors: And the Derivation of *Moſchi* from *Meſheck* is very natural to any one acquainted with the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Languages; as alſo is the *Tybareni* from *Tubal* or *Tubar*, by only changing the L into an R, as is uſual every one knows with the *Greeks*, as in Βελίαρ for *Belial*, &c. And *Bochart* ſhews that theſe *Tybareni* and *Moſchi* had the ſame kind of Commerce, Traffick and Commodities with thoſe of *Tubal* and *Meſheck* in the Scripture, as the Reader may ſee at large in *lib*. 3. *c*. 9. of his *Phaleg*. But before I leave the *Egyptian* Colonies, I ought to take notice that *Plutarch*, in his Book *de Iſide & Oſiride*, ſaith, that the *Egyptians* called the Country and the Mountains which lay on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* which was called *Marmarica*, and now *Barcha*, *i. e.* that Part againſt the *Mare Lybicum*, by the Name of *Nephthun*. Now *Moſes* tells us, *Gen*. 10. 13. that one of the Sons of *Mizraim*, the Founder of the *Egyptian* Nation, was called *Naphtuhim*; which may very well ſignify the People of *Naphthuah*; and therefore from thence we have an Account of the Peopling of that Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* by a Colony from *Egypt*. And 'tis very obvious to obſerve here by the by, that from the *Egyptien* Name of this Maritime Country, *Nephthun*, the word *Neptune* may be derived: And we are ſure that *Neptune* was ſaid originally to be a *Lybian* God, and known only to that People, as *Herodotus* the Father of Hiſtory, tells us, *lib*. 2. *cap*. 50.

And ſince we are gotten into the *Mediterranean*, let us coaſt it round. That the *Phenicians*, *Syrians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Sidonians* or *Tyrians* were deſcended from the *Canaanites*, no one denies. This *Euſebius* tells us *Sanchoniathon* and his Editor *Philo-Byblius* expreſly aſſert; and *Sanchoniathon* calls *Phenicia* Χνᾶ. as the ſame *Euſebius* obſerves. And moſt certain it is that the LXX uſe the Names of *Canaanite* and *Phenician* promiſcuouſly: For *Shaul*, who in *Gen*. 46. 10. is called the Son of a *Canaanitiſh* Woman, is in *Exod*. 6. 15. ſaid to be the Son of a *Phenician* Woman: And her whom St. *Matthew* calls a Woman of *Canaan* in *ch*. 15. 22. St. *Mark* calls a *Syrophenician*, *ch*. 7. 26. Indeed we never find the *Greeks* calling the *Phœnicians* by the Name of *Canaanites*: The Reaſon of which probably is, that the *Phœnicians* carefully avoided that Name, becauſe of the Curſe pronounced on their Father *Canaan*.

The Metropolis of *Phœnicia* was *Tyre*, in *Hebrew*, *Sor* or *Sur*; whence came *Surim*, and thence the *Greek* Σύροι, or the *Syrians*. But *Sidon*, now *Said*, was much a more famous and antient City than *Tyre*; for *Homer* mentions nothing of *Tyre*, tho' he ſpeaks of *Sidon* and the *Sidonians* in many places: And in the Scripture we read nothing of *Tyre* till *David*'s Time, whereas *Sidon* is mentioned in the Books of *Moſes*, and no doubt the City took its Name (as the People from it) from *Sidon* the Firſt-born of *Canaan*, *Gen*. 10. 15.

From another Son of this *Canaan*, *Moſes* tells us the *Arkites* came, *Gen*. 10. 17. And theſe *Bochart* juſtly places about *Libanus*, where not only *Joſephus*, but *Ptolomy* mentions a City called *Arca* or *Arce*, in which 'tis probable ſtood the Temple of *Venus Architis*, which *Macrobius* ſaith was worſhipped by the *Phœnicians*, *Saturnal*. *lib*. 1. *c*. 27. *Pliny* alſo mentions a City called *Arce*, which he ſaith was in the *Decapolitan Syria*. *Moſes* alſo, *ver*. 18. mentions the *Aradites*, which People are certainly the ſame with the *Aradii*, who dwelt in the Iſland *Aradus* mention'd by *Strabo* and others to be on the Coaſt of *Phœnicia*; and on the Continent was a Place againſt it called *Antaradus*. I need ſay nothing here of the *Hebrew*, *Iſraelitiſh*, or *Jewiſh* Nation, which were Neighbours to, and at laſt Conquerors of moſt part of the Land of *Canaan* or *Phenicia*; becauſe of theſe (who were deſcended from *Eber* the Great Grandſon of *Shem*, *Gen*. 11. 14.) there is a full and particular Account in the Scripture.

Phrygia.

Bithinia.

Euxine Sea.

If from hence we go on into *Aſia Minor*, or *Anatolia*, now *Natolia*, we ſhall find that *Phrygia*, ſo called from Φρύγειν in the *Greek*, which ſignifies to torrify or roaſt, and therefore by *Diodorus Siculus* called κατακεκαυμένην, was peopled probably from *Gomer* the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*; for the *Hebrew Gumar* ſignifies to conſume by Fire, whence comes *Gumra* or *Gumro*, a Coal. Some very Learned Men indeed have fancied the *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* to be the Offspring of this *Gomer*; but the Places they inhabited were much too remote for either himſelf or his firſt Children to travel to, tho' 'tis not improbable ſome of their Poſterity might go into theſe Parts afterwards in proceſs of time: But ſince *Ezekiel*, *ch*. 38. 6. mentions *Gomer*, as being a Neighbour to *Togarmah*; which Place, *ch*. 27. 14. he ſaith, uſed to ſend its Inhabitants to the Marts of *Tyre*; 'tis plain *Gomer* could not be ſo far off, either as *Scythia*, or *Germany*, *Spain* or *Britain*, and therefore very probably was placed in *Phrygia* and the Places adjacent. And this is much confirmed from the Situation of his Sons; for *Aſhkenaz* his eldeſt Son ſettled, beyond doubt, in *Bithynia*: For there was antiently many plain Remainders of his Name; as in the *Sinus Aſcanius*, the *Lacus Aſcanius*, and the *Inſula Aſcania*. In the adjoining Country of *Troas* and the *Leſſer Phrygia*, there was a Country and a City called *Aſcania*, from whence they ſent Colonies to the *Euxine* Sea, as we may on good grounds conjecture; becauſe 'tis certain from *Pindar* (*Pyth*. 4.) and from *Apolonius*'s *Argonaut*. *lib*. 2. that this was called firſt by the *Greeks* Ἄξενος; which *Diodorus* and *Strabo* confirm, ſaying it was ſo called from the Cruelty and Inhoſpitableneſs of its firſt Inhabitants; and therefore 'was afterwards changed into the contrary Εὔξενος, whence comes the preſent Name of the *Euxine* Sea: And 'tis very likely that the *Greeks* called it firſt *Axinus*, becauſe the firſt Inhabitants founded it *Aſcenaz*, from *Aſhkenaz* this Son of *Gomer*.

Near this alſo on the *Euxine* was the Country of *Paphlagonia*, a Native of which being called by *Strabo*, *Tibius*, *Bochart* thinks the Name may be derived from *Riphat* or *Diphat*, as he is called (1 *Chron*. 1. 6.) another Son of *Gomer*: But this is certain, that in *Bithynia*, a Country not far from *Paphlagonia*, there is the *Amnis Rhebæus* or *Rhebas*, mentioned by *Apollonius* in *Argonaut*.

lib. 2. *v.* 791. and *Stephanus Byzantinus* mentions a River, Country and City called by this Name of *Rhebas*, which he ſaith is παρὰ τὸν Πόντον, hard by the *Euxine*. Now this word *Rhebas* is eaſily derivable from *Riphath*; and to come yet nearer to the Word, *Grotius* obſerves that *Pomponius Mela* places a People called *Riphaces*, in this Country, *Annot. in Libell. de V.R.C.*

Capadocia. Not far from *Phrygia* in *Aſia Minor*, lies *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*: And *Strabo*, *lib.* 12. ſaith the antient *Trogmi* or *Trochmi* lived near *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, poſſeſſing the Confines thereof. Theſe, *Stephanus Byzantinus* ſaith, were called alſo *Trocmeni*, as well as *Trocmii*, and were Inhabitants of *Galatia*. Now 'tis very likely theſe were derived from *Togarmah*, another Son of *Gomer*, and who was, as 'tis plain from *Ezek.* 27. 14. placed near his Father *Gomer*, as was before obſerved. The *Hebrew Togarmah*, the LXX always render *Torgama* or *Thorgamah*, from whence the *Trocmi*, or, as ſome write it, *Trogmi*, are eaſily derived. Now the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſaith in the Place above-mentioned, that the Inhabitants of *Togarmah* brought Horſes to the Fairs or Marts of *Tyre*: Which agrees very well with the Account we have of the antient *Cappadocia*, which was very famous for excellent Horſes; as *Solinus Iſiodorus*, and *Dionyſius Periegetes* tells us; and *Claudian* very plainly in theſe Words:

> ——————*Jam paſcua fumant*
> *Cappadocum, volucrumq; parens Argæus Equorum.*
> *In Rufinum, lib.* 2.

And a ſufficient Account of this may alſo be had from *Philostorgius*, an antient *Cappadocian* Hiſtorian, as you will find him cited by *Bochart*, *Phaleg. lib.*3. *c.* 11.

Greece. Let us next viſit the *Grecian Archipelagus* or *Cherſoneſus*, and enquire into the Original of the Inhabitants of that moſt famous Country for all kinds of antient Learning, *Greece*; where we ſhall find very good grounds to believe that this celebrated Part of the World was firſt peopled by *Javan* the fourth Son of *Japhet*: For the *Hebrew* יו may be very eaſily read *Ion* as well as *Javan*, if it have no Vowels under the Letters to determine its Pronunciation; and the LXX render it Ἰωυάν. In *Homer* the *Iones* are called *Iaones*, whoſe Nominative Singular *Iaon* comes very near to *Javan*. Now 'tis certain that the *Iones* were not antiently the People about *Athens* only; for in *Heſychius* the *Achæans* and *Boetians* are comprehended alſo under that Name; and in *Homer*'s Hymn to *Apollo* he makes the *Delii* to be alſo *Iaones*. 'Tis plain from the Name of the *Ionian Sea*, which is ſometimes given to that part of the *Adriatick* which is over-againſt *Macedonia* and the Countries Weſtward of it, that they were antiently reckoned part of *Ionia*; and accordingly the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, for *Javan*, *Gen.* 10. 2. puts *Macedonia*. To this may be added that *Herodotus* ſaith the *Aſiatick Iones*, which were Colonies from *Greece*, had τέσσαρας γλώσσης χαρακτῆρας, *four diſtinct Idioms of Speech*; and therefore could not be only thoſe ſpeaking in the *Ionick* Dialect, tho' called *Iones*: and in one word, the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes*, ſaith expreſly, πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἰάονας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκάλουν; *all Barbarians* (or Foreigners) *call the Greeks* Iaones. From all which we may conclude with the moſt Learned *Bochart*, that the *Hebrews* called all thoſe *Iones* or *Javan*, which lived from *Thrace* to the *Iſthmus*: Which is much confirmed by *Theſeus* his Column ſet up on the *Iſthmus*, which on that Side looking towards *Megara* had theſe Words: Τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ' Ἰωνία; *This is not* Peloponneſus, *but* Ionia. This Column is mentioned by *Strabo*, *lib.* 9. and by *Plutarch* in *Theſeus*; and is ſaid to be ſtanding in *Codrus* his time. *Bochart* ſhews alſo from the Merchandize which *Ezekiel* ſaith, *ch.* 27. 13. *Javan* carried to *Tyre*, that the *Grecians* uſed to trade in the very ſame things, *Phaleg. lib.* 4. *c.* 3.

And this Account of the firſt Peopling of *Greece* is much confirmed by *Moſes* ſaying, that the eldeſt Son of *Javan* was called *Eliſha*; for every one knows that the *Morea*, or antient *Peloponneſus*, was called of old *Elis*, from a very large Country there of that Name. And *Homer* calls one Part of it *Aliſium*: And as *Ezek. ch.* 27. *v.* 7. ſaith *Purple* came from the Iſles or Maritime Country of *Eliſha*; ſo 'tis abundantly certain, that *Elis* or *Peloponneſus* was very famous for its *Purple*, which was gotten both in the *Laconian* and *Corinthian* Sinus.

Thracia, *Myſia*, and the other Countries on the North of *Macedonia*, were probably peopled by the Poſterity of *Thiras* or *Tiras*, the youngeſt Son of *Japhet*: For *Jonathan* and the *Jeruſalem Targum* in *Gen.* 10. 2. for *Thiras* put *Thraces*; and that by *Thiras* is meant the *Thracians*, *Euſebius*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Jerom*, &c. do all agree; nor is the Derivation of *Thrace* at all forced from *Thiras*. And *Bochart* ſhews there are many Remains of the Name *Thiras* in *Thracia* and the neighbouring Countries. *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolomy* and *Pliny* mention a City of *Myſia* called *Tyras*, ſeated on a River of the ſame Name: *Herodotus* mentions another River in *Thracia*, which was called *Tharus*. *Tharus* was antiently one of the Names of *Mars*, which was a *Thracian* Deity, and his Son was celebrated by the Name of *Tereus*, and is ſaid to be firſt King of *Thrace*. And *Ludovicus Capellus* thinks that *Tros* and *Troes*, the *Trojans*, were derived from this *Thiras* or *Tiras*; which is very probable, both on the account of their Situation, as well as the Agreement in the Sound of the Name. The ſame Learned Man is of opinion alſo, that the *Æoles*, and the Country *Æolia*, took their Riſe and Name from the above-named *Eliſha*, the Firſt-born of *Japhet*.

If we enquire next into the Original of *Italy*, we ſhall find that *Chittim*, another of *Japhet*'s Sons, hath a very good Claim for being its Founder. It's owned that the moſt antient Name of *Latium* or *Italy*, was *Cameſene* or *Camiſene*, of whoſe Etimology there is mighty Diſpute among the old *Grammarians*: But the famous *Bochart* ſeems to have given a very juſt account of it in deriving it from the *Hebrew Camas*, which ſignifies to hide; and this very well anſwers to its Name by Interpretation, *Latium*, which moſt ſay comes *à latendo*; and ſo alſo doth *Chetim* in the *Arabick* (a Branch or Dialect of the *Hebrew*) ſignifie *hidden* or *latent*. Beſides, in *Italy* there were many Footſteps of the Name *Chittim* or *Chetim*. *Halycarnaſſeus*, *lib.* 8. *p.* 356. mentions there a City called Κετία, which was one of thoſe that *Coriolanus* took, as *Plutarch* ſhews in his Life. And *Ariſtotle* in *Lib. de Mirab.* mentions a River called Κέτος in *Italy* (which *Bochart* takes to be *Silarus* or *Silaris* running about *Cumæ* into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea) that would turn Plants into Stones. Nay *Euſebius*, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Cedrenus* in his Annals, and *Suidas*, tell you the *Latines* came from a People called *Citii* or *Cetii*, and that their antient Name was ſo. Italy.

Spain. And as from *Chittim* came the *Italians*, ſo 'tis very likely *Spain* took its Original from *Tarſhiſh* or *Tarſis*, another of *Japhet*'s Sons. This, *Euſebius* was the firſt that aſſerted; but *Bochart* hath made it probable by many Arguments in *lib.* 3. *c.* 7. of his excellent *Phaleg.* As to the Name of *Tarſhiſh*, he cites *Polybius*, *lib.* 3. mentioning the League made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in which it was forbidden the former to make any Excurſions beyond *Maſtia* and *Tarſeium*. This *Maſtia Stephanus* calls *Maſſia*, and ſaith it was the Country of the *Tarteſſii*, and that the City *Tarſeium* was ſituate at *Hercules Pillars*, or *Gades*. In another place of *Polybius* he finds mention made of a People called *Therſitæ*: In all which words there is a plain Alluſion to *Tarſhiſh*; and therefore it may well enough be concluded, that *Tarſhiſh* is either *Spain* in general, or at leaſt that part of it about *Tarteſſus* or *Cadiz*, which was a Place much frequented by the *Phenicians*, as will appear plain enough hereafter, when I come to ſpeak of the Migrations of the People of that Nation: And 'tis very probable the Name *Iberi*, by which the *Spaniards* were antiently called, was given them by the *Phenicians*, from their word *Ebrim* or *Ibrim*, ſignifying the utmoſt Bounds and Limits of any thing; becauſe *Spain* was thought to be the utmoſt Extent of the Earth (as it is of this Continent) Weſtward. And this is much confirmed by the Merchandiſe brought from *Tarſhiſh* to *Tyre*, mentioned by *Ezekiel*, *ch.*21. 12. which is ſaid to be *Silver*, *Iron*, Tin and *Lead*: For *Strabo*, *lib.* 3. ſaith, οὐκ ἄργυρος, οὐδὲ χαλκὸς, οὐδὲ σίδηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τοσοῦτος, οὔτε τοιοῦτος ἐξητασμένος γεννώμενος μέχρι νῦν. That is, *There is not yet found any where either ſo much of, or ſo good Silver, Braſs and Iron, as there is in* Spain. And the ſame thing ſaith *Diodorus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Pliny*; mentioning alſo Tin in particular: And *Ariſtotle* in his Book of Wonders, ſaith, that 'tis reported the firſt *Phœnicians* in their Voyage to *Tarteſſus* found ſuch Quantities of Silver, that their Ships were not able to bring it away, and therefore at parting from thence made all their Veſſels, nay their very Anchors of Silver.

As *Spain* probably was peopled by the Poſterity of *Tarſhiſh*, ſo *France* ſeems to have been by *Dodanim*, the laſt of *Japhet*'s Sons. The LXX call him *Rhodanim* in 1 *Chron.* 1. 7. and 'tis very likely that his Children gave Name to the famous River *Rhodanus*, and called the Country round about it *Rhodanuſia*, or ſome ſuch like Name. For *Stephanus Byzantinus* mentions a City and Country ſo called, and ſituate in Μασσαλία; that is, *in Tractu Maſſilienſi*, where now ſtands *Marſeilles*. And *Bochart* thinks there are Remains of the Name *Rhodanus* France.

in the City *Rhodumna*, now *Roane*; and in the *Rhedones* and *Ruteni*, antient People of *France*, whoſe chief Cities are now *Rennes* and *Rhodes*; and he ſuggeſts that the Word *Eridanus* may be a Corruption from *Rhodanus*, the *Po* and the *Rhoſne* being often confounded by the Antients. See *Apollonius* his *Argonaut. lib.* 4. *v.* 627.

Germany.

As to *Germany* and the other Midland Parts of *Europe*, 'tis as difficult to find when they were firſt peopled, as by whom: *Bochart* thinks it probable that the *Egyptian Hercules* might ſend out Colonies as far as *Germany*; for *Tacitus* tells us in his Tract *de Moribus Germanorum*, that they had a Tradition that *Hercules*, the ſtrongeſt of all Men, had been amongſt them; and he ſaith, *Pars ſuevorum Iſidi ſacrificat*; which *Iſis* was an *Egyptian* Deity: And the *Germans* celebrate *Tuito* and *Mannus* as their firſt Founders; which *Bochart* very probably thinks were *Thoth* the *Egyptian Mercury*, and *Menas* the firſt King of *Egypt*. As for the Word *Germania*, *Tacitus* gives its Original in theſe Words: *Germaniæ vocabulum recens eſt & nuper additum; quoniam qui primi Rhenum tranſgreſſi Gallos expulerunt, nunc* Tungri, *tunc* Germani *vocati ſunt*. And *Bochart* thinks *Germanus* is as much as a warlike Man; *Ger* coming from the *Hebrew Gera*, which ſignifies to wage Wars.

Ruſſia, Muſcovy.

Scythia.

Ruſſia.

Ruſſia and *Muſcovy*, and the Countries adjacent to the South and Weſt, were in all probability peopled firſt from the *Scythians*; and they certainly came from *Magog* the ſecond Son of *Japhet*, *Ezek.* 38. 2, 3. *Magog* or *Gog* is ſaid to be the chief Prince of *Meſhek* and *Tubal*; or ἄρχοντα Ῥὼς Μόσοχ ϗ Θοβὲλ, as the LXX render it, and many learned Men think very juſtly, making *Rhos*, not *Chief*, as we have tranſlated it, but the Name of a Country. *Bochart* very ingeniouſly conjectures that the Word *Caucaſus* came from the *Chaldee Gog-haſan*, that is, the Strong-hold or Defence of *Gog*, changing the *Gimel* into a *Kappa*, as for Softneſs of Sound is uſual in the *Greek* Language (thus for the *Hebrew Gamal*, a Camel, they write κάμηλον) and therefore 'tis propable that *Scythia*, about the Mountain *Caucaſus*, is *Magog*, or the Land of *Gog*; and there is certainly ſome Remains of the Name *Gog* in the City *Gogarene* of *Steph. Byzantinus*, which he places hereabouts between the *Colchi* and the *Iberi Orientales*. And following the LXX and others, who make *Rhos* the Name of a Country or Region, which was contiguous to *Meſhek* and *Tubal*, we cannot but think it gave Name and Riſe to *Ruſſia* and *Muſcovia*: For *Rhos* appears to have been the Name of the River *Araxis* in *Armenia* (now *Turcomania*) running into the *Caſpian* Sea, and joining into one Stream with the River *Cyrus*, a little before its Diſembogue there. For thus ſaith the *Nubian* Geographer, as *Bochart* cites him. "In *Armenia* are two Rivers of great note, *Rhos* and *Cor*, both "running from the Weſt Eaſtward: *Cor*, which is great "and navigable, riſes near the Mountain (that is, *Caucaſus*) and running to *Tiflis* (the *Zaliſſa* of *Ptolemy*) "and from thence to the Confines of *Hanna* and *Samcun*, joins with the *Rhos*, and runs out into the Sea of "*Chozar*, or the *Caſpian*. By which 'tis plain that the *Rhos* is the *Araxes*, as the *Cor* is *Cyrus*. And he cites alſo *Joſeph Gen Gorion* for ſaying that the *Rhoſſi* inhabit the Banks of the River *Cyrus*, which runs into the *Georgian* (*i. e.* the *Caſpian*) Sea; and he might eaſily miſtake *Cyrus* for *Araxes*, the Rivers being near together. And that the *Scythians*, antiently called *Sacæ*, were Maſters of this Part of the World, *Strabo* is expreſs, *lib.* 11. where he ſaith, the *Sacæ*, or *Scythians*, poſſeſt the beſt Part of *Armenia*, calling it *Sacaſenia*, after themſelves, and went as far as the *Cappadocians*, who live on the *Euxine* Sea: And *Herodotus* ſaith, *the* Scythian Nomades, *which now inhabit* Aſia, *when they were beaten by the* Meſſagetes, *paſt the* Araxis *into* Cimmeria. And *Diodorus*, *lib.* 2. ſaith, *that the* Scythians, *firſt dwelt about the* Araxis. But after they were driven from this Situation, 'tis very likely ſome of them went Northward, and inhabited the *Tauric Cherſoneſus*, and called it by their own Name *Roos*; for ſo *Bochart* obſerves from *Tzetzes*, that in his Time *Rhos* was a more common Word for a Bull than *Taurus*: He thinks alſo that the Name *Rhoxolani*, by which *Pliny*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 12. calls ſome of the old *Scythians*, came from *Rhox* or *Roos* and *Alani*; becauſe *Ptolemy*, *lib.* 3. *c.* 5. places the *Scythians* between the *Tauri* and the *Alani*, about the *Palus Meotis*. After this *Bochart* goes on to ſhew, that the Words of *Ezek.* 38. *v.* 3, &c. do agree very well to the *Scythians*, as to their being famous for Horſes, Bows and Arrows, and other Armour offenſive and defenſive; which the Reader may conſult at large, *lib.* 3. *co.* 13. of his *Phaleg*.

India.

From whence the numerous and various People of *India Orientalis* were firſt deriv'd, 'tis not ſo eaſy to diſcover, and probably they might have their Original from very different Families of the Sons of *Noah*. The commonly received Opinion is, that they came from the Sons of *Jocktan* or *Joctan*, the Brother of *Phaleg*, which were *thirteen* in number. But *Bochart* and Bp *Patrick* confine the Situation of all theſe to the innermoſt part of *Arabia*, or *Arabia Felix*. *Hornius* ſaith the Antients divided all the People of the World into the *Scythians* and *Ethiopians*, the *Indians* and the *Celtæ*: And the *Indians* he ſuppoſes to be the Offspring of *Sem*, as the *Ethiopians* are of *Cham*, and the *Scythians* and the *Celtæ* (*i. e.* the *Galatæ*, or *Gauls*, as *Bochart* ſhews) from *Japhet*. And *Voſſius*, *lib.* 1. *de Idolatr.* ſhews, that by *India* in the largeſt ſenſe, was antiently meant the Upper *Aſia*, *Phænicia* and *Arabia*. *Hornius* thinks that ſome of the Poſterity of *Joctan* paſſed Eaſtward out of *Arabia Fælix*, a croſs the *Perſian* Gulf, and ſo peopled *India*, which is not improbable: And in his *Diſſert. Hiſtor. Pollit. p.* 85. he thinks this is apparent from hence, as well as from other Arguments, that *Ophir*, one of *Joctan*'s Sons, left his Name to *Ophir*, the Place from whence *Solomon* fetch'd his Gold. But *Bochart*, tho' he thinks the *Ophir* to be *Ceylon*, as others take it to be *Sumatra*, others one of the *Moluccas* in *Eaſt India*; yet he judges that the *Phænicians* gave it that Name, when they found it to abound ſo much with Gold and other Riches (as the other *Ophir* in *Arabia* did) from their Word *Auphar* or *Uphre*, which ſignifies rich or opulent: And for the ſame reaſon it was called *Tapro-bana*, from *Taph-parvan* or *Taphprovan* in the ſame Language; for that ſignifies the Land or Shore of Wealth, *Phaleg. c.* 27. Now tho' *Moſes* ſaith that the Dwelling of theſe Sons of *Joktan* (all except *Obal*, who paſſing through the Streights of the *Sinus Arabicus*, probably peopled *Arabia Troglodytica*) was from *Meſha*, &c. *Gen.* 10. 30. that is, round about the Mountain *Maſius* or *Meſh*, between *Cicilia* and *Meſopotamia*; yet as Sir *Walter Raleigh* obſerves, 'tis very probable, that either they or their Poſterity might tranſplant themſelves into ſome Parts of *Eaſt India*, as thoſe of *Magog*, who peopled *Scythia* and *Tartary*, might do into others.

China.

Mr. *Whiſton*, in his *Theory of the Earth*, hath a peculiar Notion about the peopling of *China*, a famous Part of *Eaſt India*, whoſe Inhabitants he ſuppoſes to take their Original from *Noah*, and ſome other Children of his beſides *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*, which were born to him afterwards. But this ſeems to be a little inconſiſtent with what *Moſes* tells us, *Gen.* 9. 19. where he ſaith, that from thoſe three Sons of *Noah*, *was the whole Earth* overſpread. From whence, as the moſt Learned and Judicious Bp *Patrick* obſerves, it appears, that tho' *Noah* lived above 300 Years after the Deluge, yet he either had no more Children, or that none of them lived to have any Poſterity.

Of the Peopling of America.

IT being expreſly ſaid by *Moſes*, *Gen.* 10. 32. *That the Nations were divided by the Sons of* Noah *after the Flood:* and 9. 18. *That of them the whole Earth was overſpread:* And yet in his Account of the Peopling of the World, there being mention made only of three Parts of it, *viz. Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, as inhabited and poſſeſt by the Poſterity of *Noah*. This hath induced ſome Perſons to aſſert, that the vaſt and populous Tract of *America* did not receive its firſt Inhabitants from any part of our World, at leaſt not from the Deſcendents of *Noah*; but that either the *Americans* were *Aborigines* after the Deluge, if they had a Beginning ſince that, or elſe were not deſtroyed by the Flood; which conſequently could not be univerſal, as *Moſes* aſſerts, and the generality of Chriſtians believe.

The common Arguments for which Opinion are in ſhort, 1. The abovementioned Silence of the Scripture about their Original. 2. The prodigious Numbers of their Inhabitants when they were firſt diſcover'd. 3. The vaſt difference that there is between them and the reſt of Mankind, in their Perſons, Manners, Cuſtoms and Languages. 4. There being found in theſe Parts many *Species* of living Creatures common to no other Part of the World, and their wanting entirely others. 5. Their being divided from *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa* by ſuch vaſt Seas, or inacceſſible Tracts of Ice, that 'tis incredible to ſuppoſe any of *our* Inhabitants could ever paſs from us to them, or any of *theirs* to us. And 6. That no account can be given why Beaſts of Prey, ſuch as *Lions*, *Tygers*, *Bears*, &c. ſhould ever be tranſported thither by Men, even allowing, that Curioſity, or Chance, Wars or deſire of Gain ſhould carry them thither.

To which may be anſwered, 1. That the Silence of the Scripture about the Way, Manner and Time of the peopling of *America*, is in it ſelf no good Proof that it did not receive its Inhabitants from ſome of the Deſcendants from *Noah*, unleſs it were aſſerted by thoſe who believe *Moſes*, that *America* was peopled *immediately* after the Confuſion of Languages, and by thoſe very Children of *Noah* whoſe Names are there recorded; which is what (I think) is affirmed by no body: For as *Moſes* doth not think it neceſſary to enter into a particular Detail of the peopling of each individual Tract of Land throughout the whole Earth; but only to ſhew in general after what way and manner the *Noachians* were divided and diſtributed after the Deluge; ſo we may very well ſuppoſe, that ſome of them might in proceſs of time travail into *America*, if it were poſſible ſo to do, as well as into many other remote Regions not directly mentioned by *Moſes*. For 'tis probable, as Judge *Hales* obſerves, that ſome Migrations into *America* might be within 3 or 400 Years after the Flood. *Hales*.' Original of Mankind.

2. As for the great Numbers of the Inhabitants of *America*, 'tis certain there is time enough and to ſpare, ſince the Deluge, to account for ſuch an Increaſe: And 'tis probable, as will appear below, they might receive ſome of their Inhabitants not long after that time.

3. Their Shape, Make, Colour, Languages, Manners and Cuſtoms, tho' very different, as well from one another, as from thoſe of our *Continent*; yet are not more different from ours than our own are from one another: And therefore if there be any thing in this Argument, it will conclude as well againſt the *Aſiaticks*, *Africans* and *Europeans* being derived from one Stock and Original; tho' perhaps it may appear by and by, that 'tis no good one againſt either.

The 4th Objection will fall in with this in ſome meaſure, and may be cleared up after the ſame manner. For no good Arguments can be drawn from the different Species of the Beaſts of *America*, that they had not their firſt Parents from our Continent: Are not the Inhabitants, Beaſts and Birds of *Africa* vaſtly different from thoſe of *Europe*? And don't the *Tartars* and *Chineſe* differ in Shape and Form very much from the long hair'd black *Indians* of the Eaſt, as much almoſt as they do from the White People of our Northern Parts? If therefore we have ſuch different *Species*, as it were, of Men in *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, why ſhould it be thought ſtrange, that there ſhould be the ſame in *America*, and ſome of thoſe different from any of them? For that they are not all ſo is certain.

But perhaps it will be ſaid, this only increaſes the Difficulty ſtill of ſolving the Moſaical Account of the Propagation of ſuch differing kinds of Men from one and the ſame Father *Noah*; and that it rather proves they had very different Originals. But methinks 'tis not difficult to conceive how very different Colours and Shapes of Men may eaſily ariſe from the difference of Climates, Humours and Faſhions of Mankind, and from the Power of the Mother's Imagination operating on the *Fœtus*. Suppoſe for inſtance, in the Caſe of the *Cafres* or *Negroes* of *Africa*, *New Guinea*, *Madagaſcar*, &c. might not the naked Bodies of the firſt Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, by the vaſt Heat and Drought of the Climate, become very ſwarthy, burnt and black; eſpecially of thoſe who went much abroad, and expoſed themſelves to Hunting and Fiſhing, Toil and Labour in the Sun? And is it not natural enough to conceive that thoſe Perſons, who were bold and active Men at Hunting, Fiſhing, or Feats of War, would come by degrees to value themſelves on the Colour their Bodies had gain'd by ſuch brave and heroick Exploits? And would not they deſpiſe the effeminate Whiteneſs and Softneſs of thoſe that ſtaid at home? And when this *aduſt Hew* was once grown honourable, would not every one affect it, and even uſe *Arts* and *Pigments* to procure it? To be ſure alſo the Women, who always admire daring Activity and Valour in the Men, would be beſt pleaſed with Perſons of this Form and Appearance, and conſequently have their Imaginations and Fancies always (even *inter Amplexus*) filled with Ideas of them. From whence 'tis eaſy to ſuppoſe (by what we daily ſee of the Marks that pregnant Women give their Children) that the *Fœtus* in the Womb of the Mother (which is but like a Graft on a Tree) would be tinged with the ſame Colour, Form and Complexion; and this going on further by degrees, might eaſily produce as great a Change as that of an *Aſiatick* into a *Negro*; eſpecially if to this you add the probable Suppoſition, that ſome great and eminent Hero in theſe Parts, or a famous Hunter, might happen to have a ſhorter Noſe and thicker Lips than ordinary, might cut his Hair very ſhort, and have it naturally black and curled; for by this means others of his Contemporaries or Poſterity would endeavour to imitate him as much as they could, and the Mothers would mould their tender Infants into his Shape and Form, and ſupply it all (by degrees) by the Force and Power of Fancy and Imagination, in their latter born Children. I think it needleſs to give Inſtances of this, becauſe they are ſo very common and obvious, that all Hiſtory, and every ones Experience can furniſh them in ſome meaſure: And there want not Accounts, even in the very point before us, tho' with none of its previous Cauſes and Steps, of Women, that by the Power of Imagination only, have brought forth Children of quite contrary Colour and different Shape and Form from either the Mother or the Father.

And this Conſideration will help us to account in ſome meaſure alſo for the different Species of Animals now found in *America*, from thoſe in our Continent. Where by the by, we ought to obſerve, that there are not ſo many different Species as ſome tell us, who will needs make Wonders and Monſters of every new thing they ſee, without examining into it ſo nicely as they ought to do. Conſult Mr. *Ray's Wiſdom of God in the Works of the Creation*, at the beginning.

It hath been obſerved by many Authors, that *Africa* hath produced a much greater Variety of Animals than other Parts of the World, and eſpecially of Brutes; and this was a Proverb in *Ariſtotle*'s time, that *Africa was ſtill producing ſomething new*, of this kind, *lib.* 2. *c.* 5. *de Generatione:* And the Solution that is uſually given for this is, that Waters in thoſe dry pearched Countries being very ſcarce, great Varieties of Animals uſed to meet together at the Springs or Rivers, in order to drink and cool themſelves, and by promiſcuous Couplings there, did continually produce new *Species* of Animals. Now tho' it be uſually ſaid, that ſuch *Hebridous* Offſprings and Births as theſe don't copulate and produce Animals *ſui Generis* again; yet whether it be ſo univerſally or not, I judge may be doubted, and I believe there are Inſtances to the contrary pretty frequent, eſpecially among Birds. But be this as it will, no doubt the Climate and Soil, the Air and Degree of Heat, difference of Feeding, &c. will very much change the Shape and Appearance of Animals; as well as will accidental Impulſes on the Imagination of the Females of the Brute Creation, when (as our Great *Harvey* ſpeaks) *the ſpeci-*

Lib. de Generat.

cifick Operative Idea in the Fancy of the **Dam**, *may be diſturbed and changed by ſome other inordinate one.* If this were not ſo, why ſhould ſeveral Countries be more famous than others for a better Breed of the ſame kind of Animals; and ſome Places be perfectly void of Beaſts, Birds and Fiſhes, which others abound in? 'Tis not at all ſhocking to Reaſon therefore to believe, that there may be great Variety in the Shape, Colour, Make and Figure of divers Birds, Beaſts or Fiſhes in *America* from thoſe in our continent; and yet all *Species* at firſt have the ſame Original.

But beſides all this, 'tis certain that *Tartary*, *Cathay*, and thoſe North-Eaſtern Parts, do abound with a prodigious Variety of Beaſts and Birds, many of which have been diſcovered to be vaſtly different from thoſe of our Regions. Now the Bounds of this Part of the World being unknown and undiſcover'd, and the ſtretching out of the *Tartarian* Capes undetermin'd, it cannot be proved that there may not be in thoſe Parts, Beaſts and Birds of the ſame Form and Shape with thoſe we ſo much wonder at in *America*: And therefore Men ought to forbear concluding any thing certainly about the *American* Animals being *Aborigines*, till they are ſure they know all thoſe which inhabit thoſe vaſt Deſerts, and yet undiſcover'd Tracts of Land: which if they don't actually join to the Continent of *America*, do undoubtedly come very near it.

The 5th Objection is a bare Aſſertion without proof, and therefore may be as freely denied; and I ſhall ſhew, there is much more reaſon to do ſo, than to hold it in the affirmative. And the laſt or ſixth Argument about Beaſts of Prey, *&c.* getting into *America*, will be found to have little of force in it, when the ſeveral ways of peopling that part of the World are laid before you.

But I cannot omit taking notice now, that tho' the *Spaniards* found the *Continent* of *America* full of thoſe ſavage Beaſts; yet there were none of them in any of the Iſlands which lay remote from the Continent, tho' very large; which both ſhews that theſe Creatures were not at leaſt, *Aborigines* there, as Trees, Fruits and Plants were; and therefore *America* muſt be ſtockt with them from ſome other Part of the World; and which by a fair way of Concluſion too, lay *nearer* to them than thoſe Iſlands. This *Acoſta* aſſerts to be true on ſtrict Examination of the Primitive State of *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Margarita*, *Dominica*, *Jamaica*, &c. And this hath been confirmed ſince to be the Caſe of other Iſlands newly diſcover'd by ſubſequent Navigation. And *J. de Laet* ſaith there were no ſuch Birds found in theſe Iſlands, as could not fly far, ſuch as Patridges, *&c.* (*P.*99 *de Orig. Gent. Americ.*)

About the ways of the firſt peopling of *America* there have been a vaſt number of Opinions and Conjectures, and ſome very wild and extravagant; as particularly that of *Leſcarbotus* mentioned by *Laet*, *viz.* That *Noah* (who he fancies was born there) went either thither himſelf, or ſent a ſecond Venter of Children into *America*, after he had divided our three Parts of the World amongſt his three former Sons. But this ſeems directly contrary to the Hiſtory of *Geneſis*, where we find that all the Eaſt was peopled by *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and their Poſterity; and is alſo aſſerted without any manner of Proof, Ground or Argument. Leaving therefore this and all other Opinions, which ſeem to me to have little Foundation from Reaſon, Hiſtory, or Collation of Cuſtoms; I ſhall inſiſt only on ſuch as appear to have thoſe real Foundations to ſupport them.

But here 'tis neceſſary to premiſe, that there were found in *America* at its firſt Diſcovery by the *Spaniards*, People of ſo very different Shapes, Colours, Habits, Cuſtoms, Languages and Manner of Living; that 'tis almoſt a Demonſtration they did not all come from the ſame Original; but probably were peopled from different Parts of the World, and at different times, and that ſome of their Inhabitants came to them very early too. For tho' all the Inhabitants of the great Continent of *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, did come from *Noah*'s Sons, who yet differ as much from one another in many Parts, as the ſeveral Inhabitants of *America* do; yet this will receive ſome Solution from the Moſaical Account of the Confuſion of Languages. But this cannot have place with thoſe who firſt peopled *America*, unleſs you ſuppoſe a ſupernatural Effect without any Ground or Reaſon.

Hornius very judiciouſly, in order to clear the way for the better diſcovery of thoſe Perſons who *did* firſt people *America*, firſt conſiders what Nation ought juſtly to be excluded from that Claim, and ſhews who *did not* go thither. And firſt he makes it probable, that the Inhabitants of *America* came not from *Swedeland*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, *Germany*, &c. becauſe all the Inhabitants of *that new World* are black hair'd, tho' not curl'd and woolly like the *Ethiopian Negroes*. The Northern *Americans* alſo were found to have no Proper Names, neither *Gentile* nor *Perſonal*: And if any Part of it was peopled from the *Celtæ*, the Northern Parts muſt: But the *Celtæ* were always curious and exact about Names; and therefore the Conceit of *Grotius* about *America*'s being peopled chiefly from *Norway*, ſeems entirely groundleſs, as *J. de Laet* hath fully proved; tho' 'tis likely that *Greenland* might have ſome of its Inhabitants from thence, but theſe did not ſpread far.

'Twas about the Year 982 after *Chriſt*, when *Ericus Ruffus* peopled *Iſland*, and ſome part of *Greenland*, and the Chriſtian Religion was planted there about 18 Years after: Wherefore ſince no Footſteps of Chriſtianity were found in *America*, theſe *Greenlanders* could ſend few or no Colonies far into *America*. Alſo the Northern *Americans* were all without Beards, or at leaſt generally ſo: For *Vaſquez de Conrado* ſaith he never ſaw in all *Mexico* above one old Man bearded; whereas the *Celtæ*, or antient *Gauls*, wore all Beards. There was no Footſteps found in *America* of that common Notion about the Tranſmigration of Souls; nor in the Southern Parts any that burned the Dead inſtead of burying of them, as the *Aſiatick Indians* always did: Whence he concludes alſo, that neither the *Celtæ* ſent the firſt Inhabitants into the Northern, nor the *Indians* thoſe into the Southern Parts.

'Tis very improbable alſo, that either the *Greeks* or *Romans* could people *America*, tho' from ſome forced Etimologies of Words, ſome have thought ſo: And the Reaſon is, becauſe they were kept within the *Mediterranean* by the *Carthaginians*, and had no Settlements on the Coaſts of the *Atlantick* Ocean, from whence they could get into the New World, if they had Skill in Navigation to attempt Diſcoveries of that nature, as it doth not appear they had.

Tho' alſo ſome, as *Arius Montanus*, and from him others, have been very fond of deriving ſome of the firſt Inhabitants of *America* from the *Jews*; and tho' ſome Authors, as our *Brerewood*, ſuppoſe the Ten Tribes which *Salmanazar* and his Succeſſors carried Captives into *Aſſyria*, to have gotten (I know not how) into that New World: Yet there being no ſuch Rite as Circumciſion, nor any other, purely *Levitical*, found amongſt them, this can have no ſolid Foundation. I know ſome have ſaid, that the *Americans* were found to be circumciſed; but 'tis owned they were but very few; and thoſe perhaps, as others judge, apeared to be ſo to leſs curious Obſervers, becauſe their *Preputia* were eaten away by the Pox: But both *Acoſta* and *Herrera*, on an exact Enquiry, could find no Signs of a true Circumciſion. From which 'tis plain, that neither the *Jews*, nor any Nation that conſtantly uſed Circumciſion as a Religious Rite, did people this Part of the World; from whence all the *Turks* and *Mahometans* are alſo excluded. And if the *Scythians* or *Tartars* had any ſhare in the ſending Inhabitants to the Northern Parts of *America*, 'twas before they received *Mahometaniſm*, and with it Circumciſion: So that *America* was either peopled before *Mahomet*'s Time in all its Parts, which is highly probable; or at leaſt by ſuch as were not of his Religion.

And as there were no Footſteps of the *Jewiſh*, ſo there were none alſo of the Chriſtian Religion found in *America* at its firſt Diſcovery. Some indeed have ſaid, that there were Croſſes found erected in *Jucatan*, and that they had a Tradition of their being left there by a Man beautiful and glorious as the Sun it ſelf, and who died upon one of them; but this ſeems a meer Legend, for *P. Martyr* ſaith there is nothing certain in this Relation. And *Herrera* juſtly ſcruples at *Gomara*'s Relation of there being Croſſes of *Aurichalcum* and Wood, placed upon the Graves of the *Jucataneſes*; becauſe he ſaith there is no *Aurichalcum* found either in *Jucatan*, or any where elſe in *America*: And *Garcilaſſo* ſaith, that at *Cuzco* there was indeed a great Marble Stone in the Form of a Croſs, but it had no Religious Uſe. Some inſiſt much alſo on the Uſe of Baptiſm among the *Jucataneſes*, to prove it to be a Chriſtian Colony: But as every one knows Baptiſm was a Rite in uſe long before Chriſt, and in many Places of the World; and that therefore nothing certain can be concluded from thence: So 'tis certain that the *Jucataneſes* never had any Baptiſm as a Religious Rite properly ſo called; and all the modern *Spaniſh* Writers, on a nearer Enquiry into the State of *America*, do deny that there was any ſuch thing as Chriſtian Rites found among them: And their abominable Idolatry, Human Sacrifices, and other barbarous Uſages, ſufficiently ſhew, that they had not their

Original from any Chriſtian Nation; for wherever that Religion hath once been eſtabliſh'd, all ſuch Heathen Rites and Cuſtoms have fallen before it. It ſeems therefore plain, that *America* was not peopled by Chriſtians, but probably had its Inhabitants in all or moſt Parts of it, before our Saviour's Incarnation; as will further appear hereafter.

'Tis not likely alſo, that any of the firſt Inhabitants of *America* came from *Ethiopia*, or at leaſt very few of them, becauſe there are no *Ethiopic* Negro's, or at leaſt but very few, found there, but what the *Europeans* have carried thither: And for the ſame reaſon *New Guinea* alſo muſt be excluded from being ſuppoſed to have ſent any of its numerous Inhabitants thither, if our late Relations are true, that they are all *Negro's* there; for the firſt Diſcoverers mention a vaſt variety of Colours and Shape among the *Americans*.

Indeed *Hornius* cites *Peter Martyr* and *Gomara*, as making mention of ſome *Ethiopic* Negro's, which were found about *Careta* in *America*; which probably might be driven over in a Storm, or might deſignedly go over from *Congo* in *Africa*; for *Lopez* ſaith the People thereabouts antiently had Ships carrying 200 Oars.

And thus having endeavoured to ſhew from what Parts of our World *America* was not peopled, let us next enquire from whence it probably did derive its numerous Inhabitants. And to begin with the Northern Part of it: 'tis not unlikely, as *Hornius* obſerves, That that Tract of Land might receive its firſt People three ways: On the North from the antient *Scythians*, on the Weſt from the *Phænicians*, and on the Eaſt from the *Chineſes*.

There ſeems good reaſon to believe, that the *Phænicians* went very early into *America*: For when the *Canaanites* were expelled their Country by the Children of *Iſrael* in *Joſhua*'s time, 'tis very probable that neceſſity drove them to ſeek new Habitations; eſpecially if the Story of the two Marble Pillars, which *Evagrius Scholaſticus* cites out of *Procopius*, be true: For he ſaith theſe were ſet up near *Tingri* or *Tangier*, and had in the *Phænician* Language and Character this Inſcription upon them. *We fly from the Face of that Robber* Joſhuah *the Son of* Nun: And that they would have recourſe to their Shipping too for this purpoſe, for which they were antiently very famous, ſeems paſt doubt.

They went early into *Spain* and *Africa*, 'tis certain; and ſome Writers ſay they went all round *Lybia* (which antiently ſignified *Africa*.) This they could not well do along the Shoar, but muſt venture out far into the Ocean; and therefore they might as eaſily from thence ſail into *America*, as to the Canary Iſlands; which is not above 15 days Sail from the Canaries: And 'tis fact that they were as far as the *Canaries* and *Azores*. *Strabo* ſaith expreſly, *That entring the* Atlantick *Ocean, they built Cities beyond the* Herculean *Straits*: And alſo that *they had many and great Ships in ours, and in the moſt outward Sea*. *Eratoſthenes* alſo and *Strabo* both ſay, that the *Phænicians* being infeſted with Wars at home, took Shipping, and ſought new Settlements in the *Atlantick* Ocean: And the ſame thing we learn from *Diodorus Siculus, lib.* 5. And that the Antients had a Notion of another World, or another Part of ours, lying beyond the *Atlantick* Ocean, is very plain and evident. *Ælian* in his third Book ſaith, that *Silenus* told *Midas*, that beſides *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Lybia* (or *Africa*) there was another infinitely large Continent, in which were great Cities, and People of different Laws and Cuſtoms from ours; and where there was a vaſt Quantity of Gold and Silver, which was leſs valued there than Iron with us. No doubt alſo theſe were the great Iſlands mentioned by *Apuleius* in his Book *de Mundo*, on the Authority of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*. And we find in *Seneca*, *Avitus* ſaying, *Fertiles in Oceano jacere terras, ultraq; eum, rurſus alia Littora, alium jacere Orbem*. And in the *Medea* of the other *Seneca*, you have this remarkable Paſſage.

> *——————Venient Annis*
> *Secula ſeris quibus Oceanus*
> *Vincula rerum laxat, & ingens*
> *Patrat tellus, Typhiſq; novos*
> *Detegat Orbes, nec ſit Terris ultima Thule.*

To which may be added what we find in *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which is, that there *was an Iſland in the* Atlantick *Ocean, larger than all* Europe.

But to return to the *Phænician* Plantation of this New World; *Hornius* thinks there were three eminent Voyages made by the *Phænicians* into *America*: The firſt under *Atlas*, who, *Plato* in his *Critias* ſaith, was the Son of *Neptune* (a *Phænician* Deity) and others call him the Son of *Cælus* and the Brother of *Saturn*. Under this *Atlas* they paſſed the Straits, of old called *Hercules Pillars*, and coming into the Ocean, gave the Name of *Atlantick* to it, which it retains to this day: And it appears from *Strabo*, that all the Sea round about *Aſia*, and great part of *Africa*, was called the *Atlantick* Ocean: becauſe, he ſaith, Arabia Fælix *extended it ſelf as far as the* Atlantick *Ocean*. In this *Atlantick* Ocean, the old *Phænicians* found a great Iſland as large as *Aſia* and *Africa*, which they called *Atlantis*, and I think could be nothing but *America*. This famous *Atlantis* is mentioned by *Plato* in his *Timæus* and *Critias*, and by many hath been thought to be entirely a fabulous Relation: But *Plato* himſelf expreſly ſaith, *That he doth not write a Fable, but a true Hiſtory*. And *Proclus* cites one *Marcellus* an *Ethiopian* Hiſtorian, who relates the ſame Story as a Truth; to which may be added, that *Crantor*, *Plato*'s firſt Interpreter, takes the thing to be a true Hiſtory, and no Fable. All this conſidered, tho' there are, according to the antient Cuſtom, ſome fabulous Stories connected with the Relation; yet there is very good reaſon to take it to be truth in the main, ſince there is nothing impoſſible or improbable in the Account of it: For the *Phænicians* had very early, good Ships, and did not uſe to coaſt along the Shore only, but ventur'd out far to Sea in the clear and fair time of the Year, guiding their Courſe by the Sun and Stars, as they might very eaſily do: And in this point they were ſo ſkilful, that all our Aſtronomy at firſt came from them. And we find *Pliny, lib.* 2. *cap.* 16. complaining, that the Men of his time were lazy and enervated, the Skill of Navigation loſt, and the Deſire of ſeeking New Worlds and Regions extinguiſh'd.

There is alſo good Authority from Antiquity, that the *Phænicians* made a ſecond Voyage into *America*: For what can be plainer than what we find in *Diodorus Siculus, lib.* 5. *p.* 299, 300. *Edit. Hanoviæ A.D.* 1604. where he tells us, "That the *Phænicians* did very antiently ſail "out beyond *Hercules*'s *Pillars*, along the *African* Coaſt; "and there meeting with Storms and Tempeſts, were "carried to the remoteſt Part of the Ocean, and after "many days came to a vaſt Iſland many days Sail from "*Lybia*, and lying very far Weſt. This Place had a "fruitful Soil, navigable Rivers, and ſumptuous Edifices: And from hence the *Carthaginians* came to the "Knowledge of theſe new Lands. And in another place he ſaith, "That the *Carthaginians* finding that "they were often preſt with Wars by the *Tyrians* and "*Mauritanians*, took Shipping, paſſed *Cadiz*, and ſail'd "to this new Region in the *Atlantick* Ocean, and "planted a Colony there; but kept the Diſcovery a "long while cloſe, that if they ſhould ever be driven "from their native Soil again, they might have this "Place to retire to. This is a very plain and remarkable Paſſage, and can be meant of nothing but *America*, to which Place the Deſcription given by *Diodorus* doth well agree: And this alſo will help us to gueſs pretty well at the *Time of this Expedition*; for it muſt be juſt after the Wars above-mentioned between the *Carthaginians*, and the *Tyrians* and *Mauritanians*.

The third Voyage of the *Phænicians* into *America*, *Hornius* judges to be in *Solomon*'s Time, when the *Tyrian* Fleet went to *Ophir* for Gold. Which *Ophir* he thinks might be *Hiſpaniola* or *Cuba* in the *Weſt Indies*: And certain it is, that in the former of theſe Iſlands *Bartholomæus* the Nephew of *Columbus* found Gold Mines of a prodigious greatneſs, *viz.* of 16 Miles in length; but the Natives then had loſt the uſe of them (*Novus Orbis Regionum, &c. p.* 77.) And therefore *Columbus*, *Vetablus*, *Rob. Stephanus*, *Genobardus*, and many others, have believed this *Hiſpaniola* to be *Solomon*'s *Ophir*; as *Arius Montanus*, *Goropius Becanus*, *Guil. Poſtellus*, *Marcus Marinus*, *Brixianus in lib. de Arca Noæ*, *Ant. Poſſevinus*, *&c.* do believe it was ſomewhere in *Peru*. And would the Place from whence *Solomon*'s Ships were built and did ſet out, which was *Ezion Gaber*, agree with this, I ſhould think alſo that there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe *Ophir* to have been *Hiſpaniola*, or ſome Place thereabout. But after all the Endeavours of *Goropius Becanus*, who was the firſt, and ſome others, to prove *Ezion Gaber* to be ſituated in the *Mediterranean*, 'tis plain from 2 *Chron.* 8. 17. 1 *Kings* 19. 26. that *Ezion Gaber* was in *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, which *David* had conquered, and on the Shore of the *Red Sea*. *Goropius Becanus* alſo would have *Solomon*'s *Tharſhiſh* to be *Tarteſſus* in *Spain*; whereas 'tis plain that *Tharſhiſh* is only a general Word for the Sea, or Ocean, as appears from 2 *Kings* 22. 48. where *Jehoſaphat*'s Ships are called *Ships of Tarſhiſh*: So likewiſe in 2 *Chron.* 20. 36. *to go to* Tarſhiſh, ſignifies *to go into the Sea*, or *into the Great Sea*. And conſequently the Navy of *Tarſhiſh* in 1 *Kings* 10. 22. muſt be underſtood

ſtood in the ſame general Senſe, for a Fleet that were to ſail in the wide Sea, or *Indian* Ocean, in order to fetch Gold from *Ophir*, or *Zeilan*. Which being determined, as *Lippenius* in his *Navigatio Solomonis Ophiritica, cap.* 2. *Sect.* 1. and *Bochart* in his *Canaan, lit.* 1. *cap.* 44. have put it out of doubt: 'Tis then certainly a very unreaſonable thing to ſuppoſe that *Solomon*'s Ships ſhould go all round *Africa*, and thence into *America* for Gold. Wherefore *Ophir* muſt be placed ſomewhere elſe; and the moſt Learned *Bochart* makes two *Ophirs, Vid. Phaleg. lib.* 2. *cap.* 27. One in *Arabia* very rich in Gold, and from whence the *Iſraelites* had it before *Solomon*'s time, when the *Tyrians* firſt made them Navigators. This *Ophir* was the Country of the *Caſſanitæ* of *Ptolomy*, the *Gaſandæ* of *Diodorus*, and the *Caſandres* of *Agatharchides*. But the *Ophir* to which *Solomon* ſent for Gold, he ſhews to be the *Taprobana* of *Ptolomy*, the Iſland *Seilan*, or *Zeilan*, in the *Eaſt Indies*. See alſo his *Canaan, lib.* 1. *cap.* 46. But tho' I cannot think *Hornius* is in the right in aſſerting that *Solomon*'s Ships went with the *Tyrians* into *America* for Gold, when they went to *Ophir* from the *Red Sea*; which alſo is contradictory to what he himſelf had before advanced, that no *Jews* had ever been in *America*: Yet I can ſee no reaſon to deny that the *Tyrians* and *Phænicians* might go thither from *Tyre*, or other Ports in the *Mediterranean*, as early as in *Solomon*'s Time, and 'tis likely, before that. For they had Colonies very antiently in the *Atlantick* Ocean, in the *Canary* Iſlands, and in the *Azores*; aud ſo might as eaſily go to *America* from thence, as from the *Straits* thither.

That the *Canary* Iſlands are the ſame with thoſe antiently called *Fortunate*, is certain; and what *Hornius* ſuggeſts is very probable, that they derived their Name of *Canaries*, not *à Canibus* (for *Gomara* ſaith, when the *Fortunate Iſles* were firſt diſcover'd, there were no Dogs found there) but *à Chananæis*, from the *Phænicians*, who as *Scylax Caryandenus* ſaith, *uſed to ſail often from the Continent of* Africa *to* Cerne, *and back again*. The change of the Letter N into R is very uſual, as in *Nebuchadrezar* for *Nabuchadnezar*; and *Cerne*, ſome think, is only a Contraction of *Canaria*. In the time of *Pliny* and *Juba*, 'tis ſaid the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands left them; and ſince we have no account whither they went, 'tis likely, as *J. de Laet* obſerves, that they went into *America*; and after this, they grew ſo barbarous, that, as *Hornius* ſaith, *'tis certain they had loſt the Uſe and Knowledge of Fire.* Tho' it appears alſo from *Pliny*, and other antient Writers, that when the *Fortunate* or *Canary* Iſlands were firſt diſcovered, there were the Ruins of great Buildings found there; which ſhews that formerly they had been well inhabited.

We find alſo from *Strabo*, that the *Phænicians* did very earlily ſail to the *Caſſiterides*, but concealed their Diſcovery: He ſaith, they found the Inhabitants to be *Wanderers, long-bearded like Goats, clothed in long black Gowns, that they walked with Staves, were deſirous of Peace, and wholly given to Maritime Affairs. Lib.* 3. Which is juſt ſuch a Deſcription as *Athanæus* gives of the antient *Spaniards*, and therefore 'tis probable theſe Iſlanders came from thence. And it being now agreed, that by the *Caſſiterides* in this place, *Strabo* meant the Iſlands *Azores*; 'tis an eaſy Suppoſition, that the *Phænicians* might thence ſail into *America*, as well as from the Continent thither. Which confirms, another way, what *Plato* ſaith, *viz. From* Atlantis (*or* America) *Men went to other Iſlands, and from thence to the Continent.* When the *Azores* were diſcovered by the *Flandrians* and *Portugals*, they were uninhabited, their People having probably all gone into *America*.

It hath been generally thought that the Antients dared not venture out far to Sea, but always coaſted along the Shores: But theſe Voyages of the *Carthaginians* to the *Fortunate* or *Canary Iſlands*, to the *Azores*, &c. plainly diſprove that Opinion: And beſides, we find *Herodotus* in his *Melpom.* ſaying, that the *Carthaginians* ſail'd all round *Africa*, which they could not well do along the Shore, Sailing being there much more difficult and dangerous than it is further out at Sea. And *Herodotus* ſaith alſo, that *Necho* King of *Egypt* ſetting out from the *Red Sea*, ſail'd all round *Africa* as far as *Cadiz*, and ſo back again to *Egypt*. 'Tis agreed alſo that the Iſles of *Cape Verde* were peopled firſt by the *Phænicians*, from thence 'tis an eaſy Paſſage to *Braſile* in *America*; and the Manners, Language, Form of Body of the *Braſilians*, agrees with that of the *Autololes*, or Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands, who are *Getuli*, not *Ethiopes*. And now we are hereabouts, it may be proper to take notice of thoſe *Ethiopick* Negro's which *Peter Martyr* and *Gomara* tell us were found in the Region of *Careta* in *America*, if ſuch there are; who 'tis probable might get over from *Congo* in *Africa*, where, as *Lopez* ſaith, the Natives have had Ships of 200 Oars, as hath been before obſerved. *J. de Laet.* ſaith that *Tercera*, one of the *Azores*, lies almoſt in the Mid-way between *Spain* and *America*; wherefore the *Phænicians* might as well go from thence into *America*, as from *Spain* thither.

There are found alſo in *America* many Words, Civil and Religious Rites and Cuſtoms, which ſeem plainly to be of a *Punick* or *Phænician* Original; and tho' perhaps theſe ſingly taken may not be of weight enough to convince, yet in the whole they muſt be allowed to be of conſiderable force for the proving the Suppoſition we are now upon. *Hornius* thinks the Names of *Panama Puna* in *Peru*, and *Bunigando*, to be plainly *Punick*; as alſo *Pinoles*, the Names of the moſt antient People of *New Spain*. But certain it is there were many Words there found that are plainly *Phænician*; ſuch as *Abenamagos*, the Son of *Mago*; *Ben-ommian*, the Son of *Ommia*; the one an eminent *Carthaginian* Family, the latter an *Arabian* one. About the *Iſthmus of Darien*, as *Peter Martyr* and *Gomara* both ſay, there were the Words *Ab-raibas, Abibeibas* in uſe; and in *Jucatan, Ab-dola*; in *Guadalaira* there was found the Word *Bar-Cimeæ*; and in *Nixapa* they had *Balderoci*; in *Cumana, Beradochi*: And the three laſt *Indian* Kings in *Jamaica* were called *Beroica, Ben-Beroica*, and *Aben-Beroica*. There is alſo in many words a plain Derivation from the famous *Phænician* Word *Anak*; as in *Anakuz*, a famous *American* Prince in *Caribana*: and in *Paria*, the Word *Anaxerat*, as in *Aiti* or *Hiſpaniola*, they had at *Anakaone*.

And methinks 'tis very remarkable, that the Natives of *New England* ſhould call the *Septentriones, Mosk* and *Pankunaw*, which in their Language ſignified a *Bear*; for there being no reſemblance between the Figure of that Conſtellation, and that Animal, 'tis highly probable that they learnt to give it that Name from the *Phænicians*, who did call it ſo, and from whom all our Aſtronomy is originally derived, and moſt of the Names of the Conſtellations came.

Roger Williams.

There were alſo ſome *Phænician* Rites and Cuſtoms found in *America*; but Proceſs of time, and the Invaſion of the *Scythians*, who, as you will find below, overrun moſt Parts of *America*, did make great Confuſion and Intermixtures in things of that nature.

Thus there were found about *Manta, Tragaanacus*, and the Lake *Titicaca* in *Peru*, prodigiouſly large, ſplendid and excellently wrought Buildings of a round Form, and arched over like an Oven or Tent, exactly reſembling the old *Punick Mapalia*; and theſe were ſo antient, that they were built long before the Family of the *Inca* had the Government of *Peru*. Alſo in *Hiſpaniola* the Huts of the Natives were built, as *P. Martyr* tells us, of a Spherical Figure, of Wood, and in the Form of a Tent at the top.

Gomara tells us, that in the *Iſthmus* of *Panama* the dying Kings uſed to kiſs the Feet of their Succeſſors; which was an old *Phænician* Cuſtom. We find alſo from *Joſephus*, in his firſt Book againſt *Apion*, that the *Phænicians* uſed to cut or ſhave all Parts of their Head but only one Lock upon the Crown, which they uſed to tie up in a Knot; and juſt ſo did the *Nicaraguaians* and the *Jucataneſe* wear theirs. It hath been ſhewn above, that the firſt Inhabitants of the *Canary Iſlands*, were *Phænicians*; and there is a great Agreement between the *Canarians*, and the People of *Paria* and *Darien* in *America*, as to the preſerving the Bodies of the Dead, and hanging them up in their Houſes: And as 'twas the Cuſtom in the *Canaries* to give their Princes the firſt Night with every Bride, ſo was it alſo in *Nicaraguay*.

Hornius obſerves very well, that 'tis probable many *Egyptians* might go along with the *Phænicians* into *America*, as well as into *Greece*, &c. Now there are ſome odd *Egyptian* Cuſtoms which were found in *Peru* and *Nicaraguay*; as that the Husband ſhould ſpin, ſweep and waſh the Houſe, while the Wife did all the Buſineſs abroad; and that the former ſhould make water (*genubus inflexis*) the latter *Corpore erecto*. 'Tis well known that *Cham, Jupiter Hammon, Baal* or *Belus*, was the antient Deity of the *Phænicians*; of whoſe Name there is ſome Remains found in *Jucatan*, where they called one of their old Prophets *Chila-Cham-baal*. *Porphyry* cites *Sanchoniathon* to prove that the old *Phænicians* uſed to ſacrifice great Numbers of their Children to their Gods, and to uſe for a Form of Adoration, Kiſſing their Hands, cutting their Fleſh, and letting out their Blood: The two former of which Cuſtoms were common in *Peru* and *Jucatan*, and the latter was uſed in *Mexico* and *Nicaraguay*. *Euſebius* hath ſhewed from *Sanchoniathon*, that paying Divine Honour to ſuch departed Perſons as were famous for all Actions or Inventions, was an old *Phœnician* Cuſtom; and this the Inhabitants of *New England* had amongſt them.

And thus there ſeems to be many good Reaſons for ſuppoſing the old *Phœnicians* to have had very early a Knowledge of *America*; to have ſail'd frequently thither, and to have peopled a good part of it: But ſuch was either their Envy, Avarice, or deſign of retiring thither under the Preſſures of a War, *&c.* that they kept this Diſcovery as a great Secret: And the *Carthaginians* forbad all manner of Navigation thither, under moſt ſevere Penalties, and by a publick Edict (ſaith *Hornius*) excluded not only others, as the *Tyrrheni*, but alſo their own People, from ſailing into the *Atlantick* Ocean; which they could eaſily do, being Maſters of the Straits.

And this will help us to account why *America*, tho' ſo well known to the antient *Phœnicians*, ſhould be loſt to the Memory of their latter Succeſſors, and why the *Americans* ſhould loſe almoſt all Remembrance of their Original, and degenerate in many Places, into ſuch Barbarity and Wildneſs, as they were found to be in, on the *Spaniards* firſt Diſcovery of them.

But tho' the *Phœnicians* were thus the firſt People that went out of the *Mediterranean* into the *Atlantick*, and ſo into *America*, yet 'tis probable enough that the *Spaniards* might go thither afterward; for we learn from Hiſtory, that they ſent out Ships on purpoſe to make Diſcoveries in the *Atlantick* Ocean; *Plutarch* telling us, that *Sertorius* went out with that deſign. And *Laet* and *Hornius* ſeem to me to gueſs very reaſonably, that the *Spaniards* being haraſs'd and preſt with the *Punick* War, took the *Carthaginians* Ships, and *Hanno* for their Pilot and Captain, and ſought new Seats for themſelves in the Ocean. We have been told, that plain Remains of *Spaniſh* Ships have been found in the *Arabian* Gulph (and no doubt they might much eaſier go to *America* than thither) and *Strabo* ſaith that the *Spaniards* were antiently Pirates in the *Atlantick* Ocean: And it appears from the ſame Author in ſeveral Places, that the *Spaniards* about *Cales* had antiently great Ships, were very skilful in Navigation, and did more than once go round *Africa*, as *Laet* obſerves in his Anſwer to *Grotius*, *p.* 105. Wherefore when theſe were driven by the *Romans*, they might fly firſt to the *Canaries*, or other Iſlands in the *Atlantick*, and thence into *America*.

The *Nubian* Geographer tells us alſo, that ſome *Moors* were once fitted out from *Lisbon*, with Ships victualled for many Months, to make Diſcoveries in the *Dark Sea* (as the *Arabians* called the *Atlantick*) and after many days Sail having found ſome Iſlands, they were driven by a Storm back to *Africa*, and thence went home *re infectâ*. 'Tis probable alſo that ſome *Ethiopians* might go deſignedly, or be driven into *America*, not long before the Diſcovery of this new World by the *Spaniards*: For tho' ſome few Negro's were found in *America*; yet their Number was ſo ſmall, and themſelves confined to one Place, that 'tis very likely they could not have been there any conſiderable time before the *Spaniards* found them in *Braſile*.

There is alſo another Account of the Peopling of ſome part of *America* by an Expedition from *Wales*, which hath ſomething more than Gueſſes to authoriſe it, and is this. *Powell*, in his Hiſtory of *Wales*, ſaith, that *A.D.* 1170. *Owen Guinneth* being dead, and his Sons quarrelling and contending for the Government, which a Baſtard got from them; one of them, whoſe Name was *Madoc*, got proper Proviſions, *&c.* and ſought for new Regions in the Ocean; and that leaving *Spain* behind him, he bent his Courſe to the Weſtward, and ſo diſcovered a new World, where he found many wonderful things. This he came back and told to his People, mightily praiſing and extolling the Beauty and Fertility of the Place, which he found entirely uninhabited. After this he went with a great number of People of both Sexes thither again, and ſettled Plantations there; and returning home, he went a third time alſo with 10 Ships (as *Hackluit* ſaith) If this Account be true, as I ſee no reaſon to diſtruſt it, the Place *Madoc* went to muſt be *Virginia*, *New England*, or ſomewhere thereabouts. In confirmation of which *Peter Martyr* in *Decad.* 7. *cap.* 3. ſaith, that the *Virginians* and *Guatimallians* uſed to celebrate the Memory of one *Madoc*, as an antient and great Hero amongſt them: And in *Decad.* 8. *c.* 5. he makes mention of the Words *Matoc-Zunga* and *Mat-Inga*, as being in uſe among the *Guatimallians*, in which there is a plain Alluſion to *Madoc*, and that with the *D* ſoftned into *T*, according to the *Welch* way of Pronunciation. Now theſe *Welch*-men mingling with the barbarous *Chichimeca*, there might in [illegible] or [illegible] Years, their native Language, and almoſt every thing of their firſt Original be loſt amongſt People rude and uncultivated, and who perhaps knew nothing at all of Letters, or at leaſt of keeping an Account in Writing of their Annals and Tranſactions.

I proceed next to conſider another very eminent way by which *America* was peopled, and from whence 'tis probable it had far the greateſt part of its Inhabitants, and that is, from *Scythia*: And by *Scythia* I underſtand what the *Greeks* antiently called by that Name, *viz.* all that Tract of Land which lies Weſterly, Northerly and Eaſterly of the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Seas. The barbarous Inhabitants of this mighty Extent of Ground the Antients ſometimes called *Arimai*, as we learn from *Pliny*, from whence afterward the Word *Arimaſpi* was derived: And the *Perſians* called them all *Sacæ* from a neighbouring Nation of the *Scythians* of that Name, as indeed they were all called *Scythians* from a People of that Denomination ſituate at firſt in a little Place about *Araxes*, and who became very eminent for their Courage and Conqueſts; for they got into their Power and Poſſeſſion all the Country lying between Mount *Caucaſus*, the Ocean, *Palus Meotis*, and the River *Tanais*; and from theſe came the fierce People called *Pali*, *Napæ*, *Sacæ*, *Maſſagetæ*, *Arimaſpi*, &c. of which ſee *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 2. *Bibliothecæ*. Theſe *Scythians* after they had run over and filled all the Northern *Aſia*, you will ſee by and by, rambled in great Numbers into *America*, and that, by ways open enough (ſaith *Hornius*) both to the Weſt and Eaſt; but the latter was the eaſier: And accordingly it hath been obſerved, that *America* hath been much fuller of People in thoſe Parts of it which border on *Aſia*, than towards *Europe*. *Grotius* excepts againſt this Opinion of the *Scythians* Peopling *America*, becauſe no Horſes were found there at the firſt Diſcovery of it by the *Spaniards*; which yet the *Scythians* were always famous for the uſe of. But to this it may be anſwered, that the *Scythians*, when they came ſo far North, as to the Paſſage by which they went into *America*, would find their Horſes quite uſeleſs to them; neither indeed is it probable that they would live there: For on the Icy Ocean there are vaſt Numbers of *Scythians* (ſaith *Hornius*) which are derived from the *Hunns*, and other People which were famous for the uſe of Horſes, which yet now do entirely want them, being not able to uſe or to keep any there: And therefore inſtead of them they uſe their *Rangiferæ* or Rain Deer, and great Maſtiff Dogs: Which Cuſtom (to confirm what we are now advancing) is found in ſeveral Places of *America*. And 'tis remarkable that *Tacitus*, in his Book *de Moribus Germanorum*, at the end, ſaith that the *Fenni*, who certainly came from the *Sarmatæ*, *had no Horſes*; and 'tis very likely that Horſes will not live in ſuch cold Climates. *Grotius* alſo ſuppoſing that there is no Way by Land into *America*, objects that the *Scythians* were no *Navigators*, and ſo conſequently could not get thither. But that ſeems to be a Miſtake in Fact; for *Diodorus* mentions a Sea-fight between the *Amazons* (which were *Scythians*) and the *Atlantii*. The *Scotch*, whom *Cambden* proves to have a *Scythian* Original, ſailed firſt into *Ireland*, and then into *Caledonia*, in the Age of *Oroſius*: The *Heruuli*, whom *Zozimus* reckons among the *Scythians*, poſſeſt themſelves early of the *Thule*, as *Hornius* aſſerts. The Navigations of the *Ruſſians*, in the *Euxine*, are as eminent in the *Greek* Hiſtory, as thoſe they have made in the Northern Ocean are in ours. And *Hornius*, *lib.* 3. *p.* 142. *de Orig. Gent. Americ.* ſaith, that in the Eaſt, the *Tartars* had a Fleet of 15000 Ships between *Corcangui* and *Caigui*, where the River *Comoron* runs into the Sea; and this in the Time of their Emperor *Kublai*, and before their taking of *Mangi*, which is *China*. *Ludovicus Frois*, in his Account of *Japan*, ſaith that the *Japeneſes* relate of the *Jeza* or *Tartars*, that they ſail'd from the Continent to the Iſland of *Mateumai*, which is 15000 Paces from the Kingdom of *Legeran* in *Japan*. And to put this Matter into a clearer Light, we learn from *Thuanus*, *lib.* 67. both the manner of Navigation uſed by the *Tartars*, and why they carried no Horſes with them: *When in their Rambles they come to an Arm of the Sea, or a Strait, they kill* (ſaith he) *their worſt Horſes (perhaps now render'd uſeleſs) and with their Skins turned the wrong Side outward, and their Ribs inſtead of Timber, they make Boats, which they ſow together with their Horſes Hair, large enough to hold* 8 *Men a-piece, and ſo they paſs over.* Now why they might not go into *America*, if there be a Paſſage for them, as it will appear below that there is, no good Reaſon can be aſſign'd.

And as the Nations very far North uſed not Horſes, which by reaſon of the Cold will not live there; ſo neither had they much knowledge of the uſe of Iron:

For *Tacitus* ſaith of the *Fenni*, in his Book of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Germans*, that they *for want of Iron uſed to head their Arrows with Bones*, as is practiſed in many Places of *America*, who ſeem to have had but little knowledge of that Metal, becauſe they were peopled in a great meaſure by ſuch Nations as had it not in uſe, as ſeveral of the *Scythian* Nations had not: For *Strabo* ſaith of the *Meſſagetæ*, that they uſed Brazen Weapons of War, becauſe there was but very little Iron amongſt them; and the very ſame Cuſtom was found in *America*, where there was but very little Iron uſed, but all their Weapons were uſually made of Braſs But that they were perfectly ignorant of the uſe of Iron, is a great Miſtake, tho' *Peter Martyr* too raſhly ſaith it; for *Acoſta* mentions an Iron Cage, which the *Mexicans* uſed to put Offenders in; and the *Paraguayans* uſed Pieces of Iron for Mony: And *J. de Laet* ſpeaking of the *Peruvians*, ſaith, that they were in a great meaſure, but not entirely ignorant of the uſe of Iron.

Hornius ſhews that there were three Nations of the antient *Scythians* which went into *America*, the *Hunni*, the *Kithæ*, and the *Sinæ*. The *Hunni* were a very large People, containing the *Alani*, *Ungri*, *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Fenni*, *Lucumores*, *Tingeſii*, with many other barbarous Nations inhabiting the Shores of the Icy Sea, as we learn from the Words of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. And yet plainer ſpeaks *Rubruquis*, as I find him cited by *Hornius*: *Trans Volgam*, &c. “ Beyond the *Volga*, towards “ the North, there is a Region called *Paſcatir*, from “ whence the *Hunni* and *Hungari* took their Original, “ and the Language of the *Hungari* is the ſame with “ that of *Paſcatir*.

Hornius aſſigns two Cauſes for the *Scythians* rambling into *America*, their numerous People, and their conſtant Wars: For the Vanquiſhed, or the weaker People, who could not make head againſt them, always fled as far as they could out of the way, leſt they ſhould be eaten by the Conquerors; for the *Scythians* uſed to eat their Enemies: The antient *Scythians* were alſo mighty Hunters, and Purſuers of wild Beaſts. *Bonfinius* ſaith, this brought the *Hunni* out of the interior *Aſia* into *Europe*; and therefore the Flight of the wild Beaſts, if there was Way paſſable for them (of which hereafter) might eaſily draw the *Scythian* Hunters after them into *America*. The *Scythians* alſo never had any fixed Place of Settlement or Abode, but changed their Camps, as the Seaſon of the Year, Game, Water or Woods invited them, never ſtaying long in a Place, but continually ſeeking new Habitations and new Regions to hunt in. Therefore on ſome preſſing occaſion, they might travel either over ſome ſmall Strait, after the manner above deſcribed, or over the Ice into *America*: As to which latter way, it may receive ſome confirmation from what *Rubriquis* ſaith of the *Tartars*, that they uſe to invade, in the Winter, the Iſlanders called *Tautæ* and *Manſæ* in the *Frozen Sea*, up above *Tartary*, getting over to them upon the Ice: And the ſame Practice, *Olaus* ſaith, was in uſe amongſt the antient *Sueci*.

Hornius thinks 'tis not difficult to gueſs at the time in which theſe *Scythians* and *Huns* went into *America*; and to be ſure it was much later than the Voyages of the *Phœnicians* thither above-mentioned, becauſe the Northern Parts of *America*, which theſe *Scythians* peopled, were much thinner of Inhabitants than the Southern Regions: And indeed 'tis likely no Perſons would have taken to ſuch a cold Climate, unleſs driven by Wars, and forced by Neceſſity: And ſuch a Neceſſity did fall upon many of the People of the Northern Parts of the World about the Year of Chriſt 400, in which the Affairs of the North were in the utmoſt confuſion, and they were ſo over-ſtockt with People, that they rambled almoſt all manner of ways; and then 'tis probable thoſe that were neareſt to thoſe Parts were driven into *America*. And this receives a good Confirmation from the Account the *Americans* gave of the *Chichimecæ*, a barbarous People, who in their Hunting and Rambling kind of Life, and many Cuſtoms beſides, were mighty like to the old *Scythians*; for theſe People, they ſaid, came into *Mexico* about the Year 700 after Chriſt, according to our way of Accounting. So that if they went from our World in the Year 400, they might people the Northern Parts of *America* tolerably well in 300 Years, after that thin rate that the *Spaniards* found them inhabited: For *Purchas* tells us, that all *Virginia*, *New-England*, and all the Countries up to the Pole, had not ſo many People as there were then in *London*.

So that this ſecond Peopling of *America* by the *Scythian Hunns*, is tolerably well determined to be about the Year of Chriſt 400.

And this probably was effected two ways, both Eaſtward and Weſtward, and that either by *Land*, the Continents there joining, or elſe over but *Narrow Straits* of the Sea. Thoſe that went to the Weſtward, might go firſt to the Banks of the River *Oby*, and ſo to the Shore of the *Frozen Sea*, up towards *Nova Zembla*. This Part of the World the *Nubian* Geographer, and *M. Paulus Venetus* call the *Regions of Darkneſs*; and you will find theſe Names given to the People that inhabit there: The *Calami*, *Tingeſii*, *Oſtachii*, *Molgzomii*, *Serpanoutzi*, *Lucumores*, *Gruſtini*, *Vogulitzæ*, *Samojedi*, *Papinæi*, *Premskii*, *Obdoræ*, *Condoræ*, *Loppi*, *Fenni*, *Caroli*, &c. The three laſt of theſe People inhabited the utmoſt Parts of *Scandia* as far as the Promontory of *Rubea*, now called *Noordkyn*. This is the Eaſtern *Lapland*, which the *Swedes* call *Trennes*, others *Biarmia*; and the general Name for all the *Finni* and *Laplanders* is *Skidfinni*, from their wearing Wooden Shoes, which the *Swedes* call *Skidh*. Theſe *Finlanders* and *Laplanders* going ſtill farther North, came at laſt to *Nova Zembla*, and ſo, as ſome ſay, into *Greenland*: For *Linſcotius* ſaith, that in the Months *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, theſe People uſed to frequent thoſe Places for the ſake of Hunting, and for the Fertility of the Soil, and the Pleaſantneſs of the Place at that time of the Year. In *Nova Zembla*, *Groenland*, and the neighbouring Iſlands, *Pomp. Mela*, and others of the Antients, place the *Hunni* and *Fenni*, or *Faneſii*. From *Nova Zembla* and *Lapland* there is but a ſhort Paſſage to *Groenland* (about 4 days Sail) there being many Iſlands interſperſed in the way, which are eaſily paſſed to by ſuch Boats, or *Canoes*, as are now uſed in *Groenland*, &c. and probably are all, in the Winter, approachable on the Ice. Nor was this Part of the World unknown to the Antients, for the moſt antient Geographers called that Sea which lies beyond the Promontory of *Rubea* and *Scandia*, by the Name of *Cronium*, from an adjacent Iſland which they called *Cronia*, or the Iſle of *Saturn*, and ſometimes *Ogygia*, and which was very probably *Groenland*: And their *Ultima Thule* was certainly *Iſland*; becauſe *Strabo* ſaith expreſly, *that* Thule *was ſix days Sail Northward from* Britain; which cannot agree with *Shetland*, or any other Pretender to that Name. *Groenland* therefore was not ſo named from its green Appearance, but from its antient Name *Cronion*: And that it was inhabited when the *Norwayans* firſt diſcovered it, is plain from there being found there now People of Shape, Colour and Manner of Life vaſtly different from the *Norwayans*; but exactly like the old *Scythians*, *Tartars*, *Laplanders*, and Northern *Americans*. And we find in *Purchas* one *Ivorus Boty*, a *Groenlander* by Birth, but of *Norwayan* Parents, who giving a Deſcription of this Place, ſaith, that in the Weſtern Parts of *Groenland* there are a very potent People, who are Enemies to the *Norwayans*, and which are called *Screlingers*, and who are of a Yellow or Olive Colour, and continually are rambling, for the ſake of Hunting, Fiſhing and Fowling. *Martin Forbiſher*, about the *Straits* that bear his Name, found Men with broad Faces, flat Noſes, large Noſtrils, long black Hair, and of an Olive Colour; and others deſcribe them as having none or very thin Beards, and in Form juſt like the *Samojeds* or *Tartars*: And ſuch have been the People that have been brought to our Parts of the World from thence. In the moſt Northern Parts therefore of *Tartary*, *Nova Zembla*, *Lapland*, *Groenland* and *America*, there being found Men of the ſame Shape, Form, Colour, way of Life, Manners and Cuſtoms; 'tis very likely that they are all of the ſame Original, and that the Northern Parts of *America* were peopled by the *Hunni*, or *Scythians*, this way. The Animals that are found in theſe Places are alike too: in all vaſt Numbers of white Bears that feed on Fiſh; and 'tis highly probable that theſe came out of *Groenland* into *America*, becauſe in the Southern Parts of *America*, about the *Terra Magellanica*, there are none ever found. *Arngrimus* maintains alſo againſt *Blefkenius*, as I find him cited by *Hornius*,, that in *Iſland* there are no Bears but what come over from *Groenland* on the Ice; and that thoſe Creatures uſe to travel a great way on the Ice, and ſail on Pieces of it, the Navigators into theſe Northern Parts do aſſure us. *Leſcarbotus* thinks it probable that the Elks come into *Canada*, the *Terra de Labrador*, &c. from the Northern Parts of *Europe*, ſwimming over a-croſs ſome Strait or Arm of the Northern Sea. And there is one *Bibaldus Pirkhaimerus*, a *German* Writer mentioned by *Hornius*, who aſſerts, that “ there come into *Groenland* “ uſually from the Northern *Terra Incognita*, and the “ *Frozen Sea*, certain ſavage and barbarous Men called “ *Caroli*, in great Numbers, for the ſake of Trade and “ Merchandizing; and that 'tis there taken for granted, “ that they come from the other ſide of the North Pole. But *Hornius* thinks, that tho' *Groenland* be certainly a

Part of the *American* Continent; yet that theſe People went thither rather over the Ice, from *Tartary*, &c. when the Sea was frozen up, than round about by the Pole, of which Parts we do indeed know nothing certain at all.

Grotius is of the opinion that the Northern *America* was peopled much after the way we have been now deſcribing, but from another Original: He will have the *Norwayans* to go firſt to *Iſland*, thence into *Groenland*, and after this into *Frieſland* and *Eſtotiland*, that is, at laſt into *America*, becauſe he makes thoſe two Places to be part of the *American* Continent. But as *Laet* and *Hornius* ſhew, this Opinion is improbable in theſe reſpects: 1. Becauſe 'tis unlikely the *Iſlanders* ſhould not tranſport Horſes and Kine along with them into *Groenland*, and ſo into *America*; and yet none were found any where in *America* at its firſt Diſcovery. 2. 'Tis ſtrange alſo and unaccountable how the *Norwayan* Language ſhould come to be quite loſt both in *Groenland* and *America*, and yet retained in *Iſland*. But 3. Chronology will not allow of it; for the *Spaniards* found that the *Americans* had a firm Tradition that the *Chichimeca* came to the Lake of *Mexico* before the Year of our Lord 720; whereas *Iſland* was not inhabited till about the Year 879; and the *Norwayans* did not get from thence to *Groenland* till *A.D.* 984. Beſides, there was not found in *America* any *European* Corn, which ſure the *Norwayans* would have carried with them; as they would alſo their Vice of hard Drinking, which we find the *Mexicans* abhored, and puniſhed Drunkenneſs ſeverely.

However *Hornius* allows, that ſome *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Norwayans* might get into *America*: For *Ivorus Booty* and *Arngrimus* give an Account of ſome Colonies going into *Groenland* from *Iſland*; but theſe were but a few, and were ſettled only juſt upon the Coaſt, and in all probability did not go up far into the Country, nor people *Groenland*, but by ſome Caſualty or other were loſt or deſtroyed; and perhaps this way: *Iſacius Pontanus*, in his Hiſtory of the *Danes*, ſaith, that *Helgeland*, *Weſtenore*, *Iſland*, *Feroa*, *Findmark*, and *Groenland*, did antiently belong to the King and Queen of *Denmark*, and were only frequented by the *Daniſh* Fleet. But this *annual* Navigation thither was at laſt omitted for two Reaſons: 1. Becauſe in the Year of Chriſt 1348. there was a terrible Plague, which raged almoſt every where, and near exhauſted *Denmark*; ſo that there was no yearly Navigation to *Groenland* as uſually. 2. And that in his Time the Ice lay in ſuch vaſt Quantities and Heaps in the way, that there was ſcarcely any entring into the Ports of *Groenland*: So that the People of *Norway*, *Denmark*, or from whatever Northern Parts of *Germany* they came, who went to *Groenland*, were either ſtarved, or deſtroyed by the Natives.

For a further Confirmation of this *Scythian* Peopling of *America* by a Weſtern Expedition, 'tis worth obſerving what *George Fournier* ſaith, *viz.* That 'tis certain many People come yearly from *Nova Zembla*, by the *Frozen Sea* and the Iſland of *Vaigaſt*, into *Muſcovy*, that they may traffick with the *Samojeds* and *Tartars*; and therefore (ſaith he) we need not doubt but that People might antiently go that way into *America*; for here *Europe* and *Aſia* are ſeparated only from *Nova Zembla* in *America*, by a little Strait. To which alſo may be added what *Vaſquez de Coronado* and *Martin Forbiſher* ſay of their own knowledge, that in *Groenland*, and above *Cibola*, the People uſe Dogs inſtead of Horſes, as 'tis well known the *Siberi* of *Ruſſia*, and all the *Finlanders* and *Laplanders* upon the *Frozen Sea* uſed to do, as *Paulus Venetus* tells us. But I rather think theſe Dogs are in reality the *Rain Deer*, becauſe the Antients call them *Cervi*, and ſay there were a kind of *Scythians* who uſed to ride on Stags.

As theſe *Hunns* and *Scythians* went into and peopled *America* by the Weſt; ſo a far greater Number, we will ſhew you, went thither by the Eaſt; where the Paſſage is ſhorter and eaſier, and the Regions fuller of People. And this way the Animals found in *America*, ſeem to have gone; for all that New World almoſt, but eſpecially the Northern Parts, was full of Deer, Lions and Tygers: And there being none of theſe Creatures found in *Groenland* (nor the *Terra Magellanica*) 'tis more than probable they got into it by an Eaſtern Paſſage. Now we learn from *Solinus*, that as *Scythia* abounded with no Animals more than Deer, ſo many of them uſed to ſwim a-croſs a Part or Arm of the Sea. *Am. Marcellinus* tells us of prodigious Numbers of Tygers in *Hyrcania*; and *P. Venetus* ſaith, that all over *Tartary* there were Lions, Bears and Deer: And we learn from *Pliny*, that there was a vaſt Variety, as well as Multitude, of wild Beaſts in the great *Tartarian* Deſerts, and that the Country in many Places was render'd a Deſert by thoſe Beaſts. 'Tis not therefore an unreaſonable Suppoſition, that in theſe mighty Wilds and Forreſts of *Ruſſia* and *Tartary*, there may be many ſtrange *Species* of wild Beaſts unknown to us; (for we ſee we have new Creatures brought to us every day, and ſhewn about as ſtrange Sights) and why may we not then with equal reaſon ſuppoſe, that thoſe ſtrange Beaſts and Birds which *America* abounds with, might come from hence, and by this Eaſtern Paſſage get thither?

And as to Birds, we learn from *Paulus Venetus*, that there is a great Variety and Quantity of them in *Tartary*. That *Aſia* and *America* are here divided by a *Strait*, and not connected by Land, *Hornius* thinks very probable from what the *Dutch* have obſerved in their Navigations to *Nova Zembla*, &c. for in the Straits of *Naſſaw* they found a double Tide, or a meeting of two Tides, one of which ſet to the Eaſtward, and the other to the Weſtward, as it hath been obſerved to be in the *Magellanick* Straits, the *Baltick*, and as it is in our Channel; and when they were paſt *Waigatz*, they found another Salt and blue Sea. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and the *Nubian* Geographer, all ſay that *Aſia* is encompaſſed round with the Ocean in theſe North Eaſtern Parts; and *Rubruquis*, *Paulus Venetus*, *Planccarpus*, and *Vincentius*, all agree in the ſame thing, making no mention of any *Iſthmus*; only they ſay there are Iſlands beyond it, whither the *Tartarians* get upon the Ice: And *Rubruquis* ſaith, the Names of the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands are *Tautæ* and *Manſæ*. How far the *Tartarian* Capes ſtretch out to the Northward, is not yet exactly determined, but *Hornius* computes it to be to the 70th Degree of Latitude, and our late Maps have made it 3 or 4 Degrees yet more North: And the King of *Sweden*'s Mathematicians found N*orkum*, or the North Cape of *Lapland*, to lie in 72 deg. 30 min. *Paulus Venetus* ſaith, that 'twas uſual to ſail from the Continent of *Barga* to the Iſles in the *Frozen Sea*; Why not alſo into *America*? which cannot be far from thence.

And that antiently there was good reaſon why the Borderers upon the Frozen Sea ſhould endeavour to get into *America*, if they could, or truſt themſelves to the Ocean to ſeek out new Habitations, *Pliny* acquaints us, when he tells us, *ab Anthropagis Scythis omnia deſerta fuiſſe uſque ad Tabin, quod ejus Gentis Ferociam ſuſtinere nemo poſſet*: That is, the *Scythian* Man-Eaters, or *Cannibals*, made all the Country thereabouts deſert, as far as *Tabis*; becauſe no body could ſuſtain the Brutal Cruelty of thoſe People. Some therefore they killed and eat; others (which no doubt were many) they drove into the Sea, into the adjoining Iſlands, and into *America*.

And thus *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates the Matter: "The Man-Eaters, ſaith he, made all things Deſert "where they came; all their neighbouring People flying "before them, and ſeeking new Habitations as far out "of their way as they could get. Who thoſe People were that were thus driven into *America* at this time, 'tis hard to determine now; but there ſeems, as *Hornius* thinks, to be the Remains of two old Names in *America* that may give ſome light into this matter: About *Florida* were a People called *Apalatci* and *Apalcheni*, which he thinks are the Remainders of the *Apalæi* mentioned by *Solinus*, and whom he joins with the *Maſſagetæ*; of which laſt Word the *Mazatecæ*, one of the four old Nations of *New Spain*, and the *Maſſachaſetæ* in *New England*, ſeem to be plain Derivitives. The other Name is *Tambi*, a very antient People in *Peru*, and whom *Hornius* thinks came from the *Tabieni* of *Ptolomy*, and who gave Name to the Promontory *Tabis*.

Hornius thinks alſo that there was a ſecond Ramble into *America* by the Eaſt, which tho' later than the former above-mentioned, yet was very numerous and famous: For the *Hunni*, *Alani*, *Avares*, *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Mogoles*, *Parthi*, &c. and many other Nations, of which there is frequent mention in the antient Geography, did then go into that new World.

The *Hunni* were a very barbarous People, and were placed firſt of all in the fartheſt Part of *Aſia* next the Sea, where there are the Names of *Cunad* and *Ung*, People bordering upon the *Mogoles*; and that the *Cunadani* were the ſame with the *Hunni*, is plain, becauſe they call themſelves *Mogoles*, and that in *Hungaria* it ſelf. Theſe *Hunni*, *Cuni*, *Cunchi*, *Cunadi*, *Hornius* thinks, peopled and gave Name to *Canada* in *America*; and indeed *Canadi* is eaſily derived from *Cunadi*: And ſince in *Vincentinus* his *Speculum Hiſtoriarum* there is mention made of the *Huyrones*, a Nation adjoining to the *Mogoles*, he ſuppoſes with great probability, that from them came the *Hurons*, a Nation of *America*, not far from *Canada*.

Theſe *Chuni* or *Hunni* going into *America* with their Neighbours the *Alani*, might give the mix'd Name of *Chonsuli* to the People about *Nicaragua*; and in *Peru* there were found ſome that called themſelves *Tallanes*. The *Ingæ* were an antient and eminent Nation in *America*, whoſe Name came very probably from the *Ungæ*, among the *Tartars*. The old *Parthi* being driven by the *Scythians*, rambled into almoſt all Parts: There is mention made of ſome of them in *Macedonia* by *Strabo*, *Stephanus* and *Pliny*; but the far greateſt part travell'd into the Deſerts of *Hyrcania*, *Daha*, *Aria*, *Margia*, &c. where at laſt they were called *Parſi*; and from hence doubtleſs came the Name of *Perſæ*, which in the Book of *Daniel* are called *Paras* and *Pharſi*: And ſince we find mention in *Strabo* of the *Parii*, an antient Nation among the *Scythians*, the ſame with the *Parthi* and *Parſi*; 'tis very probable the Region of *Paria* in *America* took its Name from, and was peopled by the old *Scythian Parii*. When alſo we find in *Herodotus* an antient *Scythian* People called *Napæ*, and another *Pali*, we may fairly conjecture that the *Nepi* in the Iſland *Trinidada* came from the former, and the *Otapali* in *Florida* from the latter.

The antient *Turcæ*, called by the *Greeks Tauri* and *Tauriſci*, ſpread themſelves largely in many Parts of the World: Theſe being ſeated at firſt about the *Caſpian* Sea, might with their Neighbours the *Tartars* go over into *America*. *Herodotus* calls them *Iyrcæ*; and ſo *Hornius* thinks *Strabo* ſhould be corrected in his Eleventh Book, where he ſaith the *Iyrcæ* (not the *Cyrcii*, as the Vulgar Text hath) were Neighbours to the *Tapyri*. From theſe antient *Iyrcæ* 'tis likely the *Iroquoi* of *America* might come, and the *Souriquoi* too, if what *Leunclavius* tells be true, that the *Hyrcani*, which came from theſe antient *Iyrcæ*, are called in their own Language *Tzuruki*. To which may be added, that the *Mexicans* called God *Teu*, which *Nicephorus* ſaith was the Name for the Deity among the *Turcæ*; and in *Mexico* a Mountain was called *Tepec*, which the old *Turcæ* called *Tepe*.

The *Tartars* were a very antient *Scythian* People, and of theſe *Rubruquis* ſaith the true Name was *Moales*, and that they would be called ſo, and not *Tartari* or *Tatari*, becauſe *Cingis Can* was of the Nation of *Moal*. Theſe *Moales* are the ſame with the *Mogoles*, and of theſe there is plain Remains in *America*: In *Cinaloa* there are a People called *Tamogali*; and about the *Rio de la Plata*, a People called expreſly *Mogoles*. The adjoining Provinces to the *Mogoles* in *Aſia* are *Cotan*, *Baita*, and *Tangur*. Now in *America* you have almoſt thoſe very Words: In *St. Martha* was a Place called *Coto*, and in *Chili* one called *Coton*, and *Paita* in *Peru* ſeems plainly to come from *Baita*: In *Peru* alſo is a Place called by the *Americans*, *Tangora*, and another *Tangarala*. *Hornius* alſo gives many Inſtances of the Names of Towns and Cities in *America* agreeing with thoſe of *Tartary*: And he urges it as a very conſiderable Argument, that the *Tartars* peopled *Mexico* and the adjoining Part of *America*, that ſo many *Mexican* Words end in *an*, as the Names of Places there generally do; ſuch as *Teutitlan*, *Coatlan*, *Hazatlan*, *Quezatlan*, *Petutlan*, *Tenouitlan*, *Ezapan*, &c. For *an* is a mighty common Termination for the Names of Places amongſt the *Tartars*, and the Inhabitants of thoſe Eaſtern Parts of the World. And as many Proper Names among the *Huns*, *Scythians*, &c. uſed to begin with the Particle *Al*; ſo they are obſerved to do in *Jucatan*, and the adjoining Parts of *North America*. In the preceding Age there was an *American* King reigned in *Quivira*, whoſe Name was *Tatarax*; in which as there is plainly the Word *Tatar* or *Tartar*; ſo there is the Particle *ax*; which was frequently added to the Names of their Princes among the old *Turks* and *Tartars*: And this we find often done alſo in *America*, where the Names of *Stalderax*, *Almorax*, *Mereb-ax* and *Naguatax* have been given to their Princes. An antient Name in the Kingdom of *Mexico* was *Atzlan*, ſaith *Hornius*, which is purely *Turkiſh*, one *Atzlan-beg* being Prince of *Caraſina* in *Natolia* about the Year of Chriſt M.CCC. The Founder of the *Peruvian* Empire was one *Mango*, as the *Americans* ſay; which is a very common Name among the *Tartars*, whoſe 4th Emperor was a *Mango*: So that there is both in the Names of Places and of Perſons, plain Remains of the Old *Scythians*, *Hunni*, *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Mogoles*, &c. in ſeveral Places of *America*.

In the laſt place let us conſider the Manners and Cuſtoms of theſe *Scythians*, *Huns* and *Tartars*, and compare them with thoſe of the *Americans*, from whence a further Light will be given to their Original. *Tacitus* at the End of his Book *de Moribus Germanorum*, gives this Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the antient *Fenni*: *Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas, non Arma, non* EQUI, *non Penates; Victui Herbæ, Veſtitui Pelles, Cubile Humus, ſola in Sagittis ſpes, quas inopia Ferri, Oſſibus aſperant. Idemq; Venatus Viros pariter ac Feminas alit: Paſſim enim comitantur, partemq; Prædæ petunt,* Nec *aliud Infantibus Ferarum imbriumq; ſuffugium, quam ut in aliquo Ramorum nexu contegantur. Huc redeunt Juvenes, hoc Senum receptaculum. Id beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, ſuas alienaſq; Fortunas ſpe metuq; vertere; ſecuri adverſus Homines, ſecuri adverſus Deos, rem difficilimam aſſecuti ſunt, ut illis ne Voto quidem opus ſit.*

And much the ſame Account *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives of the old *Hunni*; adding that they have no Beards, even in Old Age, that they are a thick ſtrong ſhort ſort of People, and very deformed. Both which Deſcriptions do agree ſo exactly with the *Chichimecæ*, *Pilcoſones* and *Cheriguanæ* in *North America*, and with the *Braſilians* in the *South*, that one would think they were deſign'd on purpoſe for them: For there is no Part of the World that ever had any thing like the Barbarity of thoſe *Americans*, but the *Scythian Nomades*; nor were there *Anthrophagi*, *Cannibals*, or Man Eaters, any where, but amongſt theſe *Scythians* and the *Americans*: Which I think is a very conſiderable Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that theſe Inhabitants of the New World, which were thus unnaturally barbarous, muſt be derived from thoſe Parts of the Old, where only ſuch abominable things were cuſtomary. *Paulus Venetus*, *Vincentius*, and *Planocarpus*, deſcribe the Old *Tartars* to be of mean Stature, broad flat Faces, with little or no Beards, and that they eat their Enemies taken in War. And indeed the *Scythian* Cuſtoms prevail in many Places of *America*, ſuch as many Wives to one Man, eating their Enemies, and ſticking their Heads upon Poles, painting their Bodies, continual Hunting and changing their Places of Abode, like the old *Nomades*. *Paulus Venetus* ſaith, that in *Cangigu* the *Scythians* uſed to paint their Faces and Bodies with the Images of Birds, Beaſts, Dragons, *&c.* ſo that they could not be waſh'd out: And we find by Prince *Ieoli*, whom Capt. *Dampier* brought from *Mindanao*, tho' he was born at *Meangis*, that this Painting was in uſe alſo in the Eaſtern Iſlands. Now the People of *Virginia* and *Florida* in *America* were found thus painted when *America* was firſt diſcovered. And as *Herodotus* ſaith of the *Scythians*, that they uſed to carry always about them a part of one of their Enemies Skins, ſo did the *Hurons* and *Floridans*; and who ſometimes flawed them, and made Mantles of their Enemies Skins. The ſame *Herodotus* and *Strabo* both ſay, that tho' Polygamy were uſual amongſt the *Scythians*, yet there was one Nation of them, *viz.* the *Maſſagetæ*, which were content with one Wife: And ſo likewiſe in *America* the *Mazatecæ*, a Name not much unlike the *Meſſagetæ*, with the *Pinoles*, the *Otomies*, and the *Chichimecæ*, four of the moſt antient *American* Nations, kept to one Wife. The *Scythians*, and in particular the *Maſſagetæ*, uſed to kill thoſe that they thought were deſperately and incurably ill, to put them out of their Pain; which Cuſtom was found among the wild *Canadans* in *America*. The *Parthi*, an antient *Scythian* People, uſed to expoſe dying Perſons in the open Fields, to be devoured by the wild Beaſts and Birds; and ſo, from them, did the *Perſæ*, *Gaſpii*, and *Hyrcani*, do the ſame thing; as alſo the *Tebetenſes* in *Cathay*: (ſaith *Hornius*) and this odd Cuſtom was found practiſed in the *Terra Firma* of *America*. The Eating of dead Relations was an unaccountable and abominable Cuſtom; and *Strabo* tells us, that this was uſed by the *Maſſagetæ* and *Derbices*; and no doubt from thoſe barbarous *Scythians* it paſt into *America*; for we find it was practiſed by the People of *Venezuela*, and the *Chirihuani*, a Nation beyond the *Andes* in *Peru*, as *Garcilaſſo* tells us. 'Twas a known Cuſtom alſo among the Old *Scythians*, to place at the Sepulchers of their Dead, Meat, Drink, Arms and Mony; and this was alſo in uſe amongſt the *Americans*. And as the *Scythians* uſed to let out their Blood, and cut themſelves with Lances, when they made a League or ſolemn Covenant; and ſometimes alſo to teſtify their joyful Reception of any Perſon: So did the *Jucatanſes* and the People of *New Albion*. And that very odd Cuſtom which the *Scythians* about *Tebet* had, of giving their Brides to be firſt enjoyed by another, was found amongſt the Inhabitants of *Nicaragua* in *America*. The *Inga* or *Peruvian* Princes, uſed Diadems or *Turbants* of various coloured Cloth, wound 4 or 5 times round their Heads; were very rarely ſeen by their Subjects; made them fall proſtrate before them: All which were Cuſtoms uſed by the *Scythians* and *Tartars*. When any King or Prince died, the *Mexicans*, *Peruvians*, *Floridans*, *Canadans*, *Darienſes*, &c. uſed to ſlay a certain number of his Slaves, Domeſticks, Captives, *&c.*

that they might attend him and wait upon him in the other World; which every one knows was practiſed by the *Tartars*. And the *Americans* alſo did not burn, but bury their Dead, as the antient *Tartars* uſed to do. The *Braſilians* in particular, by 3 ſorts of very odd Cuſtoms, ſhew that they came originally from the *Tartars*: For firſt they ſhaved their Heads on the top like Monks, as *Vincentius* tells us the Old *Tartars* uſed to do. 2. The Manner of their eating their Enemies, uſed by the *Braſilians* was the ſame with that of the *Tartars*; for both did it *in Terrorem*, called all the Neighbourhood together; then ſolemnly ſlew the Captives, and boiling or roaſting them, deliver'd Pieces of them about to every one preſent, to excite his Hatred and Rage againſt thoſe with whom they were at War. 3. In *Braſile* the Child-Wife, as ſoon as ever ſhe was brought to Bed, uſed to riſe and go about her Buſineſs, and take care of the Family Affairs, as if ſhe had not been delivered of any Child at all; when inſtead of her, the Husband gets himſelf into Bed, pretends to feel Pains, to be weak and out of order, and to be got well again gradually by gentle and nouriſhing Phyſick. Now this ridiculous Whim, *Paulus Venetus* ſaith, was practiſed among the *Arcladani* in the extream Parts of *Tartary*, as well as in ſome other Parts of the World; as we find by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Flaccus* in his *Argonauticks*.

The *Americans* have been very famous for their wearing of Feathers, the reaſon of which ſeems to have been, the vaſt Variety of beautiful Birds which the New World affords: And this was a very antient Cuſtom amongſt the Old *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Garamantes* and *Lycii*; as is plain from *Herodotus* and other antient Writers.

That particular Puniſhment for Theft, which *Oviedo* and *Gomora* tell us the Old *Aitanians*, or the Inhabitants of *Hiſpaniola* uſed, which was impaling them alive, was alſo of very antient uſe among the *Turcæ*, *Tartari* and *Perſæ*. And that cruel out-of-the-way Trick, which the *Groenlanders*, *Cinaloenſes*, and *Nicaraguani*, were found to play with their Children, of cutting and ſlaſhing their Cheeks into great Gaſhes, when they were very young, was practiſed alſo frequently among the *Hunni*: And they are ſaid to have done it, to render their Males beardleſs. Now all *America* is beardleſs, but three Nations: And *Vincentius* and *P. Venetus* obſerve alſo, that the *Tartars* have none at all, or but very thin Beards.

The Food alſo of the *Americans* correſponds with that of the *Tartars*, their Bread being *Maize*, and their Drink *Chica*; which latter, ſaith *Hornius*, is a ſort of Broth made of Pulſe, which they drink hot; and this was certainly the chief Diet of the *Turcæ* and *Tartari*: But this *Maize* and *Chica* is uſed no where in the World but in *Aſia* and *Scythia*: and as *Acoſta* obſerves, the *Maize* is called *Frumentum Turcicum*. Tho' alſo *America* abounds with Vines, yet they never had any Wine there, any more than in *Tartary* or *China* formerly, whatever they may have now.

'Twere endleſs to mention all the particular Cuſtoms in which the *Americans* do plainly agree with theſe antient *Scythians*; but I think theſe I have enumerated may render their Original (in part) from *Scythia* very probable; eſpecially if to theſe we add, in the laſt Place, their Religious Rites and Obſervations. The *Americans* worſhip the Sun and the Fire, and in *Mexico* there was a perpetual Fire kept in the Temple; and thoſe Deities were worſhipped by the *Scythians*, *Turcæ* and *Tartari*. And this is very remarkable, which is taken notice of by *Hornius de Originibus Gent. Americanarum, lib. 3. p. 216.* That the *Obdoræ* and *Condoræ* worſhip an Idol called *Zlotta-baba*, which was of Stone in a Womans ſhape, and ſituate on the Banks of the River *Obi*; to this they uſed to ſacrifice Animals, and to beſmear all the Parts of the Idol with their Blood. Now of this Image there are two plain Remains in *America*: At *Pipeles* in *Guahutimalla* there was a Stone Image worſhipped in the Form of a Woman; and in the *Iſthmus* of *Darien* there was a Female Deity, which they called *Da-Baiba*, to which they paid mighty Honours and Worſhip; and here there is ſome Agreement in the Names of *Zlotta-Baba* and *Da-Baiba*. To their Deities the *Americans* uſed to offer the Hearts of Human and of other Sacrifices, as we find was the uſual Cuſtom in *Mexico*; and this alſo was the Practice among the *Tartars*. And thus much for the Peopling of *America* from the North Eaſtern Parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*, from the Country of the antient *Hunni*, *Tartari*, and other *Scythians*; in which there are ſo many things deducing the Origine of part of the *Americans* from theſe barbarous People, that when it is laid all together, and duly conſidered, it amounts to a fair degree of probability; and farther than that we cannot pretend to go, there being no way to come at a Demonſtration in the Account of things ſo long remote and obſcure.

But becauſe there were found in *America* at its firſt Diſcovery, two very polite, civilized and mighty Nations, *Mexico* and *Peru*, which can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to be derived from ſuch barbarous People as thoſe *Scythians* above-mentioned; 'twill be worth our while to enquire, whether there be not good ground to believe they might have their Inhabitants from ſome Parts of our World where Arts and Sciences were much more cultivated, than in thoſe deſert and ſavage Regions of *Scythia*, &c.

Now of all the Inhabitants of the New World, the *Peruvians* were the beſt and moſt civilized, as abſtaining entirely from Human Sacrifices, or eating Human Fleſh; which becauſe of the Intermixture of the barbarous *Chichimecæ*, was not exactly true of the *Mexicans*. *Hornius* his Conjecture therefore ſeems very probable to me, that the *Peruvians*, *Chilians* and *Mexicans* received their firſt People from *Cathay*, *Eaſt India* and *China*, or ſome adjoining Nations as polite as thoſe. *Cathai* was the moſt civilized part of all *Scythia*, and was not unknown to the Antients; for *Ptolomy* mentions the *Chatæ* thereabouts, and *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Region called *Cathea*: In latter Times it came to be called *Kitha*; and this was divided into two Parts, one called ſimply *Kithai*, and the other *Kara-Kithai*. In this latter part, the famous *Preſter John* had his Seat and Dominion, of whom becauſe there are many fabulous Stories, *Hornius*, from the judicious *Rubruquis* and *Venetus*, gives the following Account. When the *Gauls* took *Antiochia*, which was in the Year of Chriſt 1098, one whoſe Name was *Con-Can*, reigned in *Kara-Kithai*, and commanded alſo the Northern Regions, from whence the *Turcæ* went out. In this *Kara-Kithai* there was a *Neſtorian* Shepherd, who was a powerful Prince of the People of *Tayman*; and this Man, after *Con-Chan*'s Death, invaded the Kingdom of *Kathai*, and by the *Neſtorians* was called *John*, who have feigned 1000 Stories about him; and from hence came all the Fable of *Presbyter John*, or *Preſter John*.

The *Abyſſine* Emperor in *Ethiopia*, hath by the *Europeans* been called this Name, as well as this *Aſiatick* Prince; but ſaith *Hornius*, for different Reaſons: The latter was called *Preſtegan* by the *Perſians* and *Neſtorians*, becauſe he was an Apoſtolical Perſon, as the Word in their Language ſignifies; but the *Abyſſine* Prince was by the *Indians* and *Perſians* called *Preſter Chan*, i. e. *Rex Mancipiorum*, the King of Slaves; becauſe great Numbers of Slaves were brought from *Ethiopia*.

P. Venetus ſaith, there was in *Cathaia* a Prince called *Presbyter John* in his Time; and the ſame ſaith *Antonius Andrada Luſitanus*, who in the Year 1624, went from the Kingdom of the *Great Mogul* to ſearch out that Region, and found him to have large Dominions.

This *Cathay* was not a part of the antient Kingdom of *China*, but a Northern Region adjoining to it, as appears from the *Nubian* Geographer: But about the Year 1360, *Cathay* and *Mangi* were united into one *Chineſe* Kingdom, and then the famous *Chineſe* Wall wat built, to ſecure them againſt Invaſions from the *Tartars*; and that it can't be much older, is certain, becauſe there is not any mention of it in *Paulus Venetus*, who wrote about the Year 1200: It was therefore no doubt built by *Homva*, who drove the *Tartars* out of *China*, and left them nothing but the Kingdom of *Caſcar*.

By the antient *Sinenſes* or *Chineſe*, we are to underſtand therefore all thoſe who lived to the South of *Cathay*, in the vaſt Region of *Mangi*. Theſe, tho' originally derived from the *Scythians* and *Indians*, yet had all their Letters, Politure, Arts and Sciences, from the *Egyptians* and *Phænicians*, who made frequent Expeditions into this Country; as appears from the Voyages of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, whom the Antients ſay were *Phænicians*. The *Tyrians* had a Colony at the *Euxine*, as mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*; which was on the Banks or at the Mouth of the River called *Tyras*. In the *Perſian* Gulph there was an Iſland called *Tyrus* and *Aradus*, whoſe Inhabitants, *Strabo* ſaith, contended that they were derived from the *Sidonians*. And there was a Nation of the *Phænicians* called *Sinæi*, from whom 'tis very probable the Name of *Sinæ* or *Sinenſes* firſt came: Theſe *Sinæi* lived firſt about *Sina* in *Arabia* and *Syene* in *Egypt*. The Kingdom of *Egypt*, it appears, did antiently extend all over *India*; for *Diodorus* ſaith of *Seſoſtris*, that he conquered all *Aſia*, beyond *Ganges*, as far as the *Indian* Ocean; and *Strabo* ſaith, their Empire extended as far as *Bactria*, *India* and *Scythia*; and much to the ſame purpoſe *Tacitus* ſpeaks. 'Tis very likely therefore, that the *Egyptians* and *Phænicians* went into *China*, and there left part of their Language, Hieroglyphicks, Learning, Arts and Sciences, for there is a great Conformity between the *Chineſe* Language, Arts, *&c.* and thoſe of the Old *Egyptians*: Their Cuſtoms alſo and Manners agree; the Women in *China*, manage the Publick Affairs, while the Men are Cot-Queans, dreſs the Victuals and manage all Domeſtick Buſineſs, and this we learn from *Herodotus*, *Mela*, *Epiphanius*, *Diodorus*, &c. was the way of the Antient *Egyptians*: The *Chineſe* had alſo the manner of hatching Chickins by the heat of Ovens, which the *Egyptians* have been ſo famous for: And their Way of Writing by a kind of Pictures and Characters agrees very nearly; and ſo did the Writing of the *Mexicans*, with both. For that the *Chineſe*, *Cathayans*, *Japoneſes*, *Coreans*, and other Nations of *Eaſt-India* did ſail into *America*, ſeems very Clear and Evident. The *Epicerini* a People of *Canada*, aſſerted at our firſt diſcovery of them; that to the Weſt end of them, very far off, there lived another People, who affirmed that foreign Merchants without Beards, uſed to come in great Ships to their Coaſts: Who could theſe be but the *Indians* or *Chineſes*? *Vaſquez de Coronado* ſaith that in *Quivira*, there were Ships found whoſe Sterns were adorned with Gold and Silver: Which *Maſſeius* in his Hiſtory of *India*, and *Ludovicus Frois* in his Letters about *Japan* ſay, was uſual in the *Japaneſe* and *Chineſe* Ships. And in *Acoſta*, we find the *Spaniſh* Admiral *Melendeſius* aſſerting that *Chineſe* Ships were found wrackt in the *Mare del Nord* above *Florida*, which perhaps were the ſame with thoſe ſeen at *Quivira*. In *Quatulca* too, there was a plain Tradition of *Foreign Merchants* which uſed to come thither from the Weſtward, and which were *clothed in Silk*. Theſe 'tis like ſailed under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and came firſt to *Quivira* or *California*, and thence coaſting along the Shoar, went down into *New-Spain*, &c. The Wind is generally fair for ſuch a Voyage, and it may be, and uſually is (ſaith *Hornius*) performed in about 50 or 60 days time: and there can be no reaſon to doubt of their ſailing to *America* ſince they had Ships fit for this purpoſe; and ſince as we learn from the *Nubian Geographer*, that they ſailed into *Arabia*, and others ſay into *Africa*.

But beſides all this, there is frequent mention of theſe Oriental Places in the Names and Traditions of the *Americans*. There were a People in *America* called *Chiapanecæ*; which word is much the ſame in ſound with *Japan*, or *Japaneſes*: Theſe came from *Nicaragua*, according to *Herrera*; to which place they came from *Guatimala*, and to *Guatimala* from *Mexico* and *California*. In *Guatimala* there is a River and Province called *Chiapa*, and in the Kingdom of *Mexico* a Lake of the ſame name. In the Iſland of St. *Trinidada*, there is a place called *Ker-Japan*, as *Hornius* writes.

In the Language of *Japan*, *Tonus* ſignifies the Sun, Moon, or Stars; and alſo Princes: and the *Mexicans* call the Sun *Tanaticus*, and the Moon *Tona*; and in *Hiſpaniola*, *Taino* ſignifies Nobles or Princes; *Japan*, is by the *Chineſes* called *Jequen*, that is, *Sunriſing*; by the *Japoneſes*, 'tis called *Gitpan* and *Nitpon*, or *Nippon*: and by *Paulus Venetus*, 'tis called *Zipangri*, after the *Tartarian* Language, and accordingly when *Columbus* came to *Hiſpaniola*, and heard there, that part of that place was called *Zipangi* by the Natives, he thought he had been come to the *Aſiatick Japan*. The word alſo *Montezuma*, or *Motezuma*, is plainly of *Japoneſe* Original, and as it was the uſual Titles for the Emperors of *Mexico*: ſo *Motazaiuma* in *Japan*, is the common Apellation for their Princes, as *Hornius* obſerves. 'Tis very probable therefore, that the *Japoneſes* ſailing to the Eaſtward, went firſt to the Intermediate Iſlands (for ſuch there are) and thence into *America*.

Fr. Caron in his Deſcription of *Japan* (where he lived from a Child) ſaith 'tis uncertain whether *Japan* be an Iſland, or part of ſome Continent, and that the greateſt part of it is yet unknown to the *Japoneſes* themſelves. From the Province of *Quanto*, where the Principal City *Jedo* and the Seat of the King is, he ſaith, it reaches 27 Days Journey towards the South-Eaſt; and then you come to the Promontory of the utmoſt Province *Tſunga*; from hence paſſing a Strait of Eleven Miles over, you come to the Land of *Jeſſo*, or *Seſſo*; which is vaſtly large and Mountainous, and but thinly inhabited, and hath never been fully diſcovered by the *Japoneſe*, becauſe of its great extent and want of Proviſions, tho' it abound with precious Skins and Furrs. The Inhabitants of this Land of *Jeſſo*, he ſaith, are long-hair'd, with thin Beards like the *Chineſe*, and perfectly Brutiſh and Barbarous. And to this place (he ſaith) the *Japoneſe* paſs over in little Boats (*in Scaphis*.)

Why then (as *Hornius* obſerves, from whom I have cited this) ſhould not this Land be either the Continent of *America* it ſelf, or elſe ſome Iſland contiguous thereunto, ſince the deſcription of the Natives is ſo like that of the Inhabitants of *America* thereabouts.

J. De Laet ſeems alſo to be of Opinion that the Junction of *America* with our Continent is ſomewhere without the *Artic Circle*, about *Cathay*; which falls in very well with this Account of *Fr. Caron*: and this place he, *viz. Laet* obſerves, is near enough to the Place where the Ark reſted after the Deluge, to account for a very early Paſſage into *America* out of *Aſia*. *Vid Lib. de Orig. Gent. Amer.* p. 91.

Corea, which the *Chineſe* call *Corai*, the *Japoneſes Coraſs*, the Natives or Inhabitants call *Cacli*, wherefore 'tis likely the Inhabitants of this *Cacli*, diſcovered and named *California*: and perhaps they ſpread themſelves much further: for there is a Province in *Florida* called *Calos*. This *Corea* is parted from *Cathay* (ſaith *Hornius*) by a large River of Three Miles broad, which I ſuppoſe, runs out of the Sea of *Cango* into the *Chineſe* Ocean: of this Place the principal Province is called *Cambalu*, from whence *Hornius* thinks *Cempoala* in *New Spain* takes its Name. But certain it is that *Cathay* was called *Kitaia*, and near the *Chinawall*, there is a Lake called *Kitha* or *Kita*: and *Hornius* ſaith, the Inhabitants were called ſometimes *Kotani* and *Gotani*; and that there is an Iſland lying off of the Continent of *Japan*, called *Goto*: of which Words there are many Remains in *America*, *Gota*, *Goto*, and *Gata*, being a common Termination for the names of Places there, as is plain in the *Eparagoti*, *Arcoagoti*, &c. in *Guiana*; the *Managoti* of *Cumana*, the *Ologota* of *Florida*, &c. And the Natives of *New England* called the Sea *Kithan*, and the Ships *Kithaneck*, probably from the Lake *Kitha*.

Near *Xaliſco* there is a City called *Chita*; in *Peru* you have *Quito*, a very famous place; and in *New Granada*, a Sea called *Quito*. In *Chuquiaba*, *Hornius* ſaith there is a place called *Caracate*, which, indeed, is very like *Kara Kithai*, one part of *Cathay*.

Then, as to *China*; there are many names of Places in *America* that ſeem to be plainly derivable from *Chineſe* Words.

In *Mechoacana* a Province of *Mexico*, there is a City called *Zintzonta*, which is plainly a *Chineſe* Word, *Tzintzon* being a uſual Word in that Language, as *Hornius* ſaith: And near to this Province of *Mechoachan*, there are Two Cities called *Mauchao* and *Campao*, as there are Two in *China*, called *Macao* and *Campa*.

The *Peruvians* boaſted no higher an Original than about 400 Years, for the Family of the *Inca*, *Ynca* or *Inga*, their Princes that Governed them when the *Spaniards* firſt diſcovered *Peru*. Before this, they ſay, they were barbarous, lived wild in the Woods, eat Mans Fleſh, *&c.* Till one *Manco* came to them from their Father the *Sun*, and taught them a better, more civilized way of Life; from this *Manco* came the whole Family of the *Ynca*'s.

This Tradition of theirs, ſhews plainly that *Manco* was a Foreigner, and that their Good Government was ſet up by him all at once, and therefore he muſt have learnt and gain'd his Wiſdom and Politeneſs in ſome other place. 'Tis very probable therefore that this *Manco* came from *China*, and that with a Good Fleet of Ships, and as *Laet* ſaith, with a Good Army too, or elſe he could not have ſubdued ſo numerous a People, nor have brought them under any Government. I ſay, 'tis probable he came from *China*, or *Cathay*, &c. becauſe the Architecture of the *Inca*'s in *Peru*, and all their mighty Buildings, Towers, *&c.* are exactly after the *Chineſe* manner; their Cities alſo were vaſtly great, like thoſe of *China*: In *Cuſco* there were above 100000 Houſes, many of Stone; their Streets, Large, Noble, and Strait, adorn'd now and then with Squares, paved with Flint or Stone, and Towers fortified with Three Walls round them: Many alſo of their Cuſtoms agreed with thoſe of the *Chineſes*.

The *Mexicans* were the Politeſt, but the leſt antient of any of the People of *America*; for their Account of themſelves reached not above 300 Years backward: Now ſince we learn from *P. Venetus*, and with a little Variation as to Time, from the Annals of *Gonſalo Mendoza* too, that about the Year of Chriſt 1268; the *Chineſe* being driven out of their Country by the Invaſions of the *Tartars*, *fled into certain remote Iſlands and there remained*, 'tis very likely that they went then into *America*; and to make this Expedition, *Facfur* their preſent King provided a 1000 Ships, and took with him a great number of People. Theſe *Remote Iſlands*, as *Hornius* obſerves, could neither be *Japan* nor *Java*, for both thoſe were well known to *Paulus Venetus*, and 'tis plain they could not be the *Philipines*; becauſe there are no remains of the Manners or Cuſtoms of the *Chineſes* there, and the People are of another Make and Language: wherefore 'tis likely theſe Remote Iſlands were in *America*; and that ſince, *Venetus* ſaith they were *Inexpugnabiles*, it was this remoteneſs or diſtance from *Tartary*, that made them ſo. And if we allow 100 Perſons to go in each Ship, which is probable enough (they having large Ships, as hath been ſhewn above) the Number of theſe Fugitive *Chineſes* would be 100000, which are too many to be beſtowed in any place leſs than ſuch great Iſlands as thoſe of *America*. And if any one ſhould make an Objection to this, on the Account of the *Americans* wanting Horſes, which theſe *Chineſes* may be ſuppoſed to have taken with them. *P. Venetus* anſwers it plainly, by ſaying, *There were then no Horſes in* China.

Hornius takes a great deal of pains to adjuſt the Chronology of the *Mexicans*, and he concludes that their Antiquity cannot exceed the Year 1200, and therefore may eaſily and fairly be derived from this *Chineſe* Ramble under *Facfur*, about the Year 1270. But 'tis like their other Six neighbouring Nations of the *Navatlaca*, about the Lake of *Mexico*, are much more ancient; and 'tis very well worth obſerving how well this agrees with *Metezuma*'s account of the *Mexicans* which he gave to *Cortez*, *That they were originally Strangers, and came from foreign Parts, from the Eaſt, in the Fleet of a great Prince ſo long ago that the Memory of the Time was loſt.* This great Prince muſt be *Facfur*, whom the *Chineſes* call *Tepin*, but the *Mexicans Tolpecin*. 'Tis likely *Facfur* and his Fleet landed firſt on *California*, and from thence they went to the Continent in *Canoas*, &c. for the *Mexicans* had a Tradition, *that their Anceſtors came over an Arm of the Sea in* Canoas *into* Atzlanc: by which they meant the Sea between *California* and *New Mexico*, and which the *Spaniards* call, *Mare vermeio*. For *Mortezuma* told *Cortez* that this Prince that brought them over, went home again, leaving them behind: that after this, returning again, he would have maintained his former Authority over them, but that they had intermarried with the Natives of the Place, had built themſelves Houſes, *&c.* and choſe themſelves a Senate, and Princes of the People, and ſo would not receive him at all amongſt them: He therefore going back again, or away with the Fleet, they made themſelves *Canoes* to paſs over to the main Land, and it hath been taken notice of by almoſt all the Writers of *America*, that about *California* there were found a People that ſpake nearly the ſame Language with the *Mexicans*, and had the ſame Laws, Cuſtoms, and Manners; which therefore were the Remains of thoſe *Chineſes* that Married, Settled, and ſtayed in or about *California*, while their main Body might go over to the Main, and ſettle themſelves among the *Navatlacæ*, upon the Lake of *Mexico*.

And the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Mexicans* were found to be very agreeing with thoſe of the *Chineſe*: The *Mexicans* had large Cities, adorned with ſtately Buildings, their Streets divided into Squares, they had Caſtles, Towers, Palaces, and publick Places (like Inns) for the entertainment of Travellers, which were built at the Publick Coſt; all which agrees with the Cuſtom of *China*, and other parts of the Eaſt, and tho' the *Peruvians* had no Mortar, fewer Towers, and thoſe not very high; yet the *Mexicans* had both Mortar (or a Cement equivalent thereunto) Edifices built with Marble, and Towers of a vaſt height; inſomuch that *Cortez* ſaith, he never ſaw any thing ſo Great and Magnificent, and that their Cities exceeded any in *Europe*, both for Magnitude and Splendor. In *Tezcuco*, he ſaith, there were 30000 Houſes; and that *Tlaſcala* was larger and more populous than *Granada*: and as for their Skill in Mechanical Arts, he ſaith the *Mexicans* were wonderfully famous; and that they would draw the Picture of any Animal that they had but once ſeen, very lively and ſtrong.

The *Mexicans* had two ways of diſpoſing of their Dead; one was by Sepulture, or burying in the Ground, and the other by Burning: In the former of theſe ways, the Body was always kept juſt 15 Days at the Houſe of the Deceaſed, where there was Feaſting all the while: And for the ſame number of Days did the *Chineſe* keep a dead Man above Ground, at his own Houſe, during which time the Prieſts performed the uſual Rites. Their way of ſaluting their Princes, and going out backward from their Preſence, was the ſame with that of the *Chineſes*; and the Titles of their Kings of the ſame pompous Nature. The *Mexicans* had a great or Royal Seal, by which all Grants and Publick Buſineſs were ſigned: In *Mexico* as in *China*, their Senators or Palatines were uſually Twelve, but ſometimes but Ten. The Enſigns and Standards of the *Chineſes* were Dragons and Serpents, and ſuch had the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*. The way of writing in *Mexico* was like that of the *Chineſes* in moſt things; their Letters were Pictures or Characters of things, their Paper made of the Threads of Trees: of their Books compacted of which, in *Cozumel*, *Iucatan*, *Mexico*, *Nicaragua* and *Guatimalla*; there were innumerable Volumes found, treating about *Agriculture*, Plants, and the Actions and Affairs of their Anceſtors, which the brutal *Spaniards* deſtroyed and burnt. The *Mexicans* cultivated the ſame Arts, as the *Chineſes*; and in particular, had *Geographical Tables*, or a kind of Maps of their Country, very large and curious. The *Mexicans* alſo were ſo skilful in making Fire-works, that they ſeem to have been acquainted with a Compoſition ſomething like our Gunpowder; of which the *Chineſe* pretend (as well as of Printing) to have had a very antient Knowledge: Tho' with what Truth, *Hornius* juſtly makes a doubt, ſince there is no mention made of any ſuch thing in *Paulus Venetus*; and yet he deſcribes ſeveral of their warlike Engines.

And thus have I laid before you in as fair a Light as I can, the Evidence I could collect about this abſtruſe and difficult Point, *The firſt peopling of* America: and which, when it comes to be conſidered impartially, and viewed altogether, ſeems to me, to make out the Derivation of them from our World very plain and conſpicuous, and to point out the Time of it too with ſome tolerable Exactneſs.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

PART the Second.

Of the Antient Shipping and Navigation, and their ſucceeding Improvements.

WHether there was any conſiderable Navigation before the univerſal Deluge may be juſtly queſtioned; ſince we have no authentick Account whereon to build ſuch a Suppoſition; nor have we, I think, Authority enough to deny, as ſome do, all manner of Knowledge of the uſe of Boats to the Antediluvians. Certain it is, that there was a Sea, and Rivers before the Flood; and in above a 1500 Years time, which according to the laſt Account, paſt between the Creation and the Deluge, 'tis ſtrange that no one ſhould diſcover, that it was poſſible to be born upon the Water, in proper Veſſels. The daily uſe of Water, for almoſt all the Neceſſaries and Conveniences of Life; required them to employ hollow Veſſels to raiſe it up with, and to tranſport it to their Places of Abode, and they could not avoid taking notice that thoſe Veſſels would ſwim or float upon the Water: In the Rivers alſo, they could not but ſometimes ſee floating Wood, and their endeavour to get it out for their uſe, might very probably ſatisfy them, that a large Tree would more than bear the weight of a Man upon it, without ſinking, and that it would do this much better if it were hollowed out like their Water-Veſſels: They muſt ſee that this would be an uſeful Invention to paſs Rivers, *&c.* and therefore it ſeems very probable to me, that they would take the hint and improve it, as (its granted) Men did, ſoon after the Flood. *Moſes* no where tells us that the Ark which *Noah* built was a new and ſurpriſing thing to the Antidiluvians; and 'tis plain from *Plato*; *Lib.* 3. *de Legit*: That there was a Tradition of the Art of Navigation, being in ſome meaſure known before the Flood; but that it was loſt with the Boats themſelves at the Deluge. The ſame we find alſo from *Ovid*'s deſcription of the Flood, *Metam. lib.* 1. *fol.* 7,

> *Occupat hic collem, Cymbâ ſedet alter aduncâ,*
> *Et ducit Remos ille, ubi nuper ararat.*

All this, I grant, is only conjecture, and I deſign to build nothing more on it, than to ſhew that thoſe who boldly aſſert that *Noah*'s Ark was the firſt Veſſel that ever was made to carry Men on the Water, have not ſufficient Authority for it, either from Hiſtory, Tradition, or Reaſon. But ſo much are we in the dark, about Matters at ſo great a diſtance from us, that 'tis very hard to determine who was the firſt inventor of Ships or Boats after the Flood. No doubt *Noah*'s Sons all made a ſpeedy uſe of ſo beneficial an Invention, as they had occaſion. But who they were that from them, brought it into the learned Part of the World, and taught the *Egyptians* and *Grecians* the Knowledge of this Art, it is not now very eaſy to ſhew. *Promethus*, *Neptune*, *Minerva*, *Jaſon*, *Atlas*, *Hercules*, *Danaus*, *Erythræus*, &c. are all by ſome Authors or other, ſaid to be ſeverally the Inventors of Shipping. But what is ſaid of moſt them is ſo entirely fabulous, that there is no relyance on theſe Relations.

It may with great probability be ſaid that the *Egyptians* and *Phænicians* have the juſteſt claim for this Invention. *Euripides* in his *Troas*, *Act.* 1. calls Shipping an *Egyptian Art*; and 'tis certain that they were very early famous for their Shipping. *Cicero* ſaith, that the *Phænicians* were the firſt Navigators, and brought Merchandizes into *Greece*. And *Pliny*, attributes the firſt Invention of Shipping and Sea Battles to them, *Lib.* 5. c. 12. *Herodotus* ſaith, that the *Phænicians* coming out of the *Red-Sea* made very long Voyages, and carried their Wares into many Places, and particularly into *Argos*, a then famous City of *Greece*. *Strabo*, *Lib.* 7. ſaith, that nothing of the Ocean was known in *Homer*'s time: But this *Bochart* ſhews to be a miſtake. Vid. *Canaan. Lib.* 1. *c.*36. and *Lib.*9. Shews that the *Caſſiterides* Iſlands (which he makes Ten in Number) were known to the *Phænicians*, but their Navigation thither ſtudiouſly concealed. The ſame Author, *Lib.* 16. tells, us that the *Sidonians* firſt learned Aſtronomy and Arithmetick (I ſuppoſe he means ſome kind of Calculation or Eſtimation of the Ships way) from their Nocturnal Navigations; and 'tis certain that theſe Arts came Originally from them.

> *Prima Rates ventis credere docta Tyros,*
> Tibul. El. 7.

Pomponius Mela. Lib. 1. *c* 12. and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Lib.* 12. both agree alſo in attributing the Invention of Navigation to the *Phænicians*. *Strabo*, *Lib.* 1. gives us good grounds to believe that the *Phænicians* ſail'd out of the Straits, and built Cities in *Africa*, before the *Greeks* knew any thing of Shipping, and before the ſiege of *Troy*. *Scheffer* in his excellent Book, *De Militia Navali*, Lib. 1. p. 3. Thinks that the *Indian* Sea was very early known to the *Phænicians*; becauſe there is mention made in the Book of *Job*, *c.* 28. 16. of the Gold of *Ophir*: But tho' this (I judge) not to be concluſive enough; ſince as the moſt learned *Bochart* hath ſhewed, there were Two *Ophirs*, one in *India* which was the *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*; and the other in *Arabia*, of which latter 'tis probable *Job* may ſpeak. Yet 'tis likely enough that the *Phænicians* might try the *Indian* Ocean as early as that: for having Ships in the *Red-Sea* (which *Scheffer* thinks was denominated, *Mare Rubrum*, *Puniceum*, or *Phænicium*, from the *Pæni* or *Phænices*) they might eaſily venture out into the *Indian* Sea. *Agenor* was the firſt *Tyrian* King whom *Scheffer* makes contemporary with *Gideon*, and his Sons *Cadmus* and *Phænix* had tolerable Fleets. This was a good while before *Minos*, whoſe Mother was *Europa Cadmus* his Daughter: *Minos* indeed, raiſed a Fleet, 'tis ſaid, to clear the Seas from Pirates; but we learn from good Authority, that *Phocas* alſo King of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and *Bacchus*, had Fleets long before him, as well as the *Phænicians*. *Siden* was a flouriſhing City 300 Years before *Minos* his time: 'Twas built as *Bochart* ſaith, *Phal. lib.* 4. *c.* 35. by the Nephew of **Cham**; and we learn from *Trogus* (lib. 18.) *Poſt multos deinde annos a Rege Aſcaloniorum expugnati Sidonii; Navibus appulſi, Tyrum Urbem, ante annum Trojanæ cladis condiderunt*: And indeed, tho' we find *Sidon* mentioned as long ago as *Jacob*'s Time, the *Holy Scriptures* ſpeak not of *Tyre* till *David*'s Reign; and *Strabo*, and *Pomponius Mela*, both celebrate it as the richeſt City of all *Phænicia*, and that it was antiently very eminent for great Numbers of large Ships. *Agatharchides* alſo, and *Philoſtratus*, do agree that *Erythras* the firſt Founder of the *Phænicians* (and from whom probably the *Red-Sea* was called *Mare Erythræam*) was very famous for his Naval Power.

Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Mentions a very large Fleet (ſuch as it was) of *Semiramis* the Wife of *Ninus*, whom *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin* place about 300 Years after the Flood. This Fleet engaged upon the River *Indus* with one belonging to *Scaurobates* or *Staurobates*, a King of that part of the World; and the *Indian* Fleet was worſted: But there are many Circumſtances in this Story, as particularly of her Army, conſiſting of above Three Millions of Men, and her having 2000 Ships, that make it appear Fabulous, and indeed it hath juſtly been eſteemed ed ſo by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and moſt Judicious Writers. Others will have *Seſoſtris* King of *Egypt* to have invented Gallies, *&c.* very anciently, and to have been very famous for Shipping; others ſay, that the *Egyptians* did uſe very anciently to coaſt along the *Red Sea* in Rafts deviſed by King *Erythrus*: But in theſe Accounts there is nothing certain to be relyed upon. For ſuch was the Genius of the *Greeks*, that they turned every thing almoſt into Fable. The Poets called a Ship, a *Sea Chariot*; for *Æſchylus* ſaith of *Prometheus*, that he —— εὗρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα: And in *Catullus* we find this Line.

Ipſa levi fecit volitantem flumine currum.

Homer and others called a Ship an Horſe, whence aroſe the Fable of *Bellerophon* and *Perſeus* his Flying Horſe, *Pegaſus*: *Vid. Palephati Libr.* 1. *Mirabil. Hiſtoriarum*: and of *Neſſus* the Centaur, whom they repreſent as both a *Portitor* and as a *Nauta*. Thus becauſe *Europe* the Daughter of *Agenor* the *Phœnician* King, being carried away by the *Cretians* in a Ship that had a Bull for its *Paraſemum*, its Ancient, Colours, Device, *&c.* She was repreſented as being carried away by that Animal. Thus alſo the Fable of *Scylla*, as *Palephatus* ſaith, came from hence; that the *Tyrrheni* as long ago as the Siege of *Troy* uſing Piracy, and with their *Myoparones* and *Triremes* infeſting the Coaſts; one of theſe being called *Scylla*, was a very good Sailor, but yet *Ulyſſes* outſailed her, and ſo eſcaped.

Euſebius tells us, *Lib.* 1. *Præp. Evang.* c. 10. that one *Uſous* was the firſt that ever dared venture out to Sea, which he did in a *Canoa* made of the Trunk of a Tree and hollowed by the Fire. This *Uſous* which *Gyraldus* miſcals *Uſe*, *Scheffer* will have to be *Eſau* the Brother of *Jacob*, and that he uſed this *Canoa* to fly from him: As indeed the Story in *Euſebius* probably hints. This Boat was the μονόξυλον or σκάφη of the *Greeks*, ſo called, ἀπὸ τοῦ σκάπτεσθαι, becauſe it was made by hollowing. And this *Scheffer* ſhews to have been in moſt ancient Uſe among the *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and after them the *Greeks*: And alſo as *Pliny* takes notice, *Lib.* 16. *c.* 41. by the *German* Piraſes too. From their Hollowneſs the *Romans* called theſe *Alvei*.

Tunc Alveos fluvii primam ſenſere cavatas.
Virg.

They were called alſo *Trabariæ*, becauſe they were made out of one only Beam or *Trabs*: As both *Diodorus* obſerves: And we find from *Virgil*, *Æneid*. 3.

——— *Vaſtumq; cava Trabe currimus Equor.*

Theſe were alſo the ſame with the *Lintres*, as appears by the Paſſage of *Sidonius Apollinaris in Paneg.*

———— *Pars Lintre Cavatâ*
Jam dociles exponit Equos———

Xenephon Lib. 6. ſaith, that theſe Skiffs, or μονόξυλα, held each of them three Men a-piece: But to be ſure the Number of hands varied with their Largeneſs. *Snellius* thinks, that *Dædalus* and *Icarus* went ſingly to Sea, in ſuch little Canoa's as are uſed about *Davis* his Straits in *America*: And that the latter venturing too far from Shoar, was drown'd: But however, theſe Canoa's have been, and are ſtill, in uſe in many Places of *America*, the Inhabitants of which Place, no doubt, deriving the Invention very early from thoſe of our Continent.

Iſiderus Lib. 19. cap. 1. ſaith, that the *Rates* were the firſt and moſt ancient kind of Boats, and that they were only Beams of Timber faſtned together: The ſame *Maximus Tyrius* aſſerts alſo, ſaying, that the firſt Men uſed to make σχεδίαν τινὰ φαύλην, a poor ſmall haſty made Raft of ſome light Wood, by framing pieces of Timber together; and on this they would venture to Sea. *Diſſertat.* 40. Theſe *Rafts*, Floats, or Bark-Logs are deſcribed by Capt. *Dampier* in his Voyage round the World, *p.* 141 and in other places. Some of which are ſmall, and without Sail or Rudder, carrying but one Man, who ſits upon it, or aſtride it, with his Legs in the Water: Theſe are uſed on the Coaſt of *Coromandel* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and are now called *Catamarans*: But in the *South Sea*, he deſcribes Rafts or Bark-Logs made to carry Goods; which were very large, carying 60 or 70 Tuns of Wine, *&c.* and are uſed to go between *Lima* and *Traxillo*, *Gaiaquil*, and *Panama*. Theſe have a large Rudder, and a Maſt, and Sail. *Pliny* Lib. 7. c. 56. and *Strabo* Lib. 16. tell us, that theſe Rates were uſed by the moſt Ancient People; the *Phœnicians*, *Ethiopians*, and the *Gerrhæi*, which uſed to trade in them to *Babylon*.

Prima Ratem Ventis credere docta Tyros.
Tibullus Eleg. 7.

Thucydides Lib. 6. that the *Scicilians* uſually paſſed from their Iſland into *Italy* in theſe Rafts. Theſe the *Greeks* called σχεδίαι, haſtily made Boats; but in *Aulus Gellius* Lib. X. c. 25. they are called *Ratariæ*, and *Gyraldus* ſaith they were firſt invented by *Pyrrhonus Magus*, in *Lydia*: But *Scheffer* cites *Iſiodorus*, for attributing the firſt Invention of Ships to the *Lydians*; which he ſaith *Gyraldus* miſtook for theſe *Rates*. 'Tis highly probable, that the *Rates* were the firſt Veſſels in which Men ventur'd to Sea; the Invention being ſo Natural, Rude, and Simple: But after this, 'tis eaſy to ſuppoſe, they might by degrees think of hollowing Trees, or making Boats of Skins, Reeds, Canes, Barks of Trees, and at laſt of *Boards*. We learn from *Strabo*, Lib. 17. and all Antiquity, that Boats made of Reeds, and the *Egyptian Papyrus*, were uſed very early.

Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus
Conſeritur bibula Memphytis Cymba Papyro.
Lucan.

And 'tis highly probable, that *Juvenal* means theſe Reed or Cane Boats, in this Paſſage of *Satyr* V.

——— *Illud veſtris datur alveolis; quod*
Canna Mycepſarum prorâ ſubvexit acutâ.

The Scholiaſt ſaith, that the *Canna* was a ſmall Boat made of Reeds or Canes, and from hence perhaps came the *Canoa* or *Cannoo*, which is every where uſed to ſignify a ſmall *Indian* Boat. And tho' it be odd enough to ſuppoſe, that Men ſhould think of Earthen Boats: Yet ſuch, the ſame Satyriſt tells us were uſed by the *Egyptians*. Satyr 15.

——— *Imbelle & inutile Vulgus*
Parvula fictilibus ſolitum dare vela Phaſelis
Et brevibus Pictæ remis incumbere Teſtæ.

Pliny Lib.   c. 9. mentions ſome Boats uſed by the *Ethiopians*, which he calls *Plicatiles*, becauſe he ſaith they uſed to fold them up together, and carry them upon their Backs whenever they come to a Cataract: And ſuch *Herodotus* tells us were uſed by the *Babylonians*, and he deſcribes them thus. Their Boats were made of a *round Form* of Skins or Hides, and were covered with a kind of Baskets made of the Twigs of Oziers, and into each of theſe he ſaith they would put an Aſs, and after they were come to *Babylon* they uſe to ſell the Baskets, *&c.* and laying the Leather upon their Aſſes, march away for *Armenia*. Theſe σκύτινα πλοῖα and πλοῖα διφθέρινα and δερμάτινα, as the *Greeks* called them, or *Naves Sutiles*, were uſed in many other Places, as by the *Liburni*, &c. and the Poets repreſent Old *Charon*'s Boat to be of Leather, for thus *Virgil Æn.* 6. *v.* 414.

——— *Gemuit ſub pondere Cymba,*
Sutilis, & multum accepit rimoſa Paludem.

And theſe kind of Boats, it appears from *Lucan*, were very eaſily uſed by the *Venetians* and the *Britains*.

Primum cana Salix madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in Puppim, cæſoq; induta Juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum ſupernatat amnem:
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado; fuſoq; Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

And to this very Day theſe Leathern Boats are uſed upon the River *Severn*, and in ſome other Places in *England*.

Pliny Lib. 9. *Diodorus* Lib. 3. *Strabo* Lib. 16. All mentions the Shells of Tortoiſes, being anciently alſo uſed as Boats. *Pontanus* Lib. 2. Hiſtor. Amſt. c. 21. as I find him cited by *Scheffer*, mentions Boats made of the Barks of Trees (like *Weſt-Indian* Birchen Canoa's) and uſed by the *Pitzorienſes*, a People of *Eaſt-India*: And no queſtion very various were the Materials that were uſed in different Places to make ſuch ſmall Boats as theſe, which were uſed in the Infancy of the Art of Navigation, and chiefly to paſs Rivers, *&c.* *Strabo* alſo *Lib.* 16. ſaith, that the *Phœnicians* had a kind of Boats that could be taken to pieces and carried upon Mens Backs: And of theſe *Scheffer* from *Steuvechius* gives a Figure, but I take it to be purely conjectural. The πλοῖα among the *Greeks* were not Ships, but only a kind of larger Boats; whoſe ſides at firſt were covered only with Hides of Beaſts, but afterwards they came to uſe Planks or Boards, as we do now. Of theſe πλοῖα we find a great many particular Names in Authors: For the *Cymba*, which 'tis ſaid the *Phœnicians* invented, the *Lembus* which the *Cyrenæi*; the *Celox*, which the *Rhodians*; the *Myaparo*, which the *Tyrrheni*; the *Phaſelus*, which the *Campani*; and the *Scapha*, which the *Illyrians* pretend to have found out are all called πλοῖα, by ſome Writers. Thoſe ſmall Boats (like our Scullers upon the *Thames*) that had but one Man in them, who rowed with two Oars, or Sculls, the *Greeks* called *Ampheres*: But thoſe in which each Man had an Oar they called κέλωκας, *Celoces*, as appears from *Thucydides* and *Strabo*. And ſometimes ſuch a little Boat that had but two Men to row, was by the *Latines* called *Briremis*: As appears from theſe two places of *Lucan*.

> -------- *Quem contra non longa Biremi*
> *Appulerat ſcelerata manus* --------
>
> Lib. 8. v. 562.

And Lib. x. v. 56.

> -------- *Se parva Cleopatri Biremi*
> *Correpto cuſtode Phari, laxare catenas,*
> *Intulit Ematiis, ignaro Cæſari, tectis.*

Wherefore 'twas not only a Ship with two Banks or Tire's of Oars that was called a *Biremis*, but ſometimes a little Boat. And the ſame muſt be obſerved as to the *Triremis*: For *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theſeus* ſaith, that there was a τρίσκαλμος, or *Triremis*, of but three Oars; for it was appointed by the *Grecian* Council, That no *Triremis* ſhould be fitted out any whither, that could hold above five Men. Nor need we be ſtartled at an odd Number of Oars, being uſed in a Boat: For both *Polybius* Lib. 8. mentions the σκάφος πεντήρικος, a Skiff with five Oars; and *Diodorus Siculus* Lib. 20. the σκάφος τριτήρικος, a Skiff with thirteen Oars: But *Scheffer* himſelf tells us, that Boats with an odd Number of Oars, are now uſed upon the *Rhyne*. By this Name of πλοῖα alſo were the *Acatia*, *Lintres*, *Caraba*, *Epholcia*, *Capulæ*, *Cumbæ*, *Alvei*, &c. often called: Of which more particularly heareafter among the Alphabetical Names of Ships and Boats. *Bochart* in the ſecond Book of his Geography, *Ch.* 11. ſaith, that theſe Πλοῖα were alſo called anciently γαῦλοι: And he cites the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, *Callimachus*, and *Epicharmus* out of *Athenæus*; to prove that γαῦλος was the Term for a *Phœnician* Boat. *Aulus Gellius* mentions the *Gaulus* among the ſeveral kinds of Boats; and *Feſtus* deſcribes it to be *Genus Navigii penè rotundum.* And he ſhews, that the word *Gaulus* among the *Phœnicians* was oppoſed to *Arca* or *Arco*: Which ſignified a *long Ship*, as the *Gaulus* was a roundiſh one; and therefore *Bochart* thinks with great Probability, that the *Argo Navis* was ſo called from its being the firſt *long Ship* among the *Greeks*: For *Pliny* cites *Philoſtephanus* for ſaying, *That* Jaſon *was the firſt that ever ſailed in a long Ship*: The Ancient Fleets conſiſted of two Parts; the *Onerariæ Naves* or Ships of Burden; which were of a roundiſh Form (that they might have the more Room for Stowage;) and were ſeldom or never rowed: But were carried only by their Sails. And the other ſort were the μακραὶ the *Naves longæ*, which the *Greeks* called ἐπίκωπα, becauſe they were uſually rowed, and theſe were their fighting Ships. See *Livy* Lib. 25. c. 27. The firſt Invention of theſe *Longæ Naves*, or Gallies, *Ægeſias* in *Pliny*, Lib. 7. c. 56. aſcribes to *Paralus*: *Philoſtephanus* gives the Honour of it to *Jaſon*: *Cteſias* to *Samiras*; *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*, and *Archimacus* to *Ægeon*, Vid. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Book 1. Ch. 8. p. 114. Others ſay, *Seſoſtris* King of *Egypt* firſt deviſed theſe Gallies, tho' others tell us, that *Semiramis* uſed them in the Paſſage of her vaſt Army upon the *Indies*. *Thucydides* gives this Invention to the *Corinthians*; *Tertullian* aſcribes it to *Minerva*, others to *Neptune*: The *Samorhacians* claim it as their Diſcovery; and ſome will have *Danaus* to be the firſt that brought it into *Greece*: And *Pliny* ſaith, that the Invention came from *Egypt*, *Navem Danaus ex Egypto in Greciam advexit*, Lib 7. c. 56. which thing is alſo fairly to be concluded from the beginning of the Fragment of *Archelaus* in *Euripides*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* Lib. 1. *Strom.* ſaith, that the firſt Ship was built by the *Lybian Atlas*, and he lived as is ſuppoſed, about *Moſes* his Time. This ναῦς, or *Navis*, was an εἰκόσορος, or of twenty Oars all on one Bank, and was of a long Form: And that ſuch were built, and in uſe before *Jaſon*'s Time (whom others aſſert to have built the firſt long Ship in *Greece*) is plain from what *Herodotus* tells us of the *Egyptian* Prieſts; *viz.* that they ſay *Seſoſtris* was the firſt that ever ſailed in long Ships; which he did into the *Arabian* Gulph, ſubduing the People who inhabited the Coaſts of the *Red Sea*. *Scheffer de Militiâ Navali* Lib. 1. c. 3. ſaith, that *Danaus* raiſed the kind of Ship found out by the *Lybian Atlas*, up to one of fifty Oars, and that *Jaſon* copied after *Daneus*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that *Liparus*, who lived before *Jaſon*, ſailed into *Italy* with long Ships. The Word *Gally*, *Scheffer* ſaith, comes from the *Greek*, γαλέα; which *Leon* tells us was the Word uſed for a Long Ship, or a *Moneris*, having one only Bank of Oars: And ſuch a Ship *Strabo* calls μονόκροτος, *Lib.* 7. and *Tacitus* ſpeaking of ſuch Ships, *Lib.* V. *Hiſtor.* c. 23. ſaith, *ſimplice Ordine aguntur.*

Snellius in the Preface to his *Typhys Batavus*, ſaith, that the Invention of Long Ships came firſt from the *Sidonians*: As he thinks is plain, from this Paſſage in the *Helena* of *Euripides*.

> Χώρει σὺ καὶ ναῦν τοῖς δὲ πεντηκόντορον
> Σιδωνίαν δὸς, καὶ ἐρετμῶν ἐπιστάτας.
>
> Act. 5. Scæn. 1.

And indeed the ſame thing appears from the following *Chorus*; and from ſeveral other Places of that Tragedy. The *Argo Navis* which *Bochart* ſhews (*loco prius citat.*) was ſo called from the *Phœnician* Word *Arco* or *Argo*, *longa*, was a *Pentecontoros*, as appears from the number of Hands that were in her: Where the Gods and Heroes themſelves were Rowers: And the Poet *Serenus* laughs at *Hercules*, calling him *Semiremex*, from his awkward rowing in this *Argo-Navis*. This *Argo-Navis* ſome ſay, was built by one *Glaucus*: *Moriſotus de Orbe Maritimo*, p. 2. *Bochart. Gregr. Sacr.* Lib. 2. c. 11. ſhews that the *Arco-Navis* was at leaſt 50 Cubits, or 75 Feet in length: If the *Inte ſcalmia* were διπηχυαῖα two Cubits aſunder (Vid Lib. 1. c. 2.) And if any thing can be gathered of Certainty from *Theocritus* his calling it τριακοντάζυγος, that is, its having 30 *Scalmi* on a ſide, it muſt be yet longer. And certain it is, that it had more than 50 Rowers, tho' *numero rotund* it be called πεντηκόντορος; for there were 54 *Argonautæ* in it beſides *Jaſon*; all the Flower of *Greece*, their Deſign being to fetch Gold from *Colchos*, Vid. *Plin.* Lib. 3. c 33. In this Ship there was but one Man to an Oar, and but one Bank or Tire of Oars; ſo that this was a μονόκροτος, or *Moneris*. And theſe kind of Ships ſometimes had an hundred Rowers in them, as *Scheffer* tells us, and tho' they were a kind of mean Rate, between an *Actuaria* or Piratical Runner, and a Ship of more than one Bank of Oars, yet they ſometimes were built ſo large as to exceed a *Triremis*; as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 18.

Pliny, From the Authority of *Damaſthene*, or as *Scheffer* corrects it, *Demaſthe*, who lived in *Herodotus* his Time, tells us, that the *Erythræi* were the firſt that found out the *Biremis*, or a Ship with two Banks of Oars, rowing one above another. And *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus*, all agree, that about three hundred Years after the Siege of *Troy*, *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* built the firſt *Triremis*. But even this Invention *Clemens Alexandrinus* (Lib. 1. *Strom.*) attributes to the *Sidonians*. According to *Pliny* the *Quadriremis* was invented by *Ariſtoteles Carthaginenſis*: And the *Quinquiremis*, by *Neſichton* of *Salamis*. But this *Diodorus* Lib. 14. denies, ſaying, that *Dionyſius* after he had taken the *Corinthian Triremes*, contrived to enlarge the Dimenſions and *Ordines* of thoſe Ships; and that he firſt of all, built the *Quinque Remis*. After this, as *Pliny* tells us, *Zenagoras* the *Syracuſian*, built a Ship of *Sex Ordines*, or Banks of Oars: And *Neſigiton*, one of ten Banks or Tires. *Alexander* the Great is ſaid to have built a Ship of twelve *Ordines*; and *Philoſtephanus* ſaith, that *Ptolemy Soter* built one of fifteen, And that *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, built one of thirty: to which *Plutarch* agrees. After this, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* is ſaid to have raiſed up the Number to forty *Ordines*; and *Ptolemy Philopator*, to fifty. But the Ships of theſe high Orders were uſeleſs Moles of Timber, built only for Vanity, Oſtentation, and Amuſement.

The Deſcriptions of theſe Ships of ſeveral *Ordines* or Banks of Oars, before *Auguſtus* his time, are really very obſcure; and in ſome of them there is little more than Conjecture to build upon. But what light I could get into this Affair, I will here give the Reader; as alſo the ancient Names of the ſeveral kinds of Ships, Boats, *&c.* and their Armature, ſeveral Parts, *&c.* both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages; becauſe, beſides its Curioſity, it will be of good uſe for our underſtanding of the Writings of the Antients, of both thoſe Nations.

There is a great diſpute among the Learned about the Form of theſe Ships: Some have thought that the *Ordines* are only to be reckoned length-wiſe, or fore and aft, in the Ship Of this Opinion is *Bayſius*, *Steuvechius* on *Vegetius*, *Caſtilionius* upon *Vitruvius*, and many others: And *Scheffer* thinks theſe ground their Notion upon what the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes* ſaith, whoſe Words are: θρανίτης ἐστὶν, ὁ πρὸς τὴν πρύμναν· Ζυγίτης, ὁ μέσος, ἡ θαλάμιος, ὁ πρὸς πρῶραν: That is, the *Thranita* is that Rower, which rows in the *Stern*; the *Zygita*, he that rows in the *Mid-ſhip*; and the *Thalamita* is he that rows in the *Head*: Which what to make of, I confeſs I know not. Tho' to this *Bayſius* agrees, dividing a Ship length-wiſe into 3 parts, from the Head to the Maſt, from the Maſt to the beginning of the *Acroſtolion*, and from thence to the End of the Stern: In the firſt of which Diviſions he places the *Thranitæ*, in the middle one the *Zygitæ*, and in the laſt the *Thalamitæ*: But the Reaſons he produces for this are very weak and inconcluſive. For certain it is, that the *Ordines* of Rowers were elevated ſomething one above another, as *Joſ. Scaliger* in his Comment upon the *Chronicon* of *Euſebius*, hath plainly proved againſt *Bayſius*: For he cites theſe Words of *Lucan*, *lib.* 3. *v.*536. (among a great many other Evidences.)

----Summis longè petit æquora Remis.

Where the *longè* and *ſummis Remis* ſufficiently ſhew, that in this Ship of *Brutus*, there were ſome Oars placed above others, and that to a conſiderable height too. Theſe Verſes alſo of *Silius Italicus*, lib. 14. v. 424. prove the ſame thing.

Intrat diffuſos peſtis Vulcania paſſim,
Atq; implet diſperſa Foros: Trepidatur omiſſo
Summis remigio, ſed enim tam rebus in arctis
Fama mali nondum tanti penetrarat ad imos.

By which 'tis plain, that tho' the Fire raged upon the Deck, and ſo affrighted the upper Rowers, or the *Thranitæ*; yet it had not yet reached thoſe Rowers which were below under the *Cataſtromata*. And ſome of theſe were placed ſo low, that to uſe *Arrianus* his words on another occaſion, Αὐτῶν (ſpeaking of the ***Biremes***) τὰς κάτω κώπας οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔξω ἐχούσαι τοῦ ὕδατος. *Their lower Oars were but a very little above the Level of the Water.* Lib.6. *in Exped. Alexandr.* *Vegetius* alſo, in his Book *de Quinqueremibus*, ſaith expreſly, *quinos ſortiuntur remigum gradus*: And by what we have of *Memnon* in *Photius*, it appears, that the *Octeres Navis* was ſo called, becauſe ſhe had 8 Decks, Banks, or Tires of Oars riſing one above another. *Lib.*3. We find ***Lucan*** alſo ſpeaking of the *Quadriremis* after ſuch a manner, as plainly ſhews the *Ordines* were raiſed one above another.

Quoſq; quater ſurgens extructi Remigis Ordo
Commovet, & terno conſurgunt ordine Remi.

Sir *H. Savile* would have theſe *Ordines* neither to be accounted length-wiſe in the Ship, as *Bayſius*, nor in height one above another, as *Joſ. Scaliger*; but tranſverſly, or a-thwart Ships: But this ſingle Conjecture of his having no ground from the Writings of the Antients, and being refuted by *Rivius*, I ſhall do no more than barely mention it, and proceed.

However, tho' theſe *Ordines* or Banks of Oars were not all on the ſame Floor, Deck, or Horizontal Plain; yet they were not neither, as *Joſ. Scaliger* would have them, *directly* over one another: For this, as will appear below, neither the height of the Ship, nor the length of the Oars will (in many Inſtances) allow to be poſſible; nor is there any Deſcription or Figure of any ſuch Ship to be found in Antiquity.

But before I enter into a particular Detail of the ſeveral Opinions of Authors how theſe *Ordines* are to be accounted for, in ſuch great Ships, as are ſaid to contain 30 or 40 of them; it may be proper and inſtructive to premiſe what the Learned *Snellius* hath obſerved in the Preface to his *Typhys Batavus*; which is, that the *Greeks* made two Diſtinctions of long Ships: One with regard to the number of Oars or Rowers; and the proper Termination for this was in ορος: Thus εἰκόσορος, τριακόντορος, πεντηκόντορος, &c. was a Ship of 20, 30, or 50 Oars. The other in reſpect to the number of the *Verſus* or *Ordines Remorum*; and the right Termination for this was in ηρης. Thus the moſt antient Gally, or long Ship, was, as it is now in the *Mediterranean*, a μονήρης, having only one Bank or Tire of Oars; but a Ship that had 2, 3, *&c.* Banks or Tires of Oars, was called a διήρης, a τριήρης, &c. as is plain from theſe words of an old Author upon the *Tacticks* of *Ælian*: ἡ τριακόντορος καὶ τεσσαρακόντορος καὶ πεντηκόντορος λέγεται κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κωπῶν. ἡ μονήρης καὶ διήρης ἢ τριήρης, κατὰ τὰς στίχους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὕψος ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις. But tho' they expreſt the number of a Ship's Oars by a Word whoſe Termination was in ορος, yet they carried this no lower than to εἰκόσορος, a Ship of 20 Oars: For if ſhe had fewer Oars than 20, they denominated her from the σκαλμός, *Paxylus*, or Peg on which the Oar was placed. Wherefore, when in *Strabo* we meet with the Words πεντεκαιδεκάσκαλμος, δωδεκάσκαλμος; we are to underſtand by it a Ship or Boat that was rowed with 15 or 12 Oars only.

There was alſo yet another diſtinction of Ships uſed by the *Greeks*, which 'tis proper enough to take notice of on this occaſion; and that is, whereby they diſtinguiſhed one Ship of the ſame *Ordo* or number of Oars from another, with regard to their bigneſs; ſince they had an half Bank of Oars, either alone, or between two *Ordines*. Thus the Ἡμιολία or ἡμιόλιος, ſeems to have been, as *Snellius*, and *Potter* in his *Greek* Antiquities, obſerve; a Ship between an *Uniremis* and a *Biremis*; as having one Bank or Order of Oars, and half, or about half, another: And ſo the τριημιολία was between a *Biremis* and a *Triremis*; being denominated, as the former of theſe Authors judiciouſly obſerves, from the Order it *approached to*, and not from that which it *exceeded*.

But to return to the Solution of the Difficulties about the *Ordines Remorum* in the antient Ships. *Scheffer* rejects the Notion of *Rivius* (which is ſince eſpouſed by *Voſſius*, as I ſhall ſhew you hereafter) that there were more than one Man to an Oar: He aſſerts that the Ship took its Name always from the Number of its *Ordines* or Banks of Oars one above another, never from the Number of Oars (in which, by what hath been ſaid above, you will find that Learned Man was in ſome meaſure miſtaken) and his firſt Senſe of the Matter lay thus. According as a Ship was called *Biremis*, *Triremis*, *Quinqueremis*, *Quadragintaremis*, *&c.* ſo he ſuppoſes ſhe had 2, 3, 5, or 40 ἐλασίαι (as the *Greeks* called them,) that is, *Verſus Remorum*, or Banks of Oars: That each of theſe *Verſus* or Banks, was divided into certain *Ordines* or Claſſes; of which a *Quadriremis* had 4 ſuch, a *Quinqueremis* 5, *&c.* more or leſs, according to the Ship's length. And he ſaith, that the Rowers were denominated from the *Verſus*, and the Ship from the *Ordines Verſuum*: As for inſtance, a *Triremis* was ſo called, becauſe it had three of theſe *Verſus*, *viz.* the uppermoſt that of the *Thranitæ*, the middlemoſt that of the *Zygitæ*, the lowermoſt that of the *Thalamitæ*: And in each of theſe *Verſus* there were three *Ordines* or *Claſſes* extended length-wiſe in the Ship; which Diviſion and Diſtinction he thinks authoriſed by theſe Lines of *Virgil*, lib. 5. Æn.

-----Triplici pubes quam Dardana verſu
Impellunt, terno conſurgunt Ordine remi.

Where the *Verſus* are plainly diſtinguiſhed from the *Ordines*, and the Number of Oars in each *Verſus*: And to make this out he produces a Coin mentioned by *Goltius*, and ſtruck by *Lepidus*; and alſo a Picture out of the *Naumachia* of *Onuphrius Pavinias*. But on a maturer conſideration of this Affair, he owns this Account to be involv'd with Difficulties ſcarce ſolvable. For both the length of the Ships of the higher *Ordines* will not allow of this; and if it would, the *Ordines* in the greater Ships muſt be fewer than thoſe in the leſſer: And therefore he concludes we ought rather to adhere to thoſe who make theſe *Ordines* to be accounted in height, and not length-wiſe.

But however, theſe *Ordines* were not in diſtinct Decks, directly over one another; ſo that the upper Rower ſat with his Feet over the Head of him that rowed next below him: But they were diſpoſed into the *Ordines* by their *Juga*, *Seats* or *Benches*, and were diſtant from one another the ſpace of two, three, four or more Cubits, according to the length of the Ship: And theſe Spaces or Diſtances (he ſaith) *Salmaſius* and *Philander* in their Notes upon *Vitruvius* have ſhewn to be the *Interſcalmia*: And becauſe *Vitruvius* calls this Space διπηχυαία, that is, of two Cubits, he thinks the Architect ſpeaks only of the vulgar *Triremis*, in which the *Scalmi* were not above two Cubits aſunder. But that they were further diſtant in the greater Ships, he judges from what *Vitruvius* ſaith in another place (*Lib.* 1. *c.* 2.) *viz.* that from the *Interſcalmia* you may determine the *Ratio* of the bigneſs of the Ship. The Rowers ſate therefore at a due diſtance from each other, both that the Oars ſhould not interfere or be foul one of another; and alſo that there might be a Space for the Rower next above them to ſit between them, &c. And this Diſpoſition is confirmed by the Figures which *Bayſius* gives us of the antient *Biremes* and *Triremes*, which have the Old *Marmora* to authoriſe them; and which both *Scheffer* himſelf and Mr *Potter* in his *Archeologiæ Grecæ* have inſerted in their Books. From which Figures he judges that the *Ordines* were not above a Cubit one above another, and that they roſe not directly, but ſloping. And he ſuppoſes that this height of the *Ordines* one above another, was leſs in the greater Ships than in the leſſer, becauſe there was room for a greater diſtance between the Rowers: And he ſuppoſes that in that vaſt Ship of *Ptolomy Philopater*, which is ſaid to be of 40 *Ordines*, the Oars of the loweſt *Verſus* were but 5 Cubits long: Why then (ſaith he) might not the Oars of the higheſt Bank of Rowers in that Ship, and which from *Athenæus* we learn were 38 Cubits long, touch the Water; ſince perhaps there might not be above 30 Cubits in the whole height of the Ship, or it may be, a yet leſs diſtance? This Account he thinks is incumbred with no Difficulties, and will be conſiſtent with what we find in all the antient Authors who have written upon this Subject. As for the three Appellations of the Oars, 'tis probable they came firſt from the *Triremis*, the moſt uſual Ship of War, and which had 3 Banks or *Ordines* of Rowers: But that in larger Ships the Rowers were divided into three *Claſſes*, of which thoſe that were neareſt the Water were called the *Thalamitæ*, the middle Claſs the *Zygitæ*, and the uppermoſt the *Thranitæ*. The Number of Rowers that were in each *Verſus*, or Rank of Benches, was not certain: Sometimes there was 50, ſometimes 40, ſometimes 30 Men on each; and in the leſſer Ships yet fewer: And every Pair of theſe *Verſus*, *viz.* the Starboard and Larboard, or the Right and Left Rank or Row of Benches reckoned together, made the *Ordo*, the Tire, Deck or entire Bank: And the Ship was denominated from the Number of theſe *Ordines*, *ex gr.* being called a *Quinqueremis*, for having five of theſe *Ordines* one riſing above another. If the *Tacticks* of *Leo* may be relied on, there were never leſs than 25 Men or Rowers in each *Verſus*, or not leſs than 50 in each *Ordo*; but the exact Number can't be determined. *Silius Italicus*, Lib. 14. *de Bello Punico*, v. 38. ſpeaking of a *Quinqueremis*, ſaith,

> *Sed quater hac centum numeroſa remige pontum*
> *Pulſabat Tonſis*——

So that uſually a *Quinquiremis* may be ſuppoſed to have 400 Oars, 40 on each *Verſus*, and 80 in each *Ordo*; if all the *Ordines* had a like Number. But *Scheffer* thinks the Number of *Ordines* themſelves (as he accounts them) abated as you went upwards: So that in the loweſt *Verſus* of a *Quinquiremis* he makes five *Ordines*; but in the two uppermoſt, but four. From whence it follows, ſaith *Scheffer*, that there never was any *Moneres*, or Ship with one only Bank of Oars, but what was a *Pentecontorus*: And below this Number of 50 Oars, the Ship was only denominated from the Number of her Oars, and not from the *Ordines*. Thus a Ship or Boat of 20 Oars was called εἰκόσορος, one of 30 Oars, τριακόντορος. There were indeed very large Boats that had but one Deck or Tire of Oars, or which were of the μονήρης kind: For we read of the ἑξηκόντοροι and the ἑκατόντοροι; but beyond this laſt *Rate* of 100 Oars, no *Moneres* or Ship of one only *Ordo* of Oars ever went. And let the Number of Oars in one of theſe be what it will, if it was doubled, or had a new *Ordo* or Deck, or Tire of Oars of the ſame Number placed above it, it then became a *Biremis*; if trebled after the ſame manner in height, it was called a *Triremis*, &c. So that *Ptolomy*'s Τεσσαρακοντήρης was a ἑκατόντορος raiſed up to 40 *Ordines*; or a Ship with 40 *Ordines Remorum* of an hundred Oars on each Deck, Tire, *Ordo* or Bank, and of 50 in each *Verſus*. *Scheffer* obſerves very well, *P.* 95. that the *Hecatontorus*, or a Ship with an hundred Oars, all in one and the ſame Bank, was more frequently doubled or trebled up into a *Biremis* or a *Triremis*, than the *Pentecontorus* was: For the Form of this latter Ship requiring it to have but 25 Oars in a *Verſus*, incapacitated it for being raiſed up into the higher *Ordines*, by clapping more Tires of the ſame Number of Oars upon it; for the length of the Ship increaſing with its height, there would have been both a deficiency of Hands to row it; and alſo ſuch great Gaps or empty Spaces in her, as would have been uſeleſs and inconvenient. They did therefore either double, or in ſome other *Ratio* encreaſe the Number of Oars in a *Verſus*, in the higher Ships; as we find by the *Quinqueremis* of *Pliny*, which had 40 in each *Verſus*, or 80 in each Bank, 400 in all. Wherefore, ſince we find by *Polybius* (*Lib.* 1.) that the firſt *Roman* Ships had 300 Oars, and were of the *Quinqueremis* kind (and this was the Form of all their Ships of War, he ſaith, in the firſt *Punick* War); 'tis plain they muſt have 30 Oars in each *Verſus*, or 60 in each *Ordo*; for that multiplied by 5, the *Numerus Ordinum*, makes 300. In the Fragments of *Memnon* put out by *Photius*, there is an Account of an *Octeres* of *Ptolomy*'s, called the *Lyon*, *which was admirable for her Length and Neatneſs: She had an* 100 *Oars in each* Verſus; *ſo that on each Side ſhe had* 800 *Men*, 1600 *in all.* *Scheffer* thinks this Ship was compoſed of a double *Hecatontorus* placed lengthwiſe, and but of the common height: For the placing of more Oars lengthwiſe in a Ship, contributes much more to her Sailing, than placing them in height one above another.

There is alſo another Diſtinction of all theſe kinds of Ships of War, which we find in *Livy*, viz. *Naves majoris & minoris Formæ.* The Ships of the leſſer *Form* or *Rate* were the *Moneres*, *Biremes*, *Triremes* and *Quadriremes*: Thoſe of the higher *Form* or *Rate* were the *Penteres*, *Hexeres*, and all the higher *Ordines*. For thus the Hiſtorian expreſſes himſelf, *Lib.* 28. *cap.* 23. *Regia Claſſis Septem & Triginta majoris Formæ Navium fuit, in quibus tres Hepteres & quatuor Hexeres habebat; præter has decem Triremes erant.* And in *Chap.* 31. *Hoſtium Claſſis unde nonaginta Navium fuit, & maximæ Formæ Naves, tres Heperes habebat, duas Heſteres.* Which helps us to underſtand his Meaning in *Lib.* 36. *cap.* 43. where are theſe Words: *Centum navibus, quarum ſeptuaginta tectæ, ceteræ apertæ, minoris Formæ omnes erant.* Theſe leſſer Ships the *Greeks* called κουφότεραι; but thoſe of the larger, Form or Rate Βαρεῖαι. The Ships of the leſſer Rate or Form were called κουφότεραι, becauſe they had not ſo many Banks of Oars as the greater ones had; and alſo lay ſnugger, and were much better Sailers: Wherefore they were alſo called *Dromones* or *Curſoriæ*, by the later Writers. And the Form of theſe began at laſt to be changed into that of Onerary Ships, ſo that they ſerved for both Uſes, as we learn from *Caſſiodorus* (*Lib.* 5. *Var. Ep.* 16.) For ſpeaking of their *Dromones*, ſaith he, *Mille Dromones fabricandos aſſumere decrevimus, qui & frumenta publica poſſint convehere, & adverſis Navibus, ſi neceſſe fuerit, obviare.*

Vegetius, Lib. 4. c. 33. tells us, that *Mark Antony*'s Fleet being routed in the Battle of *Actium*, chiefly by the Ships of the *Liburni*; the *Romans* made their Ships afterwards after their Make and Form; and henceforward all Ships of War began to be called *Liburnæ*, and the Names of *Quinquiremes*, *Triremes*, &c. to be little uſed: As indeed the Ships themſelves of the higher *Ordines* were quite laid aſide; for we find by *Suidas*, that the *Liburnæ*, νῆες ἦσαν οὐ κτ̀ τὴν τριηραρχικὴν ἐσχηματισμέναι τύπον, ἀλλὰ λῃστρικώτεραι, χαλκεμβολοῦσαι, κ̀ ἰσχυραὶ, κ̀ κατάφρακτοι, κ̀ τάχος ἄπιστον ἄγουσαι: *i. e.* were Ships, not ſo much in the Form of the *Triremes*, but more like Piratical Ships, ſtrong, cloſe, and of incredible Celerity. And *Zozimus* ſaith, that a good while before his time, the *Triremes* were out of uſe: So that theſe great pompous Ships, of many *Ordines*, were by degrees found to be very unfit for Service, and at laſt quite laid aſide by the *Romans* after the Battle of *Actium*; and their *Liburnæ* or Gallies ſeldom or never after that had above one Deck, or Bank of Oars, and never exceeded two.

The Emperor *Leo* in his *Tacticks* expreſly calls the *Dromones*, *Gallies*; and our Gallies in the *Mediterranean* at this day are nearly of the Form of the *Liburnæ* or *Dromones* above-mentioned, which the *Romans* at laſt pitcht upon, as the beſt and moſt ſerviceable Ships of War.

Having thus given you the Solution of the Learned *Scheffer*, of the Difficulties which ariſe in accounting for the ſeveral *Ordines Remorum* in ſuch great Ships as that of *Ptolomy Philopater*, &c. and mentioned alſo all along with it ſuch Diſtinctions of the ſeveral kinds of the antient Ships, as did collaterally occur: I proceed next to acquaint you with the Senſe of the Learned *Snellius* on the ſame Subject, from the Preface to his *Typhys Batavus*. He takes notice, that the Meaſures of *Ptolomy Philopater*'s Ship were theſe: She was 280 Cubits, or 420 Feet, in length; 38 Cubits, or 57 Feet, broad within board; in height, to the *Acroſtolion*, ſhe was 48 Cubits, or 72 Feet; and at the Stern ſhe was built 53 Cubits, or 79½ Feet above the Water. There are two things here very remarkable, *viz.* the great length of the upper Oars, in order to their ſtriking the Water; and the vaſt height and bulk of the Ship. 'Tis ſaid by *Athenæus*, from whom we have theſe Meaſures, that the upper Oars were 38 Cubits, or 57 Feet in length. Now tho' caſting Lead into their Handles, and putting more Hands than one to an Oar, would make theſe Oars eaſily moveable, the former of which things *Athenæus* ſaith was done, in theſe Words: Κώπας δ' Θρανιτικὰς ἔσχε κ̀ τριακονταπήχεις τὰς μεγίστας, μεγίςας, ἃι διὰ τὸ μόλυϐδον ἔχειν τοῖς ἐγχειριδίοις ϗ γεγονέναι λίαν εἴσω βαρεῖαι κατὰ τὴν ζύγωσιν εὐήρεις ὑπῆρχον ἐπὶ χρείας: And *Snellius* thinks there was two Men at leaſt to an Oar, and no doubt of it a greater number, to the upper Oars: Yet how to account for the upper Oars ſtriking the Water when they were but 57 Feet in length, is not ſo eaſy; or indeed, how a Ship of 40 *Ordines* ſhould riſe no higher. To ſolve which, *Snellius* firſt computes, that from the *Os Sacrum* to the Crown of the Head, in a Man of a mean height, there is about 3 Foot; and conſidering that with long Oars Men riſe up to pull, let a Foot be allowed for that. This, ſaith he, will neceſſarily make the diſtance of 4 Feet between *Tranſtrum* and *Tranſtrum*. Now taking this 40 times, in *Ptolomy*'s Ship, there will be 160 feet diſtance in height, between the uppermoſt and loweſt Oars: Whereas *Athenæus* ſaith, ſhe was in height to the *Acroſtolion* in all but 48 Cubits, or 72 Feet, which is not half that. To ſurmount which great Difficulty, he ſuppoſes that the *Thalamitæ*, or loweſt Rowers, uſed very ſhort Oars; and conſequently there was but little of the Oar within Board, they ſitting very near the Ship's Side: But the higher any *Ordo* of Oars was, the longer were the Oars, and the greater diſtance was the Hand of the Rower from the *Scalmus*, *Hypomochlion*, or *Thoul*, as our People call it in a Boat. By this means he accounts for Room for the inferior *Ordines* to move their Head and Body, and to make their Stroke. He juſtly obſerves alſo, that the Oars were not placed directly over one another, but each Rower in the ſecond *Ordo*, ſate in the middle between two Rowers of the *Thalamitæ*, &c. And as this appears plainly to be the caſe in the *Biremis*, whoſe Figure *Bayſius* hath given us; ſo 'tis very likely it was the diſpoſition of the Rowers in all Ships of the higher *Ordines*. And this being ſuppoſed, he thinks, if the Interval or Diſtance between Oar and Oar, in the ſame *Ordo* or Tire, were but ſettled, the whole Matter would be eaſily accountable. He thinks alſo, that the *Tranſtra* in all Ships, were not exactly at the ſame diſtance one above another, which he endeavours to make good by two Arguments. The firſt is, that ſince *Ptolomy*'s *Quadragintaremis* had 4000 Oars, if you divide 4000 by 40, the Quotient will be 100; therefore there muſt be an 100 Oars in a Bank in this Ship, *viz.* 50 on each ſide. Now this Ship was 280 Cubits, or 420 feet in length; and allowing 60 foot for thoſe parts of her towards the Ends, which to be ſure had no Oars, there remains 360 feet for the whole length of her Decks of Oars. Dividing then this Number 360 by 50, the Quotient will be but 7 ⅕ (not 9, as 'tis in *Snellius*, who divides by 40 the Number of Banks, inſtead of 50 the Number of Oars (in length) in each *Ordo*.) Which 7 ⅕ feet will be ſufficient for the Motion of the Rowers Body in making his Stroke, and recovering his Oar. But to him the ſtrangeſt thing of all is, and 'tis what, he ſaith, is utterly incredible (*omnem fidem excedit*, p. 30.) the uppermoſt Oars in this vaſt Ship were leſs than 40 feet above the loweſt; which he concludes from the length of the Oars, thus: Suppoſe a Right-angled *Joſcecles* Triangle, whoſe Hypothenuſe is 38 Cubits, or 57 feet, (the whole length of the uppermoſt Oars, according to *Athenæus*.) Now tho' about one third of this Number ought to be allowed for the part of the Oar within board; yet let there be but 7 feet from the *Scalmus* to the *Manubrium*, there will then be 50 feet for the Hypothenuſe without board. The Square of 50 is 2500, whoſe half is 1250; and the Root of this is not full 35 ½, for the height of the uppermoſt Bank of Oars above the loweſt of all. So that there being 40 of theſe Banks or *Ordines*, they could not be ſo much as 12 Inches one above another, allowing the thickneſs of the *Tranſtra* too into the number of 35 ½ feet. So that, ſaith *Snellius*, unleſs you ſuppoſe the Men to be ſtowed as they lay Herrings in a Ship, 'tis impoſſible to conceive how the Ship ſhould hold ſo many Rowers. And this Difficulty will ſtill increaſe upon us, when we conſider that a good part of the Ship's height will be taken up by a Deck over all the Rowers, by Cabins, State-Rooms, &c. And *Snellius* thinks there is no way to get over this, but by ſuppoſing the Number of the loweſt Banks of Oars to have been very ſmall, but that of the uppermoſt very great: Which Account renders the Ship a meer uſeleſs Mole of Wood, more like a little Town, or a great Caſtle, than a Ship: And accordingly we find the Antients calling by the Names of *Cyclades* ſuch pompous Structures as this was. Nay *Virgil* compares the Ships of *M. Antony*, in the Battel of *Actium*, to the *Cyclades*, which indeed, as appears from *L. Florus*, Lib. 4. were huge unweildy things, but yet theſe did not exceed above 8 or 9 *Ordines*. But of ſuch as that Ship of *Philopater*,

> *——Pelago credas inare revulſas*
> *Cycladas, aut Montes concurrere Montibus altos:*
> *Tanta Mole viri Turritis Puppibus inſtant.*

And he thinks that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* began to build ſuch huge Ships out of a vain Humour of rivalling the Ark of *Noah*: For he before this of 40, built one of 30 *Ordines*, and another of 20.

He obſerves alſo, that the *Octeris* of *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (mentioned by *Memnon* in *Photius*) had a much eaſier Explication; and where there was a yet greater Number of Oars in an *Ordo*, *viz.* 200, or one 100 in every *Verſus*. He ſuppoſes the diſtance between the uppermoſt and loweſt Oars to have been near 40 foot, and that the *Ordines* were 5 feet one above another. He concludes with telling us, that *Archimedes* made a *Vigintiremis*, which was bigger than this uſeleſs Ship of *Philopater*. This went loaded with Corn from *Syracuſe* to *Alexandria*, being ſent as a Preſent to King *Ptolomy*.

But tho' this *Quadragintaremis*, and another mentioned by *Athenæus*, as built by the ſame Prince, were vaſtly large, there being as much Timber uſed in the former, as would have built 50 *Triremes*: Yet were theſe, for Bulk, nothing comparable to that Ship which *Archimedes* ordered to be built for *Hiero* of *Syracuſe*; of which *Snellius* gives us an account from *Athenæus*, and he from *Moſchion*, who wrote a whole Book of its Deſcription. This vaſt Mountain of Wood required 300 Workmen to build her, and had her Hold, or Room within Board ſo divided into Partitions, that here were good Lodging Rooms, Parlours, Places for Study and Learning, Walks, Gardens, Fiſhponds, Baths, Stables for Horſes, a Temple of *Venus*, &c. This Ship was encompaſſed round with an Iron *Vallus*: (ſaith *Snellius*) by which whether he means a Hoop to ſtrengthen the Ship, or a kind of Rail and Baluſtre to adorn it, it is not eaſy to determine. But this Ship had alſo eight Towers, two in the Forecaſtle, and two in the Stern, and two on each ſide of her. On her Deck was a Wall with Forts, and upon this Wall, in the Towers, and in the tops of her Maſts, were Engines of Battery, and for other warlike Uſes, placed; one of which would throw or caſt a Stone of 300 Pound weight, and a Dart of 12 Cubits long to the diſtance of 600 foot. And yet this wonderful Ship *Snellius* thinks was exceeded in ſome meaſure by thoſe which the *Romans* uſed to tranſport the Obelisks from *Alexandria* to *Oſtia*. See alſo *Plin.* Lib. 36. c. 9.

This was the Senſe of the Judicious *Snellius*, a Man of very good Skill in antient Learning, and in the moſt uſeful Parts of the Mathematicks: But however his Account is not to me compleatly ſatisfactory. Let us therefore ſee next what *Iſ. Voſſius*'s Judgment is about this matter, *viz.* about the diſpoſition of the *Ordines*, as you may find it more at large in his Diſſertation *de Triremium & Liburnicarum Conſtructione*, printed among his Obſervations, *Lond.* 1685. in *Latin*. He builds what he hath to ſay upon this Subject chiefly on a Paſſage in *Vitruvius*, Lib. 1. c. 11. where the Architect ſpeaking of the Symmetry of all kinds of Edifices, and how to judge of it, ſaith, You may judge of the Proportion of Ships by the *Interſcalmium*, which the *Greeks* call εἰρεσία: For ſo *Voſſius* corrects the Word *Diphciaca*, as it is in *Turnebus*, or *Iphesiaca*, as it is in the MS. in the *Cotton* Library. In the common Books the Word is διπηχαϊκή; but this *Turnebus* juſtly explodes, for *Vitruvius* could not be ſo abſurd, as to conclude one might judge of the Bigneſs of Ships, from the *Interſcalmium*, in all of them, being of the quantity of 2 Cubits. The *Interſcalmium* therefore, ſaith *Voſſius*, was not, as Learned Men have thought, the Space or Diſtance between two Oars, or between two Benches of Rowers; but the Space between the *Scalmus* and the Rower that ſate fartheſt from the *Scalmus*: Or to ſpeak plainer and more ſignificantly, the ἐντὸς κώπης, as *Heſychius* calls it; that is, as much as is the length of that part of the longeſt Oar which is within the Ship: And this Space the *Greeks* called εἰρεσία, becauſe it was moſtly, tho' not entirely taken up by the Rowers: And this εἰρεσία, he ſaith, once known, not only the Length and Breadth of every Ship that rows is given, but alſo the Proportion of all Parts of her, and the Length of the Oars; as is now well known to be the caſe of the Gallies in the *Mediterranean*. And he judges, that the antient *Triremes*, and the Ships of more *Ordines*, were built much after the Rate and Proportion of the modern Gallies, ſince their Length to their Breadth is repreſented to be about 7 to 1, as it is in our Gallies. *Lucian* indeed deſcribes a Ship, whoſe Length was about

4

4 times its Breadth; but this was not of the kind we are ſpeaking, *viz.* Ships of War, but an Onerary one, which went only with Sails, without Oars: And was much like our preſent Ships of Burden, whoſe Length is about 4 times their Breadth. And leſt this great Length in a Ship of War or Gally, ſhould prove a weakening to her; the Ancients, as well as the Moderns, placed ſtrong Tranſom Beams every where a-croſs her, to keep her Sides together: which both ſtrengthen'd the Ship mightily, And alſo was of uſe to the Rowers, who always pull the eaſier the further they are placed from the *Scalmus.*

As to the length of the Oars, he thinks juſtly, that it varied according to the Rate of the Ship, as it doth now: But this Proportion, he ſaith, is now-a-days obſerved, that if a Gally be 95 Cubits long, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ broad; the length of her Oars muſt be 24 Cubits and $\frac{1}{4}$, that is, ſuppoſing half a common Cubit to be the *Palmus Major* of 9 Inches: $48\frac{1}{2}$ ſuch Palms. The length of the Oar within Board from the end or the handle to the *Scalmus* is eleven Palms or 99 Inches: And to this part there are placed uſually five, and ſometimes ſix hands, or Men to row: for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ Palms from the *Scalmus* (within Board) the Oar hath no hands applied to it, ſince both Experience and the Nature of things teaches, that the Rowers have little or no Force, if they ſit very near to that ſide of the Ship or Boat their Oar is put out from. From the *Scalmus* without the Ship the Oar is 37 Palms in length, at the handle it is 9 Inches in Diameter, and grows by degrees bigger till you come juſt to the *Scamus*, where 'tis 14 Inches in Diameter: And then 'tis 9 Inches again in Diameter at the *Scalmus*; but without it, not above 4 Inches, and this Thickneſs it keeps till you come to the *Palmula*, or part that ſtrikes the Water, which is alſo 9 Inches broad. Theſe Meaſures all Builders of Gallies obſerve in the *Mediterranean*; and unleſs they are obſerved, the Oars will be either ſo weak as to break, or ſo big as to be cumberſome and unmanageable. Having premiſed this, he takes *Ptolemy Philopator*'s Famous Ships of 40 *Ordines* into Conſideration, about which you have ſeen above the Opinions of others. And ſince *Athenæus* tells us, that the longeſt Oars of this Ship were 38 Cubits, or 57 feet in length, the Proportions of the ſeveral parts of thoſe Oars he judges eaſily eſtimable: As for inſtance, he ſhews, that the Thickneſs of thoſe Oars, juſt without the *Scalmus*, ought to have been ſomething above 7 Inches in Diameter, and that 36 foot of the length of the Oar was without the Ship. At the part, or handle, where the Rowers ſate and pulled, it was at leaſt 15 Inches in Diameter: Into which thick handles, if Lead were caſt, as *Athenæus* ſaith there was, they would be eaſily enough manageable by 4 or more Hands, eſpecially having a third part of their length, or 19 Foot within Board: Which is the Proportion that ſhould be obſerved in all Oars. He ſaith further, that there can be no good Rowing Ship but what will have the length of the Oar without Board to the height of the uppermoſt *Scalmi* above the Surface of the Water, in a *Seſquitertian* (he ſhould have ſaid, *Tripla Seſquitertian*) *Ratio*: Or as $3\frac{1}{3}$ to one. Wherefore the Oars in this great Ship being 36 Foot long without Board, if when being put down to ſtrike the Water, they be lowered 1 Foot from the perpendicular of the higheſt *Scalmi*, the diſtance of theſe *Scalmi* from the Water will be 9 Foot. But then the next Difficulty will be, how to account for 4000 Rowers in no greater an height from the Water than 9 Foot, and what is to be underſtood by their riſing up to forty *Ordines*: And how theſe 4000 Rowers could be divided into 40 *Ordines*. He avoids repeating what ſome learned Men in *France* have ſaid upon this Subject: And only obſerves, that they have rightly aſſigned the Riſe of theſe *Ordines* not to be directly perpendicular, but ſlopewiſe, or obliquely: As is apparent from ſome ancient Monuments: But he thinks thoſe are in the wrong, who aſſign but one Man to an Oar, eſpecially in the upper *Ordines* of ſuch great Ships; for ſince they allow but a ſmall part of the Oar to have been within Board, 'tis impoſſible ſuch vaſt Oars would be manag'd by a ſingle Man, ſo as to be of any uſe. For if this Ship of 40 *Ordines* had, as they allow, a Cubits riſe in every Bank, or Order, it muſt be at leaſt 40 Cubits high from the Water: So that by the by, ſince *Athenæus* ſaith her Oars were but 38 Cubits, how could they ſtrike the Water? He ſhews alſo that the Oars muſt not only be long enough to reach the Water, but that they muſt keep to the Proportion above-mentioned: And conſequently muſt have been 180 Feet without Board, and 90 within: Alſo that theſe Oars near the *Scalmus* muſt have been 15 Foot in Diameter; and allowing a proportionable Thickneſs for them at the handles, the part of ſuch an Oar which is within the *Scalmus*, would take up (he ſaith) the room of a 1000 Rowers.

Next, as to placing the Rowers, and the diſtance of their Oars and Benches one from another: There is not much Light to be had from the Ancient Coins and Medals; becauſe there was not room to expreſs above one *Ordo* or Bank of Oars, in the Figures of the *Triremes* and *Liburnicæ.* But in a Coin of *Cæſar Gordianus*, a Draught of which Sir *J. Maſham* had from *Caracari*, and which he ſhew'd to *Voſſius*, there are apparently two *Ordines*, one riſing above another. And upon *Trajan's* Pillar at *Rome*, and ſome other old *Marmora*, there are plainly to be ſeen three *Ordines Remorum* riſing obliquely. And from hence it was, that *Palmerius* and ſome other Learned Men, have fancied, that in the Ships of the Superior Orders, and particularly in that of *Ptolemy Philopator*, the *Ordines* were all accountable after the ſame way, *viz.* in height one above another: But this cannot be allowed, becauſe of the great Abſurdities and Inconſiſtencies above-mentioned, which will plainly be deducible from this Suppoſition.

Voſſius thinks therefore, that there were never any Ships built with above 7 *Ordines* or Banks of Oars: And this he cites *Julius Pollux*, as affirming in theſe words; where he hath corrected the Vulgar *Greek* Text, by his own *Liber Optimus*, as he calls it. ὅτι δὲ τὴν τριήρη ἑκατέρωθεν παρατεινομένη τρόπις, τρῖτος καὶ δίζυγος ὁ καὶ θαλάμιος· ἔστι δὲ ἐνίοτε ἀνίσταται ἡ τριήρης, ὡς ἱέραξ καὶ πῆξιν ἀνελεῖται τρῖτος βίλος, καὶ δίζυγος, καὶ [illegible]. I ſhall not undertake to give you the *Engliſh* of theſe words; becauſe *Voſſius* hath not put them into *Latin* himſelf: And I queſtion, whether there can be ſo much gain'd from them, as he would infer: But however, 'tis probable, that the Banks or Tires of Oars ſeldom or never roſe higher than this, in Ships of uſe, as I have in part obſerved before.

In order to make out that this huge Ship of *Philopator*'s did not riſe to above ſeven *Ordines Remorum*, he next enquires into the diſtance between Rower and Rower. In the preſent Gallies this diſtance is never leſs than 3, and uſually about 4 Foot. And *Ferdinandus Oliverius Luſitanus* ſaith $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet is enough. In the Ancient *Triremes* theſe Intervals between the Rowers, are not always to be conſidered after the ſame manner. If the Oars were to be placed directly and perpendicularly over each other; the Diſtance of 3 Feet or $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet was enough between Rower and Rower. But if the *Ordines* roſe obliquely, the Rowers were at leaſt 7 Feet diſtant one from another. But this could not be in the *Pontick Octeris*, deſcribed by *Memnon* in *Photius*: In each ſingle *Ordo* of which he ſaith, there were 100 Rowers; for if we allow 7 Foot diſtance between Oar and Oar, the Ship muſt be above 700 Feet in length, beſides Head and Stern: Wherefore *Voſſius* thinks 'tis pretty clear, that this *Octeris* had but one *Ordo* of Oars, and eight Men to each Oar; but in the Ship of *Ptolemy Philopator*, there could not be ſuch a Diſpoſition of the Oars. For if you ſhould ſuppoſe, that there was only the ſpace of 3 Foot between the Oars of the ſame *Ordo* in this Ship; The τὸ ἔγκωπον, or Part of the Ship where the Oars were uſed, could not be above 100 Cubits; and ſo there would be the ſpace of 180 Cubits, in which there were no Oars at all. Now in all Rowing Ships (ſaith he) more than [illegible]ths of the Length of them ought to be taken up by the Oars. But he concludes, that there was in Reality but one 6th part of *Ptolemy*'s Ships, free from Oars: Becauſe *Athenæus* ſaith there were but 50 Rowers in each *Ordo*: (I ſuppoſe he means on each ſide, for 50 times 40 is but 2000, whereas here were 4000 Rowers) whence 'tis eaſy (he ſaith) to gather, that the Rowers were diſpoſed in oblique Parallelograms: Whoſe Form and Length he gives you a Diagram of. In the *Mediiterranean* Gallies each Rower's Bench or Seat is 22 Inches high, and out of this, if you take 4 Inches for the height of the Footſtep or Stretcher; there will remain the diſtance of a Cubit or 18 Inches between them. And the ſpace of 9 Feet (which he had before ſhewed the higheſt *Scalmi* were in this Ship above the Water) would contain 6 ſuch Benches of Oars. In his Figures he ſhews you the manner of the Rowers being placed, and what ſpaces are taken up by the Motion of their Bodies in Rowing, whether I muſt refer the Reader. After this, he juſtly rejects the Opinion of *Palmerius* and others, of the 40 *Ordines* being all one above another; ſince, according to his Scheme, all the Orders of Rowers (above the third) would rather hinder than forward the Motion of the Ship, by the Oars ſtriking the Water. And this Difficulty ſtill encreaſes with their Notion of their being but a ſmall part of the Oar within the Ship: Eſpecially too ſince they will needs have the Oars (as *Scheffer* in particular) moved by but one Man a-piece. For how is it poſſible for one Man, at but a little diſtance from the *Scalmus*, to manage an Oar of the Length and Bigneſs of thoſe in this celebrated Ship? Since 'tis found, that the ſmall Oars (in Compariſon of thoſe) of a Modern Gally, will ſignify nothing if moved by but one hand, tho' at the diſtance of 12 Foot from the *Scalmus*! And yet 'tis an Eternal Rule in Staticks; that one Man at 20 foot from the *Scalmus*, will have as much power to move an Oar, as 20 Men ſhall have at the diſtance of but one foot from the *Scalmus*. So that finding inſuperable Difficulties in all other Solutions of this matter, he at laſt propoſes his own Opinion and Judgment about the Diſpoſition of the Rowers in this mighty Ship: And he thinks his Account will ſolve the whole Affair, and make it clear and intelligible. 1. Therefore, he ſuppoſes that in the loweſt *Ordo*, or that next the Water, there was but one Man to an Oar. 2. That as for the Oars of the higher *Ordines*, the higher they were poſited, and the farther diſtant the handle of the Oar was from the *Scalmus*, ſo proportionably, had they more Men to each Oar. 3. That the *Gradus* and *Ordines Remorum*, ſo often mentioned by the Ancients, are not only to be ſought in the Decks or Tires of Oars one above another, but rather in the *Juga* or Benches upon which the Rowers ſate, and to which they went up by ſteps. And that theſe Benches were not, as is vulgarly believed, placed parallel to the Sea, or in an Horizontal Poſition, but they aſcended orroſe in height obliquely towards the middle of the Ship, ſo that the Seats of thoſe Rowers upon the ſame *Jugum*, or Bench, which were next the *Forum*, were an entire Cubit's height above thoſe next the *Scalmus*. Then he gives another Diagram, in which he ſhews the manner of the Poſition of the Oars in a Ship of ſix *Ordines*: Where the *Scalmi* of the uppermoſt Oars are 9 foot above the Surface of the Water, each *Ordo* being a Cubit above that next below it; and ſo every where.

The *Thalamita*, or lowermoſt Oar, ſate 4 foot from the *Scalmus*, and his Seat was elevated 4 Inches above it. The Rower in the ſecond *Ordo* ſate 7 feet from the *Scalmus*, and 7 Inches above it. The Rower in the third *Ordo* ſate 10 feet from the *Scalmus*, and 10 Inches above it. The fourth, 13 Inches above, and 13 feet from the *Scalmus*: The fifth ſate 16 Inches over it, and 16 feet from it: And the ſixth or uppermoſt Rower ſate 19 feet from, and 19 Inches above the *Scalmus*. And higher than theſe ſix *Ordines*, he thinks, they did not build, both becauſe the Oars would be of ſuch a length as to be unmanageable; and alſo becauſe there can no great uſe be made of an Oar, when its handle riſes as high as the head of the Rower.

Next, in order to diſcover the Number of *Juga*, or Benches, that were in this Ship, and how many Rowers ſate on each Bench, he takes the length of the longeſt Oars into Conſideration: Theſe *Athenæus* ſaith, were 57 feet long; and conſequently allowing a third part of the Oar to be within Board, as the natural and uſual Proportion is, the *Interſcalmium*, or diſtance between the *Scalmus* and the inner end of the Oar will be 19 feet. But he allows a Cubit for the Thickneſs of the Ship's ſide, reckoning from the *Epiſcalmium*, or the point of Decuſſation. Then he enquires how much of the *Interſcalmium* had no Rowers in it: And ſaith, That in the common Gallies if the *Interſcalmium* be of 17 Spans (or 153 Inches) there are no Rowers for the diſtance of 7 Spans (or 63 Inches) *i. e.* 5 feet 3 Inches from the *Scalmus*. But then the other 10 Spans of length are all taken up with the Rowers; which are 5 in Number. And he finds from *Heſychius*, that this Proportion was obſerved in the Ancient Ships, which were but of one *Ordo* or Deck. But becauſe in Oars of ſuch a vaſt length as thoſe in *Ptolomy*'s Ships, require a greater diſtance between the Rowers and the *Epiſcalmium*; inſtead of 5 foot as in the common Gallies, let the diſtance here be ſuppoſed to be 5 Cubits, or 7 Feet and an half: Then there will remain the ſpace of 12½ feet which he ſuppoſes was taken up by 10 Rowers; 15 Inches being ſpace enough for each Rower. After this he gives another Scheme of the manner of placing the *Juga* of Benches for the Rowers to ſit on; which Benches roſe up in height obliquely one above another: The lowermoſt *Ordo* had but one Rower, the ſecond two, the third four, the fourth ſix, the fifth eight, the ſixth or uppermoſt ten; ſo that in the whole, theſe *Juga* contained 31 *Ordines*. And he ſuppoſes a double Obliquity in theſe *Juga*, i. e. that they roſe or aſcended length ways, as well as in Breadth; and alſo that the *Tigna*, or Beams which ſupported theſe *Juga* were framed ſo as to exhibit a kind of Grate or Lettice. Between theſe Gratings, and the *Juga*, he allows a ſpace for the Maſters or Commanders of the ſeveral Banks of Oars, to come to their Poſts: For ſince between the uppermoſt Rowers there was the diſtance of 19 feet, altho' 2 Cubits ſhould be allowed for the Thickneſs of the Beams which ſupport the *Juga*, and as much for the way for Officers and Commanders to go up to their Poſts, there will yet remain the ſpace of 13 feet: Which Breadth is ſufficient, becauſe this Ship, he ſaith, was [illegible], *i. e.* had three *Fori*.

After this he conſiders the ſeventh *Ordo* of Oars, where the Rowers ſate above the *Tranſtra*; whereas the other ſix Banks of Rowers before ſpoken of, ſate all below: And he ſaith, that tho' this may ſeem to be a higher place than that of thoſe which rowed below or under the *Tranſtra*, yet that in reality it was not ſo, the 6th and 7th *Ordo Remorum* being of an equal Height from the Water, as were alſo their *Scalmi*: which ſeeming Paradox he thus endeavours to make out. Theſe *Tranſtra* were Beams going a-croſs the Ship from ſide to ſide, and not only ſo, but running clear thro' the Side, and jutting out to a conſiderable diſtance without Board. Theſe ſerved ſometimes for Benches for the Men to ſit and row on, which was their firſt Signification; the lower Benches being called *Juga*: The *Tranſtra* the *Greeks* called Θρᾶνοι. Beſides the above-named uſe of which *Tranſtra* for the Men to ſit upon and row, as well without the Ship as within it, they were alſo the greateſt ſtrength Ships of ſo long a Form could have, and which indeed kept them together intirely: And without ſuch 'tis impoſſible to ſuppoſe that Veſſels which were 7 or 8 times as long as they were broad, could bear the Motion of a moderate Sea. And tho' in many of the ancient Coins and Medals which have Ships ſtampt upon them, the ends of theſe *Tranſtra* without the Ship do not appear, the Axis of the Eye being ſuppoſed to be at right Angles with the Ships ſide uſually; yet however in ſome Coins they do appear very plainly and particularly in the firſt of thoſe mentioned and deſigned by *Bayfius*, in which the *Mutuli* or Brackets ſupporting the *Projecture* of the *Tranſtra* are very viſible. And the ſame thing may be collected from *Archimedes* his Ship, mentioned by *Athenæus*, where the *Struppi* and *Scalmi Remorum*, are ſaid to have been a convenient diſtance without the Ship. And theſe *Projectures* with the coverings upon them, had anciently different Appellations according to the parts of the Ship they poſſeſt. That which was next the Poop, they called *Jugum Puppis*, and that next the Prow, *Jugum Proræ*: And theſe *Pollux* ſaith, they called alſo *Maxillæ* and *alæ*. The very extreme ends of theſe Beams jetting out without Board in the Foreſhip, the *Greeks* called ἐπωτίδες, as being like Ears, and theſe Beams were always made of very firm and ſtrong Wood, leſt in an Engagement, the Oars ſhould break off there. For in a Sea Fight the Enemies directed the *Roſtra* of their Man of War after two ſeveral ways: If they engaged a Ship Head to Head directly, then they endeavoured by means of the *Roſtra*, to break off the two Eminent *Epotides* which were in the Prow, ſo that they being broken and the *Scalmi* carried off, the Ship would be ſo diſabled that ſhe could not row; and beſides, the ſtroke did alſo very much endanger the carrying away the Anchors of the Adverſe Ship, which hung at her Bow. But if inſtead of attacking her a head, they aimed at the Stern: Then the Direction of the *Roſtra* was againſt thoſe *Epotides* to which the Rudders were affixed: Which they hoped to bear away by the Shock, and ſo diſable her from ſteering.

Upon the *Tranſtra* were the *Cataſtromata* built; which were a kind of *Decks*, or rather half or quarter Decks: For they were not cloſe every way, but always left open in the middle, that there might come in Air to refreſh the numerous Rowers. And theſe Decks did not only reach as far as the Ship's ſides, but projected out beyond them a good way, even as far as the *Scalmi* of the uppermoſt Oars, and were ſupported by Brackets or Stanchions, at the external Ends of the *Tranſtra*. And therefore when *Thucydides* ſaith that the *Naves Longæ* were without Decks or Coverings before the *Perſic* Wars, he means within Board: For we find from *Homer*, that the moſt ancient *Greek* Ships had thoſe Covering upon the exterior parts of the *Tranſtra*: But they were open in the middle within Board, for the Reaſons above given. Theſe *Cataſtromata* were alſo both ſupported and adorned by *Atlantes* and *Telemones*, that is Pillars of Wood, carved after the ſame manner as the *Caryatides*: Which were Human Figures, whoſe Heads ſupported the Entablature of a Column.

After this uſeful and curious Digreſſion about the *Cataſtromata*, he returns to the Point he was before to make good; and that was, that the uppermoſt Oars of the 7th *Ordo* were not higher, or had their *Scalmi* further from the Water, than thoſe of the ſixth *Ordo* next below them, and under the *Tranſtra*. And this he accounts for by ſhewing, that the *Thranitæ*, or uppermoſt Rowers, ſate not above, but ſidewiſe, of the upper *Zygitæ*: And of theſe he gives a Diagram, and ſuppoſes that the Oars of theſe *Thranitæ* were of the ſame length and magnitude with thoſe of the uppermoſt *Zygitæ*; and conſequently there was in each *Ordo* an equal number of Men to an Oar. And having obſerved before, that the *Sex Ordines Remorum* contained 31 *Ordines Remigum*, accounting from the Rower next the Water, to the uppermoſt of the *Zygitæ*; if you add ten more for the *Thranitæ*, you will have 41 *Ordines* of Rowers upon ſeven *Juga* or Benches, and riſing gradually into ſeven *Ordines Remorum*. Now ſince it appears from *Athenæus*, that in this celebrated Ship of *Philopator*, there were 50 Oars of a Side placed lengthwiſe, and that ſhe was of the height of 7 Banks or *Ordines* of Oars; 50 multiplied by 7 gives 350, which doubled, gives 700 for the whole number of Oars ſhe was rowed with. And ſince it hath been probably ſhewn, that for the Management of theſe Oars there was allotted 41 Men to every 7 Oars, accounted in height one obliquely above another, according to the *Remorum Ordines*: You muſt ſay by the Rule of Three, if 7 give 41 :: what ſhall 700 give? The Anſwer will be 4100. Wherefore there muſt be in this Ship, according to *Voſſius* his Account, 4100 Rowers; which agrees well with *Athenæus*, who ſaith, there were above 4000: In a round Number therefore ſhe may be called a τεσσαρακοντήρης, or a Ship of 40 *Ordines*, tho' ſhe was in reality of a little larger Rate.

And thus doth this very Learned and Judicious Man account for the diſtribution of the 4000 Rowers in this eminent Ship of *Ptolomy Philopater*, offers it for a Solution of the Difficulties about the *Ordines*, which I have the more largely given you, becauſe it is much the beſt of any I have met with; tho' even this is embarraſſed with ſome Perplexities, not to ſay Inconſiſtencies, which ſeem to ariſe from our want of knowing the exact Senſe of the *Greek* and *Latin* Words uſed by the Antients about Shipping; but this is no more than what at this diſtance of Time we may expect.

The Learned and Inquiſitive *Scheffer* came near to a right Solution of this Matter; but he was hinder'd from compleating it, by falling into an Error, in which ſome others have alſo followed him, or he them; which is, that none of the antient Writers mention Oars that were moved by more than one Man at a time. But this Miſtake *Voſſius* ſhews to ariſe from their not conſidering, that both *Greeks* and *Latines* uſe the ſame word for the Oar, the Men that row with it, and the Veſſel rowed by it; as we do at this very day on the River *Thames*. For when we find *Cicero*, in his *5th Orat. in Verrem*, ſaying of the *Syracuſians*, *Conjeciſſe multitudinem Piratarum ex ipſo Navigio, quod erat factum ſex Remorum numero*. 'Tis plain he could not mean there were but 6 Oars in the Ship; for how could thoſe be called a Multitude? Nor could he mean that the Ship had *ſex Ordines Remorum*; for no Piratical Ships ever were of that form in his time, but were built low and flat like the modern Gallies: And therefore he muſt mean, that the Oars were moved by ſix Hands, or Men, a-piece. So alſo when in *Livy*, *Lib.* 33. we find mention made of a Ship of K. *Philip*, which, he ſaith, had *ſedecim Verſus Remorum*. *Voſſius* having proved it to be impoſſible, that any Ship ſhould either directly or obliquely riſe up ſo high, thinks that by *Remos* here is underſtood *Remiges*; and that either there were ſome Oars in this Ship ſo large as to be moved by 16 Men; or rather that the Ship having 4 Orders, Banks or Tires of Oars, the loweſt were moved by one Man at each; the Oars of the ſecond Bank were ſeverally, moved by 3 Men; thoſe in the 3d *Ordo* by 5, and thoſe in the uppermoſt Tire by 7 Men: For 7 + 5 + 3 + 1 makes juſt 16. But this is no more than a probable Conjecture. And after the ſame manner doth he interpret that Paſſage of *L. Florus*, where he ſaith, that *M. Anthony* had Ships from 6 to 9 *Ordines Remorum*: He underſtands by it *Ordines Remigum*, and that ſome of his Ships were ſo large, as to have their upper Oars moved by 9 Men; becauſe a Ship of 9 Banks or Orders in height, muſt needs have her upper Oars perfectly uſeleſs.

And ſo much for this difficult and preplexing Matter; I proceed next to conſider the ſeveral Kinds, Forms, Diviſions, Uſes and Names of Ships, with their Parts, Rigging, Tackle, Armature, Ornaments, Commanders, Officers, &c.

Mr. *Potter* tells us rightly, that the *Greeks* divided their Ships into 3 kinds, *Ships of Burden*, *of War*, and *of Paſſage*. The firſt ſort, *viz.* Ships of Burden, they called φορτηγοὶ, ὁλκάδες (whence our *Engliſh*, *Hulk*) and in the general πλοῖα. Theſe the *Latines* called *Onerariæ* uſually, and ſometimes *Annotinæ* (*Vid. Lib.* 3. *Cæſaris de Bell. Gall.*) That is, *Victuallers* to their Ships of War. The *Greeks* called alſo Ships of Burden στρογγύλα, from their being more bulky, and coming nearer to a round Figure than the Men of War, which were μακραὶ, lean and long. There were ſeveral kinds of theſe Ships of Burden, as you will find below in the general Alphabet of the Names and Kinds of Ships; and they uſually went without Oars, uſing only Sails; but ſometimes they made uſe of Oars too, as is plain from many Paſſages in Antiquity. Theſe kinds of Ships were called ἐφολκίδες, becauſe they were frequently towed after the Ships of War which went with Oars, as being of themſelves very ſluggiſh Sailers: For ὁλκαὶ were the *Remulci* or Ropes with which one Ship towed another. The *Naves Onerariæ* were by the *Greeks* called πλοῖα, to diſtinguiſh them from the νῆες, or Ships of War, to which that word νῆες was appropriated.

Theſe Ships of War were by the *Greeks* called μακραὶ, that is, *Naves longæ*, as the *Roman* Term was, becauſe they were of a very great length in proportion to their breadth, *viz.* in about that of 7 to 1. They were alſo named [illegible], becauſe they were chiefly moved by Oars; and ſometimes, as in *Plutarch* and *Thucydides*, they are called κωπῆρες, for the ſame reaſon. Theſe long Ships or Ships of War were again alſo diſtinguiſhed and named according to the Number of, or the manner of carrying their Oars, as I have already largely ſhewn above. To this Species of the *Naves longæ*, the *Actuariæ* or *Runners* ought to be referred, which were deſigned for Speed, Intelligence, Piracy, &c. For they were called *Actuariæ, quia cito agi poſſunt*, as *Scheffer* thinks; but according to *Iſidorus* and *Bayſius*, becauſe they went with Sails and Oars both. There were two ſorts of theſe *Actuariæ*, a greater and a leſſer Size, of which the latter were called *Actuariolæ*. The *Actuariæ* were ſeldom uſed as Ships of War, but chiefly in Piracy, as Rovers, Corſairs, Runners: They had never leſs than 18 or 20 Oars, and ſome had 30 or 40; but if they roſe up to 50, they exceeded this kind, ſaith *Scheffer*. They had no *Roſtra*.

The third kind of Ships were *Ships for Paſſage*, or *Tranſports*, and theſe the *Greeks* diſtinguiſhed according to the nature of their Paſſengers, or thoſe they were to tranſport. Thoſe that ſerved in general for tranſporting of Men, they called πορεῖα and ἀγωγίδες; but when they carried armed Soldiers, they were called ὁπλιταγωγοὶ and στρατιωτίδες; or if Horſes or Horſemen, ἱππαγωγοί. Theſe Tranſports for Horſe, the *Latines*, as *Feſtus* and *Gellius*, call *Hippagines*, from the *Greek*. And ſo peculiar was this way of denominating the Ships from the Things they carried in them, that we find in *Strabo* ſome σκευαγωγοὶ; and in *Arrianus* we have the word σκευοφόρον in the ſame ſenſe, as the Name of a Ship, which he oppoſes to a Man of War. Theſe therefore were deſigned to tranſport, Tents, Carriages, and all ſuch Utenſils as an Army would have need of in a Camp, or upon a March. *Pollux* calls theſe Tranſport Ships, Βάρις and Βαρεῖαι, becauſe their Form and heavy Lading made them ſlow or ſluggiſh Sailers. As to the Form and Structure of Ships in general, the Antients had a regard to three things: That their Ships might be of a due or juſt bigneſs, of ſufficient lightneſs, and yet of ſufficient ſtrength. If they are made too great, they are both unmanageable, and ruin themſelves by their own bulk and weight. We find the *Perſians* telling *Alexander* the Great (in *Curtius*) *That Ships above meaſure large, were ungovernable*, Lib. 6. c. 11. and this was the great fault of the Ships of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, whoſe Bulk *Florus* obſerves was ſuch, *ut non ſine gemitu Maris & labore Ventorum veherentur*; and there was hardly any thing more injurious to them than their own Weight. And this we have found by our long Experience in Naval Affairs, that the ſhorter and ſnugger our new Ships are built, the better they ſail, bear hard Weather and a tumbling Sea, and work as eaſily as ſome old Ships of much leſſer Rates.

They were alſo careful that their Ships ſhould not be too heavy: And this was a good conſideration at that time, when the manner of fighting at Sea was ſo vaſtly different from what it is now; for then Speed and Expedition, and eaſy tacking about or turning any way, going readily forward or backward, as occaſion ſerved, was the chief thing they aimed at; and all things conſidered, they are now as good Qualifications in a Ship, as they were then: To have Ships, as *Lucan* expreſſes it,

-----Habiles Pugnamq; capeſſere-----
Et tentare Fugam, nec longo frangere Gyro
Curſum, nec tardè flectenti cedere Clavo.
Lib. 3. v. 553.

In order to gain this point, they took care to provide proper Timber to build Ships withal; and chiefly that it was well ſeaſoned and dry enough, to make it light, buoyant and ſtanch: For green Plank and Timber will both be very heavy, and alſo will in time ſhrink, chap, and ſo leave the Seams open, and the Ship leaky. The *Laryx Sylveſtris*, the *Pinus Domeſticus*, and the *Abies*, are commended by *Vegetius*, lib. 4. c. 34. for this purpoſe: And of the laſt of theſe *Virgil* ſaith,

Naſcitur & caſus abies viſura marinos.

And when this *Abies* was prepared by thorough Seaſoning, *&c.* for this uſe, it was called *Sapinus*, as appears from *Pliny*, lib. 16. c. 40, 42. and alſo from *Vitruvius*, lib. 2. c. 9. But both theſe condemn the *Larix*, as being too ponderous, and the former Author ſaith, 'tis apt to be worm-eaten too faſt. The *Alnus* is much celebrated for this purpoſe by the Antients (*Alnus amica Fretis*) and *Pliny* recommends the *Arbor Perſica*, lib. 13. c. 9. In *Homer*'s time the *Citra* and the *Populus* were in uſe, and *Theophraſtus* praiſes the Cedar: and of theſe, and of ſeveral other kinds of Trees, they adapted Timber for the ſeveral Parts of the Ship.

Quæ longa eſt, tumidis præbebit cornua velis.
Quæ fortis, clavo potior, quæ lenta, favebit
Remigio, ſtagni patiens aptanda carinæ.
Claud. lib 3. de Rapt. Proſ.

And in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the want of Timber for Shipping on any emergent occaſion, the *Romans* appointed Woods and Foreſts for this ſole purpoſe; in which they well deſerve our Imitation, among whom there is very little care taken about the Preſervation of Timber, tho' our Shipping be ſo eminent a part of our Security and Advantage. This *Livy* ſaith was done by *Scipio*, and as others tell us, by *Ancus Martius* their firſt King; and when they had not enough and ſufficient at home, they were ſo wiſe (as ſome of our neighbouring Countries have been in reſpect of us) to get it from their Friends and Allies.

The third thing they lookt after was the Strength of their Shipping; and this they thought depended chiefly on the time of the Year their Timber was felled, and on the cloſe framing and joining the Planks and Beams, *&c.* together. The *Romans* thought the beginning of Autumn the fitteſt Time to cut down Timber for Sea Uſes, and in particular to do it at the New Moon. Timber rightly felled they called *Tempeſtiva*, as you may find by this Line of *Virgil*.

Aut Tempeſtivam Sylvis evertere Pinum.

But whether in this point they were not more nice, exact and curious than is neceſſary, I muſt leave to better Judges.

To render their Ships cloſe, ſtrong and compact, they drove Braſs Nails through all their Planks; which Metal they preferred to Iron, for this purpoſe, becauſe it was leſs apt to ruſt in the Water. And to hinder Leakage, and to render them ſtanch and tight againſt the Water, they drove in *Stuppa*, *i. e.* Oakam, as we do now, into all the Chinks or Crannys between Plank and Plank. And over all this they put a Coat of Wax, and ſometimes of Pitch, as appears from *Flaccus*, lib 1.

Parte trahat tacitum puppis Mare, fiſſaq; fluctu
Vel pice, vel molli concludere vulnera cerâ.

And this Invention *Suidas* attributes to *Phæaces*. *Vegetius* mentions their uſing Roſin alſo among the Wax and Pitch. This Mixture of Pitch and Wax, when taken off the Sides of Ships, *Pliny* calls *Zopiſſa*, lib. 16. c. 13. After all was finiſhed, and the Ship launched, they made always a ſolemn trial of her, how ſhe would ſail or row, and what was to be depended upon from her, before ever they tried her in Service: And from a Paſſage out of *Cicero*'s 5th Oration againſt *Verres*, *Scheffer* thinks 'tis plain, that the Officer, who had the care of the Trial of new built Ships, was called the *Prætor*.

And thus much for the general Conſtruction of Ships: Let us next conſider the ſeveral Parts of a Ship, and their antient Names in the two famous Languages, the *Greek* and the *Latine*.

Scheffer ſaith, the principal Parts of a Ship are, the *Prora* or *Prow*, the *Puppis* or Poop, and the *Venter* or Belly. In the Belly is firſt conſiderable the *Keel*, which is a long Piece of Timber placed along the Bottom of a Ship, into which all her ground Timbers and Hooks are faſtened and bolted fore and aft. This the *Romans* called *Carina*, and the *Greeks* τρόπις and στεῖρα. The Keel was bent in its proper Form, by the means of certain Poſts or Timbers to which it was faſtened, and which the *Greeks* called δρυόχοι; and this word *Cauſabon* thinks anſwered to the *Latin Statumina*. Antiently they put Keels only to their *Long Ships*; their ſmall Boats, and the *Naves Onerariæ* being uſually without them, as *Scheffer* ſhews from *Iſiodorus*.

Next to the Keel was the σάλκις, the *Sentina*, Gutter, or Sink, like our Hollow between the *Keel* and *Keelſon*, where the Keel-Rope runs to clear the Limber-holes, that the Water may come freely to the *Antlia* or Pump. This σάλκις ſome have confounded with the δευτέρα τρόπις, or Keelſon, which in reality lies above the σάλκις, and is frequently by the *Greeks* called λέσβιον χαλκιδὼν, κλειτροπίδιον; and by *Ariſtophanes* ἰδωός. At the bottom of the Keel were placed pieces of Timber, to ſave the Ship from danger of ſpringing a Leak, if ſhe ſhould happen to ſtrike upon a Rock, *&c.* and alſo, as *Pollux* ſaith, to ſave the Keel from breaking and wearing. Theſe the *Greeks* called χελύσματα, and the *Latins Cunei*, as *Scheffer* concludes from this of *Ovid*, Lib. 11. *Metamorph.* v. 516.

Jamq; labant Cunei, ſpoliataq; tegmine Cera
Rima patet---------

Theſe *Celevſmata* muſt needs very much retard the Motion of the Ship, and therefore I ſuppoſe were ſoon left off, as the Art of Ship building improved; and I know of nothing like them that we have now.

Next above the Keelſon and Floor was an Hollow, which the *Greeks* called κοίλη ναῦς, and γάστρη, the *Romans Teſtudo*, *viz.* the Belly, or middlemoſt and loweſt part of the Hold. This Place was compaſſed in by the νομεῖς, *Coſtæ*, or Ribs of the Ship, called alſo ſometime ἐγκοίλια: On theſe the internal Planks were nailed, which, together with the ὑποζώματα, ζωστῆρες, or according to *Ariſtophanes* the ζωμεύματα, which are the *Wales* or *Bends* which run round the Ship length-ways, and on which Men ſet their Feet, when they clamber up the Ship's Side: and the Ribs, external Plank, *&c.* compoſed the πλευραὶ, *Latera* or Sides of the Ship. And the depth of the Ship within board, or height of her from the Water without, they divided into three Parts, according to the Number of the Zones or *Wales* (much as we now call the *Wales*, by the names of 1, 2, 3, and 4 *Wale* from the Water). The lowermoſt *Wale* was called Θάλαμος, becauſe next to the Sea or Water, the middlemoſt ζυγὰ, and the uppermoſt Θρᾶνος, and according as the Rowers ſate in any of the Planes of theſe Zones, they were called *Thalamitæ*, *Zygitæ*, and *Thranitæ*, as hath been before obſerved. Theſe Zones, or Ranks of Places of the Rowers, the *Greeks* called τοῖχοι and ἑδώλια; and the *Latins Fori*: For the *Fori* were not the ſame with the *Cataſtromata* (as ſome have fancied) which are the uppermoſt Decks or Coverings in a Ship: For *Lucan* mentions the upper and lower *Fori*, as being Places where the Rowers ſate, in theſe Verſes, beforementioned on another occaſion.

Intrat diffuſos peſtis Vulcania paſſim,
Atq; implet diſperſa Foros: Trepidatur omiſſo
Summis remigio, ſed enim tam rebus in arctis
Fama mali nondum tanti penetrarat ad imos.

And before in *Lib.* 3. *v.* 29.

At poſtquam ruptis pelagus compagibus hauſit
Ad ſummos repleat Foros, deſcendit in undas.

In the Ships Sides were Places or Holes to thruſt the Oars out at, which if it were all in one continued Vacuity, Mr. *Potter* ſaith, the *Greeks* called it τρῆμα: But if, as it was moſt uſual, each Oar had its ſingle Hole, then theſe diſtinct Holes were called τρήματα and τρυπήματα, as appears from *Ariſtophanes* and *Pollux*: And the Interpreter on the former ſaith truly, that they were ſometimes called ὀφθαλμοὶ, from their appearing ſomething like Eyes. Theſe Holes, 'tis plain from *Feſtus*, the *Latins* called *Columbaria*, becauſe they were like Holes in a Dove-houſe, placed orderly, one above another. They took their Appellation alſo (as the Rowers did) from their height above the Water, the uppermoſt being called θαλάμια, the middle Ranks ζύγια, and thoſe next the Water θράνια. The whole ſpace which the Men took up to ſit and row, in the *Greeks* was called ἐγκωπον: Which Word ſeems alſo to ſignify the ſpaces between the ſeveral *Ordines Remorum*.

Above the *Thranus*, over all the Banks of Oars, there was a Paſſage left free to walk in, and therefore called πάροδος, and ſometimes παράθρανος, as being contiguous to the uppermoſt Banks of Oars. *Scheffer* thinks, That the Entrance into the Ship's hold was near this place, and therefore 'tis called *Aditus* by *Ovid*, in *Libr.* 3. *Metamorph.*

> *——— Pars hic mihi maxima Juris*
> *Inque Aditu ſubſiſto————*

Anciently 'twas called *Agear*: Which word *Ennius* hath in this Verſe, *Lib.* 8.

> *Multa foro ponunt, agearia longa replentur.*

As *Scheffer* rightly corrects the Text: Inſtead of the Vulgar, *Agiaria*.

Let us now leave the middle part of the Ship, and move forwards into the Fore-Caſtle, Head or Prow: This the *Greeks* called πρῶρα, and μέτωπον, and the *Latines Prora*: In ſome Ancient Ships, we read, that this part was double, as alſo the Stern; as in that Ship of *Danaus*, with which he fled into *Egypt*. Here was conſiderable, firſt the στόλος, which was a long Peece of Timber ſticking out of the Head, ſomething in the form of a Helmet, and with a kind of *Voluta* or Scroul at the end winding downwards; which from its Shape they called ὀφθαλμὸς, it being ſomething like an Eye; this *Stolus* was alſo called χήνισκος and στειροκαταλαία: The uppermoſt Convex part of this, as appears by the draught of the Ancient *Triremis* which *Lazarus Bayſius* pretends to give us from the *Trajan* Column, was the ἀκροστόλιον, which the *Romans* called *Apluſtre*, and anſwered to the ἄφλαστα in the Stern: Sometimes the *Acroſtolia* were of an Orbicular Form, ſometime ſhaped like Wings; and to it there was often an ἀσπιδεῖον, ἀσπιδίσκη, a *Scutulum*, or little Shield affixed, and ſometimes a piece of Wood was erected, to which Ribbonds of divers Colours were hung, and ſerved both for Ornament, and Diſtinction of the Ship: But there was uſually in the Prow placed juſt below the στόλος the παράσημον, the *Ancient* or Flag by which Ships were not then diſtinguiſhed, to what Nation they belonged, as they are now, but from one another. The *Latines* called this *Pictura*, becauſe it uſually repreſented ſome Animal, Flower, or ſome Artificial thing, a Crown, *&c.* Sometimes alſo this was carved on a kind of Table, Shield, *&c.* of Wood, and painted afterwards: From the Figure of this *Paraſemum* the Ship took its Name, being called the *Dolphin*, if it repreſented that *Fiſh*: But with us now, this is uſually done from the Picture in the Stern. In *Virgil* there are two Paſſages confirming this, as I find them cited by *Moriſotus* in his *Orbis Maritimus*.

The firſt is,

> *——————— Æneia puppis*
> *Prima tenet, roſtro Phrygios invecta leones.*

Where tho' the Ship of *Æneas* was *Sub Tutela Matris Deum*, whoſe Image was therefore painted in her Stern, yet in her Prow ſhe bore a Lion or Lions for her *Paraſemum*, and ſo was denominated from thence.

The other is this;

> *Maſſicus cerata Princeps ſerat æquora tygri.*

Where 'tis plain the *Paraſemum* (which was a Tyger) was in the Prow. In the Head of the Ship there was ἔμβολον or *Roſtrum*; the Uſe of which I ſhall ſhew hereafter, this was the loweſt part of the Head, and uſually under Water. *Scheffer* ſaith the Sides of the Prow were called [illegible], and ſometimes παρια: Which Mr. *Potter* corrects into παρειαὶ, that is Cheeks, in Alluſion to an Humane Face. Between the Sides of the Prow or Head was contained that ſpace which the *Greeks* called παρεξειρεσία, becauſe it was free from Rowers, and this reached from the foremoſt Oars to the ἀκροστόλιον. This Prow or Fore-part of the Ship was anciently finely adorned: Sometimes guilded with Gold, and ſometimes painted with beautiful and lively Colours. Of which *Red* was moſt anciently in uſe: For we find *Homer* giving the *Greek* Ships the Titles of μιλτοπάρῃοι and φοινικοπάρῃοι: This they thought very proper for Ships of War, becauſe it was the Colour of Blood: But ſometime Blew or Sky-Colour was alſo the Faſhion, as bearing ſome Reſemblance with the Colour of the Sea: Thus we find in *Homer*, Ships called κυανόπρῳροι from their blew Heads; and in *Ariſtophanes* they are called κυανέμβολοι: Several other Colours were alſo uſed; and theſe were not only Varniſhes or Colours ſlightly laid on, but they were done after a much ſtronger manner; and annealed in by Wax melted in the Fire, and incorporated with the Pigment, ſo that neither Wind, Water, nor the heat of the Sun, would much damage it. From the Wax that was uſed in this kind of Painting, it was called κηρογραφία, and from its being done by fire ἐγκαυστική. 'Tis mentioned by *Ovid* in the 4th Book of his *Faſti*: Thus,

> *————— Picta coloribus uſtis.*
> *Cærulem matrem concava puppis habet.*

In theſe Colours, and in divers parts of the Ship, they did uſe to repreſent the Figures of their Deities, of Animals, Plants, Flowers, *&c.* as *Bayſius* at large ſhews from the Ancient Monuments. And the manner how they did it is deſcribed by *Vitruvius* in *Lib.* 7. *c.* 9. There was alſo one kind of Ornament which, with the *Greeks*, was peculiar to the Prow of a Ship; and wherewith the Extremities of it were adorned: Theſe in general they called ἀκρώνια; and by the Scholiaſt on *Thucydides*, νεῶν κορωνίδες. The *Latines* called them *Corymbi*, as I ſuppoſe from this of *Homer*.

> ————νεῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβα.

But the *Latines* did make theſe *Corymbi* common Ornaments to the Stern of the Ship, as well as the Prow; and in the general, they ſeem to be much the ſame with the ἀκροστόλια.

In the *Stern* of the Ship, which the *Greeks* called πρύμνα, and their Poets οὐρά. The Top, or uppermoſt part of it, was the ἄφλαστον, or *Apluſtre* in *Latine*; which was a kind of handſome Shell framed of Boards, and placed over the Captain's Seat in the Poop; a little lower was a Place called ἀσάνδιον, whoſe lower part was the ἰσθμίον; and becauſe it was bent in an Arch, like the head of a Cradle, or of a Basket Chair, they called it [illegible]: And the Planks of Wood out of which this was made, [illegible]. The Poop, or upper part of the Stern was much higher than the Head, and incurvated in Arch-wiſe: For *Virgil* mentions the Commander of the Ship as ſtanding, — *Celſâ in puppi*; and *Ovid* hath it, *Stantem in Puppe recurvâ*: For this was the Pilot or Maſter's Place, who gave Directions for ſteering the Ship: And here the Commander in chief ſate, in the abovementioned arched Seat: Which *Athenæus* calls σκηνὴ, the *Latines* called it *Diæta* and *Tabernaculum*. In the Stern was alſo the *Tutela Navis*, or the Picture or Image of the Deity under whoſe Protection the Ship was thought to be, as having been ſolemnly committed to it. The Stern was alſo then, as it is now, the moſt honourable part of the Ship: And held ſo ſacred, that it was a kind of Sanctuary to retire to in the greateſt Danger: And this *Fonsbergius* (in *Scheffer*) ſaith is the Cuſtom at this Day in the *Mediterranean* Ships. It is called by *Germanicus*, *Veneranda Puppis*: And *Livy* ſpeaking of the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors petitioning for Peace of the *Romans*, ſaith, *Lib.* 30. *c.* 36. *Cum ad Puppim Prætoriæ Navis acceſſiſſent, Velamenta ſupplicum porrexerunt, orantes implorantesq; fidem Scipionis.*

Let us next conſider the Rigging, Tackle, and Inſtruments uſed aboard a Ship, both for common and Warlike Uſes. The Inſtruments neceſſary for common Uſe, were ſuch as were ſubſervient either to her Rowing, Sailing, or both. Thoſe neceſſary for Rowing were firſt the *Tranſtra*, as the *Latines* called them, becauſe they went a-croſs or a-thwart the Ship, from ſide to ſide; theſe were the Seats on which the Men ſate that rowed; of whom *Virgil* ſaith,

> *Conſidunt Tranſtris————*

The *Greeks* called theſe σέλματα, ἑδώλια and ζυγά: From whence the *Latine* word *Juga* in the ſame Senſe: Theſe *Tranſtra* ſerved the Rowers for Beds as well as Seats; as is plain from this Paſſage out of the *Agamemnon* of *Seneca*.

> *—————Credita eſt vento Ratis*
> *Fuſusq; Tranſtris Miles————*

And from this of *Virgil*, *Æneid.* V.

> ———*Placida laxarunt membra quiete*
> *Sub Remis, fuſi per dura Sedilia Nautæ.*

He might very juſtly call them *dura Sedilia*: For they were only the bare croſs Beams of the Ship, without any Beds upon them: For to have had ſuch would in thoſe Days, would have been thought too ſoft lying for a Soldier or a Sailer. Nay the very Captain, or Commander himſelf, ſlept at Night in his Arched Hutt, or Century Box, upon the Poop; where he abode, eat and drank by day: And *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alcibiades*, takes notice, that ſome ſofter and eaſier Methods of lying, which that General had contrived for himſelf, were objected againſt him as a great Fault.

2. *Remi*, κῶπαι, or Oars: Theſe are ſometimes called *Palmulæ*; but this word properly ſignifies the outermoſt broad ends of the Oar which ſtrike the Water: Theſe the *Greeks* call πλάται; and they were often lined or covered with Braſs: Theſe Oars were of different Length, Strength, and Weight, according as there was occaſion, as hath been before obſerved: The *Thranitæ* uſing the greateſt and longeſt: The *Thalamitæ* the leaſt and ſhorteſt.

3. There were neceſſary to rowing, the *Lora* or *Struppi*, by which, as with Leathern *Strops*, the Oars were faſtened to the *Scalmi*, that they might not ſlip too far out of the Ships ſide, or out of the hands of the Rowers. *Vitruvius* Lib. 10. c. 8. ſaith, *Remos circa Scalmos Strophis religari*: *Q. Curtius* calls this, *aptare Remos*, the fitting the Oars for Buſineſs. The *Gubernacula*, or Paddle-Helms, with which the Ship was ſteered (of which below) were alſo bound to their *Scalmus*, with theſe *Lora*. Theſe *Lora*, the *Greeks* called τροποὶ and τροπωτῆρες: And in *Heſychius* you find ὑποκωπητῆρες in the ſame Senſe.

4. *Scalmus* was the *Thoul*, *Pin* or *Peg*, placed in the Hole in the Ships ſide, *&c.* on which, as on an *Obex*, or *Hypomochlion*, the Oar was fixt; and on which, as on a Centre, it moved: The *Greeks* called it alſo σκάλμος, but *Heſychius* κωπηλίς; and ſometimes not only the *Paxyllus* in one particular Hole where an Oar was thruſt out and faſtened by the *Lora* to it, was called *Scalmus*, but the whole Rank of Oar-holes, belonging to any particular *Ordo*. And thoſe pieces of Leather, with which we now line the *Scalmus*, to ſave the Oar from wearing out too faſt at the part which plays in the *Scalmus*; the *Greeks* called ἱμάντια, and ἄσκωμα. There was alſo a piece of Leather faſtened upon the Seat of each Rower, which the *Greeks* called ὑπηρέσιον; and theſe were all the Inſtruments which I can find mentioned by Authors as ſubſervient to bare Rowing. Let us next conſider ſuch as were neceſſary for Sailing. Of theſe the

1. Were *Sails*, which the *Latines* called *Vela* and *Tunices*: And the *Greeks* ſometimes, ὀθόνας. They called them alſo ἄρμενα; but moſt uſually ἱστία from their requiring a Maſt to carry them. The *Sail*, ſome ſay, was firſt invented by *Icarus*; others by *Dædalus*. At firſt there was but one Sail in a Ship: But in a little time we find mention made of the uſe of more; whoſe Names are 1. ἀρτέμων: And this according to *Pollux* was a kind of Top-ſail, uſed above the *Antenna*: And ſerved rather to direct the Ship, than to forward her Motion, or give her freſh way. The *Artemon* ſeems to be the ſame with what the *Latines* called *Supparum*.

> *Summa pandens*————
> *Suppara Velorum, perituras colligit auras.*
>
> Lucan. Lib. V.

For *Lipſius* ſaith the *Suppara* were ſuch Sails as were born aloft, or on the Tops of the Maſts. 2 ἀκάτια were the lower, or great Sails, the Courſes, as we now call them (*i. e.*) the Main-ſail and Fore-ſail. Some have confounded the ἀκάτια with the δόλωνες, but theſe were very ſmall Sails uſed ſomewhere in the Head, or rather about the Bow-ſprit: They are ſometimes called alſo *Lipada*. (3.) Ἐπίδρομον was a Sail of the 2d Degree of Magnitude, and as *Heſychius* and *Iſidorus* ſay was placed in the Stern, *i. e.* it was the Mizzen, as 'tis now called.

The Matter of which the firſt Sails ſeem to have been made was *Leather*: Which *Varro* concludes from the *Latine* Word *Velum*, *à Vellere*. Theſe Leathern Sails were uſed by the *Venetians* in *Cæſar*'s time: *Vid. Lib.* 3. *de Bell. Galico.* But they were generally of Linen afterwards, as they now are, and of this Linen there was a ſort peculiar for Sail-cloth, which they called *Carbaſus*. As appears by this of *Virgil*, and many other Paſſages.

> ——— *Tumido; inflatur carbaſus Auſtro.*

Strabo tells us, *Lib.* [illegible] that the People on the *Nile* uſed Sails made of Reeds; and many kinds of Reeds and Ruſhes are uſed for the purpoſe to this Day in the *Eaſt Indies*, where nothing is more common than *matted Sails*, or Sail made of Matts.

2. The Yards on which the Sails were hung, or bent to; the *Greeks* called κεραῖαι, the *Latines Antennæ*: But *Silius Italicus* calls them ſometimes *Cornua*, in Imitation of the *Greek*.

> ————— *Veloq; Superba capaci*
> *Cum rapidum hauriret Boream, & Cornibus omnes*
> *Confligeret flatus*————

The Parts of the Yards next the Maſt, by which they ſlide up and down upon it, they called ἄμβολα and σύμβολα: The parts of the Yard fartheſt from the Maſt they called ἀγκῶναι, *Brachia*: i.e. as we ſay, the Yard Arms: But the very extream Parts of all, they named ἀκροκεραῖαι, the Tips or Points of the Yard-Arms.

3. Ἱστὸς the Maſt in *Latin*, *Malus*, was the upright Pole that bore the Yard, and on which it moved up and down. At firſt there was but one Maſt; and this was placed exactly in the middle of the Ship: And therefore its Step, or Hole in which it was placed was called by the *Greeks* μεσόδμη, and by the *Latines Modius*. But the ἱστοδόκη of *Homer* was a place provided a-ſhore to lay up the Maſts, Yards, *&c.* in, becauſe whenever they came a-ſhore they did uſe to take down the Maſts, in thoſe days. The Parts of the Maſt were, 1. πτέρνα, the Foot of it, which went into the Hole or Step. 2. ληνὸς, or as *Athenæus* writes it λῆνος, the ſame with τράχηλος, was that part of the Maſt to which the Yard was fitted when the Sail was ſet. 3. Θωράκιον, the round Top of the Maſt, where Men ſtood to look out for Land, and in time of Fight to throw Darts, *&c.* the Top-maſt above this was called ἰκρίον, and the very Extremity or Top of it the *Greeks* called ἠλακάτην, on which hung a Pendant or Streamer called ἐπίσειον.

4. Ἐπίτονοι, *Funes* in General: Of which the Account in the Ancient Writers is very obſcure. *Scheffer* thinks the *Latines* called the *Halliards* and *Lifts* with which the Yards were hoiſted up, or lowered upon occaſion, *Rudentes*: And theſe *Vegetius* calls *Funes Chalatorii* from the *Greek* χαλᾶν, *dimittere.* *Suidas* ſeems to limit the ἐπιτόνους ſo, as that we are to underſtand by them only thoſe Breaſt Ropes and Parrels, which faſten the Yards to the Maſts. The *Ceruchus*, *Anchonis* and *Anquina*, ſeems to have been what we now call a *Brace*, which is a Rope at each end of the Yard-Arm, by means of which the Yard is *ſquared*, *traverſed*, &c. or ſet in any Poſition, which is beſt, that the Sail may draw the moſt Wind; and whether theſe be not what *Homer* calls the κάλωαι, what *Suidas* calls ὑπέραι, and the *Latines Opiferæ*, ſince they ſeem to be intended, by the dark Deſcriptions we have of them, for the ſame uſe: I muſt have the Learned Reader to judge. Theſe Ropes belonged all to the Yard; but the Πόδες, or *Pedes*, were immediately faſtned to the Sails: Theſe I take to be what we now call the *Sheets*; which are Ropes bent to the Clews of the Sails, and are deſigned to hale off, or hale on the Sail as there is occaſion, and according as the Wind veers about. The Ropes with which they uſed to ſtrike or raiſe their Maſt, *Scheffer* from the Scholiaſt upon *Apollonius*, calls μεσουρίαι, *Meſuriæ*: Which I take to be the *Stays* of the Maſts: And thoſe Ropes which ſtrengthen, keep, erect, and ſupport the Maſts ſides way, he ſaith were called πρότονοι, *Protones*; i. e. a kind of *Shrouds*. The Καρχήσιον ſeems to have been either the Tackle, or a Block with Shivers in it, thro' which the running Ropes of the Ship went. The Cables, Hawſers, or Ropes by which the Ship rode at Anchor, the *Greeks* called πείσματα and ſometimes κάμιλοι: The *Latines Anchorarii*; and *Anchoralia*: The *Venetians* long ago uſed Iron Chains inſtead of theſe, as *Cæſar* obſerves: *Anchoræ pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctæ.* The Rope with which any Ship or Boat was towed along after another at Sea: Or on Shore by Men or Horſes: The *Greeks* called ὁλκοί, ῥύμουλα and σειραί: The *Latines Parolcones* and *Remulci*: And by *Feſtus* and *Iſidorus* the Word *Spira* is retained. Thoſe Ropes by which any Ship was faſtened a-ſhore, the *Greeks* called Ἀπόγεια, Ἐπίγεια, πείσματα and πρυμνήσια: But the *Romans Retinacula*. And uſually near the Water-ſide where Ships lay, there were great Stones ſet up, with Holes

bored in them to let the *Retinacula* thro': Theſe Stones the *Greeks* called δακτύλια: But ſometimes Anchors were uſed alſo for this purpoſe; and ſometimes Poſts ſet up with Rings on them; which *Feſtus* tells us were called *Tonſillæ*. There was a Rope alſo which they called *Tormentum*, which went from Head to Stern, and was uſed to keep the Ship tight together in hard Weather, as *Iſidorus* ſaith; and of this kind, as *Rivius* obſerves, muſt the *Hypozomata* be, which are mentioned by St. *Luke* to be uſed about the Ship in which St. *Paul* was ſhipwrackt. 'Tis plain ſuch uſed to be carried to Sea; for *Athenæus* ſaith, in *Ptolomy Philopator*'s Ship there were 12 ſuch provided, which were 600 Cubits in length each of them; being Cables long enough to compaſs the Ship all round about, and ſo to keep her from falling or breaking to pieces. That ſuch things were practiſed at other times alſo, is apparent from the Account we have of *App. Alexandrinus* his blaming *Sext. Pompeius*: Becauſe he purſued not the Enemies Ships hard enough after he had worſted them, but ſuffered them to ſave their diſabled ſhatter'd Ships, by under-girting them with Ropes: And as it is plain from this of *Horace*.

> ------*Sine Funibus vix durare Carinæ*
> *Poſſint imperioſius Æquor.*--------

4. Πηδάλια, *Gubernacula*, the Rudders: In the ancient Ships were a kind of Paddles, or ſtrong Oars with broad Palms; theſe were faſtened on a *Scalmus* on each ſide of the Stern of the Ship, not juſt behind as our Rudders are, but where ſhe begins to round away towards the Stern Poſt. Sometimes theſe were called *Plectra*. The ſeveral Parts of theſe Rudders had theſe Names, Οἴαξ, *Clavus*, which was a Nail, or Sprig of Iron, which went a-croſs thro' the *Pertica*, at the end of the *Anſa*, to keep the Rudder right in the *Scalmus*. [illegible], *Pertica*, the round long Pole running thro' the middle of the broad part of their Paddle: πτερύγιον, *Pinna*, the broad part of the Paddle, on each ſide of the *Pertica*. αὐχὴν, *Anſa*, the handle or *Tiller*, which the Steerſ-man held in his hand. Some ſmall Boats had but one of theſe Rudders, and then that was placed juſt behind in the middle of the Stern; but the larger Ships had always two at the leaſt, diſpoſed as is above-ſaid: And *Ptolomy Philopator*'s Great Ship had four. In ſome of their Ships of War, there were alſo Rudders in the Fore-ſhip, that ſo they might ſteer away Stern formoſt, if there were Occaſion.

5. ἄγκυρα, *Anchora*. This was firſt the Invention of the *Tyrrhenians*, as *Pliny* ſaith, tho' others attribute it to *Midas*, the Son of *Gordion*: They were very anciently made of Stone: And that not only as being great Stones with Holes bored thro' to faſten Boats to, as in Rivers now a-days; but formed into the Shape and Figure, nearly, of our preſent Iron Anchors: And *Ludovicus Romanus* tells us, that at *Calecut*, in the *Eaſt Indies*, Marble Anchors are uſed to this day, the like others relate of *Japan*. *Athenæus* ſaith, that in *Ptolomy Philopator*'s Ship there were four Wooden, and eight Iron Anchors. But theſe Anchors of Wood, *Scheffer* thinks, were not of the Figure of ours; but only pieces of Wood, with Lead caſt into them, by the weight of which the Ship was ſtaid. And this he gathers from a Paſſage in *Diodorus*, Lib. V. where he ſaith, that the *Phœnicians* coming into *Italy* to buy Silver, and finding very great Plenty of it, they took out the Lead out of their Anchors, and put Silver in the room of it. They uſed alſo for the ſame purpoſe Pyramidal Baskets, which they filled with Stones and Pebbles, eſpecially in hard Ground, where the Fluke of an Anchor would not take hold, and thoſe Anchors they called [illegible], as *Polyænus* tells us in the Hiſtory of *Iphicrates*, Lib. 3. exemp. 38. In time they came to make their Anchors of Iron; but at firſt they had but one Fluke, theſe the *Greeks* called ἑτερόστομοι; but after ſome time, *Eupalamius*, or ſome ſay *Anacharſis*, a *Scythian* Philoſopher, found out, that it was better they ſhould have two Flukes; this the *Greeks* called ἀμφίστομος and ἀμφίβολος; and the *Romans*, *Anchora Bidens*. The Antients, as well as the Moderns, uſed ſeveral Anchors aboard their Ships: Of which the ſtrongeſt and largeſt the *Greeks* called ἱερὰ, the *Latines*, *Sacra*: The ſame with what our Seamen call now the *Sheet Anchor*. Whether they made uſe of any Stock to go thro' the Ring of the Anchor, in order to keep the Arms right, ſo that the Fluke might ſtrike into the Ground; as one would think they muſt needs do, is not certain: There being not above one or two ancient Coins that expreſs any ſuch thing: But this indeed, as *Scheffer* obſerves, may ariſe from want of Care in thoſe that made the Dies for Meddals.

6. Βολὶς, which *Iſidorus* and *Lucilius* call *Catapirates*, and *Herodotus*, καταπειρητηρίη, was the Sounding Line and Plummet, with which they both examined the Depth of the Sea, and alſo underſtood the Nature of the Bottom or Ground, over which the Ship was.

7. Ἄντλον, ἀντλίον, which *Feſtus* calls *Tollena*, was the Ship's Pump, whereby to free her from the Water which leaks into the Hold. This *Lucretius* calls *Hauſtrum*:

> *Ut Fluvios verſare Rotas atq; Hauſtra videmus.*

8. Κοντοὶ, which *Sophocles* calls πλῆκτρα: The *Latines* retained the word *Contus*, which was a ſtrong Pole of ſufficient Length, by which they fended off the Ship from ſtriking againſt Rocks, Shelves, &c. and alſo ſet her off from the Shore into the Water: Theſe had, as our Setting Poles to this day have, Iron Spikes at the bottom, as appears from this of *Virgil*,

> *Conſurgunt Nautæ, & magno clamore morantur;*
> *Ferratoſq; Sudes, & acutâ cuſpide Contos*
> *Expediunt*----------
>
> Æneid 5.

A Boat that had neither Sails nor Oars, and which was ſet, or ſhov'd along only by theſe *Conti*, the *Greeks* called κοντωτόν; from their Uſe the *Romans* called them alſo, *Trudes*, and ſometimes *Sudes*.

7. Ἀσφάλισμα, ἔρμα, ἕρεισμα and θεμέλιος, in *Latine Saburra*, the Ballaſt, was then, as it is now, uſually of Sand, or ſmall ſtony Gravel, &c. and had the ſame uſe with them, as with us.

Having thus ſhewed you the Inſtruments aboard the antient Ships, which were neceſſary to ſail and row them, we will next conſider their Armature, and after what manner their Ships of War *offended* their Enemies, and *defended* themſelves. And firſt, the Old Ships of War were famous for their ἔμβολα or *Roſtra*, which were Beams of Wood ſticking out forward in the Head of the Ship, armed ſometimes with Braſs, and ſometimes with Iron Spikes, and their uſe was to run into the Sides of the Enemies Ships under Water, and ſo by making Holes in them, to ſink them. Theſe do not appear to have been in uſe in *Homer*'s Time, for in him there is no mention of them. But yet *Æſchylus* calls *Neſtor*'s Ship δεκέμβολος; and *Eurypides* in his *Iphigenia* ſpeaks of Brazen *Roſtra*, uſed in the *Grecian* Ships, as long ago as the *Trojan* War; but 'tis probable they deſcribed the antient Ships, as built after the manner of thoſe of their own Age. The Invention of theſe *Roſtra* is by ſome attributed to one *Ariſto* a *Corinthian*; and he communicating this to the *Syracuſians*, it proved of great Advantage to them in a Sea-fight which they ſoon after had with the *Athenians*: For by this new Device ſeveral of the *Grecian* Ships were broken and ſunk, as *Diodorus Siculus* mentions, *Lib.* 13. Theſe *Roſtra* are ſpoken of by *Cæſar*, Lib. 4. c. 14. and *Pliny*, Lib. 7. c. 57. will have one *Piſeus*, whom in the ſame Chapter he calls *Tyrrhenus*, and ſaith that he invented the Trumpet, to be the firſt Author or Inventor of them. At firſt they were made very large and long; but afterwards finding that they too much hinder'd the Motion of the Ship, they were made leſs and ſhorter: For they were placed uſually under the Surface of the Water, as appears from this Paſſage in *Virgil*, Æneid. 5.

> ----------*Totumq; dehiſcet*
> *Convulſum Remis, Roſtriſq; ſtridentibus Æquor.*

But there are ſome old Medals that expreſs the *Roſtra* as partly above, and partly under Water, in the Ships uſed in the firſt *Punick* War. And *Scheffer* from *Diodorus* attributes the Contrivance of placing theſe *Roſtra* entirely under Water, and not the firſt Invention of them, to *Ariſto* the *Corinthian*. The Number of theſe *Roſtra* was uncertain: Sometimes a Ship had but one, ſometimes two or three of them: *Ptolomy Philopater*'s vaſt Ship is ſaid to have had ſeven *Roſtra*, and *Æſchylus* makes *Neſtor*'s Ship to have ten of them. Their Figure was often that of the Beak of a Bird, the Head of a Serpent or of ſome Beaſt, and from thence came the Name *Roſtre*. They were only in Ships of War, which therefore are often called *Naves Roſtratæ*.

The Ἐπωτίδες alſo, as the *Greeks* call them, were another part of the Armature of the Antients Men of War; and theſe were thick, ſtrong, and proportionably long Beams, coming out of each ſide of the Prow or Head of the Ship, in order to fend off againſt the Stroke of the Enemies *Roſtra*. *Scheffer* thinks that the *Corinthians* invented

vented theſe *Epotides*, and that the *Syracuſians* were the firſt that followed their Example. They were always placed in the Foreſhip, and conſequently the Etymologiſts are miſtaken, who fix them in the Stern part alſo. It doth not appear that the *Romans* had any Name of their own for theſe *Epotides*, nor do their *Coins* or *Marbles* expreſs their Figure: But in ſome of the *Greek* Medals they are very plain, an Inſtance of which *Scheffer* gives from *Lazius*. He alſo thinks, that thoſe Beams which are ſometimes deſcribed on Coins, as ſticking out directly forward, and over the *Roſtra* (which I ſuppoſe were moveable, and were taken in when the Ship attacked the Enemy with her *Roſtra*, and thruſt out when ſhe was attacked) were called alſo *Epotides*. The breaking off theſe *Epotides*, and ſo diſabling a Ship from rowing, was, as I have above ſhewn, one of the chief Aims of every adverſe Ship.

Another part of the Armature of the Antients Ships, were the ἴκρια or *Cataſtromata*, which from *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, *Pollux*, *Heſychius*, &c. we learn were certain Decks or Stages of Wood on which the Soldiers ſtood to fight, in a Ship of War, and to throw Darts, Javelins, *&c.* at the Enemy. *Petronius* calls this Deck the *Conſtratum Navis*; whence ſuch Ships as had theſe *Cataſtromata*, the *Latines* called *Naves Conſtratæ*, the *Greeks* κατάφρακτοι, and ſometimes they called the καταστρώματα by the Name of καταφράγματα. Theſe *Naves Conſtratæ* were oppoſed to the *Apertæ* or ἄφρακτοι, *i. e.* as we now call them, *Open Boats*. *Pliny*, Lib. 7. c. 5. attributes the Invention of theſe *Cataſtromata* to *Theſius*, and ſaith, that before Men fought only in the Head and Stern of the Ship, where there were ſome *Tabulæ* or Frames of Boards erected for the Men to ſtand on, eſpecially in the Head of the Ship. And this Cuſtom of covering the Ships of War only in part, remained till the time of *Themiſtocles*: For it appears by Hiſtory, that the Ships that fought againſt the *Æginetæ*, *Corcyræi*, and alſo againſt *Xerxes*, were only covered over with Decks, Stages or *Cataſtromata* in the Head and Stern: For, as *Thucydides* expreſſes it, καὶ αὗται οὔπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα. Some Writers have confounded theſe *Cataſtromata* with the *Fori*, but falſly; for the *Fori* were a kind of Diviſions of the Rowers into *Claſſes*; but theſe Decks were above all the Oars, and over all the Rowers Heads, and were the higheſt part of the Ship, or the *Propugnacula*, as they are ſometimes called, where the Soldiers ſtood to fight.

Bayſius obſerves, that there were ſome of the leſſer Ships which were covered cloſe over for their Security againſt Darts, *&c.* And *Cæſar* ſaith of the *Maſſilienſes*, *Lib. 2. de Bel. Civil.* that they uſed Fiſhing Boats cloſe covered, to ſecure their Rowers from the Danger of the Enemies Darts. But *Scheffer* thinks this was rather by way of erecting Blinds, *Waſt Clothes*, &c. or ſome Covering or Defences perpendicularly on the Ship's Side, than by a Covering quite over at the top. And this kind of Defence *Thucydides* calls παραῤῥύματα, the *Latines Plutei*, and it was made ſometimes of ſtrong Leather, and ſometimes of Pieces of Ropes platted together. The *Greeks* called theſe alſo παραφράγματα, παραβλήματα, προκαλύμματα and παραπετάσματα.

Another part of the Armature of the Antient Ships of War, was their Towers; theſe were chiefly uſed by the *Romans*, and were continued as long as to the time of *Commodus*. *Armatæ Claſſes imponunt ſibi Turrium propugnacula, uti in Mare quoque pugnetur, velut è Muris*, ſaith *Pliny*, Lib. 32. c. 1. Sometimes there was a Tower both in the Head and Stern of the Ship, and ſometimes one on each Side of the Ship about the middle. *Plutarch* calls theſe Rowers ξύλινοι, becauſe they were framed of Wood. Some will have *Agrippa* in *Auguſtus* his Time, to be the firſt Inventor of theſe Towers, as *Servius* upon *Virgil*, *Zonaras*, *Cælius Rhodignius*, &c. But certain it is, they are mentioned by *Cæſar*, *lib. 3. de Bell. Civ.* and *Lib. 3. de Bell. Gall.* They were of different Forms and Figures, according as their Deſigns and Uſes were different, and were painted of divers Colours both for Ornament and Diſtinction. Out of them the Soldiers caſt Darts and Stones, ſhot Arrows, *&c.* at the Enemy, and by their help they came near to and ſcaled the Walls of Sea Port Towns in Sieges.

The next Weapon or Inſtrument of War, which the antient Ships uſed, was, what they called the δελφὶς or *Dolphin*, which was a vaſt Weight of Lead or Iron caſt into the Form of a Dolphin, and in time of a Fight was drawn up by Pullys to the end of the Yard-Arm, which when they could conveniently, they let go all of a ſudden, that it might fall into the Enemies Ship, and ſo ſink it; and perhaps alſo they had ſome Device to throw it with ſome violence, which added to its own great weight, would make its Force, to break the adverſe Ship, the greater.

There were alſo ſeveral other Inſtruments of Miſchief, which the Antients made uſe of in a Sea-fight, as *Harpagones* or *Harpagæ*, which were long Poles with Iron Hooks at the Ends, to hold the Enemies Ships, that they might not get off. *Manus Ferreæ*, which *Moriſotus* ſaith were of two ſorts, either a kind of Gantlets which they put on their Hands to ſave them from Cuts, Blows, Fire, *&c.* and alſo a kind of Iron Hooks or Graples, which they faſtened at the End of a Rope, to throw into and and catch hold of the Enemies Ship, Rigging, *&c.* They uſed alſo *Falces*, or large cutting Hooks, which were faſtened at the End of long Poles, to cut Rigging. Theſe Hooks and Poles ſometimes were deſigned to lay hold only of the Enemies Ship and Rigging, and then the *Greeks* called them δόρατα ναύμαχα, the *Latins*, *Tela trabalia*, *Navales Unci*, and *Haſtæ longæ*, the ſame with the *Harpagones*, as I ſuppoſe: and an Inſtrument which they called *Bipennis*, to cut the Rudder Bands of the Enemies Ships. The uſual Arms of the Soldiers were nearly the ſame as in the Land Service, viz. *Thoraces*, Breaſt-plates, *Clypei*, Shields or Bucklers, *Galeæ*, Helmets or Head-pieces, together with *Gantlets* of Iron, and *Greaves* of the ſame, to ſecure their Legs. They had alſo an Engine called *Aſſer*, which *Vegetius* deſcribes to be a ſlender long Beam, like a Yard, which in time of Action was flung upon the Maſt, and had at each end an Iron Head like a Battering Ram. This *Aſſer* they had a way of forcibly driving againſt the Enemies Ships; and it would deſtroy and ruin any Men that it fell upon, and ſometimes break a Hole through the Ship it ſelf. At the Ends of their Yards they had alſo oftentimes κεραῖαι placed, which were Engines to throw Stones down into the Enemies Ships. *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 12. *Livy* calls them *Telleni*, and by ſome Writers 'tis called *Ciconia*, κηλώνειον, *Tolleno*. They uſed alſo the *Corvi*, which were Pieces of ſolid Iron with 3 Spikes to them, and a Ring on the top (according to *Scheffer*) to which an Iron Chain was faſtened. Theſe were violently thrown by an Engine into the Enemies Ships, and did often break Holes in her, but moſt times held her ſo faſt linkt, that they could not get off. The way to prevent theſe *Corvi* and *Manus Ferreæ* from taking effect, was, as *Pollux* ſaith, to ſtretch Hides all over their Decks. They uſed alſo *Siphones*, as they called them, that is, *Tubes*, or hollow Cylinders filled with combuſtible Matter, which would ſuddenly take Fire, and break out upon the Enemy with Flame, Noiſe, and Smoke. *Ignis cum Tonitru & Fumo ignito per Siphones emiſſus Naves incendens.* And ſometimes they threw Pots of burning Coals, ſometimes of Quick-lime, to blind them; and *Hannibal* uſed to throw Earthen Pots filled with Serpents, as *Juſtine* and *Cor. Nepos* tell us. And to compleat all Miſchiefs in one, the *Ignis Græcus*, as 'tis called from *Greece*, the Place where it was invented by one *Callinicus* a *Syrian* Architect; which was a Fire that would burn under Water, and as ſome ſay, be kindled by it: After it had been a convenient time lodged deep in the Water, it would riſe up and burn any thing that came in its way. See *Rivius* his *Hiſt. Naval. Pars media*, p. 196. The Miſchievous Conſequence of which way of fighting *Lucan* deſcribes, *Lib.* 3. Thus:

Nulla tamen plures hæc edidit æquore Clades
Quam pelago diverſa Lues. Nam pinguibus Ignis
Affixus tædis, & tecto Sulphure vivax
Spargitur: at faciles præbere alimenta Carinæ
Nunc pice, nunc liquida rapuere incendia Cerâ.

And again,

Nec flammis ſuperant undæ, ſparſiſq; per Æquor
Jam ratibus, fragmenta ferus ſibi vendicat Ignis.

But let us leave this dreadful Subject, to conſider ſomething more pleaſing and agreeable.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* had ſeveral Peculiarities in their Method of adorning their Ships. I have already obſerved, that they uſed to paint the Prow of their Ships with Red, Blue, and ſometimes White Colours, ſo ſtrongly, that no Weather would injure it: The Method of doing which was by burning in the Colours with Oil and Wax, as *Vitruvius* deſcribes it at large, *Lib.* 7. c. 9. and this Method of Painting the *Greeks* called *Encauſtice*: And ſometimes with this they uſed to paint the Figures of Animals, Plants, Flowers, *&c.* In the Heads of their Ships they had alſo ſolid Adornments carved in the Form of Helmets, Crowns, round Balls, which the

Greeks ἀκροστόλια and ἀκρῶνα, and the *Latines Corymba*; and by ſome Authors they are called *Roſtra*. In the Stern they had a kind of Shell framed of Boards, which turned forward over the Commander's Seat: This the *Greeks* called Ἄφλαστα, and the *Latines Apluſtre.* Behind the *Apluſtre* ſtood up a long and ſtrait Staff, about the middle of which was faſtened a particoloured Pendant, which play'd to and fro in the Wind, and ſhewed alſo which way it blew. Of this Ornament *Bayſius* gives a Figure. Another Ornament was the χηνίσκος, or *Anſerculus*, which tho' ſome will have to belong to the Head, yet moſt Authors place in the Poop of the Ship: It was the Figure of a Gooſe his Head and Neck, and was uſually placed adjoining to the *Apluſtre*. The Gooſe was lookt upon as an Animal of good Omen to Seamen, becauſe of its ſwimming ſo well in the Water, without danger of drowning. They uſed alſo ſometimes to gild the Head and Stern of their Ships with Gold; and ſometimes they ſilvered them o'er; and ſometimes made the *Acroſtolia* of Gold, Ivory, *&c.* *Alcibiades* had the Sails of his Ship of Purple, as had alſo *Cleopatra* thoſe of her famous Gally; and often they uſed Cloth painted of a Flame Colour, and ſometimes with Inſcriptions or Motto's upon them. *Suetonius* mentions Ships of *Caligula*, whoſe Sails were of various Colours; and ſometimes they painted and gilded the very Oars, according to the Humour of the Commander, or the Dignity of the Expedition, or the Quality of the Paſſengers, *&c.*

But tho' the Parts of the Ship were thus beautified and adorned, the common Sailers themſelves were generally naked almoſt all over. *Victor* ſpeaking of the Wife of *Antonius*, ſaith, *In Campania ſedens amæna Littorum obſidebat ad legendos ex Nauticis, qui plerumq; nudi agunt, flagitiis aptiores.* And they went thus almoſt naked, to enure them to Hardſhip, that they might bear all manner of Weather, as *Seneca* ſaith, *Lib. de Providentia, c.* 4. And the Clothes which they did wear at any time, were made of Goats Hair, becauſe that was thought beſt to keep out Wind and Water. Theſe Garments, becauſe firſt invented in *Cicilia*, were called by that Name. The Rowers were as naked as thoſe that handed the Sails, and but very ſeldom wore any Clothes at all. But the *Gubernator* or Maſter, or he that commanded the Rowers and Sailers, and gave direction for the guidance or ſteering of the Veſſel, was dignified with a *Pallium* or Cloak, which was worn over his Shoulders, and gathered and faſtened on the Left Shoulder with a Button, Buckle, *&c.* but yet ſo as that his Arm came out, and was at liberty to manage the *Gubernaculum*. This is plain from *Plautus* in his *Miles Glorioſus*, Act. 14.

Facito ut venias ornatus hac ornatu Nauclerico
Cauſam habeas ferrugineam, culcitum ob oculos laneam
Palliolum habes ferrugineum (nam is colos Theſſalicus eſt)
Id erit convexum in Humero læve, expapillato brachio
Præcinctus, atq; aſſimilato, quaſi Gubernator Sies.

And thus *Virgil* deſcribes Maſter *Charon*:

Sordidus ex humeris nodo dependet amictus:
Æn. 6. v. 301.

Thus much for the Ornaments in the Antient Ships, and the Habits of the Seamen: Let us next conſider their Enſigns, Colours, Flags, *&c.* And firſt, that which diſtinguiſhed one Ship from another, and gave her a Name, was the Παράσημον, as the *Greeks* called it; which was ſome Device, the Figure of ſome Animal, Flower, or Artificial Thing, and was ſometimes painted on a Flag, and ſometimes carved in Wood, and afterward painted. This was therefore by the *Latines* called *Pictura*, and was placed of old, not as it is now with us, in the Stern, but in the Head of the Ship, between the *Embolos* and the *Proembolides*, as *Scheffer* ſaith; and juſt below the *Stolos*, ſay others. But that it was in the Head, and above the *Roſtrum*, appears from this of *Virgil*, Æneid. 5.

——*Ænea puppis*
Prima tenet, Roſtro Phrygios invecta Leones.

Where the *Paraſemum* was a Lion, and therefore probably the Ship called by that Name: For that Ships were named from hence, is plain from *Ovid*.

Eſt mihi, ſitq; precor, flavæ Tutela Minervæ
Navis, & a pictâ Caſſide nomen habet.

Here the *Paraſemum* was an Helmet, and therefore the Ship was ſo called; but the *Tutela* was *Minerva*. This *Tutela Navis* was a very different thing from the *Paraſemum*, tho' confounded with it by ſome Writers: For the *Tutela* was the Image of ſome Deity under whoſe Protection the Ship was ſuppoſed peculiarly to be: This *Tutela* was placed in the Stern, which was therefore accounted the moſt ſacred part of the Ship, and was ſometimes a carved Image, but moſt times painted, as appears from *Ovid*.

Accipit & pictos Puppis adunca Deos.

The Name of each Ship was uſually written in the Front of the Ship's Head, about the *Acroſtolion*: This Place where the Name was written, *Pollux* ſaith, the *Greeks* called πτυχὶς; and it was done upon a roundiſh or oval Board, which from its Figure the *Greeks* frequently call ὀφθαλμὸς. The Name of the Ship was always taken from the *Paraſemum*, as we ſaid before.

The Prætorian Ship was alſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a peculiar *Vexillum* or Flag, which was uſually of a Purple or Red Colour, and hoiſted up upon a long Pole or Staff placed commonly in the Forecaſtle of the Ship, and ſometimes in the Stern. In the *Roman* Prætorian Ships, the Eagle, as a Standard, was often diſplayed, as appears from antient Monuments, ſaith *Scheffer*. In the Prætorian Ships there were alſo peculiar Towers, built higher, and quite different from the fighting Towers beforementioned. Thus *Lucan*,

Et jam Turrigerum Bruti comitata Carinam
Venerat in Fluctus Rhodani cum gurgite Claſſis.
Lib. 3.

Theſe were placed in the Stern of the Ship, and from them the Word of Command was given to the Men, and Signals erected or diſplayed to direct other Ships; which in the Night was effected by Lights hung out in the Prætorian or Admirals Ships; and ſometimes there were two, and ſometimes three ſuch, and as often but one. But *Livy* ſaith, that the Men of War always hung out one Light a-nights, and the Onerary ones two. Some ſay alſo that the Men of War carried (by day) a thing like an Helmet at their Topmaſt-head, and the Onerary ones always a Basket: Which latter ſeems very true, ſince *Feſtus* calls the *Naves Onerariæ* by the Names of *Corbitæ*; as alſo doth *Cicero, Lib.* 16. *Epiſt. ad Attic.* The Signal for a Battel was a Helmet or Shield of Gold or Braſs hung up on the Cap of the Maſt, as our Admirals hang out the Bloody Flag, when they are going to engage. There was alſo a peculiar Sign, which was uſed to the Rowers, to make them keep time, and pull all together: This was ſometimes done by the Voice, like the Noiſe our Seamen uſe in weighing Anchor, and ſometimes by waving of a Stick, which they called *Pertica*: He that did this was called *Hortator* and *Portiſculus* among the *Romans*; and the *Pertica* was alſo ſometimes called by this Name *Portiſculus*. And perhaps ſometimes this *Pertica* was ſtruck againſt ſome ſounding Body, to make the Rowers hear, as well as ſee how and when to pull. Alſo, beſides the Trumpet, which was uſed to excite and encourage the Soldiers to fight, for which purpoſe the *Lituus* was alſo ſounded; there were two peculiar Signs given to the Rowers by the Voice of the *Hortator*: The former of theſe the *Greeks* called κέλευσμα, and the *Latines Hortamentum, Signum, Juſſum, Juſſus,* and *Juſſio*: And this *Servius* on *Lib.* 8. *Æn. Virg.* ſaith, was the *Clamor nauticus ad hortandum; ut, nunc, nunc incumbite Remis!* But *Ariſtophanes*, in *Ranis Act.* 4. *Scæn.* 2. tells us, that the Word which was uſed to make them row, was ῥυππαπαῖ, and that by which he made them deſiſt or leave off, was ὢ ὄπ; and either of theſe is ſignified by the word *Celeuſma*. The other Noiſe or Sign, which the *Hortator* made with his Mouth, and which was ſeconded by all the Rowers, and aſſiſted with Muſick, if they had it, was what the *Greeks* call *Symphonia*. *Scheffer* obſerves, that this hath generally been confounded with the *Celeuſma* but erroneouſly: For the latter was but only one Word, the former a kind of continued Song Tone, or Noiſe in Tune, modulated by the Pipe uſually, and ſometimes by the Harp. The Deſign of it was, that the Rowers might be at a certain and true Time with their Oars, ſtrike a long and even Stroke, and alſo be diverted and pleaſed at their Labour. *Pedianus* in *Cicero* ſaith, *Sciendum eſt cani remigibus per Symphoniacos ſolitum, & per aſſam Vocem, id eſt, ore prolatam, & per Citharam.* And *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranis*, makes *Charon* tell *Bacchus*, who would fain have baulkt his Oar out of a pretence that he knew not how to pull right.

——————ῥᾶς' ἀκύσεισαι μέλη
Κάλλις', ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλῃς ἅπαξ.

That is ; *You'll eaſily learn ; for aſſoon as ever you put your Oar down into the Water you will hear a delicate fine Song,* which will keep you right : And after this, the Comick Poet gives you the Song, but chiefly in the Frogs croaking Language, to carry on the Humour of the Play. This *Symphonia Cicero* calls, *Cautilena Nautica*, and *Ariſtophanes* Νίγλαρος, as doth alſo his Interpreter, explaining it to be, *genus Muſicæ Modulationis, quo Remiges exhortuntur*: And the other End and Deſign of this Sea Song, we learn from *Statius* his *Theb.* V. v. 343.

Acclivis malo mediis interſonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantoſq; jubet neſcire labores.

And ſince we are now ſpeaking of the Antient Method of regulating the Motion of the Oars, ſo as that they ſhould ſtrike all together, and give the Ship as freſh way as was poſſible : I ought to take notice of the *Liburnæ Rotatæ*, which a certain Anonymous Author mentions, as invented and uſed in the Time of *Honorius*, and were Ships with Water-Wheels inſtead of Oars, and theſe Wheels were turned round within by Oxen. In *Moriſotus* his *Orbis Maritimus*, p. 712. There is a Figure of a Ship with ſix ſuch Wheels, and thoſe moved by as many Oxen. Theſe *Liburnæ Rotatæ* our *Rivius* p. 14, 15. of his *Hiſt. Naval. Mediæ* is pleaſed very much to ridicule ; but it ſeems to ariſe from his underſtanding little of Contrivances of that Nature : The Deſign indeed of *Moriſotus* his Figure appears clumſey and inadequate for the purpoſe it was intended for : in appointing an Ox to every Wheel. But it doth not follow from hence, that no Improvements can be made of ſo good and uſeful a Deſign. The Advantages of ſuch an Engine, could it be performed as it ſhould be, would be very great. A Ship by this means would be able to continue her Courſe in a perfect Calm ; ſhe would eaſily get out of the way of a Spout, and it may be of a Gally, that ſhould give her Chaſe. Ships, eſpecially in the *Mediterranean*, might be brought into a Line of Battle, or rowed away when diſabled : And perhaps moſt of the Advantages which the *French* Fleet hath from their Gallies, might accrue to an *Engliſh* one by this Invention. I cannot therefore avoid taking notice of the Rowing Engine invented by the Ingenious Captain *Thomas Savery* : A Deſcription of which was publiſhed in the Year 1698. and ſince that, a ſhort Account hath been given of it in the *Lexicon Technicum*. The Contrivance is thus : He adapts a Wheel to the Drum Head of the Capſtan of a Ship, whoſe Teeth turn a Trundle Head, thro' which runs an Iron Bar clear a-croſs, and which reaches out thro' the ſides of her ; on its ends without board, at a convenient diſtance from the Ship's ſides, are faſtened 2 Drum-heads, in which are fitted, to take out at Pleaſure, 6, 8, 10, or 12 Paddles, according to the Rate of the Ship. At the upper ends of theſe Paddles are faſtened Iron Pins with Heads to them ; by which means, and by the help of a Cord, taking an half Tun about all thoſe Pins, both the Paddles may be ſwifted, or ſtrain'd and ſtrengthened ſo, that they ſhall all work proportionably ; and alſo a Paddle may (with a Luff Tackle) be eaſily handed in and out, in order to be fitted into or taken out of the Drum-head of the Bar. Now here, if the Men will but work (and the Labour is nothing near ſo hard and dangerous as that of weighing Anchor, *&c.*) if there be a ſufficient Number of them, and the Paddles made proportionably large, I doubt not but the Engine will give the Veſſel freſher way than any Oars can do, workt by the ſame Number of Hands, as indeed hath been found true by Experiment : And I hope our Grand Fleet will not viſit the *Mediterranean* another Summer without this Contrivance. But to go on,

From this brief Account of the Ornaments, Enſigns, Flags, Standards and Signals of the Antient Ships, we may make an eaſy Tranſition to the ſeveral Diſtinctions among their Soldiers and Sailers. The Soldiers or Marines differed moſtly from thoſe in the Land Service, by the Strength and Weight of their Armour : Which exceeded theirs, becauſe their fighting was more ſtationary. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Themiſtocles*, ſaith, that each Man of War had 18 *Propugnatores*, which were to fight on the *Cataſtromata* : Of which four were *Sagitarii*, who threw Darts, Javelins, Spears, *&c.* the reſt were all heavy Armed, and theſe the *Romans* called *Claſſiarii*. The *Greeks* called them *Epibatæ* : And tho' they are plainly diſtinguiſhed, by Authors, from the *Remiges* : Yet *Scheffer* thinks that ſometimes upon emergent Neceſſity, the Rowers fought too ; and ſo might be called *Epibatæ*. And indeed all the Rowers were Soldiers too, except the *Gubernator* : As we learn from *Thucydides*, and from the *Agamemnon* in *Seneca* ; for *Act.* 3. *v.* 417. we find theſe words,

Jamq; enſe feſſum Miles exonerat latus
Neglectaq; Summas per puppes ſcuta jacet
Ad militares Remus aptatur manus.

And theſe doubly qualify'd Hands, that could both fight and row, the *Greeks* called αὐτερέται ; as *Pollux*, *Thucydides*, and *Suidas* informs us. But in proceſs of time, as their Ships became larger, and were better fitted for War, we find the Men aboard plainly diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts, *viz.* Sailers, Rowers, and *Marines*, or Soldiers. The Rowers were called in *Greek* ἐρέται, κωπηλάται, and ſometimes πληρώματα. And by *Livy*, *Socii* ; tho' that Term is alſo ſometimes given to the *Marines*, and to the *Nautæ* or Sailers too. I have already ſhewed the Diviſion of the Rowers, into the *Thalamitæ*, which ſate loweſt and next the Water : The *Zygitæ*, which rowed in the middle, next above them ; and the *Thranitæ*, or the higheſt or uppermoſt which ſate next to the *Cataſtromata*. And as the Rowers had this Triple Diſtinction from their Scituation in the Ship ; ſo were they denominated alſo from the Ship it ſelf : Thoſe which belonged to a *Triremis*, the *Greeks* called τριηρῖται : And thoſe that rowed in the Onerary Ships (in which there were very ſeldom Oars) they called στρογγυλοναῦται : The Sailers were diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral Offices and Employments. Thoſe that handed the Sails, the *Greeks* called ἀρμενισαὶ ; thoſe that got up the Maſt to look for Ships, Land, *&c.* Some ſay were called *Schoenobatæ* ; and by the *Latines*, *Speculatores* : Theſe *Feſtus* calls alſo *Corbitores*, becauſe they lay or ſtood for this purpoſe in the *Corbes* on the Tops of the Maſts : Tho' the *Corbes* were rather peculiar to the Tops of *Onerary* Ships, as I have before obſerved : The Tops of the Maſts of Men of War being called *Galeæ*. Thoſe which were employed in Meſſages and Errants up and down the Ship were called μισοναῦται : And theſe did all meaner and more ſervile Offices : Some plied the Pump, others weighed and dropt the Anchor : And they had a peculiar ſort of Fellows, whom they called *Urinatores*, whoſe Buſineſs was to dive down and clear the Anchor, if it were foul of any thing, and would not come up, as appears from this of *Lucan*, Lib. 3 v. 697.

——————*Pugna fuit uſus in illa*
Eximius Phocæus animam ſervare ſub undis
Scrutariq; fretum, ſiquid merſeſſet arenis,
Et nimis affixos unci convellere morſus,
Adductam quoties non ſenſerit Anchora funem.

Theſe Divers, *Pollux* tells us, the *Greeks* called κολυμβηταὶ ; and they made many other Uſes of them beſides this of helping to get up the Anchor : For as *Manilius*, Lib. V. Aſtron. obſerves.

Exportuntq; mari prædas, & rapto profundo
Naufragio, atque imas ſcrutantur arenas.

They alſo uſed to get up any thing from the bottom, that by chance fell over-board, and to ſeek for Wracks, *&c.* and the *Rhodian* Laws appointed them a peculiar Proportion of the Value of the things they fetched up, according to the Depth of the Water : If they dived in 8 Cubits they had ⅓, if in 15 Cubits they had ½. They were very ſerviceable alſo in Sea Engagements and Expeditions : For *Thucydides* Lib. VII. ſaith, that the *Syracuſian* Mole was cut aſunder by the Divers under Water : And in *Arrianus*, Lib II. *de Exped.* we read of their being employed to cut the Enemies Cables. There was alſo another ſort of *Nautæ*, called *Carabitæ*, *Scaphitæ*, and *Lintrarii* : Theſe were the *Boat's Crew*, who always attended upon the Pinnace, Barge, Long-Boat, or whatever you will call her. There is mention made alſo in ſome Writers of the *Heleyarii* ; who were a kind of *Tackle-Men*, and their Poſt was to ſhip and unſhip all Goods, Casks, Proviſions, Arms, *&c.* which came aboard at any time, or were ſent a-ſhore, or put on board ſome other Ship. Some Writers, and particularly St. *Ambroſius*, mention the *Thalaſſometræ*, which were thoſe that ſounded the Depth of the Sea with the Βόλις, or Plummet. There were alſo the ναυπηγοὶ, as the *Greeks* called them : and the *Latines* from them, *Naupegæ*, i. e. the Shipwrights or *Carpenters*, who were to mend any thing which was broken or out of Order: But tho' theſe were very neceſſary Fellows aboard a Ship, yet the Ancients accounted them in the loweſt and meaneſt Rank, of any Perſons belonging to the whole Company.

Before the Ship put to Sea, every Hand aboard her was exerciſed, in his ſeveral Capacity, that he might be knowing and ready in his Buſineſs: We learn from *Cæſar* and *Dion*, that among the *Romans* a very conſiderable time was allotted to exerciſe the Rowers, and to render them fit for Service: And *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and *Thucydides*, all ſay the ſame thing of the *Greeks*; and for the better Performance of theſe uſeful Exerciſes, there were peculiar Officers appointed; which by *Vegetius*, Lib. IV. c. 32. are called *Navarchi*: But we don't read any thing of theſe *Navarchi*, before the time of *Antoninus*. The *Gubernatores* alſo were exerciſed in their way; for they juſtly thought it a dreadful thing, that the Maſter of a Ship ſhould be

-----Pelagi rudis, & Pontum tractare per artem
Neſcius, accepit miſeræ ſi Jura Carinæ.
Ventorum tenet ipſe vicem, cunctiſq; Porcellis
Dat Jactare ratem, fertur vaga gurgite puppis
Ipſius in Scopulos, dextrâ impellente Magiſtri.

Silius, Lib. V.

The very Soldiers alſo were continually exerciſed, by ſham Sea-Fights, to make them knowing and daring in real ones: Nay the *Romans* at laſt began to be ſo ſatified of the Uſefulneſs of theſe Naval Games or Exerciſes; that they made a place on purpoſe for their Celebration in the *Campus Martius*; where there was naturally a Lake; and this by Art, in the times of *Julius* and *Auguſtus*, was made very fit for ſuch Exerciſes. And ſoon after, theſe ſham Sea-Fights became part of the Entertainment of the Publick, and were inſtituted not only for the Uſes above-mentioned; but alſo to pleaſe the People (as with other publick Shews) and ſhew the Magnificence, Liberality, not to ſay Vanity, of the great ones.

Aſſoon as ever Orders were given, from the Prince, for putting forth of a Fleet to Sea: The Seamen firſt of all launched the *Triremes*, &c. the Ships of War; which, as it appears by theſe Lines of *Flaccus*, Arg. Lib. I. lay with their Sterns a-ſhore.

At Ducis imperio Minijæ, monituq; frequentes
Puppem Humeris ſubeunt, & tento poplite proni
Decurrunt ----------

And thus alſo *Virgil*,

--------Stant Littore Puppes.

The Inſtruments they uſed in lanching out theſe Ships, were (1.) *Vectes* or Levers, 2 *Cylindri* or Rollers of Wood: Which were called alſo *Palanges*, and by *Virgil*, Lib. 2. Æneid. *Lapſus*.

Accingunt omnes operi, pedibuſq; Rotarum.
Subjiciunt Lapſus.

Iſidorus ſaith theſe were called alſo *Pulvini*. There was a great deal of Trouble in this clearing or getting off the Stern from the Shore; till *Archimedes* invented an Engine for this purpoſe, as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Marcellus*: And of which thus *Silius*, Lib. 14. v. 252.

--------Puppes etiam, conſtructaq; Saxa
Fœmineâ traxiſſe ferunt contra ardua dextrâ.

In *Bellonus* his *Theatrum* you have a Figure of this Inſtrument or Engine of *Archimedes*, or of one which he imagines was like it, and would ſerve well enough for this purpoſe.

When the Ships lay up far from the Water, they drew them down to the Sea in *Plauſtra*, which had their Bottoms covered with Skins, raw Hides, &c. to ſave the Ships Bottom and Sides from Injury, as *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 1. and *Livy*, Lib. 25. c. 11. both tell us. Aſſoon as the Ships were lanched, then the *Annona* or Proviſions were put on Board; and that often in the Ships of War themſelves, for 8, 10, or 12 Days time: But ſeldom longer: Tho' uſually the Proviſions were carried in other Ships or Victuallers, particularly provided for that purpoſe. This being done, the Sailers were firſt ſummoned on board by the ſound of a Trumpet: Then the Rowers got in, and each Man took his *Tranſtrum* and Oar, either by Command, and Appointment of the *Proreta*, or more uſually by Lot.

Nunc agite, Socii, propellite in Æquora Navem,
Remorumq; pares ducite ſorte vices.

Propert. lib. 3. v. 870.

And to the ſame purpoſe *Virgil*, Lib. 3. Æn.

Sternimus optatæ gremio telluris ad Undam
Sortiti remos---------

And aſſoon as each Man had his Bench and his Oars allotted him, his Name was put upon both. Then the Arms offenſive and defenſive were put into the Poop, Towers, &c. and the whole Solemnity was concluded with Sacrifices, Luſtrations, &c. When the Fleet prepared to ſail, notice was given by the Sound of a Trumpet, for every one to get ready, and at night a Light was put out from the Tower in the Poop of the Prætorian Ship. The Order of their Voyage was thus: Firſt went light Ships, Spy Boats, &c. to find out good Ports, Stations, Anchor-ground, &c. and becauſe they went thus firſt, the *Greeks* called them πρόπλοι. Next to theſe went the *Triremes*, and other Ships of War, and in the Rear of all the *Naves Onerariæ*. The Fleet was uſually commanded by two Perſons, whom we may call the Admirals of the Ships of War, and of the Victuallers, Tenders, Tranſports, &c. and ſometimes there were more Commanders, each having the Charge of a ſmall Squadron of 6 or 8 Men of War a-piece.

When they came to the deſired Port, Shore, or Place of landing, they left off rowing, held Water with their Oars, and brought the Ship about, and ran her a-ſhore Stern foremoſt. This the *Latines* called *Inhibitio Remigationis*, and the *Greeks* ἐπὶ πρύμναν κρούεσθαι. To effect this the Rowers got up off their Seats, turn'd about, and look towards the Head of the Ship, as *Silius Italicus* obſerves, *Lib.* 2.

Converſo Tyrios petierunt remige Patres.

This turning the Ship about the *Latines* called *Obverſio*:

---Obvertunt Pelago Proras.

Virgil.

Then they lowered their Yards, and ſtruck their Maſts, and caſt their Anchors out of the Forecaſtle. The Rowing Ships had their Oars brought cloſe to, and laſht faſt to the Ship's Side, having their outermoſt Ends elevated: For in this poſture they were both out of the way the preſent, and alſo ready to uſe again, aſſoon as there was occaſion for them. The Naval Camp or Place where the Fleet lay, they called *Caſtra Nautica* and *Navalia*. To defend themſelves in this Place, if any Enemy were near, they uſually cut or dug a Semicircular Ditch, which they fortified with a kind of Ramparts of Earth, and a Parapet or Wall of Wood, and this was their Defence to Landward. Without the Fleet, in the Sea, they ſtuck Piles down in the Water ſtanding obliquely, and with very ſharp Points towards the Sea. When they had thus effectually ſecured their Sea-Camp, if it were Winter, and they deſigned to ſtay there any conſiderable time, they brought their Ships of War quite up upon the dry Land; otherwiſe they only made their Sterns faſt aſhore. When a Fleet lay only ſtill for a while at an Anchor, and did not touch the Shore, they called it *Statio*, and the *Greeks* ὅρμος, ὕφορμος; and by *Appianus* theſe Stations are called ἐφορμίσματα. Their Havens the *Greeks* called λιμένα, the *Latines Portus*: Tho' the *Portus* was more properly an Artificial Haven, which was commonly called *Cothona* or *Cotones*; whereas a Natural Haven was called *Oſtium*. The Artificial Ports were to have, firſt a good χηλὴ, or Work run doubly into the Sea, in order to procure between its Sides a good Entrance into the Haven, ſecure againſt Winds and Tides. This double Mole the *Latines* called *Cornua*, as we find from *Lucan*, Lib. 2.

Precipiti curſu flexi per cornua Portus
Ora petunt, Pelaguſq; dolent contingere Claſſes.

The Sea Entrance into theſe *Cornua* was defended by Chains and Bars of Wood; therefore it was called *Clauſtrum* by the *Latines*: It was alſo fortified with Towers, and near the Entrance were the *Phari* or Watch Towers placed, where Lights were hung out a-nights to guide Ships into the Harbour. They were ſo called from the famous *Pharos* or Watch-Tower built at *Alexandria* by *Ptolomy*.

> *Lumina Noctivagæ tollit* Pharus *æmula Lunæ.*
> Statius.

The Paſſage between theſe *Cornua* or *Moles* was called *Stoma* by the *Greeks*, and *Oſtium* by the *Latines*, and ſometimes *Fauces*. This let the Ships into the μυχὸς or innermoſt part of the Haven, where they were made faſt to the *Crepidæ*, or as *Homer* calls it, the ὅρμος, which was a Work of Stone built like our Keys, on which were Houſes filled with Stores, Docks, &c. for building or refitting Ships, &c. Theſe Docks the *Greeks* called νεώσοικοι, ἐπίνεια, νεώρια, &c.

Whenever the Antients had a Proſpect of a Sea Engagement, the firſt thing they did was to clear their Ships of War of all unneceſſary Weight and Lumber, leaving no more Proviſions on board than what was of indiſpenſible neceſſity: And then, if it were poſſible to avoid it, they would not engage but in a calm Sea, and good Weather. Next, they took great care to get the Enemy between the Shoar and them, both that themſelves might have room enough, and the Enemy be pent up and ſtreightened; and alſo that they might bring on ſtill new Ships into the Engagement, and row off their diſabled ones with ſafety and eaſe. *Appianus*, Lib. 5. takes notice, that *Calviſius* neglecting this Maxim, was almoſt deſtroyed by *Menecrates*, his Ships driven aſhore, ſtranded and wrackt. And thus was it with the *Roman* Fleet in the Battle againſt *Adherbal* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, as *Polybius* tells us, *Lib.* 1. They choſe alſo, if they could, rather to engage near their Enemies Coaſts than their own: The Reaſon of which, *Leo* gives in his Tacticks. *Ne (inquit) in tuâ ipſius Terrâ Prælium committas in quâ ſperant milites (juxta Proverbium) ſi tantum haſtas deſigunt, ſervari; ſed prope Hoſtilem Terram potius ut Hoſtes Salutem ſperantes, ſua in Terrâ fugam dimicationi anteponant.* They took care alſo, not to engage againſt Wind or Tide, (*i. e.*) they ſtrove to get the Weather Gage of the Enemy, as we ſpeak. When they came to actual Fighting, they took in all their great Sails; and then the *Imperator* or Commander in chief appointed the Order of Battel: Which was various according to Circumſtances; but the firſt Line, when there was more than one, they called *Prima Claſſis*, and the ſecond *Suſidiaria*: And ſometimes there was a third Line of light ſmall Ships which lay behind the two former. Uſually there was but one Line, and then the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt Ships were in the Wings, and the weakeſt in the Centre: Alſo the *Prætor*'s, or chief Admiral's Poſt, was in the right Wing; but if they were in the Form of an Half Moon, his Poſt was in the Center, as appears by the Tacticks of the Emperor *Leo*. This Half Moon, which the *Greeks* called μηνοειδὴς στόλος, was the moſt ordinary Figure of any: And it gained theſe two Advantages; that the Enemy could not eaſily break through, and were alſo eaſily hemm'd in, or encompaſſed round on all ſides. Of this Form *Lucan*, Lib. 4 thus ſpeaks,

> *Cornua Romanæ Claſſis, validaq; Triremes*
> *Quaſq; quater ſurgens extructi remigis ordo*
> *Commovet, & plures quæ mergunt æquore Pinus*
> *Multiplices cinxere rates. Hoc robur aperto*
> *Oppoſitum Pelago: Lunata Claſſe recedunt*
> *Ordine contentæ gemino creviſſe Liburnæ.*

But there were alſo in uſe other Figures, with ſtrait lined Fronts; and theſe ſometimes were all in one Body, ſometimes divided into two Squadrons; and ſometimes into three: Which laſt Form was called the *Phalaux*, as appears by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Sheffer* mentions many other leſs common Forms, as that of a Wedge, an Oval, &c. Vid. Lib. 3. c. V. Whether I refer the curious Reader, being in haſt to conclude this long Diſſertation. The Soldiers who were to fight, were divided into the *Superiores*, which were actually engaged upon the *cataſtromata*; and the *Inferiores* which ſtood below ready to relieve and ſupply them, as they were diſtreſſed or cut off. Of thoſe aloft, the heavy and armed ſtood in the Mid-ſhip, the moſt expert, bold active Fellows in the Head; and they were all ready, with one foot upon the Gunwale or ſide of the Ship, expecting the Signal when they ſhould begin to throw their Darts, &c.

> *Vix meminere maris tam vaſto ad prælia niſu,*
> *Incumbunt Proræ, poſitiſq; in margine puppis*
> *Extremæ plantis, nutantes ſpicula torquent.*
> Sil. Ital. Lib. 14.

When they were juſt going to engage in an actual Fight, the Imperator went in his Boat and made an encouraging Speech to every Ship: Then the Signal for the Battle was hung out of the Pretorian Ship; which by being waved to the right or left, being lifted up higher, lowered, or entirely taken down, was an Inſtruction to them which way to carry the Fight, how long to hold it, and when to deſiſt. This Signal was ſometimes a Red Flag, and ſometimes an Helmet, as I have before obſerved. The Onſet was begun with Trumpets, who ſounded the πολεμικὸν, or *Claſſicum*. Then one of their chief Aims was *detergere Remos*.

> *Aſt aliæ laceræ atq; incuſſi roboris ictu*
> *Detergere Remos.*——————
> Sil. Ital. Lib. 4.

As the *Romans* call'd it, ἀνακόπτειν κώπας, to break or cut off one anothers Oars, and ſo diſable the Ship from rowing. If this could not be done, then they got cloſe to one another, and fought it hand to hand with the Marines; tho' ſtill endeavouring to ſink one another: as before, by the *Roſtra*, ſo now by Engines, &c. and to grapple faſt with, and to board one another: And then it grew very warm Work indeed, as *Silius Italicus* deſcribes it, *Lib.* 14.

> ————*Injecta ligant hinc vincula ferri,*
> *Atq; illinc ſteteruntq; ad prælia nexæ,*
> *Nec jacula aut longè certatur harundine fuſâ*
> *Cominus, & gladio terreſtria prælia miſcent.*

And thus you ſee how they behaved themſelves in an open Fight at Sea: A word or two of their Naval Sieges, and Defences. When they beſieged any place by Sea, they uſed to block up the Harbour, and encompaſs it all round with their Ships, whom they joined one to another with Chains; and communicated by Bridges or Gallies; where the Soldiers were always ready to throw Darts, &c. and to oppoſe the Paſſage of any Ships in or out. They ſtrengthned this Naval Mole alſo by driving long Piles down into the Ground, to which they faſtened their Ships. This was their *Circumvallation*. The Attack upon the Town they uſually managed by two Ships joined to one another by a Bridge, on which they placed their battering Engines, and wooden Towers alſo, which they filled with Men to ſcale the Walls, and to drive thoſe that defended them from thence: Againſt theſe bold Attempts, the beſieged defended themſelves by their own Ships; by driving Piles down into the Earth under Water, whoſe Tops were ſhod with Braſs or Iron Spikes, to annoy the Enemies Ships as they approached to the Walls: Sometimes they made a *Contravallation* with their Ships againſt the work of the Enemy; and ſometimes endeavoured to burn it, by throwing in Pitch, Tar, and other combuſtible Matter actually enkindled amongſt their Ships; and now and then by ſending Boats loaden with ſuch Materials in among them; [as the *Tyrians* did, when *Alexander* beſieged their City] and then ſetting them on Fire to burn the Enemies Fleet. So that a kind of Fire Ships, you ſee, the Antients had a Notion of long ago; the Invention of Man being very early ripe for Miſchief.

I proceed next, to conſider, the Officers, Magiſtrates, Stipends, Salaries, Triumphs, Rewards and Puniſhments in uſe amongſt the Antients, in their Ships and Fleets.

The Officers and Magiſtrates in the Antient Fleets and Ships were theſe.

1. The στρατηγὸς. στόλαρχος. ναύαρχος. The *Præfectus Claſſis*, as the *Romans* ſtil'd him. Among the *Greeks*, this great Office was ſometime in the hand of one Man, but oftner divided between two, or three, who were all equal in Power: As *Alcibiades*, *Niceas*, and *Lamachus* were; with them alſo, the Office was precarious, depending upon the Good Will of the People, entirely as to its Continuance. But among the *Romans*, the *Prætors*, while they had the Care of Naval Affairs, were to continue this Command but for one Year, and then they were to deliver up their Charge to their Succeſſors. This was the Officer which we now call an Admiral: (in chief) The Name of *Admiral*, or as the *French* write it, *Amiral*, ſome think came from the *Admirantes*, a ſort of commanding Officers, both for Sea and Land Service, amongſt the *Saracens*. But *Moriſotus*, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, Lib. 2. c. 7. will have it to come from the word Ἀμηραλιὸς, which was, he ſaith, the Title for the *Præfectus Claſſis*, or Commander of the Fleet (in the *Eaſtern* Empire) before the time of the Emperors *Leo* and

Mauricius, tho' ſome will have it be derived from ἁλμυρὸς, *Salſus, à Salſugine Maris.*

The next Officer to the High Admiral or Commander in chief, was the Ἐπιστολεὺς, or, as he is called alſo, ἐπιστολαφόρος. This was a kind of *Vice-Admiral*, and was ſo called by the *Greeks* (ſaith *Pollux*) becauſe he was Aſſiſtant, and immediately under the ναύαρχος; and that this was his Office, appears alſo from ſeveral Paſſages in *Zenophon*'s Hiſt. The *Romans* called him *Subpræfectus*; and tho' he were but Vice-Admiral to the Prætorial Squadron, he was *Præfectus* or Commander in chief of another Squadron or Fleet. *Scheffer* obſerves, that thoſe Officers above-mentioned were ſuch as more peculiarly commanded the Soldiers and Naval Strength of a Fleet; but there were another ſort, which the *Greeks* called ἀρχικυβερνῆται, which had more immediately the Care of the Ships, who had the Management of all Maritime Affairs, were to provide commodious Harbours, to direct the Courſe of the Fleet, *&c.* And perhaps he that was *Maſter* of the Prætorial Ship had peculiarly this Title of *Archigubernus*. *Scheffer* thinks that this was the ſame Officer with him whom *Tacitus* calls *Præfectus Remigum*, and whom *Livy*, lib. 24. c. 41. calls *Præfectus Socium* or *Sociorum*. But there being no particular Deſcription of his Office, 'tis hard to determine any thing poſitively about it.

The Captain alſo of each particular Ship the *Greeks* called Ναύαρχος, and the *Latines* from them *Navarchus*. Tho' *Livy* frequently ſtiles him *Præfectus*, and *Lib.* 45. *c.* 42. *Magiſter Navis*, and *Tacitus* gives him the Name of *Trierarchus*, Ann. 14. c. 8. Hiſt. 2. c. 9. which laſt Term among the *Greeks* ſignified the Captain of a *Triremis*: And there is mention alſo of a συντριήραρχος, who ſeems to have been a Sharer with ſome other Perſon in the Command of Captain of a *Triremis*. The Captain of a πεντηκόντορος, or a Ship of 5 *Ordines*, was called Πεντηκοντόραρχος, and ſo for other Rates. Thoſe who commanded the Seamen, and had the immediate care of the Guidance and Working of the Ships, the *Greeks* called κυβερνῆται, the *Latines Gubernatores*, and ſometimes *Magiſtri Sociorum Navalium*. This Officer was the ſame with our Maſter of a Ship, and his Poſt was in the Poop.

—*Solus ſtat Puppe Magiſter.* *Statius*, Theb. 8. v. 267.

Sometimes he is deſcribed as ſitting at the Helm, and the Place where he ſate was by the *Greeks* called ἴγκλημα: His Authority over the Seamen appears to have been very great by this of *Flaccus*, lib. 1.

Typhys agit, taciti ſedent ad Juſſa Miniſtri,
Qualiter ad ſummi Solium Jovis omnia circum
Prona parata Deo.----------

The Art of guiding, conducting and ſailing the Ship well, the *Greeks* called τέχνη κυβερνητικὴ, and it conſiſted, as *Scheffer* obſerves, chiefly in theſe three things: The Knowledge of the Stars and of the Courſe of the Winds; the Diſtance and Scituation of Ports and Havens, and the Art of working of a Ship ſo as to find her *Trim*, as we call it, and make her ſail to the beſt advantage. Their Knowledge of the Stars in a manner was confined to the Obſervations of the *Great* and *Little Bear*, two Conſtellations near the North Pole, ſo called, as appears from *Lucan*, *Lib.* 8. *v.* 172.

Signifero quæcunq; fluunt labentia Cœlo
Nunquam ſtante Polo miſeros fallentia Nautos
Sydera non ſequimur, ſed quæ non mergitur undis
Axis inocciduus gemina clariſſimus Arcto
Ille regit Puppes---------

Of theſe two Conſtellations the *Greeks* took moſt notice of the *Great Bear*, which they called *Helix*, and we *Charles his Wain.*

Dat Graiis Helice curſum majoribus Aſtri.

The Leſſer Bear, which the *Greeks* called *Cynoſura*, was moſt regarded by the *Phœnicians*; they firſt diſcovered and obſerved its Motion round the Pole, and that the Pole Star it ſelf was the laſt in its Tail. And indeed the Knowledge of the Stars in general, and the firſt Foundations of all our Aſtronomy, is entirely owing to the *Phœnicians*. And the Reaſon why they obſerved the *Cynoſura* rather than the Helix, *Germanicus in Arateis* thus expreſſes.

Certior eſt Cynoſura tamen ſulcantibus æquor:
Quippe brevis totam fido ſe Cardine vertit,
Sidoniamq; Ratem nunquam ſpectata fefellit.

They had Charts alſo, in which not only the Scituation of Countries and diſtant Regions were deſcribed; but the Courſe of the Winds alſo was expreſſed, and how, and from what Parts, and at what time, they uſually blew: as appears from this Paſſage of *Propertius*, lib. 4. *de Arethuſa.*

Cogor & è Tabulâ pictos ediſcere mundos
Qualis & hoc docti ſit poſitura Dei.
Quæ tellus ſit tecta gelu, quæ putris ab Æſtu,
Ventus in Italiam qui bene vela regat.

The *Gubernator* was alſo skilful how to avoid Rocks, Shelfs, Sands, *&c.* either by his own Experience in former Voyages made to the ſame Places, or by the Writings of others; the Deſcriptions and Accounts of whoſe Voyages they called *Peripli*, and *Itineraria*. He was alſo ſuppoſed to underſtand perfectly well the way of working of a Ship, and how to put her into ſuch poſture, that ſhe ſhould make the beſt of her way. For as *Oppianus*, Lib. 1. v. 229. expreſſes it.

-- ---Πρύμνῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πάντα χαλινὰ
Ἰθείης ἀνέχων.

And as *Lucan* deſcribes the *Gubernator* at work in his Poſt, *Lib.* 8 *v.* 88.

Juſto vela modo pendentia cornibus æquis
Torſit, & in lævum puppim dedit------
Hos dedit in proram, tenet hos in puppe rudentes.

Sometimes there were two of theſe *Gubernatores*, eſpeciall in the greater Ships: And *Ælian* ſaith, it was the uſual Cuſtom to have it ſo among the *Carthaginians*. The next Office under the *Maſter*, was the *Proreta*, who was to manage the Helm according to the direction of the *Gubernator*. The *Greeks* called him πρωρεὺς, and he was, as *Zenophon* ſaith, τοῦ κυβερνήτου διάκονος; and therefore, as *Pollux* ſaith, was to ſteer the Ship at the Command of the Maſter. Tho', as his Name implies, he had no doubt alſo his proper Poſt in the *Prow* or Head of the Ship, where ſome ſay he was to ſit and obſerve the Winds, to give notice of Rocks, *&c.* and all approaching Danger: Some will have him to have had the Care alſo of the diſpoſition of the Rowers, of the Rigging and Tackling of the Ship, and he that was to aſſiſt the Maſter with his Advice and actual Service, whenever required.

The next Officer was the κελευστὴς, as the *Greeks* called him; the *Portiſculus*, or *Hortator Remigum*, ſomething like our *Boatſwain*; one that either by a Noiſe he made with his Mouth, by the Blow of a Mallet, Hammer, Stick (which they called *Pertica*) &c. gave a Sign to the Rowers to pull away all together, or to deſiſt, *&c.* This Officer was alſo called *Ageator*, and *Juſſor*.

Next to the *Portiſculus*, the Τριηραύλης deſerves to be conſidered, which was a Muſician, that either by the Harp or Pipe, not only ſtruck the true Time for the Rowers to obſerve with their Oars as to the Length of the Stroke, but by engaging them to join in the Harmony with him, exhilerated their Spirits, and made them forget their Labour.

-------*Mediæ ſtat Margine Puppis,*
Qui voce alternos Nautarum temperet ictus,
Et remis dictat Sonitum; pariterq; relatis
Ad numerum plaudat reſonantia cærula tonſis.
Silius, Lib. 6. v. 361.

And thus alſo *Statius*, Lib. 5. *Thebaid.* v. 343.

Acclivis malo mediis interſonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantoſq; jubet neſcire labores.

But of this we have ſaid ſomething before.

The next Officers were the Ναυφύλακες, or *Cuſtodes Navium*: Theſe *Scheffer* thinks, took charge of all the Sails, Cables, and all other Inſtruments on board. *Jul. Pollux* calls them οὖροι, and he repreſents their Office to be, taking care, eſpecially a-nights, that the Ship came to no damage by running againſt Rocks, ſtriking againſt the Ground, *&c.* which they were to prevent by the uſe of Booms or long Poles, with which they were to fend againſt Danger, and to ſet off upon occaſion.

Ὡς ναυφύλακες νυκτέρου ναυκληρίας
Πλήκτροις ἀπευθύνουσιν οὐρίαν τρόπιν.
Sophocles.

There were alſo Officers whom the *Greeks* called τοιχάρχοι; theſe had peculiarly the Charge of the Ships Sides, as appears from *Turnebus*, and from this of *Claudian*:

> *Ac velut exertus tentandis navita tonſis*
> *Preficitur Lateri cuſtos*——————
>
> de Conſul. Mallii, v. 47.

Scheffer thinks theſe were two Officers that commanded, one the Starboard, the other the Larboard Oars, all along the Ships Side in length, which ſeems very probable.

In the antient Ships there were alſo Officers called ταμίαι by *Homer*, who were appointed to deliver out the ſeveral Meſſes or proportion of Proviſions to the Ships Company: Theſe ſeem to be the ſame with what the *Romans* called *Diætarii*, a kind of *Quæſtores*, or Clerks of the Proviſions: Some will have them to be the ſame with the *Celeuſtes*, but I judge they were different. There was alſo the γραμματεὺς, λογιστὴς, the *Navalis Scriba*, as *Feſtus* calls him; which ſeems to have been an Officer analogous to our Purſer. And laſtly there was the ἐσχάριος, whom *Pollux* deſcribes as being an Attendnat upon the Fire: But whether he were the Cook, or the *Sacrificator*, 'tis hardly poſſible to determine at this diſtance, there being no particular Account of this Office given any where in Antiquity.

Let us next conſider what Stipends, Wages and Encouragements the Antients gave to their Marines, Rowers and Sailers: And theſe were of 3 kinds, as *Scheffer* obſerves: Money; Bread, Proviſions, *&c.* and Clothes. In moſt antient Times, when either the Men went Voluntiers, or a Privateering, or when they were ſummoned to take Arms for the neceſſary Defence of their Country againſt an Invaſion, we do not find that any Stipend or Salary was given to either Soldiers or Rowers. Afterwards as private Men made a Trade of War, they paid the Soldiers and Seamen; and it was not till the firſt *Punick* War, that their Stipend came out of the publick Treaſury, among the *Romans*. But in the ſecond *Punick* War 'tis clear from *Livy*, Lib. 33. c. 21. that their Wages and Pay was taken from thence: But if the Treaſury were out of Caſh, ſometimes particular Men of great Fortune and Poſſeſſions paid the Fleet, and at laſt it came to be laid as a Burden upon private Perſons: For *Livy*, Lib. 29. ſaith, that according to each Man's Circumſtances or Eſtate he was obliged to find one or more Seamen, and to give them ſo many Months Pay. This was done by Decree of the Senate, when *L. Æmilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Cenſors: And then (ſaith he) *Primum eſt Factum, ut Claſſis Romana Sociis Navalibus privata impenſa paratis compleretur.* And this Cuſtom held till *Hannibal* was driven out of *Italy*, and then the *Roman* Affairs began to mend a little. After this it appears again from *Livy*, that they paid their Seamen out of the publick Treaſury; and as for the Fleets which were put out by their *Socii* or Allies, they made *them* pay the Soldiers and Rowers at a certain Stipend. Indeed what this Stipend or Wages was, which either the *Romans* themſelves, or their Allies allowed, is not certainly known. *Scheffer* thinks 'twas leſs than the Land Pay, and gueſſes, that as the Land Soldiers had 3 *Aſſes*, ſo theſe had but two: But afterwards in the times of the Emperors, it was raiſed; for *Scheffer* obſerves, that in the time of *Anaſtaſius* the Rowers had 5 *Roman Solidi*; and the Officers Pay was raiſed proportionably, as the *Rhodian Laws* ſhew us: For 'tis there appointed that *Illi qui Clavum tenet Portio una cum ſemiſſe, tantundem Proretæ & Naupego: Nautæ & Carabitæ portio una, Paraſchitæ portio dimidia tribuitur.* What Stipend the *Grecians* allowed their Seamen is equally obſcure; tho' that they did allow ſome, is plain from *Plutarch*'s Life of *Themiſtocles*, from *Xenophon* and *Thucydides*; and this Stipend came out of the publick Treaſury. But tho' the certain quantity of their Pay *per* Day, or *per Month*, be not known; yet 'tis apparent that there was a difference in it, according to the difference in the Pains and Labour of the Perſons. The Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* ſaith, that the *Thalamitæ* or lowermoſt Rowers had leſs Pay than the reſt, becauſe their Oars were ſhorter, and nearer to the Sea: And *Thucydides*, Lib. 6. mentions ſomething extraordinaay given to the *Thranitæ* over and above the publick Stipend; becauſe (as the Scholiaſt ſaith) their Oars being longer than any others in the Ship, they had the hardeſt Labour; and to this we may add, that they *ſtood* and rowed, whereas the others *ſate*; and beſides, if the Ship were of 5 or 6 Orders, their Oars muſt move over their Heads, which made it yet more laborious and difficult. Theſe were called ὀρθιοκῶπαι by *Heſychius* on this account. But what each particular Man had, is not eaſy to diſcover. There is a Paſſage in *Plutarch*'s *Lyſander*, by which it appears, that the common Allowance for every *Nauta* was three *Oboli*, and that *Cyrus* at *Lyſander*'s requeſt made it four. After this *Tiſſaphernes* increaſed their Pay to a *Drachma*, or ſix *Oboli*, as we learn from *Thucydides*, Lib. 8.

They had alſo Clothes (ſuch as they were) allowed them out of the publick Money, and this was accounted as part of their Pay, as was alſo the *Frumentum* or Proviſions which were appointed for them at the charge of the Publick. Sometimes they had a certain quantity of Corn allowed them, as when there was a proſpect of a long Voyage; and often bak'd and boil'd Meats. When they had crude Corn, there were Mills allowed on board to grind it; but they had oftner their Allowance in Meal or Flower. Which, with Water (to which ſometimes Milk, Wine or Oil was added) they made up into a kind of *Cakes*, which the *Greeks* called μᾶζα; but this was a kind of Haſty-pudding, and came far ſhort of the goodneſs of Bread.

Garlick was alſo a mighty Food with the Rowers, both among the *Greeks* and *Latines*; and Cheeſe and Eggs they uſually took along with them. For there is an Account in *Ariſtophanes* of a certain odd kind of Broth, which he calls μυττωτὸς, which was much uſed at Sea, and was compoſed of Cheeſe, Eggs and Garlick. This Tarr-Pottage the *Romans* called *Moſetum* and *Moretum*, and ſometimes *Intritum*, as *Scaliger* ſhews from *Donatus*. Their Drink was nothing but Water, eſpecially for the common Seamen; But we do now and then read of Officers having Wine on board.

Theſe Proviſions were, as we have before obſerved, carried in peculiar Veſſels, and not put on board the Men of War: And how theſe Ships differ'd from the *Naves longæ*, or Ships of War, and by what peculiar Names they were called, I have in part ſhewed before, and ſhall ſpeak of again in the Catalogue of the ſeveral kinds of Ships, and therefore ſhall ſay nothing further of them now. I ſhall conclude with a word or two about their Rewards and Puniſhments, and of the Sea Triumphs.

The uſual Reward that a Commander or Captain had for behaving himſelf honeſtly and bravely, had, was a *Naval* or *Claſſical Crown* or *Coronet*; and more peculiarly was this given to him, *Qui primus in Hoſtilem Navim tranſilierit, Cujuſve operâ manuve Navis Hoſtium capta fuit*, as *A. Gellius* and *Feſtus* expreſs it. This Coronet or Garland, was wrought into Figures repreſenting the *Roſtra*, *Acroſtolia* &c. of Ships, and was worn upon ſolemn Occaſions: And ſometimes he was ſolemnly preſented with a Purple Flag or Standard, which was hung up in his Houſe as a Token of and Trophy for his Conduct and Courage. The *Gubernatores* or *Maſters*, the ſubaltern Officers and common Soldiers, Rowers or Seamen, had uſually a Gift of Money beſtowed upon them, in value proportionable to their Merit, being greater or leſs according as they behaved themſelves: If they were Foreigners they were ſometimes made Denizens; they were exempted from Taxes, and they were endowed with ſeveral other Privileges and Advantages, according to the Pleaſure of the Government; and they had often alſo the Honour to be buried in ſome publick Place of Repute when they died; which was a thing they were very fond of.

And as their Rewards you ſee were Honorary; ſo their Puniſhments were uſually Diſgraces: Such as degrading them from their Station, taking away their Commiſſion, incapacitating them from any publick Office or Employment, and ſometimes depriving them of the Liberty of wearing the common and ordinary Habit, with thoſe of their own Rank: But this was chiefly if not ſolely, a Puniſhment for Officers that did not behave themſelves as they ſhould have done. The common Soldiers, Rowers, or Sailers, were uſually chaſtiſed with Corporal Puniſhment: And this was of 2 kinds; 1. *Common* or *Ordinary*, which was laſhing their Back with ſmall Ropes or Cords; or with a Cat of Nine-tails, as we now call them; and this was a Puniſhment for little Faults committed in the Ship: Or 2. *Extraordinary*; for great Crimes and Offences: And this was to hang them up by the Heels on the Ships ſide, without Board, and with their Heads downwards: And ſometimes tying a Rope about their Middle to let them down under Water, and letting them go quite under the Ships Keel, to draw them up on the other ſide of the Ship: Which Puniſhment we now call *Keel-Hailing*. If a Man deſerted, or fled from his Poſt, the Puniſhment was to cut off both his hands. 'Twas a common Puniſhment alſo, for a great Fault, to put the Offender on ſhore, in ſome barbarous and ſavage Place, and there to leave him to ſhift for himſelf: But for Capital Crimes the Puniſhment was throwing the Offender over-board, and ſo drowning him in the Sea.

Naval Triumphs were deſigned as peculiar Rewards, and as the Honours done to the *Imperator*, High Admiral, or Commander in chief, for an Eminent Victory in an Engagement by Sea. The firſt that ever had this Honour among the *Romans*, was *Duillius* their Admiral in the firſt Punick War, for his Signal Victory over the *Carthaginian* Fleet at *Lipara*: Himſelf and *Cn. Cornelius* being Conſuls. Before any Triumph was determined, the *Prætor* or Conſul always ſent to *Rome* a Ship crown'd with Laurel as a Token and Notification of the Victory: And next he came home himſelf, if he could, or at leaſt ſent his own Ship, or Ships, adorn'd with the Spoils of the Enemy: And if he came himſelf, he was met by the Conſuls, Prætors, and moſt of the great Officers of the City; when he was landed he applied himſelf to the Senate for Leave to have a Triumph, without whoſe Decree it could not be done: When on due Examination of the Circumſtances of the Victory, they thought fit to allow him a Triumphal Entry, it was uſually performed after this manner, Firſt, as in a Land Triumph, the *Lictors* began the Cavalcade; theſe were followed by Muſicians, who ſang and play'd the Sea Song, Tune, or *Harmonia*, whereby the Rowers were brought to ſtrike true, and to keep juſt time with their Oars, as is above deſcribed. Next followed Pictures and Repreſentations of the Engagement; after this came the *Roſtra*, and other Spoils and Ornaments of the Enemies Ships, together with their Arms and Weapons of War, drawn a-long in Carriages: Then were brought Tables, in which the Number and Names of the Enemies Ships were written, which the *Victor* had taken or deſtroy'd, and after theſe were carried the Treaſure taken from the Enemy, the Crowns which were preſented by the Allies. Behind which marched the Captive Pirates, Captains, and Commanders of the Enemies Ships: And next came the Admiral himſelf in a Triumphant Chariot, raiſed conſpicuouſly high, and wearing a Gown adorned with Gold and Purple, and with his Head crown'd with Laurel, and after the Chariot followed the *Marines*, *Rowers*, and *Sailers*, all adorned with Laurel, in this Pomp they went to the Capitol, and there after having offered up the proper Sacrifices, &c. they hung the *Roſtra* and Naval Spoils up in the Temple,

> *Multaq; præterea Sacris in Poſtibus arma*
> *Captiva pendent currus*----------
> -----------*ereptaq; Roſtra Carinis.*
>
> Virg. Æn. 7.

And ſometimes Columns and other Trophies were erected in ſeveral Places, in Honour of the Conquerour.

The manner of the Naval Triumph, amongſt the *Greeks*, was in very few material Points different from this of the *Romans*, and therefore I need not ſtay to give any particular Deſcription of it.

An ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE *of the Ancient* Latine *and* Greek *Names of* SHIPS, *expreſſing their ſeveral Kinds, Rates, Sizes*, &c.

1. *Acatus* was a ſmall Ship, which went only coaſting along the Shore: This Word being the Term for the Main Sail of a Ship, 'tis probable this *Acatus* was only a Boat with one broad ſquare Sail. From hence came alſo the
2. *Acation*, which ſeems to have been a ſmall, ſwift, or Actuary Boat. *Suidas* ſaith it was the Name of a Fiſhing Boat; and *Thucydides* gives it the Title of *Amphericon*. *Plutarch* makes it the ſame with *Scapha*.
3. *Actuariæ Naves*, were a ſort of *Naves Longæ*; ſometimes they are called *Actuariolæ*; unleſs theſe were a yet a ſmaller ſort. Theſe were called by this Name, *Quia cito agi poſſunt*, and therefore come often under the Name of *Celeres*. They ſeem to have been a kind of Runners, and uſed for Piratical Uſes.
4. *Alveus* was a Canoa or ſmall Boat, made out of one Piece of Timber, by hollowing it like a Trough.
5. *Ampheres*, were Scullers, or Boats rowed with two Oars by the Management of only one Man. The Scholiaſt upon *Thucydides* calls it *Amphericon*, and *Strabo*, δίκωπον. *Apertæ Naves* were ſuch as we call open Boats: Without any Deck; in Oppoſition to the *Cataphractæ*, *Conſtratæ*, and *Tectæ Naves*.
6. *Aulones*, were Ships of State, built for the Entertainment and Paſſage of Princes.
7. *Autochabdolus* and *Autoſchedius*, was a Ship haſtily made, and in an urgent Neceſſity.
8. *Barca*, according to *Iſidorus*, is a Veſſel *quæ cuncta Navis commercia ad Littus portat*. The Name ſeems to be taken from the *Greek*, Βάρις and Βαρεῖαι, which were Onerary Ships.
9. *Biremis*, uſually was a Ship that had two Banks or Tires of Oars one above another; but the word is ſometimes uſed for a ſmall Boat in which there were but two Oars; and thoſe perhaps moved but by one Man, and in this Senſe 'tis the ſame with *Ampheres*, or *Sculler*.
10. *Byrſopagus*, was a ſort of Boat made of Leather, of a round Form, and wickered over: Theſe were of old uſed by the *Aſſyrians*, *Armenians*, *Venetians*, and *Britains*, as I have ſhew'd above: *Vid. Lucan. Pharſal.* Lib. 1.
11. *Camera*, was a cloſe wide bellied Boat, capable of holding 25 or 30 Men: It was uſed of old by the *Henicchani*, the *Boſporani*, and at this day by the *Tartars* againſt the *Turks*: (ſaith *Moriſotus*), they are built without Iron, or any other Metal, to keep them together: Such Boats as theſe the Inhabitants of the *Palus Meotis* and the *Euxine*, are ſaid to row themſelves in, in the Summer time; and then carrying them up into the Woods in the Winter they make them ſerve for Hutts to lodge in.
12. *Cameraa* was a larger, and yet more big-bellied Boat than the ordinary *Camera*, but of the ſame kind, and uſed by the ſame People. *Canna* (whence *Canoa*) was the *Monoxylon*, or Boat made all of one Tree, hollowed out.
13. *Cantharus*, according to *Suidas*, was a Boat ſo called from its Figure, being ſomething like a drinking Cup. It was uſed in the Iſland *Naxo*: And thence called *Naxiurges*.
14. *Carabus*, according to *Iſidorus*, Lib. 19. c. 1. is a ſmall Skiff made of Twigs, Oziers, &c. and covered with Leather: Called by the *Greeks* [illegible].
15. *Cataphractæ* were cloſe covered Ships, with Decks over them, called *Cataſtromata*, on which the Soldiers ſtood to engage in a Sea Fight. Theſe are ſaid to be firſt invented by the *Rhodians*; and are called by the *Latines*, *Tectæ* and *Conſtratæ Naves*. *Cataplus*, according to *Moriſotus*, was a ſmall Trading Ship, or Merchant-man.
16. *Cataſcopium*, a Spy-Boat, or ſmall Ship employed to get Intelligence. The ſame with the *Navis Speculatoria*. *Caudicæ Naves*, according to *Iſidorus*, are Boats made all of one hollowed Tree: The ſame with *Canna*.
17. *Caupulicæ* and *Capulicæ*, a kind of Privateers or Pirates: So called *à Capiendo*, ſaith *Moriſotus*.
18. *Celox* and *Celetes*, was a ſmall Boat, in which two or more Men rowed, each with a ſingle Oar: By which it was diſtinguiſhed from the *Ampheres*, or Sculler. Some will have this to be a long Ship, and ſomething like our *Brigantines*: But *Scheffer*, from *Appian*, proves the former Account of it to be the right one. They were called alſo *Celones*. But not *Celeres*; which were the *Naves Actuariæ*.
19. *Cercurus*, found out by the *Corcyreans* in *Aſia*; and by them called *Cercyra*, as *Moriſotus* tells us. It was a large Ship of Burthen, and yet rowed too with Oars in the Fore-ſhip. *Chalcembolon* was a Ship whoſe *Roſtrum* was covered with Braſs.
20. *Cholones*, very large, and yet ſwift ſailing Ships. *Moriſotus*.
21. *Comiſtica*, Ships in which the *Grecians* carried home the Enemies Spoils taken in the Engagement.
22. *Conſtratæ Naves*. See *Cataphracta*.
23. *Corbitæ* were Onerary Ships, which carried a Basket (*Corbis*) for a Signal on the Top of their Maſts ſaith *Feſtus*.
24. *Cumba*, the ſame with *Cymba*.
25. *Cybæa* was a kind of large *Triremis*, finely adorned and beautified, *Moriſotus*.
26. *Cymba*, a ſmall Boat invented by the *Phœnicians*. The ſame with the πλοῖον of the *Greeks*.

27.

27. *Dicrota*, Ships that row with two Banks of Oars, the ſame with the *Biremes*: But *Moriſotus* will have them to be Ships with two Rudders (one in the Head, and the other in the Stern) which could go with either end foremoſt.

28. *Dromones*, according to *Iſidorus*, are long Ships, ſwift Sailers, and fit for Purſuit or Chaſe. Some will have them to be Store-ſhips, but erroneouſly.

29. *Exploratoriæ Naves*, the ſame with *Speculatoriæ*, Spy-Boats.

30. *Fictiles Naves* were a ſort of Boats made of Clay, or Earth baked, and anciently uſed by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile*: As both *Strabo* Lib. 17. teſtifies, and is plain from *Juvenal*. Sat. XV.

> ———— *Imbelle & inutile Vulgus*
> *Parvula fictilibus ſolitum dare vela Phaſelis*
> *Et brevibus pictæ Remis incumbere teſtæ.*

31. *Galeæ*, which the Emperor *Leo* calls γαλαῖαι, were μονήρεις; μονόκροτοι, long Ships with one only Bank of Oars: *Qui ſimptici ordine aguntur*, ſaith *Tacitus*. From theſe came our Modern *Gallies*: Which out-do all the Antient *Liburnicæ*, &c in Swiftneſs. For *Voſſius* ſaith, that no *Triremis*, or any other ancient Ships, with Sails, Oars, *&c.* could ever go above 200 *Stadia* in one day: And *Artemidorus* accounts 90 *Stadia* a good day's run: Whereas our Modern Gallies will go 1400 *Stadia* in a day: And our Gallies (he ſaith) gain 28 Feet 10½ Inches at every ſtroke of the Oars, whereas the Old *Triremes* could get but 25 Feet and 8 Inches at a ſtroke.

32. *Gerariæ* were Veſſels of Burden, and ſeem to be the ſame with the

33. *Gauli*: Which *Feſtus* ſaith were Ships almoſt of a round Form, uſed for carrying of Merchants Goods. *Heſychius* ſaith they were *Phœnician* Veſſels, in whoſe Language, *Bochart* ſhews, *Gaulus* ſignifies round. In the general they sre *Onerary Ships*, and diſtinguiſhed from the Men of War which were *long Ships*.

34. *Hemiola*, *Hemiolus*, a ſmall Piratical Ship or Boat, 1½ of whoſe Capacity was was without Oars, for the Men to ſtand and fight there.

35. *Hepteres* *Hexers* were Ships of War of 7 or 6 *Ordines Remorum*.

36. *Hibriota* was a long narrow Ship, invented and uſed by the *Scythian Iberi*, *Moriſotus*.

37. *Hippagines* *Hippagogæ* *Hippophoræ* were Ships uſed to Tranſport Horſe.

38. *Julopeza*, the Name of a Ship; but how to diſtinguiſh it I know not, ſaith *Moriſotus*: And I never met with the word any where, but in him.

39. *Lamiæ*, a kind of long Ships, and very ſwift Sailers. *Moriſotus*.

40. *Lembus* was a ſmall Ship, or rather Boat: As *Iſidorus* ſaith, the ſame with the *Cymba*, *Linter*, and *Carabus*. A ſmaller Boat of this kind was called

41. *Lemnunculus*, and *Lenunculus*.

42. *Liburnæ*, *Liburnicæ*, were a kind of *Biremes* invented by the *Liburni Jadertini*, a People upon the *Adriatick* Gulph. *Vegetius* ſaith, *Lib.* 4. *c.* 33. That *Auguſtus* at the Battle of *Actium*, finding that *M. Antony*'s Ships were chiefly worſted by the Ships of the *Liburni*, who were Auxiliaries to *Auguſtus*; concluded *That* kind of Shipping beſt for the Service of the War.

And after that almoſt all Ships of War were called *Liburnæ*; and the Names of *Quadriremes*, *Quinquiremes* were diſuſed. But as *Suidas* ſaith expreſly, the Ancient *Liburnæ* were not built like the *Triremes*, or ſuch like Ships of more than one *Ordo*; But were ſtrong, cloſe, ſnug built Veſſels, prodigiouſly ſwift, and therefore uſed for Piracy. The largeſt *Liburnica* that ever was built, *Voſſius* obſerves, was that of *Caligula*: *Suetonius* calls it a δεκήρης. Becauſe it had 10 *Ordines Remigum*; or 10 Men to an Oar. This Ship had 80 Oars of a ſide: Which doubled makes 160, and that multiplied by 10 gives 1600 for the Number of Oars. The *Quinque Remis* of *Cajus*, alſo mentioned by *Pliny*, was a *Liburnica*: She had 40 Oars of a ſide, and each moved by 5 Men: So that the Number of her Rowers was 400. But no *Liburnica* had ever above one Deck of Oars: Tho ſome were ſo large anciently, as to have 1000 Rowers; theſe were like our *Galeaſſes* covered and built with Towers, *&c.* So that a *Galeaſſe* may be called *Liburnica Conſtrata*.

49. *Linter* was antiently the ſame with the *Scapha*, *Alveus*, or *Monoxylon*; a Canoa made out of one Piece of Timber by hollowing it.

50. *Littorariæ* or *Orariæ*, the ſame with the *Tral a i.e*, Boats which were uſed only in Rivers, or to coaſt along the Shore.

51. *Longæ*, μακραὶ, were the *Ships of War* of the Antients, which were ſo called from their great Length, being uſually 7 or 8 times as long as they were broad: And theſe were of two kinds, either with but one Tire of Oars, or with more.

52. *Moneris* was a long Ship of one only Bank of Oars, the ſame with what the *Greeks* at laſt called γαλαία, and we now call a *Gally*. *Scheffer* ſhews that no Ship with 50 Oars was called a *Moneris*.

53. *Monoxylus* was a *Canoa* made out of one Tree, by hollowing it like a Trough.

54. *Muſculus* was a kind of bending or crooked Ship according to *Gyraldus*.

55. *Myoparo* or *Paro*; ſo called, ſaith *Iſiodorus*, *quaſi minimus Paro*; was a Piratical Ship, between a long Ship and an Onerary one, called alſo *Trieretica* and *Hemiola*; and *Livy* mentions the *Myoparo* and *Lembus*, as one and the ſame thing. 'Tis ſaid to be invented by the *Tyrrheni*, and by *Iſiodore* is ranked with the *Carabus*; and *Scheffer* thinks it was built juſt as the *Hemiola*, having only Oars in the Fore-ſhip. *Bayſius* thinks they were like our *Galleons*; but 'tis plain the *Myoparo* was but a ſmall Ship or Boat.

56. *Nanſus*. *Moriſotus* ſaith there was antiently a Gallick ſmall Ship called by this Name; but I never found it in any Author.

57 *Ocyalus* and *Oxia*, with ſome is the Name of a ſwift ſailing Ship.

58. *Onerariæ Naves* were Ships of Burden to carry Stores and Proviſions for the Men of War, and alſo for Trade and Merchandize. The *Greeks* called them φορτηγοὶ, and φορτίδες; and indeed they had peculiar Names according to their uſe: If they carried Proviſions, the *Latines* called them *Annotinæ*; if they carried Horſe, *Hippagines*, &c.

59. *Orthocraus* is one whoſe Yards ſtand exactly upright ſtrait or ſquare.

60. *Paralus* was the Name of a Ship uſed by the *Athenians*, to export ſuch Perſons as were baniſhed the City.

61. *Phaſelus* was invented by the *Campani*, and was a ſmall weak Boat, as we may gather from this of *Horace*:

> *Fragilemq; mecum ſolvat Phaſelon.*

62. *Pentecontorus* was a Ship of 50 Oars: Such was the *Argo-Navis*, or the firſt Long Ship.

63. *Pentiremis* was a Ship of 5 Orders or Banks of Oars, the ſame with the *Quinqueremis*.

64. *Plicatiles Naves* were ſmall Boats of Leather, with which the *Æthiopians* and *Babylonians* uſed to paſs up and down Rivers. *Pliny*, lib. 5. c. 9.

56. *Pontones*, ſo *Cæſar* calls the *Gallick* Ships, which were of the Onerary kind: ſome ſay they were of old uſed to paſs Rivers, *&c.* as our Pontons are now: But becauſe *Diodorus* calls them Πορεῖα, they ſeem rather to have been originally a kind of Tranſport Ships.

66. *Præcurſoriæ Naves*, the *Greeks* called them Πρόπλοι, were Ships appointed to go before a Fleet to make Diſcoveries.

67. *Prætoriæ Naves* were thoſe in which the Commanders in chief went, and which carried peculiar Flags or Standards by day, and three Lights every Night.

68. *Proſumiæ* are a kind of Ships mentioned by *Plautus* in his *Amplytrio* to be a kind of *Naves Speculatoriæ* or Spy-Boats.

69. *Quadriremis* was a Ship of 4 Banks or Orders of Oars.

70. *Quinqueremis* one of 5 ſuch.

71. *Rates* and *Ratariæ Naves* were the moſt antient Veſſels in which Men ever went to Sea; being a kind of *Rafts* or Bark Logs, made only of ſeveral Pieces of Timber put together, as I have above at large deſribed.

72. *Roſtrata*

72. *Roſtratæ Naves* were ſuch Men of War as were armed with *Roſtra* to break off the Enemies Oars, and to break Holes through the Side, and ſo ſink the Enemies Ships.

73. *Samania* or *Samia* was a kind of *Biremis*. I have not found this Word any where but in *Moriſotus*.

74. *Scapha* was a Canoa made by hollowing out a Tree, and then forming it into the Form of a Boat: the ſame with the *Monoxylus*, *Carabus*, *Speculatoria*, *&c.* For Authors confound them altogether. This was often taken for a Boat attending upon a Ship; which becauſe it was towed after her with a Rope, the *Greeks* called it alſo ἐφόλκια.

75. *Schedia*, which the *Greeks* called ζευκτή, the ſame with the *Rates* or *Bark-logs*.

76. *Speculatoriæ Naves* were Boats ſent out to ſpy or diſcover the Enemies Fleet. Theſe were ſometimes called *Cattæ* and *Cataſcopia*.

77. *Stlatum*, according to *Moriſotus*, is a very broad Ship.

78. *Strongylon*, a roundiſh kind of Ship, ſwoln bellied, and fit for Burden.

79. *Sutilis Navis* was a Leathern Boat, whoſe Sides were ſowed together.

80. *Synedria* was a large Ship built with Seats, *&c.* to hold Councils of War.

81. *Tabellariæ Naves* were ſuch as carried Letters, Orders, *&c.* in an Engagement: Theſe were called by various Names, as *Præcurſoriæ*, *Dromones*, *Luſoriæ*, &c.

82. *Thalamegæ* were Ships of State and Pomp, having fine Lodging Rooms, and other Apartments, *&c.* finely adorned.

83. *Theoris* was the Name of a peculiar Ship, which the *Athenians* ſent every Year to *Delphos*, to conſult the Oracle there. *Moriſotus.*

84. *Trabariæ Naves* were the ſame with *Ratariæ* and *Rates*.

85. *Trieris*, the ſame with *Triremis*, a Ship of 3 Banks or Orders of Oars.

86 *Vitiles Naves*, the ſame with the *Sutiles*.

87 *Vagiones*, were Veſſels built of very thin Boards or Planks, and joined together by Braſs Pins, *&c.* with wonderful Art. *Moriſotus.*

Of the Invention, Uſe, and Properties of the MAGNET.

THE *Magnet* or Loadſtone, as to its wonderful Quality of attracting Iron, was known to almoſt all Parts of the World, from all Antiquity. *Kircher* quotes *Abarbinel*, to ſhew that it was known to the *Hebrews*; and from *Plutarch* it appears that the antient *Egyptians* had the Knowledge of this Property. *Homer* alſo, *Ariſtotle*, *Ptolomy*, *Pythagoras*, *Theophraſtus*, *Gallen*, &c. and all the *Greeks* knew and admired this attractive Property of the Magnet, of drawing *only* Iron. The *Grecians* uſually called it the *Heraclean Stone*, becauſe it was firſt found about *Heraclea*, a City of *Magneſia* in *Lydia*: But the Author of the *Etimologicum* will have it called *Heraclius Lapis* διὰ τὸ ἰσχύειν καὶ κρατεῖν τῆς ὕλης, becauſe of the Strength and Power of its Attraction of Iron. *Pliny* ſaith, *Lib.*36. *c.*17. that it took the Name of *Magnes* from a certain Shepherd of that Name, who by chance diſcovered its Virtue by his nailed Shoes and Iron-ſhod Staff ſticking or adhering to theſe kind of Stones: But 'tis more probable that it was ſo called from *Magneſia*, that Part of *Lydia* where it was firſt diſcovered by the *Greeks*, as *Lucretius* tells us,

> *Quam Magneta vocant Patrio de Nomine Graii,*
> *Magnetum quia ſit Patriis de finibus ortus.*

And by *Achilles Tatius* 'tis called μαγνῆτις λίθος. *Snellius* and ſome others quote *Euripides* as the firſt who gave the Loadſtone the Name of *Magnes*. By *Sophocles* 'tis called *Lydius Lapis*, from *Lydia*, the Region where it was found, of which *Magneſia* is a part. The *Greeks* alſo ſometimes gave it the Name of *Sideritis*, from its Property of attracting Iron unto it. For which indeed it is deſervedly celebrated by all the Antients, whenever they ſpeak of it: And *Claudian* hath a particular Poem on this Subject, in which he very elegantly and maſterly deſcribes the Virtues of this Stone, and admires the ſecret Cauſe of ſuch an amazing effect.

> *Quis calor infundit geminis alterna metallis*
> *Fœdera? Quæ duras jungit diſcordia mentes?*
> *Flagrat anhela Silex, & amicam ſaucia ſentit*
> *Materiam, placidos Chalybs cognoſcit amores.*

But notwithſtanding the ſo long and ſo univerſal a Knowledge as there plainly appears to have been of this Stone, there do not ſeem any good grounds to believe that the *Directive Faculty* of it was at all known to the antient *Greeks* or *Latines*, or to the *Egyptians*, from whom the *Greeks* received all their curious Learning. Our *N. Fuller* indeed labours hard to prove the contrary Opinion; but he is ſufficiently refuted by the moſt Learned *Bochart* in his *Geogr. Sacr.* and by many others. Whether there were not ſome Knowledge of this moſt uſeful and excellent Property among the *Chineſes*, *Arabians* and *Africans* before we had made the Diſcovery of it in *Europe*, may' I think, be very juſtly doubted; notwithſtanding *Kircher*, p. 18. ſaith, that after all his moſt diligent Enquiry of thoſe who had been in *China*, and who perfectly were acquainted with the *Chineſe* Annals and Hiſtory, he could find nothing of it among them. For *Iſ. Voſſius* in his Diſſertation *de Artibus & Scientiis Sinarum*, ſaith expreſly, that the Knowledge of the Magnet, and its directive Faculty of pointing to the North, was known to the *Chineſes* for 2800 Years ago; and that other Nations had it from them. And he cites *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, as aſſerting, that the *Saracens* had made uſe of the Compaſs in Navigation, for near five hundred Years ago: And he ſaith, 'tis certain that the Knowledge of the Declination or Variation of the Mariners Compaſs was known alſo to the *Saracens*, and from thence came to the *Chriſtians*: And he thinks that the *Saracens* had this Knowledge from the *Chineſe*, who uſed to trade to *Taprobana* or *Ceylon*, p. 80. *J. de Laet. p.* 75. *de Orig. Gent. Americ.* ſaith, that 'tis not juſt to conclude, that becauſe the *Greeks* and *Latines* had antiently no Knowledge of the *Pyxis Nautica*, therefore none of the Orientals any where had: For ſaith he, *Acoſta* confeſſes, that *Vaſques de Gama* found the *Ethiopians* about *Moſambique* knew the Uſe of the Compaſs; and it did not appear from whom they had learnt the Uſe of it. This *Vaſques de Gama* was the firſt that diſcovered the *Cape of Good Hope*. The ſame thing *Kircher* takes notice of; and owns alſo, that in the *Geographia Arabica Vaticana*, and in the *Nubiana*, which are ſufficiently antient, there are *not obſcure Hints* of the Knowledge of the Mariners Compaſs. *Cabæus de Magnete*, p. 21. ſaith, the firſt that he could find that mentioned the Knowledge of the *Directive Faculty*, or as our *Gilbert* calls it, the *Verticity* of the Magnet, was *Albertus Magnus* and *Vincentius Belluacenſis*; and theſe both quote a Book *de Lapidibus*, which they will have to be *Ariſtotle*'s, in which there is mention made of the *North* and *South Part* of the Magnet. And tho' *Cabæus* doth not believe this Book to be really his whoſe Name it carries, yet he thinks juſtly enough, that it may be written by ſome old *Arabick* Author, and ſo put out under *Ariſtotle*'s Name; which if true, will ſufficiently prove our Point, *viz.* that there was a Knowledge of the *Verticity* of the Magnet in ſome other Part of the World, before we diſcovered or produced it here. To which muſt be added what is poſitively aſſerted by *Gilbert* and many good Authors, *viz.* that *Paulus Venetus* brought its Uſe into *Italy* about *A. D.* 1260. having learnt it in *China*, or ſomewhere in his Travels to the Eaſt. *Cabæus* ſaith, the firſt Writer on this Subject of the Directive Faculty of the *Magnet*, was one *Petrus Peregrinus Gallus*, in a little Book (which he calls) *Epiſtola*; and this Book he ſaith, *Garzonius* aſſerts he ſaw in the *Bibliotheca Caſtellana* at *Venice*. This Epiſtle, he ſaith, *Johannes Taiſner*, in his *Opuſculum perpetuâ memoriâ digniſſum de Natura & Effectibus Magnetis*, printed at *Cologn* 1562, hath diſguiſed and deformed, and then publiſhed as his own; tho' that Epiſtle it ſelf were printed 4 Years before. *Athan. Kircher*, p. 19. ſaith, ſome account this *Petrus Peregrinus Gallus* to have been our *Roger Bacon*: And this he thinks is the Truth; which *Sturmius* alſo confirms in his *Epiſtola Invitatoria*, Dat. Altorf. 1682. ſaying expreſly, that 'twas *Roger Bacon* firſt found out the *Verticity* or *Polarity* of the Magnet. And for the Honour of our own Nation alſo, the late Learned and Excellent Mathematician Dr. *Wallis*, *Savilian* Profeſſor of Geometry in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Phil. Tranſ.* N°. 278. conjectured, that the Mariners Compaſs was an *Engliſh* Invention, from the Word *Compaſs*, which is almoſt every where retained; and is properly an *Engliſh* Word, being uſed in many of our Provincial Parts for a Circle, or exactly round Figure, whoſe Circumference is every where equally diſtant from a Point within it, called its Centre.

But it muſt be granted in all this which is above advanced, tho' there be great probability, yet there is little certainty of: And therefore we muſt next attribute, with the generality of Writers, the firſt Invention of the Mariners Compaſs to *Joh. Goia*, or *Gira*, of *Malphi*, a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, not far from *Salernum*, in the *Terra de Lavoro*; ſome call him *Flavius Gioia*: And this was about the Year 1300.

After this great and moſt uſeful Diſcovery was known to *Europe*, there were ſoon many inquiſitive Heads that employed their Thoughts about making further Diſcoveries of this celebrated Stone. So that in ſome time its *Variation* or *Deflection* from the true Meridian, was diſcovered by *Sebaſtian Cabot*. The *Declination* (as it was at firſt called, whereas now the *Variation* often paſſes by that Name) or rather the *Inclination* of the Needle, was firſt diſcovered by our Countryman *Robert Norman*. (See his Book called the *New Attractive*, printed at *Lond.* 1614.) which is a ſurprizing Property, whereby it always *dips* under the Horizon, when placed upon a Pin like a Compaſs, except in ſuch Places as are juſt under the Equator; and there it keeps always parallel to the Horizon exactly. And he found the greateſt Inclination at *London* to be 71°. 50'. Dr. *Wallis*, *Phil. Tranſ.* N°. 276. thinks that the Diſcovery of this Dipping of the Needle is owing to Mr. *Blagrave*, or ſome other *Greſhamite*: And he deſcribes this Property to be a Direction of Altitude above the Horizon: So that if it be duly poiſed on an Horizontal Axis, it will point to a determinate Degree of Altitude or Elevation above the Horizon: And he ſaith truly, that of this Diſcovery, tho' made ſo long ago, there hath not yet been any conſiderable uſe made. The *Variation of the Variation* is another conſiderable and very ſurprizing Property of the Loadſtone; that is, That the Magnetick Needle (in its Horizontal Poſition) doth not always retain the ſame Variation or Declination from the true Meridian, in the ſame Place and at all Times; but doth ſucceſſively vary its Declination or Variation from Time to Time. This was firſt (as 'tis now agreed on all hands, ſaith Dr. *Wallis*) diſcovered by Mr. *Gellibrand*, about the Year 1635. But *Sturmius* ſaith, that this was taken notice of alſo by *Hevelius*, *Auzout*, *Petit*, *Volckamer*, and others, much about the ſame time. So that our *Engliſh* Nation have had a very conſiderable Share in the Diſcoveries which have been made about the Magnet, and its wonderful and uſeful Properties.

A ſuccinct Account of which Properties, and other ſuch *Phænomena* of the Loadſtone, as have been found out truly to belong to it by plain Experiments and repeated Obſervations, I ſhall here ſubjoin, without entring into *Theories* or Explications of the Cauſes of them: And after this, I will give you the Thoughts and Obſervations of the Learned and Ingenious Capt. *Hally* (now *Savilian* Profeſſor of Geometry in *Oxford*) upon the Variation of the Compaſs, and the Reaſon of the *Variation* of that *Variation*: Becauſe both theſe will be of great uſe to aſſiſt the Enquiries of publick ſpirited and ingenious Men, in their future Trials, Obſervations and Experiments on this very great Subject, ſo univerſally uſeful and advantageous to all trading Nations: And alſo becauſe many Travellers and Navigators may perhaps carry this *Bibliotheca* with them abroad, tho' to them other Books, in which theſe things are to be found, are leſs known or agreeable.

The Properties or Phænomena *of the* Magnet, *or* Loadſtone, *as they have been diſcovered by* Gilbert, Cabæus, Kircher, Vin. Leotaudus, Cartes, *Dr.* Power, *the Honourable Mr.* Boyle, *&c.*

1. THAT in every *Magnet* there are two Poles, one pointing North, the other South; and if a Stone be cut or broke into never ſo many Pieces, there are theſe two Poles in each Piece.

2. That theſe Poles, in divers Parts of the Globe, are diverſly inclined towards the Earths Centre.

3. That theſe Poles, tho' contrary to one another, do help mutually towards the *Magnet*'s Attraction and Suſpenſion of Iron.

4. If two *Magnets* are Spherical, one will turn or conform it ſelf to the other, ſo as either of them wou'd do to the Earth, and that after they have ſo conformed or turned themſelves, they endeavour to approach to join each other; but if placed in a contrary Poſition, they avoid each other.

5. If a *Magnet* be cut through the Axis, the Parts or Segment of the Stone, which before were joined, will now avoid and fly each other.

6. If the *Magnet* be cut by a Section perpendicular to its Axis, the two Points there which before were conjoined, will become contrary Poles, one in one, the other in the other Segments.

7. Iron receives Virtue from the Magnet by Application to it, or barely from an Approach near it, tho' it do not touch it; and the Iron receives this Virtue varioufly, according to the Parts of the Stone it's made to touch, or made approach to.

8. If an Oblong Piece of Iron be any how applied to the Stone, it receives Virtue from it only as to its Length.

9. The *Magnet* loſes none of its own Virtue by communicating any to Iron, and this Virtue it can communicate to Iron very ſpeedily; tho' the longer the Iron touches or joins the Stone, the longer will its communicated Virtue hold, and a better *Magnet* will communicate more of it, and ſooner than one not ſo good.

10. That Steel receives Virtue from the *Magnet* better than Iron.

11. A Needle touch by a *Magnet*, will turn its Ends the ſame way towards the Poles of the World, as the Magnet will do.

12. That neither Loadſtone nor Needles toucht by it, do conform their Poles exactly to thoſe of the World; but have uſually ſome Variation from them: And this Variation is different in divers Places, and at divers Times, in the ſame Place.

13. That a Loadſtone will take up much more Iron when armed or capt, than it can alone: And that tho' an Iron Ring or Key be ſuſpended by the Loadſtone, yet the Magnetical Particles do not hinder that Ring or Key from turning round any way either to the Right or Left.

14. That the Force of a Loadſtone may be variouſly encreaſed or leſſened, by the various Application of Iron or another Loadſtone to it.

15. That a ſtrong *Magnet*, at the leaſt diſtance from a leſſer or a weaker, cannot draw to it a Piece of Iron adhering actually to ſuch leſſer or weaker Stone; but if it come to touch it, it can draw it from the other: But a weaker Magnet, or even a little Piece of Iron, can draw away or ſeparate a Piece of Iron contiguous to a greater or ſtronger Loadſtone.

16. That in our North Parts of the World, the South Pole of a Loadſtone will raiſe up more Iron than the North Pole.

17. That a Plate of Iron only, but no other Body interpoſed, can impede the Operation of the Loadſtone, either as to its *attractive* or *directive* Quality. Mr. *Boyle* found it true in Glaſſes ſealed Hermetically; and Glaſs is a Body as impervious as moſt are to any *Effluvia*.

18. That the Power or Virtue of a Loadſtone may be impaired by lying long in a wrong Poſture, as alſo by Ruſt, Wet, &c. and may be quite deſtroyed by Fire.

Experiments

Experiments of the Nature and Properties of the Magnet. *By Mr.* Boyle.

1. MR. *Boyle* found, that by heating a *Magnet* red hot, it could be ſpeedily deprived of its *Attractive Quality*.

2. If a Loadſtone be heated red-hot, and then cooled, either with its South Pole to the North, in a Horizontal Poſition, or with its South Pole downwards in a Perpendicular one, it will change its Polarity, the South Pole becoming the Northern one, and *vice verſâ*.

3. By applying the Poles of a very ſmall Fragment of a Loadſtone to the oppoſite vigorous ones of a good larger *Magnet*, Mr. *Boyle* found he could ſpeedily change the Poles of the Fragment; but he cou'd not effect it in a Fragment that was conſiderably bigger, tho' he tried many hours.

4. He obſerved, that well tempered and hardned Iron Tools, when heated by Attrition, Turning, Filing, *&c.* they would, while warm, attract thin Filings or Chips of Iron and Steel, but not when cold. Yet I remember once to have ſeen my ſelf, and tried, that a Piece of a File which was in the hands of Mr. *Tarwell* the Spectacle Maker, did retain ſuch an attractive Quality, that it would take up and keep ſuſpended the Key of a Cabinet or *Eſcritore*, and needed no Attrition to excite this Magnetical Vertue.

5. The Iron Bars of Windows which have long ſtood in an erect Poſition, do grow permanently Magnetical, the lower Ends of ſuch Bars being the North Poles, and the upper the Southern: For according to Laws of *Magnetiſm*, we find the lower Ends of ſuch Bars will drive away the North End of a poiſed Needle, and will attract the Southern: Which ſhews, that by the continual Paſſage of the ſubtile Magnetical Particles through them, they are turned into a kind of Magnet themſelves.

6. If a Bar of Iron that hath not long ſtood in an erected Poſture, be only held perpendicularly, its lower End will be the North Pole, and attract the South Point of a touched Needle: But then this Virtue is tranſient, and will ſhift as you invert the Bar; for the other End, when held lowermoſt, will preſently become the North Pole: Wherefore, in order to render the Quality of *Verticity* permanent in an Iron Bar, it muſt remain a long time in a proper Poſition: But the Fire will produce this Effect in a very ſhort time; for as it will immediately deprive a Loadſtone of Attractive Power, or change its Poles (as in *Exper.* 1, 2.) ſo it will as ſoon give a *Verticity* to a Bar of Iron, if being heated red hot, it be cooled in an erect Poſition, or directly North and South. Nay, it hath been obſerved often, that even Tongs and Fire-Forks, by being often heated, and then ſet to cool in a Poſition near to erect, have gained this Magnetical Property. The Reaſon of which very different Effects of the Fire on a *Magnet*, and on Iron, Mr. *Boyle*, with his uſual Modeſty, ſuggeſts to be this: That the peculiar Texture or Conſtitution by which a *Magnet* differs from common Iron Oar, being accurate and fine, is ſpoiled by the rude and violent Attacks of the Fire: But this mighty Agent by working upon Iron, ſoftens and opens the Pores of the Mettal (which is harder than Iron Oar;) ſo that it becomes capable of being pervaded by the Magnetical Particles, and by that means gains a *Vertical Quality*.

7. Mr. *Boyle* found, that by heating a Piece of *Engliſh Oker* red hot, and placing it to cool in a proper Poſture, it plainly gained a Magnetick Power.

8. The ſame Noble Gentleman found, that an excellent Loadſtone of his own having lain almoſt a Year in an inconvenient Poſture, had its Virtue ſo impaired, that he at firſt thought ſomebody had ſpoiled it by Fire.

9. If a Needle be well touched on a good Loadſtone, 'tis known it will, when duly poiſed, point North and South; but if it have one contrary Touch of the ſame Stone, it will immediately be deprived of that Faculty; and by another ſuch Touch it will have its Poles quite changed; ſo that the End which before pointed North, ſhall now point Southward.

10. Dr. *Power* and Mr. *Boyle* both tried; that after a red-hot Iron had gained a *Verticity* by being well heated and cooled North and South, and then alſo hammered at the Ends, this Virtue would immediately be deſtroy'd by 2 or 3 Blows of a ſtrong Hammer ſmartly given about the middle of it.

11. Mr. *Boyle* found, that by drawing the Pack of a Knife, or long Piece of Steel Wire, *&c.* over the Pole of a Loadſtone leiſurely, once or divers times, beginning the Motion from the Equator or middle of the Stone, towards the Pole, the Knife or Wire will accordingly attract one End of a poiſed Magnetical Needle: but if you take another Knife or Wire, and thruſt it leiſurely over the Pole, from the Pole towards the Equator, or middle of the Equator, this Knife ſhall expel or drive away the ſame End of the Needle which the former Knife would attract. Which Experiment makes it very probable, that the Operation of the *Magnet* depends on the Flux of ſome fine Particles which go out at one Pole, then round about, and in again at the other.

13. Becauſe it is one of the univerſal Laws of Nature, That *Action and Re-action are always equal*: Therefore 'tis plain, the Iron muſt attract the Magnet as much as that doth the Iron; and ſo you may eaſily experiment it to be in Fact, if you place a Magnet or Piece of Iron on a Piece of Cork, ſo as that it may ſwim freely in the Water; for then you will ſee, that which ſoever you hold in your Hand, will draw the other towards it.

A Diſcourſe of the Variation of the Compaſs, by Mr. Edm. Hally, Savilian *Profeſſor of Geometry in* Oxford, *and* F.R.S.

THE Variation of the Compaſs (by which I mean the Deflection of the Magnetical Needle from the true Meridian) is of that great concernment in the Art of Navigation, that the Neglect thereof does little leſs than render uſeleſs one of the Nobleſt Inventions Mankind ever yet attained to: And for this cauſe all Ships of conſequence (eſpecially thoſe bound beyond the Equator) carry with them Inſtruments on purpoſe to obſerve this Variation; that ſo the Courſe ſteer'd by the Compaſs, may be reduced to the true Courſe in reſpect of the Meridian.

Now altho' the great Utility that a perfect Knowledge of the Theory of the Magnetical Direction would afford to Mankind in general, and eſpecially to thoſe concern'd in Sea Affairs, ſeems a ſufficient Incitement to all Philoſophical and Mathematical Heads, to take under ſerious Conſideration the ſeveral *Phænomena*, and to endeavour to reconcile them by ſome general Rule: Yet ſo it is, that almoſt all the Authors from whom a Diſcourſe of this kind ought to have been expected, paſs by in ſilence the Difficulties they here encounter. And thoſe that mention this Variation, by affirming it to proceed from Cauſes altogether uncertain (as are the caſual lying of Iron Mines and Loadſtones in the Earth) put a ſtop to all further Contemplation, and give diſcouragement to theſe that would otherwiſe undertake this Enquiry. 'Tis true, that not long ſince one Mr. *Bond*, an old Teacher of Navigation, put forth a ſmall Treatiſe, wherein he pretends to calculate the Variation; but he limits his Hypotheſis to the City of *London*, affirming himſelf (as he had a great deal of reaſon) that the ſame *Calculus* is not ſufficient for other Places; whereby it appears, that this Rule is far ſhort of the ſo much deſired general one.

Now altho' (through want of ſufficient Obſervations, and ſome other Difficulties which I ſhall anon ſhew) I cannot pretend perfectly to eſtabliſh the Numbers and Rules of a *Calculus*, which ſhall preciſely anſwer to the Variations of all Parts of the World; yet I ſuppoſe it will not be unacceptable to the Curious to propoſe ſomething of a Light into this abſtruſe Myſtery; which, if no other, may have this good effect, to ſtir up the Philoſophical *Genii* of the Age to apply themſelves more attentively to this uſeful Speculation. But before I proceed, 'twill be neceſſary to lay down the Grounds upon which I raiſe my Concluſions, and at once to give a Synopſis of thoſe Variations which I have reaſon to look upon as ſure, being moſtly the Obſervations of Perſons of good Skill and Integrity.

A TABLE of VARIATIONS.

Names of Places.	Longitude from London.	Latitude	Anno Dom.	Variation observed.
	d. m.	d. m.		d. m.
London	0: 0	51:32 N	1580	11:15 E
			1622	6: 0 E
			1634	4: 5 E
			1672	2:30 W
Paris.	2:25 E	48:51 N	1683	4:30 W
			1640	3:00 E
			1666	0: 0
			1681	2:30 W
Uraniburg	13: 0 E	55:54 N	1672	2:35 W
Copenhagen	12:53 E	55:41 N	1649	1:30 E
			1672	3:35 W
Dantzick	19: 0 E	54:23 N	1679	7:00 W
Monpelier	4: 0 E	43:37 N	1674	1:10 W
Brest	4:25 W	48:23 N	168	1:45 W
Rome	13: 0 E	41:50 N	1681	5: 0 W
Bayonne	1:20 W	43:30 N	1680	1:20 W
Hudsons Bay	79:40 W	51: 0 N	1668	19:15 W
In *Hudsons Straights*	57:00 W	61: 0 N	1668	29:30 W
In *Baffins Bay* at Sir *Tho. Smith*'s Sound	80:00 W	78: 0 N	1616	57:00 W
At Sea	50: 0 W	38:40 N	1682	7:30 W
At Sea	31:30 W	43:50 N	1682	5:30 E
At Sea	42: 0 W	21: 0 N	1678	0:40 E
Cape *St. Aug.* of *Brazile*	35:30 W	8: 0 S	1670	5:30 E
Cape *Frio*	41:10 W	22:40 S	1670	12:10 E
At Sea off the Mouth of the *River of Plate*	53: 0 W	39:30 S	1670	20:30 E
At the East Entrance of *Magellan* Straights	68: 0 W	52:30 S	1670	17: 0 E
At the West Entrance of *Magellan* Straights	75: 0 W	53: 0 S	1670	14:10 E
Baldivia	73: 0 W	40: 0 S	1670	8:10 E
At Cape *d' Agulbas*	16:30 E	34:50 S	1622	2: 0 W
			1675	8: 0 W
At Sea	1: 0 E	34:30 S	1675	0:
At Sea	20: 0 W	34: 0 S	1675	10:30 E
At Sea	32: 0 W	24: 0 S	1675	10:30 E
At *St. Helena*	6:30 W	16: 0 S	1677	0:40 E
At *Ascension*	14:30 W	7:50 S	1678	1:00 E
At *Johanna*	44: 0 E	12:15 S	1675	19:30 W
At *Monbasa*	40: 0 E	4: 0 S	1675	16: 0 W
At *Zocatra*	56: 0 E	12:30 N	1674	17: 0 W
At *Aden* at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*	47:30 E	13:00 N	1674	15: 0 W
At *Diego Roiz*	61: 0 E	20: 0 S	1676	20:30 W
At Sea	64:30 E	0: 0	1676	15:30 W
At Sea	55: 0 E	27: 0 S	1676	24: 0 W
At *Bombay*	72:30 E	19: 0 N	1676	12: 0 W
At Cape *Comorin*	76: 0 E	8:15 N	1680	8:48 W
At *Ballasore*	87: 0 E	21:30 N	1680	8:20 W
At *Fort St. George*	80: 0 E	13:15 N	1680	8:10 W
At the West Point of *Java*	104: 0 E	6:40 S	1676	3:10 W
At Sea	58: 0 E	39: 0 S	1677	27:30 W
At the Isle of *St. Paul*	72: 0 E	38: 0 S	1677	23:30 W
At *Van Diemen Land*	142: 0 E	42:25 S	1642	0: 0
At *New Zealand*	170: 0 E	40:50 S	1642	9: 0 E
At 3 *Kings Isle* in *New Zealand*	169:30 E	34:35 S	1642	8:40 E
At the Isle *Rotterdam* in the *South Sea.*	184: 0 E	20:15 S	1642	6:20 E
On the Coast of *New Guinea*	149: 0 E	4:30 S	1643	8:45 E
At the West Point of *New Guinea*	126: 0 E	0:26 S	1643	5: 0 E

Tho' I could wiſh we could obtain from the *Spaniards* what Variations they find in their Voyages from the *Manilhas* towards *Acapulco*, through the North Part of the South Sea; as likewiſe what it is at *Japan*, from the *Dutch*: Yet (conſidering the number of theſe Obſervations I have collected, and that they are made in Parts of the World ſo remote from *Europe*, and from one another) I ſuppoſe that the Theory that anſwers theſe, will ſcarce fail in thoſe Regions from whence we have as yet no account. But firſt we muſt make ſome Remarks upon the foregoing Table: And firſt,

That in all *Europe* the Variation at this time is *Weſt*, and more in the Eaſtern Parts thereof than the Weſtern: As likewiſe that it ſeems throughout to be upon the Increaſe that way.

Secondly, That on the Coaſt of *America*, about *Virginia*, *New-England* and *New-found-land*, the Variation is likewiſe Weſterly; and that it increaſes all the way as you go Northerly along the Coaſt, ſo as to be above 20 Degrees at *New-found-land*, nearly 30 Degrees in *Hudſon's* Straits, and not leſs than 57 Degrees in *Baffins* Bay: Alſo that as you ſail Eaſtward from this Coaſt, the Variation diminiſhes. From theſe two it is a legitimate Corollary, That *ſomewhere between* Europe, *and the North Part of* America, *there ought to be an Eaſterly Variation, or at leaſt no Weſterly.* And ſo I conjecture it is about the Eaſtermoſt of the *Tercera Iſlands*.

Thirdly, That on the Coaſt of *Brazile* there is Eaſt Variation, which increaſes very notably as you go to the Southward, ſo as to be 12 Degrees at Cape *Frio*, and over-againſt the River of Plate 20 ½ Degrees: And from thence ſailing Southweſterly to the Straits of *Magellan*, it decreaſes 17 Degrees, and at the Weſt Entrance but 14 Degrees.

Fourthly, That at the Eaſtward of *Brazile* properly ſo called, this Eaſterly Variation decreaſes, ſo as to be very little at *St. Helena* and *Aſcenſion*, and to be quite gone, and the Compaſs Point true about 18 Degrees of Longitude Weſt from the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Fifthly, That to the Eaſtward of the aforeſaid Places Weſtward Variation begins, which reigns in the whole *Indian* Sea, ariſes to no leſs than 18 Degrees under the Equator it ſelf, about the Meridian of the Northern Part of *Madagaſcar*: and near the ſame Meridian, but in 39 Degrees South Latitude, it is found full 27 ½ Degrees: From thence Eaſterly the Weſt Variation decreaſes, ſo as to be little more than eight Degrees at Cape *Comorin*, and than three Degrees upon the Coaſt of *Java*; and to be quite extinct about the *Molucca Iſlands*, as alſo a little to the Weſtward of *Van Diemens* Land, found out by the *Dutch* in 1642.

Sixthly, That to the Eaſtward of the *Molucca's* and *Van Diemens* Land in South Latitude, there ariſes another Eaſterly Variation, which ſeems not ſo great as the former, nor of ſo large extent; for that at the Iſland *Rotterdam* it is ſenſibly leſs than upon the Eaſt Coaſt of *New Guinea*. And at the rate it decreaſes, it may be well ſuppoſed, that about 20 Degrees farther Eaſt, or 225 Degrees Eaſt Longitude from *London*, in the Latitude of 20 Degrees South, a Weſterly Variation begins.

Seventhly, That the Variations obſerved by the Honourable Sir *John Norborough* at *Baldivia*, and at the Weſt Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan*, do plainly ſhew, that that Eaſt Variation noted in our third Remark, is decreaſing apace; and that it cannot reaſonably extend many Degrees into the South Sea, from the Coaſt of *Peru* and *Chili*, leaving room for a ſmall Weſterly Variation, in that Tract of the unknown World that lies in the Mid-way between *Chili* and *New Zealand*, and between *Hounds-Iſland* and *Peru*.

Eightly, That in ſailing North-Weſt from *St. Helena* by *Aſcenſion* as far as the Equator, the Variation continues very ſmall Eaſt, and as it were conſtantly the ſame: So that in this part of the World the Courſe, wherein there is no Variation, is evidently no Meridian, but rather North-Weſt.

Ninthly, That the Entrance of *Hudſons* Straights, and the Mouth of the River of *Plate* being nearly under the ſame Meridian, at the one place the Needle varies 29 ½ Degrees to the Weſt, at the other 20 ½ Degrees to the Eaſt. This plainly demonſtrates the Impoſſibility of reconciling theſe Variations by the Theory of *Bond*, *which is by two Magnetical Poles and an Axis inclined to the Axis of the Earth.* From whence it would follow, That *under the ſame Meridian the Variation ſhould be in all Places the ſame way.*

Theſe things being premiſed, may ſerve as a ſure Foundation to raiſe the Superſtructure of a Theory upon. But firſt it would not be amiſs to ſhew hereby the Miſtake of *Gilbert* and *Des Cartes*: The firſt whereof ſuppoſes, That *the Earth it ſelf being in all its Parts Magnetical, and the Water not; whereſoever the Land is, thither alſo ſhould the Needle turn, as to the greater Quantity of Magnetical Matter.* But this in many Inſtances is not true, but moſt remarkably upon the Coaſt of *Brazile*, where the Needle is ſo far from being attracted by the Land, that it turns the quite contrary way, leaving the Meridian to lie N.b.E. which is juſt along the Coaſt. As to the Poſition of *Des Cartes*, That *the Iron and Loadſtones hid in the Bowels of the Earth and the Bottom of the Sea may be the Cauſes that the Needle varies*, if we conſider for how great a Part of the

Earth's Surface, *ex gr.* in the whole *Indian* Sea, the Needle declines the ſame way, and that regularly, 'twill follow that the attracting Subſtance that occaſions it, muſt be very far diſtant. Now by Experience we find the little force that Iron Guns have upon the Compaſs in Ships (their Virtue, tho' they be Demiculverin, or greater Cannon, being not perceptible at four or five Yards Diſtance) and the Experiments now before the *Royal Society* do plainly ſhew, how little a Magnetiſm there is in moſt crude Iron Oars: What Quantity thereof muſt be then ſuppoſed to make ſo powerful a Diverſion at two or three Thouſand Miles diſtance? Yet I I cannot deny that in ſome Places near the Shoar, or in Shoal-Water, the Needle may be irregularly directed from the aforeſaid Cauſes, and that not a little, as *Gaſſendus* gives a notable Inſtance of the Iſland *Elba* in the *Mediterranean* Sea: But theſe Differences from the general Direction are always Signs of the Nearneſs of thoſe Magnetical Subſtances, for the Production whereof that Iſland *Elba* has been famous from all Antiquity. Beſides, againſt both *Des Cartes* and *Gilbert*, the Change of the Variation which has been within theſe hundred Years laſt paſt more than 15 Degrees at *London*, is an entire Demonſtration; tho' *Des Cartes* does not ſtick to ſay, that the Tranſportation of Iron from Place to Place, and the Growth of new Iron within the Earth, where there was none before, may be the Cauſe thereof. The ſame holds likewiſe againſt the *Hypotheſis* of *Magnetical Fibres*, which *Kircher* maintains

Now to propoſe ſomething that may anſwer the ſeveral Appearances, and introduce nothing ſtrange in Philoſophy, after a great many cloſe Thoughts, I can come to no other Concluſion than, That *the whole Glebe of the Earth is one great Magnet, having four Magnetical Poles, or Points of Attraction, near each Pole of the Equator two; and adjacent to any one of theſe Magnetical Poles, the Needle is governed thereby, the neareſt Pole being always predominate over the more remote.* The Parts of the Earth wherein theſe Magnetical *Poles* lie, cannot as yet be exactly determined, for want of ſufficient *Data* to proceed Geometrically; but as near as Conjecture can reach, I reckon that the *Pole*, which is at preſent neareſt to us, lies in or near the Meridian of the Lands End of *England*, and not above ſeven Degrees from the Pole Arctick. By this Pole the Variations in all *Europe*, and *Tartary*, and the *North Sea*, are principally govern'd, tho' with regard to the other Northern Pole, whoſe Situation is in a *Meridian* paſſing about the middle of *California*, and about 15 Degrees from the North Pole of the World. To this the Needle has chiefly reſpect in all the *North America*, and in the two Oceans on either ſide thereof, from the *Azores* Weſtward to *Japan*, and farther. The two Southern Poles are farther diſtant from the South Pole of the World: The one about ſixteen Degrees therefrom, is in a Meridian, ſome twenty Degrees to the Weſtward of *Magellan Straights*, or 25 Degrees Weſt from *London*. This commands the Needle in all the *South America*, in the *Pacifick Sea*, and the greateſt Part of the *Ethiopick Ocean*. The fourth and laſt Pole ſeems to have the greateſt Power and largeſt Dominions of all, as it is the moſt remote from the Pole of the World, being little leſs than 20 Degrees diſtant therefrom in the Meridian, which paſſes through *Hollandia Nova* and the Iſland *Celebes*, about 120 Degrees Eaſt from *London*. This Pole is predominant in the South Part of *Africa*, in *Arabia*, and the *Red Sea*, in *Perſia*, *India*, and its Iſlands, and all over the *Indian Sea*, from the Cape of *Good Hope* Eaſtwards to the middle of the great South Sea that divides *Aſia* from *America*. This ſeems to be the preſent Diſpoſition of the Magnetical Vertue throughout the whole Globe of the Earth: It remains to ſhew how this Hypotheſis makes out all the Variations that have been obſerved of late, and how it anſwers to our ſeveral Remarks drawn from the Table. And firſt it is plain, that (our *European* North *Pole* being in the Meridian of the Lands-end of *England*) all Places more Eaſterly than that will have it on the Weſt-ſide of their Meridian, and conſequently the Needle, reſpecting it with its Northern Point, will have a Weſterly Variation, which will ſtill be greater as you go to the Eaſtwards, till you come to ſome Meridian of *Ruſſia*, where 'twill be greateſt, and from thence decreaſe again. Thus at *Breſt* the Variation is but 1 ½ Degrees, at *London* 4 ½ Degrees; but at *Dantzick* ſeven Degrees Weſt. To the Weſtward of the Meridian of the Lands-end, the Needle ought to have an Eaſterly Variation, were it not that (by approaching the *American* Northern Pole, which lies on the Weſt ſide of the Meridian, and ſeems to be of greater force than this other) the Needle is drawn thereby Weſtwards, ſo as to counterballance the Direction given by the *European Pole*, and to make a ſmall Weſt Variation in the Meridian of the Lands-end it ſelf; yet I ſuppoſe, that about the Meridian of the Iſle *Tercera*, our neareſt Pole may ſo far prevail, as to give the Needle a little turn to the Eaſt, tho' but for a very ſmall ſpace: The Counterballance of thoſe two Poles permitting no conſiderable Variation in all the Eaſtern Parts of the *Atlantick* Ocean; nor upon the Weſt Coaſts of *England* and *Ireland*, *France*, *Spain* and *Barbary*: But to the Weſtward of the *Azores*, the Power of the *American* Pole overcoming that of the *European*, the Needle has chiefly reſpect thereto, and turns ſtill more and more towards it, as you approach it. Whence it comes to paſs, that on the Coaſt of *Virginia*, *New-England*, *New-found-land* and *Hudſons Straights*, the Variation is Weſtward; that it decreaſes as you go from thence towards *Europe*, and that it is leſs in *Virginia* and *New-England*, than in *New-found-land* and *Hudſons Straights*. This Weſterly Variation again decreaſes, as you paſs over the *North America*; and about the Meridian of the middle of *California*, the Needle again points due North; and from thence Weſtward to *Tedzo* and *Japan*, I make no doubt but the Variation is Eaſterly, and half the Sea over no leſs than fifteen Degrees, if there be any truth in this Hypotheſis of mine. Therefore I propoſe this as a trial, that the whole may be ſcann'd thereby; and I conceive it will not be hard to know of the *Spaniards* how it is, who ſo frequently ſail through that Ocean in their Return from the *Manilha Iſles*. This Eaſt Variation extends over *Japan*, *Tedzo*, *Eaſt Tartary*, and part of *China*, till it meet with the Weſterly, which is govern'd by the *European* North Pole, and which I ſaid was greateſt ſomewhere in *Ruſſia*.

Towards the Southern Pole the Effect is much the ſame, only that here the South Point of the Needle is attracted. Hence it will follow, that the Variation on the Coaſt of *Brazile*, at the *River of Plate*, and ſo on to the Straights of *Magellan*, ſhould be Eaſterly (as in our third Remark); if we ſuppoſe a Magnetical Pole ſituate about twenty Degrees more Weſterly than the Straights of *Magellan*. And this Eaſterly Variation doth extend Eaſtward over the greateſt part of the *Ethiopick* Sea, till it be counterpoiſed by the Virtue of the other Southern *Pole*; as it is about mid-way between the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Iſles of *Triſtan d' Acuntia*. From thence Eaſtwards, the *Aſian* South Pole (as I muſt take the liberty to call it) becoming prevalent, and the South Point of the Needle being attracted thereby, there ariſes a Weſt Variation very great in Quantity and Extent, becauſe of the great diſtance of this Magnetical Pole of the World.

Hence it is, that in all the *Indian* Sea, as far as *Hollandia Nova*, and farther, there is conſtantly Weſt Variation; and that under the Equator it ſelf it ariſes to no leſs than eighteen Degrees where 'tis moſt. About the Meridian of the Iſland *Celebes*, being likewiſe that of this Pole, this Weſterly Variation ceaſes, and an Eaſterly begins, which reaches, according to my Hypotheſis, to the middle of the *South Sea* between *Zelandia Nova* and *Chili*, leaving room for a ſmall Weſt Variation govern'd by the *American* South Pole, which I ſhewed to be in the *Pacifick* Sea, in the ſixth and ſeventh Remark.

What I have now ſaid does plainly ſhew the Sufficiency of this Hypotheſis for ſolving the Variations that are at this time obſerv'd in the temperate and frigid *Zones*, where the Direction of the Needle chiefly depends upon the Counterpoiſe of the Forces of two Magnetical Poles of the ſame nature; and I ſuppoſe I have ſhewn how it comes to paſs, that under the ſame Meridian the Variation ſhould be in one place 29 ½ Weſt, and another 20 ½ Eaſt, as I have noted in my ninth Remark. In the *Torrid Zone*, and particularly under the Equinoctial, reſpect muſt be had to all four Poles, and their Poles and their Poſitions well conſidered; otherwiſe it will not be eaſy to determine what the Variations ſhall be, the neareſt Pole being always the ſtrongeſt: Yet not ſo as not to be counter-ballanced by the united Forces of two more remote. A notable Inſtance whereof is in our eighth Remark, where I took notice, that in ſailing from *St. Helena* by the Iſle of *Aſcenſion*, to the Equator, on a N. W. Courſe, the Variation is very little Eaſterly, and in that whole Tract unalterable; for which I give this Reaſon, that the South *American* Pole (which is conſiderably the neareſt in the aforeſaid Places) requiring a great Eaſterly Variation, is counter-poiſed by the contrary Attraction of the *North American* and the *Aſian* South-Pole; each whereof ſingly are in theſe Parts weaker than the *American* South-Pole: and upon the N. W. Courſe, the diſtance from this latter is very little varied, and as you recede from the *Aſian* South-Pole, the Ballance is ſtill preſerved by the Acceſs towards the *North-American* Pole. I mention not in this

Caſe the *European* North-Pole, its Meridian being little removed from thoſe of theſe Places, and of it ſelf requiring the ſame Variations we here find. After the ſame manner we might proceed to conclude the Variations in other Places under and near the Equator: But I purpoſe to leave it for an Exerciſe to the Thoughts of the ſerious Reader, who is deſired to help his Imagination, by having before him a Map or Globe of the Earth, and to mark thereon the Magnetical Poles in the *Longitudes* and *Latitudes* I aſſign them.

Thus I hope I have not loſt my Pains and Study in this difficult Subject, believing that I have put it paſt doubt, *That there are in the Earth four ſuch Magnetical Points or Poles, which occaſion the great Variety and ſeeming Irregularity which is obſerved in the Variations of the Compaſs.* But to calculate what it is, in any Place aſſign'd, is what I dare not yet pretend to, tho' I could wiſh it were my Happineſs to be able to oblige the World with ſo uſeful a Piece of Knowledge: There are Difficulties that occur, that render the thing as yet not feaſible; for firſt there are a great many Obſervations requiſite, which ought to be made at the ſame time; not at Sea, but a-ſhore, with greater Care and Attendance than the generality of Sailors apply. And beſides, it remains undetermin'd in what proportion the attractive Power decreaſes, as you remove from the Pole of a Magnet, without which it were a vain Attempt to go about to calculate. There is yet a further Difficulty, which is the Change of the Variation, one of the Diſcoveries of this laſt Century; which ſhews, that it will require ſome hundreds of Years to eſtabliſh a compleat Doctrine of the Magnetical Syſtem. From the foregoing Table it ſhould ſeem, that all the Magnetical Poles had a Motion Weſtward. But if it be ſo, tis evident, that it is not a Rotation about the Axis of the Earth; for then the Variations would continue the ſame in the ſame Parallel of *Latitude* (the *Longitude* only changed) as much as is the Motion of the Magnetical Poles: But the contrary is found by Experience; for there is no where in the Latitude of 15½ North between *England* and *America*, a Variation of eleven Degrees Eaſt at this time, as it was once here at *London*: It ſeems therefore, that our *European* Pole is grown nearer the Pole Artick than it was heretofore, or elſe that it has loſt part of its Virtue. But whether theſe Magnetical Poles move altogether with one Motion, or with ſeveral; whether equally or unequally; whether Circular or Libratory: If circular, about what Center; if Libratory, after what manner; are Secrets as yet utterly unknown to Mankind, and are reſerv'd for the Induſtry of future Ages.

Having in the precedent Diſcourſe delivered a Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Compaſs, wherein I did collect as many Obſervations as at that time I could procure, and having carefully compar'd them together, I came at length to this general Concluſion, *That the Globe of the Earth might be ſuppoſed to be one great Magnet, having four Magnetical Poles or Points of Attraction, near each Pole of the Equator two: And that in thoſe Parts of the World which lie near adjacent to any of thoſe Magnetical Poles, the Needle is chiefly govern'd thereby; the neareſt Pole being always predominant over the more remote.* And I there have endeavour'd to ſtate and limit the preſent Poſition of thoſe Poles in the Surface of our Globe, which the Reader pleaſing to conſult, will ſave us the pains of repeating. But after all, tho' that Diſcourſe was favourably received both at home and abroad, as ſeeming to render a tolerable Account of the obſerved Variations; yet I found two Difficulties not eaſy to ſurmount: The one was, that no Magnet I had ever ſeen or heard of, had more than two oppoſite Poles, whereas the Earth had viſibly four, and perhaps more. And ſecondly, it was plain that theſe Poles were not, at leaſt all of them, fixt in the Earth, but ſhifted from Place to Place, as appeared by the great Changes in the Needle's direction within this laſt Century of Years, not only at *London* (where this great Diſcovery was made) but almoſt all over the Globe of the Earth; whereas it is not known or obſerved that the Poles of a Loadſtone ever ſhifted their Place in the Stone, nor (conſidering the compact Hardneſs of that Subſtance) can it eaſily be ſuppos'd; tho the Matter of Fact be too notorious and univerſal not to be accounted for.

Theſe Difficulties had wholly made me deſpond, and I had long ſince given over an Inquiry I had ſo little hopes of, when in accidental Diſcourſe, and leaſt expecting it, I ſtumbled on the following Hypotheſis; in delivering whereof, if I ſhall ſeem to advance any thing that looks like extravagant or romantick, the Reader is deſired to ſuſpend his Cenſure, till he has conſider'd the Force and Number of many Arguments which concur to make good ſo new and ſo bold a Suppoſition.

Tho' it be ſufficiently known and allowed, that the Needle's Variation changes, it will be neceſſary however to give a few Inſtances, whereby it may appear that this Change is gradual and univerſal, and the effect of a great and permanent Motion: For which take the following Examples.

At *London*, in the Year 1580, the Variation was obſerved by Mr. *Burrows* to be 11 deg. 15 min. Eaſt. In *Anno* 1622, the ſame was found by Mr. *Gunter* to be but 6 deg. 0 min. Eaſt. In the Year 1634, Mr. *Gellibrand* found it 4 deg. 5 min. Eaſt. In 1657, Mr. *Bond* obſerved that there was no Variation at *London*. *Anno* 1672, my ſelf obſerved it 2 deg. 30 min. to the Weſt. In the Year 1692, I again found it 6 deg. 0 min. Weſt. So that in 112 Years the Direction of the Needle was changed no leſs than ſeventeen Degrees.

At *Paris*, *Orontius Finæus*, about the Year 1550, did account it about eight or nine Degrees Eaſt Variation. *Anno* 1640, it was found three Degrees Eaſt. *Anno* 1666, there was was no Variation there, and *Anno* 1681, I found it to be 2 deg. 30 min. to the Weſt.

At *Cape d' Agulhas*, the moſt Southern Promontory of *Africa*, about the Year 1600, the Needle pointed due North and South without Variation, whence the *Portugueſe* gave its Name. *Anno* 1622, there was two Degrees Weſt Variation. *Anno* 1675, it was 8 deg. 0 min. Weſt; and in the Year 1691, it was curiouſly obſerved not leſs than 11 Degrees Weſt.

At *St. Helena*, about the Year 1600, the Needle declined eight Degrees to the Eaſt. *Anno* 1623, it was but 6 deg. 0 min. Eaſt. *Anno* 1677, when I was there, I obſerved it accurately on ſhoar to be 0 deg. 40 min. Eaſt; and in 1692, was found about 1 deg. Weſtward of the North.

At *Cape Comorin* in *India*, in the Year 1620, there was 14 deg. 20 min. Weſt Variation. In the Year 1680, there was 8 deg. 48 min. but now lately in the Year 1688, it was no more than 7 deg. 30 min. So that here the Needle has returned to the Eaſt about ſeven Degrees in ſeventy Years.

In all other Examples the Needle has gradually mov'd towards the Weſt, and the Places are too far aſunder to be influenc'd by the removal of any Magnetical Matter, which may by accident be tranſplac'd within the Bowels, or on the Surface of the Earth. If more Examples are deſired, the Reader may be furniſh'd with them in the *Portugueſe Routier* of *Alliexo de Motta* (written about the Year 1600) and in the Voyage of *Beaulieu*, both publiſhed in Mr. *Thevenot*'s firſt Collection of curious Voyages, printed at *Paris*, *Anno* 1663; which he is to compare with the Journals of our late *Eaſt India* Voyagers, and I am aſſured that it will be thereby evident, that the Direction of the Needle is in no Place fix'd and conſtant, tho' in ſome it changes faſter than in others: And where for a long time it has continu'd as it were unalter'd, it is there to be underſtood, that the Needle has its greateſt Deflection, and is become ſtationary, in order to return, like the Sun in the Tropick. This, at preſent, is in the *Indian* Sea, about the Iſland *Mauritius*, where is the higheſt Weſt Variation, and in a Tract tending from thence into the N. N. W. towards the *Red Sea* and *Egypt*. And in all Places to the Weſtward of this Tract, all over *Africa*, and the Seas adjoining, the Weſt Variation will be found to have encreas'd; and to the Eaſtwards thereof, as in the Example of *Cape Comorin*, to have decreas'd, *viz.* all over the *Eaſt Indies*, and the Iſlands near it.

After the like manner, in that ſpace of Eaſt Variations, which beginning near *St. Helena*, is found all over the *South America*, and which at preſent is higheſt about the Mouth of *Rio de la Plata*, it has been obſerv'd, that in the Eaſtern Parts thereof, the Variation of the Needle gradually decreaſes: But whether on the contrary it increaſes in thoſe Places which lie more Weſterly than that Tract wherein the higheſt Eaſt Variation is found, or how it may be in the vaſt *Pacifick Sea*, we have not Experience enough to aſcertain, only we may by Analogy infer, that both the Eaſt and Weſt Variations therein do gradually increaſe and decreaſe after the ſame Rule.

Theſe *Phænomena* being well underſtood and duly conſidered, ſufficiently evince, that the whole Magnetical Syſtem is by one, or perhaps more Motions tranſlated; whether Eaſtwards or Weſtwards, I ſhall anon diſcuſs: That this moving thing is very great, as extending its Effects from Pole to Pole; and that the Motion thereof is not *per Saltum*, but a gradual and regular Motion.

Now conſidering the Structure of our *Terraqueous* Globe, it cannot be well ſuppos'd that a very great part thereof can move within it, without notably changing its Centre of Gravity, and the Equilibre of its Parts, which would produce very wonderful Effects in changing the Axis of diurnal Rotation, and occaſion ſtrange Alterations in the Sea's Surface, by Inundations and Receſſes thereof, ſuch as Hiſtory never yet mention'd. Beſides, the ſolid Parts of the Earth are not to be granted permeable by any other than fluid Subſtances, of which we know none that are any ways Magnetical: So that the only way to render this Motion intelligible and poſſible, is to ſuppoſe it to turn about the Center of the Earth: And there is yet requir'd, that this moving internal Subſtance be looſe, and detached from the external Parts of the Earth wherein we live; for otherwiſe were it affix'd thereto, the whole muſt neceſſarily move together.

So then the external Parts of the Globe may well be reckon'd as the Shell, and the internal as a *Nucleus* or inner Globe included within ours, with a fluid *Medium* between, which having the ſame common Concentre and Axis of diurnal Rotation, may turn about with our Earth each twenty four hours; only their outer Sphere having its turbinating Motion ſome ſmall matter either ſwifter or ſlower than the Internal Ball; and a very Minute difference in length of Time, in many Repetitions becoming ſenſible, the Internal Parts will by degrees recede from the External, and not keeping pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either Eaſtward or Weſtward by the difference of their Motions.

Now ſuppoſing ſuch an Internal Sphere to have ſuch a Motion, we ſhall ſolve the two great Difficulties we encountred in my former Hypotheſis: For if this Exterior Shell of Earth be a *Magnet*, having its Poles at a diſtance from the Poles of the Diurnal Rotation; and if the Internal *Nucleus* be likewiſe a *Magnet*, having its Poles in two other places diſtant alſo from the *Axis*; and theſe latter by a gradual and ſlow Motion change their place in reſpect of the External; we may give a reaſonable Account of the four Magnetical Poles I preſume to have demonſtrated before; as likewiſe of the Changes of the Needle's Variations, which till now hath been unattempted.

The Period of this Motion being wonderful great, and there being hardly an hundred Years ſince theſe Variations have been duly obſerved, it will be very hard to bring this *Hypotheſis* to a *Calculus*; eſpecially ſince, tho' the Variations do increaſe and decreaſe regularly in the ſame place, yet in differing Places, and at no great diſtance, there are found ſuch caſual Changes thereof as can no way be accounted for by a regular *Hypotheſis*; as depending on the unequal and irregular diſtribution of the Magnetical Matter within the Subſtance of the External Shell or Coat of the Earth, which deflect the Needle from the Poſition it would acquire from the Effect of the general Magnetiſm of the whole. Of this the Variations at *London* and *Paris* give a notable Inſtance: For the Needle hath been conſtantly about 1 deg. 30 min. more Eaſterly at *Paris* than at *London*; tho' it be certain that according to the general Effect, the difference ought to be the contrary way; notwithſtanding which, the Variations in both Places do change alike.

Hence, and from ſome other things of like nature, I conclude, That the two Poles of the External Globe are fixt in the Earth; and that if the Needle were wholly governed by them, the Variations thereof would be always the ſame, with ſome little Irregularities on the account I but juſt above mentioned: But the Internal Sphere having ſuch a gradual Tranſlation of its Poles, does influence the Needle, and direct it variouſly according to the reſult of the Attractive or Directive Power of each Pole; and conſequently there muſt be a Period of the Revolution of this Internal Ball, after which the Variations will return again as before. But if it ſhould in future Ages be obſerved otherwiſe, we muſt then conclude that there are more of theſe internal Spheres, and more Magnetick Poles than four; which at preſent we have not a ſufficient Number of Obſervations to determine; and particularly in that vaſt *Mare del Zur*, which occupies ſo great a part of the whole Surface of the Earth.

If then two of the Poles be fixt, and two moveable, it remains to aſcertain which they are that keep their place; and tho' I could wiſh we had the Experience of another Century of Years to found our Concluſions upon, yet I think we may ſafely determine, *That our* European *Pole* (which in the precedent Diſcourſe I ſuppoſed near the Meridian of the Lands-end of *England*, and about 7 Degrees therefrom) is That that is moveable of the two Northern Poles, and That that has chiefly influenced the Variation in theſe Parts of the World: For in *Hudſons Bay*, which is under the Direction of the *American* Pole, the change is not obſerv'd to be near ſo faſt as in thoſe Parts of *Europe*, tho' that Pole be much farther remov'd from the *Axis*.

As to the *South Poles*, I take the *Aſian* Pole, which I place about the Meridian of the Iſland *Celebes*, to be the fixt, and conſequently the *American* Pole, to move; from the like Obſervations of the ſlow Decreaſe of the Variation on the Coaſt of *Java*; and near the Meridian of the *Aſian* Pole; tho' I muſt confeſs to have no account of the Effects of the other beyond *Magellane Straights*.

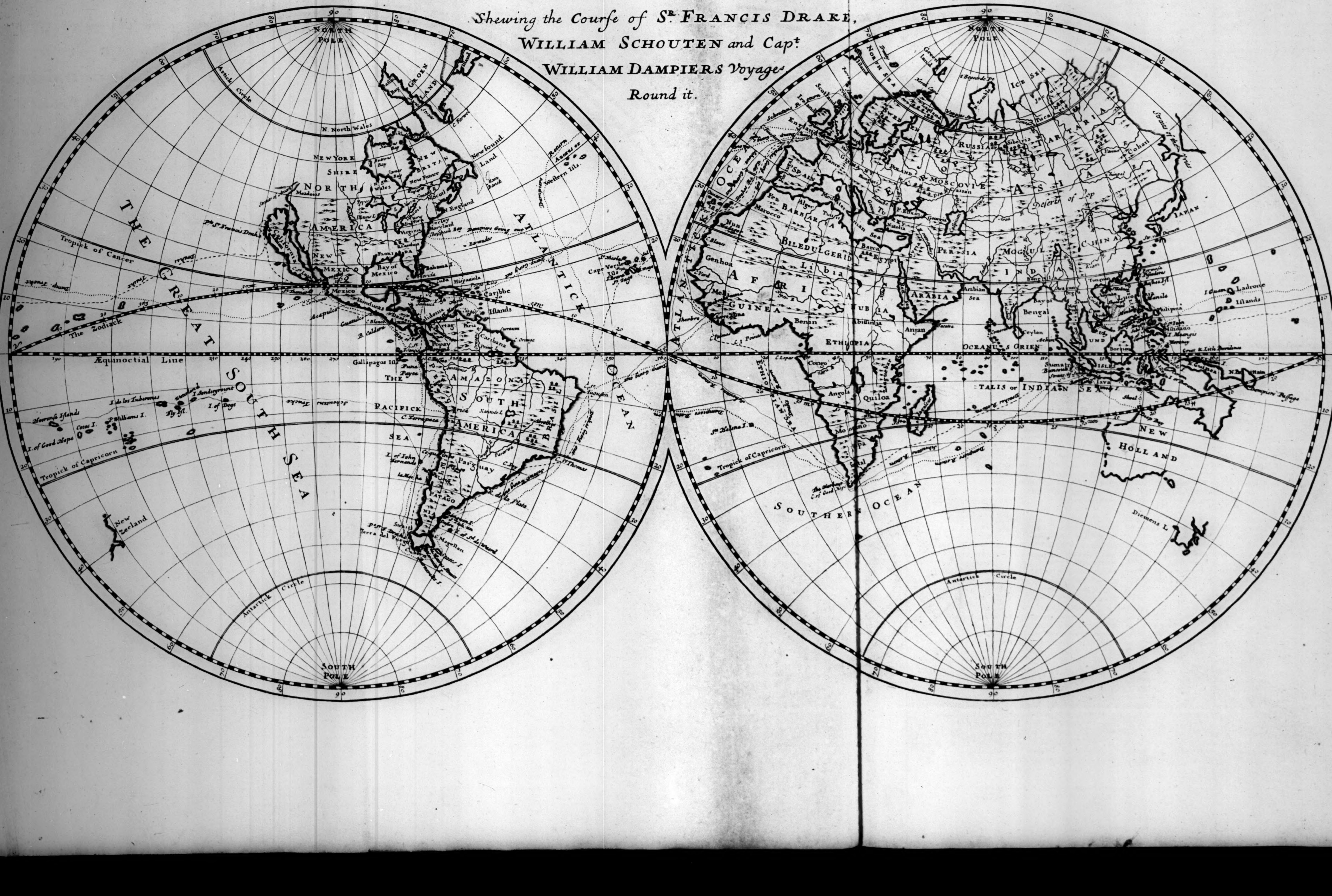
If this be allowed me, 'tis plain that the fixt Poles are the Poles of this External Shell or *Cortex* of the *Earth*, and the other two, the Poles of a Magnetical *Nucleus* included and moveable within the other. It likewiſe follows, that this Motion is Weſtward; and by conſequence, that the aforeſaid *Nucleus* has not preciſely attained the ſame degree of Velocity with the exterior Parts in their diurnal Revolution; but ſo nearly equals it, that in 365 Revolves, the difference is ſcarce ſenſible. This I conceive to ariſe from the Impulſe whereby this diurnal Motion was impreſt on the Earth, being given to the External Parts, and from thence in time communicated to the Internal; but not ſo as perfectly to equal the Velocity of the firſt Motion impreſs'd on them, and ſtill conſerv'd by the ſuperficial Parts of the Globe.

As to the Quantity of this Motion, it is almoſt impoſſible to define it, both from the Nature of this kind of Obſervation, which cannot be very accurately perform'd, as alſo from the ſmall time theſe Variations have been obſerv'd, and their Change diſcover'd. It appears by all Circumſtances, that its Period is of many Centuries of Years, and as far as may be collected from the Change of the Place, where there was no Variation, by reaſon of the Equilibre of the two Southern Magnetical Poles, *viz.* from *Cape d' Agulhas* to the Meridian of *St. Helena* (which is about 23 deg. in about 90 Years) and of the Place where the Weſterly Variation is in its ἀκμὴ or greateſt Deflection, being about half ſo much, *viz.* from the Iſle of *Diego Roiz* to the South Weſt Parts of *Madagaſcar*; we may with ſome reaſon conjecture, that the *American* Pole has mov'd Weſtwards forty ſix Degrees in that time, and that the whole Period thereof is performed in ſeven hundred Years, or thereabouts: So that the nice Determination of this, and of ſeveral other Particulars in the Magnetick Syſtem, is reſerv'd for remote Poſterity: All that we can hope to do, is to leave behind us Obſervations that may be confided in, and to propoſe *Hypotheſes* which after Ages may examine, amend or refute. Only here I muſt take leave to recommend to all Maſters of Ships and all others, Lovers of Natural Truths, that they uſe their utmoſt Diligence to make, or procure to be made, Obſervations of theſe Variations in all Parts of the World, as well in the North as South Latitude (after the laudable Cuſtom of our *Eaſt India* Commanders) and that they pleaſe to communicate them to the *Royal Society*, in order to leave as compleat a Hiſtory as may be to thoſe that are hereafter to compare all together, and to compleat and perfect this abſtruſe Theory.

And by the way, it will not be amiſs to amend a receiv'd Error in the Practice of obſerving the Variation; which is, to take it by the Amplitude of the Riſing and Setting Sun, when his Center appears in the viſible Horizon; whereas he ought to be obſerv'd when his under Limb is ſtill above the Horizon about ⅔ of his Diameter, or twenty Minutes, upon the ſcore of his Refraction, and the height of the Eye of the Obſerver above the Surface of the Sea; or elſe they are to work the Amplitudes as they do the Azimuth, reckoning the Sun's Diſtance from the Zenith 90 deg. 36 min. This, tho' it be of little conſequence near the Equinoctial, will make a great Error in high Latitudes, where the Sun riſes and ſets obliquely.

A NEW MAP OF THE WORLD

Shewing the Course of Sr. FRANCIS DRAKE,
WILLIAM SCHOUTEN and Capt.
WILLIAM DAMPIERS Voyages
Round it.


NORTH POLE
SOUTH POLE
Artick Circle
Antartick Circle
Tropick of Cancer
Tropick of Capricorn
Æquinoctial Line
The Zodiack
N. North Wales
NEW YORK SHIRE
NORTH AMERICA
NEW MEXICO
Mexico
Acapulco
Bay of Mexico
Newfound Land
New England
Florida
Virginia
Maryland
Hispaniola
Cuba
Caribbe Islands
THE GREAT SOUTH SEA
ATLANTICK OCEAN
THE PACIFICK SEA
Gallapagos Isl.
AMAZONA
SOUTH AMERICA
Paraguay
Peru
Brasil
Chili
Patagon
Terra del Fuego
Magellan
New Zeland
Ladrone Islands
Western Isl.
Cape Verde Isl.
ICE SEA
NORTH SEA
RUSSIA
MOSCOVIE
TARTARIA
ASIA
CHINA
JAPAN
PERSIA
ARABIA
INDIA
MOGUL
Bengal
Ceylan
Arabian Sea
Sumatra
Java
Borneo
Philipina
Mindanao
Celebes
NEW GUINEA
NEW HOLLAND
Diemens L.
AFRICA
BARBARIA
BILEDULGERID
Libia
Egypt
Nubia
GUINEA
Abissinia
ETHIOPIA
Congo
Angola
Anjan
Quiloa
Madagascar
St. Helena I.
C. of Good Hope
SOUTHERN OCEAN
OCEANUS ORIENTALIS or INDIAN SEA
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10

The Firſt BOOK.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE Circum-Navigations of the Globe.

CHAP. I.

Of the Improvement of NAVIGATION *in Latter Times: The firſt Application of Magnetical and Aſtronomical Inſtruments thereto: And the Diſcoveries made by the* Portugueze.

IF we look back upon Antiquity, and conſider the State of Navigation in the remoter Ages of the World, we ſhall eaſily confeſs, that they did, in all Points, fall vaſtly ſhort of the admirable Attainments of their Succeſſors, in theſe Matters: For the Proof of this, we need but conſider, that the Invention of the Compaſs is of a very modern Date; and 'tis not to be diſcerned, by any convincing Tokens, that our Forefathers did ever dream of any ſuch Contrivance. And being deſtitute of ſuch a Direction, as this Noble Inſtrument affords, they were put to no ſmall Shifts to find their Way at Sea. They were forced to fetch Inſtructions from the Heavens above, and the Proſpect of the Globe round about them. The Rocks and Mountains were their Guides by Day, and the Stars by Night had the Conduct of the Ship. Their imperfect Art could not protect a Veſſel under the Fury of a ruffled Sea: 'Twas in the Power of each Wind to fruſtrate a Voyage, and detain them cloſe Priſoners in their own Port. They dared not venture out to Range the wide Ocean, and bid Adieu to the Land, for Weeks or Months together; but generally took Care to keep the Shore in ſight, ſailing as near it as they could with Safety, and nothing but Tempeſts could ever drive them further: So that they could make no great Progreſs in the Diſcovery of any Countries, that did not juſt border upon them; and the Globe they lived on, might be either ten times bigger, or as many times leſs than it is, for any thing they could find by their Navigation.

The Advantage of Modern Navigation, above that of the Ancients.

But the latter Ages, by the happy Diſcovery of ſome Properties of the Loadſtone, have with much eaſe ſurmounted thoſe formerly reputed Impoſſibilities in Sailing: They have now gotten the free Uſe, and the full Command of the Ocean: They can travel all over the vaſt Dimenſions of it, without fear of loſing themſelves, or their intended Harbour: They can, by infallible Methods, ſteer their Courſe to the remoteſt Parts, and ſurvey the whole Globe from the one Pole to the other: They are not liable to any of thoſe Diſappointments, nor tied to obſerve thoſe ſhort uncertain Meaſures in their Sailing, that the Ancients did. Tho' the Air be all black with Miſts and Fogs, and the Stars afford no Light nor Direction; tho' the Forces of Winds and Waves combine to make them wander up and down the Deep, yet ſtill under the Conduct of this excellent Guide, they know where they are, and how to extricate themſelves out of every Labyrinth. Something of the Nature and Property of the Loadſtone, was without all queſtion known to Antiquity. They knew the attractive Power it exerciſes upon Iron, and the ſtrange Sympathy between thoſe two Bodies. * This the Works of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, &c. do ſufficiently juſtifie; in which we find ſome of thoſe Phænomena taken notice of. But the Polar Direction of that Stone, and the Needle affected with it, together with its Variation from N. and S. which in many Parts of the Earth 'tis of a ſudden forced into: Theſe are Diſcoveries, the Glory of which ſeems purely to belong to the latter Ages of the World. 'Tis true, that ſome over-zealous Champions for the Cauſe and Honour of Antiquity, will find this Diſcovery there, in ſpite of all Demonſtrations to the contrary: And *Solomon* being granted to be the Wiſeſt of Men, muſt of neceſſity alſo be the Author of this Invention, as ſome will fain have it. But without any Derogation from the Honour of that Prince's Wiſdom, it is not very likely that this Diſcovery came from him: For we never heard of any Volumes of his concerning Minerals and Foſſils, tho' we know he diſcourſed largely of the Vegetable Kingdom: Or had he done ſo in any part of his Writings, tho' the Books themſelves had been loſt, yet the Virtues of ſuch a Stone ſo uſeful to the World, and celebrated by ſuch an Author, would certainly have been nicely preſerved in Memory, and as carefully tranſmitted to Poſterity. Beſides, 'tis moſt certain, that this Invention muſt have been known not only to *Solomon* himſelf, but to all the *Tyrian* Sailors, and Sea-men, who were the Managers of his Fleet; and who by the help of it, were to perform the *Ophirian* Voyages, (which Voyages, by the way, were too ſlow and tedious, to be performed by the Direction of a Compaſs.) And had the *Tyrians* known it, the News would not have ſtopp'd there; the whole World would quickly have rang with the Noiſe of it: And their Ships would have carried the Report, where-ever the Wind had blown, and the Seas had run. And every Age unqueſtionably would have been infinitely fond and tender, of ſo profitable a Contrivance as this; and have recommended it to the ſucceeding Generations, as the moſt ineſtimable Jewel a People could be poſſeſſed of. In ſhort, the Worth and Uſefulneſs of it, muſt needs have made it Immortal, after once it had a Birth in the World.

See *Varen.* *Geog. Gen.* Lib. 3. Cap. 33. Pr. 2.

* See a vaſt Catalogue of Authors to this purpoſe mention'd by Dr. *Gilb.* *Libro de Magnete.*

***Solomon* not probably the Author of the Compaſs.**

There are various Opinions and Reports beſides, concerning this Providential Invention of the Compaſs; tho' rather determining the Places than the Time, in which it firſt appeared. Some ſay, that the famous *Venetian*, *Marco Polo*, brought it from *China* into *Italy*, 300 Years ago. That the *Portugueze*, at their firſt Entrance into the *Indian* Seas, found Compaſſes and Quadrants in all, amongſt the *Moors*. That (*a*) *Vertomannus* travelling with the ſame People over the *Arabian* Deſarts, to *Mecha*, obſerved them to ſteer over that huge Sandy Ocean, by the help of the Compaſs. That a certain Perſon of (*b*) *Malfi*, a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Johannes Goja* by Name, may deſervedly put in his Claim here, before all other Pretenders. However the Matter is, 'tis by far moſt probable, that as the *European* World was the firſt Fountain to it ſelf of other very Noble Inventions, ſo it was alſo of this: And that the *Eaſt*, (with all its glorious Pretences) has rather borrowed the Perfection of Arts from us, than we the firſt Elements of them, from thence.

See *Sect.* 7.

A. D. 1503. (*a*) *Vertomannus*, chap. 14.

(*b*) Of which Town is this remarkable Verſe, *Prima dedit Nautis Uſum Magnetis Amalphis.*

This may ſuffice as to the firſt Diſcovery and Application of this wonderful Foſſile, to the Uſes of Navigation, concerning which we may further note in general, That the Needle inſpired with the Virtue of this Stone, preſents us with theſe two moſt remarkable Phænomena. The one is its Verticity, or Polar Direction; by which as a true and faithful Index, it points out (tho' not always, yet often) the true Poles of the great Magnet, our Terreſtrial Globe. The other is that which is vulgarly called, the Variation of the Compaſs; and it is the Deflexion of the Magnetick Meridian, from an exact N. and S. Line; ſo that the former makes a certain Angle with this latter, declining from it either Eaſterly or Weſterly, according as the Cauſe of that Declination (whatever it be), is ſealed either towards the one or the other of theſe Quarters: This Variation obſerves for the moſt part, no ſtated Rule, nor Law, in proportion to the Longitude, Latitude, or Situation of Places. It is not equally obſerved in all Parts of the ſame Meridian: As under the Meridian of the Iſle *Del Cowe*, which is one of the *Azores*; there is no Variation at the Iſle it ſelf, but there is conſiderable in ſome other Parts of the ſame Meridian. Again, It doth not obſerve any certain proportion in going from Eaſt to Weſt, and Weſt to Eaſt: For from the Iſle *Del Cowe*, it increaſes to the Iſles *Triſtan de Canha*, and to thoſe further Eaſterly, where it is near 13 Degr. but from thence to the *Cabo Das Agulhas*, it decreaſes again; ſo that near that Cape, which is not far from the Cape of *Good Hope*, there is very little Variation, if any: Neither is the Quantity of it always exactly the ſame, in the ſame individual place. For inſtance: At *London*, *A. D.* 1580, the Variation was obſerved to be 11 Degr. 15 Min.; but by a ſucceeding Obſervation, in 1662, it was found 6 Degr. 13 Min. So at *Paris*, in 1640, it was obſerved to be 3 Degr. whereas 30 Years before, (*viz.*) 1610. it was found at the ſame place to be 8 Degr. The Cauſes of all theſe ſurprizing Phœnomena, are purely of Philoſophick Conſideration, and therefore are not to be enquired after in this place.

Var. Geog. Gen. Lib. 3. Prop. 4.

But having now briefly diſcourſed theſe General Introductory Heads, concerning the Compaſs it ſelf, we muſt look farther into the Succeſſive Uſes and Applications of it, to the Buſineſs of Navigation: And here juſtly to purſue the Circumſtances of the Matter of Fact; and to begin with the firſt conſiderable Beginnings of the *European* Sailing, it is neceſſary for us to look into *Spain* and *Portugal*; the latter of which Countries, we ſhall find firſt attempting to pull off the dark Veil from the Face of the World, and prying into thoſe Parts of it, which (through Ignorance of this Art) had lain hitherto conceal'd. And ſince the Country we look into, had lately been the Scene of ſo many remarkable Actions, and (juſt freed from the Hurries of a bloody War) entred upon the Proſecution of this Noble Deſign; we may briefly trace thoſe Circumſtances of it down to thoſe happier and calmer Days, wherein it found it ſelf at leiſure to undertake this Work.

The *Moors* ſtirr'd up by *Julian* Earl of *Ceuta*, in Revenge of his Daughter's Raviſhment, by the *Gothiſh* King *Roderick*; * like a mighty Torrent, ſpread themſelves through the whole Country of *Spain*: Which now having loſt the *Gothick*, was forced to ſubmit to the *Saracenical* Yoke. The firſt that made head againſt this Rout of *Barbarians*, with any Succeſs, was *Pelagius*; whoſe Succeſſors very happily carried on (what he had ſo nobly begun) for the ſpace of 300 Years: About which time the great City *Toledo* was forcibly wreſted from the *Moors*, by the Bravery of *Alphonſus* VI. From the Daughter of this Prince, (married to *Henry* of *Lorrain*) was deſcended *Alphonſus* I. King of *Portugal*; from whoſe time, till that of *John*, the Firſt of that Name, the Wars againſt the *Moors* were continued with Vigour, and crown'd with ſo many Victories, that they were quite driven out of thoſe Parts of *Spain*.

* *A.D.* 712.

King *John* purſuing the Hereditary Quarrel, paſſed over into *Africk*, removing the Scene of War from his own Country, into that of the *Moors*. And here he took the Town of *Ceuta* from them, as an Introduction to further Conqueſts in the Country; in the gaining of which he was not a little aſſiſted by the Noble Valour of the (*a*) *Engliſh*, who were principally (tho' not only) concerned in that Action. And the *Engliſh* were inclined to give the *Portugueze* this Countenance, partly from an Alliance between the two Crowns, the Sence of which was yet freſh in the Nation: For *Henry* V. that then Reigned in *England*, was Nephew to *Philip*, the Wife of this King *John* of *Portugal*, ſhe being the Daughter, and he the Grandſon of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*.

An. 1415

(*a*) *Walſing.* Hiſt. Ang.

Neither was this the only Benefit of this Nature the *Portugueze* are indebted to our Nation for: For long before this, * at the Requeſt of the King of *Portugal*, they had forced the *Moors* out of an important Town (*b*), giving 47000 of thoſe Infidels, the Honour of dying by *Engliſh* Hands. Which Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* was at that time the more valuable; becauſe being then bound for the Holy Land, they did by this means, as it were, quench the Flame of their Devotions for a while, and delay their Service for the Bleſſed Sepulchre.

* *A.D.* 1188.

(*b*) *Sylvia.* See *Math. Paris*, at the end of *Hen.* II.

The Third Son of this King *John*, by the foremention'd *Engliſh* Princeſs, was the famous Prince *Henry*, to whom the World is indebted for ſo many Diſcoveries. He having tried his Fortune againſt the *Moors*, to his own, and his Nation's Honour, began to think of remoter Conqueſts than thoſe, and finding out new Subjects, in Countries yet unknown. For this purpoſe he attended the Mathematical Sciences, became an hard Student himſelf, and encouraged his Subjects to purſue thoſe Studies. He erected a School for Navigation and Aſtronomy, and invited a skilful Mathematician from the Iſle of *Majorca*, in order to the ſpreading the Knowledge of thoſe Arts through his Country.

Being thus in ſome meaſure prepared for the Sea, he ſent ſome Ships out to try their Fortune: But they went no farther than Cape *Bajadore*, about 180 Miles beyond Cape (*c*) *Non*; which was the ſtated *Ne plus ultra* of former Navigations. The Reaſon of which ſpeedy Return was this: That the violent breaking of the Sea upon the Cape, made it dangerous to paſs near it; and they dared not put off far to Sea, for fear of loſing themſelves. But that which Art durſt venture to attempt, a Tempeſt did the next time compel them to; for by Diſtreſs of Weather, they were carried out as far as * *Porto Santo*; which having juſt ſaluted, and beſtowed the Name upon it, they returned home with the News of this new-found Iſland.

(*c*) Cape *Non*, ſo called, becauſe they went not beyond it.

* They gave it that Name, becauſe 'twas their Port, and found on *All Saints* Day.

The Prince, upon Notice of this Diſcovery, quickly after ſent out three Ships again; of which number two were committed to the Conduct of *John Gonſalvo Zarco*, and *Triſtan de vaz*, the former Diſcoverers; the third, to *Barthol. Pereſtrello*. Theſe (beſides the intended Planters of this new Colony) carried a Ship-board with them * a Coney, big with Young; which having diſcharged her Burden upon the Iſland, laid ſuch a Foundation for the Increaſe of thoſe Animals, that in two Years time, the numerous Progeny became a Plague to the whole Country, conſuming the Labours of the Inhabitants, and laying all waſte before them. Upon this *Pereſtrello* going off, the other two addreſſed themſelves to further Diſcoveries. And ſeeing * at a diſtance ſomething appear like a Cloud, they reſolved to try whether 'twas Land or no; which accordingly it fell out to be, and was the Iſland afterwards called *Madera*. This, by the King's Conſent, was divided between the two Diſcoverers: The one part called *Funciale*, to *Gonſalvo*, and his Heirs; and the other named *Machio*, to *Triſtan de vaz*. This latter Diviſion of the Iſland, was ſo called from one (*d*) *Macham*, an *Engliſh-man*, whom a Tempeſt had driven thither. This Man having buried a Miſtreſs here, left upon her Tomb-ſtone, the relation of his Adventure: After which, with a Boat cut out of a Tree, without Sail, or Oar, he reached the Coaſt of *Barbary*: Where being preſented to the King for a Wonder, he was ſent by him to the King of *Caſtile*.

* The ſtrange Increaſe of Coneys.

* *Madera* diſcover'd.

(*d*) *Macham* an *Engliſh-man*, firſt at *Madera*. *A. D.* 1344.

In the Year 1420, the Plantation at *Madera* commenced: *Gonſalvo* being forced to open his way with Fire, which (if, as 'tis reported, burnt for Seven Years continually) we may be ſure, made a very great Scarcity of Wood in thoſe Parts. The King deſigning to improve the Country, ordered * Sugar-Canes to be brought from *Sicily* thither: Which thrive ſo well in that Soil, that ſome Years the Fifth-part has amounted to more than 60000 Arrobes, each of which is 25 *l.* and all the Product of a ſmall Spot of Ground, not above Nine Miles in Compaſs.

* *Madera* Sugar.

The Iſle *Porto Santo*, diſcovered before, was given to *Pereſtrello*, upon Condition of Peopling it: And this proved a very hard Task; the place being ſo fearfully over-run with Coneys, that 'twas ſcarce able to admit any other Inhabitants. However, they were by degrees diſpoſſeſs'd; but not without prodigious Maſſacres, 3000 of them being killed at one time in a ſmall Iſlet.

* *A. D.* 1433.

Twelve Years had now paſſed, ſince the firſt Attempt was made of getting beyond Cape *Bajadore*; which yet appeared an inſuperable Difficulty. They fanſied Tempeſts and Hurricanes in the Air, ſtrange Gulphs and Whirlpools, that would ſwallow up Ships, with all the Horrours of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, about that Cape. At laſt a certain *Portugueze*, *Gilianes* by Name, had the Courage to bid Defiance to all theſe Dangers, and to look the Cape in the Face: He found the Seas open and paſſable; came home commending the Air and Soil of the Places where he had been. He performed his * Voyage with great Succeſs, having neither been toſs'd in the Air by Whirlwinds, nor plunged in any of the Vortices about Cape *Bajadore*.

(e) Cape *Blanco* found.

The *Portugueze* now rid of theſe Fears, adventured the next Year 40 Miles farther; where they found the Country uninhabited: This was done by *Anthony Gonſalvo*. After this, no great Progreſs was made, till *A. D.* 1441; when *Nunyo Triſtan* diſcovered Cape (e) *Blanco*, and took ſome Priſoners; the only Prize of his Voyage.

(f) The Popes Liberality, in giving what was not his own.

Matters being gone thus far, King *Henry* obtain'd at the Hands of the Pope, (which was then *Martin* V.) the perpetual Donation to (f) the Crown of *Portugal*, of whatſoever ſhould be diſcovered from Cape *Bajadore*, to the *Eaſt-Indies*, incluſively: Together, with an Indulgence in full, for all thoſe devout Souls, whoſe Bodies ſhould chance to be drop'd in the Undertaking. And this the ſucceeding Popes confirmed, at the Requeſt of King *Alphonſus*, and his Son, King *John*.

* *A. D.* 1443.

* *A. D.* 1444.

* The next time they went abroad, they Traded with the Negroes, and got good ſtore of Gold and Slaves: This made them call the place, *The Golden River*, where thoſe Golden Streams had poured in upon them. Beyond this they paſſed to the Iſles of *Argin*, and *Garze*. And now the *Portugueze* began to be pleaſed with theſe Expeditions; and the Gold that was brought home, effectually ſtop'd their Complaints: * Yea, the People of *Lagos* agreed with the King, to ſet forth Caravels at their own Charges, which brought them in ſome ſtore of Priſoners.

* *A. D.* 1445.

(g) *Sanuga*, & Cape *Verd* found.

* After this, *Denys Fernandez* paſſed the River (g) *Sanuga*, (which ſeparates the *Azegni* from the People of *Guinee*, call'd *Gialof*) and diſcovered alſo Cape *Verd*. And whereas in ſome ſucceeding Voyages, ſome that were Friends to the *Portugueze*, had been made Slaves: The King did at once an excellent Piece of Juſtice and Charity, making thoſe that had ſtolen them, ſend them back to the *Canaries* from whence they were forced), well Apparelled, at their own Charges. Theſe *Canaries* were firſt made known to the *French* and *Spaniards*, by *Macham* the *Engliſh-man*, mentioned before: And one *Berancet*, a *French-man*, who held three of them in poſſeſſion, compounded with King *Henry* for them: But the *Spaniard* put in his Claim to them, as being conquered by that *French-man*, under the Countenance and Support of *Caſtile*: To which Crown they ſtill belong, having gone through various Fortunes, and been in many Hands.

(h) K. *Henry's* Death.

But King *Henry* ſtill proſecuted his Noble Deſign of laying open an unknown World to view, till the time came for himſelf to make a Voyage into another. (h) His Death happen'd, *Nov.* 13. *A. D.* 1463. and about 43 Years after the firſt Diſcovery of *Madera*: And tho' his whole Life, (that upon the Throne at leaſt) had been entirely devoted to this Buſineſs, and vaſt Treaſures had been expended upon the ſame); that in all his time (which was near Fifty Years) no greater Progreſs had been made, than from Cape *Bajadore*, to *Sierra Liona*, which is about 1110 Miles.

(i) Iſles of Cape *Verd* diſcover'd. *Maio*, *Jago*, &c.

A little before his Death, the Iſles of Cape (i) *Verd* were diſcovered, by *Antonio di Nolle*, a *Genoueſe*, in Commiſſion from the King; together with *Maio*, *Philip*, and *Jago* Iſles. In his time alſo, ſome *Flemings* ſailing for *Lisbon*, diſcover'd the *Tercera's*, which were Peopled in *A. D.* 1449.

(k) *Mina* & C. St. *Catharine*, St. *Thom.* &c.

King *Alphonſus*, his Succeſſor, having little leiſure for farther Diſcoveries, farmed that Concern to one *Fernard Gomez*, a Citizen of *Lisbon*, for the ſpace of five Years; upon Condition, of Diſcovering 300 Miles every Year, beginning from *Sierra Liona*, and ſo along the Coaſt. This Perſon diſcover'd (k) *Mina*; and after that, down to Cape St. *Catharine*, on the South-ſide of the Line. About that time alſo, were diſcover'd the Iſles of *Fernand Po*, St. *Thoma*, St. *Matthew*, *Annobon*, and *Del Principe*: But the World cannot enroll the Names of thoſe Diſcoverers, amongſt the reſt of thoſe who merit a Publick Acknowledgment, becauſe they are wholly unknown. But we are now to look into the Management of Affairs, under the ſucceeding King of *Portugal*, *John* II.

This Prince poſſeſs'd of the Throne of *Portugal*, found leiſure to proſecute the Buſineſs of Diſcovery, tho' his Predeceſſor could not. He having once taſted the Golden Profits of *Guiney*, reſolved to give himſelf a more complete Satisfaction, and enter into a more intimate Correſpondence with that charming Country.

* *A. D.* 1481.

(a) Note, that one of the Captains in this Expedition, was an *Engliſh-man*, named *Diego*, or *James Rois*.

Accordingly he ſent * out a Fleet of 10 *Caravels*, under the (a) Command of *Diego Dazambuin*, to build the Caſtle of St. *George della Mina*; which in *A. D.* 1486, he dignified with the Privileges of a City. In the Church of this place, a Prieſt was appointed to pray for the Soul of King *Henry*; and quickly after, the King aſſumes the Title of Lord of *Guiney*. *Carameza*, the Prince of that Country, would have hindred the building of the Caſtle, and the Negroes began to mutiny upon it; but partly by fair means, and partly by foul, the Mutineers were quieted, and the Deſign went on. The King gave Orders for the ſetting up of Stone Pillars in divers places, with the *Portugueze* Arms upon them, expreſſing the Times and Authors of the Diſcoveries that were made. Which Method was alſo uſed by *Diego Cau* (b), in the firſt Diſcovery of the Kingdom of *Congo*, who left divers ſuch Memorials, as thoſe upon the Banks of the River *Zair*. This Man, in both his Voyages, diſcovered 1125 Miles, from Cape St. *Catharine*, along the Coaſt.

(b) *Congo* diſcover'd in *A. D.* 1484.

(c) Notice of *Preſter-John*.

(d) Enquiries after him.

By the Embaſſador of the King of *Benin*, (not far from *Mina*) the King of *Portugal* had (c) News of the Great Emperor of *Æthiopia*, commonly called *Preſter-John*: Of which mighty Prince's Acquaintance being very ambitious; and alſo, no leſs deſirous of an Acquaintance with the *Eaſt-Indies*, he ſent out quickly in purſuance of both thoſe Deſigns. Two Pinnaces, of 50 Tuns apiece, were diſpatched, under the Command of *Barth. Diaz*, with a little Victualling-Bark, in *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1486. This Captain made his (d) Enquiries after *Preſter-John*, by certain Negroes (whom he ſet aſhore in divers places), who were to make ample Reports of the *Portugueze* Civility, and Grandeur; the Marks of which they carried along with them, in their Apparel, and other Gifts beſtowed upon them. He gave Names to ſeveral places that were diſcovered, and ſet up Croſſes of Stone in an Iſland, called from thence, *The Croſs*; where his People weary of the Voyage, and having loſt their Victualling-Bark, with ſome Earneſtneſs urged his Return. Notwithſtanding which, he proceeded a little further, and diſcovered the famous (e) Cape, which in remembrance of his Troubles he call'd *Tormentoto*; and was afterwards, by K. *John*, call'd, the *Cape of Good Hope*. Here he alſo ſet up another Pillar of Stone, which he called St. *Philip*, as the other at the River of *Zair* was call'd St. *George*; and that at Cape St. *Auguſtine*, had its Name from the Cape. He return'd in *Decemb. A. D.* 1487. 16 Months, and 17 Days, after his ſetting out. By the way he met with his Victualler, ſuppoſed to be loſt, and in it nine Men; three only of which were found alive: And one of that number, died with a Surprize of Joy, upon the meeting with their Ships again These were the King's Endeavours by Sea, to come to the Knowledge of *Preſter-John*.

(e) Cape of Good Hope.

(f) *Couilian* firſt in *Æthiopia*.

* *A. D.* 1487.

By Land he ſent ſome to fall in with the *Æthiopian* Company, and travel as Pilgrims; but wanting Skill in the *Arabick* Tongue, they were forced to return. Upon this one *Peter* (f) *Couilian*, verſed in that Language, was employed in this Affair, (and with him *Alphonſo Paina* *.) Theſe went from *Alexandria* to *Cairo*, and ſo to *Aden*, from whence *Paina* went to purſue the *Æthiopian* Diſcovery, but died at *Cairo*. *Couilian* embark'd for the *Eaſt-Indies*, from whence he return'd to *Africa*, with a Deſign of going to *Portugal*. But he received Orders from the King, not to return till he had been in *Æthiopia*, whither he was deputed to go, in the Character of an Embaſſador. *Couilian* (having writ to the King, to encourage his Navigation, and ſent him a Map of his Diſcoveries in *India* and *Africa*) proſecuted his Journey to the *Æthiopian* Court: Where he was made ſo Welcome, that he could never get looſe again. The Report of which Reception, together with the Circumſtances of his Travels, he made about 30 Years afterwards, to *Francis Alvarez*, an Attendant on *Roderick de Lima*, the King's Embaſſador to that Court.

And thus far were Matters carried on by King *John*: He open'd the way by Land into the Bowels of *Africa*, and began a Correſpondence with the moſt potent Monarch of that Quarter of the World. He might have done more, in all probability, had he fallen in with *Columbus's* Offers, whom he ſaw in his firſt Return from the *Indies*, in *March*, *A. D.* 1493. Yet is Navigation a very great Debtor to this Prince, who paſſionately deſired its Glory and Improvement (*g*), and took hearty Care to accompliſh it. Two of his Phyſicians, *Roderigo*, and *Joſeph*, were good Mathematicians; and theſe he employ'd, with *Martin Bohemus*, (who was *Regiomontanus*'s Scholar) to ſupply the Deficiencies, and enlarge the Bounds of the Science. And now was Aſtronomy called in to its aſſiſtance; and various Inſtruments (the Privilege only of Aſtronomers before) were put into the Hands of the Sailors, and turn'd over to the Uſes of the Sea. Tables alſo of Declination were made, for the finding out the Latitude, and Courſe; with many other very curious Helps: All which were the Genuine Products of this happy Conjunction of Navigation and Aſtronomy.

(*g*) K. *John*'s Endeavours to improve the Arts of the Sea.

And hitherto we have ſeen the Induſtrious *Portugueze*, drawing the firſt and more imperfect Lines of the Practice of Navigation: 'Tis our Buſineſs now to enquire, what heightning Strokes have been given by ſucceeding Maſters, and by what Steps and Draughts it has arrived to the Perfection in which we ſee it at this Day. And firſt of all comes in the Performance of *Columbus*; who diſcovers no leſs than half a World at once, and draws us a perfectly new Face on t'other ſide the Globe.

But before we ſet out with him, or any other of the General Sailors, we think it proper to deſire (once for all) the Reader's patient Indulgence, in the Liberty we take, of tracing the ſeveral particular Steps of theſe Mens Voyages. He may obſerve, that we reckon not only the Years and Months with them, but alſo the very Days too, when they are out at Sea: that we go with them almoſt into every Port, ſee them aſhore in every Iſland they come to, and take Notice of ſeveral Paſſages in their Sailing, that at firſt ſight may appear too minute and trifling, to deſerve a particular mention. But to perſwade his favourable Cenſure of this Liberty, he is deſired to conſider: That the Particularneſs of thoſe Obſervations, which might be a Fault, with reſpect to a well-known World, is neceſſary (or at leaſt very excuſable), in reference to a World not yet diſcovered. We are now going to take our firſt View of thoſe Parts of the Globe, which as yet we are ſuppoſed not to know. Theſe Men are our firſt Sailors, and go in an untrodden Path, and whatſoever they ſhew us is quite new: Upon this Score, to ſail but two or three Leagues with them, and only to ſee a Cape, or ſome ſorry Iſland, which lies in their way; may be of more moment, than to follow a Modern Sailor all round the Globe, and hear him talk of thoſe Places that have been a thouſand times deſcrib'd before. Every Step taken by a firſt Diſcoverer, preſents an Original in thoſe Matters; others that come after, do but Copy or Refine upon him, and continue the Story that he begins. His Relations are Text, (in their Conſequence and Weight) compar'd with thoſe of others, and therefore to be purſu'd even to a Scruple, in every Circumſtance, that does not appear with a bare Face of Folly and Impertinence. 'Tis for this Reaſon, that we propoſe ſo punctual an Obſervation of the ſeveral Steps of the Voyages, made by thoſe celebrated Perſons, who firſt ventur'd out into the World, and laid a Foundation for *Europe*'s Acquaintance and Converſe with the remoter Parts of it. But as the Diſcovery of the World goes on before us, and the Strangeneſs of thoſe Countries wears off by repeated Viſits made to them; tho' we will loſe nothing valuable, that our Modern Navigators have to ſhew us; yet we ſhall not give them that Ceremonious Attendance in Sailing, that we allow the more Ancient Ones.

CHAP. II.

Of COLUMBUS, *&c.*

WHERE this Fortunate Diſcoverer was born, is not agreed amongſt Writers: Some ſay at *Savona*; ſome at *Narni*; others at *Cicurco*, in the Territories of *Genoua*, of an ancient Houſe, and great Reputation, in the time of *Otho* II. This Great Man, it ſeems, tho' he brought a new World to light, yet left the Place of his own Birth and Breeding in ſo much obſcurity, that there needs another *Columbus* to find that out. However this be, 'tis enough to know, that he had an early Paſſion for the Sea, and began both to Trade, and make Charts for Sea Service, when he was very young. The Fame of the *Portugueze*, for their Skill in Marine Affairs, brought him to thoſe Parts; where he Married and Settled, and Traded to the Coaſts of *Guiney*. He had the Character of a Man, ſober, temperate, grave, and devout, of competent Learning in other reſpects, and very ſtudious in the Mathematicks. What Motives induced him to the Great Undertaking, he afterwards ſo happily finiſh'd, are unknown. Some ſay, a certain Pilot, that had been driven upon the Iſlands of *America*, gave him the firſt hint of a new World there: But this is thought to be the fruit of *Spaniſh* Envy; that People perhaps being much concern'd that *Italy* ſhould raviſh this Glory from their Country. 'Tis probable, that his own Mathematical Reaſonings might make him conclude, the poſſibility of finding Inhabitants on the other ſide of the Globe. That conſidering the vaſt Dimenſions of the Earth (which might eaſily be determined from the Principles of *Geometry*); and that the known World was circumſcribed within very narrow Bounds: It was utterly improbable, that all the reſt of ſo great a Ball, ſhould be overſpread with Water, and be an Habitation for Fiſhes, inſtead of Men, who had at firſt ſo peculiar a Charge from the Almighty, to multiply and repleniſh it. Being alſo amongſt the *Portugueze*, he could not but hear ſeveral things, from ſome Hands or other, that might ſerve to confirm thoſe Suſpicions of a new Face of the Globe, which Mathematicks perhaps had at firſt given him. Thus 'tis ſaid, that a certain (*a*) Mariner, which uſed the *Azores* and *Tercera* Iſles, told him, That he was once carried 450 Leagues to the Weſt of Cape *Vincent*, and there took up a piece of Timber, wrought by a Man's Hand, and, as he thought, without Iron; and this, he fanſied, muſt come from ſome more Weſtern Iſland. (*b*) Another alſo reported, That he had ſeen a piece at *Puerto Santo*, wrought after the ſame Faſhion, brought thither by the Weſterly Winds; beſides very large Canes, capable of holding two Gallons of Water in each Knot: Which being reported to grow in *India*, he ſuppoſed might be conveyed into thoſe Parts, by the ſame forces of Winds as the Timber was. Some Informations from the *Azores*, likewiſe aſſured him, That certain Pines had been caſt up at *Fayal*, and *Gracioſa*, by ſtrong Weſterly and N. W. Winds; together with two Canoes, and the like number of dead Men, upon the Coaſt of *Floras*; who by their much larger Faces, and different Countenances, ſeem'd to have been Inhabitants of ſome remote and unknown Region. There were ſome alſo, that confidently aſſerted, That Land had divers times been ſeen at a diſtance, which lay far beyond the Bounds of the preſent Diſcoveries; and conſequently, was ſome part of the Globe that had not yet been viſited by the *European* Sailors. Some of theſe Perſons made their Reports to *Columbus* himſelf, as *Diego Velaſques*; and particularly a certain Mariner, who told him of an Iſland which he had ſeen lie far Weſt of *Ireland*, and ſuppoſed to be that now called *Newfoundland*. Others (*c*) had given in their Experiences to the ſame effect, if not to *Columbus* himſelf, yet to the World and the Nation where he reſided; ſo that he cou'd not miſs of the Information. And now being fully aſſured, that a New World lay ſome where or other conceal'd, his next Care was to come at the ſight of it: And in order thereto, to procure ſuch due Encouragement and Aſſiſtance, as might render his Attempts ſucceſsful. In the firſt place therefore, he propounded the Matter to the *Genoueſe*, his Country-men: To whom his Propoſals not being at all agreeable, he addreſſed himſelf, in hope of better Fortune, to the Court of *Portugal*. But the Project took no better at *Lisbon*, than it did at *Genoua*; and the Notion of a New World was much in the ſame degree of Reputation amongſt them, as that of a New-raiſed Body was formerly at *Athens*. Here the King's Mathematicians acted the parts of thoſe Bantering Philoſophers, and heard this New Doctrine broach'd with not a little Sport and Jeſt. However, *Columbus*'s Reaſonings made ſome Impreſſion upon them, ſo far, that they thought it proper to adviſe the King, to try whether he ſpoke Truth or no. And thereupon a Veſſel was ſecretly ſent out, with Orders to look after *Columbus*'s World; which not finding, and meeting with bad Weather, they return'd home, having done nothing.

Columbus early a Student in Mathematicks.

(*a*) *Martin Vincent.*

(*b*) *Pedro Correa.*

Some Hints given him of undiſcover'd Land.

(*c*) *Antonio Lene*, *Petro de Velaſco*, *Vincent Diaz*, a *Portugueze*.

Genoueſe and *Portugueze* reject his Propoſals.

Columbus in the next place (tho' having had ſo many diſcouraging Repulſes) thought of making one Effort more, and that was, trying of the Temper and Inclinations of the *Engliſh*: And accordingly ſent his Brother *Bartholomew*

Delayed in *England.*
* *A.D.*1484.

to King *Henry* VII. This Meſſenger falling into the Hands of Pirates by the way, and not being ſo lucky as to get a ſpeedy Hearing of the King, Matters were delayed ſo long, that *Columbus* weary with fruitleſs Waitings, immediately * applied himſelf to the Court of *Spain.* But their Catholick Majeſties being then engaged in War with the *Moors*, his Anſwer was (after five Years Suit), That the Treaſure of the Nation was ſo exhauſted with thoſe Wars, that they could not afford to be at any New Expences.

Columbus needed not have felt the Pain of this new Repulſe, had he deferr'd his Applications to this Court, and not begg'd of *Spain*, till he had received a poſitive Denial from *England*: For this latter Court did embrace his Propoſals, tho' things went ſo tediouſly on, that (as it happen'd) his Requeſt was granted in *Spain*, before he knew 'twas conſider'd in *England.* But 'twas the Fruit of much Labour and Toil, and came after innumerable Slights and Repulſes.

Succeeds in *Spain.*

The two Dukes of *Medina Celi*, and *M. Sidon.* were his Advocates; but could not be heard on his behalf. Twice he thought of ſetting a final Period to his unprofitable Endeavours in *Spain*, and get over to his Brother, at the *Engliſh* Court. But at laſt the Scene changed; and the Clergy undertaking his Cauſe, it proſper'd in their Hands. *Columbus* was admitted to their Catholick Majeſties Preſence, and had a favourable Audience, and Grant of his Deſires; the Queen being willing to pawn her very Jewels, to raiſe Money for his Expedition. This was the beſt uſe they could poſſibly be put to at that time; becauſe they were quickly (with great Advantage) to be redeemed, by the rich Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru.* Beſides, the *Spaniſh* Stock was very low, at that Juncture; and they could never have nick'd the time more exactly to go to the *Weſt-Indies*, to do themſelves a kindneſs.

The Terms *Columbus* made with their Catholick Majeſties, were theſe: *That if he made no Diſcoveries, he would have no Reward: And if he did, that he ſhould ſuſtain the Office of Vice-Roy by Land, and Admiral by Sea; with the Advantage of the Tenths of the Profits, through all the Countries diſcovered by him. And theſe Privileges not to be reſtrain'd to his own Perſon only, but to become Hereditary.* This Agreement was made in the open Field, at the Siege of *Granada*, April 17. 1492.

And 'twas not long before the Voyage thus reſolved upon, did actually commence: For the Court was now as warm in the Proſecution of the Deſign, as before 'twas cold and indifferent. *Columbus* had reaſon'd them all into ſuch high Expectations of the Succeſs of his Undertaking, that they were as eager for his going, as he himſelf.

Columbus ſets out.

Accordingly having gotten a ſmall Fleet of three Caravels he ſet forth from *Palos*, on *Friday*, *Auguſt* 2. *A. D.* 1492. Himſelf commanded the Admiral called St. *Maria.* *Martin Alonzo Pinçon*, was Captain of the *Pinta*; and his Brother, *Franciſco*, was Maſter. And in the Third Veſſel, which they called the *Ninna*, *Vincent Yannez Pinçon*, was Captain, and Maſter. Theſe Officers had under their Command, in theſe Three Veſſels, about 120, or as ſome ſay, but 90 Men.

On the 11th they had ſight of the *Canaries*, where they ſtaid till *September* the 6th, refreſhing themſelves at the Iſle *Gomera*; but went off then for fear of the *Portugueze*, who had Mann'd out three Caravels to take them.

The *Portugueza* attempt to hinder them.

(a) The Variation firſt obſerved.

September the 7th, they loſt ſight of Land; and with that, their Courages too; a great many of them taking their leaves of this, and expecting the next time to land in the other World. *Columbus* comforted theſe Cowards as well as he could; and to do it effectually, was fain to cheat them in his Reckoning; making them believe they were not ſo far from Home, as indeed they were. On the 14th they obſerved the Variation of the (a) Compaſs; which was the firſt time that Phænomenon had fallen under Obſervation. On *Sunday* the 16th they ſaw Graſs and Herbs floating on the Water, and ſome ſmall Animals, (Graſhoppers) alive amongſt them; which made ſome of them (now come to a little better hope) believe, they ſhould ſee dry Land once more, and that quickly too. The Nineteenth and Twentieth, theſe Preſages continued; beſides which, they ſaw ſome Sea-Fowl: All which put together, conſiderably raiſed their Expectations of it. All this while the Wind favoured their Voyage; but on *September* the 22d, it came croſs at S. W. And now the *Spaniards* began downright to repent them of their raſh Attempt, in venturing ſo far from home; and therefore expecting to become a Banquet to the Fiſhes, in a very little time, they began to ſtorm at their Admiral, that he had brought them thither: Not ſparing the very King and Queen themſelves in their Paſſion, as Perſons too eaſie and credulous, charging them with Indiſcretion, in liſtening to ſuch wild Propoſals, and ſacrificing their Subjects upon ſuch trivial Occaſions. As for *Columbus*'s part, they told him plainly, That if he wou'd not tack about, and make homewards again, he ſhould go over-board without fail: For they were reſolved to ſhift for themſelves, and ſave their own Lives, if they cou'd. The Admiral return'd them good Words for bad; and anſwer'd theſe inſolent Threatnings of the Rabble, with charming Promiſes of great Rewards, upon Condition of a little more Patience. And tho' he made ſhift to cheat them into a little good Humour, by crying out Land, on the 25th of *September*: Yet that Calm was quickly ſucceeded by a more outragious Storm than before; the Reſult of which was, that after ſome farther Trials, *Columbus* (having no way to defend himſelf any longer), was forced to promiſe to return, if they diſcovered not Land in three Day's time; this being the utmoſt ſpace, that the domineering Sailors would allow him.

The *Spaniards* mutiny.

Columbus forced to Compound with them.

(b) They ſee Land.

(c) *Salvador* diſcover'd.

The firſt of thoſe Days, he found by the Sun-ſetting, that Land was near; upon which they contracted their Sails; and that ſame Night they ſaw Light. About two Hours after Midnight, one of the Company diſcover'd Land (b). This happy Sight was on *October* the 11th, *A. D.* 1492. This they found to be an Iſland of 15 Leagues compaſs; and it was one of the *Lucayans*, called by the Inhabitants, *Gavebani*; but by them *San* (c) *Salvador*, being about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries.* Here they went aſhoar, and having ſung a *Te Deum*, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion of the place, in the Name of their Catholick Majeſties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Iſabella.*

* The Natives.

The Natives of the place thought them to be very ſtrange People; and much more wondred at their Ships, which they believ'd to be Great Animals. The *Spaniards* gave them Caps, Beads, and other Toys; which they payed themſelves very well for, in more valuable things. Theſe People were naked, of a middle-ſize, well proportion'd Bodies; their Natural Complexion of an Olive, but painted with other Colours, according to their Fancies *. They knew not the Uſe of Iron, nor the Make of Weapons, but innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their Iſle abounded with Parrots, beſides which they ſcarce ſaw any other Animals. They truck'd for Cotton-Yarn: And told the *Spaniards*, That the Gold they wore in Rings at their Noſtrils, came from the South; where they would find a Prince very rich therein.

(d) *Conception* Iſle found.
(e) *Fernandina*
(f) *Iſabella*:
(g) *Cuba*, which they call'd *Juana*, in Honour of the Prince of *Caſtile.*

On the 15th of *October* they went to another Iſland, ſeven Leagues from thence, which they call'd (d) St. *Maria de la Conception.* The 17th they went to *Fernandina* (e), the Women of which place had only ſhort Cotton Coats, from the Navel to the Mid-thigh, to cover their Nakedneſs. After this they came to another Iſle, which they called *Iſabella* (f): Of which, as of all the others, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion; and in all theſe Places carried it juſtly and honeſtly towards the Natives. They proceeded hence to *Cuba* (g), which the *Indians* told him afforded Gold and Pearl. Two *Spaniards*, and as many *Indians*, were here ſent to ſearch the Country; and lighting of an *Indian* Town of about Fifty Houſes, they were well treated there, the *Spaniards* being honour'd with Incenſe as they went along, as if they had been Deities; which the ſimple *Indians* indeed did almoſt believe, tho' after Experience made them wiſer. Here they ſaw Cotton grow of it ſelf, with ſeveral ſorts of ſtrange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* moſt minded, was the Gold which they ſaw the *Indians* wear in their Noſes; about which they were ſo curious as to aſk ſome Queſtions: To which the *Indians* as honeſtly anſwer'd, *Cubanacan*; that is, they had it out of the midſt of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* thinking (becauſe of that Term *Can*) that they had talk'd of the Great Cham of *Cathay.*

(h) *Hiſpaniola* diſcover'd.

Alonzo Pinçon left *Columbus* here, who quickly after went himſelf in queſt of *Hiſpaniola* (h), which the Natives at that time call'd *Hayti.* They took here a Woman, a Native of the Iſland, whom treating well, ſhe became a ſerviceable Agent on their behalf, with the reſt of the Natives: So that at laſt there was a very good Correſpondence eſtabliſh'd between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* there, the King of the Place inviting *Columbus* to come aſhoar. A Fort was built upon this Iſland, to maintain the *Spaniſh* Pretenſions and Authority; in which 38 Soldiers were left: And after this Buſineſs done, *Columbus* made Proviſions for a Voyage homewards, charging his *Spaniards* to carry it obligingly to the *Indians*, and their King.

Accordingly on *Friday*, *Jan.* 4. 1493. he ſet out from the Port of *Nativity.* In his Voyage, he affirms, he ſaw Mermaids; as alſo before, on the Coaſt of *Guiney.* And now much more of the Coaſts of that large Iſle *Hiſpaniola* came under their view; which they diligently obſerved, and

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its Glory and Improvement (*g*), and took hearty Care to accompliſh it. Two of his Phyſicians, *Roderigo*, and *Joſeph*, were good Mathematicians; and theſe he employ'd, with *Martin Bohemus*, (who was *Regiomontanus*'s Scholar) to ſupply the Deficiencies, and enlarge the Bounds of the Science. And now was Aſtronomy called in to its aſſiſtance; and various Inſtruments (the Privilege only of Aſtronomers before) were put into the Hands of the Sailors, and turn'd over to the Uſes of the Sea. Tables alſo of Declination were made, for the finding out the Latitude, and Courſe; with many other very curious Helps: All which were the Genuine Products of this happy Conjunction of Navigation and Aſtronomy.

(*g*) K. *John's* Endeavours to improve the Arts of the Sea.

And hitherto we have ſeen the Induſtrious *Portugueze*, drawing the firſt and more imperfect Lines of the Practice of Navigation: 'Tis our Buſineſs now to enquire, what heightning Strokes have been given by ſucceeding Maſters, and by what Steps and Draughts it has arrived to the Perfection in which we ſee it at this Day. And firſt of all comes in the Performance of *Columbus*; who diſcovers no leſs than half a World at once, and draws us a perfectly new Face on t'other ſide the Globe.

But before we ſet out with him, or any other of the General Sailors, we think it proper to deſire (once for all) the Reader's patient Indulgence, in the Liberty we take, of tracing the ſeveral particular Steps of theſe Mens Voyages. He may obſerve, that we reckon not only the Years and Months with them, but alſo the very Days too, when they are out at Sea: that we go with them almoſt into every Port, ſee them aſhore in every Iſland they come to, and take Notice of ſeveral Paſſages in their Sailing, that at firſt ſight may appear too minute and trifling, to deſerve a particular mention. But to perſwade his favourable Cenſure of this Liberty, he is deſired to conſider: That the Particularneſs of thoſe Obſervations, which might be a Fault, with reſpect to a well-known World, is neceſſary (or at leaſt very excuſable), in reference to a World not yet diſcovered. We are now going to take our firſt View of thoſe Parts of the Globe, which as yet we are ſuppoſed not to know. Theſe Men are our firſt Sailors, and go in an untrodden Path, and whatſoever they ſhew us is quite new: Upon this Score, to ſail but two or three Leagues with them, and only to ſee a Cape, or ſome ſorry Iſland, which lies in their way; may be of more moment, than to follow a Modern Sailor all round the Globe, and hear him talk of thoſe Places that have been a thouſand times deſcrib'd before. Every Step taken by a firſt Diſcoverer, preſents an Original in thoſe Matters; others that come after, do but Copy or Refine upon him, and continue the Story that he begins. His Relations are Text, (in their Conſequence and Weight) compar'd with thoſe of others, and therefore to be purſu'd even to a Scruple, in every Circumſtance, that does not appear with a bare Face of Folly and Impertinence. 'Tis for this Reaſon, that we propoſe ſo punctual an Obſervation of the ſeveral Steps of the Voyages, made by thoſe celebrated Perſons, who firſt ventur'd out into the World, and laid a Foundation for *Europe*'s Acquaintance and Converſe with the remoter Parts of it. But as the Diſcovery of the World goes on before us, and the Strangeneſs of thoſe Countries wears off by repeated Viſits made to them; tho' we will loſe nothing valuable, that our Modern Navigators have to ſhew us; yet we ſhall not give them that Ceremonious Attendance in Sailing, that we allow the more Ancient Ones.

CHAP. II.

Of COLUMBUS, *&c.*

WHERE this Fortunate Diſcoverer was born, is not agreed amongſt Writers: Some ſay at *Savona*; ſome at *Narni*; others at *Cicurco*, in the Territories of *Genoua*, of an ancient Houſe, and great Reputation, in the time of *Otho* II. This Great Man, it ſeems, tho' he brought a new World to light, yet left the Place of his own Birth and Breeding in ſo much obſcurity, that there needs another *Columbus* to find that out. However this be, 'tis enough to know, that he had an early Paſſion for the Sea, and began both to Trade, and make Charts for Sea Service, when he was very young. The Fame of the *Portugueze*, for their Skill in Marine Affairs, brought him to thoſe Parts; where he Married and Settled, and Traded to the Coaſts of *Guiney*. He had the Character of a Man, ſober, temperate, grave, and devout, of competent Learning in other reſpects, and very ſtudious in the Mathematicks. What Motives induced him to the Great Undertaking, he afterwards ſo happily finiſh'd, are unknown. Some ſay, a certain Pilot, that had been driven upon the Iſlands of *America*, gave him the firſt hint of a new World there: But this is thought to be the fruit of *Spaniſh* Envy; that People perhaps being much concern'd that *Italy* ſhould raviſh this Glory from their Country. 'Tis probable, that his own Mathematical Reaſonings might make him conclude, the poſſibility of finding Inhabitants on the other ſide of the Globe. That conſidering the vaſt Dimenſions of the Earth (which might eaſily be determined from the Principles of *Geometry*); and that the known World was circumſcribed within very narrow Bounds: It was utterly improbable, that all the reſt of ſo great a Ball, ſhould be overſpread with Water, and be an Habitation for Fiſhes, inſtead of Men, who had at firſt ſo peculiar a Charge from the Almighty, to multiply and repleniſh it. Being alſo amongſt the *Portugueze*, he could not but hear ſeveral things, from ſome Hands or other, that might ſerve to confirm thoſe Suſpicions of a new Face of the Globe, which Mathematicks perhaps had at firſt given him. Thus 'tis ſaid, that a certain (*a*) Mariner, which uſed the *Azores* and *Tercera* Iſles, told him, That he was once carried 450 Leagues to the Weſt of Cape *Vincent*, and there took up a piece of Timber, wrought by a Man's Hand, and, as he thought, without Iron; and this, he fanſied, muſt come from ſome more Weſtern Iſland. (*b*) Another alſo reported, That he had ſeen a piece at *Puerto Santo*, wrought after the ſame Faſhion, brought thither by the Weſterly Winds; beſides very large Canes, capable of holding two Gallons of Water in each Knot: Which being reported to grow in *India*, he ſuppoſed might be conveyed into thoſe Parts, by the ſame forces of Winds as the Timber was. Some Informations from the *Azores*, likewiſe aſſured him, That certain Pines had been caſt up at *Fayal*, and *Gracioſa*, by ſtrong Weſterly and N. W. Winds; together with two Canoes, and the like number of dead Men, upon the Coaſt of *Floras*; who by their much larger Faces, and different Countenances, ſeem'd to have been Inhabitants of ſome remote and unknown Region. There were ſome alſo, that confidently aſſerted, That Land had diverstimes been ſeen at a diſtance, which lay far beyond the Bounds of the preſent Diſcoveries; and conſequently, was ſome part of the Globe that had not yet been viſited by the *European* Sailors. Some of theſe Perſons made their Reports to *Columbus* himſelf, as *Diego Velaſques*; and particularly a certain Mariner, who told him of an Iſland which he had ſeen lie far Weſt of *Ireland*, and ſuppoſed to be that now called *Newfoundland*. Others (*c*) had given in their Experiences to the ſame effect, if not to *Columbus* himſelf, yet to the World and the Nation where he reſided; ſo that he cou'd not miſs of the Information. And now being fully aſſured, that a New World lay ſome where or other conceal'd, his next Care was to come at the ſight of it: And in order thereto, to procure ſuch due Encouragement and Aſſiſtance, as might render his Attempts ſucceſsful. In the firſt place therefore, he propounded the Matter to the *Genoueſe*, his Country-men: To whom his Propoſals not being at all agreeable, he addreſſed himſelf, in hope of better Fortune, to the Court of *Portugal*. But the Project took no better at *Lisbon*, than it did at *Genoua*; and the Notion of a New World was much in the ſame degree of Reputation amongſt them, as that of a New-raiſed Body was formerly at *Athens*. Here the King's Mathematicians acted the parts of thoſe Bantering Philoſophers, and heard this New Doctrine broach'd with not a little Sport and Jeſt. However, *Columbus*'s Reaſonings made ſome Impreſſion upon them, ſo far, that they thought it proper to adviſe the King, to try whether he ſpoke Truth or no. And thereupon a Veſſel was ſecretly ſent out, with Orders to look after *Columbus*'s World; which not finding, and meeting with bad Weather, they return'd home, having done nothing.

Columbus early a Student in Mathematicks.

(*a*) *Martin Vincent.*

(*b*) *Pedro Correa.*

Some Hints given him of undiſcover'd Land.

(*c*) *Antonio Lene, Petro de Velaſco, Vincent Diaz, a Portugueze.*

Genoueſe and *Portugueze* reject his Propoſals.

Columbus in the next place (tho' having had ſo many diſcouraging Repulſes) thought of making one Effort more, and that was, trying of the Temper and Inclinations of the *Engliſh*: And accordingly ſent his Brother *Bartholomew*

to

Delayed in England. * A.D.1484.

to King *Henry* VII. This Meſſenger falling into the Hands of Pirates by the way, and not being ſo lucky as to get a ſpeedy Hearing of the King, Matters were delayed ſo long, that *Columbus* weary with fruitleſs Waitings, immediately * applied himſelf to the Court of *Spain*. But their Catholick Majeſties being then engaged in War with the *Moors*, his Anſwer was (after five Years Suit), That the Treaſure of the Nation was ſo exhauſted with thoſe Wars, that they could not afford to be at any New Expences.

Columbus needed not have felt the Pain of this new Repulſe, had he deferr'd his Applications to this Court, and not begg'd of *Spain*, till he had received a poſitive Denial from *England*: For this latter Court did embrace his Propoſals, tho' things went ſo tediouſly on, that (as it happen'd) his Requeſt was granted in *Spain*, before he knew 'twas conſider'd in *England*. But 'twas the Fruit of much Labour and Toil, and came after innumerable Slights and Repulſes.

The two Dukes of *Medina Celi*, and *M. Sidon.* were his Advocates; but could not be heard on his behalf. Twice he thought of ſetting a final Period to his unprofitable Endeavours in *Spain*, and get over to his Brother, at the *Engliſh* Court. But at laſt the Scene changed; and the Clergy undertaking his Cauſe, it proſper'd in their Hands. *Columbus* was admitted to their Catholick Majeſties Preſence, and had a favourable Audience, and Grant of his Deſires; the Queen being willing to pawn her very Jewels, to raiſe Money for his Expedition. This was the beſt uſe they could poſſibly be put to at that time; becauſe they were quickly (with great Advantage) to be redeemed, by the rich Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*. Beſides, the *Spaniſh* Stock was very low, at that Juncture; and they could never have nick'd the time more exactly to go to the *Weſt-Indies*, to do themſelves a kindneſs.

Succeeds in *Spain.*

The Terms *Columbus* made with their Catholick Majeſties, were theſe: *That if he made no Diſcoveries, he would have no Reward: And if he did, that he ſhould ſuſtain the Office of Vice-Roy by Land, and Admiral by Sea; with the Advantage of the Tenths of the Profits, through all the Countries diſcovered by him. And theſe Privileges not to be reſtrain'd to his own Perſon only, but to become Hereditary.* This Agreement was made in the open Field, at the Siege of *Granada*, April 17. 1492.

And 'twas not long before the Voyage thus reſolved upon, did actually commence: For the Court was now as warm in the Proſecution of the Deſign, as before 'twas cold and indifferent. *Columbus* had reaſon'd them all into ſuch high Expectations of the Succeſs of his Undertaking, that they were as eager for his going, as he himſelf.

Columbus ſets out.

Accordingly having gotten a ſmall Fleet of three Caravels he ſet forth from *Palos*, on *Friday*, *Auguſt* 2. *A. D.* 1492. Himſelf commanded the Admiral called St. *Maria*. *Martin Alonzo Pinçon*, was Captain of the *Pinta*; and his Brother, *Franciſco*, was Maſter. And in the Third Veſſel, which they called the *Ninna*, *Vincent Tannez Pinçon*, was Captain, and Maſter. Theſe Officers had under their Command, in theſe Three Veſſels, about 120, or as ſome ſay, but 90 Men.

On the 11th they had ſight of the *Canaries*, where they ſtaid till *September* the 6th, refreſhing themſelves at the Iſle *Gomera*; but went off then for fear of the *Portugueze*, who had Mann'd out three Caravels to take them.

The *Portugueze* attempt to hinder them.

September the 7th, they loſt ſight of Land; and with that, their Courages too; a great many of them taking their leaves of this, and expecting the next time to land in the other World. *Columbus* comforted theſe Cowards as well as he could; and to do it effectually, was fain to cheat them in his Reckoning; making them believe they were not ſo far from Home, as indeed they were. On the 14th they obſerved the Variation of the (*a*) Compaſs; which was the firſt time that Phænomenon had fallen under Obſervation. On *Sunday* the 16th they ſaw Graſs and Herbs floating on the Water, and ſome ſmall Animals, (Graſhoppers) alive amongſt them; which made ſome of them (now come to a little better hope) believe, they ſhould ſee dry Land once more, and that quickly too. The Nineteenth and Twentieth, theſe Preſages continued; beſides which, they ſaw ſome Sea-Fowl: All which put together, conſiderably raiſed their Expectations of it. All this while the Wind favoured their Voyage; but on *September* the 22d, it came croſs at S. W. And now the *Spaniards* began downright to repent them of their raſh Attempt, in venturing ſo far from home; and therefore expecting to become a Banquet to the Fiſhes, in a very little time, they began to ſtorm at their Admiral, that he had brought them thither: Not ſparing the very King and Queen themſelves in their Paſſion, as Perſons too eaſie and credulous, charging them with Indiſcretion, in liſtening to ſuch wild Propoſals, and ſacrificing their Subjects upon ſuch trivial Occaſions. As for *Columbus*'s part, they told him plainly, That if he wou'd not tack about, and make homewards again, he ſhould go over-board without fail: For they were reſolved to ſhift for themſelves, and ſave their own Lives, if they cou'd. The Admiral return'd them good Words for bad; and anſwer'd theſe inſolent Threatnings of the Rabble, with charming Promiſes of great Rewards, upon Condition of a little more Patience. And tho' he made ſhift to cheat them into a little good Humour, by crying out Land, on the 25th of *September*: Yet that Calm was quickly ſucceeded by a more outragious Storm than before; the Reſult of which was, that after ſome farther Trials, *Columbus* (having no way to defend himſelf any longer), was forced to promiſe to return, if they diſcovered not Land in three Day's time; this being the utmoſt ſpace, that the domineering Sailors would allow him.

(*a*) The Variation firſt obſerved.

The *Spaniards* mutiny.

Columbus forced to Compound with them.

The firſt of thoſe Days, he found by the Sun-ſetting, that Land was near; upon which they contracted their Sails; and that ſame Night they ſaw Light. About two Hours after Midnight, one of the Company diſcover'd Land (*b*). This happy Sight was on *October* the 11th, *A. D.* 1492. This they found to be an Iſland of 15 Leagues compaſs; and it was one of the *Lucayans*, called by the Inhabitants, *Gavehani*; but by them *San* (*c*) *Salvador*, being about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Here they went aſhoar, and having ſung a *Te Deum*, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion of the place, in the Name of their Catholick Majeſties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Iſabella*.

(*b*) They ſee Land.

(*c*) *Salvador* diſcover'd.

The Natives of the place thought them to be very ſtrange People; and much more wondred at their Ships, which they believ'd to be Great Animals. The *Spaniards* gave them Caps, Beads, and other Toys; which they payed themſelves very well for, in more valuable things. Theſe People were naked, of a middle-ſize, well proportion'd Bodies; their Natural Complexion of an Olive, but painted with other Colours, according to their Fancies *. They knew not the Uſe of Iron, nor the Make of Weapons, but innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their Iſle abounded with Parrots, beſides which they ſcarce ſaw any other Animals. They truck'd for Cotton-Yarn: And told the *Spaniards*, That the Gold they wore in Rings at their Noſtrils, came from the South; where they would find a Prince very rich therein.

* The Natives.

On the 15th of *October* they went to another Iſland, ſeven Leagues from thence, which they call'd (*d*) St. *Maria de la Conception*. The 17th they went to *Fernandina* (*e*), the Women of which place had only ſhort Cotton Coats, from the Navel to the Mid-thigh, to cover their Nakedneſs. After this they came to another Iſle, which they called *Iſabella* (*f*): Of which, as of all the others, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion; and in all theſe Places carried it juſtly and honeſtly towards the Natives. They proceeded hence to *Cuba* (*g*), which the *Indians* told him afforded Gold and Pearl. Two *Spaniards*, and as many *Indians*, were here ſent to ſearch the Country; and lighting of an *Indian* Town of about Fifty Houſes, they were well treated there, the *Spaniards* being honour'd with Incenſe as they went along, as if they had been Deities; which the ſimple *Indians* indeed did almoſt believe, tho' after Experience made them wiſer. Here they ſaw Cotton grow of it ſelf, with ſeveral ſorts of ſtrange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* moſt minded, was the Gold which they ſaw the *Indians* wear in their Noſes; about which they were ſo curious as to ask ſome Queſtions: To which the *Indians* as honeſtly anſwer'd, *Cubanacan*; that is, they had it out of the midſt of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* thinking (becauſe of that Term *Can*) that they had talk'd of the Great Cham of *Cathay*.

(*d*) Conception Iſle found.

(*e*) *Fernandina*

(*f*) *Iſabella.*

(*g*) *Cuba*, which they call'd *Juana*, in Honour of the Prince of *Caſtile*.

Alonzo Pinçon left *Columbus* here, who quickly after went himſelf in queſt of *Hiſpaniola* (*h*), which the Natives at that time call'd *Hayti*. They took here a Woman, a Native of the Iſland, whom treating well, ſhe became a ſerviceable Agent on their behalf, with the reſt of the Natives: So that at laſt there was a very good Correſpondence eſtabliſh'd between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* there, the King of the Place inviting *Columbus* to come aſhoar. A Fort was built upon this Iſland, to maintain the *Spaniſh* Pretenſions and Authority; in which 38 Soldiers were left: And after this Buſineſs done, *Columbus* made Proviſions for a Voyage homewards, charging his *Spaniards* to carry it obligingly to the *Indians*, and their King.

(*h*) *Hiſpaniola* diſcover'd.

Accordingly on *Friday*, *Jan.* 4. 1493. he ſet out from the Port of *Nativity*. In his Voyage, he affirms, he ſaw Mermaids; as alſo before, on the Coaſt of *Guiney*. And now much more of the Coaſts of that large Iſle *Hiſpaniola* came under their view; which they diligently obſerved, and

gave

(i) The Gulf *de las Flechas.* Sail Homeward.

gave Names to divers Capes and Harbours. About ſome of theſe Parts, the *Indians* and *Spaniards* had a Quarrel, which came to a ſmall Skirmiſh; but this Breach was quickly made up, and the Controverſie finiſh'd, by a Token of Submiſſion from the *Indian* King, which was his Crown of Gold, ſending them good Intelligence in to the Bargain. From this (*i*) place they ſet out *Jan.* 17. making the beſt of their Way homewards; *Columbus*'s Reckoning being now as many Leagues ſhort of theirs, in coming from the *Indies* to *Spain*, as theirs was of the Truth in going from *Spain* to the *Indies*.

Vows made in a Storm.

In *February* a fierce Tempeſt overtook them, in which time of Danger (all other Remedies failing) they humbly implored our Lady's Help, vowing Pilgrimages in Honour of her, if ever they came ſafe to Shoar. For this they caſt Lots; the firſt of which fell on *Columbus* himſelf, to go to *Guadalupe*; the ſecond on *Pedro de Villa*, to *Loretto*; and the third common to all of them, to march in ſolemn Proceſſion in their Shirts, to the firſt Church of our Lady they came at. Yet had they ſunk, the World might poſſibly have had the Knowledge of *Columbus*'s Diſcoveries: For he writ the Diſcourſe of it at large in Parchment, and put it up in a Barrel, intending to commit it thus to the Care of Providence. But they ſcap'd this Danger, and *Feb.* 15. had ſight of St. *Mary*'s Iſland, one of the *Azores*. And here going aſhoar upon the pious Deſign of fulfilling their Vows, they fell into the Hands of the *Portugueze*; the Saint of their Vows, it ſeems, not taking due Care to protect them from that Misfortune.

Columbus's ſecond Vow forces him to *Lisbon*.

The King of *Portugal* releaſes him.

The *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* envy him.

However, by ſome means or other, they made an Eſcape from thence; and going off to Sea, were met with another Storm, which exercis'd their Devotion a ſecond time, and produced another Vow of Pilgrimage (but unhappily made) to our Lady of *Cinta*. Here the Admiral ſuffer'd for his Devotion, for the Lot fell on him, and ſo forced him to *Lisbon*, into the Hands of his Enemies. Some of the *Portugueze* would have given him a rough Entertainment; but the more Generous King defended him from their Malice, gave him good Entertainment, and Crown'd all his Favours with a Conceſſion of full Liberty to depart into *Spain*. But this was not the only Injury the *Portugueze* did this moſt deſerving Perſon: For they aſſaulted his Fame, and endeavour'd to eclipſe the Glory of that Performance of his, which all Poſterity will celebrate him for. Nay, the *Spaniards* themſelves (for the Good of whoſe Nation his Labours were beſtowed) could hardly forbear traducing (at leaſt leſſening) of him, and what he had done; telling him, 'Twas a very eaſie Matter to make the Diſcoveries he had made. This envious Objection he very pleaſantly diverted by the Problem of the Egg, which was to be made ſtand upright on one end. When the Shell was broke, the Egg would ſtand; but they could not hit of that Method to make it ſtand, and gave over the Problem as inſoluble, till *Columbus* crack'd the Shell, and ſolv'd it. So when his Diſcoveries of the New World were made, 'twas an eaſie matter then to find it out. But Envy and Malice will find Employment for themſelves, and no Merit nor Goodneſs can be a Defence againſt the Aſſault of them. This *Columbus* found by many other unpleaſant Experiences: Who yet, (notwithſtanding the ſcurvy Uſage of ſome Men) was highly valued by their Catholick Majeſties, Nobly Rewarded for his good Service, and had the far better and more laſting Reward, of the Praiſes of the moſt ingenious Writers of that Age.

King of *Spain* addreſſes the Pope, &c.

Their Catholick Majeſties poſſeſs'd of theſe new Dominions, thought fit to deſire a Confirmation of their Title to them, from the Divine Vicegerent here on Earth. This was a very ſure Courſe, and every way as effectual for their Majeſties purpoſe, as an immediate Grant from the High Court above: Since the Act and Deed of this Great Miniſter of Heaven, would be eſteem'd of by all the Catholick World, as that of the Supreme King himſelf.

Accordingly an Embaſſador was ſent to *Rome* upon this important Affair; which as it was the firſt of that nature that ever that Court was addreſs'd to upon; ſo it ſucceeded in all Points as well as could be hoped for. The Pope then in the Chair was *Alexander* VI. a *Spaniard* by Birth, and a Native of *Valentia*. He immediately granted their Catholick Majeſties Requeſt; and by Virtue of that Power (long before pretended to by the Succeſſors of St. *Peter*), which extended to the Sovereign Diſpoſal of all the Kingdoms of this World, he paſs'd over theſe New Acquiſitions in *America*, to the Crown of *Caſtile*; which he declared to the World in a ſolemn Bull publiſh'd upon that occaſion. A Copy of this Bull is here faithfully tranſcribed for the Entertainment of thoſe that would ſee how little the *Romiſh* Pontiffs do ſcruple breaking the Rules of common Juſtice and Equity, to ſerve the Purpoſes of their own Worldly Intereſt and Glory. That they can Dethrone Princes, diſpoſſeſs whole Nations of their rightful Inheritances, transfer the Properties of one People to another, turn out thoſe whom God and Nature have put any where in poſſeſſion, to make room for their own Votaries.

Exemplar BULLÆ ſeu Donationis, Autoritate cujus, Epiſcopus Romanus *Alexander* ejus nominis Sextus, Conceſſit & Donavit *Caſtellæ* Regibus & ſuis Succeſſoribus, Regiones & Inſulas Novi Orbis.

The Pope's Bull.

ALexander *Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Chariſſimo in Chriſto Filio* Ferdinando *Regi, & Chariſſimæ in Chriſto Filiæ* Elizabeth *Reginæ* Caſtellæ, Legionis, Arragonum, Siciliæ, *&* Granatæ, *Illuſtribus, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.*

Inter cætera Divinæ Majeſtati beneplacita opera & cordis noſtri deſiderabilia, illud profecto potiſſimum exiſtit, ut Fides Catholica & Chriſtiana Religio noſtris præſertim temporibus exaltetur, ac ubilibet amplietur ac dilatetur, animarumque ſalus procuretur, ac barbaræ Nationes deprimantur & ad Fidem ipſam reducantur. Unde cum ad hanc Sacram Petri *Sedem Divina favente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) evocati fuerimus, cognoſcentes vos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges & Principes: Quales ſemper fuiſſe novimus, & à vobis præclare geſta, toti pœne Orbi notiſſima demonſtrant, nedum id exoptare, ſed omni conatu, ſtudio, & diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impenſis, nulliſque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium ſanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum veſtrum, omneſque conatus ad hoc jamdudum dedicaſſe, quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Granatæ à Tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Divini nominis gloria facta, teſtatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, & debemus illa vobis etiam ſponte, ac favorabiliter concedere per quæ hujuſmodi ſanctum ac laudabile ab immortali Deo acceptum propoſitum, indies ferventiori animo ad ipſius Dei honorem & Imperii Chriſtiani propagationem, proſequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quòd vos qui dudum animum propoſueratis aliquas Inſulas & Terras firmas remotas & incognitas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas, quærere & invenire, ut illarum incolas & habitatores ad colendum redemptorem noſtrum & fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hactenus in expugnatione & recuperatione ipſius Regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, hujuſmodi ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum veſtrum ad optatum finem perducere nequiviſtis. Sed tandem, ſicut Domino placuit, Regno prædicto recuperato, volentes deſiderium veſtrum adimplere, dilectum filium* Chriſtophorum Colonum, *virum utique dignum, & plurimum commendatum, ac tanto negotio aptum, cum Navigiis & hominibus ad ſimilia inſtructis, non ſine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, & expenſis deſtinaſtis ut Terras firmas & Inſulas remotas & incognitas, hujuſmodi per Mare, ubi hactenus Navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Divino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in Mari Oceano Navigantes) certas Inſulas remotiſſimas, & etiam Terras firmas, quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant, invenerunt. In quibus plurimæ gentes pacifice viventes, & (ut aſſeritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnibus veſcentes, inhabitant: Et ut præfati Nuntii veſtri poſſunt opinari, gentes ipſæ in Inſulis, & terris prædictis habitantes, credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Cœlis eſſe, ac ad fidem Catholicam amplexandum & bonis moribus imbuendum, ſatis apti videntur: Speſque habetur, quod ſi erudirentur, nomen ſalvatoris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in Terris & Inſulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus* Chriſtophorus *in una ex principalibus Inſulis prædictis, jam unam turrim ſatis munitam, in qua certos Chriſtianos qui ſecum inerant in cuſtodiam, & ut alias Inſulas ac Terras firmas remotas & incognitas inquirerent, poſuit, conſtrui & ædificari fecit. In quibus quidem Inſulis & terris jam repertis, Aurum, Aromata, & aliæ quam plurimæ res præcioſæ diverſi generis & diverſæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Unde omnibus diligenter, & præſertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione & dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges & Principes) conſideratis, more progenitorum veſtrorum claræ memoriæ Regum, Terras firmas & Inſulas prædictas, illarumque Incolas & Habitatores, vobis Divina favente clementia ſubjicere, & ad fidem Catholicam reducere propoſuiſtis. Nos itaque hujuſmodi veſtrum ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, & ipſum nomen ſalvatoris noſtri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, & per ſacri lavacri ſuſceptionem, qua mandatis Apoſtolicis obligati eſtis, ut per viſcera miſericordiæ Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti attente requirimus, ut cum expeditionem hujuſmodi omnino proſequi & aſſumere prona mente Orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in hujuſmodi Inſulis & Terris degentes, ad Chriſtianam Religionem ſuſcipiendum inducere velitis & debeatis, nec pericula*

cula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma ſpe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus veſtros fœliciter proſequetur. Et ut tanti Negotii Provinciam Apoſtolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius & audacius aſſumatis, motu proprio non ad veſtram vel alterius, pro vobis ſuper hoc nobis oblatæ petitionis inſtantiam, ſed de noſtra mera liberalitate, & ex certa ſcientia, ac de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, omnes Inſulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas verſus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & conſtruendo unam lineam à Polo Arctico, ſcilicet Septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, ſcilicet Meridiem, ſive Terræ firmæ & Inſulæ inventæ, & inveniendæ ſint, verſus Indiam, aut verſus aliam quamcunque partem, unæ linea diſtet à qualibet Inſularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis, verſus Occidentem & Meridiem. Itaque omnes Inſulæ & Terræ firmæ repertæ & reperiendæ, detectæ & detegendæ à præfata linea verſus Occidentem & Meridiem, quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Chriſtianum non fuerint actualiter poſſeſſæ uſque ad diem Nativitatis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti proxime præteritum, à quo incipit Annus præſens Milleſimus quadringentiſimus nongeſimus tertius, quando fuerunt per Nuncios & Capitaneos veſtros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum Inſularum Autoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro *conceſſa, ac Vicariatus Jeſu Chriſti, qua fungimur in Terris, cum omnibus illarum Dominiis, Civitatibus, Caſtris, Locis, & Villis, juribuſque & juriſdictionibus ac pertinentiis univerſis vobis, hæredibuſque, & ſucceſſoribus veſtris (Caſtellæ & Legionis Regibus) in perpetuum tenore præſentium donamus, concedimus, & aſſignamus: Voſque, & hæredes, ac ſucceſſores præfatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, & omnimoda poteſtate, autoritate, & juriſdictione, facimus, conſtituimus, & deputamus. Decernentes nihilo minus, per hujuſmodi donationem, conceſſionem, & aſſignationem noſtram, nulli Chriſtiano Principi, qui actualiter præfatas Inſulas & Terras firmas poſſederit uſque ad prædictum diem Nativitatis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti jus quæſitum, ſublatum intelligi poſſe, aut auferrì debere.*

Et inſuper mandamus vobis in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ (ut ſicut pollicemini, & non dubitamus pro veſtra maxima devotione & Regia magnanimitate vos eſſe facturos) ad Terras firmas & Inſulas prædictas, viros probos & Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, & expertos ad inſtruendum Incolas & habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica, & bonis moribus imbuendum, deſtinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmiſſis adhibentes. Ac quibuſcunque perſonis, cujuſcunque dignitatis, etiam Imperialis & Regalis ſtatus, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, ſub excommunicationis latæ ſententiæ pœna quam eo ipſo, ſi contra fecerint incurrant, diſtrictius inhibemus ne ad Inſulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas verſus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & conſtruendo lineam à Polo Arctico ad Polum Antarcticum, ſive Terræ firmæ & Inſulæ inventæ & inveniendæ ſint verſus Indiam aut verſus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea diſtet à qualibet Inſularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis verſus Occidentem & Meridiem ut præfertur, pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia cauſa accedere præſumat, abſque veſtra ac hæredum & ſucceſſorum veſtrorum prædictorum licentia ſpeciali: Non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, cæteriſque quibuſcunque: In illo in quo Imperio & Dominationes & bona cuncta procedunt, Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus veſtros, ſi hujuſmodi ſanctum ac laudabile propoſitum proſequamini, brevi tempore cum fœlicitate & gloria totius populi Chriſtiani, veſtri labores & conatus exitum fœliciſſimum conſequentur. Verum quia difficile foret præſentes literas ad ſingula quæque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu & ſcientia ſimilibus decernimus, quod illarum tranſſumptis manu publici Notarii inde rogati ſubſcriptis, & ſigillo alicujus perſonæ in Eccleſiaſtica dignitate conſtitutæ, ſeu Curiæ Eccleſiaſticæ munitis, ea prorſus fides in judicio & extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quæ præſentibus adhiberetur ſi eſſent adhibitæ vel oſtenſæ.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam noſtræ commendationis, hortationis, requiſitionis, donationis, conceſſionis, aſſignationis, conſtitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, & voluntatis, infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli *Apoſtolorum ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum.*

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum *Petrum*, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1493. quarto Nonas Maii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Primo.

A Copy of the Bull, or Grant, by Virtue of which, Alexander VI. *Biſhop of* Rome, *entitled the Kings of* Caſtile, *and their Succeſſors, to the Countries and Iſlands of the New World.*

ALexander Biſhop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to our dearly beloved Son in Chriſt, *Ferdinand* King; and to our dearly beloved Daughter in Chriſt, *Elizabeth* Queen of *Caſtile*, *Leon*, *Arragon*, *Sicily*, and *Granada*, moſt Illuſtrious Princes, wiſheth all Health and Apoſtolical Benediction.

This Bull is to be ſeen in *Lopez de Gomara*, in his Hiſt. Gen. Part 2. c. 19. and in *R. Eden.*

Of all the Works that are acceptable to the Divine Majeſty, and agreeable to our Wiſhes; that doubtleſs is the greateſt, which conſiſts in promoting, enlarging, and conveying into all Parts the Catholick Faith, and Chriſtian Religion, eſpecially in the Age we live in, in procuring the Salvation of Souls, in Subduing and Converting the barbarous Nations: We therefore being call'd by the Divine Clemency, (tho' without a ſuitable Merit) to St. *Peter*'s Sacred Chair; and having always known you to be true Catholick Kings and Princes; eſpecially conſidering that your Noble Exploits, celebrated almoſt all the World over, are demonſtrative Evidence, that you not only wiſh for the Advancement of the Catholick Intereſt, but actually promote it by all your Efforts, Study, and Diligence, ſparing no Labour, Expences, or Danger, nor even the Effuſion of your own Blood: In a word, that all your Thoughts and Endeavours have for a long time been ſolely bent upon it; of which your reſcuing of the Kingdom of *Granada* from the Tyranny of the *Saracens*, in our time, to the infinite Glory of the Divine Name, is a memorable Inſtance. As theſe Accounts plead your Merit, ſo we are ſenſible that we ought of our own Accord, and out of pure Favour, to grant you whatever may enable you to carry on, and purſue with growing Fervency your holy and laudable Deſigns, ſo acceptable to the Immortal Being, in order to promote the Honour of his Name, and enlarge the Bounds of Chriſtianity. In earneſt, we are inform'd, that you had form'd a Deſign ſome time ago, to carry on the Queſt and Diſcovery of ſome remote Iſlands, and Continents, that are not yet known or diſcover'd by others; in order to reduce the Inhabitants to the Worſhip of our Redeemer, and the Profeſſion of the Catholick Faith; but being then diverted by the Conqueſt and Regaining of the Kingdom of *Granada*, you were not at that time able to compaſs your holy and laudable Ends. We underſtand likewiſe, that at laſt having recover'd *Granada*, purſuant to the Divine Will, you purſued your former Intention, by appointing our beloved Son, *Chriſtopher Colonus*, a Man of Worth and Repute, and qualify'd for ſo great an Undertaking, to Viſit the Seas that Navigation had not reach'd, in queſt of the remote and undiſcover'd Continents and Iſlands; and furniſh'd him with Men and Shipping proper for the purpoſe, not without great Labour, Danger, and Charge: That the ſaid *Chriſtopher*, and his Companions, by God's Aſſiſtance, ſailing with extream Diligence thro' the Ocean, did accordingly diſcover ſome very remote Iſlands, and even Continents, that were formerly unknown, and are inhabited by ſeveral peaceable Nations, which (as 'tis ſaid) go naked, and abſtain from Fleſh; and in the Opinion of your Diſcoverers, believe that one God, the Creator of the Univerſe, reſides in Heaven, and ſeem ſufficiently diſpos'd for embracing Civility, and the Catholick Faith; inſomuch, that 'tis hop'd that proper Inſtruction would eaſily introduce the Name of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, into the above-mention'd Continents and Iſlands. Our Intelligence likewiſe bears, That the ſaid *Chriſtopher* caus'd a Fortreſs of ſome ſtrength to be built, in one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Iſlands; and has therein plac'd a Garriſon of ſome Chriſtians that accompanied him, who are likewiſe to look out for other undiſcover'd Iſlands and Continents: That the Iſlands and Continents thus diſcover'd, afford Plenty of Gold, Spices, and ſeveral other precious Things: And that you, after a mature Conſideration of all the Circumſtances, eſpecially the Promotion and Enlargement of the Catholick Faith, purſuant to the Duty of Catholick Kings and Princes, have reſolv'd, in imitation of the Illuſtrious Kings your Anceſtors, by the Favour of Almighty God, to ſubdue and reclaim to the Catholick Faith, the above-mention'd Continents and Iſlands, their Natives and Inhabitants. Now we approving very much of this your holy and godly Purpoſe in our Lord, and deſiring that it may be brought to a due Period, that the Name of our Saviour may be eſtabliſhed in thoſe Parts, do ſeriouſly exhort you in our Lord, conjuring you by your holy Baptiſm,

ptiſm, which obliges you to an Apoſtolical Obedience, and earneſtly require you, by the Bowels of the Mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ſince you intend, out of a Zeal for the Orthodox Faith, vigorouſly to purſue, and carry on the ſaid Expedition, to reduce the People of the foreſaid Lands and Iſlands, to the Chriſtian Religion: You ſhall not be at any time ſcar'd by Danger or Labour, relying upon a firm Hope and Confidence, that the Almighty will Crown your Endeavours with Succeſs. And to the end that the Bounty of Apoſtolical Grace may inſpire you with more Freedom and Boldneſs, in purſuing ſo great a Deſign; we do of our own Accord, without any Influence from your Solicitation, or that of others in your behalf; but out of our own pure Bounty, and by Virtue of our certain Knowledge, and the Fulneſs of Apoſtolical Power, Give, Grant, and Aſſign to you, your Heirs and Succeſſors, the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, all the Iſlands and Continents, found, or to be found, diſcovered, or to be diſcover'd, toward the Weſt and South, whether towards *India*, or any other part; drawing a Line from the Artick Pole, or the North, to the Antartick Pole, or the South, at the diſtance of a hundred Leagues towards the Weſt and South, from any of the Iſlands that are commonly call'd, *De los Azores*, and *Capo Verde*. So that all the Iſlands and Continents found and to be found, diſcover'd and to be diſcover'd, from the ſaid Line, towards the Weſt and South, that were not actually poſſeſs'd by any other Chriſtian Prince before the laſt Chriſtmaſs, (*i. e.*) the Commencement of the preſent Year of our Lord 1493. any of theſe Countries, I ſay, when diſcover'd by your Captains, and Servants, together with their Dominions, Cities, Caſtles, Forts, Villages, Rights, Juriſdictions, and all Appurtenances, are by the Tenor of theſe Preſents Given, Granted, and Aſſign'd to you, your Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever, by Virtue of the Authority of Almighty God granted to us in St. *Peter*, and the Vicarſhip of Jeſus Chriſt, lodg'd in us upon Earth: And hereby Make, Conſtitute, and Depute you, your Heirs and Succeſſors, the Lords thereof, with Full, Free and Univerſal Power, Authority, and Juriſdiction: Provided ſtill, that this our Gift, Grant, and Aſſignation, ſhan't be underſtood to diſpoſſeſs any Chriſtian Prince, of what Iſlands, or Continents, he may have poſſeſs'd before the Chriſtmaſs afore-mention'd.

And further, with regard to that Holy Obedience, which you have promis'd, and we doubt not, will perform, in Conformity to your ſingular Devotion, and Royal Magnanimity, we command you to purſue the Premiſes with utmoſt Diligence, and to ſend to thoſe Iſlands and Continents, Men of Probity and Learning, ſuch as fear God, and are qualified to inſtruct the Inhabitants in the Catholick Faith, and Good Manners. At the ſame time we ſtrictly prohibit all Perſons of what Eſtate, Degree, Order, or Condition ſoever; or whatever Dignity, whether Imperial, or Regal, under the Pain of the Sentence of Excommunication, to preſume, without the Special Leave of you, or your Heirs and Succeſſors, under the Pretence of Trade, or any other, to touch upon the ſaid Continents or Iſlands, found or to be found, diſcover'd or to be diſcover'd, towards the Weſt and Eaſt, whether towards *India*, or any other part, a Line being drawn from the Artick to the Antartick Pole, at the diſtance of a Hundred Leagues, as to the Weſt and South, from any of the Iſlands that are commonly call'd, *De los Azores*, and *Capo Verde*: Notwithſtanding any Conſtitution, Decrees, and Apoſtolical Orders to the contrary. In him from whom Empire, Dominion, and all Good Things do proceed, truſting, that by the Direction of Almighty God, if you purſue your holy and laudable Deſign, your Labours and Endeavours will in a ſhort time be brought to a happy Concluſion, to the Glory and Felicity of all Chriſtendom. But foraſmuch as theſe Letters can't without great difficulty be convey'd to all the Places, where it may be convenient to ſhew 'em, we do with equal Knowlege and Good-will declare, That the ſame Faith and Credit ſhou'd be given in all Places, whether before Courts, or any where elſe, to the Tranſcript of theſe Letters, ſign'd by a Publick Notary thereunto requir'd, and atteſted by the Seal of an Eccleſiaſtical Court, or of any Perſons inveſted with Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, as would be given to the Original it ſelf.

Let no Man therefore whatſoever, offer to infringe, or with a raſh Attempt to counteract this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Demand, Gift, Grant, Aſſignation, Conſtitution, Deputation, Decree, Command, Prohibition, and Determination. If any one has the Preſumption to venture upon ſuch an Attempt, he is hereby given to know, that he will thereupon incur the Indignation of the Almighty God, and *Peter* and *Paul* his holy Apoſtles.

Given at Rome *at* St. Peter's, *in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord* 1493. *the Third Day of* May, *and the firſt Year of our Popedom.*

The Quarrel between *Portugal* and *Spain.*

What Intereſt the *Spaniards* had in the New W. World, 'tis certain the *Portugueze* might have had before them, had they been ſo wiſe as to have embrac'd *Columbus*'s Offers. But having rejected them as vain and ridiculous, and thereby neglected a very favourable Opportunity of advancing the Intereſts of their Nation: Now ſeeing the *Spaniards* ſo well ſeated there, where they might have been themſelves, they began to grow very angry at them. The King of *Portugal*, by his Embaſſador ſignified his Reſentment: But the *Caſtilian* (willing if poſſible, to preſerve the ancient Peace between thoſe two Crowns) by his Embaſſadors endeavour'd to cool that Heat, and temper the Choler of the *Portugueze*, in ſome meaſure making fair and plauſible Overtures for that purpoſe: Telling him, That if he thought good, the Matter in Diſpute between them, ſhould be put to a Reference, and left to the Arbitration of a ſelect Number of Judges on both ſides; or that the Controverſie ſhould be carried to the Court of *Rome*, and ſo left to be decided by the infallible Sentence of the Pope. The *Portugueze* on his ſide, alſo offered to the *Spaniard*, all the Diſcoveries through the World Northward from the *Canaries*, reſerving to himſelf the Countries that ſhould be diſcover'd Southward from thoſe Iſles. But theſe Propoſals then took of neither hand, and ſo the Controverſie remained as it was. Yet afterwards it was agreed, that ſome Perſons ſhould be deputed on the behalf of both Nations, to examine the Matter, and look into the Pretenſions of both Parties to the New Diſcoveries; as alſo, to ſettle the Limits of their ſeveral Pretenſions. There were three of theſe Plenipotentiaries on the *Spaniſh*, and as many on the *Portugueze* ſide; and their Conferences at laſt iſſued in an Agreement to this purpoſe, *viz.* That the Line of Partition mention'd in the Pope's Bull, ſhould be extended 270 Leagues further to the Weſt, that all from thence Weſtward ſhould fall to the ſhare of the *Spaniards*, and from thence Eaſtward to the *Portugueze*: That there ſhould be free Sailing on both Parts; but that neither ſhould Trade beyond the appointed Bounds. This Agreement was made *June* 7. *A. D.* 1493. ſeal'd by the King of *Spain*, July the 2d; and by the King of *Portugal Feb.* 27. 1494. And now each Party had nothing to do, but to prepare for further Diſcoveries; which Work while King *John* was intent upon, he died, leaving it to his Succeſſor *.

The Pope's Authority infring'd.

They agree.

* *A.D.* 1495.

The new King *Emanuel*, in purſuance of that Deſign, * ſent out three Ships, with one Victualler; in which were about 160 Men, under the Command of *Vaſco di Gama*. This Captain (having *Couilian*'s Maps and Inſtructions) ſet ſail *July* the 9th, and paſſing by the Iſle St. *James*, he directed his Courſe Eaſtwards. The firſt Land he ſaw, was that which he called (*a*) the Bay of St. *Helena*; where after three Months ill Weather they went aſhoar. Here they took certain Negroes, whoſe Friendſhip they procured by little Trifles which they beſtowed upon them; and by this means a free Traffick with the reſt of the Natives, for ſuch Victuals as they had. But this good Underſtanding was loſt, by the means of the Folly and Cowardice of one of their Company; who having been civilly treated at the Negroes Houſes, and honeſtly conducted back, cried out in a fearful manner, as he was coming home to his Company; at which the *Portugueze* coming in, and the Negroes running, a Skirmiſh commenc'd between them; in which the Negroes, with their ſharp-pointed Poles, which they darted at the *Portugueze*, wounded many of them, *Gama* himſelf feeling the ſharpneſs of them amongſt the reſt. Upon this they left St. *Helena*, and ſail'd towards the Cape of *Good Hope*; but were encountred with ſo violent Storm by the way, that they were forced to ſtrike Sail, and commit themſelves to the Mercy of the Winds. In this Confuſion *Gama*'s Company preſs'd him to think of returning homewards, and not expoſe them to ſo cruel a Death as ſeem'd to threaten them. But he refuſing to do this, they plotted his Death; which by his Brother's Vigilance and Care he avoided; and ſo laying the chief of the Mutiniers in Chains, he proceeded in his Voyage without controul.

* *A.D.* 1497

(*a*) St. *Helena*

Sail towards the Cape of *Good Hope.*

Novemb. 20. he doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, and ſail'd continually near the Land, which they ſaw full of Cattle, and People like them at St. *Helena*; naked, ſpeaking odly in the Throat, and encloſing their Privy Parts in a Receptacle of Wood. Having refreſh'd themſelves here, they proceeded; and *Decem.* 8. met with a Storm, that loſt them the ſight of Land, which with fair Weather they recover'd again. And now having paſt 230 Miles from their laſt Watering-place, and ſeeing a pleaſant Country well ſtock'd with People; on *Jan.* 10. a Meſſenger was ſent on Shoar, with a Preſent, who was return'd with the like again, after good Uſage. Here *Gama* ſet two condemned aſhoar, giving them their Lives, that being

Double the Cape.

being planted there, they might make Obſervations of the Country, and People.

Good Entertainment by the Natives of St *Raphael*

The next place he came at, the People were much of the ſame colour, but more bold and familiar: And here one of them told him, in broken *Arabick*, That Ships like theirs did uſe to come to a Country that lay not far off. This Country he called St. *Raphael*, and that particular place where he had this Information, *The River of Good Signs*. Here he erected a Stone Croſs, and left two condemned Perſons for the ſame purpoſe as before.

(b) *Mozambique* diſcover'd.

Having refreſh'd his Company, and ſet out again, on *March* the 1ſt, they ſpied ſeven Sail, which coming near, ſaluted them in *Arabick*, and made them a great deal of Muſick. The Men in theſe Ships had Garments of Silk, Linen Turbants wrought with Gold, and Faulchions by their ſides. The *Portugueze* were inform'd by them, that the place they were near was *Mozambique (b)*; the Inhabitants of which were moſtly *Mahometans*, tho' the Genuine Natives were Idolaters. That 'twas Subject to the King of *Quiloa*, and that there was Trading from thence into *Arabia*, *India*, and other Parts of the World.

(c) The Compaſs in uſe amongſt the *Moors* in the *Indian Seas*, before the *Portugueze* came there.

Treachery at *Mozambique*

The *Portugueze* found theſe *Moors* furniſh'd with Sea-Charts, and Quadrants, and to be Maſters of the moſt uſeful Invention of the (c) Compaſs. *Zacoeia*, the Governour of the place (whom they had ſweetned before with ſome Preſents) came in great Pomp to Viſit them a Ship-board; where he was nobly feaſted: At which time they obſerved, that theſe *Mahometans* did make very bold with the Juice of the Grape, which they took off in large Quantities, in ſpite of all that *Mahomet* and the *Alchoran* had ſaid to the contrary. The Governour taking it for granted, that *Gama*, and his Company, were *Mahometans* (for had they known they were Chriſtians, they wou'd have treated them otherwiſe) ask'd, Whether they were *Moors*, or *Turks*? He enquired alſo concerning the Weapons they uſed, and the *Mahometan* Books they had amongſt them. *Gama* could ſay little as to the Books, but gave ſutable Anſwers to all the other Queſtions; telling the Governour, he was going to the *Indies*; and therefore deſired him to furniſh him with Pilots for his Voyage. This the Governour promiſed, and the next Day ſent him two: But happening now to diſcover they were Chriſtia[illegible]hey not only plotted Miſchief againſt them, but aſſaulted them with open Violence.

(d) *Quiloa.*

(e) *Mombaza.*

Deſigns againſt them at *Mombaza.*

Gama hereupon went to *Quiloa (d)*, having now but three Ships, the fourth being burnt before: But here he cou'd not Land; which whether 'twere owing to the Treachery of the Pilots, or to any other Miſfortune, is not certain. Being diſappointed, he went to *Mombaza (e)*, which his deceitful Pilots perſwaded him, was a very proper place to refreſh his ſick Men at. The Air indeed here he found ſweet and pleaſant, the Country fertile and very agreeable; but the People falſe and treacherous. The King ſent 100 Men, well arm'd, after the Turkiſh Faſhion, with a deſign to ſurprize the Admiral, cou'd they have had opportunity: But this *Gama* prevented, poſitively refuſing them entrance, and admitting only four of the principal of them. They told him, *The King was deſirous of his Acquaintance; and would have him bring his Ships a little nearer the Town*: Which together with a Preſent, perſwaded *Gama* of his ſincere Intentions. And this had certainly been done, but that fearing a Shelve in his paſſage thither, he ſtopt ſuddenly, and caſt Anchor: Upon which the *Mooriſh* Pilots, conſcious to themſelves of their Treachery, (for they had agreed with the King of *Mombaza*, either to run the Ships a-ground, or elſe bring them within his reach) and fearing 'twas diſcover'd, leap'd into the Sea, and left him to be his own Pilot. The King alſo, that Night, ſent out ſome to cut their Cables; but this Danger they avoided too.

(f) *Melinda.*

From hence they ſail'd to *Melinda (f)*, where they arrived on *Eaſter*-Day. This Town appear'd ſtately and well built, the Country about it fruitful; the People Idolaters, black, with curl'd Hair, naked from the Navel upwards, and from thence cover'd with Silk down to the Mid-leg. The Chriſtians of *India* here, were glad to ſee the *Portugueze*; and gave them ſome uſeful Inſtructions, relating to their Voyage. The King of the place was very civil and kind in his Deportment towards them, and gave them a Pilot to conduct them to the *Indies*. They departed hence *April* the 22d, and having paſs'd the Line, recover'd, to their great Joy, the ſight of the Stars, which they had not ſeen for ſome conſiderable time before.

Gama comes to *Calecut.*

The next Proſpect they had of Land, was the pleaſant one of the high Mountains of *Calecut*, which they ſaw *May* 19. and came within two Miles of the City the ſame Day. One of the Condemned Men being here ſet aſhoar to obſerve the Town, and Inhabitants, was like to have been ſqueez'd to Death with the Throngs of People, that came crouding about him to ſee him, wondring at his *Spaniſh* Dreſs; which made amongſt them, who were uſed to other Faſhions, a very odd and ſtrange Figure. But one *Monzaid*, a *Tunis* Merchant, knowing of what Country he was, carried him to his Houſe, and after good Entertainment given him, went with him aboard *Gama*'s Veſſel. He told the Admiral, that the King of *Calecut* would be glad of his coming, the beſt part of his Revenues being his Cuſtoms. Upon this *Gama* ſent two of his Company (who were conducted by *Monzaid*) to wait on the King; and withal to tell him, That the King of *Portugal* was deſirous of a Friendly Correſpondence with his Majeſty; and that a Free Trade might be opened between both Kingdoms, for the Glory and Profit of each; and that he had ſent them thither to lay a Foundation for it. The King ſeem'd to be pleas'd with the Meſſage; and ſent a certain Officer (called the *Catual*) honourably to conduct *Gama* to him; who giving his Brother Charge of the Fleet in his abſence, order'd him to return home, if any Miſfortune happen'd to him aſhoar.

Welcom'd by the King.

His Introduction to the King.

Gama comes before the King.

The City of *Calecut.*

Gama, and his Attendants being landed, there were Litters provided to receive them, and the King's Guards walk'd along by their ſides: Being brought to a very ſtately Temple, and ſet down at the Door of it, four Men, in the habit of Bramens, ſprinkl'd Holy Water upon them, and gave them ſweet Pouders. By the Painting they obſerved upon the Walls within, and ſome other Ornaments, they could not tell, at firſt, but that this Temple was deſigned for Chriſtian Worſhip. But they were more effectually cheated into that Fancy afterwards, when the Prieſts, in the Performance of the Rites of their Superſtition, pointing to a certain Image, cried aloud, *Maria*; at which all the Pagans falling proſtrate, preſently began to mumble out their Prayers. The *Portugueze* thinking this to be ſome ſort of Devotion to the bleſſed Virgin, bore the Pagans Company in their devout Poſtures, and began to pray as well as they. Their own way of ſerving God, it ſeems, being ſo like that of the Heathens, that they could not know them aſunder, nor avoid miſtaking one for the other. From this Temple they paſs'd into another as magnificent as the former, and ſo to the Palace, at the Gates of which they were met by ſome of the Nobles, as alſo at the Door of the Preſence-Room, by the principal of the Bramens, who embraced *Gama*. This Room was large, with Benches over one another, almoſt like a Theatre; the Floor being cover'd with Silken Carpets, and the Walls hung with Embroidery. The King lay upon a very rich Couch, having a Noble *Tiara* upon his Head, thick beſet with Jewels, which together with thoſe in his Ears, and upon his Fingers and Toes, made him yield a very glorious Figure. He was a Comely, Tall, Majeſtick Perſon; and the King appear'd as much in his Face, as in his Royal Apparel. *Gama* having done him Reverence, was placed in a Seat by him, and the other *Portugueze* were made to ſit likewiſe. After this, he diſcourſed with *Gama*, about the Deſign of his Embaſſage; who not being free to declare it in that promiſcuous Aſſembly, the King removed into another Room; where *Gama* told him, what he had in Charge from the King of *Portugal*; which this Prince receiv'd with great Satisfaction. The Catual was order'd to conduct him to his Lodgings: where he had Time and Advantage to look about him. The City he obſerved to be large and rambling, the Houſes not curiouſly built, nor joining cloſe together, but parted by Gardens and Orchards which lay betwixt them. There was hardly any Stone-Building in the City, (their Laws forbidding pompous Houſes) the King's Palace only excepted; altho' *Calecut* was at that time a ſort of an Imperial City: The King being in Power and Riches ſuperiour to all his Neighbour-Princes, and having, at that time, many Tributaries.

After three Days, *Gama* conducted by the *Catual*, preſented his Credentials to the King, which he deſired might not be interpreted by any of the *Moors*, who plainly appear'd to be his Enemies. Theſe Letters were interpreted by *Monzaid*, his Friend; and the King was ſo kind, as to give him a plain Hint of the Tricks, and fraudulent Dealings of the *Moors*: For which he return'd him Thanks and departed.

(g) The Malice of the *Moors.*

Yet notwithſtanding this, did the King ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded into a very bad Opinion, and into unfair Treatment of the *Portugueze* too, by theſe very *Moors* whom he had warned them of. (g) They told him, That *Gama* was a Spy, and deſigned no good to his Country; that 'twas not conſiſtent with the Safety of his Nation, to encourage him to Trade there: And that for their parts, if the *Portugueze* had that Liberty afforded them, they would remove, with all their Effects, to another Country; which would redound very greatly to his Majeſty's diſadvantage. By theſe, and other like Inſinuations, the King was ſet againſt them; and began to fall in with them in their treacherous Deſigns, of doing the *Portugueze* what Miſchief they could. And to effect this, he ſent to *Gama*, to bring his Ships nearer the Town, and for Security to deliver up his Sails: But he ordered his Brother, inſtead of that, to ſail homewards, if he ſaw him long detained aſhoar. Yet *Gama*, by their Perſwaſion, ſent his Merchandize aſhoar, with Men to ſell them, having Liberty then himſelf to return to his Ships; tho' his Goods were not ſold there, but carried to *Calecut*, by the Treachery of the *Catual*, who pretended that they would go off there to better advantage. *Gama* ſent away every Day, two or three to look after his Affairs in the Town; and alſo to deſire of the King, the liberty of placing a Factor there: But he had no Anſwer from the Court, but only the bad News, that two of his Men, with their Merchandize, were committed to ſafe Cuſtody.

Injuries offer'd to them, and *Gama's* Endeavour to right himſelf.

In Revenge of this Injury, *Gama* attack'd the next Ship that came thither, and took ſix conſiderable Perſons belonging to the King Priſoners. This the King (tho' he grievouſly reſented) yet ſeem'd to paſs by; and therefore to pacifie *Gama*, ſent his two Servants the next Day, with Letters to the King of *Portugal*; but keeping ſtill the Goods, pretending, that he might, if he would, ſend a Factor thither, to diſpoſe of them. But this *Gama* abſolutely refuſed now, declaring he would have all his Effects aboard again, and would keep thoſe Priſoners till he had them. Upon this the King quickly ſent his Wares in Boats to him, demanding his Priſoners: But *Gama* denying the delivery of them, ſent the King Word, That he would carry thoſe *Malabars* into *Portugal* with him, as an Evidence of his injurious Uſage and Treachery: And ſo giving them his final Anſwer out of the Mouths of his Great Guns, he drove them away. The King could not tell how to help himſelf at that time, becauſe his Fleet was all unrigg'd; yet he ſent out 60 Merchant-men after them, but a Tempeſt interpoſed, and put an end to that Purſuit.

Falſe dealing of the King of *Calecut*.

Gama, at the next Port he came to, writ a mollifying Letter to the King; which he ſent by the Hand of one of his Servants, which he had before Arreſted. And here he was ſet upon by a very famous * Pirate, with eight Ships, one of which he took, and diſperſed the reſt.

* *Timoia*.

Putting in at *Anchedina*, to mend his ſhatter'd Veſſels, he receiv'd there a Meſſage from *Zabaius*, Lord of *Goa*, an *Italian*, who offer'd him very great Kindneſſes, if he would come thither. *Gama* ſuſpecting the Integrity both of the Meſſage, and Meſſenger, put the Fellow upon the Rack; who then confeſs'd himſelf a Spy: So he carried him into *Portugal* with him; where he was Baptized, and proved a uſeful Servant to the King.

Sails homewards.

He haſted from hence, and came to *Magadoxo*, on the *African* Coaſt, the People of which being ſpiteful *Mahometans*, he ſunk and ſpoil'd their Ships, and beat down part of their Walls.

At *Melinda* he had kind Entertainment; where having ſtay'd five Days, he haſted homewards, for fear of Winter Weather at the Cape, carrying along with him an Embaſſador from the King of *Melinda*.

By the way he burnt one of his Ships, it being ſhatter'd and diſabled, and there being need of the Men aboard her, to ſupply the want of Mariners in the other two.

(h) *Zanzibar*.

February the 27th, he came to *Zanzibar* (h), which is Twenty four Miles from the Continent; the Prince of which, tho' a *Moor*, treated him Civilly.

(i) St. *Blaſe*.

He refreſhed again at St. *Blaſe*'s (i) watering. And on *April* the 25th, he doubled the Cape: From whence he came to St. *Jago*, where a Tempeſt parted the two Veſſels. *Celius*, the other Commander, went directly to *Lisbon*; but *Gama* put in at the *Tercera's*, where his Brother died: But ſoon after he himſelf came ſafely to *Lisbon*, having now finiſh'd a long and difficult Voyage: An Account of which was given to the King by the other Captains, before his Arrival *.

* 1499.

He brought along with him the *Tunis* Merchant, *Monzaid*; who was his Friend at *Calecut*, and deſired to go into *Portugal* with him, where he afterwards became a Chriſtian. But of his own Men he brought home but few, the Voyage having left him but 55, (and thoſe very feeble too) out of near 200, which he carried with him.

Tho' the *Portugueze* in their firſt Viſit to the *Eaſt-Indies*, had met with no very obliging Entertainment; yet unwilling preſently to quit their Pretenſions to a Correſpondence with ſo Noble a Country, they reſolved to repeat their Civility, and make them a ſecond.

King *Emanuel*, for this purpoſe, ſet out a Fleet of thirteen Ships, in which were 1500 Men, and good ſtore of all neceſſary Proviſions for ſuch a Voyage. Amongſt which it is not to be forgotten, that there were ſome Proviſions intended for the Benefit of the Souls of thoſe Infidels, amongſt whom they were going, *viz.* Five large Bodies of Divinity, Friars of St. *Francis*'s Order, who doing the Work of Chaplains a Ship-board, were to do that of Apoſtles when they came a Shoar. This Fleet was commanded by *Peter Alvarez Capralis*; who had ſpecial Orders from the King, to live peaceably with the King of *Calecut*, if poſſible: As alſo to get leave to build a Fort, for a Security from the Hoſtilities of the *Moors*.

Capralis ſets out.

Capralis ſet out from *Lisbon*, March the 8th, of the then Secular Year *; and coming to St. *Jago*, a Storm ſcatter'd the whole Fleet, and forc'd one Ship to return home. The reſt of the Fleet having ſtay'd for this Veſſel two Days to no purpoſe, ſet Sail Weſtward; and *April* the 23d, to their very great Wonder, had ſight of Land (a). *Capralis* commanded the Maſter aſhoar; who brought News of a fertile, and well water'd Country; but poſſeſs'd by a barbarous People, naked, with very long Hair, arm'd with Bows and Arrows. A Storm overtook them that Night; but they got into a ſecure Harbour, which *Capralis* call'd, *Puerto Seguro*, becauſe he had there a ſafe Retreat from the Fury of the Storm. They took two Fiſher-men, whom furniſhing with ſome ſmall Trinkets, they ſet aſhoar again; after which they brought many of their Countrimen, who for Beads and Bells, and ſuch like Toys, gave them Meal and Fruits, and ſuch things as they wanted. This Country they called, *The Country of the Holy Croſs*; from the vaſt quantity of that ſort of Wood, ſince call'd *Brazil*. They ſanctified it with a Sermon, and Maſs ſaid aſhoar, and erected a Stone Pillar for a Memorial: After which having diſpatched a Ship to *Portugal* with this News, they proceeded in their Voyage. 'Twas on *May* the 5th, that they went from hence; and on the 23d, a ſudden Storm ſunk four of their Ships, and drown'd all the Men of them, ſcattering the other ſeven at ſo violent a rate, that they quite loſt the Sight and Company of each other for a long time. One of them wandred into the *Arabian* Gulf, and thence got home, having loſt almoſt all her Men: But the other ſix, on *July* the 25th, got together again, and went on towards the Cape. Having doubled it, they found a good pleaſant Country; but the People were not free for Trade, but utterly refuſed having any thing to do with them: Which whether 'twere the Effect of Poverty, or Perverſeneſs, is not much material. At *Mozambique* they had free Watering, and hired there a Pilot for *Quiloa*.

* *A.D.* 1500.

(a) *Brazile* diſcover'd.

Go on from *Brazile*.

The People about the Cape refuſe their Correſpondence.

The King (b) of *Quiloa*'s Dominions reach 900 Miles in length: His Subjects a mix'd ſort of People, but ſpeak moſtly *Arabick*. The Country abounds in Springs, Trees, Cattel, wild and tame; the Soil is alſo rich, and the Fiſhing good. It is ſeparated from the Land by a narrow Sea, and is about 400 Miles from *Mozambique*. The City is large and populous, the Houſes magnificent, and well furniſh'd. They uſe here a ſort of Baſtard Frankincenſe about their Ships, for want of Pitch. *Capralis* ſent to Complement the King, who kindly entertained the Meſſengers, and promis'd the next Day to come aboard. This he did at the time appointed, in a very ſplendid manner, having a gallant Retinue, noble Furniture, and variety of Muſick, to grace his Viſit. The *Portugueze* receiv'd him in the beſt manner they could; and *Capralis* having deliver'd his Meſſage from the King of *Portugal* to him, he promis'd to enter into a ſtrict League of Friendſhip with that Prince; and the next Day was appointed for the concluding it. (c) But the *Moors*, who were ſworn to do the Chriſtians all the ill Offices they could in all places, did not fail to blaſt their Deſigns in this place alſo. *Capralis* upon this, went to *Melinde*, where the *Portugueze* had ever found very good Entertainment: But here he made no ſtay, only taking care before he went, to find out ſome way to *Preſter John*'s Country; which he did by two condemned Perſons, whom he left there for that purpoſe.

(b) Deſcription of *Quiloa*.

(c) Treachery of the *Moors*.

Auguſt the 22d, he came to *Anchediva*: and after a ſhort ſtay there, to *Calecut*. Being come thither, the King ſent two * *Naire*'s, with a *Guzaratte* Merchant, to bid him Welcome: Which Civility he return'd by four of thoſe Perſons whom *Gama* had taken Priſoners the Year before. Theſe he ſent to the King, dreſs'd in the *Portugueze* Habit, in Company of ſome others: At whoſe coming the King was exceeding glad. He entertain'd *Capralis* in a Palace near the Shoar; and after a great deal of Complement, promiſed him far larger Grants than ever he demanded. He gave 'em free Liberty of Trade, and Houſes for their Merchandize; and all this delivered to them in a moſt Noble Charter, which was a Golden Table; upon which theſe Grants of the King were engraven. They had liberty alſo of ſetting up the King of *Portugal*'s Banner, upon the top of their Houſe, as a Token of his Reſpect to that Prince. The King having a mind to ſee ſome Proof of the

* Some of the Guard.

Entertainment at *Calecut*, and the kind Promiſes of the King.

Portu-

Intrigues of the *Moors.*

Portugueze Courage and Valour, deſired *Capralis* to go and take a certain great Ship that was coming from *Cochin* to *Cambaia.* *Capralis* order'd out one of his leaſt Veſſels for this Enterprize; which yet performed it ſucceſsfully, bringing that mighty Ship in Triumph, the next Day, into *Calecut* Road. This Action procured them at once the King's Admiration, and the *Moor*'s Envy; who now began to Practice their accuſtom'd Arts of Treachery and Deceit, abuſing them by all the Methods they cou'd deviſe, notwithſtanding the King's Encouragement and Protection. The *Portugueze*, by that Charter, were to have had the firſt Refuſals of the Market: But the *Moors* prevented them, and got their own Veſſels well laded firſt; making the *Portugueze* ſtay three Months, inſtead of twenty Days, for their Lading, tho' they were promis'd to be diſpatch'd in that ſpace of time.

Capralis complain'd to the King of theſe Proceedings; who bid him take Satisfaction from the *Moors*, and lade his own out of their Veſſels. This he was himſelf unwilling to do; but *Correa*, the Cape Merchant, urg'd him to it ſo much, that he brought back one of the *Moor*'s Ships (which was marching off) into the Haven; the King not openly countenancing one ſide or the other, but ſeeming willing to have them try the Matter out betwixt them. The *Moors* upon this, with a Company of Soldiers, broke into the *Portugueze* Houſe, and aſſail'd them with great Heat and Fury. The odds were very great too, there being but 70 *Portugueze* to 4000 of theſe Barbarians, ſo that *Correa*, with 50 more of them, were there killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt (making a hard ſhift) were got aboard their Ships.

Moors aſſault them.

Capralis's Revenge.

In Revenge of this Injury, *Capralis* the next Day fell upon ten great Ships of the *Moors*, kill'd 600 Men, and diſtributed the reſt as Slaves, laded his own Veſſels with their Goods, and ſet the empty Ships afire. The next Morning he batter'd the Town with his great Guns, which cut off a great many, the King himſelf very narrowly eſcaping one of their rambling Balls, knocking down one of his Courtiers dead at his Feet.

(d) Cochin.

'Twas high time now to leave *Calecut*; from which therefore *Capralis* departed, and went to (*d*) *Cochin*, which is about 170 Miles from *Calecut* Southward. The King of this place was at that time poor, and a Tributary to *Calecut*; however he gave the *Portugueze* free leave to Trade, and Houſes for that purpoſe; which Privilege was alſo offer'd by the Kings of *Crangmor*, and *Coulam*: But 'twas at *Cochin* that *Capralis* fix'd his Staple.

Not long after this, News was brought him, that the King of *Calecut*, (reſolved to requite the Inſolence and Outrages of the *Portugueze*) had ſent out a Fleet of twenty great Ships, and ſeveral ſmall ones, to purſue and fight them. *Capralis* went out to attack them, but the Wind not ſerving, the two Fleets did not meet to diſpute the Point at that time: Leaving therefore two Factors at *Cochin*, and taking in the reſt of his Freight at *Cananor*, he ſet out homewards, *January* the 16th. One of his Ships was here wreck'd; and another of them he employ'd in the Search of the Golden *Zophale*; and with the reſt he return'd to *Lisbon*, which he reach'd the laſt of *July*.

Factory at *Cochin.*

Comes to *Lisbon.*

* 150[illegible].

(e) The 3d, 4th, and 5th *Indian* Voyages.

Before he came home, the King had diſpatch'd three other Ships upon the ſame *Indian* Affair. And the * Year following he ſent *Vaſco Gama* a ſecond time, with ten Ships. (*e*) One *Soderius* alſo went out with a Fleet of 15 Ships, having receiv'd Orders to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea, and to do his utmoſt againſt the *Moors.*

Five Ships more went under *Stephen Gama*; and in ſhort, ſo many Ships went, that in a little time, the main Riches and Profits of the *Eaſt-Indies*, were ſhipp'd over into *Portugal.* This Prince *Emanuel*, having been made in a few Years ſpace (by the Induſtry of theſe Commanders) Lord of the Trade and Navigation of thoſe Parts, as well as of the Kingdoms of *Ormuz*, *Goa*, and *Malacca*, and other parts of the *Eaſt.*

A fuller Account of theſe Matters, is to be drawn out of the *Portugueze* Writers themſelves; no more being here meddled with, than what neceſſarily occurs in our tracing the Original and Progreſs of Trade and Navigation.

The many Affronts that had been offer'd to the *Portugueze* Nation by the People of *Calecut*, had incited them to endeavour a juſt Revenge. And they made a ſhift in ſome meaſure to accompliſh their Deſigns, notwithſtanding all the Aſſiſtance afforded to the other Party, both by the Neighbouring, and by Foreign Powers.

Portugueze ſtorm *Calecut.*

They proceeded ſo far as to bid Defiance to all the Force of the great City of *Calecut* it ſelf; and not only ſo, but to ſtorm it too; ſetting up their Victorious Banners in the midſt of it, in ſpite of all oppoſition to the contrary. The two principal Managers of this Action, were *Albuquerque*, and *Cotinius*, under whoſe Conduct the *Portugueze* made this famous Attempt. *Cotinius* having a mind to the Plunder of the King's Palace, and envying any elſe a ſhare in the Glory of taking it, puſh'd Matters on with too much Heat and Raſhneſs for his own Security: For here his Soldiers thinking all their own, and minding nothing elſe but enriching themſelves with the Royal Spoils, gave the Adverſaries ſuch an advantage, that in a freſh Charge which they made upon them, *Cotinius* himſelf loſt his Life. *Albuquerque* (while this hot Action was going on at the Palace, was buſie in ſetting the City on fire; which had near coſt him the ſame Price (that *Cotinius* paid before him), being forc'd to be carried away out of the Encounter, and that as good as dead with his Wounds; which yet he ſurvived, as the *Indians* afterwards found to their Coſt. Neither were theſe the only Loſſes of this nature the *Portugueze* ſuſtain'd that Year; for *Almeida*, one of their Vice-Roys, was ſacrificed near the Cape of *Good Hope*, by the Fury of a Troop of Savages.

Firſt Attempt for Trade at *Malacca.*

(a) Cape *Cory.*

(b) Bay of *Bengala.*

(c) *Sumatra.*

While theſe things were doing at *Calecut*, one *Didacus Sequerie*, was ſent from *Portugal*, to ſettle a Trade at *Malacca.* He having paſſed the Promontory (*a*) *Cory*, and ſailed through the *Bengalan* (*b*) Bay, put in at (*c*) *Sumatra*; which is divided by a very narrow and dangerous Strait, from the Continent of *Malacca*, and was ſuppoſed formerly to have been a Peninſula: *Sequeria* was the firſt that did this. Having here made a League with the Kings of *Achen* and *Pedir*, and erected ſome Stone Monuments, he came to (*d*) *Malacca*; the Prince of which was very kind and favourable to him at firſt; but afterwards ſour'd to that degree by the *Moors*, that he plotted to kill the *Portugueze*, and ſeize their Ships. He invited *Sequeria* to a Feaſt, with a Deſign to cut him off when he had him in his power: But being made ſenſible of the intended Villany, he excuſed himſelf from being his Gueſt.

(d) *Malacca.*

This not taking, the Plot was laid to diſperſe his Men about in ſeveral places from him, and then to aſſault his Ship, and take both him and it together. To accompliſh this, the perfidious King offer'd him, as a very great Favour, the Liberty of Lading his Ships, and that before any other Merchants whatever; only deſiring him to keep this Favour to himſelf, and not to publiſh it. By this means a good part of his Men were employ'd abroad, whilſt he wanted (as it appear'd afterwards) their Aſſiſtance at home. But now the Plot was ready to have been put in a general Execution; and ſome of the Conſpiracy were come aboard *Sequeria*'s Veſſel, pretending a Complement from the King, but indeed to fall upon him; and wanting only to ſee the deſired Sign given; which was a Smoke that was to be raiſed in a certain place: But ſome of thoſe in the Town, not having Patience to ſtay for the Sign, began the Charge upon *Sequeria*'s Men that were there; which being eſpied by the Watch at top of the Ship, *Sequeria* preſently arm'd the Men he had with him, and ſent a ſmall Party to help them that were engaged aſhoar, whilſt himſelf, with the reſt, ſo warmly plied the *Malaccan* Ships with their Ordnance, that they were glad to fly out of his reach as faſt as they cou'd. Of *Sequeria*'s Men, there were 40 that were kill'd aſhoar, and more taken Priſoners. After this, having inform'd his Country-men of this Piece of Treachery, and left it to them to chaſtize the *Malaccans* for it, he himſelf went directly to the Cape of *Good Hope*, and ſo home to *Lisbon.*

By that time this Action was over; *Albuquerque* (whom we left wounded at *Calecut*) began to ſhew himſelf to the World again; and being deſirous to enter upon ſome conſiderable Service for the Glory of his Prince and Country, he reſolved upon the Recovery of the famous Iſle of *Ormuz* (*e*). This Kingdom had once already ſubmitted it ſelf to the *Portugueze* Yoke, and paid a Yearly Tribute of 15000 Seraſines of Gold to King *Emanuel*; the *Portugueze* alſo had a good Fort erected there. But in proceſs of time by their Negligence, by Mutinies and Inteſtine Diviſions, they ſo weakned themſelves, and encouraged the *Ormuzians* ready for a Revolt, that they took that Opportunity to recover their ancient Liberty, and expel the domineering *Portugueze*; which they accordingly effected. *Albuquerque* now had projected the Reduction of this Iſland, and was upon his way thither, with a Fleet of 21 Sail; but was accidentally invited in his paſſage, to the Conqueſt of *Goa*; for which he had then a very favourable Opportunity: For the Prince, *Zabaius* was then lately dead, leaving his young Son, *Idalcan*, as full of Troubles, as he was void of Experience. The Perſon that gave him this Intelligence, was *Timoia* the Pyrate, who alſo promis'd his beſt Aſſiſtance. The *Portugueze* upon this, preſently laid Siege to *Goa*; which laſted not long before 'twas ſurrendred into their Hands. Yet did the young Prince *Idalcan*, in a very ſhort time, drive them out again; but had not the good luck to keep them out, when they were out; ſince they quickly

(e) *Ormuz*, once ſubject to the *Portugueze*, but loſt, and then recover'd again by *Albuquerque.*

Goa taken by the *Portugueze.*

made the ſecond Conqueſt of it, ever ſince which they have kept it.

And now was *Albuquerque* ſetting out for *Ormuz* again, when the Winds blew him to another Side-Conqueſt: They wou'd not let him ſail to *Ormuz*, but favoured him to *Malacca*. Here he demanded of the treacherous King, *Mancudius*, the Priſoners taken from *Sequeria*; who pretended at firſt, they were fled; but ſeeing the Town fir'd by the *Portugueze*, he produc'd 'em. He demanded of him likewiſe all the Charges of the two Fleets, and Reſtitution of all things that were loſt: Which Conditions ſeem'd ſo hard to this Prince, and his Counſellors, that they choſe rather to commit all to the Event of a War, than to ſubmit to them. And the Iſſue of it was this, that *Mancudius* was ſlain, and his Kingdom of *Malacca* entirely reduc'd to the Obedience of *Portugal*.

Malacca conquer'd.

'Tis remarkable, that when *Albuquerque* was going to *Malacca*, he met with ſome Ships coming from thence, which he aſſaulted and took. In one of them there was a certain Perſon, *Naodabegucca* by Name, who was one of thoſe that had conſpired againſt *Sequeria* before; this Man, tho' he were bitterly wounded in the Skirmiſh with *Albuquerque*, ſo that he could ſtand no longer upon his Legs, yet was obſerved to loſe not a Drop of Blood, as other wounded Men did; tho' they found afterwards, that he was not a Bloodleſs Animal: For upon the pulling away of a Golden Chain, which he wore upon his Arm, he immediately poured forth his Soul, in Torrents of Blood, that iſſued out of thoſe Paſſages that were made before. The Reaſon of this they attributed to the Virtue of a certain Bone (f), taken from a Beaſt call'd *Cabis*, in the Kingdom of *Siam*; which Bone was included in the Golden Chain. They pretend, that this Bone, by a very potent Reſtringency, which Nature has endowed it with, did forcibly hold the Blood in the ſeveral Channels of the Body, notwithſtanding the many Vents given it to run out at. This was deſigned to be ſent as a moſt precious Jewel, and a wonderful Rarity, into *Portugal*; but, they ſay, 'twas loſt in a Shipwreck in the way.

(f) The Bone of the Beaſt *Cabis*.

But to return: After the Conqueſt of *Malacca*, *Albuquerque* having no more Lets by the Way, did accompliſh his Voyage to *Ormuz*, and the Conqueſt of it too. And now the *Portugueze* made a very formidable Figure in the *Eaſtern* World, and moſt of the *Indian* Princes began to Court their Favour, being Eye-witneſſes of their Every-Days riſing Greatneſs. *Idalcan*, and the King of *Calecut*, deſired a League with them: The King of *Maldiva* became their Vaſſal: Nay, in *Africk*, the Great *Preſter-John* himſelf, pretended to their Friendſhip. Their Victory at *Malacca*, prepar'd their way to a great many other Conqueſts, and good Correſpondencies in thoſe Parts, as at *Amboina*, *Banda*, and the *Molucca's*. *Antonius Abreus* was ſent in ſearch of theſe *Molucca's*; who came firſt to *Java*, then to *Amboina*, erecting Stone Pillars in both thoſe places; and from thence to *Banda*, ſo full of, and ſo famous for the excellent Spices, Nutmegs and Mace. He found both here, and at the *Molucca's*, that the Fame of the *Malaccan* Victory was got into thoſe Parts, to the great Advantage of the *Portugueze*; ſo much, that the Kings of *Ternate*, and *Tiridore*, ſolemnly referr'd their Controverſies to their Deciſion, and even ſprung a new Quarrel, in ſtriving who ſhould have the *Portugueze* on their ſide. Tho' they have paid for chuſing them the Arbitrators of their Differences; the *Portugueze* having decided the Controverſie neither to the King of *Ternate's*, nor the King of *Tiridore's*, but to their own Advantage.

The Greatneſs of the *Portugueze* in the *Eaſt*.

CHAP. III.

The Voyage of Ferdinandus Maglianes, *the firſt Compleat Circum-Navigator, and Diſcoverer of the* Straits, (*from him called* Magellanick.) *Taken out of* Antony Pigafetta, *an* Italian *of* Vicenza, *and one that aſſiſted in this Voyage.*

IT very often falls out, that Croſſes and Diſappointments, diverting Men from the Proſecution of their firſt Deſigns, open and prepare their way to new Undertakings, which are afterwards attended with more Benefit and Succeſs. 'Twas ſo in the Caſe of this famous Perſon, whoſe Diſcoveries in the World we are now to look over.

Maglianes (a *Portugueze* Gentleman, and a Soldier of no mean Character) had ſerv'd his Country to very good purpoſe, both in the *African* and *Indian* Wars. Particularly we find, that he fought under *Albuquerque's* Banners, in thoſe ſucceſsful Wars of his, that brought in the Kingdoms of *Malacca*, *Goa*, and *Ormuz*, to the Obedience of *Portugal*. How far *Maglianes* was engaged in theſe Affairs, is uncertain; but this Character he has in the general; to have done very good Service, and given large Proofs of his Valour and Conduct. And having thus perform'd what he thought might merit ſome further Conſideration and Reward from his Prince, he petition'd for a ſmall Augmentation of his Stipend, as much as would make it half a Ducket *per* Month more. But King *Emanuel* thinking fit to reject the Suit, and deny any further Increaſe of his Wages: The Petitioner (who deeply reſented it) gave up himſelf wholly to be guided by his own revengeful diſcontented Thoughts. He reſolv'd to quit the Service of a Maſter, whom he reckon'd hard and ungrateful; and find out ſome other, that ſhou'd know how to treat his Merit better. So bidding Adieu to the Court of *Portugal*, and all his Hopes of Preferment there, he betook himſelf to that of *Spain*, and offer'd his Service to the Emperor * *Charles* V.

Maglianes in Diſcontent, goes to be employ'd at the Court of *Spain*.

* Who was King of *Spain* as well as Emperor of *Germany*.

He acquainted this Prince, That all the *Banda* and *Molucca* Iſlands, fell to his ſhare, by the Laws of that Diviſion, which *John* II. of *Portugal*, and *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* of *Caſtile*, had formerly agreed on. And farther propos'd, to make a compleat Diſcovery of thoſe rich Iſlands, by a new and unheard of Navigation round about by the Weſt. The Emperor (as it appears by the Conſequence) was glad of this Information, and well pleas'd at the Propoſal of the New Method of Diſcovery: For five good Ships were quickly prepar'd and furniſh'd at his Charges, and put under the Command of *Maglianes* as Admiral. The Number of the whole Company aboard this Fleet, amounted not to 300; and of theſe Thirty were *Portugueze*.

They ſet ſail from *Sevil* the 10th of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1519. and *October* the 3d, got up betwixt Cape *Verd*, and the Iſlands of that Name. They ſpent a great deal of time about the Coaſt of *Guiney*, and by tedious Calms, (which laſted Seventy Days) were ſo long a labouring to croſs the Line. But when they had done this difficult Work, and the *South* Pole appear'd above the Horizon, they held on their *South* Courſe, and came upon the Main of *Braſile*, about that part of it which lies in 22½ Degrees. They obſerv'd it to be all one continued Tract of Land hither, from Cape St. *Auguſtine* (upon that ſame Coaſt) which is about 8 Degrees from the Equinoctial Line.

Maglianes ſets out.

Braſile.

In this part of the Country they were well refreſh'd with all Conveniences for Life; they found good ſtore of Fruits, Sugar-Canes, and divers ſorts of Animals, out of all which they had a liberal Entertainment. Having made 2½ Degrees more of *South* Lat. they fell in with a Country inhabited by a wild and monſtrous ſort of People: They were of a prodigious Stature, fierce, and barbarous, made a horrible roaring Noiſe, more like ſo many Bulls, than Human Creatures; and yet with all that mighty Bulk were ſo very nimble and light of Foot, that none of our *Spaniards*, or *Portugueze*, cou'd overtake them. Here was a ſtately River of freſh Water, that had ſeven Iſlands in the Mouth of it, and was full Seventeen Leagues wide in that part: The biggeſt of theſe Iſlands yielded them ſome Jewels, and they gave it the Name of St. *Mary*. They continued Coaſting along this Tract of Land, towards the South Pole, and met with a couple of Iſlands ſo full of Seols and Pengwins, that in an Hour's ſpace they cou'd have laden all the five Ships. The Pengwins were a black, heavy, unwieldy Fowl, extreamly fat, cover'd over with a ſort of Down, inſtead of Feathers, and arm'd with a Bill

Sugar-Canes,

Cannibals.

Cape St. *Mary*.

Seols and Pengwins.

Bill like a Raven's. They maintain themſelves altogether out of the Waters, eating nothing but Fiſh: For which Reaſon, perhaps, they might be very ſerviceable in this Fleet upon Fiſh-Days, if they were diſpos'd to obſerve thoſe Rules at Sea.

Their next Advance was to 49 ½ Degr. *South* Lat. Here they were ſhut up with hard Weather, and forc'd to take up their Winter-Quarters. They had a miſerable dull time on't at this place, ſeeing no living Creature, but themſelves, for a long time together.

A Giant comes to them.

At laſt, to put an end to the Solitude, a certain Giant of the Neighbouring Parts, came up to give them a Viſit: A briſk, jolly, frolickſome Fellow, very merrily diſpos'd, ſinging and dancing all the way as he came. Being got to the Haven, he ſtood there, and threw Duſt upon his Head; which they obſerving, ſent ſome aſhoar to him; who making the like Signs of Peace, upon that Aſſurance he came along with them to the Ship, without any thing of fear or ſcruple. His Bulk and Stature was ſuch, as would eaſily allow him the Character of a Giant; the Head of one of their middle-ſiz'd Men reach'd but to his Waſte, and he was proportionably big. His Body was formidably painted all over, eſpecially his Face; here were a couple of Staggs drawn, one upon each Cheek, and great red Circles about his Eyes. His Colours were otherwiſe moſtly yellow, only his Hair was done with white.

The Deſcription of him.

For his Apparel, he had the Skin of a certain Beaſt, clumſily ſowed together; but a Beaſt as ſtrange as that was that wore it; every way unaccountable; neither Mule, Horſe, nor Camel; but ſomething of every one; the Ears of the firſt, the Tail of the ſecond, and the Shape and Body of the laſt. 'Twas an entire Suit, all of one piece from Head to Foot; as his Breaſt and Back were cover'd with it above, ſo his very Legs and Feet were wrapp'd up in the ſame beneath. The Arms that he brought with him, were a ſtout Bow and Arrows; the String of the former was a Gut, or Sinew, of that monſtrous Beaſt; and the latter, inſtead of Iron-heads, were tipp'd with ſharp Stones.

The Admiral made him Eat and Drink, and he enjoy'd himſelf very comfortably a Shipboard, till he happen'd to peep in a great Looking-Glaſs, that was given him amongſt other Trifles. This put him into a Fright, that he could not eaſily recover from; the diſmal Face he ſaw there, ſtar'd him quite out of all Countenance and Courage; and he ſtarted back with ſuch Violence, that he tumbled a couple of the Men that ſtood by him, to the Ground. This was a Sign that he was throughly and effectually frightned; but no doubt, the thing that appeared to him, will be thought ſufficient to do it, if the foregoing Deſcription be well conſidered. A Pair of great Staggs with branched Horns, and the flaming Circles drawn about the Eyes: What Hobgoblin cou'd have a worſe Look than this? A Dæmon's Face, in a Vizzard Mask, with a Set of long Teeth, and a Noſe of half a Yard, could not have more power over the Imagination, and give a Man a worſe Shock of a ſudden, than ſuch a ſight. However, this Giant far'd ſo well amongſt them, (notwithſtanding the Fright by the Looking-Glaſs) that quickly after they had the Company of more of them. Particularly one came, and made himſelf mighty familiar, carried it pleaſantly, merrily, and with ſo much good Humour amongſt them, that our *Europeans* were almoſt (at leaſt as far as they cou'd be) pleas'd with his Company. He gave them a ſight of one of thoſe Beaſts, whoſe Skins they ſo frequently wear; but we have nothing of any particular Character of it added, to juſtifie or diſprove the former Surmiſes about it. They taught him to ſpeak and pronounce, pretty clearly, ſeveral Words of their Devotion, as *Jeſus*, *Ave Maria*, &c. The doing of which was (if duly conſider'd) an Act of great Charity: For theſe Giants, they ſay, were horribly peſter'd with Apparitions, and ſo wanted a Sett of proper Words, to bid Defiance to thoſe Diſturbers of their Quiet and Repoſe: And if ſuch Charms as theſe will do the Buſineſs in *Europe*, there's no Reaſon why they ſhould not be as effectual in *Braſile*.

They take ſome of them Priſoners.

But they ſeem to be very much to blame, in offering, as they did, to make Priſoners of any of thoſe wild People, which carried it ſo fairly and civilly to them. To circumvent them by Stratagems, and cheat them of their Liberty, when they had not (as far as appears) done any thing to deſerve the Forfeiture of it. They fill'd their Hands with Toys, and little Things, that pleas'd them, and in the mean time put Iron Shackles upon their Legs; which the Wretches thought were very fine Play-things as well as the reſt, and were pleas'd with the Gingling Sound of them, till they found how they were hamper'd and betray'd. But then they fell a Bellowing like Bulls, and implor'd the Help of *Setebos*, in that Extremity; they cry'd aloud for his Aſſiſtance, but he did not come to deliver them; and what Power it is they give that Name to, they themſelves beſt know. To deſire his Help in Miſery, implied ſome Notions conceiv'd of his Goodneſs and Compaſſion; and 'tis not to be imagin'd, that they wou'd thus crave Relief of an Evil Spirit, that us'd to vex and afflict them. It muſt be own'd, that they report very ſtrange things, of horrid Forms and Appearances frequently ſeen amongſt theſe People: Of Horned Dæmons, with long ſhag Hair, throwing out Fire both before and behind. But are not the Giants almoſt as bad Figures themſelves? And is it not poſſible for them to miſtake the foul Shapes of one another for ſomething elſe? We ſee how one of them was ſcared almoſt out of his Wits with ſeeing his own Face in a Glaſs, and might not another Face as ugly as that do the buſineſs as well? 'Tis too true, that the Power and Dominion of evil Spirits is very far extended in this Lower World; the Princes of the Air are fond of Empire, as well as thoſe that are upon the Earth, and not leſs willing (to be ſure) to enlarge their Territories than they. But 'tis not for the Honour of the Supreme Being, to ſuppoſe ſo very large a ſhare of his Inheritance in their hands; to bring them in, upon every occaſion, Abuſing and Tyrannizing over his Creatures, and turning the biggeſt part of the Creation into a Bedlam, by playing all the mad pranks in it that Helliſh frenzy can inſpire. This ſeems to be a very coarſe Complement to Infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs; and, in ſhort, an Honour too great to be allowed to any Beings that are acted by Principles of Malice and Wickedneſs.

Their Clothing, and Diet, &c. in general.

But to return to their other Obſervations about theſe People: They tell us that moſt of them wear the ſame ſort of Apparel that the firſt they ſaw appear'd in; that is, the Skins of the fore-mentioned Beaſt. They go with their hair ſhort, yet that that is they tie up with a Cotton-lace. They have no fix'd Habitations, but certain Portable Cottages, which they remove from one place to another as their fancy leads them; and the very ſame Materials which they uſe for the defence of their Bodies, they uſe alſo for the defence and covering of theſe Cottages. What fleſh they eat they beſtow no ceremonies of Dreſſing upon, but devour it juſt freſh and raw as it comes to their hands; beſides which, they have a certain ſweet Root amongſt them (call'd *Capar*) which is a conſiderable part of their feeding likewiſe. They add, that they are extremely jealous of their Women; they don't tell us they ſaw any of them, by that means to give the Men any occaſion of awakening that paſſion in themſelves.

The Practice of Phyſick is reduc'd into a very narrow compaſs amongſt them, and takes in no more than Vomiting and Phleboromy: Theſe two Evacuations muſt anſwer all varieties of Caſes and Purpoſes; and where this won't do, the Diſeaſe is incurable in that Land. Their way of bleeding is to give a good chop with ſome edge Tool or other in the Part that Labours, be it Leg or Arm, or Face, 'tis all one. But tho' 'tis odd to uſe a Chopping-Knife inſtead of a Lancet for letting Blood, yet 'tis worſe to thruſt an Arrow a Foot and a half down the Throat to procure a Vomit: No doubt but this will prick the Fibres, and ſet a Man a reaching to ſome purpoſe; and whereas they ſay it makes them puke very freely, and bring up a vaſt deal of Choler and Blood, 'tis very likely to be true, and if the point of an Arrow thruſt down ſo far did not draw Blood from them, a Man wou'd be ready to queſtion what ſort of Metal their inſides were made of. So that upon this account, their Practice may be yet more compendiouſly ſumm'd up, and we may ſay theſe People cure all diſtempers at one ſingle operation, which is alſo both Vomiting and Bleeding at the ſame time. From this way of managing themſelves, and thriving ſo well upon't, any Man will be ready to allow them a good ſtrength of Conſtitution; but it ſeems that of their Limbs is as conſiderable too, of which they give us this inſtance: That when they made the attempt of taking ſome of them Priſoners, one of them alone very near tired the utmoſt forces of nine of their Men that were employ'd to Maſter him; and tho' they had him down, and bound his hands tightly, yet he freed himſelf from his Bonds, and got looſe in ſpight of all their endeavours to hold him. And proportional to both theſe ſtrengths, is that alſo of their Appetite; one of them eat up a whole Basket of Ship-bisket at a Meal, and drank a Bowl (they don't ſay how large) of water at a draught; but any thing of this kind is not ſo very ſtrange, conſidering the huge Carkaſſes they have to maintain. One thing of them (which is ſomething ſingular) is not to be omitted before we leave them; and that is, that by reaſon of the vehement cold, they truſs themſelves up ſo very cloſe and tight, that the Genitals in the Men are not to be diſcover'd, lying hid entirely within their Bodies. The

Admiral

Magliane*s* calls 'em *Patagons.*

Some common words of their Language.

Admiral gave theſe People the Name of *Patagons*; and if any *Europeans* ſhould at any time go amongſt them, theſe few common words may be of ſome uſe in dealing with them. They call Bread *Capar*, Water *Oli*, black *Amel*, red *Cheiche*, red Cloth *Cherecai*: *Setebos* and *Cheleule* are the Names of two Beings they pay a Religious reſpect to, of which the former is the Supreme, the latter an Inferiour one; but whether they are Proper Names, or only the Terms for a higher and ſubordinate Power in general is not certain.

Port *St. Julian.*

They ſet ſail again.

The Port they ſtaid in all this while was call'd *Port St. Julian*; of which, as of the whole adjoyning Country, they took ſolemn Poſſeſſion, and left a Croſs erected in token of it. 'Twas full five Months that they continued here in the Converſation of theſe barbarous People, and the feeling of the much more cruel and ſevere weather. It was the beginning of *October* by that time they got up to the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, and were detain'd ſo long by the Calms, that they made it ſome time in *December* before they croſs'd the Line. Then was the Sun quite at, or very near the Tropick of Capricorn, and conſequently was advancing back again towards the Line as they were moving Southward from it; ſo that by that time they came down to 49 ½ degrees of S. Latitude, things began to look with a Winter-like appearance, and the hard Weather came on apace. This term of Time expir'd, they ſet out again and ſail'd to 51 degrees 40 minutes S. Latitude; here they found a convenient Port, and met with good Proviſions of Fuel, Fiſh and freſh Water. They linger'd away at this place a matter of two Months more, and then came to 52 degrees South Latitude, where they light upon the Entrance into the *Streights*. They found them about 110 Leagues in length, and as for the breadth very uncertain; in ſome places very wide, in others not more than half a League over; the Land on both ſides high and uneven, and the Mountains cover'd with Snow. When they came to the end of it, and found an open paſſage into the great Ocean, *Maglianes* was ſurpriz'd with a Joy that exceeded all the common bounds and meaſures, for this was the happy thing he look'd for, and now he was able to demonſtrate his Sailing round by the Weſt to the Emperor. The Point of Land from whence he firſt ſaw this moſt deſirable ſight, he call'd in memory of it *Cape Deſiderato*; but it ſeems 'twas not ſo deſirable to all the reſt of the company, for here one of the Ships ſtole away and ſail'd homewards by her ſelf. They give a very good Character of the *Streights*, for affording all the conveniencies of freſh Water, Fiſh, grateful Herbs, Wood, ſecure Havens, of which there are great plenty; and they ſay, are almoſt at every Leagues end. And theſe Advantages are to be met with all over the *Streights*, and not in one or two particular places only; there's none of the Havens (by their report) but what will entertain you with both Food and Firing.

They enter the *Streights.*

Cape *Deſiderato.*

Diſtreſs in the *Pacifick Sea.*

They entred the *Pacifick Sea*, (as they call'd it) *Nov.* 28. *A. D.* 1520. and in this wide rambling Ocean they ſail'd 3 Months and 20 Days without ſight of Land: The miſeries they endured for want of Proviſion, a good part of this time, were ſuch as are ſeldom heard of. The freſh Water they had aboard ſtunk and was very loathſome; all their Bread was gone, and nothing left to eat but Skins and pieces of hard Leather. Nature will make any ſhift, tho' ever ſo hard and poor, to bear her ſelf out in a diſtreſs, when 'tis poſſible to be done; and the poor Seamen here, rather than ſtarve, fell very greedily to work upon thoſe dry tough pieces of Leather that were folded about the Ropes of their Ships. But it being impoſſible to eat them till they were ſome way ſoften'd and fitted for chewing, they laid them aſteep in the Salt Water for ſome days, and then made the beſt of them as long as they laſted. But then again, what with this impure ſort of feeding, which was ſhort and ſcanty too, and the daily impoveriſhment of their Spirits wanting better Recruits, their numbers leſſen'd apace; ſome died outright, others fell into pining Sickneſs, others had their Gums that grew quite over their Teeth on every ſide; by which means, being totally unable to manage thoſe tough ſolids they were forc'd to feed upon, they were paſt all help, and ſo miſerably ſtarv'd to death. Their only comfort in all theſe direful circumſtances, was a conſtancy of fair and good weather: The Winds blew them ſmoothly and gently along, and broke out into nothing of a raging Fit, all the while they were thus expos'd; the Sea as calm and quiet too, and by this got the Celebrated name of *Pacifick*. And how happy was it to be thus at reſt from the Toils of a Stormy Sea? Had Famine and Tempeſts come together, how quickly would they have been wearied out? Whither wou'd the ſhatter'd Fleet have been toſt, and what wou'd have become of the Diſcovery of the *Moluccas*? In all this time, they ſaw nothing but two uninhabited Iſlands that gave no proſpect of any Relief. The Needle of their Compaſs varied ſometimes, and at others moved ſo dully and irregularly, that they were often forc'd to inſpire and quicken it with a freſh touch of the Loadſtone. The *South Pole*, they tell us, has no remarkable Star near it as the North has: There are two Cluſters of ſmall Stars (which appear more like Clouds than any thing elſe) and are ſeparated one from another at a ſmall diſtance; between theſe there are a couple of Stars not very large nor bright, which diſcover themſelves, by the ſmallneſs of the Circle they deſcribe, to be pretty near the Pole, at leaſt the neareſt of any that are diſcernible.

South Pole Stars.

Iſlands *Sumbdit* and *Cipanghu.*

At the diſtance of 20 degrees from the *South Pole*, they tell us of an Iſland of exceeding height call'd *Cipanghu*, and at 15 degrees of another as high, the Name of which is *Sumbdit*. They ſail'd in one Gulph at leaſt 4000 Leagues, and having made by their Reckoning 120 degr. Longitude from their firſt departure, at the ſame time they found they drew towards the *Equinoctial*. When they had paſs'd that Line, and were got to 13 degrees *North* Lat. they deſign'd for the Cape call'd by the old Geographers the *Cape of Cattigare*; but this they miſs'd, going upon that old Account of the Lat. of it, which places it thereabouts, and came to underſtand afterwards that it lies in 12 degrees.

Iſland *Ladrones.*

March 6. they came up with a parcel of Iſlands, being then in 12 degr. *North* Lat. and 146 degr. Lon. from their firſt ſetting out. Here they went aſhore to breathe and refreſh a little, after all the fatigues of their tedious Voyage thro' the *South* Sea; but the thieviſh People of theſe Iſlands would not let them be quiet; while they were repoſing themſelves aſhore, the others would be pilfering and ſtealing things out of the Ships, ſo that 'twas impoſſible to enjoy their eaſe in any meaſure, till they had taken ſome courſe to deliver themſelves from theſe unwearied Diſturbers. So they march'd with a ſmall Party, pretty well Arm'd, up into one of the Iſlands, burnt ſome of their Houſes, and killed ſome few of them; but this Correction, tho' it might awe them for the preſent, yet could not mend their evil Temper and Diſpoſition, but they that were Thieves would be Thieves ſtill, and in ſpight of Swords and Guns, wou'd play the Knave as before, for which reaſon they reſolv'd to make no long ſtay there, but find out ſome other place where they might Reſt with more ſafety and quiet. As for the Character of this People and their Manners, they give us this Relation:

The People of the *Ladrones* and their Cuſtoms.

That there is not the leaſt appearance of any Order or Form of Government amongſt them, but every Man lives as he liſts, and does what's agreeable to his own humour and inclination. Nay, conſidering how univerſally that Thieving, Cheating Diſpoſition prevails, 'tis next to impoſſible there ſhould be any thing of that kind, for the governing part wou'd never fail to tranſgreſs the Laws of Juſtice and Common Honeſty as much as the reſt; and the Inferiours would never bear to be curb'd and puniſh'd by thoſe that they ſaw do the very ſame things, and ſet ſuch an example before their Eyes. So that the general corruption of their Manners will neceſſarily keep them all upon a level, and eſtabliſh a perpetual Anarchy amongſt them. As far as appears, the Men go entirely naked, not diſcovering any thing of that common modeſty which obtains amongſt moſt barbarous People to beſtow ſome covering upon the Privy Parts; that diſtinction indeed ceaſes here, all Parts being equally expos'd to view. Their hair is very black, both on their Heads and Beards, the former being generally very long, and reaching down to their Waſtes. They anoint themſelves all over with the Oil of the Coco, but their natural Complexion is Olive. They colour the Teeth black and red; and ſome of them will wear a Bonnet made of the Palm-tree upon their Heads. The Women are much better favour'd than the Men, and (as their Sex requires) more modeſt too; they all wear Coverings made of the inner Bark of the Palm-tree, their Hair black, thick and long; and (as they ſay) ready to trail upon the ground. They commend them for very careful induſtrious Houſewifes, ſpending their time at a much better rate than the Men do, for whilſt theſe are pilfering abroad, the others are making Mats and Nets of the Palm-tree at home; but of both ſides the Work goes to the furniſhing of the Houſe. Their Houſes are built of Timber, cover'd over with Boards and large Fig-leaves, and diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Apartments; their Beds are the Palm-Mats laid one upon another, and the leaves of the ſame are inſtead of Sheets and Blankets. They have no weapons but Clubs and long Poles, upon which they put heads of horn. Their feeding is upon Coco's, Benana's, Figs of a hands length, Sugar Canes, Fowl and Flying Fiſh. Their Canoes are pretty oddly contriv'd and patch'd up, that they'll ſail with them at a very great rate; the Sails of them are made of broad Date-leaves ſowed together; inſtead of a Rudder they uſe a large Board with a Staff at the top, and may, when they will, make the Stern the Forecaſtle, or the Forecaſtle the Stern; they are always painted over either black, or white, or red, ſome one colour, and ſome another, as they like. Theſe People are mightily taken with any little thing that's new and agreeable to their childiſh humour: When the *Spaniards* had wounded ſeveral of them with their Arrows; nay, pierced them almoſt through and through, theſe being ſtrange things to them, they wou'd pull them out of their wounds, and hold them in their hands, ſtaring at them till they dropt down dead. And after all, tho' they had been ſo roughly handled, yet they would follow the Ships as they were going away to gaze at them; ſo that they had at one time a matter of 200 of their Canoes preſſing about them, as near as they could, to behold thoſe wonderful Contrivances.

Zamal and Humunu Iſlands.

March the 10th, they landed upon the Iſland of *Zamal*, which is 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones*; and the next day they went aſhore at *Humunu*, an Iſland not inhabited, but well deſerving to be ſo. Here they found Springs of delicate clear water, abundance of Fruit Trees, Gold and white Coral: The Admiral called it the *Iſland of good Signs*. The Inhabitants of ſome of the neighbouring Iſlands came up to them not long after, a People of much Humanity and good Diſpoſition, very fair and friendly in their Carriage, and appearing to be mighty well pleas'd at their coming amongſt them. They came laden with Preſents of Fiſh, and the Wine made of the Coco-Tree, and promis'd other Proviſions in a little time.

Natives of the adjacent Iſlands.

Since the Coco-Wine is mention'd, it may not be amiſs to ſhew the various Uſes theſe People put that Fruit to; by which it will appear, how very ſerviceable a thing it is, and how many of the Conveniencies of Life are furniſh'd out by it. The Coco is the Fruit of a certain Tree like a Date, and ſupplies them at once with Bread, Wine, Oil and Vinegar; and (beſides all this Food and Sawce) with Phyſick too. The Wine is drank from the Tree it ſelf, but all the reſt are made from the Fruit. They cut off ſome part of a branch of the Tree, and faſten on to the remaining piece a good large Reed, into which drops a Liquor like White-wine, in colour and appearance, and of a taſte gratefully tart. A good quantity of this thus drawn forth, and put up in a Veſſel, is their Coco-Wine, without any farther preparation. The Fruit (which is as big as a Man's Head at leaſt) has two rinds, the outermoſt of which is green, two fingers thick, and full of ſtrings and threads; and of theſe they make all the Cords they uſe about their Boats. Under this rind there is another, or rather indeed a ſhell, being conſiderably thick and hard; this burnt and pulveriz'd, is us'd as a remedy for ſeveral diſtempers. Next to this lies the kernel, which is white, and of the thickneſs of a finger; it has a pleaſing taſte, almoſt like an Almond, and when 'tis dried they make it into Bread. In the middle of this kernel, there is a hollow full of a pure limpid water, and of a very cordial and refreſhing nature; it will ſometimes congeal, and lie like an Egg within the ſhell. When they would make Oil, they leave the Fruit a ſteep in water till it putrifies, and then ſet it over the fire, and boil it into an Oil. And the Vinegar is only the ſame water expos'd for ſome time to the Sun, which turns it into a Vinegar like that of White-Wine. Laſtly, If they mix the kernel together with the water that is lodged in the cavity of it, and then ſtrain it through a Cloth, they make a good Milk of it. The Coco-Trees reſemble the common Date-Trees in all other things but this, That they are not ſo rugged and knotty as they are. They'll hold out very well 100 Year, and two of them will maintain a Family of ten People with Wine very handſomely, provided they be uſed by turns, and each Tree having been drawn ſeven or eight days, be allow'd as many to recover again before any more be taken from it: This care taken, ſuch a number of People may drink as much as they will, and the Trees will bear them out in it.

Deſcription of the Coco, and its uſes.

People of the Iſland of [illegible]

But to return to the Concerns between the People and them: According to their Promiſe they came again with more Proviſions, and enter'd into a farther degree of familiarity and friendly Correſpondence with them; they invited the Admiral into their Barks, and were reciprocally invited aboard the Admiral's Ship, where a great Gun being let off to entertain them, it put them into ſuch a fright, that they were all ready to leap over-board, but good Words and Preſents brought them to themſelves again, and with much ado they were perſwaded to keep out of the water. The Name of their Iſland was *Zulvan*, of no very great compaſs, but conſiderable for its Products. They had all manner of Spices in their Barks, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Ginger and Mace, and ſeveral things made in Gold; all which they carry up and down for Merchandize. They were without Apparel, but yet dreſs'd at a more coſtly rate than the *Europeans* that had it; they had Earings of Gold in each Ear, and ſeveral Jewels faſten'd with pieces of Gold to their Arms: Beſides, they had Daggers, Knives and Lances, that were all very richly garniſh'd with the ſame Metal. But tho' they had nothing of any Garment on, yet they had ſomething of a Covering before, and that a ſort of Cloth very ingeniouſly made out of the rind of a certain Tree that grows amongſt them. The moſt conſiderable Men are diſtinguiſh'd from the common ſort by a piece of ſilken Needle-work wrapp'd about their Heads. They are groſs-bodied, broad, and well ſet, of an Olive Colour; and this Hue they maintain by a conſtant Inunction of their Bodies with the Oyl of the Coco.

They departed from this Iſle, *March* 25. *A. D.* 1521. and directed their Courſe between the W. and S. W. ſailing between the Iſles *Cenalc*, *Huinangſtan*, *Hibuſſon*, and *Abarian*.

(l) Buthuan.

March 28. They came to the Iſle of *Buthuan* (l); the King of which, and the Prince his Son, gave them honourable Entertainment, together with good Quantities of Gold and Spices. The Admiral preſented the King with two Veſts of Cloth, one red, and the other yellow, made after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion; and ſome of his Courtiers with Knives, Glaſſes, and Beads of Cryſtal. His Majeſty was terribly frightned at the Diſcharge of a Piece of Ordnance, and as much ſurpriz'd to ſee one of the *Portugueze* in Armour, laſh'd with naked Swords, without receiving any harm. But he was much more confounded at the Magick of the Compaſs, and to hear that they had found their way thro' the wide Ocean, by the Direction of that. The Admiral ſent two of his Company aſhoar along with him, of which *Antom. Pigafetta* was one. When they were landed, the King and his Attendants, all lifted up their Hands to Heaven, and then towards the two Chriſtians; in which Ceremony theſe alſo followed them: And this Cuſtom they obſerved in Drinking too. His Majeſty's Palace was like a Hay-houſe, cover'd with Palm and Fig-leaves, mounted ſo high upon great Timber-poſts, that they were forced to uſe Ladders to get in. Tho' they are no Chriſtians, yet at their Meals they always make the Sign of the Croſs, ſitting in the ſame manner with their Legs as Taylors do. At Night, inſtead of Candles, they burn the Gum of a certain Tree, wrapp'd up in Palm-leaves. The King and Prince having entertain'd them, each in their ſeveral (m) Palaces, and given them Noble Preſents, diſmiſs'd them; but not without new admiration, and a firm perſwaſion now rooted in their Minds, that they were above the Rank of common Mortals, having ſeen ſo many ſtrange things by them; and eſpecially *Pigafetta*'s Writing, and Reading what he had written, which were Myſteries they could not comprehend.

(m) The Prince's Palace in the Iſle of Calegban.

Plenty of Gold.

In the Iſle of *Buthuan*, as they ſifted the Earth of a certain Mine, they found great Lumps of Gold, ſome as big as Nuts, others as large as Eggs; of which Metal were all the King's Domeſtick Veſſels made.

The King of Buthuan.

The King himſelf was a very comely Perſon, his Hair black and long, his Complexion Olive; his Body perfum'd with ſweet Oils, of Storax and Benjamin, and painted with divers Colours. He had Rings of Gold in his Ears, and on every Finger three: His Head was wrapp'd with a Silken Veil, and a piece of Cotton wrought with Silk and Gold, cover'd his Body to his Knees. He wore a long Dagger by his ſide, with a Haft of Gold, and a Scabbard of fair carved Wood. His Country, it ſeems, is ſo rich, that one of his Subjects offer'd a Crown of Maſſy Gold, with a Collar, for ſix Threds of Cryſtal Beads; but the Admiral would not permit ſuch Bargains as theſe, that they might not appear to be too fond and covetous of their Gold.

The Natives.

The People are of an active and ſpritely Nature; the Men quite naked, except a Covering of Paint: But the Women go clothed from the Waſte downwards, and both wear Golden Ear-Rings. They are always chewing *Arecca*, and ſay, they can't live without it. This is a ſort of Fruit like a Pear, cut in Quarters, and rolled up in the Leaves of a Tree (call'd * *Vetele*), which are almoſt like Bay-leaves.

* Or Betels.

Magliames orders a Banner with a Croſs, to be erected.

As for Religious Rites, they had no other in uſe amongſt them, but only to lift up their Faces, and Joined-hands, to Heaven, and call upon their God *Abba*. The Admiral cauſed a Banner, in which was the Pourtraicture of the Croſs, and a Crown of Thorns, with Nails, to be brought forth, and publickly Reverenc'd by all his Men, in the King's Preſence; telling His Majeſty, it ſhould be ſet up in ſome high Mountain in his Country; not only for a Token of good Entertainment to Chriſtians in that place, but alſo for his own, and Nation's Security, and Defence;

ſince if they devoutly pray'd to it, 'twou'd infallibly protect them from the Miſchiefs of Lightning and Tempeſt, as well as from other Evils. This the poor Prince promis'd to do, knowing no better,and glad to be ſo defended from Thunderbolts.

Many Iſlands, *Zubut*, &c.

Departing from hence, this King's Pilots brought them to the Iſles of *Zeilon*, *Zubut*, *Meſſana*, and *Caleghan*, of which *Zubut* is the beſt, and has the beſt Trade. In *Meſſana* they found Dogs, Cats, Hogs, Hens, Goats, Rice, Ginger, Cocus, Myll, Panicke, Barley, Figs, Oranges, Wax, and Gold,in great ſtore. This Iſle lies in $9\frac{2}{3}$ Degr. of N. Lat. and 162 Degr. of Longitude, from the firſt Stage.

Fowl's with Horns. Eggs hatch'd in the Sand.

They ſtay'd here eight Days, and then ſailing to the N. W. paſs'd by the Iſles *Zeilon*, *Bohol*, *Canghu*, *Barbai*, and *Catighan*. In which laſt Iſle, there are Bats as big as Eagles, and that taſte, when dreſs'd, like a Hen : There are alſo Stock-Doves, Turtle-Doves, Popinjays, and a certain ſort of Fowl like a Hen, which have little Horns, and lay their Eggs a Cubits depth in the Sand, where the Sun's heat Hatches them.

From *Meſſana* to *Caleghan*, is about 20 Leagues ſailing to the Weſt,and from *Caleghan* to *Zubut* about 50 Leagues ; to which they now directed their courſe, having the Company of the King of *Meſſana* along with them.

(n) The Iſle of *Zubut*.

Shedding Blood a token of Friendſhip.

The Iſland receives the Chriſtian Faith.

The King.

April 7. about Noon,they entred the Port of *Zubut* (n), and coming near the City let off all their great Guns, which put that place into a very great conſternation. But all that apprehenſion of danger from the Ships was quickly remov'd, by the coming of their Ambaſſador to the Town, who aſſur'd the King, that 'twas cuſtomary with them to diſcharge their Cannon whenever they came into any great Ports ; and that 'twas a piece of Reſpect they always paid to the Lords and Governours of Towns. He told him how mighty a Prince they were Servants to, and that their deſign was to find out the *Moluccas* : That they only came to viſit him by the way, hearing of his Fame by the King of *Meſſanes*, and deſired him to grant them Victuals for the Commodities they had brought. The King bid them welcome, but told them, 'twas a Cuſtom there, for all Ships that came, to pay Tribute, and that he expected the like Acknowledgment from them. This the Ambaſſador poſitively refuſed, telling him, That his Admiral was the Servant of ſo great a King, that as he had never yet, ſo he wou'd not now begin to make that Acknowledgment to any Prince in the World : And withal, That if he wou'd Accept of Peace offer'd to him, well and good, if not, he ſhou'd quickly have his hands full of the War. A certain *Moor*, that ſtood by, told the King, That theſe were the *Portugueze* that had Conquer'd *Calecut* and *Malacca*, and therefore Adviſed him to have a care how he provok'd them. Upon this conſideration, the King concluded to refer the Matter to his Council, and to give them an Anſwer the next day, ſending them, in the mean while, Wine and Victuals. The King of *Meſſana*, who was a very potent Prince, went aſhore, and acted very Generouſly, on that behalf, with the King of *Zubut* : The effect of which was, That the King, inſtead of Demanding, was now almoſt ready to yield to pay Tribute himſelf ; which they not at all inſiſting upon, but only deſiring liberty to Trade, he cheerfully granted it, offering to Seal the Covenant of Peace and Friendſhip with his Blood. After this, the King of *Meſſana*, the King of *Zubut*, and his Nephew, came aboard the Admiral, brought him Preſents, and confirm'd the League. The Admiral perſwaded them to embrace the *Chriſtian Faith*, which they did with exceeding Joy and Pleaſure, being all afterwards Baptiz'd. This example of the great Ones influenc'd the whole Iſland, ſo that *Chriſtianity* was Univerſally receiv'd there. When they came to the City, they found the King in his Palace, ſitting upon a ſort of fine Mat made of Date-leaves, having no manner of Apparel but a *Bombaſine* Cotton about his Waſte. About his Head he had a Veil of Needle-work, and about his Neck a very coſtly Chain ; as alſo ſtately Jewels in his Ears. He had before him ſeveral *Porcelane* Veſſels, ſome with Eggs, and others full of Date-Wine. The Prince Entertain'd them likewiſe at his Palace, and for their Diverſion made his Daughters Sing and Dance naked before them. One of the *Spaniards* dying, they deſired leave of the King to bury him in his Land : To which the King reply'd, That ſince he, and all his moſt coſtly things, were at the King their Maſters devotion, much more ſhou'd a few Foot of his ground be ſo, in affording a Burial-Place to one of his Subjects.

A ſtrange Fowl that deſtroys the Whales.

The King, &c. Baptiz'd.

The Queen, &c.

Theſe People exerciſe Juſtice in their Dealings with one another, keeping cloſe to the Uſe of Weights and Meaſures. Their Houſes are made of Timber rais'd high upon Poſts, ſo that they go up by Stairs to them. They talk of a certain ſort of Water-Fowl in this Country, as big as a Crow, which they call *Lughan*, which the Whales ſometimes ſwallow down alive, and have their Hearts eaten up by this Bird ; by which means many of them are kill'd, and the Bird is afterwards found alive in the Carkaſs of the Whale. The Skin of this Fowl is black, but the Fleſh good. The *Spaniards* had very advantageous Bartering with theſe People, they giving them 10 *Peſo's* of Gold (every one of which is a Ducat and half) for 14 pound weight of Iron ; beſides, all ſorts of Proviſions for very inconſiderable trifles. The baptizing of theſe Princes (who had before embrac'd *Chriſtianity*) was perform'd with very great Solemnity, the Ordnance being all diſcharg'd ; which the Admiral told the King of beforehand, to prevent his being ſurpriz'd. The King of *Zubut* was named *Charles*, and the Prince *Ferdinando* ; the former of thoſe Names being the Emperors, and the latter his Brothers. The King of *Meſſana* was named *John*, and the great *Mooriſh* Courtier *Chriſtopher*. Beſides the Princes and great Men, there were 500 of a more Inferiour Rank baptiz'd at the ſame time. All their Idols were broken, and the Croſs ſet up in divers places, which the Admiral engaged them to pray very devoutly before, Morning and Evening. The Queen was baptiz'd too at the ſame time, with 40 of her Ladies, and her Daughter the Prince's Wife. She was young and handſome, her Body cover'd with a white Cloth, and her Head adorn'd with a ſort of a Triple-Crown made of Date-leaves. After Maſs was ended, the King and Court dined in the Admiral's Ship, in Honour of whom all the great Ordnance were diſcharged In 8 days time, moſt of the Iſland was become *Chriſtian*, except one Village of Idolaters, who wou'd not obey the King's command in this Matter ; the *Spaniards* therefore burnt the Village, and errected a Croſs upon the Ruines of it. And to ſhew the good and advantageous effects of *Chriſtianity* amongſt theſe People that had embrac'd it, they pretend a very miraculous cure was wrought upon the King of *Zubut*'s Brother upon his receiving Baptiſm. The Admiral, it ſeems, pawn'd his Head for his immediate recovery, if he wou'd ſubmit to this Sacred Rite, and break all his Idols. And they ſay, that the Admiral did ſave his Pawn, the Prince perfectly recovering of his Malady. And beſides this, that this Miracle brought in a vaſt number of Converts, and occaſion'd a fearful deſtruction of Heatheniſm, Altars and Idols, all about in the Iſland. The People of this Iſland, inſtead of Coin, pay the King their Stated Tribute in Victuals.

(o) *Mathan*.

The People.

Their Sacrifices.

Their Funerals.

Not far from *Zubut* lies the Iſle of *Mathan* (o), the Inhabitants of which go quite naked, except a ſlight Covering upon the *Pudenda* ; at which Part all the Males, both great and ſmall, do hang certain golden Rings, perforating the Skin for that purpoſe. They take as many Wives as they pleaſe ; one of which only has the Sovereignty of the Houſe. They uſe very odd Ceremonies in their Sacrifices to the Sun. They begin with ringing Bells ; then they ſpread a Cloth upon the ground, on which are ſet certain Platters with Honey, Rice and roaſted Fiſhes. The Sacrifice they offer is a Hog, and the Managers of the Ceremony are two old Women, who ſing and dance about the Animal, and ſound Trumpets made of Reeds. They mumble out certain Prayers to the Sun, and after ſeveral antick and ridiculous Geſtures, they pour out a Cup of Wine upon the Hog. One of the Venerable Prieſteſſes ſtrikes the fatal blow with a Lance, and then puts a lighted Lamp into the Creatures mouth, which continues burning all the time of the Ceremony. The other dips the Reed-Trumpet in the Blood, and with her finger beſmears her Husband's Forehead, and then the reſt of the Men that aſſiſt at the Sacrifice. When they have done, they diſrobe themſelves of their Prieſtly attire, and fall to eating the Honey, Rice and Fiſhes, in which only Women partake with them. As for the fleſh of the Hog, that is not to be touch'd till theſe two Witches have crav'd a Bleſſing upon it. As for their Funerals, their Ceremonies are almoſt as foppiſh and extravagant as thoſe of their Sacrifices. When a Man of Figure dies, all the chief Women go to his Houſe, and carry boughs, with pieces of Cotton in them, which they faſten all about the Corps. They ſit round about it cloath'd in white Cotton, fanning themſelves with branches of Palm, the Room being Incens'd with Myrrh and Storax all the while. Then a certain Perſon comes and cuts off the Hair of the Deceaſed by little and little ; and at the ſame time, his chief Wife lies upon his dead Body, with her Face, Hands and Feet, to his, crying and lamenting while his Hair is cut off, but ſhe changes her Funeral Notes into a Merry Song when the other ceaſes cutting. The Ceremony laſts five Days ; after which they encloſe the Corps in a Dormitory built of Wood, and made very faſt on every ſide.

This

Maglianes's Death.

This Iſle of *Mathan* was govern'd by two Kings; the one of which refuſing to pay Tribute to the King of *Spain, Maglianes* went out to reduce him. The *Indian* had between 6 and 7000 Men furniſh'd with Bows and Arrows, Darts and Javelins; which Army *Maglianes* attack'd with 60 of his *Spaniards*, arm'd with Coats of Mail and Helmets. The Battel was ſharp and tedious; but *Maglianes* his Heat and Courage carrying him in too far amongſt the *Barbarians*, he was there firſt wounded with a poyſon'd Arrow, and afterwards thruſt into the Head with a Lance, which ended the Life and Action of this Noble Commander. About 8 or 9 of his Men were ſlain, and about 15 of the Enemy, beſides many wounded; but *Maglianes*'s Body could not be redeem'd at any rate. They choſe two others to ſucceed him in his Charge, *viz. Odoardo Barboſa* a *Portugueze*, and *Johannes Serrano*; who was ſhortly after, with divers others, betrayed by the Interpreter.

(*p*) *Bohol.*

(*q*) *Pavilogbon Blacks.*

(*r*) *Chippit.*

A little before the Admiral's Death, they had tidings of the *Moluccas*, the great end of their Voyage: So that now leaving *Mathan*, they ſail'd to the Iſle (*p*) *Bohol*; and here they burnt the *Conception*, furniſhing the other two Ships with the Men and Ammunition of it. Directing their courſe from hence to the South Weſt, they came to the Iſle (*q*) *Pavilogbon*, inhabited by *Blacks*. From hence they came to *Chippit* (*r*), which is a large Iſland; it is about 50 Leagues from *Zubut*, in 8 degrees of North Lat. and about 170 degrees of Lon. from their firſt Stage. It abounds in Gold, Rice, Ginger, Goats, Hogs, Hens, &c. and the King of it gave them a friendly reception. In token of Peace, he mark'd his Body, Face, and the tip of his Tongue, with Blood, which he drew out of his Left Arm; and the *Spaniards* followed him in that bloody Ceremony. *Pigafetta* was entertain'd by him and his two Wives, but they ply'd him ſo hard with Brimmers, that he was forc'd to Excuſe himſelf from Pledging them, and take his Leave.

(*s*) *Caghaian.*

Sailing from hence about 40 Leagues, between the Weſt and South Weſt, they came to *Caghaian* (*s*), a very great Iſland, but not well inhabited. The People are *Moors*, Exiles from *Borneo*, rich in Gold, and for their principal Weapons uſe poyſon'd Arrows.

(*t*) *Puloan.*

Another Courſe of about 25 Leagues, between the Weſt and North Weſt, brought them to *Puloan* (*t*), a very fruitful Iſland, lying in $9\frac{1}{3}$ degrees of North Lat. and $179\frac{1}{3}$ degrees of Lon. from their firſt Stage. It yields much the ſame Products as *Chippit*, beſides very large Figs, Battato's, Coco's, and Sugar Canes. The like Ceremonies alſo were here uſed in token of Friendſhip, between the King and the *Spaniards*, as were at *Chippit*. The People go naked, uſe poyſon'd Arrows, and are fervent Lovers of the Sport of Cock-fighting. They make a ſort of Wine here of Rice, which is very intoxicating, but otherwiſe better than that of the Palm.

(*v*) *Borneo.*

* St. *Helen*, St. *Nicholas*, St. *Clare.*

Sailing about 10 Leagues from hence, toward the South Weſt, they had a ſight of the famous Iſle of *Borneo* (*v*); the beginning of which is full 5 Leagues diſtant from the Port. Here they met with a Tempeſt as they were entring the Port, which went off when the fires of the three Saints * appear'd upon the Cables. It is a very large and rich Iſland: It lies in $5\frac{1}{4}$ degrees of North Lat. and $176\frac{2}{3}$ degrees of Lon. from their firſt departure; the chief City contain'd no leſs than 25000 Houſes. The King was a *Moor*, a Prince of very great Power, and large Command, kept a magnificent Court, and was always attended by a mighty Guard. He ſent the Captains ſeveral Preſents, and order'd a couple of Elephants, Trapp'd with Silk, to be led forth, to bring the *Spaniſh* Meſſengers, and Preſents, to the Palace. He has 10 Scribes, or Secretaries, that write his Affairs in Barks of Trees. His Houſhold is govern'd all by Women, who are the Daughters of his chief Courtiers. His Subjects pay him their Reverence by lifting up their Hands, cloſed three times over their Heads: Then lifting up their Feet one after the other; and laſtly, kiſſing their Hands. They chew a great deal of the *Betele* in this Country, and drink a Rice Wine call'd by them *Arach*. The Country affords Camphire, which is the Gum of the Tree *Capar*; alſo Cinnamon, Ginger, Mirabolans, Oranges, Limons, Sugar, Cucumbers, Melons, plenty of Fowl and Beaſts; amongſt which are Elephants.

† Small Veſſels.

July 29. they were ſet upon by 100 of the Indian *Junks* †, of which they took 4; and in one of them a conſiderable Priſoner, Son to the King of *Lozon*, and General of the King of *Borneo*'s Forces, being then upon his return from the Sack of *Lae*, a great City in the Iſle towards *Java*: but the Pilot being Brib'd, let him make his eſcape; ſo that they loſt his Ranſome.

(*w*) *Cimbubon.*

A Senſitive Tree.

An odd Fiſh.

Leaving *Borneo*, they came to the Iſle *Cimbuben* (*w*), which lies in 8 degrees 7 minutes of North Lat. Here they ſtaid 40 Days caulking their Ships, and furniſhing them with freſh Water and Fuel; they were forc'd to Work barefoot, their Shooes being quite worn out, and there being none of the Gentle-Craft in *Cimbubon* to ſupply them with more. In the Woods of this Iſle they found a Tree, the Leaves of which, as ſoon as they fall on the ground, do move from place to place as if they were alive. They reſemble Mulberry-Leaves, and on the ſides of them there are certain Fibres produc'd, that ſeem like little Eggs. If they are cut, or broken, there's nothing like Blood comes forth; but if they are touch'd, they ſuddenly ſpring away. This *Pigafetta* tried, keeping one of theſe Leaf-Animals in a Diſh for 8 days. The Iſle affords Oſtriches, wild Hogs, and Crocodiles. They took here a Fiſh headed like a Swine, with two Horns; its Body all one entire Bone, and ſome thing like a Saddle on its Back.

(*x*) *Zolo*, &c.

Large Pearl.

They ſailed from hence by the Weſt, towards the South Eaſt Quarter, for the *Moluccas*, and in their way found the Sea full of Weeds and Herbs: This was near certain great Mountains. This Courſe brought them to the Iſles of *Zolo* and *Taghima* (*x*), which afford very rare Pearl. From hence 'twas that the King of *Borneo* got a couple of Pearl as round, and very near as big as a Hen's Egg.

Wild Men!

(*y*) Four Iſlands.

Sailing towards the North Eaſt, they came to *Mangandano*, a great City lying above the Iſles of *Buthuan* and *Caleghan*. Here they took a Canoe, with certain *Indians*, who gave them directions for the *Moluccas*; ſo that they chang'd their North-Eaſt for a South-Eaſt Courſe, on to a Cape of the Iſle *Buthuan*. Here they heard of a ſtrange ſort of Savages cover'd with ſhaggy hair like Beaſts, ſtrong and tall, having only weapons of Wood; they reported of them, that they wou'd eat the Hearts of their ſlain Enemies raw, with the Juice of Oranges and Limons for Sawce. Theſe Iſlands afford the beſt Cinnamon in the World; of which they had 27 pound in Exchange for two Knives. Being in 6 degrees 7 minutes North Lat. they ſtill kept their South-Eaſt Courſe, which brought them upon the Iſles *Ciboco* (*y*), *Biramboia*, *Sarangani*, and *Candinghar*.

(*z*) Eight other Iſlands in their way to the *Moluccas*.

Sanghir.

(*a*) The *Moluccas* in ſight.

Stories of the *Portugueze*.

October 24. they had a great Storm; and they ſay, that after their Prayers, the three Fortunate Lights appear'd as before; which once ſhewing themſelves, the noiſy Winds and Waves were commanded into a profound ſilence. They came to Harbour in the Iſle *Sarangani*, reported to yield both Gold and Pearl; and here they preſs'd two Pilots for their *Molucca* Voyage. They paſs'd the Iſles (*z*) *Ceana*, *Canida*, *Cabiaio*, *Camuca*, *Cabalu*, *Chiai*, *Lipan* and *Nuza*, and came to a fair Iſland call'd *Sanghir*, in $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of North Lat. which Iſle had 4 Kings. Having paſs'd 5 other Iſlands, they at laſt eſpied a ſmall Cluſter of 4 Iſlands, which their Pilots ſaid were the *Moluccas* (*a*); this was the 6th of *November*, and the 27th Month after their departure from *Spain*. They tried the depth of the Sea with their Plumbet all about theſe Iſlands, and found it no leſs than 102 Yards; which ſhews that the *Portugueze* deſign'd none elſe ſhou'd come thither but themſelves, when they told the World, That thoſe Seas were ſo ſhallow, that there was no Sailing there, beſides the other dangers of Rocks and Shelves, and continual Darkneſs.

* *A.D.* 1521.

(*b*) *Tiridore.*

Nov. 8. * before Sun-riſing, they enter'd the Port of *Tiridore* (*b*), which is one of the chief of the *Moluccas*. The King was a *Moor*, but notwithſtanding the prejudices of his Religion, ſo extremely fond of the *Spaniards*, and ſo much devoted to the Service of their Maſter, that he bid them come aſhore into their own Country and Houſes, call'd them his Brethren and Children; nay, in Complement to them, changed the Name of his Kingdom from *Tiridore* into *Caſtile*.

Cloves.

Theſe *Moluccas* are five in number; *Ternate*, *Tiridore*, *Mutir*, *Macchian* and *Bacchian*. Of all theſe, *Ternate* is the chief, and the King of it was once Lord of all the reſt. *Mutir* and *Macchian* were then Commonwealths, but *Bacchian* a Monarchy. The Clove-Trees here are very tall, and as big about as a Man; the Boughs large in the middle and ſharp at top, the Leaves like thoſe of Bay-Trees, and the Bark of an Olive colour. The Cloves grow in large Cluſters at the tops of the Boughs; at firſt they are white, red when come to maturity, and grow black by after drying. The Leaf, Bark and Wood, being green, is as ſtrong as the Clove it ſelf. They gather them twice a Year, in *June* and *December*; and if they don't take them in time they grow very hard. Every Man has his own peculiar Trees, but they beſtow but little Husbandry upon them. They have alſo in this Iſle a ſort of a Tree, the Bark of which being ſteep'd in Water, may be drawn out in ſmall Fibres, to the fineneſs of Silk; and of this the Women make a ſort of Aprons, which is all the Covering they make uſe of.

(c) *Gilolo* Iſle.

Gold.

The Water of Reeds.

Near *Tiridore* lies the great Iſle (*c*) *Gilolo*, which is parted between *Moors* and *Heathens*. The 2 Kings of the *Moors* have contributed themſelves very liberally to the Peopling of the Iſland, the one of them having 600, and the other 650 Children. The *Pagans* were more abſtemious in theſe Matters, as well as leſs Superſtitions in other regards, than the *Moors*; yet they report of them, that they adore the firſt thing they ſee in the Morning, ſo that an Aſs may be the Object of their Worſhip for that Day, as ſoon as a better thing. But how poor ſoever they are in Underſtanding, they are very rich in that which gets many a Fool the Reputation of a Wiſe Man, in theſe Parts of the World; they have good ſtore of Gold amongſt them, which notwithſtanding all their defects in Religion, was ſufficient to recommend them to the Eſteem of the *Spaniards*. In this Iſle there is a ſort of a Reed grows as big as a Man's Leg, and full of a very fine Limpid Water, which makes a wholeſome Drink. *Nov.* 12. a Publick Warehouſe was appointed in the City for the Sale of their Merchandize. The Exchange was thus: For ten Yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, every Bahar being four Cantars, and ſix Pound; and every Cantar 100 *l.* weight. For fifteen Yards of a meaner Cloth, they had in Cambie, one Bahar: For 35 Drinking-glaſſes one Bahar: For 17 Cathyls of Quickſilver, one Bahar. They brought all ſorts of Proviſions daily to their Ships, and a ſort of freſh Water, which ſprings out of the Mountains where the Cloves grow: It is hot when it comes out of the Spring, but very cold when it has ſtood a while in ſome other place.

Strange Birds

They receiv'd here a Comical Preſent for the King of *Spain*, from the King of *Bacchian*; which was a couple of dead Birds of the bigneſs of Turtles, with little Heads and Legs, long Bills, two or three long Feathers, party-colour'd at their ſides, inſtead of Wings, their whole Body elſe all of one colour, and that near a tawny. They never fly but when the Wind blows to help them. The *Moors* fancy they come from Paradiſe, and therefore call them the Birds of God.

Products of *Molucca.*

As for all theſe *Molucca's* in general, their Products are Cloves, Ginger, Rice, Sagu-bread, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Popinjays white and red, Figs, Almonds, Pomegranates, Oranges, and Lemons, and a ſort of Honey which is made of Flies leſs than Ants. Moreover, Sugar-Canes, Oyl of Coco's, Melons, Gourds, and a Fruit which they call *Camulicai*, which is extreamly cold. The Natives of theſe Iſlands were all Heathens, the *Moors* having not had footing there above 50 Years before the *Spaniards* came.

The Iſle *Tiridore* is in about 27 Min. North Lat. and 171 Degr. Long. from their firſt Meridian; and about 9½ Degr. from the *Archipelago*; in which is the Iſle of Thieves, and runs to the Quarters of South Weſt, and N. N. E.

Ternate is in 4 Min. of South Lat. *Mutir* is directly under the Æquinoctial. *Machian* is in 15 Min. of South Lat. And *Bacchian* in 1 Min. and this Iſle is the biggeſt of all the *Molucca's*.

When they departed from hence, they had the Kings of ſeveral Iſlands attending them in their Canoes; they were conducted by them to the Iſle *Mare*, and there this Royal Company took their Leaves of them, not without a great deal of Sorrow, as they pretended. In this Iſle they left a leaking Ship behind them, giving Orders, if it could be repaired, for its return into *Spain*.

Many Iſlands.

(d) Mallua.

Pepper.

From *Mare* they directed their Courſe to the S. W. being now no more in number than 46 *Spaniards*, and 13 *Indians*. They paſſed the Iſles of *Chacouan*, *Lagoma*, *Sico*, *Giogbi*, *Caphi*, *Sulacho*, *Lumatola*, *Tenetum*, *Buru*, *Ambon*, *Budia*, *Celarur*, *Benaia*, *Ambalao*, *Bindon*, *Zorobua*, *Zolot*, *Noceamor*, *Galian*, and *Mallua*, beſides many others poſſeſs'd both by *Moors*, *Heathens*, and *Cannibals*. They ſtay'd at (*d*) *Mallua* fifteen Days, repairing their Ship. It lies in 8½ Degr. of S. Lat. and 169 Degr. 40 Min. of Long. according to their Reckoning. There grows a vaſt deal of Pepper there, both long and round; the Leaves of the Tree like Mulberry-leaves, and climbing like Ivy. The People are perfect Cannibals; the Men wear their Hair and Beards put up in Canes; and for Weapons, uſe only Bows and Arrows.

* *A.D.* 1522.

(e) *Timor.*

January 25. * leaving *Mallua*, they arrived at *Timor* (*e*), which is five Leagues diſtant between the S. and S. W. Here they found Ginger, the Wood of White Saunders, divers Fruits and Beaſts, Gold, and plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions. The People of the *Molucca's*, *Java*, and *Lezon*, fetch their Saunders from this Iſland. It lies in 10 Degr. S. L. and 174 of Long. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and have amongſt them, (which is alſo common to all the Iſles of this *Archipelago*) the Diſtemper we call the *French-Pox*.

(f) *Ende.*

Cinamon.

Sailing a long Courſe from hence, between the W. and N. W. they came to the Iſle of *Ende* (*f*), which yields great ſtore of *Cinamon*. In this Tract of Sea, there is a long Series of Iſlands, lying in order behind one another, as far as the Greater *Java*, and the Cape of *Malacca*. About half a League from this Greater *Java*, lies *Java* the Leſs; which is full as big as the Iſle of *Madera*.

* 1521.

* Modern Experience allows no ſuch great danger.

Feb. 11. * ſailing from *Timor*, they got into the Great Sea *Lantchidol*, and ſteer'd away between the W. and S. W. leaving the N. Coaſt on their Right-hand, taking care not to ſail too near the Shoar, leaſt the *Portugueze*, who were ſeated at *Malacca*, ſhou'd chance to ſpy them; and on this Account they directed their Courſe without the Iſle *Sumatra*. And that they might paſs the Cape of *Good Hope* more ſecurely, they ſail'd about 42 Degr. towards the S. Pole, waiting in thoſe parts ſeven Weeks for the Wind, fetching many a Compaſs with their full-ſpread Sails, having a W. and N. W. Wind in the Prow of their Ship, ſo that they could not eaſily get along. The Cape of *Good Hope* they obſerv'd to be in 34½ Degr. of S. L. and 1600 Leagues from the Cape of *Malacca*: They reckon'd it to be both the greateſt, and the moſt dangerous * Cape in the World.

They are in great diſtreſs.

The *Portugueze* keep them Priſoners.

But having now paſs'd all the Dangers of the Cape, being ſmartly pinch'd with Hunger, and Sick too, ſome of them were for putting in at *Mozambique*, for a little Refreſhment; but the major part of the Company concluding, that the *Portugueſe*, who were there, wou'd prove but untoward Phyſicians for their Diſtempers, they reſolv'd to ſail homewards. This they did, in a Courſe toward the S. W. for the ſpace of two Months, without touching at any part; in which time they loſt 21 Men of their Company, the remainder being juſt upon the point of ſtarving. They came in good time under this extreme Neceſſity, to St. *James's* Iſland, which is one of the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands; and here they were forc'd to throw themſelves upon the Mercy of the *Portugueze*: For in the Ship was Famine, and certain Death; and tho' aſhoar there were armed Enemies, yet here they had a Chance for their Lives, which in the other Circumſtance they had not. So that venturing aſhoar, they opened their miſerable Caſe to the *Portugueze*; who were ſo generous as to relieve them the firſt time, and ſo barbarous as to detain them Priſoners the next time they came for Food.

The Port of St. *Lucar.*

Thoſe in the Ship, finding their Companions (thirteen in number) ſtopp'd by the *Portugueze*, and having no mind to bear them Company in Priſon, tho' they had a Shipboard, made all the haſte they poſſibly could away; and ſo the Wind beſtowing it ſelf very liberally upon their Sails, they came *Sept.* 7. into the Haven of St. *Lucar*, near *Sevil*.

Having welcom'd themſelves home with a Volley or two of Shot, they went in Proceſſion barefoot, and in their Shirts, with a great Torch before them, to the Cathedral, to return their Thanks to Heaven, for the happy Concluſion of their Voyage.

Their other Ship returns.

Darien.

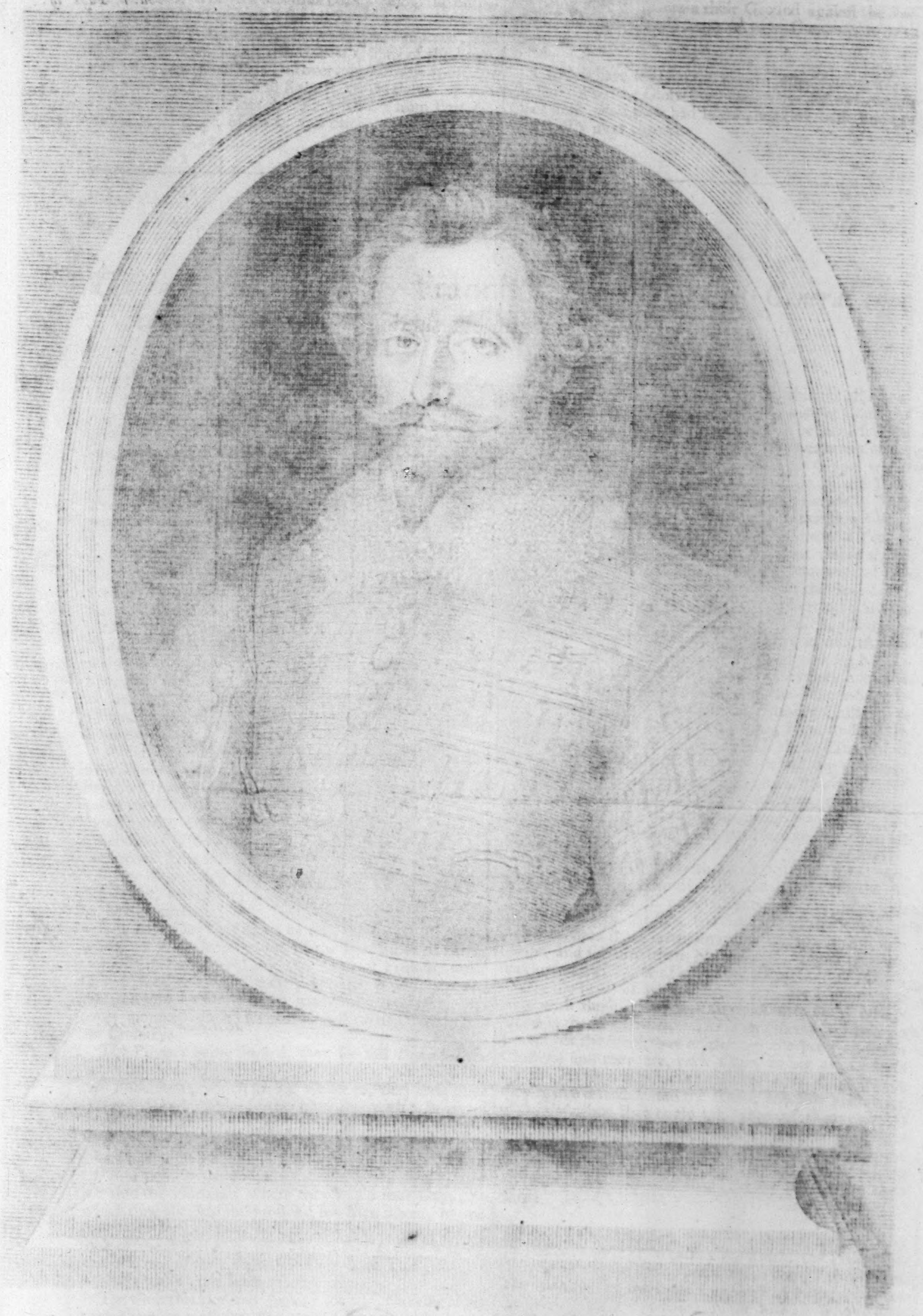
Their other Ship which they left behind to be repair'd, came home afterwards, ſailing by the afore-mention'd *Archipelago*, thro' the Great Sea, to the Coaſts of the *Weſt-Indies*, arriving at that part of it which lies oppoſite to *Darien*, where the *South* Sea of *Zur* is ſeparated by a narrow Neck of Land, from that Weſtern Ocean, in which are the Iſles of *Hiſpaniola*, and *Cuba*. The Streight in the South Sea which they paſſed, was called the Streight of *Victoria*, from the Ship in which the Admiral diſcover'd it, tho' afterwards it receiv'd a new Name from the Admiral himſelf, being call'd in Honour of the Diſcoverer, the *Magellanick* Streight.

* *A.D* 1529.

* *A.D.* 1548.

After they were come home, the *Portugueze* overthrew their Factory at *Tiridore*, took their Ship the *Trinity*, built themſelves a Fort at *Ternate*, and raiſed a Factory there, getting the whole Clove-Trade into their own Hands. And beſides theſe Enmities abroad, there were fierce Contentions at home, between the two Nations, each challenging the *Molucca's* for their own Right. But in ſhort, the *Portugueze* having taſted the Sweetneſs of the *Molucca* Trade, were reſolv'd never to quit it to the *Spaniards*; neither did they leave till they had engroſs'd all to themſelves. For the Emperor marrying the King of *Portugal's* Siſter, and wanting Money, he pawn'd * all thoſe rich Iſlands, and the whole Spice-Trade, to the *Portugueze*, for 350000 Duckets; and that without limiting any certain time for the Redemption of them again. And whereas *Cortes* * offer'd to lay down the Money, upon Condition of ſix Years Profits of the Trade, and yet to leave all after that to the Crown; the Emperor would not admit of it: So that the *Portugueze* ſtill kept their Prize; till they loſt both that and themſelves too, to the Crown of *Spain*.

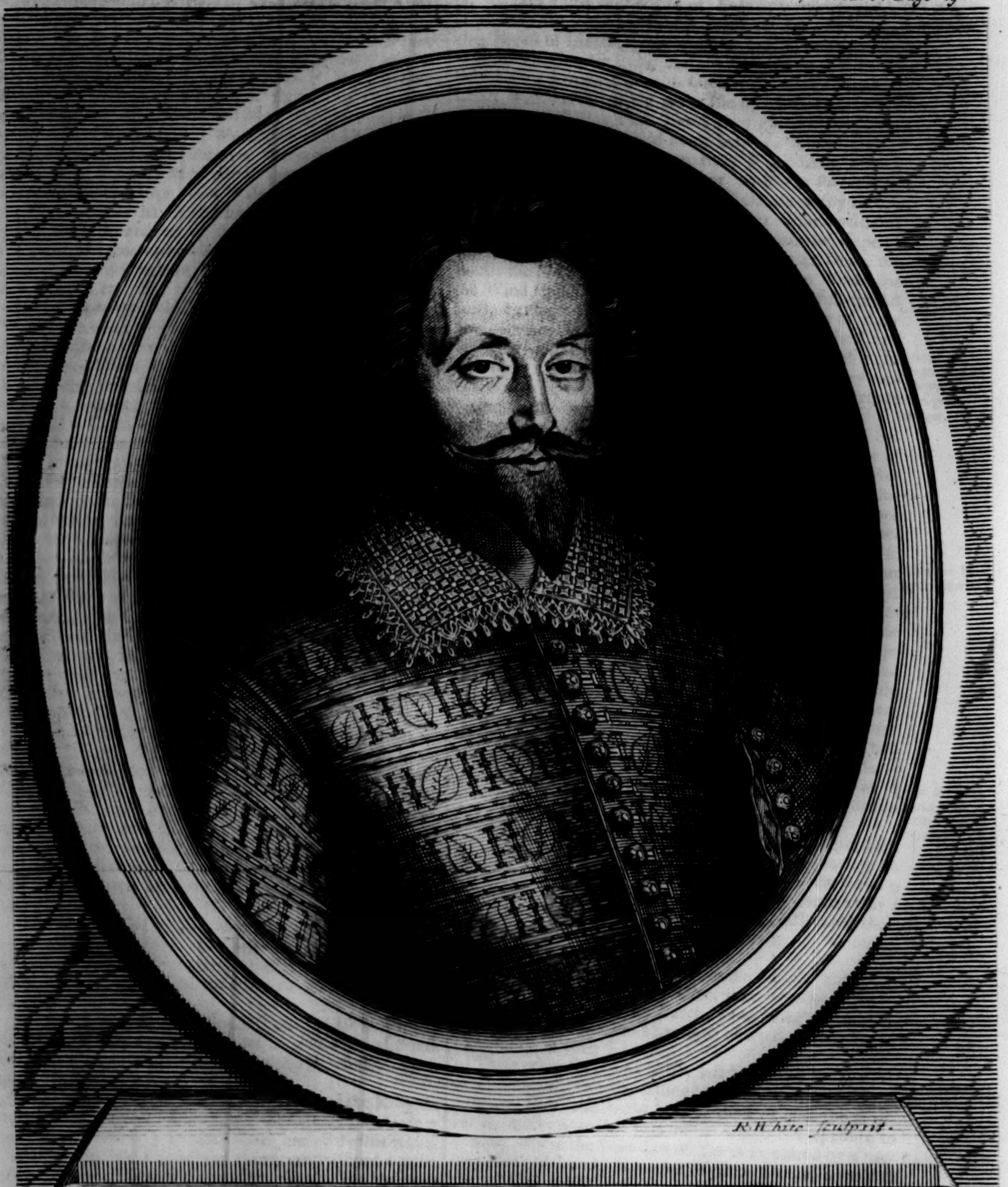
The



Sr. Francis Drake.

This Picture was taken from an Original Painting Communicated
by the Honble Sr. Phillip Sydenham Bart Knt of ye Shire for Somerset
To whom this Plate is Inscribed
by the Publishers

Voll. 1st Page 19.


R. White sculpsit.

Sr. FRANCIS DRAKE,

This Picture was taken from an Original Painting, Communicated
by the Honble Sr Phillip Sydenham Bart. Knt. of ye shire for Somerset.
To whom this Plate is dedicated
by the Publishers.

The Perſon that brought home the Ship *Victoria* from the *Molucca's*, was *John Sebaſtian Cabot*; whom the Emperor moſt Nobly Rewarded for his Service.

(g) See Ramus. Tom. I.
* A.D. 1524.

Before this Agreement between the Emperor, and King of *Portugal*, about the *Molucca's*, ſome of the *Portugueze* had attempted this Diſcovery out of *New Spain*, by the *South* Sea, but with ill Succeſs, as is related by *John Gaetan*, a *Spaniſh* Pilot (*g*). They ſail'd * from Port *Nativity*, in 20 Degr. of N. L. and came to the *Molucca's*; where the King of *Tiridore* entertain'd them well: But not being able to maintain their Ground againſt the *Spaniards*, they were forc'd to come to a Compoſition with them.

And thus have we ſeen the *Spaniſh* Ships putting a Girdle half round the Globe; we ſhall now ſee our *Engliſh* Ones finiſh what they had begun, making both Ends of it perfectly meet together.

CHAP. IV.

The famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, *the firſt General that ever Sail'd round the whole Globe.*

A. D. 1577.

THE Fifteenth of *November*, Sir *Francis Drake*, with a Fleet of five Ships and Barks, (in which were about 164 Perſons) ſet ſail from *Plimouth*, pretending a Voyage to *Alexandria*: But the Wind proving contrary, he was forc'd the next Morning to put in at *Falmouth* Haven, in *Cornwall*. Here a moſt violent Tempeſt had like to have made an univerſal Wreck, which yet produc'd no worſe effects, (as Providence was pleas'd to order the matter) than the loſs of the Admiral's * Maſt, and the driving of the *Marigold* aſhoar, which ſomething bruiz'd her. For the repairing theſe Damages, they return'd back to *Plimouth*; where having put all things to rights, and again prepared themſelves for the Dangers of the Sea; they ſet Sail the ſecond time, on the 13th of *December*.

* This famous Ship was call'd the *Pelican*.

(a) *Magador* on the Coaſt of *Barbary*.

On the 25th of the ſame Month, they fell in with Cape *Cautin*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*. And on the 27th came to Iſle *Magador* (*a*), lying one Mile diſtance from the Main, between which and the Iſle, they found a very ſafe and convenient Harbour. Here the Admiral erected a Pinnace, having brought the Hulks of four ready fram'd from *England*.

While they were upon this Work, ſome of the Inhabitants came to the Water-ſide, ſhewing their Flags of Peace: Upon which the Admiral ſent out his Boat, to know their Minds. One of his Men ſtay'd as a Pledge amongſt them, and two of their Company were brought a Shipboard: They told him by Signs, That the next Day they wou'd furniſh his Ships with good Proviſions; which Civility he requited with ſome Linen Cloth, Shoes, and a Javeline, things very acceptable to the Barbarians, and ſo they departed.

Treachery of the Barbarians.

The next Day they came as they had promis'd; and one of the Men leaping out of the Boat amongſt them, thinking to have leap'd into the Arms of Friends, made himſelf the Priſoner of theſe perfidious Wretches; who threatning to ſtab him, if he made any reſiſtance, preſently mounted him a Horſeback, and carried him up into the Country.

The Pinnace being finiſh'd, they ſet ſail *December* the 30th, and Coaſting along the Shoar, they met ſome *Spaniſh* Fiſhermen; which giving Chace to, they took three of them: And a little further they met with a Booty of three Caravels.

Cape *Blanco*.

(b) They are call'd Canters.

January the 17th, they arrived at Cape *Blanco*; where they found a Ship at Anchor within the Cape, having only two Mariners in her: The Ship they took, and carried her into the Harbour, where they ſtay'd four Days; in which time the Admiral muſter'd his Men aſhoar, to prepare them for Land, as well as Sea-Service. Here they took of the Fiſher-men ſuch Neceſſaries as they wanted, and alſo one of their Barks (*b*) of about 40 Tun; leaving behind them a little Bark of their own.

(c) Mayo Iſle.
(d) Goats.

They left this Harbour *January* the 22d, carrying along with them one of the *Portugueze* Caravels, which was bound to the Iſles of Cape *de Verd*, for Salt; of which good ſtore is made in one of thoſe Iſlands. The Maſter of that Caravel aſſur'd the Admiral, That in one of the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands, call'd (*c*) *Mayo*, that there was good ſtore of dry'd *Cabrito's* (*d*), which were every Year made ready for ſuch Ships of the King's as call'd there. They came upon this place, *January* the 27th; but the Inhabitants would drive no Trade with them; the King's Orders having poſitively forbid it. Yet the next Day they went to take a view of the Iſland; the Admiral ſending out a Company of Men for that purpoſe. They march'd towards the chief place of the Iſle, and having travell'd thro' the Mountains for three Days, they came thither before Day-break. They found the Inhabitants all run away; but they came not to ſee them, but the Country: And this, by the Manuring, appear'd to be more fruitful than the other part.

Grapes ripe in Winter.

They reſted themſelves here a while, and banquetted upon the ſweet and lovely Grapes which were in their prime, even at that Seaſon of the Year, which is the Depth of Winter with us in *England*. This won't appear ſtrange, if it be conſider'd, that that Country lying in the Torrid Zone, ſees the Sun twice a Year in its Zenith, which makes a double Summer, and ſo enjoys a far greater ſhare of that Luminary's Influence and Preſence, than thoſe places that lie without the Boundaries of his Motion, and to which he is never Vertical: So that whereas in places ſeated in remoter Parallels, the mightieſt Influence and Action of the Sun, in its neareſt Approaches to them, is not of force enough to keep Nature in a blooming ſtate thro' the whole Revolution of the Year; nor can the weaker Rays of the Winter-Sun, ſo far renew its Vigour, or remove the deadly Chill which then oppreſſes all things, as to bring any Plant or Fruit to its due maturity. On the other hand, theſe Climates of the Middle Zone, are ſo throughly heated by the twice culminating Sun, and alſo have him ſtill, (by the Laws of his Motion) at ſo little a diſtance from them, that even in his fartheſt Receſs, there is, in many places, Warmth ſufficient for the ſpringing of Vegetables, and the ripening of Fruits.

Salt made by Nature.

Coco-Trees.

This Country is ſtor'd with Goats, wild Hens, and Salt, which Nature makes ready to the Inhabitants Hands. It is brought together in great Quantities upon the Land, by the flowing of the Sea, and the Heat of the Sun kerns it; the People have no more to do, but to gather it into Heaps, and ſell it to their Neighbours; which they do, making a good Trade of it. They found here alſo Coco-Trees, the Fruit of which, ſeems to be in all points, the ſame with thoſe before deſcribed, which the *Spaniards* found in the Iſle *Zubuan*. The Trees themſelves bear no Leaves nor Branches, but at the top the Fruit grows in Cluſters, and they are, each Coco, as big as a Man's Head. Having ſatisfied themſelves with theſe Fruits, they march'd farther into the Iſland, and ſaw great ſtore of *Cabrito's*, but they could take none of them; tho' if they had pleas'd, they might have furniſh'd themſelves with ſome that were old, dead, and dried, which the People had laid out on purpoſe for them; but not caring for that Refuſe of the Iſland, they return'd to their Ships.

(e) St. *Jago* Iſle.

A Prize taken.

January the 21ſt, they went from hence, and ſail'd by the Iſle St. *Jago* (*e*); in paſſing by which, the People diſcharged 3 Pieces at them, but without doing any miſchief. The Iſland is fair and large, inhabited by *Portugueze*; but the Mountains are poſſeſſed by the *Moors*: Who to deliver themſelves from Slavery, fled to thoſe places of Refuge, where they have fortified themſelves. Before this Iſland they ſaw two Ships under ſail, one of which they took, and found to be a good Prize, well laded with Wines. The Admiral retain'd the Pilot, but diſcharg'd the Ship and the Men, giving them ſome Victuals, a Butt of Wine, and their wearing Cloaths.

(f) Iſland *Fogho*.

(g) *Brava*.

The ſame Night they came to the Iſland *Del Fogho* (*f*), or the burning Iſland, which is inhabited by *Portugueze*. On the North-ſide there is a ſort of a Vulcano, that is continually belching out Smoke and Flame. On the South-ſide lies a (*g*) very delightful Iſland, beſet with Trees ever green and flouriſhing, and refreſh'd with cooling Streams, that pour themſelves out into the Sea. Here was no convenient Road for their Ships, the Sea being ſo deep, that there was no poſſible fixing of an Anchor thereabouts.

Flying Fiſh.

Leaving theſe Iſlands, they drew towards the Line, being ſometimes becalm'd for a long time together, and at others beaten with Tempeſts: They had continually great plenty of Fiſh, as Dolphins, Bonito's, and flying Fiſhes, ſome of which drop'd down into their Ships, and cou'd not riſe again, becauſe their Wings wanted moiſture.

From the firſt Day of their Departure from the Iſlands of Cape *Verd*, they ſail'd 54 Degrees without ſight of Land; and the firſt which they ſaw was the Coaſt of *Braſile*, in 33 Degr. of *South* Lat. *April* 5. The barbarous People aſhoar having diſcover'd the Ships, began to uſe their accuſtomed Conjuring Ceremonies, in order to raiſe a Storm to torment them, and ſink their Ships: For this purpoſe they made great Fires, and offered ſome Sacrifices to the Devil; but he was not able to ſerve them at that time; the Winds and Seas being kept in good order, by a Power ſuperiour to that of the Prince of the Air.

(h) Cape Joy.

April the 7th, They had Lightning, Rain, and Thunder; in which Storm they loſt a little Bark, the *Chriſtopher*; but the 11th Day they found her again; and the place where all the Ships that were diſpers'd in the ſearch of her met together, the Admiral call'd the Cape of (i) *Joy*; and here every Ship took in freſh Water. The Country hereabouts was fair and pleaſant, the Air ſweet and mild, the Soil rich and fruitful. The Inhabitants ſeem'd to be only ſome Herds of wild Deer, no others being to be ſeen; tho' they diſcern'd the Footſteps of ſome People, (and thoſe of a large ſize too) in the Ground. Having weigh'd Anchor, and run a little farther, they found a little Harbour between a certain Rock and the Main, where the Rock breaking the force of the Sea, the Ship rid very ſafely. Upon this Rock they kill'd ſeveral Sea-Wolves, (which we call Seols) keeping them for Food.

Seals.

(i) Rio de Plate.

Seols and Fowl.

Strange Humour of the People.

Their next Courſe being to 36 Degr. of *South* Lat. they entred the great River of *Plate* ( ), and came into between 53 and 54 Fathom of freſh Water; but finding no good Harbour here, they put out to Sea again. Sailing on, they came to a good Bay, in which Bay ſcattering about ſeveral pretty Iſlands, one of which was ſtock'd with Seols, and the others for the moſt part with Fowls, to a very wonderful degree of plenty: There was no want of any Proviſions, nor of good Water there. The Admiral being aſhoar in one of theſe Iſlands, the People came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free for Trade; but had a way not to take any thing from any other Perſon, without it were firſt thrown down upon the Ground. They were a comely ſtrong-bodied People, very ſwift of Foot, and of a briſk lively Conſtitution.

Vaſt Numbers of Seols. People of the Country.

The *Marigold*, and the *Chriſtopher*, (being ſent to diſcover a convenient Harbour) return'd with the happy News of one; into which they went with all their Ships. Here the Seols abounded to that degree, that they kill'd more than 200 in an Hour's ſpace. The Natives came boldly and confidently about them, while they were working aſhoar; their Faces were painted, and their Apparel only a Covering of ſome Beaſts Skins (with the Furr on) about their Waſtes, and ſomething wreath'd about their Heads. They had Bows an Ell long, but no more than two Arrows apiece. They ſeem'd to be not altogether deſtitute of Martial Diſcipline; as appear'd by the Method they obſerved in ordering and ranging their Men. And they gave ſufficient proof of their Agility, by ſtealing the Admiral's Hat off from his very Head; which was a brave Prize amongſt them, one taking the Hat, and another the Gold Band that was in it, neither of which cou'd ever be gotten again from them.

Port St. *Julian*

Having diſpatch'd all Affairs in this place, they ſet ſail; and *June* the 20th they harbour'd at Port St. *Julian*, ſo call'd by *Magellanicus*. Here they ſaw the Gibbet, in which *Magellanicus* had formerly executed ſome of his mutinous Company: And here alſo (as if the place were fatal to Mutiniers) did Admiral *Drake* execute one of his.

Auguſt the 17th, they left St. *Julian*'s Port, and the 20th fell in with the Streight of *Magellan*, going into the *South* Sea. The 21ſt they entred the Streight, which they found to lie very intricate and crooked, with divers Turnings; by which means ſhifting about ſo often, the Wind wou'd ſometimes be againſt them, which made their Sailing very troubleſome. And not only ſo, but dangerous too, eſpecially if any ſudden Blaſts of Wind came: For tho' there be ſeveral good Harbours about, and freſh Water enough, yet the Sea is ſo deep, that there is no Anchoring there, except in ſome very narrow River, or Corner, or between the Rocks. There are vaſt Mountains covered with Snow, that ſpread along the Land on both ſides the Streight; the tops of which mount up in the Air to a prodigious height, having two or three Regions of Clouds lying in order below them. The Streight is extreamly cold, with Froſt and Snow continually; yet do the Trees and Plants maintain a conſtant Verdure, and flouriſh, notwithſtanding the Weather.

Deſcription of the Streights of *Magel.*

At the South and Eaſt parts of the Streight, there are various Iſlands, between which the Sea breaks into the Streight, as it does in the main entrance. The breadth of it is from one League, which is the narroweſt to two, three, or four Leagues, which is the wideſt.

Pengwins.

Auguſt the 24th, they came to an Iſland in the Streights, where were a ſort of Fowl as big as Geeſe, that cou'd not fly; and they were in ſuch multitudes, that they kill'd 3000 in leſs than one Day.

September the 6th, they entred the *South* Sea at the Cape, or Head-ſhoar. And the 7th they were driven by a Storm back from that entrance, more than 200 Leagues in Lon. and one Degree to the South of the Streight. From the Bay they were driven back to the Southward of the Streights, in 57 Degr. of South Latitude, where they Anchored among the Iſlands, finding good freſh Water, and excellent Herbs. Not far from hence they entred another Bay, where they found a ſort of naked People, ranging from one Iſland to another, in their Canoes, to ſeek Proviſions: Theſe traded with them for ſuch Commodities as they had.

Sailing Northward again from hence, they found three Iſlands, *October* the 3d; in one of which was ſuch plenty of Birds, as is hardly credible.

Mr. *Winter* ſeparated by a Storm, and returns.

October the 8th they loſt the Ship, in which Mr. *Winter* was, which they imagin'd to be forc'd back by a Storm into the Streights; this Conjecture proved to be true, tho' they were miſtaken in their ſuppoſition of his being loſt. [He, after he came home to *England*, declared, That ſolemn Poſſeſſion was taken of the Streights, and the Territories adjacent, with Turf and Twig, after the *Engliſh* manner, and that by himſelf in the Name, and for the Uſe of Queen *Elizabeth*.]

Being now come into the height of the Streights again, they put away towards the Coaſt of *Chili*, which the General Maps place to the North Weſt; but they found afterwards to lie to the North Eaſt, and Eaſterly: So that thoſe Coaſts were either not fully diſcover'd, or at leaſt not faithfully deſcribed.

(k) *Moha* Iſland, in 38 Degr. 30Min. *M.S.*

Continuing their Courſe, they came *November* the 29th, to the Iſle *Moha* (k), where they caſt Anchor, and the Admiral with ten Men went aſhoar. The People that dwelt there, were ſuch as the extream Cruelty of the *Spaniards* had forced from their own Habitations to this Iſland, to preſerve their Lives and Liberties there. They carried it very civilly to the Admiral, and his Men, bringing them Potatoes, and two fat Sheep, promiſing further to bring them Water, for which they receiv'd ſome Preſents. The next Day two Men were ſent aſhoar, with Barrels for Water, and the Natives having them at an advantage, preſently ſeiz'd them, and, as 'tis probable, knock'd them on the Head. The Reaſon of this Outrage was, becauſe they took them for *Spaniards*, whom they never ſpare, when they fall into their hands.

They take a *Spaniſh* Ship.

Continuing their Courſe for *Chili*, and drawing near the Coaſts of it, they met an *Indian* in a Canoe; who miſtaking them for *Spaniards*, told them, That at St. *Jago* there was a great *Spaniſh* Ship laden from *Peru*. The Admiral rewarding him for this Intelligence, he conducted them to the place where the Ship lay at Anchor, which was Port *Val Parizo*, in 33 Degr. 40 Min. of South Lat. All the Men they had in her, were no more than eight *Spaniards*, and three Negroes; and they ſuppoſing the *Engliſh* to have been Friends, welcom'd them with the Beat of a Drum, and invited them to drink ſome *Chili* Wine with them. But they reſolving firſt to ſecure their Prize, and then drink afterwards, boarded the Ship, and laying all the *Spaniards* under Hatches, took poſſeſſion. One of the *Spaniards* ſeeing how they were ſerved, deſperately leap'd overboard, and ſwam to the Town of St. *Jago* to give them Notice of the *Engliſh*'s coming; upon which all the Inhabitants preſently quitted the Town, and ran away:

They take the Town of St. *Jago*.

Wine of *Chili*.

Which they might quickly do, there not being above nine Houſholds in the whole Town. The Admiral and his Men being entred, rifled the Town and the Chapel, taking out of it a Silver Chalice, two Cruets, and an Altar-Cloth. They found in the Town alſo a good Cargo of *Chili* Wine, and Boards of Cedar Wood; all which they carried to their Ships; intending the Boards for Firing, and with the Wine to drink the *Spaniards* Healths. The General having then ſet all the Priſoners aſhoar, except one whom he reſerv'd for his Pilot, he left St. *Jago*, and directed his Courſe to *Lima*.

Gold of *Baldivia*.

(l) *Coquimbo*.

Being now out at Sea, and having opportunity to examine the Particulars of the Booty taken at St. *Jago*, they found (beſides the Wine) 25000 Pezoes of very pure Gold of *Baldivia*; which amounted to more than 37000 *Spaniſh* Duckets. So continuing their Courſe to *Lima*, they put in at *Coquimbo* (l), which lies in 29 Degr. 30 Min. *South* Lat. Here the Admiral ſent fourteen Men aſhoar, to fetch Water: But the *Spaniards* happening to ſpy this ſmall Company, and being reſolved for the Glory of their Nation, to undertake a brave Revenge upon ſo notorious an Enemy; they did (tho' the Action was bold and hazardous) with an Army of 300 Horſe, and 200 Foot, attack theſe fourteen *Engliſh*; and after ſome Fight, by the help of their Guns, made a ſlaughter of one of them; the other thirteen coming back ſafe to the Ship. After this, the *Engliſh* going aſhoar to bury their dead Man, the *Spaniards* put out a Flag of Truce; but they thinking their Fidelity to be no greater than their Courage, did not care to truſt them, and ſo went off.

(m) *Tarapaxa* Port.

From hence they came to a Port called *Tarapaxa* (m); where being landed, they found a *Spaniard* aſleep upon the Shoar, with thirteen Bars of Silver lying by him, which came to about 4000 *Spaniſh* Duckets; they did not think fit to diſturb the *Spaniard*'s Repoſe, but taking the Silver, they left him to take out his Nap. Not far from hence, going aſhoar for Water, they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, driving 8 *Peruvian* Sheep (which are as big as Aſſes) laden with very fine Silver; every Sheep having two Leather-bags, (containing 50 *l.* weight each) on his Back. They deliver'd the poor Animals from thoſe irkſome Burthens, and lodged the Bags in their own Ships: After which, the *Indian* and *Spaniards* were permitted to drive on.

(n) *Arica*.

They ſail'd hence to *Arica* (n), which is in 18 Degr. 30 Min. *South* Lat. And in the Port found three ſmall Barks, which being rifled, yielded them 57 Wedges of Silver, each weighing about 20 *l.* They took no Priſoners in the Barks, but thoſe valuable ones before-mention'd: For the Men that belong'd to them, fearing no Strangers coming there, were all gone aſhoar to make much of themſelves. They did not aſſault the Town, having not ſtrength enough for it: So that putting off to Sea again, they met with another little Bark laden with Linen Cloth, part of which the Admiral took, and ſo let her go.

They came *February* the 13th to *Lima*, which lies in 11 Degr. 50 Min. *South* Lat. and being entred the Haven, found there twelve Sail of Ships, lying faſt at Anchor, with all their Sails down, without Watch or Guard, their ſecure Maſters being all a Drinking and Carouzing aſhoar. Examining the Contents of theſe Ships, they found a Cheſt full of Rials of Plate, good ſtore of Silks and Linen; all which Plate they carried to their own Ships, and good part of the Silks and Linen.

Purſue the *Cacafuego*.

The Admiral here had Notice of another very rich Ship named the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards *Paita*; which they purſuing thither, found her before their Arrival, gone for *Panama*. But however, tho' they miſs'd their intended Prize, another (which they took in the purſuit of her to *Panama*) paid them the Charge of their Voyage: For beſides the Ropes and Tackling for Ships which they found in her, ſhe yielded them 80 *l.* weight of Gold, together with a fine Crucifix of the ſame Metal, richly adorn'd with Emeraulds; all which, with ſome of the Cordage, they ſeiz'd. But reſolving ſtill to proceed in the purſuit of the *Cacafuego*, the Admiral, to encourage his Company, promis'd, That whoever firſt ſaw her, ſhou'd have his Golden Chain for a Reward: Which fell to the ſhare of Mr. *John Drake*, who firſt deſcried her about three a Clock. About ſix a Clock they came up with her, gave her three Shots, ſtruck down her Mizen, and boarded her.

They take the *Cacafuego*

They found her as rich and weighty as ſhe was reported to be, having aboard her thirteen Cheſts full of Rials of Plate, 80 *l.* weight of Gold, a good quantity of Jewels, and 26 Tun of Silver. The place where this Prize was taken, was call'd Cape *San Franciſco*, about 150 Leagues from *Panama*, and in 1 Degr. of *North* Lat. Amongſt other rich pieces of Plate which they found in this Ship, they met with a couple of very large Silver Bowls, gilt, which belong'd to the Pilot of her: The Admiral ſeeing theſe, told him, That he had two fine Bowls, but he muſt needs have one of them; which the Pilot yielded to, not knowing how to help himſelf: And further, to make it look leſs like compulſion, he preſented the other of them to the Admiral's Steward. This Pilot's Boy (when they went away) told the Admiral, That his Ship, and not theirs, ſhou'd now be call'd the *Cacafuego*, ſince it had gotten all the rich Lading of the *Cacafuego* in it: Which Jeſt of the Boys made the Company very merry.

After this, having entirely ranſack'd the *Cacafuego*, they caſt her off; and continuing their Courſe to the Weſt, they met with a Ship laden with Linen Cloth, *China*-diſhes, and Silks of the ſame Country. The Owner of it was a *Spaniard* there preſent; from whom the Admiral took a Faulcon wrought in Maſſy Gold, with a great Emerauld ſet in the Breaſt of it. Beſides this, chuſing what he lik'd of the Wares aboard this Veſſel, and ſeizing the Pilot for his own Service, he turn'd the Ship going. This Pilot brought them to the Haven of (o) *Guatulco*, the Town adjacent, which had but (as he ſaid) ſeventeen *Spaniards* in it. Having therefore put to Shoar, they marched directly into the Town, and ſo up to the Publick Hall of Juſtice; where they found the Court ſitting, and a Judge ready to paſs Sentence upon a parcel of poor Negroes, that were accus'd of a Plot to fire the Town. But the Admiral's coming chang'd the Scene of Affairs at the Court; for he being Judge himſelf, paſs'd Sentence upon them all, both Judges and Criminals, to become his Priſoners; which Sentence was preſently executed, and they all carried away to the Ships. Here he made the chief Judge write to the Townſmen, to keep at a diſtance, and not pretend to make any manner of reſiſtance; ſo the Town being clear'd, they ranſack'd it all over, finding no more valuable Plunder than about a Buſhel of Rials of Plate; only one of their Company took a rich *Spaniard* flying out of the Town, who paid him for his trouble in purſuing him, with a Gold Chain, and ſome Jewels. Here the Admiral ſetting aſhoar ſome *Spaniſh* Priſoners, and his old *Portugueze* Pilot, which he took at the Iſlands of Cape *de Verd*, departed hence for the Iſland *de Canno* (p). While they lay here, a certain *Spaniſh* Ship, bound for the *Philippine* Iſlands, came in their way; which they only lightned of a part of the Burthen of her Merchandize, and ſo diſcharged her.

China Silks, and Porcelſean.

(o) *Guatulco* Haven.

(p) Iſland *Canno*.

And now the Admiral thinking he had in pretty good meaſure, reveng'd both the Publick Injuries of his Country, as well as his own Private Wrongs upon the *Spaniards*, began to deliberate upon his return home. But which Way he ſhould take, was the Grand Queſtion to be reſolved: To return by the Streights of the *South* Sea, (beſides the Dangers of that Paſſage which he had already experienc'd) he thought, would be, to throw himſelf into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who would probably there wait for him, with a far greater Strength than he cou'd now cope with: For he had at this time but one Ship left, tho' it was a very rich one. All things therefore conſider'd, he reſolved to go on to the *Molucca's*, and ſo follow the Courſe of the *Portugueze*, to get home by the Cape of *Good Hope*. But being becalm'd, he found it neceſſary to ſail Northerly, to get a good Wind; upon which deſign they ſail'd at leaſt 600 Leagues, which was all the way they made, from *April* the 16th, to the third of *June*.

A Bay.

June the 5th, being got into 43 Degr. of *North* Lat. they found the Air exceſſively cold, and the further they went the ſeverity of the Cold was more intolerable. Upon which ſcore they made towards the Land till they came within 38 Degr. N. Lat. under which height of the Pole they found a very good Bay, and had a favourable Wind to enter the ſame. Anchoring here, they had ſome Correſpondence with the People of the Country, whoſe Houſes lay all along upon the Water-ſide. They ſent the Admiral a Preſent of Feathers, and Cawls of Net-work; who entertain'd them with ſo much Kindneſs and Liberality, that the poor Wretches thought a Company of kind Angels were come from the other World to careſs them.

The Country and People about the Bay.

Tho' the Country be cold, yet they order the matter ſo in the framing of their Houſes, as to live out of danger of ſtarving: For they ſurround them with a deep Trench, upon the outmoſt Edge of which they raiſe up great pieces of Timber, which cloſe altogether at the top, like the Spire of a Steeple. Their Bed, is the bare Ground ſtrew'd with Ruſhes; and their Fire-place in the middle, about which they all lie.

The Men go naked; the Women wear a looſe Garment of Bulruſhes, dreſs'd after the manner of Hemp, which faſtned about their Middles, hangs down to their Hips; and upon their Shoulders they have a Deer-skin. But their very good Qualities make amends for their ordinary Dreſs and Figure; they being extreamly dutiful and ſerviceable to their Husbands.

The Admiral had quickly after another Preſent from them; which was Feathers, and Bags of Tobacco; a conſiderable Body of them waiting upon him at the ſame time. They were all gather'd together upon the top of a Hill, from whence their Speaker harangu'd the Admiral, who lay below in his Tent, pitch'd at the bottom of the Hill. When this was ended, they left their Weapons and came down, offering their own Preſents, and at the ſame time civilly returning thoſe which the Admiral had made them.

All the while the Women who remain'd above, poſſeſs'd with a mad Fury, tore their Hair, and made dreadful Howlings; which is the common Muſick at their Sacrifices;

crifices, ſomething of which Nature was then ſolemnizing. But whilſt theſe above were ſerving the Devil, the Men below were better employ'd, attending very diligently to Divine Service, then performed in the Admiral's Tent.

The King comes to the Admiral.

The News of the *Engliſh* being there, ſpreading about in the Country, there came two Ambaſſadors to the Admiral, to tell him, That the King was coming to wait upon him, and deſired a token of Peace to aſſure his ſafe Conduct. The Admiral having given this, the whole Train began to march towards them, and that in very good and graceful order.

In the Front came a comely Perſon bearing the Scepter before the King, upon which hanged two Crowns, and three Chains of a very great length: The Crowns were made of Net-work, and artificially wrought with Feathers of many colours; and the Chains were made of Bones. Next to the Scepter-bearer came the King himſelf, a very comely proper Perſon, ſhowing a good Air of Majeſty in his gate and deportment; he was ſurrounded with a Guard of tall Martial-look'd Men, who were all clad in Skins. Next to thoſe came the common People, having (to make the finer Show) painted their Faces, ſome white, ſome black, and ſome other colours, and all with their Arms full of Preſents, even the very Children themſelves not excepted. The Admiral drew up all his Men into order of Battel, and ſtood ready to receive them within his Fortifications. At ſome diſtance from him, the whole Train made a Halt, and kept a profound Silence; at which time, the Scepter-bearer made a Speech of half an hour long. This being ended, the ſame Officer, of a Speech-Maker, became a Dancing-Maſter, and at the ſame time ſtruck up a Song; in both which he was followed by King, Lords, and Common People, who came Singing and Dancing up to the Admiral's Fences. Being all ſet down, there (after ſome preliminary Complements) the King made a Solemn Offer of his whole Kingdom, and its Dependencies, to the Admiral, deſiring him to take the Sovereignty upon him, and profeſſing that he himſelf would be his very Loyal Subject. And that this might not ſeem to be meer Complement and Pretence, he did (by the Conſent of his Nobles there preſent) take off the Illuſtrious Crown of Feathers from his own Head, and fix it upon the Admiral's; and at the ſame time, Inveſting him with the other Enſigns of Royalty, did (as much as in him lay) make him King of the Country.

The King reſigns his Crown and Kingdom to Sir *Francis Drake.*

The Admiral accepted of this new offer'd Dignity, as Her Majeſties Repreſentative, in her Name, and for her Uſe; it being probable, that from this Donation, whether made in jeſt or in earneſt, by theſe *Indians*, ſome real Advantages might hereafter redound to the *Engliſh* Nation and Intereſt in thoſe Parts. The common People diſpers'd themſelves up and down every where amongſt the Admiral's Tents, expreſſing an admiration and value for the *Engliſh* to the degree of Madneſs and Profaneneſs, coming before them with Sacrifices, which they pretended to offer with a profound Devotion to them, till they, by force, kept them back from proceeding in thoſe Impious Ceremonies, expreſſing their utmoſt abhorrence of them, and directing them to the Supreme Maker and Preſerver of all things, whom alone they ought to Honour with Religious Worſhip. The Admiral and his Company travell'd to ſome diſtance up in the Country, which they found extremely full of Deer, which were large and fat, and very often 1000 in a Herd. There was alſo ſuch a vaſt plenty of Conies, that the whole Country ſeem'd to be one intire great Warren. They were of the bigneſs of a *Barbary* Coney, their Heads like thoſe in our Parts, their Feet like a Moles, and their Tail reſembling that of a Rat: Under the Chin, on each ſide, is faſtned a Bag, into which the Creature injects what Food it gets abroad, and preſerves it for a time of neceſſity. The fleſh of them is a valuable Diſh amongſt the Natives, and the Skins afford Robes for the King, and all the great Men.

Deer and Conies.

Gold and Silver.

Nova Albion.

The Earth of the Country ſeem'd to promiſe very rich Veins of Gold and Silver, there being hardly any digging without bringing up ſome of the Ores of them. The Admiral call'd it *Nova Albion*, partly in Honour to his own Country, and partly from the Proſpect of white Cliffs and Banks, which it yields to them that view it from the Sea. At his departure hence he ſet up a Monument, with a large Plate, upon which was Engraven Her Majeſties Name, Picture, Arms, Title to the Country, the time of their arrival there, and the Admiral's own Name.

In this Country the *Spaniards* had never ſet footing, nor did they ever diſcover the Land by many degrees to the Southward of this Place.

Iſlands in 8 degr. North Lat.

Setting ſail from hence, they loſt the ſight of Land till *October* 13. upon which Day, in the Morning, they came in with certain Iſlands in 8 degrees North Lat. from whence they met a great number of Canoes coming laden with Coco's, and other Fruit. Theſe Canoes were hollowed within with a great deal of Art, and look'd ſmooth and ſhining without like burniſh'd Horn. The Prow and Stern both yielded inwards, Circle-wiſe; and on each ſide of them lay out two pieces of Timber about a Yard and half long, more or leſs, as the Veſſel was bigger or leſs: They were of a conſiderable heighth, and for ſhew ſet off in the inſide with white Shells. The People that were in them, had the lower part of their Ears cut round, and ſtretched down a conſiderable way upon their Cheeks, by the weight of thoſe things they hang in them. They ſeem'd to deſign their Nails for Weapons, letting them grow a full Inch in length: Their Teeth are as black as Pitch, and they have a way to renew them, by eating of an Herb with a ſort of Powder, which they ever carry about them for that purpoſe.

Strange Canoes.

Iſlands.

October 18. they came to ſeveral other Iſlands, in ſome of which there was an appearance of Inhabitants, and continued their Courſe by the Iſlands of *Taquloda*, *Zelon*, and *Zevena*; the firſt of which had good ſtore of Cinnamon, and they were all of them Friends to the *Portugueze*.

Nov. 14. they fell in with the *Moluccas*, and intending for *Tiridore*, as they Coaſted along the Iſland *Mutyr*, which belongs to the King of *Ternate*, they met his Viceroy, who ſeeing the Admirals Ship, without fear came aboard him. He adviſed the Admiral, by no means, to proſecute his Voyage to *Tiridore*, but to ſail directly for *Ternate*, becauſe his Maſter was a very great Enemy to the *Portugueze*, and wou'd have nothing to do with them, if they were at all concern'd with *Tiridore*, or that Nation who were ſettled there. The Admiral, upon this, reſolv'd for *Ternate*, and early the next Morning came to an Anchor before the Town. He ſent a Meſſenger to the King with a Velvet Cloak, for a Preſent, and to aſſure him, That he came thither upon no Deſign, but purely that of Trading in his Country. The Viceroy alſo, by this time, had been with the King, and diſpos'd him to entertain a very favourable Opinion of the *Engliſh*; which wrought ſo far, that the King return'd a very civil and obliging Anſwer to the Admiral's Meſſage, aſſuring him, That a friendly Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Nation was highly pleaſing to him; That his whole Country ſhould lie open to them, and whatever it yielded ſhould be at their Service. And more then that, That he was very ready to lay himſelf, and his Kingdom, at the foot of ſo Glorious a Princeſs as was the Queen, whom they ſerved, and to make Her his Sovereign as well as theirs. And in token of this, he ſent the Admiral a Signet, carrying it, beſides, with a very great reſpect to the *Engliſh* Meſſenger, who went to Court, and had been received there with much Pomp and Ceremony. The King having a mind to make the Admiral a Viſit a Shipboard, ſent beforehand four large Canoes, fill'd with ſome of the moſt highly dignify'd Perſons about him. They were all dreſs'd in white Lawn, and had a large Umbrella of very fine perfum'd Mats, (born up with a frame made of Reeds) ſpreading over their Heads from one end of the Canoe to the other. Their Servants clad in white ſtood about them; and without theſe were Ranks of Soldiers, placed in comely order on both ſides. Beyond the Martial Men, were plac'd the Rowers, in certain well-contrived Galleries, which lay three of a ſide all along the Canoes, and were decently rais'd one above the other, each Gallery containing 80 Rowers. Theſe Canoes were furniſh'd too with all Warlike Proviſions, and the Soldiers well Accoutred, having all manner of Weapons both Offenſive and Defenſive. Rowing near the Ship, they all paid their Reverences to the Admiral, in great order, one after another, and told him, That the King had ſent them to Conduct him into a ſafer Road than that he was in at preſent: Soon after the King himſelf came, attended by ſix Grave ancient Perſons; he ſeemed to be much pleaſed with the *Engliſh* Muſick, and much more with the *Engliſh* Bravery and Generoſity, which the Admiral expreſs'd to the full, in very large Preſents made to him and his Nobles. The King promis'd the next Day to come aboard again, and that ſame Night ſent them in ſtore of Proviſions, as Rice, Hens, Sugar, Cloves, a ſort of Fruit they call *Figo*, and *Sagu*, which is a Meal they make of the tops of Trees, melting in the Mouth like Sugar, but taſting like a ſowre Curd; but yet, when made up in Cakes, will keep ſo as to be very fit for eating at 10 Years end. The King came not aboard according to his promiſe, but ſent his Brother to excuſe him, and withal, to invite the Admiral aſhore, and to be a Pledge for his ſafe return: The Admiral refus'd to go himſelf, but ſent ſome Gentlemen of his Retinue, in company of the King's Brother, and kept the Viceroy till their return. They were receiv'd aſhore by

Iſland *Ternate.*

King *Ternate* offers his Kingdom to be at the Command of Q. *Eliz.*

Great Canoes.

They go aſhore to have Audience of the King.

another Brother of the King's, and ſeveral of the Nobles, and conducted in great State to the Caſtle, where there was a Preſence of at leaſt 1000 Perſons; the principal of which were the King's Council, to the number of 60 very grave Perſons, and 4 Turkiſh Leigers in Scarlet Robes and Turbants, who were there to negotiate in Matters of Trade between *Conſtantinople* and *Ternate*. The King came in guarded with 12 Lances, a glorious Canopy embroider'd with Gold being carry'd over his Head. He had a looſe Robe of Cloth of Gold hung about him; his Legs bare, but Shooes of Cordovan upon his Feet. He had Circlets of Gold wreathed up and down in his Hair, and a large Chain of the ſame Metal about his Neck, and very fair Jewels on his Fingers. A Page ſtood at the Right Hand of his Chair of State, breathing the cool Air upon him with a Fan two foot in length, and one broad, curiouſly embroider'd and bedeck'd with Sapphires, faſten'd to a Staff 3 foot long, by which the Page moved it. He kindly receiv'd the *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and having heard their Meſſage, ſent one of his Council to conduct them back to their Ships. He is a potent Prince, and has 70 Iſlands under him, beſides *Ternate*, which is it ſelf the beſt of all the *Moluccas*. His Religion, and that of his Country, is *Mahometaniſm*: They obſerve New Moons and Faſts, as the followers of *Mahomet* do; in which Faſts, tho' they mortify the fleſh by Day, yet they pamper it as much in the Night.

Shining Flies.

After this, the Admiral having diſpatch'd all his Affairs here, weighed Anchor, and put off from *Ternate*, ſailing to a little Iſland Southward of the *Celebes*, where they ſtaid 26 Days. This Iſland is extremely Woody, the Trees are of a large high growth, ſtraight, and without Boughs, except at top, and the Leaves ſomething like our *Engliſh* Broom. Here they obſerved a ſort of ſhining Flies in great multitudes, no bigger than the common Flies in *England*, which ſwimming up and down in the Air, between the Trees and Buſhes, made them appear as if they were burning.

Large Bats and Craw-fiſh.

Here are Bats alſo as big as Hens, and a Terreſtrial ſort of Craw-fiſh, which dig holes in the Earth like Conies; and are ſo large, that one of them will very plentifully Dine four Perſons.

* A.D. 1579.
Their danger upon a Rock.
They get free by a Wind.

Setting ſail from hence, they deſign'd to have run for the *Moluccas*; but having a bad Wind, and being amongſt a parcel of Iſlands, with much difficulty they recover'd to the Northward of the *Celebes*, where being not able, for contrary Winds, to continue a Weſtern courſe, they alter'd to the Southward again, which they found very hazardous, by reaſon of the Shoals that lie thick among the Iſlands. This they prov'd by a dangerous (and almoſt fatal) Experiment on *Jan.* 9. * when they run upon a Rock, in which they ſtuck faſt from 8 at Night to 4 *P.M.* the next Day. In this diſtreſs, they lightned their Ship upon the Rocks of 3 Tun of Cloves, and 8 Pieces of Ordnance, and ſome Proviſions: Very quickly after which, the Wind chopping about from the Starboard to the Larboard of the Ship, they hois'd ſail, and the happy gale, at that moment, entirely diſengag'd them from the embraces of the Rock.

(q) *Baratene* Iſland.
Linen Cloth good Merchandize.
The Products of the Iſland *Baratene*.

Feb. 8. they fell in with the fruitful Iſland *Baratene* (q), having in the mean time ſuffer'd much by Winds and Shoals. The People of it are of a comely Make of Body, but a far more beautiful Diſpoſition of Mind, being very Civil and Courteous to Strangers, and punctually Juſt in all their Dealings. The Men cover only their Heads, and the *Pudenda*, but the Women from the Waſte down to the foot: Beſides which, they load their Arms with great heavy Bracelets, ſome of Bone, and others of Braſs and Horn, weighing the leaſt of them two Ounces apiece; and of theſe they have on 8 or 10 at a time. Linen Cloth is a very good Commodity here, theſe People being fond of it, to make Girdles and Rolls for their Heads. The Iſland affords Gold, Silver, Copper, Sulphur, Nutmegs, Ginger, Long-pepper, Limons, Cucumbers, Coco's, Figu, Sagu, &c. particularly a ſort of Fruit, in bigneſs, form and husk, reſembling a Bayberry, hard, but pleaſantly taſted; and when boil'd, is ſoft, and of good eaſie digeſtion. In ſhort (except *Ternate*) they met with no place that yielded more plenty of all agreeable Comforts, for Humane Life, than this did.

(r) *Java Major.*
The Manners of the *Javans*.
Way of boiling Rice.

Leaving *Baratene* they ſail'd for *Java Major* (r), where they met with a Courteous and Honourable Entertainment likewiſe. The Iſland is govern'd by five Kings, who live in a perfect good Underſtanding with one another: They had once four of Their Majeſties a Shipboard at a time, and very often the Company of two or three. The *Javans* are a ſtout and warlike People, go well arm'd with Swords, Targets and Daggers, all of their own Work, which is very curious both as to the outward Form and the inward Temper of the Metal. They wear Turkiſh Rolls on their Heads; the upper part of their Bodies is naked, but from the Waſte downwards they have a *Pintado* of Silk, trailing on the ground, of that colour which pleaſes them beſt. They manage their Women quite at another rate than the *Moluccans* do, for theſe latter will hardly let a ſtranger ſee them; whereas the former are ſo far from that nicety, that they'll very civilly offer a ſtranger a Bedfellow. And as they are thus Civil and Hoſpitable to ſtrangers, ſo they are pleaſant and ſociable amongſt themſelves; for in every Village they have a Publick-Houſe, where they all meet, and bring their ſeveral ſhares of Proviſion, joyning all their Forces together in one great Feaſt, for the keeping up good fellowſhip amongſt the King's Subjects. They have a way peculiar to themſelves of boiling Rice; they put it into an Earthen Pot, which is of a Conical Figure, open at the great end, and all over perforated. In the mean time they provide another great Earthen Pot full of boiling Water, into which they put this perforated Veſſel with the Rice; which ſwelling, and filling the holes of the Pot, ſo that no quantity of Water can enter, is by this ſort of boiling brought to a very firm conſiſtency, and at laſt is Caked into a ſort of Bread, of which with Butter, Oil, Sugar and Spices, they make ſeveral very pleaſant Meals. They have got the *French* Diſeaſe amongſt them in this Iſland, but inſtead of fetching out the Poyſon by a Salivation, they do it by a ſort of Perſpiration thro' all the Pores of the Body; and that by ſitting naked in the Sun for ſome hours, whoſe ſcorching Rays do open thoſe Paſſages, and give free vent to the noxious Matter to diſcharge it ſelf by. The Admiral here had News of ſome great Ships that lay not far off, ſo not knowing what they might prove, he would ſtay no longer at *Java*. From hence they ſail'd for the *Cape of Good Hope*, which was the firſt Land they fell in withal; neither did they touch upon any other till they came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the Coaſt of *Guiney*. They paſs'd the Cape *June* 18. and by the pleaſure of their Voyage that way, found how much the *Portugueze* had abuſed the World, in the falſe Repreſentations of the Horrours and Dangers of it.

* *A.D.* 1580.

July 22. they arrived at *Sierra Leona*, where they found great ſtore of Elephants, and Trees that had Oyſters faſtned to them, upon which they liv'd and multiplied. Leaving this place *July* 24. they arrived in *England*, *Nov.* 3. * it being the third Year after this Noble, but Hazardous Voyage, was firſt undertaken.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Proſperous Voyage of Mr. THO. CANDISH (*of* Trimly *in the County of* Suffolk, *Eſq;*) *and the Second of the* Circum-Navigators; *which Voyage was begun* July 1. 1586. *Written by Mr.* Francis Pretty *of* Eye *in* Suffolk, *his Companion in the ſame Voyage.*

THO' the *Engliſh* had led the way quite round the Globe, and it had been an Immortal Honour to have done it that once, leaving it for others to make the next Experiment; yet finding the reſt of the World lie ſtill, and none pretending to follow them in thoſe Glorious Enterprizes, they reſolv'd to be the Second, as well as the First, *Circum-Navigators*, themſelves.

* *A.D.*1586.

In purſuance of this Deſign, on *Thurſday*, *July* 21. * there ſet out of *Plimouth* 3 Sail, The *Deſire*, a Ship of 120 Tun; the *Content*, of 60 Tun; and the *Hugh Gallant*, a Bark of 40 Tun: In which three Veſſels were 123 Perſons, and ſufficient Proviſions for two Years, at the Charge of the Worſhipful Mr. *Candiſh*, of *Trimly*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq; who alſo was Admiral of this little Fleet.

(*a*) *Sierra Leona.*

Auguſt 23. they made towards *Sierra Leona* (*a*), and the 25th fell in with the South-ſide of it, where they had 5 Fathom Water at the loweſt; and for about 14 Leagues in the South-Weſt, all the way running into the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, they had from 8 to 16 Fathom. Here they ſpoil'd a Town of the *Negroes*, who had kill'd one of their Men with a poiſon'd Arrow.

September 3. ſome of them went up with the Boat four Miles within the Harbour, where they caught plenty of Fiſh; and going aſhore, they got ſome Limons, ſeeing ſome Buffes too as they were returning.

Buffes.

They leave *Sierra Leona.*

The 6th they went out of the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, and ſtaid one Tide 3 Leagues from the point of the Harbours Mouth, the Tide there flowing (as they obſerved) South-Weſt.

(*b*) Cape*Verde* Iſland, or the Iſle of *Madrabumba.*

The 7th they departed from one of the Iſles of Cape *Verde* (*b*), which is 10 Leagues from the Point of *Sierra Leona*, and the ſame Day they Anchored two Miles off the Iſland, and Landing, found only Plantanes upon it.

The 8th, one of the Boats went out, and Sounded round about the Iſland, finding 5 fathom Water in a Sound at the Weſt-end; afterwards, for a Caſt or two, but two fathom, and then ſix, and ſo deeper and deeper. At the Eaſt-end was a Town, to which the *Negroes* reſort ſometimes, as their Proviſions left there did intimate. There's no freſh Water on all the South-ſide, but on the North there is in three or four places. The whole Iſland is a perfect Wood, except a few ſmall ſpots, where ſome Houſes ſtand, and theſe are encompaſs'd round with Plantane-Trees; the Fruit of which is excellent Food. The place is marvellouſly ſubject to Storms of Rain and Thunder in this Month of *September*.

(*c*) Cape *Trio* in *Braſile.*

They left this Iſland on the 10th, and the laſt of *October* ſailing W. S. W. about 24 Leagues from Cape *Trio* (*c*), in *Braſile*, they fell in with a great Mountain, which had a high round top ſtanding aloft like a little Town.

(*d*) St. *Sebaſtian.*

Nov. 1. they went in between the Iſland St. *Sebaſtian* (*d*) and the Main-Land, where carrying their things aſhore, and erecting a Forge, they built a Pinnace, and fitted up whatſoever was out of order; which Work detain'd them till the 23d.

Upon the 26th, they fell in with the Coaſt of *America* in 47 degrees of North Lat. from which place they ran along the ſhore till they came into 48 degrees of Lat. finding it a very ſteep Beach all along.

(*e*) *Port Deſire.*

Seols and Gulls.

Nov. 27. they came to an Harbour, into which the Admiral firſt entred, calling it, on that account, (from the Name of his Ship) *Port Deſire* (*e*). Near this Harbour there's an Iſland or two very full of Seols, and another as well Stock'd with grey Gulls: The Harbour it ſelf is very convenient for the Trimming and Graning of Ships, becauſe of the conſiderable ebbing and flowing of the Water there. Here the Savages wounded two of their Company with their Arrows, which are made of Canes headed with Flints. A wild and rude ſort of Creatures they were, and, as it ſeem'd, of a Gigantick Race, the meaſure of one of their Feet being 18 Inches in length. When any of them dies, he is buried in a Grave of Stone, upon the Cliffs, by the Sea ſide, all his Darts being faſten'd about his Tomb, and his Treaſures of Shells laid under his Head.

Great Cannibals.

They leave *Port Deſire.*

Decemb. 28. they left *Port Deſire*, and went to an Iſland lying three Leagues to the Southward, and kept along the Coaſt S. W. and by S. The 30th they came to a Rock (much like the Eddyſtone at *Plimouth*) lying about five Leagues from the Land, and in 48½ degrees of South Lat. and Sounding, they had 8 Fathom, rocky ground, within a Mile of it. They kept on Coaſting S. S. W. and found great ſtore of Seols all along the Coaſt.

* *A.D.*1587.

Jan. 2. * they fell in with a great white Cape, in 52 degrees, and had 7 fathom Water within a League of the ſhore. The 3d they fell in with another great Cape, in 52 degrees 45 minutes; from which Cape there runs a long Beach, about a League to the Southward, and reaches to the opening of the *Magellanick Streight*. Under this Cape they Anchor'd, and loſt their Anchor in a very great Storm, which raged violently for three Days.

They enter the Streights of *Magellan.*

Jan. 6. they put into the *Streights*, which they found in ſome places 5 or 6 Leagues wide, and in other places conſiderably more narrow. The 7th, between the Mouth of the *Streights*, and the narroweſt part of it, they took a *Spaniard*, who was left there with 23 more of the ſame Nation; and theſe were all remaining of 400 left three Years before in theſe *Streights*. The ſame Day they paſs'd the narroweſt of the *Streights*, where the *Spaniard* ſhew'd them the Hull of a ſmall Bark, ſuppos'd to be one left there by Sir *Francis Drake*. The Mouth of the *Streights* is in 52 degrees South Lat. and 'tis from thence, to the narroweſt paſs, 14 Leagues; and the Courſe is W. by N. Alſo from this narroweſt Paſs to *Penguin* Iſland is 10 Leagues, and the Courſe is W. S. W. and a little to the Southward. Here, (*f*) in *Penguin* Iſland, they Anchored the 8th Day, and kill'd and ſalted great ſtore of *Penguins*.

One of *Drake's* Barks call'd the *John Thomas.*

(*f*) Penguin Iſland.

(*g*) K. *Philip's* City.

Jan. 9. they left this Iſland, and ſailed S.S.W. to King *Philip's* City, built by the *Spaniards*. It had four Forts, and each Fort had one Caſt-piece in it, which were all buried, and the Carriages left ſtanding in their places; they dug for theſe Pieces, and recover'd them all. The City had ſeveral Churches in it, and ſeem'd to be well contriv'd, eſpecially as to its Situation, which was in the moſt happy place of all the *Streights* for the conveniences of Wood and Water. But miſerable was the Life which this forlorn Remnant of *Spaniards* had lived there, for the ſpace of two Years, having hardly any thing but a few Shell-fiſh to ſupport Nature withal, except they had the luck to take a Deer at any time, that came down from the Mountains to drink. Their deſign in coming to this Town, was to fortifie theſe *Streights*; ſo that all other Nations, beſides themſelves, ſhou'd be debarr'd of a paſſage into the South Sea: But Providence was pleas'd to animadvert, with ſome ſeverity, upon the Wickedneſs and Injuſtice of that proceeding, making this place of their intended Miſchief, to the reſt of the World, a Scene of direful Puniſhments to themſelves; for here the Earth with-held its common Products from them; the Plants wou'd not grow, nor the Trees bear Fruit; nor any of their Labours proſper. And beſides this rigour laid upon Nature, (which in thoſe Parts of the World is not ordinarily ſo very ſparing of her Bleſſings) the *Indians*, their moſt implacable Enemies, broke in upon them in a very violent manner: And by theſe means they were reduc'd to the laſt Extremities, all their Stores brought out of *Spain* being ſpent, and no more to be gotten abroad, the Country either not affording it, or the *Indians* falling upon them, and Hunting the *Spaniards* while they Hunted a few Deer, for the preſervation of their Lives; ſo that at laſt, they died like ſo many Dogs, in their Houſes, in great numbers, and the ſtench of the putrifying Carkaſſes infecting thoſe that ſurvived, they were forc'd to quit the Town with one conſent, and go rambling about up-

The miſerable State of the *Spaniards* at K. *Philip's* City.

on the Sea-Coaſts, living at a barbarous rate upon Leaves and Roots, and Sea-herbs, or what Animals they could at any time happily light on. They determin'd to march on to the River of *Plate*, and were in their miſerable Progreſs met by the *Engliſh*, as was before obſerved. The Admiral nam'd this place (for the ſcarcity of all Neceſſaries here) *Port Famine* (*h*). It lies in 53 Degr. *South* Lat.

(*h*) Port Famine.

(*i*) Cape Froward.

The 14th they left this place, and ran five Leagues South Weſt to Cape (*i*) *Froward*, which Cape is the Southermoſt part of the Streights, and lies in the Lat. of 54 Degr. From this Cape ſailing W. by N. five Leagues more, they put into a Bay which they call'd Muſcle-Cove, from the ſtore of Muſcles found there.

Muſcle-Cove

The 21ſt they left that place, and ſail'd N. W. and by W. ten Leagues, to a fair ſandy Bay, which the Admiral call'd (*k*) *Elizabeth* Bay.

(*k*) Elizabeth Bay.

The 22d they departed from *Elizabeth* Bay, and about two Leagues off found a good River, in which the Admiral rowed in the Boat for the ſpace of three Miles. There was a pleaſant Champaign Country that lay about the River; all elſe but this, near the Streights, being craggy and mountainous. But a very brutiſh ſort of Savages inhabited thereabouts, which had eat up many a *Spaniard*, and would fain have made a Meal upon *Engliſh* Fleſh too, but that they fail'd of bringing them into their Trap. The Admiral finding the Plot they had laid to betray him, made his Men pelt them with their Harquebuſſes, which did Execution upon ſeveral of them: So leaving that River, they ſail'd to St. *Jerome*'s (*l*) Channel, which was two Leagues off.

Cruel Savages

(*l*) St. Jerom's Channel

From this Channel they ſail'd Weſtward, about three or four Leagues, to a Cape which lies on the North-ſide of it; from which Cape to the Mouth of the Streights, the Courſe runs N. W. and N. W. by W. and the diſtance from thence to the entrance into the *South* Sea, is about thirty four Leagues; ſo that the Length of the whole Streights is ninety Leagues.

'Tis farther obſervable, that the Entrance of the Streights into the *South* Sea, is in near the ſame Latitude with the Paſſage out of the North Sea into the Streights, which is 52 ½ Degr. *South* Lat. And here between the fore-mentioned Cape, and the Mouth of the Streights, were they forced to lie in Harbour, till *February* the 23d: The Reaſon of which Impriſonment, was the ſtormy Winds, and exceſſive Rains, that poured down with ſuch fury from the Mountains, that they were brought into extream danger thereby, being no leſs diſtreſs'd for want of Food too; the badneſs of the Weather hardly permitting them to land and range the Country for a Supply. As they lay here in the Streights, they obſerved, (which had alſo been diſcover'd by the *Spaniards* before) that there were Harbours on both ſides the Shoar, at every Mile, or two Miles end.

They enter the South Sea.

February the 24th, they entred the *South* Sea, obſerving on the *South*-ſide of the Entrance, a very high Cape, with a low Point adjoining to it; and on the North four or five Iſlands (*m*), lying ſix Leagues off the Main, with much broken and ſunk Ground about them.

(*m*) The Iſlands *Las Anegadas.*

March the 1ſt, they had a great Storm at Night, in which they loſt the Company of the *Hugh Gallant*, being then in 49 Degr. *South* Lat. and 45 Leagues from the Land. The Storm continued three or four Days, and the *Hugh Gallant* having ſprung a Leak, and beaten by the Storm away from all help, was ready every moment to plunge to the bottom: However, ſhe made a ſhift to hold up her head (by the great Labour and Pains of her Men): And on the 15th in the Morning, ſhe came in between the Iſle St. *Mary*, and the Main, where ſhe met the Admiral, and the *Content*; which two Ships had, during the Storm, ſecur'd themſelves two Days at the Iſle *La Moha* (*n*), which lies in 38 Degr. *South* Lat. At this place ſome of the Company went aſhoar, where the *Indians* met them, and gave them a warm Reception with their Bows and Arrows, being yet at the ſame time very cautious of their Guns.

The Gallant in danger.

(*n*) *Moha.*

Theſe *Indians* were of the Country of *Aranco* (*o*), which being a Golden Region, and conſequently very tempting to the avaricious *Spaniards*, had been divers times invaded by them, but to no purpoſe; the Inhabitants having always ſo briskly defended themſelves, that their Enemies (tho' better provided than they) could never boaſt of being their Conquerours: And theſe Deſperadoes miſtaking the *Engliſh* for *Spaniards*, gave them that Entertainment which they always uſed to give the other. After this Skirmiſh they weigh'd Anchor, and ran under the Weſt-ſide of St. *Mary* Iſland (*p*), where they had good riding in ſix Fathom Water. The Iſland it ſelf lies in 37 ½ Degr. *South* Lat. and abounds in Hogs, Hens, and divers ſorts of Fruits. The *Indians* that live here, are in ſuch abſolute Slavery to the *Spaniards*, that they dare not ſo much as kill a Fowl, or a Swine for themſelves: And tho' the *Spaniards* have made them Diſciples, yet they uſe them more like Dogs than Men, or Chriſtians.

(*o*) *Aranco* rich in Gold, and not conquer'd by the *Spaniards*.

(*p*) St. *Mary* Iſland.

The 16th the Admiral went aſhoar with 70 or 80 Men, well arm'd: They were met and welcom'd by two *Indians* of Quality, who conducted them to a place where was a Chapel built by the *Spaniards*, round about which were ſeveral Store-houſes, furniſh'd with good Wheat and Barley, as clean and fair as any *England* it ſelf can produce. They provided themſelves out of theſe Stores, with ſufficient Quantities of Corn; and laid in beſides, good ſtore of Hogs, Hens, Potatoes, dry'd Dog-fiſh, and Maiz, which is a Wheat of *Guiney*. The Admiral invited the two principal *Indians* aboard to a Treat; and the Wine having opened their Eyes, to ſee clearly, that the Admiral and his Men were no *Spaniards*, (as they hitherto ſuppos'd them to be) they began to be very free with them, and to talk largely of the Gold Mines; telling them, That if they wou'd go croſs the Country to *Aranco*, they ſhou'd get as much Gold as they car'd for. But the Admiral not perfectly underſtanding the Information, it being given partly by Signs which were obſcure, proſecuted not that Adventure, but went on with his Voyage.

The 18th in the Morning they left this place, and ſail'd all that Day N. N. E. about 10 Leagues.

The 19th they run in with the Land at E. N. E. and anchor'd under an Iſland call'd the *Conception* (*q*).

(*q*) The *Conception*.

(*r*) *Quintero*.

The 30th they came into the Bay of *Quintero* (*r*), in 33 Degr. 50 Min. *South* Lat. And the laſt Day, a Company of 50 or 60 Men, well furniſh'd, march'd up into the Country ſeven or eight Miles. In their March they ſaw vaſt Herds of wild Cattel, wild Horſes, Dogs, Hares, and Coneys, Partridge, and other Fowl; many fine Rivers, well ſtock'd with all ſorts of Wild-Fowl. But having travell'd as far as they cou'd for the Mountains, and that without any Adventure, after refreſhing themſelves a while upon the Banks of a pleaſant River, they return'd in good order to their Ships that Night. Yet was there a Party of 200 Horſe abroad that Day to have taken them, and that upon the Information of the *Spaniards* that had eſcaped from them the Day before: But theſe valiant Soldiers, tho' they ſaw them, durſt not make any Attack, but kept at a diſtance, and ſo let them go off without any diſturbance.

They go aſhoar.

But the next Day, *April* the firſt, they were a little bolder: For ſome of the *Engliſh* being aſhoar, and very hard at Work, filling of Water, the *Spaniards* (who had watch'd the opportunity, and were then very eager to fight, when they ſaw their Enemies were buſie) poured down 200 Horſe from the Hills upon them, making a ſhift to kill ſome few of them, and take a ſmall number of Priſoners. But the glorious Victory of the *Spaniards* had a ſudden Period ſet to it, by the coming of 15 *Engliſh* more, who ſoon changed the Fortune of the Day, not only reſcuing their own Company, but killing 24 of the *Spaniards* upon the ſpot, and driving the reſt up the Mountains again. After this they rid in the Road, and water'd there in ſpite of the *Spaniards*, till the fifth Inſtant, when they left this Bay of *Quintero*: Putting in at a ſmall Iſland, about a League from the Bay, which is full of Penguins, and other Fowl, they provided themſelves with what ſtore they wanted, and ſo ſail'd away N. & N. by W.

24 Spaniards ſlain.

The 15th they came to *Moro Moreno* (*s*), which lies in 23 ½ Degr. South Lat. under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and has an excellent Harbour; and is made ſo by a certain Iſland, which gives a Ship entrance at either end of it. Here the Admiral went aſhoar with 30 Men, and was met by the *Indians*, who brought freſh Water and Wood on their Backs. They are a ſimple ſort of People, and live after a wild and ſavage manner, and in very great awe and dread of the *Spaniards*. They brought the Admiral, and his Company, to their Houſes, which lay about two Miles from the Harbour: They were compos'd only of a few Rafters laid a-croſs, ſupported by two or three Forks ſtuck into the Ground, with Boughs ſpread over them. Their Beds were the Skins of wild Beaſts laid upon the Floor; and their Food little elſe but raw ſtinking Fiſh.

(*s*) *Moro Moreno.*

When any of them die, they bury them with all the Tackling that belongs to them, as Bows and Arrows, and their very Canoes. Theſe Canoes of theirs are very artificially made; being form'd of two Skins like Bladders, which are blown full at one end with Quills. A couple of theſe being made faſt together, with the Sinews of ſome wild Beaſt, and then put into the Water, do ſwell and puff up at that rate, that they are as firm and tite as can be: They make nothing of venturing to Sea in theſe Boats, and lading them with great Quantities of Fiſh; part of which goes for Tribute to the *Spaniards*, and part kept to ſtink for their own eating.

Strange Canoes.

Tribute paid in Fiſh.

Piſca Bay.

May the third, they came into a Bay, where are three little Towns, *Paracca*, *Chincha*, and *Piſca*; which latter place lies in 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ Degr. *South* Lat. They landed here, and took ſome Proviſions of Wine and Bread, Hens and Figs, out of ſome of the Houſes; but they could not get aſhoar at the beſt of the Towns, the Sea run ſo extreamly high.

Prizes taken.

They made themſelves Maſters of two rich Ships by this time, laden with Sugar, Moloſſes, Maiz, Cordovan Skins, *Montego de Porco*, Packs of Pintadoes, *Indian* Coats, Marmalade, Hens, &c. One of them, which had the beſt Lading, wou'd have yielded 20000 *l.* had there been opportunity to have made a Sale: And of all this they took as much as they cou'd conveniently beſtow in their Ships, burning the reſt with the Veſſels, and ſetting all the People in them aſhoar.

(v) *Paita* taken & burnt.

The 26th they came into the Road of *Paita* (v), which lies in 5 Degr. 4 Min. *South* Lat. The Town it ſelf is well built, very neat and clean in all parts of it, and contains about 200 Houſes. The Admiral landing here with 60 or 70 Men, had a Skirmiſh with the Inhabitants; the Iſſue of which was, that the *Engliſh* beat them quite out of the Town, and forc'd them up the Hills, from whence they play'd with their Small-ſhot upon them, but wou'd not venture a fair Battel out of thoſe Mountainous Refuges. When the *Engliſh* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Town, they march'd after the Enemy up the Hills; and after ſome Diſpute obliging them to retire ſtill further, till it came to a thorough and compleat Rout; they ſeiz'd all their Baggage which they had brought with them out of the Town, and lodged there for Security, up and down in the Mountains. Here was plenty of all ſorts of Houſehold ſtuff; Store-houſes full of all ſorts of Wares, and (to pay them for the trouble of their March up the Hills 25 *l.* Weight of Silver, in Pieces of Eight. They ſet the Town a-fire, and burnt it to the Ground, and alſo to the value of 5 or 6000 *l.* in Goods, together with a Bark lying in the Road: And ſo leaving the *Spaniards* the Blaze of their flaming Houſes and Goods, to light them down from the Mountains at Night, they went hence, directing their Courſe to *Puna*.

(w) *Puna* Iſland.

May the 25th, they arrived at the Iſle *Puna* (w), which lies in 1 Degr. *South* Lat. in the Harbour whereof they found a large Ship of 250 Tun, riding at Anchor, with all her Furniture, which they ſunk without any more adoe, and ſo went aſhoar. The Lord of this Iſland is called the Cacique of *Puna*: He was an *Indian* born; but having married a *Spaniſh* Woman, and being reſolv'd to be of his Wife's Religion, (that happening to be the Chriſtian) he embrac'd it too, making his Subjects follow his Example. He had a ſumptuous and well-contrived Palace near the Sea-ſide, with curious Gardens adjoyning to it, and fair Proſpects out of it, both to the Water, and up into the Country.

He keeps all the *Indians* of the Iſland in continual Drudgery, their Work being to make Cables; ſuch plenty of which is made by theſe labouring *Indians*, that the *South* Sea is moſtly furniſh'd from hence.

Its Products.

The Iſland is near as big as the Iſle of *Wight*, and has a good ſhare of the Bleſſings of Nature: For tho' it does not yield Mines of Gold and Silver, yet it affords thoſe things that are far more neceſſary for Human Life; there's excellent Paſture-land here, and variety of uſeful Animals to be maintain'd by it, as Horſes, Oxen, Sheep, fat and fair, Goats that are very tame, and yield abundance of Milk; beſides very good Fowl, Pigeons, Turkeys, and Duks of a large ſize. The Cacique has Orchards that yield moſt ſorts of uſeful Fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Figs, Pomegranates, Pompions, Melons, Cucumbers, Radiſhes, &c. with divers ſorts of odoriferous Plants, as Roſemary, Thime, &c. One of them is beſet round with the Trees that bear the Bombaſin Cotton; the tops of which grow full of Pods, out of which the Cotton it ſelf riſes. In the Cotton lies a Seed of the bigneſs of a Pea, and in every Pod there are ſeven or eight of theſe Seeds, which (if the Cotton be not gather'd when 'tis ripe) do drop of their own accord, and make a new Spring of the Plant.

Cotton Trees

May the 29th, the Admiral went to a little Iſland cloſe by *Puna*, into which the Cacique had convey'd all the valuable Furniture of his Palace, and other Movables, neceſſary both for Houſe and Ship: Theſe Stores being all diſcover'd, they took what Plunder they thought fit out of them, and convey'd it into their Ships. They burnt the Church alſo which ſtood hard by the Cacique's Palace, and brought away the five Bells that were in it.

Two Skirmiſhes with the *Spaniards*

June the 2d, 100 *Spaniards* aſſaulted them, killing and taking Priſoners twelve of the *Engliſh*, and loſing Forty ſix of their own Men in that Encounter. The ſame Day going aſhoar again with 70 Men, they met with a Party of 100 *Spaniards*, arm'd with Muskets, and 200 *Indians* with Bows and Arrows; and having entirely put them to flight, they made havock of their Fields and Orchards, and burnt four great Ships (that were building) upon the Stocks, as alſo the Great Town it ſelf, which they left a meer heap of Rubbiſh. This Town had no leſs than 300 Houſes in it; beſides which, there were two or three in *Puna*, that contain'd 200 Houſes each.

The Town burnt.

Rio Dolce.

June the 5th, they went out of the Road of *Puna*, and ſail'd to *Rio Dolce*, where they water'd. And the 12th paſs'd the Æquinoctial, continuing a Northerly Courſe all the reſt of that Month.

(w) *Nueva Eſpanna.*

July the 1ſt, they had ſight of *Nueva Eſpanna* (w), being four Leagues diſtant from the Land, and in 10 Degr. *North* Lat.

The 9th Inſtant they took a new Ship of 120 Tun, in which was one *Michael Sancius*, a very skilful Coaſter in the *South* Seas, whom the Admiral took for his Pilot; and he gave them the firſt hint of the great Ship *Anna Maria*, which they took afterwards coming from the *Philippine* Iſlands. They took all the Men, the Sails, the Ropes, &c. out of this Ship of *Sancius*'s, and then ſet her a-fire.

A Bark of Advice taken

The 10th they took a Bark that was going to give the Alarm all along the Coaſts, of the arrival of the *Engliſh*; but all the Men were got out of her.

(x) The River of *Copalita.*

(y) *Agatulco.*

The 26th they came to an Anchor in the River of *Capalita* (x); and the ſame Night, with 30 Men in the Pinnace, rowed to *Agatulco* (y), two Leagues from that River, and in 15 Degr. 40 Min. *North* Lat. they made a Deſcent upon them, and burnt both the Town and Cuſtom-Houſe, which was a large and fair Building. Here were laid up ſix hundred Bags of Anile (for the Dying of Cloth) and four hundred of Cacaos, every Bag of the former being worth forty, and of the latter ten Crowns. Theſe Cacaos ſerve amongſt them, both for Meat and Money: They are like Almonds, tho' not altogether ſo pleaſant; they afford both ſolid Food and Drink too, and paſs in Trade, inſtead of ready Money, 150 of them being as good as a Rial of Plate.

Cacaos paſs for Money in *Nuvea Eſpanna.*

The 28th they ſet ſail from *Copalita* (becauſe the Sea was ſo great there, that they could not fill Water) and reach'd *Agatulto* the ſame Night.

The next Day the Admiral went aſhoar with thirty Men, marching two Miles into the Woods, where they took a Meſtizo *, belonging to the Cuſtom of that Town, and a conſiderable parcel of Stuffs with him, and carried both the Maſter and the Goods away to their Ships.

* Meſtizo's are the Sons of *Spaniards* by *Indian* Women.

(z) *Puerto Nat.* Haven.

Auguſt the 24th, the Admiral, and thirty Men, went in the Pinnace to the Haven *Puerto de Natividad* (z), which lies in 19 Degr. North Lat. where *Sancius* had inform'd them, wou'd be a certain Prize; but before they came thither, ſhe was gone twelve Leagues farther to fiſh for Pearls. However, here they took a Mulatto, that was ſent to give Notice of the *Engliſh* all along the Coaſt of *Nueva Gallicia*, together with all his Letters, and burnt the Town, and two Ships of Two hundred Tun a piece, that were a building there, and ſo return'd to their Ships.

They burn the Town, and two great Ships.

S. *Jago* Bay and River, Pearl.

The 26th, they came into the Bay of St. *Jago*, where they water'd at a good River, that yielded them good ſtore of Fiſh, and ſome quantity of Pearls. This Bay is in 19 Degr. 18 Min. North Lat.

(a) *Malacca* Bay.

September the 2d, they left St. *Jago*, and the third Day came into the Bay of *Malacca* (a), lying a League to the Weſtward of Port *Natividad*, and is a very good place for Ships to ride in.

Acatlan burnt.

The ſame Day the Admiral, with about 30 Men, went aſhoar to an *Indian* Town call'd *Acatlan*, which lies two Leagues from the Road: It conſiſted of twenty or thirty Houſes, and a Church, which they demoliſh'd, and went aboard again that Night.

The 4th they left the Bay of *Malacca*, and ſail'd along the Coaſt.

(b) The Road of *Chacalla.*

The 8th they came to the Road of *Chacalla* (b), which is 18 Leagues from the Cape *de los Corrientes.*

The 9th in the Morning the Admiral ſent out forty Men, (with *Sancius* for a Guide) who marching two Leagues through the Woods, and Deſart Places, light of two or three Families, ſome of which were *Indians*, others *Spaniards*, and one *Portugueze*; all which they brought along to their Ships. The Admiral made the Women go fetch Plantanes, Limons, Oranges, and other Fruits; and for a Reward gave them all their Husbands again, except one *Spaniſh* Carpenter, and the *Portugueze*, whom he retain'd.

(c) Iſle St. *Andrew.* Serpents.

The 12th they arrived at the Iſland St. *Andrew* (c), a very woody place, and yielding vaſt ſtore of Fowl, and Seols, and a ſort of Serpents call'd *Iquano's*, which have four Feet, and a ſharp long Tail, but very good Meat.

(d) *Maſſatlan*

Leaving St. *Andrew*'s Iſland, they came the 24th into the Road of *Maſſatlan* (d), which lies under the Tropick of *Cancer*. The River is large within, but much barr'd at the Mouth; and upon the North-ſide of the Bar, there's good Water, but very bad filling of it, becauſe at low Water it is ſhoal'd half a Mile off the Shoar. The Bay affords good Fiſh, and the Country about it as good Fruits; ſome of which they purchas'd, though with danger.

An Iſland to the Northward of *Maſſathan.*

The 27th, they come to an Iſland a League to the Northward of *Maſſathan.* Upon a little Iſland hard by, they ſaw thirty or forty *Spaniards* and *Indians*, that kept Watch there, being ſent from *Chiametla*, which lay eleven Leagues up in the Country, as *Sancius* inform'd them. But they were like to have been in very great diſtreſs here for freſh Water, and muſt have gone back twenty or thirty Leagues to have fetch'd it, if a Spring had not been diſcover'd in good time. But one of their *Spaniſh* Priſoners putting it into their Minds to ſearch for Water under the Sand; they took that Method, and digging two or three Foot deep, they found good Water, and running ſo freely too, that they might have fill'd ſome Thouſands of Tuns, if they had wanted.

Freſh Water in the Sand.

(e) Cape St. *Lucar*, on the Point of *California.*

(f) *Aquada Segura.*

October the 9th, they ſet ſail for the Cape of St. *Lucar* (e), which is on the Weſt-ſide of the Point of *California*, to which they came on the 14th. It is very like the Needles at the Iſle of *Wight*; and within it there is a great Bay (*f*), into which falls a fair River, about which ſome *Indians* live. In this River they water'd, and lay off and on about the Cape St. *Lucar*, till *November* the 4th.

November the 4th, the *Deſire*, and the *Content*, went beating up and down upon the Head-land of *California*, which lies in 23 Degr. ⅔ North Lat. Upon which ſame Day in the Morning, one of the Company in the Admiral going up the Top-maſt, ſpied a Sail bearing in from the Sea with the Cape; which he preſently ſignified to the Company, with the joyful Exclamation of, A Sail, a Sail. The Admiral (having put all things in a readineſs) ſet forwards in the purſuit of her, and having chas'd her three or four Hours in the Afternoon, got up with her, and ſaluted her with a Broadſide, and a Volley of Small-ſhot. They found her to be the Noble Ship the St. *Anne*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral of all the South Sea, and of Seven hundred Tun Burthen. Having boarded ſome Men upon her, they found all things were put into a good poſture of Defence; the Sails were laid cloſe upon the Poop, the Mid-ſhip, and the Fore-caſtle, all the Men ſtood cloſe under Fights, which the Captain had rais'd, provided with Targets, Javelins, Swords, and great Stones, which they threw into the *Engliſh* Ship, and at them that had boarded theirs, forcing them to retire with the loſs of two Men, and four or five wounded. But the Admiral making a freſh Onſet with his Great and Small-ſhot, raked them thorough and thorough, killing and diſmembring a great many of the Defendants, who yet ſtood very tightly to their Buſineſs. But the next Volley reduc'd them to the laſt extremity, ſhattering the Ship at that miſerable rate, and boring ſuch wide Holes for the Water to pour in upon them, that they muſt either yield this moment, or ſink the next. Whereupon hanging out a Flag of Truce, they deſired the Admiral to ſave their Lives, and they would yield up their Ship with all the rich Cargo into his Hands: This he granted, but commanded them preſently to ſtrike their Sails, to hoiſe out their Boat, and come aboard; which was accordingly performed by the Captain, the Pilot, and one of the chief Merchants.

The Fight between the Admiral and the Great St. *Anne.*

She yields.

They told the Admiral what they had aboard, to be the Reward of his Victory; which appear'd to be what was ſufficiently worth the defending on the one part, and the fighting for on the other. There was 122000 Pezo's of Gold, rich Silks, Sattens, Damasks, Musk, with divers other ſorts of Merchandize, and all manner of Proviſions.

A Pezo is 8 s.

This Prize thus gotten, *November* the 6th they put into the Harbour *Puerto Seguro*, where all the *Spaniards*, both Men and Women, to the number of 150, were ſet aſhoar; the Admiral having choſen a very fruitful Spot for them to live upon; and beſides given them good ſtore of Wine and Victuals, with the Sails of their Ship, and ſome Planks, to build them little Houſes in the Country.

The *Spaniards* ſet aſhoar.

The Owners thus diſpos'd off, the next thing was to ſhare the Booty they had brought: And here this ungrateful Work of Diſtribution quickly involved the Admiral in the ill Circumſtances of a Mutiny, every Man having a ſharp Appetite to the Gold, but no man ever thinking he had enough: Eſpecially did this Feud and Diſcontent appear moſt violently in the *Content*, their Vice-Admiral; which therefore from that time ſhould have loſt that Name, and had another: But all was quickly huſh'd up again.

A Mutiny.

November the 17th, being Her Majeſty's of *England*'s Coronation-Day, they diſcharg'd all their Ordnance, and Small-ſhot in both their Ships, and at Night continued the Celebration with Fire-works.

The Admiral reſerved of the Priſoners in the *Spaniſh* Ship, two *Japaneſe* Boys, and three that were Natives of the Iſle of *Manilla*: A *Portugueze*, that had been in *China*, and *Japan*: And a *Spaniſh* Pilot, of good Knowledge in all the Parts between *Acapulco*, and *Nueva Eſpanna*, to the Iſlands *Ladrones*. This *Acapulco*, is the Haven from whence they commonly ſet out for the *Philippines*, as the Iſlands *Ladrones* are their ſtated Watering-places.

November the 19th, the Admiral having diſcharg'd the Captain of the St. *Anne*, with a Noble Reward, and ſufficient Proviſion for his Defence againſt the *Indians*, fired the Ship it ſelf, having to the quantity of 500 Tun of Goods in her, and ſaw her burnt quite down to the Water.

And now the great Buſineſs being happily accompliſhed, which they had ſo long attended upon, they ſet Sail very chearfully for *England*. But they had the Misfortune to loſe the *Content*, their Vice-Admiral: She ſtay'd ſome little time behind them in the Road and they expecting ſhe wou'd have overtaken them, went on before, but never had her Company again. However, purſuing their own Voyage, they directed their Courſe to the Iſlands *Ladrones*; which are diſtant from this Haven of *Aquada Segura*, near 1800 Leagues: And this took them up about Forty five Days, *viz.* From *November* the 19th, to *January* the 3d. Upon this Day, early in the Morning, they had ſight of one of the Iſlands *Ladrones*, call'd *Guana* (*f*), which lies in 13 ⅔ Degr. North Lat. and ſailing with a gentle Gale before the Wind, came up within two Leagues of the Iſland. Here they met with ſixty or ſeventy Canoes, full of Savages, that brought Coco's, Plantans, Potato's, and freſh Fiſh, to exchange for ſome of their Commodities. They gave them ſome pieces of old Iron, which they hung on upon ſmall Cords, and Fiſhing-lines, and ſo let it veer to the Canoes; and by the ſame Method they got back to their own Ship, what the Savages offer'd in exchange. After all the Traffick was ended, they came crowding with their Canoes about the Ship, and thruſt in ſo cloſe ſome of them, that the Ship broke two of their Canoes; tho' the Savages themſelves were none of them drown'd, the Water being almoſt as natural to them, as to the Fiſhes that always lived there. And ſo they continued following the Ship, and wou'd not leave the Company of it, till the Harquebuzes were commanded forth and diſcharg'd at them; tho' tis ten to one if they kill'd any of them: For they are ſo very nimble, that they'll pop immediately into the Water, and dive beyond the reach of all danger, upon the leaſt warning in the World.

The *Content* loſt.

A.D. 1588.

(*f*) *Guana* one of the Iſlands *Ladrones.*

The Commodities of the *Ladrones.*

They were very large Men, extraordinary fat, of a tawny Colour, and wearing their Hair mighty long, for the moſt part, tho' ſome have it tied up in Knots upon the Crown, like the wooden Images that ſtood at the Head of their Canoes.

The People.

Theſe Canoes were very artificially made, conſidering that no Edge-tool was us'd about them. They are about ſeven or eight Yards in length, and half a Yard in breadth, and their Heads and Sterns are both alike: They are made with Raſts of Canes, and Reeds, on the Starboard-ſide, and have both Maſts and Sails; which latter are made of Sedges, and that either ſquare or triangular-wiſe. They have this excellent property, that they'll ſail as well againſt as before the Wind.

Their Canoes.

January the 14th, by Break-of-day they fell in with a Head-land of one of the *Philippine* Iſlands, call'd *Cabo del Spirito Santo* (*g*). The Iſland it ſelf is of large Dimenſions, high in the middle, and depreſs'd to the Eaſt and Weſt parts, and running a great way into the Sea Weſtward. It lies in 13 Degr. North Lat. and is diſtant from *Guana* 310 Leagues, and about ſixty from *Manilla*, which is the chief of the *Philippines*. It is a very woody Iſland, and its Inhabitants are principally Heathens. They ſpent eleven Days ſailing to this place from *Guana*, having ſome foul Weather, and ſcarce bearing any Sail at all for two or three Nights.

(*g*) *Cabo del Spirito Santo.*

(*h*) *Manilla* is planted with *Spaniards*, who live there to the number of Six or Seven hundred Perſons: It is an unwalled Town, and of no great ſtrength, tho' it has vaſt Riches in Gold, and ſeveral good Commodities, to defend from Adverſaries. It has a conſtant yearly Correſpondence with *Acapulco* in *Nueva Eſpanna*, beſides twenty or thirty Ships from *China*, and the Trade of the *Sanguelo's*, which is very profitable.

(*h*) *Manilla.*

Trade from *Acapulco*, and *China*, to *Manilla.*

Theſe *Sanguelo's* are *Chineſe* Merchants, very ſharp and ſenſible Men in all Matters of Trade and Merchandize; extremely Ingenious in Mechanical Contrivances, and the rareſt Embroiderers in Silk and Sattin that are in the whole World. They will Work any Form of Beaſt or Fowl, or Fiſh, in Gold, Silver, or Silk, with all the juſt proportion and colour in every Part, and giving it all the Life and Beauty that an excellent Painter, or that Nature her ſelf almoſt does in the living Original. And 'tis plain, that theſe Men muſt bring a very gainful Trade to *Manilla*, ſince they made no more of Gold than they did; for as they brought great quantities of that precious Metal along with them, ſo they exchang'd it there weight for weight for Silver.

Sanguelos exchange Gold for Silver.

The ſame 14th Day, in the Evening, they entred the *Streights*, between the Iſland *Luçon* and the Iſland of *Cambaia*.

(h) *Capul* Iſland.

The 15th, they fell in with the Iſland of *Capul (h)*, paſſing a very narrow *Streight* betwixt that Iſland and another, in which the Tide was conſiderably great, and a ledge of Rocks lay a one ſide of them off the Point of *Capul*, but they paſs'd without danger: Within the Point was a fair Bay, and a good Harbour, in 4 fathom Water, within a Cables length of the ſhore.

About 10 in the Morning they came to Anchor, and preſently a Canoe rowed up to them, in which was one of the ſeven chief *Caſiques* of the Iſland. They paſs'd for *Spaniards* with theſe People, who, according to their uſual way of Trading with them, came and brought their Coco's and Potato-Roots to the *Engliſh* in like manner. They gave them a Yard of Linen Cloth for 4 Coco's, and as much for about a Quart of Potatoes, which in that Iſland are very ſweet and excellent Meat, either Roaſted or Boil'd. The *Caſique* that came aboard them, had his Skin ſtreaked and figur'd full of very ſtrange Devices all over his Body; they kept him with them, and deſired him to ſend ſome of his *Indian* Servants, that managed his Canoe, to go and fetch his other ſix Brother *Caſiques* to the Ship too. The *Caſiques* very quickly came, according to their requeſt, and with them a large Train of the People of the Iſland, who had another as large of Hogs and Hens, and a whole Market of Coco's and Potatoes. And now the *Engliſh* had nothing elſe to do, for all that day, but to deal with theſe Huckſtering People, who ſold to them juſt as they did to the *Spaniards, viz.* 8 Rials of Plate for a Hog, and one for a Hen. Here a Juſt Execution was perform'd upon a *Spaniſh* Pilot, taken in the great St. *Ann*, who had Plotted to betray them into the hands of the *Spaniards*; for which he was Hang'd.

The *Caſiques* come aboard.

Cuſtoms of the People.

They lay about this Iſland of *Capul* for about 9 Days, being all the while well furniſh'd with freſh Victuals, good Water, and Wood. The People of the Iſland are all *Pagans*, and are ſaid both to Worſhip and Converſe with the Devil; they go almoſt naked, and are of a tawny Complexion. The Men wear a piece of a certain kind of Linen, woven out of Plantane-leaves, about their Waſtes, and another coming down from their Backs, and ſo under the Twiſt, which is faſten'd to their Girdles. The Rite of Circumciſion is in practiſe here amongſt them; beſides which, the Males undergo another operation, which is far from being common, and hardly practis'd any where elſe, except in *Pegu*. They make a perforation quite through the Glans of the *Penis*, with a Nail of Tin ſplit in the lower end and rivetted, which they order ſo as to take out and put in again as they have occaſion. They Invented this for a prevention of the unnatural Crime of Sodomy, which the Men of the Iſland were, it ſeems, horribly addicted to; and it was done at the humble Petition of the Women too, who laid the Caſe before the Magiſtrates, and obtained this Remedy.

On the 23d, the Admiral Summon'd all the *Caſiques* of this Iſland, and of 100 more, (which had paid him Tribute) to appear before him: And here he diſcover'd himſelf and his company to them, telling them that they were *Engliſh*, and the greateſt enemies the *Spaniards* had in the World. At the ſame time, he generouſly gave them back in Money, the value of all the Tribute he had receiv'd, and which was paid by them in Hogs, Coco's, Potatoes, and the like. This unexpected favour of the Admiral, ſurpriz'd the whole Aſſembly of *Caſiques* at a very great rate, they admired his Bounty and Generoſity, and engaged to aſſiſt him with all the Forces of their reſpective Dominions, whenever he wou'd begin a War with the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts. And ſo no leſs pleas'd with finding them to be *Engliſh*, than with the kindneſs they had receiv'd from them, having row'd about the Ship awhile with their Canoes, to give them ſome Diverſion, they took leave, the Admiral giving them a Gun at their Departure.

They promiſe Aſſiſtance againſt the *Spaniards*.

The Iſland *Masbat*

Jan. 24. they ſet ſail, and ran along the Coaſt of *Manilla*, ſteering N. W. between that Iſland and the Iſland of *Masbat*. And in the Iſlands hereabouts, they perceived the *Spaniards* to keep a ſtrict Watch, making great fires, and diſcharging their Pieces all Night long, having taken the Alarm of their coming. The Iſland *Panama* (i) is a plain level Country in many places, affording very fair and ſtraight Trees for the making Ship-Maſts; and beſides, ſeveral Mines of very fine Gold, which are in the Cuſtody of the *Indians*. To the Southward of it lies the Iſland of *Negroes* (k), a very large Iſland, almoſt as big as *England*, and in 9 degrees North Lat. It appeared to be the moſt part of it low Land, and very fruitful; the People are neither Slaves to the *Spaniards*, nor any other Nation, but their own entire Maſters.

(i) *Panama.*

Mines of Gold.

(k) *Negro* Iſland.

They leave the *Philippines.*

Jan. 29. at 6 in the Morning, they ſet ſail, paſſing through the *Streight* between *Panama* and *Negro Iſland*; when having made about 16 Leagues, they found a fair opening of the *Streight* tending S. W. and by S. About this time their Boat, which they had ſent out before them in the Morning, came up to them again, in which the Admiral ſent a *Spaniſh* Priſoner aſhore, with a Meſſage to his Captain, who commanded a Ship that lay at *Panama* the Night before. The Meſſage was to this effect: *That he ſhou'd be ſure to provide good ſtore of Gold againſt the Admiral came that way again, for he intended to come and make him a Viſit at* Manilla; *which being a long Voyage would deſerve good Entertainment.* And farther, *That he had certainly come now, and weighed ſome of his Golden Bags in an* Engliſh *Pair of Scales, but that he wanted a bigger Boat to Land his Men upon him.*

(l) *Batochina*

Feb. 8. they ſaw in the Morning the Iſland *Batochina* ( ), which lies near *Gilolo*, and is in 1 degree North Lat. The 14th, they fell in with 11 or 12 ſmall Iſlands, flat and low, and almoſt quite ſunk in the Sea; they lie near the *Moluccas*, and are in 3 degrees 10 minutes South Lat.

March 1. having paſs'd the *Streights* of *Java Major* and *Minor*, they Anchor'd under the S. W. Parts of *Java Major (m)*, where they ſpied ſome People fiſhing in a Bay under the Iſland. The Admiral ſent out the Boat to them, in which was a Negro that cou'd ſpeak the *Moreſco* Tongue, which is much uſed in *Java*; but they being frightned at the coming of the Boat, got aſhore, and run away into the Woods. Yet one of them came to the Sea-ſide when the Negro called, and directed them to find freſh Water, and carried a Meſſage from the Admiral to the King, certifying him that he was come thither to Traffick for Victuals, or any valuable Commodities that his Iſland afforded.

(m) *Java*

Some of the King's Canoes bring them Proviſions.

March 12. there came 9 or 10 of the King's Canoes, as full laden with all ſorts of Proviſions as ever they cou'd ſwim: They brought them Oxen, Hogs, Hens, Geeſe, Eggs, Sugar, Coco's, Plantanes, Oranges, Limes, Wine and *Aqua Vitæ*. Two *Portugueze* that came to ſee them, and to enquire about their King *Antonio* then in *England*, gave them a large Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of this People. The King of that part of the Iſland (they inform'd them) was a Man of whom his Subjects ſtood in exceeding awe, and who exercis'd ſo Abſolute a Power over them, and all they had, that no Man dar'd ſo much as make a Bargain without his leave; and if any did preſume to do it, he paid for it with his Blood. This Prince had to his own ſhare 100 Wives, (as his Son had 50) who may poſſibly be very happy as long as he lives, but cannot be ſo any longer: For he being dead, the Body burnt, and the Royal aſhes laid up in an Urn; within 5 Days after this, the Tragedy of his Wives begins and ends. They all of them go to an appointed place, where, when they are come, the Favourite Wife throws a Ball out of her Hand, which, where it reſts, marks out the Place of their Death. Being come thither, they turn their Faces to the Eaſt, and with their Daggers ſtab themſelves to the Heart: And taking out handfuls of their own Blood, beſmear their Bodies with it; and thus they die. This barbarous Sacrifice of themſelves, to the Ghoſt of their dead Husbands, are the Queens of *Java* oblig'd to make by the Cuſtom of their Country. The Men of this Iſland are very good Soldiers, hardy, valiant, and deſperate to the laſt degree: They'll ſtick at nothing that their King commands them to do, be it attended with ever ſo threatning a danger. Shou'd he bid them plunge a Dagger into their Breaſts, or leap off from a precipice, or into a Den of wild Beaſts, they'll immediately do it, becauſe the anger of their King is as certain Death as the point of the Sword, or the Teeth of the wild Beaſts.

The King's Wives kill themſelves.

The Natives Obedience to their King.

They are of a tawny Complexion like the reſt of the *Indians*, and go naked; but their Women are of ſomething a better hue, and ſhow more modeſty than the Men in the uſe of Apparel. After this Relation of the *Portugueze*, having contented the *Javans* for the Victuals they had brought them, and receiv'd a Promiſe from them of good Entertainment when they came again, they took their leaves of them, the Admiral making them a Preſent of three great Pieces of Ordnance at parting. The next day, *viz. March* 16. they ſail'd away for the *Cape of Good Hope*.

They leave *Java.*

Hope, and ſpent all the reſt of *March*, and the whole Month of *April*, in traverſing the vaſt Ocean between *Java* and the Main of *Africa*, making many Obſervations of the Stars, the Weather, the Winds and Tides, the Bearing and Poſition of Lands.

May 11. one of the Company ſpied Land, bearing N. and N. by W. and about Noon they ſaw ſome that bore Weſt, of them which they believed to be the *Cape of Good Hope*, they being then about 40 or 50 Leagues from it: But by reaſon they had a ſcanty Wind, they ſtood off to the S. E. till Midnight, and then the Wind coming fair they hal'd along Weſtward. The 12th and 13th Days they were becalm'd, and the Sky was thick and hazy, but on the 14th it clear'd up, and they ſaw Land again, which prov'd to be the Cape *Falſo*, which is ſhort of the *Cape of Good Hope* 40 or 50 Leagues.

Cabo Falſo.

This Cape *Falſo* is very eaſie to be known, for there lie right over it three very high Hills, but a little diſtance from each other; the higheſt of which is the middle-moſt, and the ground is much lower by the Sea-ſide. Beſides, the *Cape of Good Hope* bears W. and by S. from this Cape *Falſo*.

They double the *Cape Good Hope.*

May 16. they ſpied the *Cape of Good Hope*, obſerving the Head-land to be conſiderably high, and at the Weſterly Point, a little off the Main, two Hammocks appearing, and three others lying further off into the Sea, yet low Land between them towards the Sea. This *Cape of Good Hope* is made, in the *Portugueze* Sea-Charts, 2000 Leagues from *Java*; but by their Reckoning they found it to be but 1850 Leagues, which took them up juſt 9 Weeks to ſail it.

They Anchor at St. *Helena.*

June 8. by break of Day, they came within 7 or 8 Leagues of St. *Helena*, which they had juſt a glimpſe of; but having little or no Wind, they cou'd not reach it that Day, but ſtood off and on all Night. The next Day, having a pretty good Wind, they ſtood in with the ſhore, (the Boat being ſent before to the Harbour) and came to an Anchor in 12 fathom Water, in a good Bay, under the N. W. ſide of the Iſland, two or three Cables length from the ſhore. This Iſland lies in the Main-Sea, as it were in the midſt between the Main-Land of *Africk*, and that of *Braſile* and the Coaſt of *Guiney*: It is in 15 degrees 48 minutes South Lat. and between 5 or 600 Leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Here they went aſhore, and entred the Church which had a fair Cauſey leading to it, a Frame with two Bowls, and a Croſs of Free-ſtone adjoyning to it; within it was hung with painted Cloths, having an Altar with the Bleſſed Virgin, and the Story of the Crucifixion pictur'd in a Table. The Valley where the Church ſtands is extremely pleaſant; ſo full of rare Fruit-Trees, and excellent Plants, that it appears like ſome very fine and well cultivated Garden. There are long rows of Limon, Orange, Citron, and Pomegranate-Trees, Date and Fig-Trees, that preſent the Eye with Bloſſoms, Green Fruit, and ripe all at once. The Trees are very nicely trimm'd and dreſs'd, and diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral curious Walks, which have the protection of their boughs, and are made cool and ſhady thereby. There is a ſweet Cryſtal Spring riſing at a diſtance, that diffuſes it ſelf in many pretty Rivulets all through the Valley, watering the ſeveral parts of it, and refreſhing each Plant and Tree. There is hardly any empty ſpace in this whole great Garden, for what places Nature has left unoccupied, Art has taken care to fill up to ſome advantage. The Iſland it ſelf affords great ſtore of Partridges and Pheaſants, which are much larger and fairer than ours in *England*: There are Turkeys too, both black and white, and with red Heads, about the bigneſs of ours, and their Eggs much the ſame, only quite white. Here is alſo great plenty of Cabritos, or wild Goats; they are as big as an Aſs, have a Horſes Main, and a Beard that reaches down to the very ground: They go ſometimes together in a Herd, that reaches a full Mile in length. Here are alſo vaſt Herds of wild Swine, that keep chiefly upon the Mountains, as the Cabritos do; they are fat, and ſo very wild, that a Man can never come at them, except they be aſleep, or rouling themſelves upon their Miry Beds.

The Fruits of St. *Helena.*

Partridge, Pheaſants and Turkeys.

Cabritos and wild Swine.

They leave St. *Helena.*

June 20. having taken in all Neceſſaries here, they ſet Sail for *England*, and haled away N. W. and by W. 'Tis to be obſerv'd, that the Wind is commonly off the ſhore at St. *Helena*.

On *Friday* the 23d of *Auguſt*, they ſailed E. and E. by S. for the Northermoſt of the *Azores*. The 29th, at 4 after Midnight, they fell in ſight of the Iſland *Flores* and *Corvo*, ſtanding in 39 ½ degrees North Lat. and ſo ſail'd away N. E.

Sept. 3. they met with a *Flemiſh* Veſſel that came from *Lisbon*, and told them the joyful News of the overthrow of the *Spaniſh* Armada. *Sept.* 9. having had the Winds farewel in a moſt violent Storm, that carried away moſt part of their Sails, they arrived at the very-much and long-deſired Haven of *Plimouth*.

CHAP. VI.

The Voyage of OLIVER NOORT, *&c.*

THE *Engliſh* Nation having had the Honour of the two firſt entire *Circum-Navigations* of the Globe, their Neighbours, the *Dutch*, put in for next ſhare, in a noble Attempt to the ſame purpoſe, and as happily accompliſh'd.

* *A.D.* 1598.

July 2. * the good Ships, the *Maurice* and the *Concord*, ſet ſail from *Rotterdam*, and reaching the Coaſts of *England*, ſtaid there till *Sept.* 13. for their two Companions, the *Henry Frederick*, and the *Hope*, which then came up to them. And 'tis to be obſerv'd, that tho' this Voyage was undertaken and perform'd at the Charge of the *Dutch* Nation, yet did the *Engliſh*, in ſome meaſure, ſhare the Honour of it with them, their chief Pilot being an *Engliſhman* †, and one that had before encompaſs'd the Globe with Mr. *Candiſh*.

† Capt. *Melis* Pilot in this, and Mr. *Adams* in the next Voyage. Capt. *Davis* alſo in their firſt *Indian* Voyages; all which were *Engliſh men*.

October 4. they met a ſmall Fleet of *Dutch*, *Engliſh* and *French*, which were coming out of *Barbary*, and gave them an Account of the horrible Peſtilence raging there, which had ſwept away 250000 Perſons in a very ſhort ſpace. On the 6th, they came between *Teneriff* and the great *Carie*.

Nov. 3. they had ſight of the Coaſts of *Guiney*. *December* 4. they came hard by Cape *Palma*, which lies in 3 ½ degrees North Lat. The 10th, they had ſight of *Princes* Iſland (*a*), which lies one and a half degr. North Lat. They ſent their Boats before to make ſome diſcovery of the Iſle, where having entred with a Flag of Truce, they were met by a *Negro* bearing the like Peaceful Sign. They demanded only a ſupply of Proviſions, which was granted in very fair and friendly Terms; but while they were ſettling this Point, a Party that lay in Ambuſcade ſurpriz'd them in a moment, and cut off ſeveral of them; amongſt which was the brave *Engliſh* Pilot, Captain *Meln*. The *Portugueze* purſued them to their Boats, which they very briskly attack'd, killing the Admiral's Brother, and very near taking all the reſt Priſoners. In Revenge of this Outrage, it was concluded (in a Council of War) that the Caſtle ſhould be Aſſaulted, which Experiment being tried, and found to prove too coſtly and hazardous, they took their Revenge in burning all their Sugar-Houſes: And ſo having provided themſelves with freſh Water, they ſet ſail the 17th.

(*a*) Iſland *del Prin.*

Treachery of the *Portugueze.*

The 25th they reach'd Cape *Gonſalvo* (*b*), where the Wind generally blows from the Land in the Night, and from the Sea in the Day. Here they found two *Dutch* Ships, which inform'd them of the misfortune of Captain *Cleerhagen*, who was loſt, with moſt part of his Company, upon *Princes* Iſland, as they had like to have been; as alſo of the Voyage of *Peter Veerhagens*, who had entred the River of *Congo*, and putting in at this place, had here buried 38 of his Company, and was gone ſome time before for *Annobon*.

(*b*) Cape *Gonſalvo.*

* *A. D.* 1599.

Jan. 1. * they paſs'd the Iſland *Annobon*, at which they found two degrees South Lat. and the 28th of the ſame Month they had the Sun in their Zenith. The 5th they reach'd Cape St. *Thomas*, (upon the Coaſt of *Breſile*) which lies in 22 degrees South Lat. The 6th they paſs'd the *Fair* Cape, and in the Evening Cape *Frio*. On the 9th, they came to *Rio Javere*. After ſome loſs of time, and company too, by the Treacheries of the Grand Enemy the *Portugueze*, they went to St. *Sebaſtian*, where the Comforts of a good Harbour, freſh Water, and plenty

Cape St. *Thomas*, *Frio*, *Fair Cape*, *&c.*

ty of Wood, attended them; but no Fruits were to be had.

March 14. a cruel Storm ſurpriz'd them, the fury of which parted the Vice-Admiral, and the *Hope*, from the reſt of the Fleet, but they had the good luck to meet them again on the 17th. And now the Scurvy encreaſing amongſt them, together with the approach of the Winter, made them reſolve to put in at St. *Helena*; but miſſing that, they concluded upon the *Aſcenſion*, or ſome other Iſland, that was capable of giving them a tolerable Entertainment. But hard Fortune brought them to a very Barren and Deſolate Iſland, in 20½ degrees South Lat. where they had nothing but a few Fowl, (call'd *Melle Mewen*) which they knock'd down with their Clubs. Having therefore quickly had enough of this Barren place, they put off to Sea again; and the 1ſt of *June*, thinking to have reach'd the *Aſcenſion*, they found themſelves on the Continent of *Braſile*. But the *Portugueze* not ſuffering them to land there, they ſail'd to Iſle St. *Clara* (c), which lies in 21 degrees 15 minutes South Lat. It's about a Mile * in compaſs, and as much diſtant from the Continent. The Iſland afforded them little elſe but Herbs; but what it denied them in Food, it paid in Phyſick, yielding a ſort of ſowre Plumbs, which in 15 Days cured all their Sick.

(c) St. *Clara*.

* By Miles underſtand *Dutch* Miles.

July 16. they ſet out for *Port Deſire*, in 47 degrees 40 minutes South Lat. which (after much bad weather) they reach'd *Sept*. 20. They furniſh'd themſelves with ſtore of Fiſh and Penguins, in an Iſland that lies three Miles to the South of this place: Of the latter ſort of Animals they took 50000 (which were as big as Geeſe) with a vaſt company of their Eggs, that proved good and refreſhing Meat to their ſick Company.

Penguins.

They went up the Rivers *October* 5. and going a Land, found Beaſts in the Country like Stags and Buffels, with a multitude of Oſtriches; one of whoſe Neſts they light on furniſh'd with 19 Eggs.

Beaſts like Stags and Buffels. Oſtriches.

The 20th, the Admiral went aſhore to obſerve the Country, leaving Orders with them that Guarded the Boats, not to ſtir a foot from their Charge; but they having a mind, it ſeems, to ſee the Country too, took a ſmall Ramble, and fell into an Ambuſcade of Savages, which kill'd three of them, and wounded the fourth.

Savages.

Theſe Savages were very tall portly Men, painted to the degree of Terrour, Arm'd with ſhort Bows and Arrows; which latter were headed with Stone.

(d) Cape *Virgins*.

The 29th they put off from hence; and *Nov*. 4. they made pretty near Cape *Virgins* (d), where the Land lies low and plain, and by its whiteneſs yields a proſpect like *England*. They made many Attempts to have entred the *Streights*, and were as often fruſtrated: They were beaten back by Tempeſts of Wind, Rain, Hail and Snow. They loſt their Anchors, broke their Cables; Sickneſs and Contention (worſe than any Diſeaſe) were added to all the reſt of their Calamities; and all theſe, in concurrence, retarded their progreſs ſo far, that 'twas well nigh 15 Months (from the commencement of the Voyage, before they could make any good way into the *Streights*.

But to return, They obſerv'd the Land to lie South-Weſt from the Cape *Virgins*, and the Mouth of the *Streights* to be about 14 Miles diſtance from it, and half a Mile in breadth.

(e) Cape *Naſſau*.

Nov. 25. they ſaw ſome Men upon two Iſlands that lay near the Cape *Naſſau* (e), who bid Defiance to the *Hollanders*, and ſhook their Weapons at them; but they Landing, notwithſtanding this Defiance, purſued the Savages to a Cave, which they ſtubbornly defended to the laſt Man, dying every one of them upon the ſpot. The *Dutch* being got in, found their Wives and Children in that dark Receptacle; and the Mothers, who expected nothing but preſent Death to themſelves and their Infants, cover'd the little ones with their own Bodies, reſolving to receive the firſt Stab themſelves. But the *Dutch* did them no more injury, than the taking of 4 Boys and 2 Girls of their number, from them, which they brought a Shipboard.

One of theſe Boys having learnt to ſpeak *Dutch*, gave them this Intelligence: That the greater of theſe two Iſlands was call'd *Caſtemme*, and the Tribe that Inhabited it *Enoo*. That the leſs Iſland was call'd *Talcke*, and that both were well ſtor'd with Penguins, whoſe Fleſh was their Food, and the Skins their Cloathing; and as for Habitations, they had none but Caves. That the adjoyning Continent abounded with Oſtriches; which alſo ſerv'd for Food. That they were diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Tribes, which had their ſeveral diſtinct Reſidences: The *Kemenetes* that dwelt in *Kaeſay*, the *Kennekin Karamay*, the *Karaiks* in *Morina*; all which People were of the common ſize, but broader Breaſted, and painted all over, the Men tying the *Pudenda* up with a ſtring, and the Women covering thoſe Parts with a Penguins skin, the former wearing long hair, and the latter ſhaven, but both ſorts naked, except a Cloak of Penguin-skins reaching to the Waſte. That there was alſo a fourth Tribe of them call'd *Tirimenen*, that dwelt in *Coin*; and theſe were of a Gigantick Stature, being 10 or 12 Foot high, and continually in Wars with the other Tribes.

Caſtemme and *Talcke* Iſland.

Giants, of which ſee more in *Sebaſtian de Weert's* Voyage.

The 28th they paſs'd to the Continent, and ſaw ſome Whales at a diſtance by the way: They encountred too a very pleaſant River, about which were delicate Trees, and ſtore of Parrots; upon the ſcore of this pleaſant proſpect, they call'd this *Summer-Bay* (f).

(f) *Summer* Bay.

(g) Port *Famine*.

The 29th they ſet ſail for *Port Famine* (g): Here the Land tends ſo far to the South, that the Iſlands *Pantagoms*, and *Terra Fulgo*, ſeem afar off to meet together. They found no remaining tokens here of the late famous *Philip*-City but a heap of Stones, to ſhew that once there had been a Building. The *Magellanick* Streight is diſtant from hence about 4 Miles, the Hills on both ſides of which are vaſtly high and deep, and all the Year long cover'd with Snow *. Here at *Port Famine* they cut down Wood to make them a Boat, and found the Bark of the Trees to be hot and biting like Pepper. Having no good watering here they left this place, (doubting indeed whether it were *Port Famine* or no) and after two Miles paſs'd found a good River: This was *Decemb*. 1. The next day they doubled Cape *Froward* (h) with ſome danger, by reaſon of unſafe Anchorage, and contrary Winds; ſo paſſing 4 Miles farther, into a large Bay, they Anchor'd there. Here was a Plant like Sneeze-wort, good againſt the Scurvy, and another as bad for Madneſs, making ſome that taſted it almoſt diſtracted for a time.

* See *Magellane's* and *Drake's* Voyages.

(h) Cape *Froward*.

Here they had a ſight of *Sebaſtian de Weert*'s Ship, who was one of *Verhagen*'s Company, which with another of the ſame Fleet, had been driven back out of the South Sea. He told them he had ſpent above 5 Months in the *Streights*, and had but 38 left out of 110 Men, and not being able to endure the Storms of the South Sea, was forc'd to put in there, while the reſt of the Fleet held on their Courſe.

* *A.D.* 1600.

(i) *Maurice* Bay, which has Ice all the Year long.

Jan. 2. * they ſet out again, directing their Courſe to *Maurice* Bay (i), which they obſerv'd to extend far Eaſtwards, and to receive ſeveral Rivers into it; in the Mouths of which was vaſt quantities of Ice, that ſeem'd never to melt all the Year round: For tho' this was near the *Midſummer* Seaſon in that Southern Climate, yet the Ice was ſo thick, that at 10 fathoms Sounding they cou'd not reach the bottom of it. The Land alſo ſeem'd to be a heap of broken Iſlands, which the heighth of the Mountains made appear like one firm and continual piece. Here they had the diſtreſſes of Hunger, and continual Rains, and the loſs of two of their Company, who were kill'd by the Savages as they were picking Muſſels, which were their chief Suſtenance.

(k) *Miniſte* Bay.

Gooſe Bay.

Having weather'd out many Storms which endanger'd them in *Meniſte* Bay (k), and ſome Encounters too with the Savages, they ſet ſail on the 17th, and were driven by a Storm into *Gooſe* Bay, 3 Miles diſtant, and receiving that Name from the multitude of that ſort of Fowl found there; of which they obſerv'd, that they cou'd both dive and ſwim very well, but not fly at all. Here the Vice-Admiral, for divers Crimes, was condemn'd by a Council of War to be turn'd aſhore, there to ſhift for himſelf, amongſt the wild Beaſts, and far wilder Inhabitants of the Country.

Feb. 1. they entred another Bay, which they call'd *Popiſh* Bay (l), perhaps becauſe their Proteſtant Ships were here ſo diſmally perſecuted with Thunder, Hail and Rain, and their Admiral like to be ſplit upon a Rock.

(l) *Popiſh* Bay.

The 27th, they ſaw at a diſtance a huge Mountain of Ice, in *Gooſe* Bay; but the next day, *viz*. the laſt of *February*, they bid adieu to all thoſe diſmal Proſpects, and paſs'd the Cape *Deſire* (m) into the South Sea. Their Company was now 147, but quickly leſſen'd by the loſs of the Vice-Admiral, whom they dropt *March* 12. Expecting her in vain, they ſail'd to the Iſland *La Mocha*, which is about 6 Miles from the Continent, and lies in 38 degrees South Lat. It is remarkable for a high Mountain in the middle of it, that cleaves it ſelf at top to make way for a Courſe of Waters into the Valley underneath it. Here they barter'd Knives and Hatchets for Sheep, Hens, Maize, Battulas, and other Fruit. They went to ſee the Town, which conſiſted of ſome 50 Houſes of Straw, where they were entertain'd with a ſowre ſort of Drink call'd *Cici*, which is made of Maize ſteep'd in water, and is the choice Liquor uſed at their Feaſts. Polygamy is much practis'd amongſt them, and they buy as many Wives as they can keep; ſo that a Man that has a good many Daughters, may chance to get an Eſtate

(m) Cape *Deſire*, by which they paſs into the South Sea. *La Mocha*.

Cici, a Drink.

The People of *Chili* have the ſame Cuſtoms too

Eſtate by them, eſpecially if they prove handſome. If one Man kill another, the Kindred of the murder'd Perſon are his Judges and Executioners, for they have no Laws, nor Publick Magiſtrates, to keep up any Form of Juſtice amongſt them; but yet a Man may poſſibly buy off his Puniſhment too, by making a Treat of *Cici*. They make their Cloaths of the Wooll of a very large ſort of Sheep, which Creatures they uſe to carry Burthens too: They wou'd not ſell any of theſe to the *Dutch*, tho' they did of another ſort, not much differing from the common.

(*n*) St. *Maries* Iſland.

St. *Maries* Iſland (*n*) lies 18 Miles from hence, in 37 degr. 15 minutes South Lat. Here they met with a *Spaniſh* Ship that was carrying Lard and Meal to *Aranco* and *Conception*, which they Chaſed, and took after a purſuit of 35 Leagues. The Pilot of this Ship told them, They could not get back to St. *Maries* Iſland becauſe of the South Winds, and that there was two Men of War waiting for their coming in *Arica*. Upon which Information, they concluded to ſail to *Val Paraiſo*, and by that means quite loſt their Vice-Admiral, which might otherwiſe have come up to them at laſt. Beſides, they concluded that ſhe miſs'd the Iſland St. *Mary*, upon the wrong placing it in *Plancius*'s Map as high as 38 degrees, when indeed it lies in 37 degrees 15 minutes. And this Errour they themſelves had fallen into, had not Captain *Melis*, the *Engliſh-man*, ſet them right by his Obſervations. And it farther confirm'd them in their Reſolutions not to ſail back to St. *Maries* Iſland, to hear of the misfortune of *Simon de Cordes* there, who was in friendly manner invited aſhore, and then Butcher'd by the *Indians*, together with 23 of his Men; the treacherous *Spaniards* endeavouring to get his two Ships into their hands, and ſending Intelligence to *Lima*, and all the Country about, of the arrival of the *Dutch*, and the Names of all their chief Men.

The help the *Dutch* had from the *Engliſh* in their Voyage.

Mr. *Adams* takes notice of this fight, who went to *Japan* in the ſame Ship.

(*o*) *Val Paraiſo*.

(*p*) St. *Jago*.

Sheep plenty.

Upon theſe Accounts they bent their Courſe to *Val Paraiſo* (*o*), where they took two Ships, and kill'd ſome *Indians*, but the *Spaniards* were all gone. This *Val Paraiſo* lies in 33 degrees South Lat. and up in the Country, about 18 Miles diſtant, lies St. *Jago* (*p*), a Town that affords good ſtore of Red-Wine and Sheep, which they kill only for the Sewet; with which they lade whole Veſſels. Here they received Letters from the Captain of the *Flying Hart*, one of *Veerhagen*'s Company, who was treacherouſly Aſſaulted, and Captivated by the *Spaniards*; which hard fate, he inform'd them, he had avoided, had he not been miſguided by the wrong placing of St. *Maries* Iſland in the Map aforeſaid.

Wars between the *Indians* and *Spaniards*.

At St. *Jago* they intercepted ſome Letters, which gave an Account of the Wars between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in *Chili*: The former being, it ſeems, in Rebellion, (or rather ſtanding upon a Juſt Defence, or acting a Juſt Revenge) had Sack'd the Town of *Baldivia*, putting vaſt numbers of the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and carrying off many Troops of Captives. They burnt the Houſes and Churches, and ſtruck off the Heads of the Popiſh Images, crying, *Down go the Gods of the Spaniards*. They cramm'd their Mouths with Gold, and bid them ſatisfie themſelves with that, for the ſake of which their Votaries had made ſo many barbarous Maſſacres amongſt them.

Beſides all this, they laid cloſe Siege to the City Imperial, and almoſt ſtarv'd the *Spaniſh* Garriſon there. The Valiant *Indians* that undertook this Action, were about 5000; of which, 3000 were Horſe, 100 ſhot, and 70 Corſlets; all which Furniture was *Spaniſh* Plunder. They ſo mortally hate the *Spaniards*, that they rip up the Breaſts of all they Maſter, to have the pleaſure of tearing out their Hearts with their Teeth; and it adds very much to the pleaſure of their Liquor, to drink it out of a Cup made of a *Spaniards* Skull. They are for the moſt part very Stout and Skilful Soldiers, and commit all their Military Affairs to the Management of one Supreme General, whoſe Orders they devoutly obey. But their Method of Election to this Honour is ſomething odd, for they Chuſe a General as we wou'd a Porter: He that could carry a Timber Log on his Shoulders the longeſt time, and with the leaſt degree of wearineſs, was ſaluted General by the Army.

The fertility of *Chili*.

All this Country of *Chili*, from St. *Jago* to *Baldivia*, is one of the moſt fertile and delightful Spots in the World: There are all ſorts of Cattel and Fruits, Gold Mines in abundance, an Air ſweet and wholeſome to that degree, that it is it ſelf Life and Medicine, and excludes the uſe of all other Phyſick.

La Guaſer.

Morre Gorch.

Morre Morene.

April 1. they entred the Bay *La Guaſer*, and left it the 7th following. The 11th, they came into a great Nook called *Morre Gorch*, 10 Miles from which is *Morre Morene*, from which the ſhore runs to *Anica*; and all this Tract, up to St. *Francis*'s Hill, is very much ſubject to South Winds, tho' in the adjoyning Sea they are very variable and uncertain. The 20th, the Air was all darken'd with an Arenal, which is a Cloud of Duſt rais'd ſo thick, that a Man can't ſee a Stones Caſt from him; they are brought off from the adjacent Shores, and are very uſual in thoſe Parts. The 25th, they were within view of the famous City of *Lima*; and now they came to underſtand the vaſtneſs of the Treaſure which the malice of the *Spaniards* had Robb'd them off, and which otherwiſe they had found in thoſe Ships they took at St. *Jago*. For by the Pilot's Confeſſion, there were no leſs than 52 Cheſts of Gold thrown over-board, each Cheſt containing 4 Arobes and 500 Pots, and each Pot 10 or 12 Pound weight in Gold. And not only this publick, but every particular Man's private Treaſure, was as prodigally flung away, they not caring which way it went, whether to the bottom of the Sea, or the bellies of the Fiſhes, ſo the *Dutch* might be never the better for it. This Gold came from St. *Maries* Iſland, where 3 or 4 Rich *Spaniards* engroſs'd all to themſelves, keeping 2000 poor *Indians* continually ſlaving in the Mines. The 29th they ſpied two Sail, and chaſed them, but to no purpoſe, the Ships built for that Sea (where they ſail moſtly againſt the Wind from *Panama* to *Lima*) being too ſwift for the *Hollanders*. They intended now to have gain'd the Iſland *Coquos* in 5 degrees North Lat. but being fruſtrated in that attempt, the better to avoid the danger of the *Spaniſh* Men of War, they directed their Courſe, *May* 20. for the Iſland *Ladrones*, and ſo to the *Philippines*.

Gold from St. *Maries* Iſland.

(*q*) *Guana*, one of the *Ladrones*.

Sept. 15. they had ſight of the *Ladrones*, and the 16th came to *Guana* (*q*), which is one of them, an Iſland 20 Miles in extent, and yielding Fiſh, Coco's, Bonanos, Sugar-Canes, which the *Indians* brought in a great number of Canoes up to their Ships. Sometimes they ſhou'd ſee 200 of theſe Canoes, with 4 or 5 Men a-piece, which wou'd come all hollowing together, *Hiero*, *Hiero*, that is, Iron, Iron; and with very eagerneſs, run their Canoes upon the Ships, and overturn them Goods and all.

See *Magillan*'s and *Candiſh*'s Voyages, that report many other things of theſe People.

They were a very ſly, ſubtle ſort of People, extremely honeſt with good looking to; but otherwiſe, they wou'd ſell a Man a Basket of Coco-ſhells, with a little Rice at top, for a Basket of Rice, and whip a Sword out of a Scabbard, and ſo pop into the water, and away to the bottom, whither a Man muſt go after them if he meant to have ſatisfaction: And the Women were as good at theſe Rogueries as the Men, they wou'd ſteal as impudently, and dive as well to hide it.

The 17th they ſet ſail for the *Philippines*: On the 20th they met with Ice, yet were then in three degrees North Lat.

(*r*) *Bayla* Bay.

(*s*) Streight of *Manilla*.

(*t*) *Capul* Iſland.

The 16th of *October* they came to (*r*) *Bayla* Bay, a very fertile Land; at which place, by counterfeiting themſelves *Spaniards*, they got good ſtore of all neceſſary Proviſions for their Ships. The *Spaniards*, who are Lords here, make the *Indians* pay 10 ſingle Rials a Head for every one above 20 Years old: Theſe poor Creatures are moſtly naked, and mark their Skins with Figures, ſo deeply impreſs'd as will never wear out. Being diſcover'd here, and alſo having obtain'd their deſign, they ſet ſail for the Streight of *Manilla* (*s*); all the Tract approaching, to which they obſerv'd, was waſte, barren and rocky. Here a ſudden guſt of Wind, from the South-Eaſt, carried away their Maſts and Sails, and treated them with more fury than any they had before met with. The 23d, ſome of them went aſhore, and eat Palmitos, and drank good ſtore of Water; after which followed the Bloody-Flux. The 24th they entred the Streight it ſelf, and ſail'd by the Iſland in the midſt; and in the Evening paſs'd the Iſland *Capul* (*t*), 7 Miles within the Streight, near which they found Whirlpools, as far as they cou'd diſcover, bottomleſs.

They put on now for *Manilla*, which is 80 Miles from *Capul*, wanting both wind to carry, and good Maps, and a Pilot to direct them.

See *Candiſh*'s Voyage.

Nov. 7. they took a Junk of *China*, laden with Proviſion for *Manilla*. The Maſter of this Veſſel gave them this Intelligence, That there were then at *Manilla* two great Ships, that came every Year from *New-Spain* thither; and a *Dutch* Ship alſo that was bought at *Malacca*. That the Town was Walled about; and there were two Forts to ſecure the Ships that ride there. That there was a vaſt Trade from *China* thither, no leſs than 400 Ships coming every Year from *Chinchey* with Silk, and other valuable things, between *Eaſter* and *December*. And particularly, that two Ships were ſhortly expected from *Japan*, laden with Iron, and other Metals, and Victuals.

The 15th they took two Barks, laden with Hens and Hogs, which were the *Spaniſh* Tribute, but became Meat for the *Dutch*, as it happen'd, who ſent them a few

Bankingle, Mindore, and *Lou-bon,*

Linen Bolts in the room of it. They paſs'd the Iſlands *Bankingle*, and *Mindore*, right againſt which is the Iſle *Lou-bon*, at two Miles diſtance; and between them both is another leſs Iſland, by which there is a ſafe paſſage for Ships.

Luſſon Iſlands

The Iſland *Luſſon*, is bigger than *England* and *Scotland*, and has a Cluſter of ſmaller Iſlands about it: It is more beholding to Trade, than to the Happineſs of its own Soil for the Riches it enjoys. Lying at Anchor in 15 Degr. North Lat. in expectation of theſe *Japan* Ships, *December* the 1ſt, they took one of them: She was of 50 Tun Burthen, and had ſpent 25 Days in the Voyage. The Form of her was ſomething ſtrange, her fore-part being like a Chimney, and her Furniture very agreeable to her Shape, the Sails being made of Reeds, the Anchors of Wood, and the Cables of Straw: The *Japponeſe* aboard her were all bald, except one Tuft of Hair left behind; and this is the Mode of the Country.

The *Japan* Ships.

The 9th they took two Barks, one laden with Coco-Wine, and *Aqua Vitæ*, and the other with Hens, and Rice.

Fight with the *Spaniards*.

The 14th they met with the *Spaniſh* Ships returning home from *Manilla*, upon which meeting commenc'd a very ſmart Fight: The *Dutch* being over-powr'd with multitudes, were reduc'd to very ill Circumſtances, their Admiral being boarded once by the *Spaniards*, and almoſt got entirely into their poſſeſſion. She was juſt upon the point of yielding her ſelf to the *Spaniſh* Admiral, (who had preſs'd her very hard almoſt all the Day) when her own Admiral ſeeing all was loſt, without a very reſolute Puſh, threatned to blow up Ship, Men and all, if they did not beat the *Spaniards* off again, and fight at a better rate. The *Dutch* upon this, hurried on with Rage, Fear, and Deſpair, of preſerving themſelves any other way, fought to ſo good purpoſe, that in a little time they clear'd their own Ship, boarded the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and at laſt ſunk her.

The *Dutch's* Victory.

This Action coſt them no more than five Lives loſt outright, and Twenty ſix more endanger'd by Wounds; the whole Company left being now but Thirty five. But of the *Spaniards* there were ſeveral Hundreds that periſh'd, partly in the Fight, and partly drown'd and knock'd in the Head, after the Fight was over.

Dutch Pinnace taken.

The greateſt loſs the *Dutch* had, was that of their Pinnace, which encountred the *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral, and was taken by her; which was no ſtrange thing, conſidering ſhe had but Twenty five Men, to maintain a Fight againſt Five hundred *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

From hence they ſet Sail for *Borneo*, the chief Town of the Iſle of that Name; which is 180 Miles from *Manilla*, and lies in 5 Degr. North Lat. as *Manilla* does in about 14 Degr. 40 Min. And in their way to it, paſs'd by *Bolutan* (*v*), an Iſland 180 Miles long.

(*v*) *Bolutan.*

(*w*) *Borneo.*

The 26th they came to *Borneo* (*w*), putting into a great Bay, three Miles in compaſs, where there was good Anchoring, as alſo good Fiſhing in a Neighbour River, and the Fiſher-men very ready to barter their Fiſh for Linen Cloth.

The Admiral, by a Meſſenger, crav'd leave of the King to Trade there: But he ſuſpecting them to be *Spaniards*, wou'd enter into no Terms with them, till his Officers had ſearch'd, and found to the contrary. So they Traded here for Pepper, with the *Patanees*, a ſort of People of a *Chineſe* Original: The *Borneans*, and they, were fond of the *China* Linen; but that which came out of *Holland*, was a meer Drug. In the mean time the *Borneans* laid a Plot to ſurprize their Ship; and to effect it, *January* 1.* they came up to them with a hundred Praws; and pretending to bring Preſents from the King, wou'd have boarded them: But the *Dutch* ſmelling what thoſe Preſents were, deſir'd them to keep off from their Veſſel, or they ſhou'd be obliged to make them do ſo with their great Shot; which Reſolution of theirs the *Borneans* ſeeing, without any more adoe, deſiſted from the Attempt.

* *A.D.* 1601.

This *Borneo* is the greateſt Iſland in the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Capital City bearing the ſame Name, contains Three thouſand Houſes, but ſtands in a dirty plaſhy Soil, ſo that they may go in their Praws from one Houſe to another.

The City.

The Inhabitants all go arm'd, from the Noble-man to the Fiſher-man; and the very Women have ſo much of the Soldier in their Compoſition, that if affronted, they'll preſently revenge themſelves with Sword or Javelin, upon him that gives it: This a *Dutch-man* had like to have prov'd to his Coſt, for having ſome way diſguſted one of theſe *Bornean* Virago's; ſhe ſet upon him with a Javelin, and had diſpatch'd him to rights, if ſhe had not been prevented by main force. They are *Mahometans* in the Matters of Religion, and ſo very ſuperſtitious therein, that they'll ſooner die than taſte any thing that comes from a Swine, neither will they keep any of thoſe Creatures about them. The better ſort of them have a Covering of Linen from the Waſte downwards, and a Cotton Turbant on their Heads; but the common People go all naked. They chew a great deal of Beetle, and *Arecca*, in this Iſland, which is alſo a mighty Faſhion in many other Parts thereabouts. The *Dutch* ſeeing little hope of profitable Trade here, ſet ſail for *Bantam*.

The People.

January the 4th, in the Night, four *Borneans* came to the Ship, with a deſign to have cut their Cables, and ſo to have brought the Ship a-ground; but being diſcover'd and pelted with Shot, they march'd off, leaving their Praw behind them, which the *Dutch* took inſtead of their own Boat loſt at *Manilla*.

The next Day they met with a Junk from *Japan*, bound for *Manilla*; which inform'd them of a great *Dutch* Ship *, forced by Tempeſts into *Japan*; all the Company of which (by Famine and Sickneſs) were dead to fourteen: That they came firſt to *Bongo* in 34 Degr. 40 Min. North Lat. and after by the King's Order, removed to *Atonza*, in 36 ½ Degr. That they were there in a ſafe Harbour, and had liberty to Trade, and build a new Ship, which done, they might diſpoſe of themſelves as they pleas'd.

*Mr. *Adams*, an *Engliſh-man*, was chief Pilot in this Ship, and liv'd near twenty Years in *Japan* But of him more hereafter.

By this Account they doubted not, but this Ship was *Verhagen*'s Admiral; ſo diſmiſſing the *Japeneſe* Veſſel, they went on, and paſs'd the Line a third time, ſailing in no little fear nor danger, for want of a Pilot, and good Charts.

The 16th they took a Junk of *Jor*, and in her a skilful Pilot, who came in good time to ſave them from Shipwreck, which otherwiſe, in all likelihood, had been their Fate in thoſe Seas: For now they had but one Anchor left, and the Cable of that almoſt worn out; and beſides, had ſo many Shoals and Iſlands about them on every ſide, that 'twas a very eaſie matter for a Ship, a Stranger there, to have miſcarried. Some of theſe Iſlands were *Binta*, and *Crincata*, which yield Diamonds that are ſold at *Malacca*.

Binta. *Crincata.* Diamonds.

The 28th they came to *Jortan*, upon the Iſle of *Java*, where they had News of *Dutch* Ships at *Bantam*. The City conſiſts of about a Thouſand Timber-Houſes; the King commands a conſiderable part of that end of the Iſland, and had lately conquer'd *Balambuan*, a little Iſland that lies juſt by to the South Eaſt of *Jortan*. They are ſaid to be *Mahometans*, all the Country hereabouts, tho' the *Pagods* in uſe ſtill, ſeem to argue ſome kind of mixture of the old *Indian* Superſtition with that of *Mahomet*, or at leaſt a Toleration of it in the whole, amongſt the common People. Their chief Prieſt is an Old Man of 120, who has a good round Family of Wives; and whether it be upon a Religious, or any other Conſideration, (if the World does not bely him) the mortified Old Man lives on nothing but the Milk which he ſucks from his Wives Breaſts: From whence 'tis plain, that ſome Care is taken by theſe pious Women, to keep a Supply of Milk in their Breaſts; and ſince there are ſo many of them, and the Circumſtances of the Old Prieſt's Age are ſuch as they are, 'tis probable ſome of his devout Brethren, and his Wives, do joyn together, to keep him from ſtarving.

Jortan.

Balambuan.

Sailing hence, they ſaw a great *Portugueze* Ship of 600 Tun, ſet faſt in the Shoals; ſhe was going to *Amboina*, upon a deſign of engroſſing all that Trade to her ſelf, and ſo was very juſtly ſtopp'd by the way.

February the 5th, they paſs'd the Streight between *Balamboa*, and *Baly*, and leaving *Java* North Eaſt from them, on the 11th they found themſelves in 13 Degr. South Lat. and then directed their Courſe to the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Balamboa, and *Baly* Streight.

On the 18th, they had the Sun Vertical at Noon, being then in 11 Degr. 20 Min. and here a Calm began, that laſted 11 Days.

March the 11th, they came into 24 Degr. 45 Min. and the 24th into 28 Degr. 10 Min.

April the 1ſt, they made 30 Degr. 50 Min. And the 19th, (having been conſiderably retarded between croſs Winds and Calms) they were forc'd to ſtint themſelves in their Meaſures of Water.

But the 24th at Night, they ſaw a Light like Fire about four Miles to the North Weſt, Land now being near; whereas they reckon'd themſelves 200 Miles from the Cape, and not being aware of their approach to any other.

The 25th they were in 34 Degr. 35 Min. And now the Calms gave them liberty to mend their Sails. At Night they ſaw another Fire, and the next Morning Land, bearing North Eaſterly.

The 27th they came into 34 Degr. 40 Min. and within ſix or ſeven Mile of the Land.

St. *Helena.*

May the 2d, they made 35 Degr. 15 Min. and the next Morning ſaw between the Eaſt and North, ſomething like the end of an Iſland, about ſix Mile off, by which they fancied themſelves near the Cape. And now they directed their Courſe to St. *Helena*, where they arriv'd the 26th, and refreſhed themſelves with good Water, Fiſh, and ſome Fleſh, but no *Cabrito's*, nor Fowl, (which are both hard to be taken) nor no Oranges cou'd they meet with here. They left this Iſland the 30th, and *June* the 14th paſs'd the Line the 4th time.

The 16th they met with ſix *Dutch* Ships bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, *James Heemskirk* Admiral. Theſe had fought thirteen *Spaniſh* Ships, near the Salt Iſlands, and had loſt both their Pinnace, and Vice-Admiral; the former taken by the *Spaniards*, and the latter gone from them, but they hop'd ſecure.

A Weedy Sea.

July the 8th, they came into 27 Degr. North Lat. and met with ſtore of the Weed *Saragoſſa* floating in the Water.

The 13th, they were in 32 Degr. 30 Min. and then had fifteen Days calm, and a very Weedy Sea.

The 22d, they were driven to a very ſhort Allowance of Bread, and that Worm-eaten too, their Stock being almoſt ſpent.

Auguſt the 1ſt, they made 40 Degr. North Lat. and left the Iſland *Flores*, and comes about Forty five Miles to Weſtward.

The 18th, three Ships of *Embden* met them, and exchang'd Bread and Fleſh, for Rice and Pepper with them, and withal ſhew'd them, that they were not ſo near *England* as their Maſter had told them, who had promis'd to make the *Lizard* next Day.

The 19th, they had ſight of the *Sorlings*.

The 26th, they Anchor'd at *Amſterdam*.

Thus have we ſeen the *Dutch*, under the Conduct of the *Engliſh*, ſucceſsfully following their Example.

Sebald de Wert's *Voyage into the South Sea, &c.*

SOme mention being made in the laſt Voyage of *Veerhagen*'s Fleet, which paſs'd the Streights a little before *Noort*, it may be proper to add ſomething more particularly concerning that Voyage.

*A.D. 1598.

June the 27th, * the five following Ships ſet Sail from *Amſterdam*. The *Hope* Admiral, of 250 Tun, and 130 Men. The *Charity* Vice-Admiral, of 160 Tun, and 110 Men. The *Faith*, of 160 Tun, and 109 Men. The *Fidelity*, of 100 Tun, and 86 Men. The *Good-news*, of 75 Tun, and 56 Men, all furniſh'd with neceſſary Proviſions. The Admiral was Sir *Jaques Mahu*, *Simon de Cordes* Vice-Admiral, *Beuninghen*, *Bockholt*, and *Sebald de Wert*, were Captains of the other three.

This Fleet of Grace, after many Difficulties, made ſhift to reach the Iſles of Cape *Verd*; where the Admiral dying, *Simon de Cordes* ſucceeded in his room; a proportionable change being alſo made amongſt the other inferiour Captains. But here the undermining Practices of the *Portugueze*, and their own want of Proviſions, made them quickly think of a remove, which they reſolv'd ſhou'd be to the Iſle *Annobon*.

This Land was *Congo*.

Having therefore ſet Sail from hence, and ſpying Land much ſooner than their Reckoning would allow, in 33 Degr. South Lat. they determin'd to go to Cape *Lopo Gonſalves*, driving a ſmall Pedling Trade with the People of *Guiney*, as they paſt along.

Nov. the 10th, they ſet all their ſick Men aſhoar.

The Negro King.

The 23d a *French* Sailor came aboard them, and offer'd to do them ſome good Offices with the Negro-King; to whom Captain *De Wert* was ſent, in the Name of the Admiral: He found His Majeſty mounted upon a lofty Throne, near a Foot-high, with a Royal Carpet of Lambskin ſpread under his Feet. The Robes he had on, made him appear like ſome Footman; it being a perfect Livery of Violet-Cloth, with a gilded Lace: He had a party-colour'd Cloth about his Head, and a String of Glaſs-beads about his Neck; but no Shooes, Stockins, nor Shirt on. The Courtiers that ſtood about him, were dreſs'd up with Cock-Feathers; and the Room of State, where all this mighty Preſence ſhew'd themſelves, was much inferiour to ſome Apartments in a common Stable.

The Women brought in his Proviſion to him, which was Noble like all the reſt; a few roaſted Plantanes, and a little Smoke-dry'd Fiſh, ſerv'd up in Wooden-platters, together with a little Palm-Liquor, made up the whole Entertainment.

The *Dutch* Captain was here ſo hard put to it for a Dinner, that he was fain to call for ſome of his own Country-Proviſions, under pretence of ſhewing the King their manner of Diet. He drank to the King in *Spaniſh* Wine, who pledg'd him in the ſame ſo heartily, that he was fain to be carried to ſleep upon't. They got but little Proviſion here, the Country not being able to ſupply them, only a Boar, and two Buffels, they kill'd in the Woods, and a few Fowl.

Spring, an *Engliſh man*, aſſiſted in this Voyage.

December the 8th, they ſet Sail from hence; and the 16th came to *Annobon*. Here the Scurvy and Fever made ſome havock of their Men, carrying off about thirty of them, amongſt which was one *Spring* an *Engliſh-man*, of good Skill in Sea-Affairs: And here they got no more Proviſions, than what they poſſeſs'd themſelves of by force. At the beginning of the New Year *, they ſet ſail from *Annobon*, for the *Magellanick* Streights.

*A.D. 1599.

March the 10th, in 42 Degr. South Lat. they found the Sea appearing in a Sanguine Hue, by the vaſt quantities of little Red Worms, floating about in the Water, which when taken up, leap'd like ſo many Fleas.

April the 6th, they entred the Streights; and at *Penguin* Iſland, they ſtor'd themſelves with 13 or 1400 of thoſe Fowl.

The 18th they Anchored in the Green Bay, in 54 Degr. Lat. where they had good freſh Water, and large Muſcles. They ſtay'd here till *Auguſt* the 23d, having a moſt miſerable Stormy Winter, and the loſs of 100 of their Company.

May the 7th, they went out Southward, over-againſt the Green Bay, to take Gudgeons; but their Fiſhing was diſturb'd by the proſpect of ſome monſtrous Savages, that appear'd to be ten or eleven Foot high. Theſe huge Fellows having ſpied the *Dutch*, came upon them with horrible Outcries, and began to pelt them with Stones; but ſeeing four or five of their Company drop with the *Dutch* Shot, they retired to the Land, and tearing up ſome large Trees by the Roots, they rais'd a little Fortification, where they ſecur'd themſelves; the *Dutch* not being over-fond of attempting to beat them out. Yet afterwards theſe Savages, in ſome meaſure, revenged the Death of their Companions upon them, by killing three of the *Dutch*, whom they took ſeeking for Food; their Weapons were Darts, whoſe Heads were made like Saws; ſo that where-ever they pierced, they muſt be cut out.

The ſad Circumſtances of the *Dutch* in the South Sea.

The Green Bay they call'd *Cordes*'s Bay, and another the *Horſe* Bay; in which the Admiral, and ſix more of the chief Men, entred into a Fraternity, binding themſelves by Oath, to certain Articles, and leaving as a Memorial of it, their Names carv'd in a Table faſten'd on a high Pillar, to be ſeen of all that paſs'd that way. This they call'd, *The Fraternity of the Golden Lion*; but the Savages did not ſtick to deface that Monument; and beſides, to pull the dead *Dutch-men* out of their Graves, and diſmember them after a horrible manner.

September the 3d, they paſs'd out of the Streights, and kept together till the 7th, when they were unfortunately ſeparated; Capt *de Wert* was forc'd by a Storm to ſtay; and the *Faith* and *Fidelity* were alſo left behind, in all the diſtreſs, which Tempeſts, Hunger, Sickneſs, Leaks, and the loſs of their Maſters, cou'd bring upon them. And in this Condition, at the end of this Month, they entred the Streights again, where for the ſpace of two Months, they had not one fair Day to dry their Sails. Here they took a She-Savage, with two Children half a Year old, which had all their Teeth, and were able to go. And here 'twas that they met with Admiral *Noort*; who yet was not in Condition to give them any Relief.

*A. D. 1600

In ſhort, after a World of Hardſhips endured there, they ſet Sail, *January* the 22d *, and arrived in the *Maes*, *July* the 14th. In which Voyage the moſt remarkable Diſcovery they made, was of three Iſlands that lie without the Streights, homewards, in 53 Degr. 40 Min. and about 60 Miles from the Land, which they (in honour of their Captain) call'd the *Sebaldine* Iſlands.

CHAP. VII.

The Voyage of George Spilbergen, *Admiral of a* Dutch *Fleet of Six Ships.*

* *A.D.*1614.

TWas on the 8 th of *Auguſt* *, that this Fleet began to ſail from the *Texel*, and after much bad Weather gain'd the height of *Madera*, *October* the 3d.

The 10th they loſt ſight of the *Canaries*; and the 23d recover'd a Proſpect of the Iſlands *Brave* and *Fogo*.

From *October* the 30th, to *November* the 17th, they had a continual Calm, intermix'd with ſome Showers; and now their Drinking Water began to fail them.

December the 9th, they paſs'd the dangerous Sands of *Abrotlos*.

The 13th they had ſight of *Braſile*, when the Great *Sun* diſcharg'd ſome Pieces to warn the reſt of the Fleet, of the Shoals, and dangerous places about upon the Coaſts.

(*a*) Iſland *Grande*.

Crocodiles.

The 20th they came to the Iſland *Grandes* (*a*), where they anchor'd, and went aſhoar; taking beſides good ſtore of Fiſh, ſome young Crocodiles, of the bigneſs of a Man.

The 30th, (being ſtill at the Iſle *Grandes*, for the eaſe of their ſick Company) they heard the *Huntſman* (one of their Ships) let off ſeveral Guns; enquiring into the occaſion of which, they found her engaged in a warm Diſpute with five Barks of *Portugueze* and *Indians*, whom they aſſaulted too; but the Enemy being reliev'd by a freſh Supply that came in, they were obliged to give over.

A. D. 1615.

* *January* the 1ſt, a Conſpiracy of certain diſcontented Perſons was found out; two of the chief of which the Admiral preſented with Ropes for New-Year's-Gifts, and laid the reſt ſo ſafe in Irons, and ſo far aſunder, as to prevent their Plotting for the future.

Before they went from hence, they made a general Agreement amongſt them, That if any Ship loſt his Company, they ſhou'd ſet up an Inſcription in ſome common Landing-place, to tell how long they ſhou'd ſtay for each other, and after make to *La Mocha*, which ſhould be the place of their general Rendezvous.

(*b*) *S. Vincent*.

From the Iſland *Grandes* they ſail'd to St. *Vincent* Iſle (*b*), where they had ſome Experience of the *Portugueze* Subtlety and ill Intentions towards them.

The 26th they took a Bark, and in it eighteen *Portugueze*; whom they refus'd to exchange for a leſs number of *Dutch*, tho' ſeveral valuable Things taken in the Prize, were offer'd in to the bargain. The Bark it ſelf they burnt, as alſo ſeveral Buildings belonging to the *Portugueze*; and having freely diſcharg'd four of their *Portugueze* Priſoners, they proceeded in their Voyage from Iſle St. *Vincent*, in the beginning of *February*.

March the 7th, a terrible Storm riſe upon them in 52 Degr. South Lat. 6 Min. And the 21ſt, the more diſmal Storm of Mutiny and Rebellion, broke out in the Ships; but all was calm and quiet again, when ſome of the factious Mutiniers were laid a ſoaking in the Salt Water.

(*c*) *Magellan*. Streights.

The 28th they entred the Streights (*c*), but were forc'd out again by Wind and Tide.

April the 2d, they re-entred, and came to an Anchor, becauſe of the Shoals; one of which they ſounded, and found but five Cubits Water: Here they ſaw a Giant climbing the Hills, to have a full view of them, he being a Native of the Iſland *del Fuego*.

The 7th they went aſhoar, where they found no Men, nor any other Animals hardly, but two Oſtriches; only there was a good freſh River, and a ſort of pleaſant Blackberries to entertain them. On the South-ſide they found pleaſant Woods, full of Parrots; but the high Mountains cover'd with Snow; and this was in 54 Degr. South Lat. One place here they call'd *Pepper-Haven*, the Bark of a ſort of Trees that grew thereabouts, reſembling Pepper in taſte.

The 16th they traffick'd with the Savages, giving them Sack and Knives for a ſort of Pearl they had; but it ſeems, the Savages did not like either them or their way of dealing, for they quickly after ſurpriz'd a Company of them aſhoar; of which they kill'd two.

The 6th they paſs'd into the South Sea, not without ſome terrible Apprehenſions, on the account both of the dangerous Shoals and Iſlands, and the vaſt depth all thereabouts, that made Anchoring impoſſible. A fierce Storm bid them Welcome into this Sea, which they fear'd wou'd have ſplit them upon the *Sorlings* *, that lie a little without the Streights.

* Little Iſles like our *Sorling* Iſlands, and therefore ſo call'd.

The 21ſt of *May* they had ſight of *Chili*, and *La Mocha*; which Iſland is low and broad to the North, and very Rocky at the Southern parts.

The 26th they began a Trade with the People, who ſeem'd very glad both to find them Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and ſo well provided with Warlike Stores to maintain a Quarrel againſt them. They gave them Sheep for Coral, Hatchets, and ſuch like things, and brought every thing up to their Boats, not ſuffering them to come to their Houſes, out of a jealous fear of their Wives. The exchange was 2 Sheep for a Hatchet; and theſe Creatures were very large, with long Legs and Necks, hair-mouth'd, bunch-back'd, and ſo ſtout as to ſerve for carrying Burthens: They had ſtore of Hens here too, and other ſorts of Fowl.

Spaniſh Treachery.

The 27th they ſet Sail, and the next Day came near the Shoar, hard by the Iſle St. *Mary*, where they harbour'd the 29th. A *Spaniard* here that came aboard them, invited them to take a Dinner aſhoar; but as they were upon the way thither, they chanc'd to ſpy a Party of Soldiers making that way, which they ſuppos'd were deſign'd to attend them at Dinner; upon which they went aboard again, and kept their *Spaniſh* Gentleman Priſoner. Going aſhoar the next Morning, with three Enſigns, the *Spaniards* upon their approach, ſet their Church a Fire, and march'd off; upon which the *Dutch* ſet fire to their Houſes, to burn in Company with the Houſe of God: And in the little Skirmiſh that paſs'd between them, two of the *Dutch* were wounded, and four *Spaniards* kill'd. They took ſome Hens, and about 500 Sheep, with other Spoil, out of which they plentifully ſupplied their Neceſſities. Underſtanding here of three *Spaniſh* Ships, furniſh'd with 1000 Men, that had ſail'd from hence in *April* to find them out, they concluded to make them as little trouble as they could, by going in queſt of their Purſuers.

Auroca.

Accordingly *June* the 1ſt, they ſet Sail upon this Deſign, and paſs'd near *Auroca*, a Town in which the *Spaniards* had a Garriſon of 500 Men, and which was continually aſſaulted by the *Chiletians*.

Quiriquey-nam.

Conception.

The 3d, they approach'd the Iſle *Quiriqueynam*, near the Continent; and behind it came up to *Conception* Town, inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*.

The 12th, they entred the ſafe Road of *Valpariſa*, where was a *Spaniſh* Ship, deſerted of her Men, and left a fire by them.

Quintero.

The 13th, at Noon, they came into 32 Degr. 15 Min. South Lat. and the ſame Day to the fair and ſecure Harbour of *Quintero*.

(*d*) *Arica*.

July the 2d, they came to *Arica* (*d*), which lies in 12 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. to which place the Silver is brought from *Potoſi*, and from thence carried to *Panama*; but finding no *Spaniards* there, they went on.

The 16th, they took a ſmall Ship indifferently rich, whoſe valuable Commodities being taken out, they ſunk her.

Shortly after they were alarm'd with the ſight of the Fleet Royal of *Peru*, conſiſting of about eight Sail, which had both ſought, and was ſo heartily ſought for by them.

The Fleet of Per

This Fleet was commanded by *Roderigo Mendoza*, the Vice-Roy of *Peru*'s Kinſman, a noiſie, bouncing *Spaniard*, that pretended to reduce all *England* with two of his brave Ships; and therefore came with very great aſſurance of ſinking, and burning all thoſe *Dutch* Hens, as he call'd them, had they been twice as many more: Nay, he bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath, never to return till they were all deſtroy'd or taken. He ſet out of *Callien*-Road, *July* the 1ſt, and the Ships that compos'd his Fleet, were theſe that follow: The *Jeſua Maria*, Admiral; with 460 Men, and 24 Braſs Guns: A Ship that ſtood the King in 158000 Duckets. The St. *Ann*, Vice-Admiral, with 300 Men, one of the faireſt Ships in all the *Indies*: She ſtood the King in 150000 Duckets, and had taken an *Engliſh* * Ship in the South Sea, but a little before. The *Carmen*, with eight Braſs Guns, and 200 Men,

* A Ship which S Rich. Haw kins ſerv

beſide,

beſides Commanders, and their Retinues. Then the St. *James*, and the *Roſary*, with 150 Men, and 4 Braſs Pieces. The St. *Francis*, with 70 Musketeers, and 20 Mariners. The St. *Andrew*, with 80 Musketeers, and 25 Mariners. The 8th Ship of the Fleet was ſent after the reſt, and what Furniture ſhe had is uncertain.

The 17th in the Evening the two Fleets coming near each other, the *Dutch* Admiral ſent to the *Spaniſh*, to let the Fight be deferr'd till next Day; but the *Spaniard* impatient till his Vow were fulfilled, gave the Onſet at Ten a Clock the ſame Night, thundering upon the *Dutch* Admiral with his Great Ordnance, who did not fail to anſwer in the ſame ſort of Language. The ſame brave Ship having raked the St. *Francis* through and through, ſhe was ſent down to the bottom by the *Hunter*, another *Dutch* Ship; which had quickly been hunted thither her ſelf by the *Spaniſh* Admiral, to have kept the St. *Francis* Company, had not her own Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, ſent out two Boats to her aſſiſtance. One of theſe Boats was ſunk by a Shot from the *Hunter*, miſtaking her for one of the Enemies.

The Fight between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*.

The next Morning five *Spaniſh* Ships were endeavouring to get off, but the *Dutch* prevented the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral from doing ſo, attacking them ſo vigorouſly with their own Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, that the *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral's Men quitted her, and leap'd off into the Admiral. But the *Dutch* ſtill preſſing hard upon them, they were forced to return back, and defend their own Ship; to be ſure with very little Heart, having before divers times, by a white Flag, offer'd to crave a Ceſſation of Arms; tho' ſome very ſtubborn *Spaniards* preſently pull'd it in again, chuſing Death before a diſhonourable Submiſſion. But after all, the *Spaniſh* Admiral not able to bear that hot Diſpute any longer, ſpread out her Wings, and fled away with all the haſte that an Adverſary perfectly ſcar'd and vanquiſh'd, may be ſuppos'd to make: However ſhe kept her Vow; for tho' ſhe did not bind all the *Dutch* in Chains, and beat their Ships in pieces with her great Guns, yet ſhe never came home again to tell of her ill Succeſs.

The *Spaniſh* Admiral flies and afterwards ſunk.

The Vice-Admiral alſo was entirely reduc'd into a poſture of Submiſſion by the *Dutch Æolus*, who it ſeems had puffed ſo furiouſly upon her, that her *Spaniſh* Courage was effectually cool'd by thoſe violent Blaſts. She ſunk that Night in the very Faces of the *Dutch*, who wou'd have prevented it, if poſſible: Her chief Commander died of his Wounds, and all her Men that were not killed in the Fight, nor devoured by the Sea, were diſpatch'd by the *Dutch* the next Morning, ſome few Perſons of Figure only excepted. The *Dutch* loſt in this Action about Forty Men, and about Fifty eight were wounded. The ſame Day they went for *Callion de Lima*; but were becalm'd by the way.

The Vice-Admiral ſunk.

The 20th they paſs'd by the Iſland, and ſaw 14 Ships near the Shoar, but cou'd not come at them for the Shoals; ſo they purſued their Courſe for *Callion de Lima*, thinking to overtake the *Spaniſh* Admiral; which they afterwards heard at *Guarme*, and *Peyta*, was certainly ſunk. The *Spaniards* here from the Land ſhot at them, and with a Ball of 36 *l.* out of one of their Great Guns, had like to have ſunk the *Hunter*. They had a great Army of Horſe and Foot aſhoar, the Vice-Roy himſelf being there in Perſon: But they kept out of the reach of danger from their Ordnance, and caſt Anchor at the Mouth of the Haven, waiting (tho' in vain) to take ſome of their Ships; yet on the 26th they took a ſmall Bark that had Salt, and Eighty Veſſels of Syrup aboard her.

(e) *Guarme.*

The 29th they came to the Road of *Guarme* (e), in 10 Degr. North Lat. a pleaſant place with a large Haven. They went aſhoar here, and found the Town clear'd of all the People, who had yet left ſome Proviſions behind them, which they brought to their Ships.

Auguſt the 3d, they paſs'd between the Continent and the Iſle *Loubes*, ſo call'd from a ſort of Fiſh found there; and here they diſmiſs'd ſome of their *Spaniſh* Priſoners.

(f) *Peyta.*

The 8th they caſt Anchor at *Peyta* (f), and the next Day landed 300 Men, to make an Attempt upon the City, which was ſo well defended, that they cou'd make no impreſſion upon it. However, they batter'd it with their Ordnance, and forc'd all the People up into the Mountains, with their Goods, ſo that when they landed they found nothing but bare Walls.

This City to the Sea-wards is extreamly well fortified: It had two Churches, a Monaſtery, and ſeveral good Buildings in it; and an excellent Haven, where all Ships bound for *Panama* uſe to put in, and then ſend their Cargo by Land to *Callion de Lima*, the Wind and Sea thereabouts being generally very unquiet.

In the Iſle *Loubes*, they took two Fowl, in Beak, Wings, and Talons, reſembling an Eagle, and Combs on their Heads like a Cocks; they were two Ells high, and three in breadth, from Wing to Wing, when ſtretch'd out. They took alſo an * *Indian* Ship, of a ſtrange Form, which ſupplied them with good ſtore of delicate dried Fiſh.

* See the Picture of it in the *Latin* Vol.

They had this following Account of the State of *Peru*, and the other Dominions belonging to the *Spaniards*, in that part of *America*, from *Pedro de Madriga*, of *Lima*; *viz.*

Relation of the Government of *Peru*

That Peru, Chili, *and* Terra Firma, *were under the Command of one and the ſame Vice-Roy; which Office is continu'd for ſix or eight Years.*

The Profits of it are 40000 *Duckets* per Annum; *with* 1000 * *Pezo's for the extraordinary Expences of Entertainments, at the Feaſts of* Chriſtmas, Epiphany, S. Spirito, *and* Eaſter; *and* 2000 *Pezo's* per Annum, *when he ſets out the Silver Fleet.*

*Pezo's of 12 half Rials.

The Vice-Roy lives in all the Pomp and State of a King, not ſtirring out without his Guard of Penſioners: And if he goes far, he is waited on by a Hundred Lances, and Fifty Muskets.

There are in Panama, Quito, Carlos, *and* Lima, *certain Courts erected, for the Judging of all Cauſes, Civil and Criminal; Appeal being made to the* Oviidores *in Civil Matters, and to the* Alcaids *in Criminal. Both which Offices are ſupported by a Yearly Stipend of* 3000 *Pezo's: And there is a Fifth Court of this Nature too, eſtabliſh'd in* Chili.

The City of Lima, *(call'd alſo the City of Kings) is honour'd with the Reſidence of the Vice-Roy, and the Arch-Biſhop: It ſtands in a pleaſant Valley, extended a Mile and half in length, and three quarters in breadth, and is reckon'd to contain* 100000 *Inhabitants, beſides Foreign Merchants. It has four large Market-places, and a* Cercado, *fill'd with* 2000 Indian *Artificers.*

It has plenty of Buildings dedicated to Religious, and other Pious Uſes: Here are the Churches of St. John, *St.* Marcellus, *St.* Sebaſtian, *and St.* Ann: *The Monaſteries of St.* Francis, *St.* Dominick, *St.* Auguſtine, *and of our Lady* De los Meriedes; *each of which have two Cloiſters of Friars of their own Order; and no leſs than* 250 *Religious within the Bounds of every conſiderable Monaſtery. Here are two Colleges of Jeſuites; the five Nunneries of the* Incarnation, Conception, Trinity, *St.* Joſeph, *and St.* Clare: *The Hoſpitals of St.* Andrew *for the Laity, of St* Peter *for the Clergy, of St.* Ann *for the* Indians, *of* Charity *for Women only, of* S. Spirito *for Sailors, of St.* Lazaro *for Incurables. There are likewiſe in the City two Colleges, the* King's *College, and that of St.* Torine: *In the former Twenty four are maintain'd by the King, and in the latter as many by the Archbiſhop. There are reckon'd* 200 *Doctors of all Faculties here,* 400 *Maſters of Art, and* 1000 *inferiour Students.*

Here is alſo the King's Contrattation-Houſe, with his Treaſury, and a Court of Inquiſition; beſides the grand Office of the Cruſada, *or Court of the Pope's Bulls, with Officers and Penſions proportional to the former. There are reckon'd in this City, and the Suburbs of it, above* 20000 *Slaves: And it is defended by a Garriſon of eight Companies of Foot, and as many of Horſe. It ſtands two Leagues from the Sea, and the Walls of it are waſh'd by a River, that ſometimes ſwells ſo by great Rains, as to carry away the Stone-bridge, which has Nine Arches.*

The Indians *that live here, are free as well as the* Spaniards; *only they pay every ſix Months, two Pezo's, a Hen, a Fenega of eight Rials, and a piece of Cotton, or Woollen Cloth.*

The next Port to Lima, *is* Callau, *in which are about* 800 *Inhabitants.*

Potoſi *is famous for its Silver Mines; and there's a good Trade thither from* Arica, *of Beaſts, Wheat, Meal, Maize, Axicoca, an Herb for chewing: And for Carriages they make uſe of a ſort of Sheep that are form'd ſomething like Camels. There is a Deſcent of* 400 *Steps down into the Mine; in which as dark and deep as it is, there are above* 20000 Indians *continually at work; and* 100 *more employ'd in grinding and carrying, and other things, relating to the Silver Trade. This place is ſo cold, that nothing will grow for four Leagues compaſs round about, but one certain Herb, which they call* Ycho. *'Tis reported too, that in* Potoſi, *(beſides the other Inhabitants) there are* 1500 *Gameſters, that live purely by their Wits, and are beholding to a Pack of Cards for their Maintenance.*

Not far from thence is Chuquiſaca, *adorn'd with Religious Houſes, like* Lima; *and has a Biſhoprick worth* 30000 *Duckets* per Annum.

At Seventy Miles diſtance, lies the Silver Mine call'd Eruco; *and about One hundred and eighty* Spaniſh *Leagues, is the fair Haven of* Arica, *in the way to which lie many Villages well inhabited.*

There's another Silver Mine, as cold as Potoſi, *that lies near* Pima, *call'd* Chocola Choea, *about which live* 5000 Spaniards.

Cuſco *has a Biſhop, Monks, and two* Colleges, *with ſome* 600 *Students, and* 6000 Spaniſh *Inhabitants.*

Areguippa *has about* 2000 *Inhabitants, and is honour'd with the Reſidence of a Biſhop and a Corrigidore.*

The chief City of Chili *is St.* Jago, *enrich'd with a Gold Mine.*

Baldivia *is celebrated for the ſame, and* Coquimbo *for its plenty of Braſs.*

Auroca *is no very rich Town, but 'tis defended with a Fort, in which a Company of* Spaniards *always lie in Garriſon.*

And this is the Sum of the Intelligence the *Dutch* receiv'd from the aforeſaid *Spaniſh* Priſoner; but 'tis time now to follow them to Sea again.

A Current.

Having refreſh'd here till *Auguſt* 21. they ſet ſail; but wanting a good gale of Wind, and having a ſtrong Current againſt them, they cou'd make no great riddance.

(g) Rio de Tumbe.

The 23d, they Anchor'd before *Rio de Tumba* (g), but not being able to enter there for the Tide, they directed their Courſe back to the Iſland *Coques*, in 5 degrees South Lat. but being continually perſecuted with bad Weather, which hardly ever intermitted, to *Sept.* 13. they loſt that Iſland, and with it the refreſhment they expected there.

Sept. 20. they had ſight of Land in *New-Spain*, and 13 degrees 30 minutes North Lat. with very tempeſtuous Weather.

(h) Aquapolque Haven.

Octob. 1. they ſaw a Country that yielded a very pleaſant Proſpect, but the violent working of the Sea hinder'd their Landing there; ſo they kept beating off and on till the 11th, when they came into the Haven (h) of *Aquapolque*, within ſhot of the Caſtle. Here a Flag of Truce being hung out, they dealt with the *Spaniards*, exchanging Priſoners for Proviſions: They were viſited too by Don *Hernardo*, the Vice-Roy of *New-Spain*'s Nephew, who muſt needs come aboard them, to ſee a Fleet that had triumph'd over the deem'd Invincible Fleet of *Peru*. The Caſtle here was well defended with 70 Braſs Guns, having had Intelligence of their coming 8 Months before.

The 18th they ſet ſail again, but being becalm'd, they did nothing of moment, except the taking a Bark, bound for Pearl-fiſhing, which they Mann'd, and took into the Attendants of their own Fleet.

(i) Port-Selagues.

Novemb. 1. they Anchor'd before Port (*i*) *Selagues*, in 19 degrees North Lat. Here they heard of a River that yielded variety of good Fiſh, and Meadows well Stock'd with Cattel, together with Citrons, and other Fruits; all which conveniences they wanted; but the Company they ſent, fearing a ſurprize by the *Spaniards*, return'd as they went.

After a ſmart Encounter with the *Spaniards* on the 11th, they ſet ſail for *Port Nativity*, where they furniſh'd themſelves with Neceſſaries; and from whence they departed the 20th.

The 26th, they had 20 degrees 26 minutes North Lat. and now they concluded upon the neareſt Courſe to the Iſlands *Ladrones*.

New Iſlands.

A dangerous Rock.

Decemb. 3. to their no little wonder, they ſaw two Iſlands at a great diſtance in the Sea, and the next day a mighty Rock, in 19 Degrees, and 50 Leagues from the Continent.

The 6th, they ſaw a new Iſland, with five Hills, that appear'd like ſo many diſtinct Iſlands. The new Year came on with Diſtempers, that prov'd fatal to many of their Company.

A.D. 1616.

(k) Manilles

Jan. 23. * they had ſight of the *Ladrones*, and the next day they Landed there: They ſet ſail for the *Manilles* (*k*) the 26th, where they happily Anchor'd *Feb.* 9. Here the *Indians* refuſed to Trade with them, becauſe they ſaid the *Dutch* were Enemies to the *Spaniards*; for which very reaſon, ſome others wou'd freely have proſtituted all the Trade and Riches of a Country to them.

But in *Capul*, to which they came on the 11th, the People were of a better temper, giving them brave Hogs and Hens for very trifles: This profitable Trade they left the 19th, paſſing from thence through the *Streights*, towards the *Manilian* Port or Bay.

Theſe *Indians* of *Capul* wear long Coats like Shirts, and are noted for the extraordinary Reſpects they pay to Clergy-men; before whom they'll proſtrate themſelves on the ground, and take it for a mighty Honour to be admitted to kiſs their Hands.

(l) Lucon Iſland.

The 19th, they Anchor'd before the Iſland *Lucon* (*l*) the principal of the *Manilles*, and in which is the City *Manilla* it ſelf. Here was a curious Fabrick artificially erected upon the tops of Trees, that look'd like a Palace at a diſtance; but what airy Creatures were the Inhabitants there they cou'd not examine.

Flaming Mountain.

The 28th, they paſs'd by the high and flaming Hill *Albaca*.

The 24th, they ſaw the other end of the *Streight*, but the Calm wou'd not allow them to paſs it.

The 28th, they Anchor'd before the Iſland *Mirabelles*, remarkable for its two Rocks, that lift their tops to ſo vaſt a heighth in the Air: Behind theſe the City of *Manilla* lies; and from hence they watch the coming of Ships from *China*, to Pilot them ſafe to the City, becauſe of the great danger of the paſſage.

March 5. they took ſeveral Barks that were diſpatch'd to gather in the Tribute paid to the City of *Manilla*, by the adjoyning places. They had now Intelligence of a Fleet of 12 Ships, and 4 Gallies, Mann'd with 2000 *Spaniards*, beſides *Indians*, *Chineſe* and *Japeneſe*; all which were ſent to the *Moluccas*, to drive out the *Dutch*, and reduce thoſe Iſlands to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*. Upon this News they diſcharg'd all their Priſoners, and reſolv'd to go after them.

The 11th, they got in amongſt ſo many Iſlands, that they hardly knew how to deliver themſelves again, but their *Spaniſh* Pilot brought them out ſafe the next day.

(m) Paney Iſland.

(n) Mindanao.

The 14th, they rid at Anchor all Night, before the Iſland *Paney* (*m*), by reaſon of the Shoals.

The 18th, they ſail'd cloſe by *Mindanao* (*n*), but in the Evening put off further into the Sea, becauſe of dangerous Shelves thereabouts.

The 19th, they came cloſe by the ſhore again, and bought Proviſions of the Iſlanders at very cheap rates.

The 20th they reach'd *Cape de Cudera*, the *Spaniard*'s Watering-place, in their way to the *Moluccas*. Till the 23d, they ſail'd no farther than juſt as the Tide forc'd them along, having a perfect Calm; but between *Mindanao* and *Tagimo*, a contrary Tide met and ſtaid them. The People here profeſs'd a great enmity to the *Spaniards*, and offer'd the *Dutch* the Aſſiſtance of 50 of their Ships in that Quarrel.

(o) Iſland Sanguin.

(p) Ternate.

The 27th they paſs'd the Iſland *Sanguin* (*o*), and the 29th came to *Ternate* (*p*), in which the *Dutch* poſſeſs'd the Town *Macia*, where theſe wandring Country-men of theirs were made very welcome by them. The Streight of *Bouton* they obſerv'd to be full of Shoals, without which the water is deep: On the Eaſt there's good freſh Water, and two Leagues to the Weſt lies a very rocky Shoal.

April 8. *Cornelius de Vianez* went for *Banda*, and the Soldiers landed there, after a very long and tedious Life a Shipboard.

(q) Macian.

May 2. they ſent 6 Ships to *Macian* (*q*), (to prevent the Enemies getting any Cloves) and Anchor'd there before *Maurice-Fort*. Here the *Engliſh* inform'd them of the ſucceſs of their Country-men, in taking *Coleway*, a fam'd place for Nutmegs; and the *Indians* expreſs'd their joyful ſenſe of it too, by entring into a new League with them upon it.

(r) Jacatra.

Sept. 15. they came to *Jacatra* (*r*), and repair'd their Ships; and here they were deliver'd from the fear of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, ſent before to the *Moluccas*, the Admiral of it being dead, and the Fleet it ſelf ſhamefully retired back to the *Manilles*, having done nothing after 4 Years Preparation. Here alſo they met 4 large Ships from *Holland*, with good ſtore of *Spaniſh* Rials; and another from *Japan*, with the ſame, and good a quantity of Silver, Braſs, Iron, and other Commodities, which were all taken from a *Portugueze* Ship bound for *Marico*.

Octob. 20. the *Concord*, a Ship of *Horn*, that came from *Holland*, *June*, *A. D.* 1615. came to *Jacatra*, and being not of the *Indian* Company, the Admiral annexed it to his Fleet.

Nov. 10. came the *Naſſau* to *Bantam*, from *Mocha* in the Red Sea, well furniſh'd with *Spaniſh* Rials, and *Turkiſh* Ducats.

A.D. 161

Decemb. 12. the *Amſterdam* and the *Middleburgh* came thither from the *Streights* of *Malacca*, with which Ships the Admiral *Spilberg* prepar'd to return. Accordingly, *Jan.* * 17. they reach'd the Iſland *Mauritius*, and by *March* 30. came up with St. *Helene*.

Sailing from hence, *April* 7. they came home to *Zealand* the *July* following, having pretty well ſeconded the *Engliſh*, both in their Proſperous Voyages, and Noble Triumphs, over the *Spaniards* in the Weſtern World.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Sixth Circum-Navigation, *by* WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN *of* Horne.

THE States-General of the *United Provinces*, having, in favour of their *Eaſt-India* Company, prohibited all others to paſs by the *Cape of Good Hope* Eaſtward, or through the *Magellanick Streights* Weſtward, there were ſome that began to think of another Paſſage, by the means of which the South-Sea might be viſited, as well as by the *Magellanick Streights*, which were now ſhut up from all but the Company. Such a paſſage was ſuſpected to lie ſomewhere South of the *Streights*: The Notion was ſtarted by *Iſaac Le Maire*, a Merchant of *Amſterdam*, and *William Corneliſon Schouten* of *Horne*, amongſt themſelves; and they reſolved to be at the Coſt of a Voyage, to prove whether there were any truth in it or no.

The hopes of this happy Diſcovery ſo quicken'd their Preparations, that in a ſhort time they Rigg'd out two Ships, the *Unity* of 360 Tun, of which *William Cornelifon Schouten* was Maſter and chief Pilot, and *Jacob Le Maire* principal Factor, having in her 65 Men, 19 great Guns, with Muskets, Slings, and other Ammunition; and beſides, two Pinnaces, and a Boat to ſerve her, together with good ſtore of all kinds of Tackling, both for her ſelf, and theſe her Attendants.

The other was the *Horne*, of 110 Tun, of which *John Cornelifon Schouten* was Maſter, and *Aris Clawſon* Factor; ſhe had 24 Men, 8 great Guns, with Slings, and other needful Furniture.

* *A.D.* 1615.

All things being ready, *May* 25.* the *Unity* ſet ſail, and came to the *Texel* the 27th; whither alſo her Companion the *Horne* came to her *June* 3.

They ſet out from the *Texel*.

The 14th they ſail'd out of the *Texel*, and the 16th paſs'd between *Dover* and *Callis*; and the 17th, Anchoring in the *Downs*, *Schouten* went aſhore at *Dover*, to get freſh Water.

(a) *Teneriff* and *Canaries*.

July 13. they ſailed between the Iſland (a) *Teneriff* and the great *Canary*, with a ſtiff N. N. E. Wind, and a ſwift Current.

About the 15th (the ſame Wind and Current following them ſtill) they paſs'd the Tropick of *Cancer*.

They paſs the Tropick.

(b) *Cape-Verd*.

The 20th in the Morning, they fell in with the North-ſide of *Cape-Verd* (b). At Sun-riſing the Cape lay W. and by S. from them, ſo that the N. N. E. Wind wou'd not ſuffer them to get beyond it, but kept them there at Anchor all that Night.

The 25th, the Mooriſh Alcaid came aboard them, with whom they agreed at the price of 8 States of Iron for a ſupply of freſh Water. They left the Cape *Aug.* 1. and the 21ſt of the ſame Month they ſaw the high Land of *Sierra Leona* (c), and alſo the Iſland of *Madrabomba*, which lies on the South Point of the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and North from the *Shallows* of St. *Ann's Iſland*.

(c) *Sierra Leona*, and *Madrabomba*.

This Land of *Sierra Leona*, is the higheſt of all that lies between *Cape Verd* and the Coaſt of *Guiney*; ſo that the Point is very eaſie to be known. Here they wou'd have Landed, running up to the Point over the *Baixos* or *Shallows* of St. *Anns*, at 10, 9, 8, 7 and 5 fathom Water, it being ſtill deeper to the North, but ſhallower to the Eaſt; ſo that in the Evening they Anchor'd with a high Water at 4 Fathom and half ſoft ground, and at Night at 3 Fathom and half.

The 22d, *William Schouten*, in the *Horne*, led the way off the Shallows, ſteering N. N. E. with a N. W. Wind; by which Courſe, they were entirely diſengag'd from the *Baixes*, and got out into 18 Fathom water. From hence they went to the Iſlands of *Madrabomba*, which are very high, and lie all three on a row, S. W. and N. E. half a League from *Sierra Leona* to the Seaward. Here they had ſhallow water at 4 and 5 Fathom, and ſoft muddy ground: They Anchor'd a League from the Land, which appear'd to be very full of Bogs and Marſhes, and lay all over waſte like a Wilderneſs, ſcarce fit to entertain any other Inhabitants than wild Beaſts; and, indeed, not ſeeming to have any other.

Going aſhore the 23d, they found a River there, the Mouth of which was ſo ſtopp'd up with Sands, and Cliffs, and Rocks, that no Ship cou'd get into it, yet within the water was ſufficiently deep, and the breadth ſuch too as to give a Ship free ſcope to turn and wind her ſelf about, as ſhe ſhou'd have occaſion.

Barking Birds if the *Dutch* don't Lye.

Here they ſaw Tortoiſes, Crocodiles, Monkeys, wild Oxen, and a ſort of Birds which made a noiſe, Barking like Dogs. They met with no Fruit but Limons, ſome few Trees of which they found after a tedious ſearch; ſo that it ſeems as if Nature had intended this place for the only uſe of ſome Societies of Brute Animals, which ſhou'd here enjoy their native Freedom, and live out of the reach of the Tyranny of Mankind, for here they live ſecurely, and without diſturbance, being defended by the natural Poverty and Barrenneſs of the place, which are the Guard which Nature has ſet upon, and by which ſhe preſerves this Kingdom of Beaſts in a State of Liberty: And till that Guard be removed, and Nature, by her Bounty, gives a temptation to a Foreign Power, the Brutes will hold their own, and the Chaſtity of their free State will never be violated.

The 29th, about Noon, they got above the Iſlands of *Madrabomba* Weſtward, along to the North part of the high Land, till they had 12 and 15 Fathom water, and in the Evening got about the Point.

(d) *Sierra Leona* Road.

The 30th, *A. M.* driven with a ſtream and a South-wind, they came before the Village, in the Road of *Sierra Leona* (d), where they Anchor'd at 8 Fathom, a little from the ſhore, in a very ſandy bottom. The Village conſiſted of about 8 or 9 poor Houſes cover'd with Straw: The *Moors*, that dwelt there, deſired to come aboard, only demanding Pledges to be left aſhore, to ſecure their ſafe return; becauſe a *French* Ship, that came thither before, had perfidiouſly carried off two of them. So *Aris Clawſon*, the Merchant, went aſhore, and ſtaid there amongſt them, driving a ſmall Trade with them for Limons and Bananas, which they exchang'd for Glaſs Beads; and in the mean time they came aboard, bringing an Interpreter with them, who ſpoke all ſorts of Languages. Here they had a good opportunity to furniſh themſelves with freſh Water, which pouring down in great quantities from every high Hill, they had nothing to do but to place their Barrels under the fall of the Water to receive it. There were alſo vaſt Woods of Limon-Trees here, which made that Commodity ſo cheap to them, that for a few Beads and Knives they might have had 10000 or more.

Woods of Limon-Trees.

Sept. 1. they drove away before the ſtream, and Anchor'd that Evening at the mouth of the Sea, before a ſmall River. Here they took an Antelope in the Woods, with Limons and Palmitos; and had good ſucceſs in their Fiſhing.

The 3d, the Maſter brought in a great Shoal of Fiſh that were of the ſhape of a Shooe-makers Knife, and as many Limons as came to 150 for every Man's ſhare.

The 4th, they ſet Sail from *Sierra Leona* early in the Morning.

A ſtrange Sea-Monſter.

Octob. 5. they made 4 degrees 27 minutes South Lat. and the ſame day, at Noon, they were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd with a very violent ſtroke given to one of their Ships in the lower part of it. No Adverſary appear'd, no Rock was in the way to be encounter'd with; but while this amuſed them, the Sea all about them began to change its colour, and look'd as if ſome great Fountain of Blood had been open'd into it; this ſudden alteration of the Water being no leſs ſurprizing to them than the thumping of the Ship. But the cauſe, both of the one and the other, they were equally ignorant of, till they came to *Port-Deſire*, and there ſet the Ship upon the Strand to make her clean: For then they found a large Horn, both in form and magnitude reſembling an Elephants Tooth, ſticking faſt in the bottom of the Ship; a very firm and ſolid Body it was, and ſeem'd to be equally ſo all over, there being nothing of a large Cavity, or a light and ſpongy Matter, in the midſt of it, but all over as denſe and compact a Subſtance as that in the exterior Parts. It had pierced through three very ſtout Planks of the Ship, and raced one of the Ribs of her, ſo that it ſtuck at leaſt half a Foot deep in the Planks, and there was about as much that appear'd without the great hole, up to the place where 'twas broken off. And now the Riddle was compleatly Solved, this Horn being the ſpoil of ſome Sea-Monſter, that had thus rudely aſſaulted the Ship with that piercing weapon, and after the thruſt not being

ing able to draw it out again, had there broken it off; which was attended with ſuch a plentiful effuſion of Blood, as had diſcolour'd the Sea to that degree.

30

Having now Sail'd ſo far, that none in the Ships but the Maſters knew where they were, or whither they intended, upon the 25th they diſcover'd their Deſigns to the reſt of the Company, of going to find out a new Southern Paſſage into the great *Pacifick Sea*. This they had kept very cloſe to themſelves before, but now thought it time to reveal the Plot, there being no danger of defeating it; and the Company appear'd to be very well pleas'd with it, hoping to light on ſome Golden Country or other to make them amends for all their travel and danger.

The 26th, they made 6 degrees 25 minutes South Lat. Sailing the reſt of that Month moſtly Southward, till they had made 10 degrees 30 minutes.

Nov. 1. they had the Sun North of them at Noon. The 3d, P. M. they had ſight of *Martin Vad*'s Iſland, call'd *Aſcenſion* (e), under 20 degrees; and here they obſerv'd the Compaſs to vary to the N. E. 12 degrees.

(e) *Vad's Aſcenſion* Iſland. Variation of the Compaſs.

The 21ſt, they came under 38 degrees 25 minutes, and had a deep water, whoſe bottom they could not reach with their Lead: Here the variation of the Compaſs was 17 degrees to the N. E.

Dec. 6. they had a proſpect of Land not very high, but flat and white, and quickly after fell in with the North-ſide of *Port-Deſire* (f), and that night Anchor'd one League and half from the ſhore, in 10 Fathom water, with an Ebb that ran Southward, as ſtrongly as the Sea runs between *Fluſhing* Heads.

(f) *Port-Deſire.*

The 7th, keeping a South Courſe, at Noon they came before the Haven of *Port-Deſire*, which lies under 47 degrees 40 minutes: At the entry of it they had very high Water, neither did any of thoſe Cliffs appear which *Van Noort* had deſcribed, and which muſt be left Northward in ſailing into that Haven. If there were any, they were all under water; but the Cliffs lay open and viſible enough towards the South Point, which therefore, perhaps, might be them which *Noort* intended. Upon this ſcore they went on Southward, but ſailing ſo far Southward as to miſs the right Channel, they came into a crooked Bay, where, at High-water, they had but 4 Fathom and half, and at Low but 14 Foot; by which means, the *Unity* lay with her Stern faſt a-ground, and there wanted only a briſk Eaſt gale to ruine her, but the Wind blowing Weſt from the Land ſhe recover'd again. Here they found good ſtore of Eggs amongſt the Cliffs, and the Bay afforded them Muſcles, and Smelts of 16 inches length; upon which ſcore, they call'd it *Smelt-Bay*. Their Shallop went to the *Penguin* Iſland, and came back with 150 *Penguins*, and 2 Sea Lions.

Smelt-Bay.

The 8th, A. M. they ſail'd out of *Smelt-Bay*, and Anchor'd juſt before the Haven of *Port-Deſire*. The Shallop was employed beforehand to Sound the depth of the Channel, which proving to be 12 or 13 Fathom, they boldly entred, having a N. E. Wind to carry them along: But after a little more than a Leagues ſailing, the Wind began to turn about, and they Anchor'd at 20 Fathom, but the bottom they were upon being only ſlippery Stones, and the Wind now blowing hard at N. W. their Anchors cou'd not preſerve them from driving away with that rough Wind upon the Southern ſhore. And now 'twas by far more likely than not, that both theſe Ships ſhou'd be wrack'd together: The *Unity* lay with her ſide upon the Cliffs, but ſtill kept the water, and by the fall of the Sea was gradually ſhaden down lower and lower into it; but the *Horn* ſtuck ſo, as that her Keel was above a Fathom out of water, and a Man might have walk'd barefoot under it at Low-water. She was beholding awhile to the N. W. Wind, that, by blowing hard upon her ſide, kept her from falling over; but that ſupport being gone with the Wind that gave it, ſhe ſunk down upon that ſide at leaſt 3 Foot lower than the Keel; upon which ſight they gave her over for loſt. But yet the ſucceeding Flood, which came on with ſtill Weather, ſet her upright again, and both ſhe and her Companion got clear of the danger.

Their Ships like to be loſt in the Channel.

The 9th, they went farther into the River, and came to *Kings-Iſland* (g), which they found full of black Sea-Mews, and almoſt all cover'd over with their Eggs: A Man, without ſtraining to reach, might have taken between 50 and 60 Neſts with his hand; each of which ſhou'd have 3 or 4 Eggs apiece, ſo that they were quickly furniſh'd with ſome thouſands of them.

(g) *Kings-Iſland* cover'd with Eggs.

The 11th, the Boat went in ſearch of good Water lower down the River, on the South-ſide, but found it all of a brackiſh unpleaſant taſte: They ſaw Oſtriches here, and a ſort of Beaſts like Harts, with wonderful long Necks, and extremely wild. Upon the high Hills they found great heaps of Stones, under which ſome very monſtrous Carkaſſes had been buried: There were bones of 10 and 11 Foot long; in all probability they were (if of rational Creatures) ſome bones of the Giants of that Country. No Water was to be found here for ſeveral days together; ſo that tho' they had plenty of good Fiſh and Fowl, they cou'd meet with no Drink to waſh it down.

See the Account of the Giants in theſe Parts in *Magellan's* Voyage.

Here they loſt their good Ship the *Horn*, by an unhappy accident; 'twas her Fate, it ſeems, to periſh by Fire, after ſo many Triumphs over the dangers of the Wind and Water. For as they were burning Reeds under her, in order to her Cleanſing, the flame, by ſome paſſage or other, got into the Ship, and preſently gather'd to ſuch a head, that in ſpite of all they cou'd do, ſhe burnt down to the very water: They made a ſhift to ſecure her Guns, Anchors, and all her Iron-work, which was then beſtowed in the *Unity*, the only Veſſel they had left to proſecute their Diſcovery in.

The 25th, they found certain holes in the ground that yielded a white muddy ſort of Water; and this, for want of better, was their Ale at that time.

Jan. 13. * they ſail'd out of *Port-Deſire*, but having a Calm, they Anchor'd before the Haven, till the riſing of the Wind invited them to purſue their Voyage.

* *A.D.*1616.

The 18th, being in 51 degrees, they ſaw the *Sebaldine-Iſland* (h), which they obſerv'd to lie in that poſition and diſtance, from the Streight, that *De Weert* had determin'd.

(h) *Sebald's Iſland.*

The 20th, they ſaw *Steencroſs-drive*; and being then in 53 degrees, they obſerv'd the great Current that runs S. W. and now they counted about 20 Leagues Southward from the *Magellanick Streights*.

The 23d, they had an uncertain ſhifting Wind, and the Water appear'd white, as if they had been within the Land: They held their Courſe S. and by W. and the ſame day ſaw Land, bearing W. and W. S. W. from them, and quickly after to the South; then attempting by an E. S. E. Courſe to get above the Land, the hard North-Wind that blew then conſtrain'd them to take in their Topſails.

The 24th, A. M. they ſaw Land a Star-board about a Leagues diſtance, ſtretching out E. and S. with very high Hills all cover'd with Ice; and then other Land, bearing Eaſt from it, high and ragged as the former. They gueſs'd the Lands, they had in theſe two Proſpects, lay about 8 Leagues aſunder, and that there might be a good Paſſage between them, becauſe of a pretty briſk Current that ran Southward along by them. About Noon they made 54 degrees 46 minutes, and then began to make towards the fore-mention'd opening, but the ſucceeding Calm prevented it. Here they ſaw an incredible number of Penguins, and ſuch huge troops of Whales, that they were forc'd to proceed with a great deal of caution, for fear they ſhou'd run their Ship upon them.

35

Great numbers of Whales.

The 25th A. M. they got up cloſe by the Eaſt Land, which upon the North-ſide reaches E. S. E. as far as the Eye can follow it: This they call'd *States-Land*, and that which lay Weſt they gave the Name of *Maurice-Land* to. They obſerv'd, that on both ſides there were good Roads and ſandy Bays, good ſtore of Fiſh, Penguins and Porpuſſes, and ſome ſorts of Fowl; but the Land adjacent ſeem'd quite bare of Trees and Woods. They had a North-Wind at their entrance into this paſſage, and directed their Courſe S. S. W. ſo that going pretty briſkly on, at Noon they made 55 degrees 36 minutes, and then held a S. W. Courſe, having a good ſtiff gale to blow them forwards. The Land upon the South-ſide of the Paſſage, at the Weſt-end of *Maurice-Land*, appear'd to run W. S. W. and S. W. as far as they cou'd ſee it, and all very craggy uneven ground.

States-Land and *Maurice-Land.*

The new Streights, call'd the *Streights of Maire.*

* In the Evening, having a S. W. Wind, they ſteer'd Southward, meeting with mighty waves that came rouling along before the Wind; and the depth of the Water, to the Loofward from them, (which appear'd by ſome very evident Signs) gave them a full aſſurance, that the great South-Sea was now before them, into which they had almoſt made their way, by a paſſage of their own peculiar Diſcovery. The Sea-Mews hereabouts were larger than Swans, and their wings, when extended to their full length, ſpread above the compaſs of a Fathom: They wou'd come, and very tamely ſit down upon the Ship, and ſuffer themſelves to be made Priſoners, without any endeavours to fly away.

* *Note*, While our *Dutchmen* are here advancing towards a new Diſcovery, we are obliged to be ſo curious as to ſhew how the Wind blew them along every ſtep of their way, till they came into the new Streights.

The 26th they made 57 degrees, and were Entertain'd here with a Flying Storm out of the W. & S. W. the Water were alſo very high and blue: They ſtill held all this Day their Courſe to the Southward, but changing it at Night for a N. W. one; in which Quarter they diſcover'd very high Land.

The 27th, they were under 56 degrees 51 minutes, the Weather very cold, with Hail and Rain, the Wind W. and W. by S. They went a Southern Courſe, and then croſs'd Northward with their Main-Sails.

The 28th, they hois'd up their Top-Sails, and had great Billows out of the Weſt, with a Weſt, and then a North-Eaſt Wind, and therewith held their Courſe South, and then W. & W. by S. which brought them under 56 degrees 48 minutes.

(i) *Barnevels-Iſlands.*

(k) *Cape-Horne.*

The 29th, they had a N. E. Wind, and held their Courſe S. W. which gave them the Proſpect of two Iſlands beſet round with Cliffs, and lying W. S. W. from them; they got up to them at Noon, but cou'd not ſail above them, and therefore held their Courſe to the North. They gave them the Name of *Barnevels Iſlands* (*i*), and found their Latitude to be 57 degrees South. Taking a N. W. Courſe from hence, in the Evening they ſaw Land again, lying N. W. & N. N. W. from them; this was the high hilly Land, cover'd with Snow, that lay Southward from the *Magellanick Streights*, ending in a ſharp Point which the call'd *Cape-Horne* (*k*), and lying in 57 degrees 48 minutes. They held their Courſe now Weſtward, in which Courſe they found a ſtrong Current that ran that way too; yet had they the Wind in the North, and great Billows tumbling out of the Weſt upon them.

The 30th, the Billows and the Current ſtill ran as before; and now they gather'd a full aſſurance from hence, that the way was open into the South-Sea: This Day made the Latitude of 57 degrees 34 minutes.

The 31ſt they ſail'd Weſt, with the Wind in the North, and made 58 degrees; but the Wind turning to the W. and W. S. W. they paſs'd *Cape-Horne*, loſing all ſight of Land, and ſtill meeting the Billows working out of the Weſt; which, together with the blueneſs of the Water, made them quickly expect the Main South-Sea.

Feb. 1. a ſtorm blowing out of the S. W. they ſail'd with their Main-Sails lying N. W. & W. N. W.

The 2d, with a Weſterly Wind, they ſail'd to the Southward, and made 57 degrees 58 minutes, the variation being there 12 degrees Northward.

The 3d, they made 59 degrees 25 minutes, with a hard Weſt Wind, but ſaw no ſigns of any Land to the South; and the next day 56 degrees 43 minutes, turning to and fro, with very uncertain S. W. Winds, and finding 11 degrees of N. E. variation.

The 5th, by reaſon of a ſtrong Weſterly Current, and a hollow Water, they cou'd bear no Sail, but were forc'd to drive with the Wind.

They ſee the *Magellan-Streights* to the Eaſt of them.

The 12th, they plainly diſcern'd the *Magellanick Streights*, lying Eaſt of them; and therefore, now being ſecure of their happy New Diſcovery, they render'd Thanks to good Fortune in a Cup of Wine, which went three times round the Company. And now this New-found Paſſage had a Name given it, which was that of *Maire's Streights*, tho' that Honour (in Juſtice) ought to have been done to *William Schouten*, by whoſe happy Conduct the *Streights* were diſcover'd. And 'tis obſervable, that all the time of their Sailing through theſe *Streights*, and about the Southern *Newfoundland*, they had a ſettled Courſe of bad Weather, a thick and foggy Air, and ſtrong Currents; all which put together, did make their Sailing to be really in the *Streights*. But the Joy of this Diſcovery, and the Hopes of a farther Improvement of it, together with the Auxiliary Comforts of the Bottle, help'd to carry off the ſence of all that tedious Voyage, and the many mortifying Dangers of it.

The 27th, they made 40 degrees South Lat. having fair weather, and held their Courſe Northward.

The 28th, they determin'd for the Iſland of *John Fernando*, to give their ſick and weary Company a due refreſhment; and that Day they made 35 degrees 53 minutes. In the Evening they made but ſmall Sail, fearing to fall upon the Land; which effectually to avoid, they ſail'd N. E.

(l) Iſland of *Fernando.*

Fiſhing at the Iſland *Fernando.*

March 1. they ſaw the Iſland of *Fernando* (*l*) before them to the N. N. E. and about Noon got up to them under 33 degrees 48 minutes. Both theſe Iſlands are very high, the ſmalleſt lying moſt Weſtward, is a very barren and rocky place, but greater to the Eaſt; tho' it be full of Hills, yet is well ſhaded with Trees, and fruitful. The Iſland it ſelf affords plenty of Hogs and Goats, and all the Coaſt about it ſuch excellent Fiſhing, that the *Spaniards* think it worth their while to come hither; from whence they Tranſport vaſt quantities of Fiſh to *Peru*. The Road lies on the Eaſt Point of this Iſland, and they ſhap'd their Courſe not as they ſhou'd to the Eaſtern, but the Weſtern ſide of it; by which means, they were reduc'd to the inconvenience of not being able to get near enough the Land to Anchor. This made them Diſpatch their Boat to ſound the Depth, which gave them an Account of 30 and 40 Fathom, ſandy ground, cloſe by the Land, which leſſen'd ſtill to 3 Fathom, very proper to Anchor in. They told too of a very lovely Valley full of Trees and Thickets, refreſh'd with ſtreams of water running down from the Hills, and variety of Animals feeding in thoſe pleaſant places; all which they ſaw in this greater Iſland. They brought good ſtore of Fiſh along with them, moſt of them *Corcobadoes* and *Steenbraſſes*; and reported, that they ſaw a great many Sea-Wolves. The two next days ſucceſſively, they repeated their Attempt to come up and Anchor cloſe by the Iſland, but were ſtill fruſtrated, whatever endeavours they uſed to accompliſh it. But ſtill their Men followed the Fiſhing-Trade, which they managed ſo ſucceſsfully, that they took almoſt two Tun of Fiſh only with Hooks, in the ſmall time that ſome of the Company went to fetch Water. Finding the Iſland thus inacceſſible, they determin'd to purſue their Voyage.

The 11th, they paſs'd the Tropick of *Capricorn* the ſecond time, holding their Courſe N. W. Here they had the general E. & E. S. E. Wind, and held their Courſe N.N.W. to the 15th day, when they made 18 degrees; then they chang'd that Courſe, and ſail'd Weſt.

April 3. they made 15 degrees 12 minutes, and had then no variation of the Compaſs, but a conſiderable variation of the temper of their Bodies from a good ſtate of Health, by reaſon of the Flux, which had ſeiz'd the beſt part of the Company.

(m) *Dog-Iſland.*

The 10th, they ſaw a little low Iſland at 3 Leagues diſtance, which they got up to at Noon: Here they caſt out their Lead, but cou'd find no bottom, and therefore put out their Shallop. The Men that went aſhore found nothing for refreſhment, but ſome Herbs that taſted like *Dutch* Twinkars; but gave an Account of a very ſilent ſort of Dogs they had ſeen there, that wou'd neither Bark nor Snarl, nor make any noiſe at all; and for this reaſon they call'd it *Dog-Iſland* (*m*). It lies in 15 degrees 12 minutes; and they judged it 925 Leagues diſtant from the Coaſt of *Peru*. The ground is ſo low, that at High-water it ſeems, for the moſt part, to be overflown; and it has nothing round about it, but a ſort of a Ditch beſet with Trees, between which the Salt water breaks in in ſeveral places.

Another Iſland.

The 14th, they ſail'd W. & W. by N. and the ſame day, *P. M.* they ſaw a large, but low Iſland, reaching N. E. & S. W. a conſiderable way. At Sun-ſet, being about a League from it, an *Indian* Canoe advanced to meet them, the Men naked, with long black Hair, and their Bodies of a reddiſh colour. They made ſigns to the *Dutch* to come aſhore, and call'd to them in their Language; and tho' they anſwer'd them in their own, the *Spaniſh*, *Moluccan*, and *Javan* Tongues, yet the *Indians* underſtood them not; ſo that both ſides were in the dark as to each others Minds. When they got up to the Iſland, and Sounded, they found no bottom, neither was there any change of Water, tho' they were within a Musket-ſhot of the ſhore. Here the *Indians* and they had another unintelligible Conference, but they wou'd not be perſwaded to come up to the Ship by any ſigns the *Dutch* cou'd make to invite them to it, as neither wou'd the *Dutch* go aſhore to them, tho' ſtill they kept pointing and talking to one another, while neither ſide underſtood one word that was ſpoke by the other.

Thieviſh People like the *Ladrones.*

Leaving theſe People therefore to others that cou'd underſtand them, they ſail'd away S. S. W. to get above the Land: And having made that Night 10 Leagues, in a S. S. W. Courſe, the 15th, A. M. they ſail'd cloſe along by the ſhore, on which ſtood ſeveral of theſe naked People, calling to them (as they gueſs'd) to Land. Preſently after one of their Canoes came towards the Ship, but wou'd not come near it; yet ventur'd to the Shallop, where the *Dutch*, and theſe *Indians*, fell to their Myſterious Conferences again. The *Dutch* gave them Beads and Knives, and ſeveral things that pleas'd them; which kindneſs embolden'd them at laſt to come a little nearer the Ship, but ſtill they wou'd not go aboard her, but got back into the Shallop. Neither had they any great reaſon to be fond of their Company there, for they are a parcel of light-finger'd Fellows, and have much the ſame degree of Conſcience and Honeſty with them at the *Ladrones*. They love Iron as the *Ladrenians* do, and they love to ſteal it like them: The very Nails in the Cabbin-Windows, and the Bolts upon the Doors, cou'd not keep their places for them but they wou'd have them off; this they found to be true, by one of them, who had cunningly ſlipp'd into the Ship, and pull'd out all the Window-nails, which for ſecurities ſake he had ſtruck into his Hair. Nay, they are ſo very impudent, that whatever they lay Hands on is their own, (tho' the Owner look on all the while) if he does not recover his Right by force. When the *Dutch* gave them ſome Wine, they drunk the Liquor and kept the Cup; ſo when they threw out a Rope to bring them to the Ship, they wou'd neither uſe the Rope nor return it. And their Qualities are not more odd than the Figure they make; for (beſides that they are all naked, except the

Pudenda, which are cover'd with a piece of Mat) their Skin is all over figured with Snakes and Dragons, and ſuch like Vermine; which are very ſignificant Emblems of their own ſubtle and miſchievous Natures.

Iſlands without Ground.

The *Dutch* having a mind to try, if any thing were to be done with them, or to be gotten in the Iſland, ſent their Shallop with eight Muſketteers, and ſix Swords-men, beſides other Company of the Ship. They were no ſooner landed, but thirty of theſe People ruſh'd out of a Wood upon them, arm'd with great Clubs and Slings, and long Staves; they wou'd have ſeiz'd the Shallop, and taken away the Soldiers Arms; but the Muskets letting fly amongſt them, kept them from the Sin of Robbery at that time, and forced them to be honeſt whether they wou'd or no. This Iſland they call'd the Iſle without Ground, becauſe they cou'd not Anchor there: It is not broad, but ſomething long, and full of Trees, which they gueſs'd to be Coco's and Palmito's. It is a white ſandy Ground, and lies in 15 Degr. South Lat. and about a hundred Leagues from *Dog*-Iſland. Seeing nothing to be done here, they ſet ſail, and held their Courſe W. to the Seaward. Here having but a ſlight Water, and no Billows, as the Day before, out of the South, they gueſs'd that Southward there was more Land.

Water-Iſland.

The Sixteenth they came to another Iſland that lay Northward, and was about fifteen Leagues diſtant from the other. This appear'd to be all drown'd Land within, tho' on the ſides well ſet with Trees: And here alſo they found no bottom for Anchoring. It yielded them nothing for Food, but a few Herbs like thoſe in *Dog*-Iſland, with ſome Crabs, and other Shell-fiſh, which were well-taſted Meat; but it afforded them ſome good freſh Water, which they found in a Pit not far from the Shoar. The Pottage made of the Herbs they gather'd here, prov'd very ſerviceable to thoſe of their Company that were troubled with the Flux. They call'd this Iſland, *Water*-Iſland, becauſe it ſupplied them with Water; they left it preſently, and ſail'd Weſtward, making that Day 14 Degr. 46 Min. South Lat.

Wild Men.

The Eighteenth they came to another Iſland, lying to the South Weſt, about twenty Leagues diſtant from the laſt, and ſtretching out North Weſt, and South Eaſt, a conſiderable way. The Boat being diſpatch'd to ſound the depth, brought word, That they had found a bottom (by a Point of Land, from whence there came a gentle Stream of Water) at twenty five, and forty Fathom, about a Musket-ſhot from the Land. This News of Water made them ſend their empty Cask in the Boat, in hope to have it well fill'd. But after they had taken a great deal of pains to land, and had been a good while beating up and down in a Wood to find ſome Spring or other to ſupply them, the ſight of a wild Man frighted them away, and put an end to their enquiry after Water for that time: And quickly after they were got into their Boat, there came five or ſix more of thoſe Savages, and ſhewed themſelves upon the Shoar; but ſeeing they were gone off, preſently retired into the Woods.

Swarms of Flies.

But tho' they got clear of theſe more formidable Adverſaries, yet there were others very troubleſome, that ſtuck cloſe to them; of which they brought many Millions along with them out of the Woods. Theſe were a ſort of black Flies, of which there were ſuch prodigious Swarms thereabouts, that they came home cover'd over with them from Head to Foot; their Hands and Faces ſo beſet, that there was no ſeeing what Complexion they were of; their Cloaths entirely hidden by the Multitudes of thoſe Animals crawling upon them, which did themſelves compoſe another ſort of Apparel, and give the poor Men (ſhrewdly againſt their Wills) Coats, Breeches, Stockins, and Shooes, of Flies: Beſides, their very Boat, and Oars, were all over in the ſame Dreſs with themſelves. And out of this their Abundance, they did, when they came back, very liberally communicate to their Companions: And now the Plague of Flies began to rage in the Ship, and every Man was buſie to defend his Face and Eyes as well as he cou'd. 'Twas the beſt part of the Day's-work to be flapping the Flies away; and 'twas hard for a Man to open his Mouth, either to ſpeak, or to eat, without taking in a Mouthful of theſe Vermine at the ſame time.

Fly-Iſland.

This direful Perſecution laſted about three or four days, in which time the Flaps did ſuch execution, that their Sufferings were pretty well at an end, and few of the Flies were left alive, to torment them. They call'd this Iſland, with very good Reaſon, *Fly*-Iſland: And by the help of a good Gale of Wind, did fly away from it as faſt as they could.

The 23d, they were under 15 Degr. 4 Min. and there again had great Billows out of the South, which continued alſo the next Day. Here they concluded, that the *Terra Auſtralis*, which they ſought for, lay yet Two hundred and fifty Leagues further.

The 25th, the hollow Billows out of the South ſtill continued, ſuch as are commonly in the *Spaniſh* Seas, out of the N.W.

May the 3d, they ſail'd Weſtward, and made at Noon 15 Degr. 3 Min. And that Day they ſaw ſeveral great Doradoes, which were the firſt they had ſeen in the South Sea.

A ſtrange Bark taken.

The 9th they made 15 Degr. 20 Min. and gueſs'd they were then 1510 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Peru*. The ſame Day they perceiv'd a Bark coming towards them, which they went to meet, and gave her a Gun or two to make her ſtrike. But thoſe that were in her, either not underſtanding the Language of the Guns, or refuſing to do what they commanded, the *Dutch* ſent out their Shallop, with ten Musketeers, to reduce her; upon which ſhe endeavour'd to make her eſcape, but the Shallop intercepted her. Some of her Men, in a very great fear, threw themſelves overboard, and diſpos'd of their Goods the ſame way that they did their Bodies. When they had boarded her, thoſe that were left made no manner of reſiſtance, but quietly reſigned themſelves to the diſpoſal of the Conquerors, who uſed them very kindly; dreſſing thoſe that were wounded, and ſaving the Lives of ſome that had leap'd over-board, and entertaining all of them in their Ship. There were beſides the Men, eight Women, and ſeveral Children, ſo that the whole Number amounted to about Twenty three.

The People aboard her.

They were a cleanly neat ſort of People, of a reddiſh colour, quite naked, except the obſcene Parts, which were cover'd: The Men had long curl'd black Hair, and the Women ſhort like the Men in *Holland*.

The Bark.

The Bark they were in, was of a very peculiar Figure and Structure: It conſiſted of two Canoes faſtned together in the midſt of each of which were laid two broad Planks of Red-wood to keep out the Water, and ſeveral others went croſs from one Canoe to the other, which were made very faſt and cloſe above, and hung a good way over on both ſides. At the end of one of the Canoes on Starboard-ſide, there ſtood a Maſt with a Fork in the end of it, where the Yard lay; the Sail was made of Mats, and the Ropes of ſuch Stuff as the Fig-frails in *Spain* conſiſt of. They had no Compaſs nor Chart, nor any Furniture for the Seas, but only a few Fiſhing-hooks, the upper-part of which was Stone, and the other black Bone, Tortoiſe-ſhell, or Mother of Pearl. They had no need to lade their Veſſel with freſh Water, for they ſatisfied themſelves with the Liquor of a few Coco-Nuts; and when that was ſpent, they had recourſe to the great Ocean for a ſupply, themſelves, and their ſmalleſt Children, drinking the Salt-water very heartily. The *Dutch* ſent them all back to their Veſſel again; where the Women welcom'd their Husbands with joyful Embraces; and thus happily freed, they ſail'd away to the South Eaſt. But to our Diſcoverers.

The Tenth they held a W. and S. W. Courſe; and that Day ſaw very high Land on Larboard, lying S. E. and by S. about eight Leagues off; but tho' they had a good Gale, they could not reach it that Day.

The Eleventh A. M. they came up with a very high Iſland; and about two Leagues Southward with another much lower: And the ſame Day ſail'd over a Bank of fourteen Fathom deep, and a ſtony bottom, lying about two Leagues from the Land, which being paſt, they cou'd find no more Ground. About this time, another of the aforeſaid Barks came up to them, which had (as they generally have) a looſe Canoe in her, to put out upon occaſion. She ſail'd at that rate, that few *Dutch* Ships cou'd outſtrip her; her Men ſteer'd behind with two Oars, in each Canoe one; and when they had a mind to wind her, they row'd before: But all theſe Veſſels will wind themſelves, by only pulling the Oars out of the Water, and letting them go.

Coco-Iſland.

Sending their Shallop to ſound by one of theſe Iſlands, they were inform'd, that there was Ground, tho' ſhelvy, at twelve, fourteen, and fifteen Fathom, about a Cannon-ſhot from the Land; ſo they reſolv'd to Anchor there. The Negroes, indeed, by Signs directed them to go to the other Iſland, and ſail'd thither before them; but they anchor'd at the end of the former Iſland, at Twenty five Fathom, ſandy Ground, a Cannon-ſhot from the Land. This Iſland lies in 16 Degr. 10 Min. It is one entire Mountain, and looks like one of the *Molucca's*: 'Tis all over cover'd with Coco-Trees; for which reaſon they call'd it *Coco-Iſland*.

The other Iſland is much lower than this, but longer, lying E. and W. Being at Anchor, there came three Ships, and nine or ten Canoes (which had three or four Men apiece) about them, ſome of which had put out

White Flags, in Token of Peace, as they did the like. The Canoes were flat before, and ſharp behind, hewed out of one whole piece of Red-Wood, and wou'd ſail exceeding ſwiftly.

They trade with the Natives.

When they came near the *Dutch* Ship, they leap'd, ſome of them, into the Water, and ſwam to it, having their Hands full of Coco's, and Ubes Roots; which they barter'd for Nails, and Beads, giving four or five Coco's for a Nail, or a ſmall String of Beads; ſo that the *Dutch* traded that Day for One hundred and eighty Coco's. And this Trade bringing ſo many of them aboard, that they knew not how to ſtir their Ship; they ſent their Shallop to the other Iſland, to ſee for a more convenient place to lie in. But the Shallop being juſt got out, was preſently beſet by a huge number of Canoes, fill'd with a mad ſort of People, arm'd with great Clubs, that forthwith boarded her, and attack'd the Men. They firing their Muſkets upon them, were laugh'd at by the Savages, in that with ſo much noiſe, they had done ſo little harm; but the next touch, when one of them was ſhot through the Breaſt, they had done making ſport with the Muskets, and learn'd to keep their diſtance a little better for the time to come. They were luſty, well proportion'd Men, and good Swimmers; but naked, thieviſh, and very fantaſtical in the dreſſings of their Hair: Some were it ſhort, others long, ſome curl'd, and others plaited and folded up in ſeveral Faſhions.

The Twelfth they came in their Canoes again, laden with Coco's, Bananas, Ubes Roots, Hogs, and freſh Water. There was a great Contention amongſt them, who ſhou'd get firſt to the Ship; and thoſe that were behind, being ſhut out by them before, ſince they cou'd not leap over their Heads, they jump'd into the Water, and ſwam under the Canoes, holding Bunches of Coco's in their Mouths, and climbing up the ſides of the Ship like ſo many Rats, and that in ſuch Swarms, that they were forc'd to keep them off with Staves: The *Dutch* barter'd with them that Day for Twelve hundred Coco's, which made twelve to every Man's ſhare, they being Eighty five in all.

The Negro's wondred very much at the Strength and Greatneſs of the *Dutch* Ship; and ſome of them crept down under it, and knock'd upon the bottom of it with Stones, to try how ſtrong it was.

The Negro-King comes to the Ship.

The King of thoſe Barbarians ſent a black Hog to the Ship for a Preſent, charging the Meſſenger to take no Reward; and quickly after he came himſelf, in a large Ship of their faſhion, attended with Thirty five Canoes; when he was a little way from the Ship, he began to call and cry out aloud, and all his Company did the like; this being their way of bidding Strangers Welcome. The *Dutch* received them with Drums and Trumpets, which mightily pleas'd and ſurpriz'd them; and they to teſtifie their Sence of the Honour that was done them, us'd all their Ceremonies of bowing their Heads, and clapping their Hands together over them, which they are accuſtom'd to upon ſuch Occaſions. The King, out of his Ship, ſent them a Matien for a Preſent; which Kindneſs they requited with the Gift of an old Hatchet, ruſty Nails, Glaſs-Beads, and a piece of Linen Cloth; things which His Majeſty was highly pleas'd with, and made many a fine Bow for. He was not to be known from his Subjects, by any Tokens, but the Reverence they ſhew'd him; for as they were all naked, ſo he had no other Apparel, but that which Nature gave him. He wou'd not be perſwaded to come aboard, tho' the Prince his Son did, and was well entertain'd there.

The Thirteenth, A. M. the Ship was ſurrounded with a whole Armado of Ships and Canoes, the King himſelf being there in Perſon; and in the Twenty three Ships, and Forty five Canoes, that compos'd the Fleet, no leſs than Seven or Eight hundred Men.

They pretended at firſt to come only upon the Deſign of Trade; and told them by Signs, that they were their very good Friends; and wou'd fain have them ſail to the other Iſland, where they ſhou'd find a much better Accommodation in all Reſpects.

The *Indians* aſſault the Ship.

But notwithſtanding all theſe fair Pretences, they ſuſpected ſome Miſchief was hatching by theſe Barbarians. Neither were their Suſpicions unjuſt; for they quickly began to caſt themſelves all round the Ship, and encloſ'd it on every ſide, and then with a great Outcry, upon the Alarm of a Drum, they gave the Aſſault. The King's Ship was the fore-moſt in the Action, and ruſh'd in with ſuch a force at the *Dutch* Ship, that the Heads of the two Canoes before it, were daſh'd all to pieces, with the violence of the Shock: The reſt came on as well as they cou'd, and ſhower'd in great Stones upon them. But the *Dutch* threw in ſuch Quantities of Pellets amongſt them out of their Muskets, and three great Guns loaded with Musket-ſhot, and Nails, that all thoſe in the Canoes, that lay within reach, were glad to leave them, and ſeek their Refuge in the Water. Being thus put to the Rout, they diſpers'd themſelves, and ſhifted for their Lives as well as they cou'd.

Traytors Iſland

Theſe treacherous People were the Inhabitants of the lower of theſe two Iſlands; which therefore they call'd *Traitors Iſland.*

Hope Iſland.

They ſet ſail from hence the ſame Day, and held their Courſe W. and W. by S. And the Fourteenth came to another Iſland, about Thirty Leagues diſtant from the former. They call'd this *Hope Iſland,* becauſe they hop'd here to meet with ſome Refreſhment. But finding no Ground at the Iſland, they ſent out their Shallop to ſound along the Shoar; which return'd with the News of a ſtony bottom at forty Fathom, about a Musket-ſhot from the Shoar, ſometimes twenty five, and thirty Fathom; and at a little diſtance again, no bottom at all.

The *Indians* came here with ten or twelve Canoes, to barter: They brought a ſmall parcel of flying Fiſhes, for which they had Beads in exchange: And whatſoever the one gave, or the other receiv'd, was convey'd on both ſides, by a Rope let down from the Stern of the Ship. But theſe ſame *Indians* went from this Trade preſently to another which was worſe, *viz.* robbing the Shallop; which they found employ'd in ſounding, at ſome diſtance, from the Ship. They offer'd to board her, and drag her away; but they in the Shallop, with their Guns, Pikes, and Curtlaſſes, gave them ſuch an Entertainment, that having ſeen two of their Company kill'd, they were glad to hurry away as faſt as they cou'd: And while theſe were beaten and maul'd upon the Water, their Friends ſtood and cried for them aſhoar.

This Iſland was full of black Cliffs, that were green on the top; 'twas well ſtock'd with Coco-Trees, and ſeveral ſorts of Herbs: There were ſeveral Houſes along the Sea-ſide, and a great Village cloſe by the Strand. There was no convenient Anchoring here, it being extreamly rough near the Iſland; upon which ſcore they left it, and ſail'd away South Weſt, intending to purſue the Diſcovery of a Southern Continent.

The Eighteenth, they were under 16 Degr. 5 Min. where they had very uncertain W. Winds: And now they began to conſult about the future proſecution of their Voyage.

William Schouten, the Maſter, told them, That they were now at leaſt Sixteen hundred Leagues Eaſtward from the Coaſts of *Peru,* and as they had not yet diſcover'd any part of the South Land, ſo neither was there any likelihood of their doing it. That they had ſail'd much farther Weſtward than they firſt intended; and that going on in that Courſe which they had hitherto purſu'd, they ſhould certainly fall Southward upon *New Guinea,* where if they found no paſſage, they muſt unavoidably be loſt; ſince 'twould be impoſſible to go back Eaſtward again, by reaſon of the Eaſterly Winds that blow continually.

Upon theſe, and other Accounts, he propos'd it as the beſt way to alter their Courſe, and ſail Northward, ſo as to fall in Northward upon *New Guinea.*

They alter their Courſe, and ſail Northward.

This Propoſal back'd with ſo many good Reaſons, was embrac'd by all the Company, ſo that they immediately determined to hold a N. N. W. Courſe.

Other Iſlands

The Nineteenth, their Courſe Northward, they had 2 Iſlands at Noon, about 8 Leagues diſtance from them, lying N. E. and by E. and that ſeem'd to be a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from each other. Upon this they ſteer'd N.E. intending to ſail about the Land, having fair Weather, but a ſmall Gale to bring them along.

The Twentieth, they continued ſtill labouring to get to the Land.

The Twenty firſt, being about a League from the Land, they were viſited by two Canoes, to whom, tho' they gave no manner of provocation, yet they were rudely inſulted by ſome of them, who began to hollow, and threatned to dart their Wooden Aſſagayes at them. But upon the Diſcharge of the Guns from the Ship, theſe bold Hectors began to ſcamper, and that in no little haſte and confuſion, leaving behind them two of their Company dead, and a Shirt which they had ſtolen out of the Ship, and had now no Stomach to carry away with them.

The Twenty ſecond, there came more of them to the Ship, but upon very friendly and peaceable Terms, bringing Coco's, Ubes Roots, and roaſted Hogs, which they bartered for Knives, Beads, and Nails. Theſe People were all as curious in the Arts of Swimming and Diving, as thoſe in *Traytor's* Iſland, and as well vers'd in thoſe of Cheating and Stealing too; which they never fail'd to do, if an opportunity were given them.

Their Houſes ſtood all along the Strand, which were cover'd with Leaves at the top, and had a ſort of a Pent-

Houſe of the ſame to carry off the Water. They were 10 or 12 foot high, and 25 in compaſs, furniſh'd with nothing but a Bed of dry Herbs, an Angling-Rod or two, and a great Club: Theſe were all the Ornaments even of the Palace, and the King himſelf had no more. The *Dutch* found here good conveniences for watering.

They go a-ſhoar.

The 24th, they ſent 3 of the principal Men of the Ship to Eſtabliſh a Friendſhip with the *Indians*, and to be as Hoſtages amongſt them, having in their room 6 *Indians* of Quality aboard, whom they made very welcome there. And the *Dutch* aſhore had very great reſpect paid them by the King; he made them a Preſent of 4 Hogs, and if any of his People came but near the *Dutch* Boat to diſturb them, while they were fetching Water, he wou'd drive them away himſelf, or order ſome of his Men to do it. His Subjects all ſtood in very great awe of him, and were fearful of having any of their Crimes made known to him; for one of them having ſtole a Curtlaſs, and complaint being made to one of the King's Officers, the Thief was purſu'd, and ſoundly drubb'd, for the wrong he had done; and beſides, forc'd to make reſtitution. And more than that, the Officer ſignify'd that he came off very well too, for if the King had known it, he wou'd certainly have had his Head off. Theſe People were extremely frighted at the noiſe of the Guns, and upon any diſcharge wou'd fly like ſo many Mad-men: Yet the King having a deſire to hear one of the great Guns let off, and being ſet under his Canopy, with ſome of his Courtiers about him, in great order, upon the going off of the Gun, he leap'd out of his Seat, and ſet up a run into the Woods, with all his Courtiers after him, and no perſwaſions of the *Dutch* cou'd poſſibly ſtop them.

The 25th and 26th they went aſhore again, to Barter for Hogs, but could get none, the *Indians* being reduc'd to ſome ſtraights themſelves, having nothing but Coco's, Bananas, Ubes-Roots, and a few Hogs, left: Yet the King continued his wonted reſpect and kindneſs to them; and he and his Lieutenant pull'd off their Crowns from their own Heads, and ſet them upon the Heads of two of the Company, Theſe Crowns were made of white, red and green Feathers, which their Parrots and Doves do ſupply them with: The Doves are white upon the back, and black every where elſe, except the Breaſt; and every one of the King's Council has one of theſe ſitting by him upon a Stick.

Crowns of Feathers.

The 27th and 28th, they got all their Water aboard; at which time, the Maſter and the Merchant went aſhore, with the Trumpets, which prov'd a very diverting Muſick to the King. Here he told them of his Wars with them of the other Iſland, and ſhew'd them ſeveral of the Caves and Thickets where they us'd to place their Ambuſcades, and lay lurking for Advantages againſt each other. They plainly found that he was fearful they had ſome Deſign upon his Country, for to draw them off from thence, he wou'd fain have engaged them in a War with the King of the other Iſland; nay, he offer'd to hire them to be gone, telling them, That if they wou'd go in two Days, he wou'd give them 10 Hogs, and a good parcel of Coco's. Yet, notwithſtanding his Suſpicions, he made them a Viſit a Shipboard, Praying when he enter'd the Ship, and Praying in every Cabbin he came into; as alſo, he always did when any of the *Dutch* came aſhore to him. His Men carry'd it with a mighty deal of Submiſſion to them, kiſſing their Feet, and laying them croſs their Necks, with all the tokens of awe and fear that they cou'd expreſs.

The King of the other Iſland comes.

The 30th was made a Day of Solemnities, by the coming of the King of the other Iſland to Viſit the King of this. He came with a Train of 300 of his naked *Indians*, that had bunches of green Herbs ſtuck about their middles, of which they prepare their Drink: And that he might be ſure to be welcome, he brought 16 Hogs along with him too. When theſe two Princes were within ſight of each other, they began to bow and ſcrape, and mutter'd out certain Prayers to themſelves: When they met, they both fell down with their Faces flat upon the ground, and after ſeveral very ſtrange geſtures uſed, they got up upon their Legs, and walk'd away to the Seats provided for them; where, after they had chop'd out ſome more of their Prayers, and bowed very reverently to one another again, with much ado they ſate down under the King's Canopy. And now to make the ſtrange King the more welcome, a Meſſenger was diſpatch'd to the *Dutch* Ship, to get their Drums and Trumpets aſhore; ſo the Trumpets ſounded, and a March was beat up, to the very great Entertainment of the two Kings. After this, they prepar'd for a ſolemn Banquet, and in order to it, began to make ready their Liquor, which they did in this ſlovenly manner: There comes into the Preſence a company of Fellows, with a good quantity of Cana, (which is the Herb of which they make their Drink) each of which having cramm'd in a Mouthful of it, they began to chaw all together; having chaw'd it a while, they put it out of their Mouths into a large Wooden Trough, and pour'd Water upon it, and fell to ſtirring and ſqueezing on't, and having preſs'd out all the goodneſs, they preſented it in Cups to the two Kings. They were ſo civil likewiſe, as to offer the *Dutch* ſome of it, who were ready to Vomit at the ſight of the Preparation. As for the Eating part of the Entertainment, it conſiſted of Ubes-Roots roaſted, and Hogs dreſs'd after a very nice manner. They had ripp'd up the Bellies, and taken out the Guts of them; and then putting hot Stones into their Bellies, and ſcinging off the outſide Hair, without any farther dreſſing, or cleanſing, they were fit for the King's Table. They preſented two of theſe Hogs to the *Dutch*, with all the Form and Ceremony which they uſe to their Kings, laying them firſt upon their Heads, and then kneeling, with much humility, left them at their Feet. They gave them, beſides, 11 more alive; for which they receiv'd a Preſent of Knives, old Nails, and Beads, as pleaſing to them as far better things. Theſe People were of a dark yellow colour, ſtrong and well-proportion'd Bodies, ſo tall and big, that the largeſt amongſt the *Dutch* wou'd have been match'd by the leaſt of them. They wore their Hair, ſome curl'd, ſome frizl'd, ſome tied up in knots; ſome had it ſtanding bolt upright upon their Heads like Hogs briſtles, one quarter of an Ell high. The King, and ſome of his Courtiers, had long Locks hanging down below their Hips, bound up with a knot or two, but the Women were all cropp'd cloſe; and beſides, were very ugly Figures, being ſhort and ill-ſhap'd, and their Breaſts ſwagging down to their Bellies like Satchels. Both Sexes went naked all to the *Pudenda*: They ſeem'd to be a People wholly void both of Devotion, and all Worldly Care and Prudence, living juſt as the Inferiour Animals do, upon what the Earth it ſelf produces, without the ſolicitations of Art and Induſtry. They neither Sow nor Reap, Buy nor Sell, nor do any thing for a Livelihood, but leave all to the Care of Nature, which if it fails at any time they muſt ſtarve. And they have as little regard to the Laws of Decency and Modeſty too, as to thoſe of Civil Prudence and Policy, for they'll make uſe of their Wives openly, in the greateſt Aſſembly; ay, and before their King too, as much as they reverence him.

Their Ceremonies in Saluting each other.

Their Drink.

Their Meat.

The Manners of the People.

This Iſland they call'd *Horne-Iſland*, from the Name of the Town from whence they came; and the Bay where they Anchor'd, *Unity-Bay*, after the Name of the Ship. The Bay lies upon the South-ſide of the Land, in a Dock under 14 degrees 16 minutes.

Horne-Iſland.

Unity-Bay.

June 1. they ſet Sail from hence, viſiting no Land till the 21ſt, when they made towards a very low Iſland, that lay S. S. W. & W. from them, and in 4 degrees 47 minutes. Near it were ſeveral Sands that ſtretched N.W. from off the Land, as alſo 3 or 4 ſmaller Iſlands, and very full of Trees. Here a Canoe came up to them, of the ſame odd faſhion with thoſe before deſcrib'd, and the People in it much of the ſame ſort, only blacker, and Arm'd with Bows and Arrows, which were the firſt they had ſeen amongſt the *Indians* of the South-Sea. They told them, by Signs, that there was more Land, and good Conveniences for a Ship, to be had Weſtward, where their King dwelt; upon which Information, they held a Weſtern Courſe again.

The 22d, they ſail'd W. & W. & by N. under 4 degrees 45 minutes, and that Day ſaw at leaſt 12 or 13 Iſlands, one cloſe by another, lying W. S. W. from them, and reaching S.E. & N. W. about half a League, but they left them a Larboard.

Several Iſlands.

The 24th, the Wind S. they ſaw 3 low Iſlands a Larboard, lying S. W. from them, the one very ſmall, the other two each of them two Miles long, all very full of Trees. They call'd them the *Green-Iſlands*; the ſhore about was ragged and cliffy, and allowed no Anchoring. Another high Iſland preſented it ſelf with 7 or 8 Hovels forth right, lying W. & by N. which they ſail'd by the 25th, St. *John Baptiſt's Day*, and therefore call'd it St. *John's-Iſland*. At this time they ſaw very high Land to the S. W. which they thought to be the Point of *New-Guinea*; they reach'd it by Noon, and ſailing along by it, and finding no Anchoring, ſent the Shallop to Sound, but no bottom cou'd be diſcover'd. Here 2 or 3 Canoes of barbarous People aſſaulted the Shallop with their Slings, but the Guns carried the Day, and quickly diſpers'd them: They were very black, entirely naked, and ſpake a Language quite different from the former. They kept fires upon their Coaſt all that Night, and ſome of them in their Canoes came lurking about the Ship; and tho' the *Dutch*, when they had diſcover'd them, did all they cou'd to ob-

Green-Iſlands.

St. John's-Iſland.

lige them, yet they wou'd underſtand none of the Signs they made for Proviſions, but anſwer'd all with horrible noiſes and outcries. They Anchor'd this Night at 45 Fathom, uneven ground, in a Bay about the Point of the Land; the Country was high and green, and afforded a pleaſant Proſpect, and lay (as they gueſs'd) 1840 Leagues diſtant from *Peru*.

The 26th, *Ante Meridiem*, there came 8 Canoes up to the Ship, well fill'd with theſe *Barbarians*, and they as well Arm'd, after their manner, with Clubs, Wooden-Swords and Slings. The *Dutch* treated them kindly, and gave them ſeveral Toys to procure their Favour, or at leaſt Peace, and freedom from any diſturbance by them, but the Villains were not to be conquer'd by Kindneſs, nor taught by good Manners, by any thing but the great Guns, for preſently they aſſaulted the Ship with all their force, and continu'd it obſtinately till the Cannon-ſhot had gone through 10 or 12 of them: Then they began to fly to their old Refuge, the Water, to dive and ſwim for their Lives, but the Shallop purſuing them, knock'd ſome on the Head, took 3 Priſoners, and 4 of their Canoes, which made firing for the Ship. And now they cou'd underſtand Signs, and procure Hogs and Bananas, for thoſe of them that were Priſoners, to Ranſom themſelves, but before they did not know what the *Dutch* meant by their Signs. And tho' the *Dutch* were ſo Generous as to give one wounded Man his Liberty, yet they were ſo wiſe too as to ſet another, in a better condition, at ten Hogs Ranſom, which undoubtedly was the full value of him.

This Iſland afforded a ſort of Birds that were all red, and North of it lay another Iſland, of which they made no other Diſcovery, than only its poſition to this. They concluded theſe People to be Papoos, becauſe of their ſhort hair, and particular Diet of Betele mix'd with Chalk.

The 28th, *Poſt Merid.* they ſet Sail from hence, and the next Day held a N. W. & N. W. & by N. Courſe, with a ſhifting Wind till Noon, and then a Calm. They had the Point of the Iſland in view till the Evening, tho' they ſail'd along by the Land, which was very full of Bays and Turnings, and reach'd N. W. & N. & by W. and the ſame Day they ſaw 3 high Iſlands more, that lay Northward from the great one about 5 or 6 Miles, being then in 3 degrees 20 minutes.

Black *Indians* no better than the others.

The 30th, *Ante Meridiem*, ſeveral Canoes of the black *Indians* came up to them, and Boarding the Ship by permiſſion, brake Staves over the *Dutch* in Sign of Peace. Their Canoes were finer than the others, and themſelves appear'd more Civil and Modeſt, covering the *Pudenda*, which the others did not. They rubb'd their Hair over with Chalk, affecting to have their black Locks Powder'd: They pretended to be ſo Poor, that they came to Beg, and not to bring any thing to the Ship; yet thoſe four Iſlands, from whence theſe *Indians* came, afforded good ſtore of Coco's.

July 1. *Ante Meridiem*, they Anchor'd between an Iſland of 2 Miles long, and the firm Land of *New-Guinea*, and quickly were ſurrounded with 25 Arm'd Canoes of the ſame People, who, the Day before, in Token of Peace, had broke their Staves over their Heads, and now came intending to brake them upon them. The *Indians* were not tedious in their Ceremonies before they enter'd upon the work they came upon, 2 of them fix'd themſelves upon 2 Anchors that then hung out of the Ship, and with their Girdles began to tug the Ship, thinking to draw her aſhore; the reſt lay about the ſides of her, and gave a brisk Onſet with their Slings, and other weapons, but the everlaſting plague of the *Barbarians*, the great Guns, ſhatter'd Men and Canoes at that rate, that they were forc'd to retire, with the loſs of 12 or 13 kill'd, and a far greater number wounded. After this fight, they ſail'd peaceably along the Coaſts, having a good gale, and holding a W. N. W. and a N. W. & by W. Courſe.

The 2d they were in 3 degrees 12 minutes, and ſaw low Land a Larboard, and right before them a low Iſland; they ſail'd gently W. N. W. with a ſlight Current off to the Water E. N. E.

The 3d, they ſaw high Land bearing Weſt, about 14 Leagues from the other Iſland, and in 2 degrees 40 minutes.

The 4th, as they were paſſing by the 4 Iſlands aforemention'd, they had a ſudden proſpect of 23 others, great and ſmall, high and low, which they left the moſt of them a Starboard, and only 2 or 3 a Larboard. They were ſome of them a League, ſome a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from each other, and lay in 2 degrees 30 min. little more or leſs.

The 6th, with very variable, and ſome ſtormy weather, they had, *Ante Meridiem*, a very high Hill before them, bearing S. W. and this they thought to be the Hill *Gecmenapi* in *Banda*; but a nearer approach diſcover'd three Hills more like it, that lie to the North, about 6 or 7 Leagues diſtant, and this ſight determin'd that Hill not to be that of *Banda*. Behind it lay a large Tract of Land E. & W. and reaching E. S. E. of a very great extent, and very uneven; this they gueſs'd to be *New-Guinea*, but held off from it that Night.

Vulcan's Iſland.

The 7th, A. M. they ſail'd towards theſe mighty Hills they had in proſpect the day before, and found ſome of them to be *Volcanos*; for which reaſon they nam'd the Iſland *Vulcan*'s-*Iſland*, there being ſo good a repreſentation of his burning Forge. The Iſland was well Inhabited, and full of Coco's, but there was no conveniency of Anchoring there: The People were naked, and extremely fearful of the *Dutch*, and their Language ſo very different from all thereabouts, that none of the *Blacks* they had with them cou'd underſtand them. There appear'd more Iſlands to the N. & N. W. but they held their Courſe to a very low one that lay N. W. & by W. from them, which they reach'd that Evening. The Water here they obſerv'd to be of divers colours, green, white and yellow, which probably was the effect of the mixture of ſome Rivers, becauſe it was far ſweeter than the Sea-water, and was full of Leaves and Boughs of Trees; ſome of which had Birds and Crabs faſten'd upon them.

Deformed People.

The 8th, they held a W. S. W. & W. N. W. Courſe, having a Starboard a high Iſland, and another ſomething lower on Larboard: They reach'd the Land, *Poſt Merid.* the ſame Day, and Anchor'd at 70 Fathom, in a good ſandy bottom, about a Cannon-ſhot from the ſhore: This Iſland was in 3 degrees 40 minutes, ſeem'd to be an unhealthy place, and yielded nothing conſiderable but a little Ginger. 'Twas Inhabited by Papoos, whoſe ridiculous Fancies in the Matters of Dreſs ſuperadded to their own natural Deformity, made them appear little ſhort of Monſters in Humane Nature. There were hardly any of them but what had ſomething odd and ſtrange, either as to the bigneſs, or poſition of their Limbs; but then the Strings of Hogs-teeth, that hung about their Necks, and their perforated Noſes, with Rings faſten'd in them, together with ſhort frizled Hair, and very ill Faces, all put together, wou'd have offended an Eye not extremely curious. Neither was the beauty of the Houſes much greater than that of the Inhabitants, being all mounted up upon Stakes, 8 or 9 Foot from the ground.

Uncertain where they are.

The 9th, *Ante Meridiem*, they Anchor'd in a more convenient Bay, at 26 Fathom, in a Sandy bottom mix'd with Clay. There were two Villages of the *Indians* that lay near the ſhore, from whence ſome of their Canoes brought Hogs and Coco's, but held up both at ſo dear Rates, that there was no Bartering with them. And now, tho' they had Sail'd ſo long by this New Land, yet they were ſtill unable to reſolve themſelves whether it were *New-Guinea* or no: Their Charts did neither agree with one another, nor the Land they had in Proſpect, which for the moſt part run N. W. & by W. ſometimes more Weſterly, and ſometimes again more Northerly; yet for all this ſcruple, (which they cou'd not remove) they ſtill held a W. N. W. Courſe, along by the Coaſt, with a quiet, tho' dull ſort of Weather; and ſo by the help of the ſtream, that ſet them about the Weſt, (as it does all along that Coaſt) they made 2 degrees 58 minutes, the 12th at Noon.

The 13th and 14th, they kept Sailing by the Coaſt, having ſometimes very high, and at others very low Land, beſide them.

The 15th, purſuing the ſame Courſe, they reach'd two low Iſlands, about half a League from the Main-Land, about 2 degrees 54 minutes S. L. Here they had good Anchoring, from 5 and 6, to 40 Fathom; and ſeeing the Country well ſtored with Coco's, the Boat and Shallop, well provided for an Attack, were diſpatch'd, with Orders to Land and get ſome: But the *Indians*, it ſeems, had obſerv'd them, and accordingly prepared for their Entertainment when they Landed; and they gave them, perhaps, the warmeſt Reception, with their Bows and Slings, that ever they met with, wounding at leaſt 16 of them, and forcing them, notwithſtanding their Muskets, to retire.

The 16th, *Ante Meridiem*, they Sail'd in between both the Iſlands, and Anchor'd at 9 Fathom, in a very good place. The ſame Day they Landed upon the leſſer Iſland, burnt ſome of the *Indians* Houſes, and brought as many Coco's as made three to every Man's ſhare. The Barbarous People became more gentle, and good-natur'd, upon this Treatment, for the 17th they came to make their Peace with Offerings of Coco's and Bananas, Ginger, and yellow Roots uſed for Saffron; they yielded to truſt the *Dutch* ſo far as to come aboard their Ship, where the Quarrel was perfectly made up, and the Hearts of the *Indians* (won by a few Nails and Beads which they gave them) were intirely theirs.

Caſſanie-Bread.

Moa, Juſon, Arimoa Iſlands.

The 18th, they continued Bartering for Coco's, Bananas, Caſſanie and Papede; of the two former they got as much as came to 50 Nuts, and 2 Bunches of Bananas, a Man, of the two latter not ſo much. This Papede and Caſſanie are alſo *Eaſt-India* Commodities; and the latter, particularly, is admirably good in the *Weſt-Indies*, and far beyond that which they met with here. The People made all their Bread of it, and Bak'd it into large round Cakes for that purpoſe. They call'd the Name of their own Iſland *Moa*, which was the moſt Eaſterly, the other over-againſt it *Juſon*, and the farthermoſt (a very high one, and about 5 or 6 Leagues from *New-Guinea*) *Arimoa*. Theſe People had probably been Viſited by ſome *Europeans* before, for they had *Spaniſh* Jarrs and Pots amongſt them; they were not ſurpriz'd at great Guns, as the others uſually were, nor ſo curious in looking into the Ship, as abſolute Strangers to ſuch a thing muſt be ſuppos'd to be.

The 21ſt they Sail'd along by the Land N. W. and at Noon made 1 degree 13 minutes. The ſtream drove them to a cluſter of Iſlands. where they Anchor'd at 13 Fathom, with Storms of Rain and Thunder, that Night.

The 23d, *Ante Meridiem*, ſetting Sail from thence, ſix great Canoes overtook them a little from the Land, bringing dry'd Fiſh, Coco's, Bananas, Tobacco, and a ſmall ſort of Fruit like Prunes. *Indians* from another Iſland alſo brought Victuals, and *China*-Porcelane, to Barter.

Theſe People, like moſt of the *Barbarians*, were vaſtly fond of Beads and Iron-work; but they were remarkably diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe of the laſt Iſland, by their larger ſize, and more Orange-complexion. Their Arms were Bows and Arrows, and their principal Ornaments glaſs Ear-rings, of ſeveral colours; and by theſe, as well as by other Signs, it appear'd that the *Dutch* were not the firſt *Europeans* which theſe People alſo had ſeen.

Schouten's Iſland.

The 24th, being under half a degree, they Steer'd N.W. & W. & S.W. along by a very pleaſant Iſland, on which they beſtow'd their Maſters Name; and the Weſt Point of it they call'd the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The 25th, they ſaw a huge Tract of uneven Land on Larboard, lying S.S.W.

The 26th, they ſpied three Iſlands more, the Coaſt reaching N.W. & by W.

The 27th, they were under 29 minutes, and having a ſight of much Land to the Southward, ſome very high, and ſome as low, they paſt N.W. along by it.

Earthquake.

The 29th, at Night, they had an Earthquake, which ſhook the Ship at that rate, that the Men run frightned out of their Cabbins, expecting to find her run a-ground, or jolted againſt ſome Rock; but, upon trial, they found a depth of water that was unfathomable, and as plainly ſaw they were clear of all danger of Rocks and Shelves; ſo that 'twas manifeſtly the effect of a violent concuſſion of the Alveous and Submarine Regions, which caus'd and propagated a tremor all through the water, and thus diſturb'd the motion of the Ship.

Horrible Storms.

The 30th, they put into a great Bay, out of which finding no opening, they return'd to a Northen Courſe again: Here the Ship trembled again, with loud and horrible cracks of Thunder, and the Lightning was ſo like to ſet it a-fire, that in all probability it muſt have flam'd, had not the Clouds, that furniſh'd the pernicious fire, afforded water alſo, in prodigious ſhowers of Rain, for the extinguiſhing of it.

They paſs the Æquinoctial a ſecond time.

The 31ſt, with a Northern Courſe, in the Evening they paſs'd the Æquator a ſecond time; and being encompaſs'd with Land all round almoſt, they Anchor'd at 12 Fathom, good ground, near a deſolate Iſland that lay cloſe by the firm Land.

Auguſt 1. they made 15 minutes North Lat. and in the Evening, with a hard ſtream, went cloſe to the Land; and becauſe of the Calm, Anchor'd, tho' in a ſhallow water, and very rugged bottom.

The 2d, they drove along with the ſtream, W. & W. & by N. with very rainy weather.

The 3d, being ſtill becalm'd, they Steer'd as before, and found a Bank ſo far in the Sea, that they cou'd ſcarce ſee the Land, being in ſome places 40, in others 20, and ſo to 12 Fathom, ſandy ground; and the ſtream there went W. S. W.

The ſame Day they made 35 minutes North Lat. and ſaw ſeveral Whales and Tortoiſes, with two Iſlands lying to the Weſtward of them; and now they gueſs'd they were at the end of the Land of *New-Guinea*, having Sail'd 280 Leagues along by the Coaſt. The Rains and Calms ſtill continued.

The 5th, *Ante Meridiem*, ſeveral Canoes came up to them, bringing *Indian*-Beans, Rice, Tobacco, and two Birds of Paradiſe; they Barter'd for one of theſe fine Birds, which was all white and yellow.

Gilolo.

Theſe *Indians* ſpoke the *Ternate*-Language, and ſome of them the *Spaniſh* and *Malaian*; which latter Tongue, *Clawſon*, the Merchant, was well skill'd in. They were all of them finely Cloath'd about their Waſtes, ſome with looſe Silks, others with Breeches, and ſome Silken Wreaths about their Heads, which were the *Mahumetans* of the Company; all of them in general had Coal-black Hair, and good ſtore of Gold and Silver Rings upon their Fingers. They Barter'd with the *Dutch* for Beads, and other Toys, but had much more mind to Linen Cloth. They appear'd to be very fearful and ſuſpicious of them, to that degree, that they wou'd not tell them the Name of the Country; yet they judged that they were now at one of the three Eaſterly Points of *Gilolo*, and that theſe People were Natives of *Tidore*, which afterwards they found to be true.

The 6th, *Ante Meridiem*, they ſet forwards, holding a Northerly Courſe, intending to Sail about the Northern Point of *Gilolo*.

Moratay.

The 7th, they ſaw the North-Eaſt Point of that Iſland, called *Moratay*, which then lay S. S. E. from them.

The 8th, at Noon, they made 4 degrees 3 minutes North Lat. had there very ſtormy Weather, and a Current that run Northward.

The 9th and 10th, they had variable Winds and Weather, and made 3 degrees 50 minutes.

The 11th, they had a proſpect of the Point *Moratay* again, which they deſign'd to have reach'd, but the Current drove them off from the Land Northward.

The 13th, they made 2 degrees 58 minutes, the Winds continuing ſtill to ſhift about, and the Rains falling pretty plentifully; and ſo to the 17th.

This Day, with much toil and trouble, they got under the Land, and Sail'd along by the Coaſt with fair Weather; in the Night they ſaw ſeveral Fires upon the Land.

The 18th, with ſtill Weather, they continued driving along by the Land, and at Noon were Saluted by two Canoes of *Ternateens*; who, to ſhew their peaceable Deſign, had hung out a Flag of Peace, as a Symbol of it.

Soppy.

They inform'd them, that they came from the Village *Soppy*, where, very lately, had been an *Engliſh* Ship, as alſo a Pinnace of *Amſterdam*, that had lain there three Months, for a Lading of Rice; and that ſome of them wou'd Conduct them, the next Day, into the Road of *Soppy*.

The 19th, they Sail'd into the Bay, and Anchor'd at 10 Fathom, ſandy ground, about a Cannon-ſhot from the ſhore: They Barter'd here for Sagow, Hens, Tortoiſe and Rice.

Sept. 17. with a good gale, they directed their Courſe to *Ternate*, ſpying a good Sail making thither too, which, afterwards, they underſtood to be the *Morning-Star* of *Rotterdam*, a Ship of 300 Tun, and 26 Guns. Their Shallop had lain in the Creek of *Sabou*, with that Ship, three Nights, and from thence brought then an Account, That there were 10 *Dutch* Ships, very well furniſh'd, at the *Manillas*, that waited there for an opportunity to Attack the *Spaniſh* Fleet coming to *Ternate*: That *Peter Bot*, in his return homewards, with 4 Ships, was wreck'd upon *Mauricius-Iſland*, one Ship of the 4 only eſcaping the fury of the Storm.

October 28. they paſs'd by *Jacatra*, and Anchor'd without the Iſland: Here they found three *Engliſh* Ships, and three of *Holland*.

The next Night, Death (which had forborn them all this long and tedious Voyage, which neither by the Miniſtry of the devouring Waves, by infectious Diſeaſes, by the Darts of *Indians*, nor the far more cruel ſtroke of Famine, had as yet made any fatal Impreſſion upon them) now came and Viſited their Ship, and Summon'd one of the Company to begin a Voyage for the other World. 'Tis true, indeed, that two others had died out of the other Ship, the *Horne*, loſt long before, but the *Unity* ſtill kept its Company intire to this time, and now had it leſſen'd but by the number of its Name; which was very ſtrange, for Men who had Death ever before them, in ſo many Forms and Shapes, and cou'd not live (in their way of Life) out of continual danger of a ſurprize. But their own Country-men, it ſeems, were more ſevere in their treatment of them, than this the moſt formidable Enemy of Mankind: Death had Arreſted but one of the whole Company, and this to a poor Weather-beaten Traveller, fatigu'd with a long and toilſome Voyage, might poſſibly be a great kindneſs, but for Men to be ſtripp'd at once of all the Fruit of ſo many coſtly Labours, to ſail round the Globe for a ſmall parcel of Goods, to ſcape Rocks and Winds, and boiſterous Seas; and after all be ſwallow'd up by their own Country-men: This was worſe than Shipwreck; and to be thus diſappointed, a more horrible Puniſhment than dying. Yet this was the Fate of our worthy Diſcoverers: For Ship and Goods were all ſeiz'd, by Order from the Preſident of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who came from *Bantam* to *Jacatra*, while they were there. Their Complaints ſignified nothing, and 'twas in vain to alledge the Injuſtice or Diſhoneſty of the Fact; but they were told, if they found themſelves griev'd, they might go to *Holland* and ſeek their Satiſfaction there.

The baſe Uſage of the worthy Diſcoverers, by their own Countrymen.

'Twas obſervable here, that the Diſcoverers were a Day behind the other *Dutch*, in their Reckoning of the Days of the Weeks, ſo that when the latter counted *Tueſday* the Second of *November*, the former reckon'd *Monday* the firſt of *November*. And the Reaſon was, becauſe the Diſcoverers ſailing Weſtward from their own Country, and conſequently following the Sun while they ſurrounded the Globe, they had one Night, or Sun-ſetting, the leſs, for that Reaſon: As contrarily thoſe that ſhou'd ſail Eaſtward, ſhou'd thereby gain a Day more: The Space of Time being the ſame on both ſides, but the Computation of Day and Night different, on the ſcore of the one's going againſt, and the other with the Sun.

Having now loſt their Ship, they diſpos'd of themſelves divers ways; ſome entring into the Service of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and the reſt preparing for a Return to *Holland*, with two Ships that were going thither, *viz.* the *Amſterdam*, and the *Zeland*, under the Command of Admiral *Van Spilbergen*.

They ſet Sail from *Bantam* the Fourteenth of *December*; and the Thirty firſt their principal Merchant, *Jacob le Maire*, died.

January the firſt they loſt ſight of the *Zeland*.

The Twenty fourth they Anchor'd under the Iſland *Mauricius*, and refreſh'd there for ſix Days.

A. D. 1617.

March the Sixth they paſs'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, as they gueſs'd, but ſaw it not.

The Thirty firſt they were under the Iſland of St. *Helena*, and there found the *Zeland* at their Arrival.

The Sixth of *April*, having ſupplied their Ships with freſh Water, they ſet ſail together.

The Twenty fourth, they paſs'd the Equinoctial the third time.

And the Twenty eighth ſaw the North Star, which they had not ſeen in twenty Months before.

July the firſt, the *Amſterdam* came into *Zeland*, whither the Ship of that Name had come the Day before.

And thus they perform'd their Voyage in two Years, and eighteen Days; having made a Noble Diſcovery, and loſt their Ship and Goods for their Pains.

Navigations, and Voyages,
OF
ENGLISH-MEN,
ALONG THE
Coaſts of Africa, to the *Cape of Good Hope*;
And from Thence to
The RED SEA, the ABASSINE, ARABIAN, PERSIAN, INDIAN Shores, Continents, and Iſlands.

The Second Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Engliſh *Voyages to the* Eaſt-Indies, *before the Eſtabliſhment of the* Eaſt-Indian *Society. Of* Sighelmus, Mandevile, Stephens, Fitz, *and other* Engliſh-mens Indian *Voyages and Journeys.*

WE have ſeen the Ships of the moſt Celebrated Nations of *Europe*, piercing into the remoteſt Seas, and traverſing the unknown Parts of the Globe. We have followed the *Spaniſh*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch* Circum-Navigators, through all the Parts and Steps of their ſeveral Voyages, and at laſt ſeen them put ſafely into their own Ports.

The Brave *Maglianes*, the Renowned *Drake* and *Candiſh*, *Van Noort*, *Spilbergen*, and *Schouten*, have drawn the Lines of a Complete Navigation before us, and mark'd out our way through the Northern and Southern Hemiſpheres.

But leaving them with thoſe ſeveral Characters of Glory, which their Diſcoveries have deſervedly fix'd upon them; we are now to enquire into the Performances of others: Which tho' they don't reach the Fame of thoſe firſt Diſcoveries, have yet been of as conſiderable Advantage to their reſpective Countries, as the others to the World in general. Thoſe that have open'd the rich Mines of *Guinea*, that have brought the Spices of the *Indies*, and the Jewels too, with the coſtly Drugs of the Happy *Arabia*, to their own Country; have made themſelves worthy to be taken Notice of, tho' they have not found out any new Iſlands, nor ſurvey'd the mighty Globe from one Pole to the other. And what other Nations have attempted of this kind (and how their Diligence has been rewarded) their own Hiſtories muſt teſtifie to their Praiſe; but we have now the Performances of the *Engliſh* Nation, peculiarly lying before us; which how profitable and ſucceſsful they have been, the following Book will in ſome meaſure diſcover.

'Tis true, that ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the *Eaſt-Indian* Company, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the *Eaſtern* World has been more curiouſly ſearch'd, and the Advantage of a Correſpondence with it more effectually proved by Experience: But that Society did not make the firſt *Engliſh* Travellers, nor introduce our firſt Converſe with Foreign Parts.

Sighelmus (a) Biſhop of *Shireburn*, in King *Alfred*'s time, was ſent by that devout Prince, into the *Eaſt-Indies*, to viſit the Sepulchre of St. *Thomas*, by whoſe means the *Engliſh* Nation had an early View of the Riches of thoſe Countries, in the Spices and Jewels which the Father brought back with him.

Sighelmus's Travels to India.
A. D. 883.
(a) *Wil. Malm. de Geſtis Reg. Anglic.*

And after that, another (b) of our Nation, travelled almoſt over all the *Eaſtern* World, bearing the *Tartars* Company, in their many famous Expeditions. There's no need of mentioning Sir *John Mandevil*, and his many Years Travels through the *Eaſt*, ſince they are extant, written by himſelf, and the famous Geographer *Ortelius*.

(b) *Math. Par.*
A. D. 1243.
Mandevil.

And in thoſe times, while the Holy War was maintain'd againſt the *Saracens* and *Turks* (in which we know the *Engliſh* had a leading part), there's no doubt but ſeveral of them being drawn thither, did viſit other parts of the *Eaſt* beſides. But even in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, before the forming of that Society, there were ſeveral *Engliſhmen* that perform'd very conſiderable Voyages.

Firſt we have that of *Thomas Stevens*, from *Lisbon* to *Goa*, by the Cape of *Good Hope*: Written by himſelf at *Goa*, and dated *Nov.* 10. 1579.

Stevens.

Then the Voyage of (c) *Ralph Fitz*, through *Syria* and *Babylonia*, to *Ormus*; and ſo to ſeveral other parts of the *Eaſt*. This was begun *A. D.* 1583. and continued to 1591.

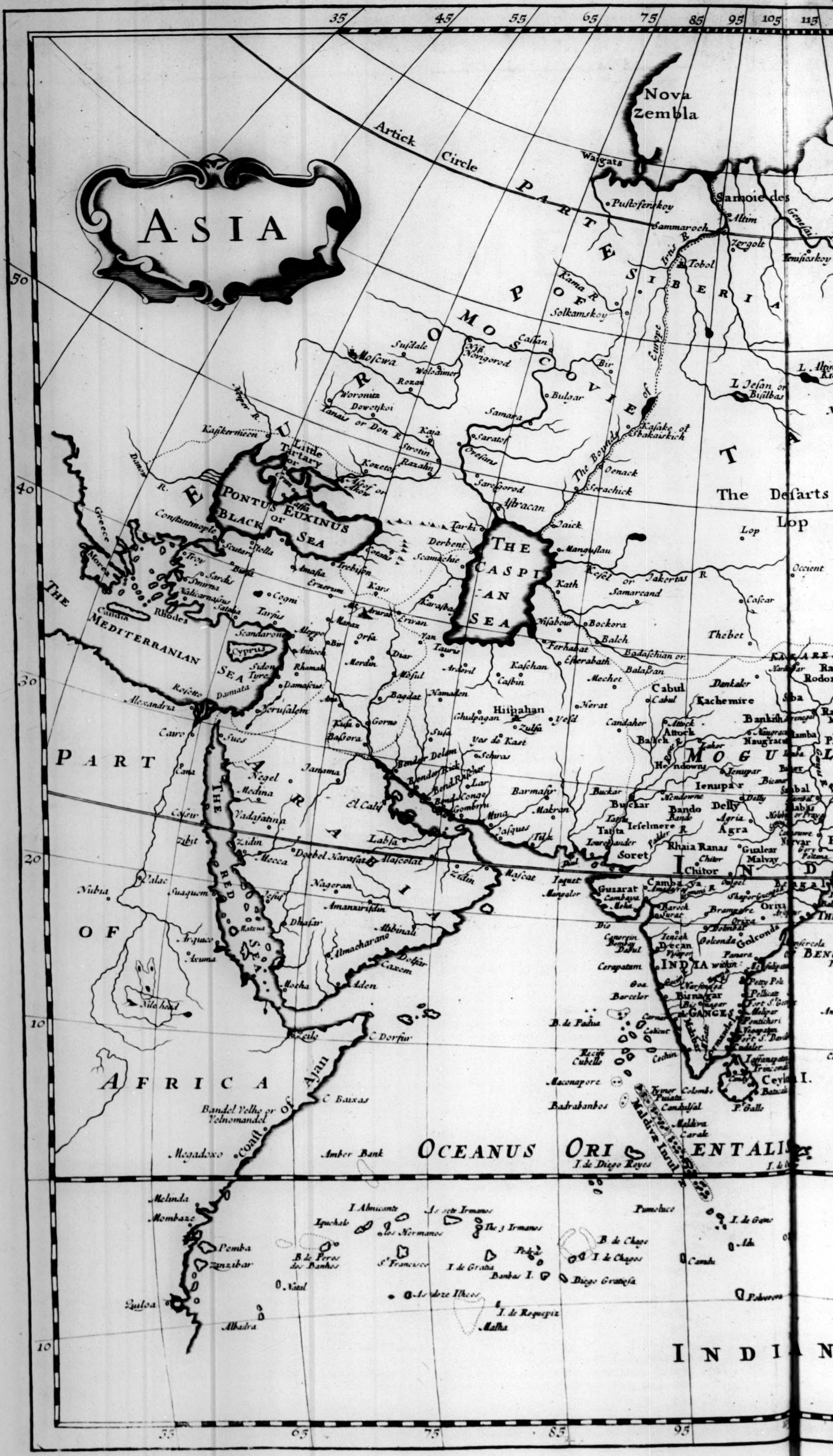
Fitz.

Alſo the Voyage of *George Raymond*, and *James Lancaſter*, to divers parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*, with Three Ships, the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*: Of which the ſecond was ſent back from *Soldanha*, near the Cape of *Good Hope*. And the other two were afterwards parted by a Storm, near Cape *Corientes*: So that the *Bonaventure* alone finiſh'd the Voyage.

A. D. 1591.
George Raymond.
James Lancaſter.

In the next place we may reckon thoſe *Engliſh-men* that accompanied the *Dutch*, in ſeveral of their Circum-Navigations; as *Timothy Shotten*, *Thomas Spring*, *John Caldwel*, with ſeveral others. And 'tis obſervable, that the *Engliſh* by frequent Viſits, had made themſelves ſo well known, and had procur'd ſo much Eſteem in thoſe *Ea-ſtern*

Engliſh-men in Dutch Voyages.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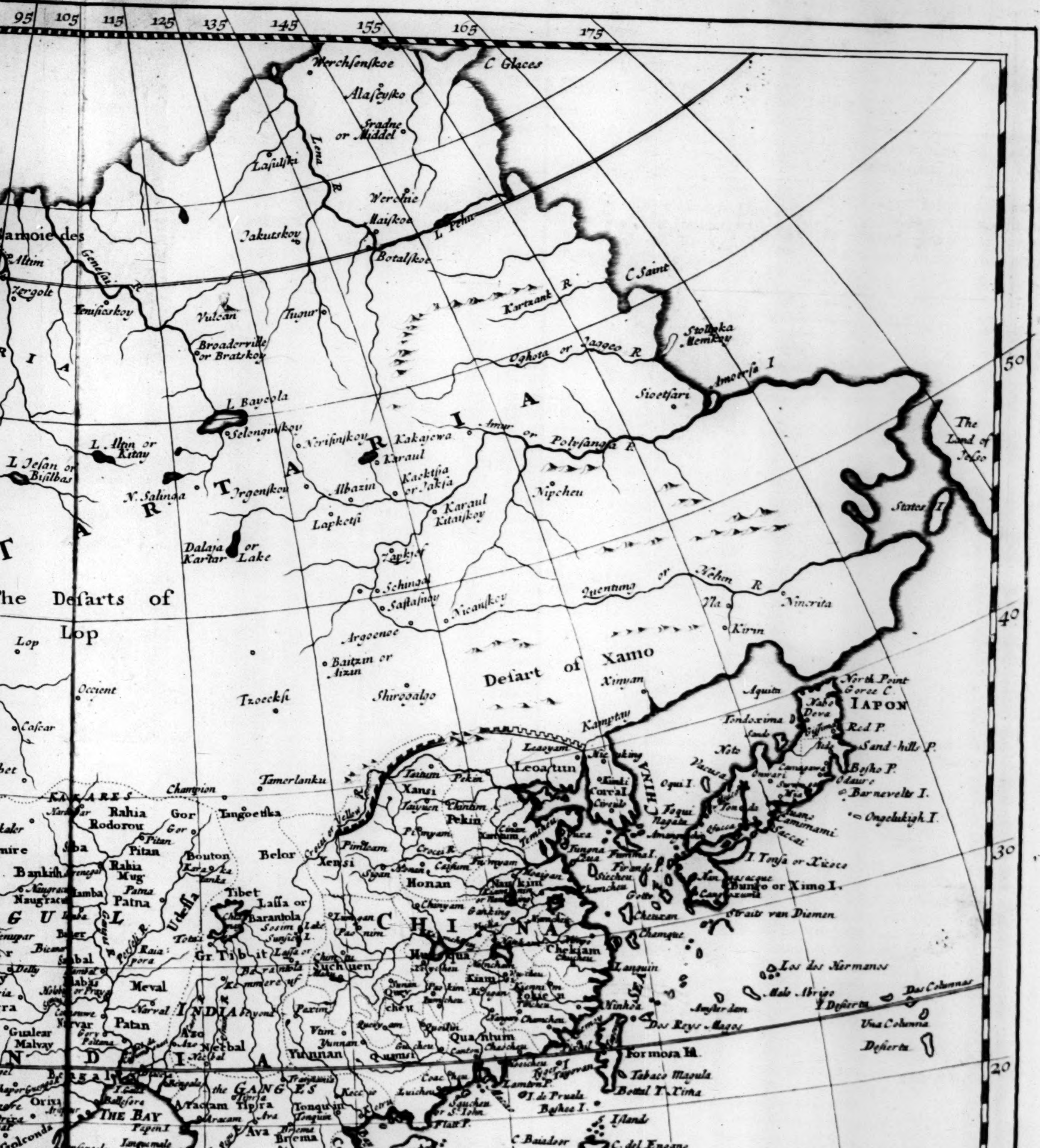
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ſtern Parts; that the *Dutch*, in their firſt coming thither, thought fit to aſſume the Name of *Engliſh-men*: And ſo began to Trade upon the Stock of the *Engliſh* Fame and Reputation.

Beſides, we have *John Newberry*, another *Engliſh-man*, that beſides his Voyage with *Fitz* to *Goa*, had before that travell'd to *Ormus*; and then by Land through *Perſia*, *A. D.* 1580. *Media*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Natolia*, to *Conſtantinople*; and thence by the Banks of the *Euxine* croſs the *Danube*, and ſo through *Walachia*, *Polonia*, *Pruſſia*, and *Denmark*, into *England*.

Next to theſe, we are to look upon ſome others of a more Modern Date ſtill; which, tho' they follow'd in the ſame Generous Attempts, yet wanted (ſome of them at leaſt) the Succeſs and Good Fortune of thoſe that went before them.

CHAP. II.

The Unhappy Voyage of Mr. Benj. Wood, *into the* Eaſt-Indies.

A. D. 1596.

A Fleet of three Ships, equipp'd principally at the Charges of Sir *Robert Dudly*, was put under the Command of Mr. *Benjamin Wood*. The Ships were the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and the *Benjamin*: And the Merchants employ'd in this Voyage, were Mr. *Richard Allot*, and Mr. *Thomas Bromfield*, of the City of *London*. Theſe Perſons intending to pierce into the remoteſt Parts of the *Eaſt*, and ſo viſit *China* before they came home, obtain'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s gracious Letters to the Great King of that Country, on their behalf. The Letter began in this manner: *Elizabetha Dei*, &c. ——But yet Her Majeſty's Recommendations cou'd not protect them from Dangers and Diſaſters abroad, nor make the Winds and Waves favourable to them; ſince not only the whole Fleet was miſerably loſt, but the particular Relation of thoſe Tragical Adventures miſcarried too. But yet ſome Light into this Buſineſs was afforded, by a Letter happily intercepted in its paſſage from the *Weſt-Indies*, written by *Licentiale Alcaſar de Villa Senor*, Auditor of the Royal Court of St. *Domingo*, Judge of Commiſſion in *Puerto Rico*, and Captain-General of *New Andaluſia*.

Letter writ to the King of *China*, by Q. *Elizabeth*.

This Letter was directed to the King, and the Royal Council of the *Indies*; an Account of which, as much as relates to the preſent Buſineſs, is here ſubjoyn'd: Tho' the thing is ſo imperfect, and the main Buſineſs of the *Engliſh* Fleet ſo obſcurely touch'd, that 'tis not eaſie to pick any thing ſatisfactory out of it. In ſhort, the Sum of the Story this *Spaniard* tells his Maſter, is this:

Account of a *Spaniſh* Letter about the *Engliſh* Ships.

That the three Engliſh *Ships before-mention'd, met with three* Portugueze, (then the King of *Spain*'s Subjects) *one of which Veſſels came from* Goa; *and had, amongſt other Rarities, a very fair Jewel, particularly deſign'd for that Prince, together with a vaſt deal of Money, and very valuable Goods.* All this Prey fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*: The *Spaniards* ſay, *They robb'd the Ships*; and calls them *Thieves* for't: But he might have been more Civil in his Expreſſions: For *England* and *Spain* were then at War; and the Robbery was no more, than what all Nations in the World do allow and practice at ſuch times as that. After this, the *Engliſh* Fleet was ſo peſter'd with Sickneſs, that (as he relates) they all died to four; which ſmall number of Survivors, put themſelves, with all their valuable Plunder, into a Boat, and ſo came to the Iſle of *Utias*, three Leagues from *Porto Rico*, from whence the Letter was dated.

But what became of the three Ships, or how theſe Men bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, came to wander to that Iſland in the *Weſt-Indies*, is left wholly in the dark; the beſt way is to make a Miracle on't, and ſay, That they were brought in there to be puniſh'd for the Sin of Robbing the Catholick Ships.

When they were come to *Utias*, they brought all their Goods aſhoar; but liv'd, it ſeems, in very ill Circumſtances there, and hardly knew how, or which way to diſpoſe of themſelves.

Going from thence to *Porto Rico*, for a Supply of Water, they left one of the Company behind them at that place; whether by chance, or out of Deſign, is uncertain; but however, he took it ſo ill, that his Fellows had abandon'd him, that he diſcover'd the whole Buſineſs to a certain Gang of *Spaniards*; and told them where they might find the three *Engliſh-men*, and all the King's Treaſure, upon the Iſle of *Utias*.

Theſe Loyal *Spaniards* reſolv'd not to loſe this opportunity of cheating their King, went directly thither, and having with falſe Pretences of Friendſhip, trepann'd the *Engliſh-men* into a Parley with them, they perſwaded them to reſign themſelves, with all their Booty, into their hands, which they took poſſeſſion of; and ſo dividing the Money amongſt them, they left the Jewels, the Gold, and the Plate, in a ſure Repoſitory under ground. But yet taking care to leave out ſome little matter of Silver Bars, and other Goods, to give a colour to their own Story; they firſt of all ſet upon the three *Engliſh*, contrary to their Promiſe given, murder'd two of them; but the third happily ſcap'd their hands: And to make all the ſurer, poyſon'd the fourth, that had given them the firſt Information, when they came back to *Porto Rico*.

Being come thither, they gave the Governour an Account of their Adventure at *Utias*; that is, as much of it as was for their purpoſe to diſcover. They ſwore they had found no more Treaſure than what they then came to tell of: And that they were forc'd to kill three *Engliſh-men* in fight, before they cou'd come to be Maſters of that.

They laid their Plot as deep, and manag'd it as cunningly as was poſſible: It wanted no help of Lying and Perjury; no Aſſiſtance from Subornation, Cheat, and Forgery, but what it had in abundance; never any Plot had a better Title to the Devil's Protection, for the bigneſs of it, than this; becauſe he never had more Concern in any. But all wou'd not do; and the ſurviving *Engliſh-man* was the means of their Ruine. He made a ſhift to ſwim a-ſtride a Timber-log, from *Utias* to *Porto Rico*, and there diſcover'd at large the Vertues of thoſe good Catholicks, who had murder'd his Companions, robb'd their King, put a trick upon the Government, forſwore themſelves ſo luſtily as they had done; and after all, had Braſs enough to ſtare the Evidence in the Face, and deny all. At leaſt they denied the moſt material Particulars of the Fact; and as they began with Lying and Perjury, ſo they went through-ſtitch with their Buſineſs, Lying and Swearing on to the end of the Chapter.

The Governour laid them in Irons, till all the Proofs that cou'd be pick'd up, were brought in againſt them; and ſome of them not thinking fit to lie there in Priſon till that time came, broke Jail, and left the Governour, to look his Priſoners where he cou'd: But whether the Villains fell into the Hands of Juſtice, and were hang'd afterwards or no, is not worth ones while to enquire. However, this paſſage is ſufficient to aſſure us, that the Queen's Letter to the King of *China* did miſcarry; and this firſt Fleet ſet out for the *Eaſt-Indies*, did not reach their deſired Port.

This Letter was dated from Porto Rico,
October 1. *A. D.* 1601.

Chap. III.

The Travels of Mr. John Mildenhall *into the* Indies, Perſia, *and the* Mogul'*s Country. Written by himſelf, in Two Letters, the valuable Remarks of which are here inſerted.*

Begun in *May, A. D.* 1600.

AFter the firſt of theſe Letters, the Reader cannot be long entertain'd here, ſince the Writer has not furniſh'd Materials for it. He only gives us in a very few Lines, a Scheme of his Journey from *Conſtantinople*, to *Candahor*. And ſince he either neglected making due Obſervations by the way, or at leaſt met with nothing that he thought worth his Obſervation, the Reader muſt be contented; neither is there any Courſe to find out the Cauſe of this defect, but by taking a Journey after him, and going his Road between *Conſtantinople* and *Candahor*, to ſee whether it affords any thing that deſerves Notice or no. He only gives us an Account of the great Lake of *Van* (a very ſtrong City in *Armenia*), which he ſays he himſelf has curiouſly ſurvey'd, and rowed all round about. The Lake is all Salt Water, ſo deep that 'tis Navigable, and nine Days Journey in its Circumference. Once a Year at the Deſcent of the Snow-water from the Mountains, one particular end of the Lake ſwarms with Fiſh; they regularly obſerve that Seaſon, and (as it ſhou'd ſeem, that place too) and then the Country People come down in great numbers from all the adjoyning places, to follow this Sport of Fiſhing, which turns to very good Account. Theſe Fiſh are about the bigneſs of a Pilchard; and being ſalted and dried, are kept all the Year round for a conſtant Proviſion. From this Lake of *Van*, in *Armenia*, Mr. *Mildenhal* is ſo ſuddenly ſlipp'd away to *Candahar* in *India*, doing no more than juſt telling the Miles upon the Road, that it appears to no purpoſe to follow him any further, but rather to find him out in ſome other place, where he may have ſomething more material to tell us.

Lake of *Van*.

Contents of the Second Letter. Dated from Caſbin, *in* Perſia, *Octob.* 3. *A. D.* 1606.

MR. *Mildenhall*, when he writ this Letter, was (as he ſeems to intimate) upon his Return for *England*; he had been at the Court of the Great *Mogul*, and was in his way homewards as far as *Caſbin* in *Perſia*; when he gave the World this Account of his Proceedings. The Letter is the more valuable, becauſe we have here the Relation of a very early Viſit made to the Great *Mogul*, and the Original, as it were, of our Correſpondence with that Country.

A. D. 1603.

He tells us, That being arriv'd at *Lahor*, he ſent a Diſpatch to the Court at *Agra*, to give Notice of his being there; as alſo, to deſire leave to come and treat with that Prince, about the Buſineſs that brought him into *India*.

Mr. *Mildenhall* goes to *Agra*.

His Letters were quickly anſwer'd, and Orders ſent to the Governour of *Lahor*, to provide him with a good Guard, and all other Neceſſaries, for his Journey to *Agra*. Within two or three Days after his coming thither, he had Audience of the Great *Mogul*: But this was no more than the making his firſt Complement, and delivering * a Preſent; a very neceſſary thing, in order to the ſucceſsful Management of Buſineſs in thoſe *Eaſtern* Courts. All that he pretends to, is the *Mogul*'s kind Acceptance of his Preſent, and the good Humour he expreſs'd upon that occaſion.

* The Preſent conſiſted of a parcel of fine Horſes, and ſome Jewels.

But he was quickly ſent for, to give an Account of his Buſineſs and Deſign in coming thither, to the King and his Council: Which having done in all the ſeveral Particulars of it, relating to Trade and Commerce; according to his Orders, he inſiſted upon the Grand Point between the *Portugueze* and us. He urged, That Her Majeſty of *England* having then Wars with the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze*, deſired leave for her Subjects to treat them as Enemies in his Ports, as well as other where; that they might ſeize their Ships, and do all other things, in purſuance of a juſt War, without giving him any Offence.

All this was heard, and committed to writing, and an Anſwer promis'd in a ſhort time. But the Great *Mogul*, inſtead of conſulting with his Council, fell to asking the Jeſuite's Advice, about an Anſwer to Mr. *Mildenhall*'s Propoſals. This was undoing the Buſineſs to all intents and purpoſes; and it had been as good for the *Engliſh* to have had the King of *Spain* himſelf conſulted in the Caſe.

The Jeſuites Malice and Calumnies.

The Jeſuites, without ſcruple, told him, That the *Engliſh* were a People of a very bad Character, in the Weſtern World; that wiſh'd no Good to any Princes, whoſe Friendſhip and Correſpondence they courted: But in all Attempts of that Nature, ſtudied only their own Intereſt and Advantage; which they wou'd not ſtick to purſue by any Methods, howſoever prejudicial to the Countries where they came. Beſides, that this *Engliſh-man* now crept into his Court, was but a Spy upon him, ſent thither by his deſigning Country-men, to wheedle and inſinuate himſelf into His Majeſty's Favour, by that means to open ſome Door for them to enter into the Country by; which if they once did, he wou'd be put to a great deal of trouble before he wou'd be able to get rid of them again.

These Stories did the Buſineſs effectually; and the Jeſuites telling them with an Air of Serioufneſs, and a ſeeming Concern, that they were forc'd to make ſuch ill Reports of a Chriſtian Nation; it turn'd the *Mogul* quite out of the Road of kind Thoughts and Deſigns towards them, and produced this flat Reſolve, *The Engliſh Demands ſhall not be granted.* Yet all was carried very fair to Mr. *Mildenhall*; and tho' Matters were thus poſitively concluded againſt him, he had no Notice of it, but by the private Hints of his Friends at Court.

The *Mogul* ſour'd by the Jeſuites.

Sometime after this, the Caſe being call'd over again (and the Jeſuites, 'tis probable, not in the way to countermine thoſe favourable proceedings), the King order'd ſome Articles to be drawn up, and ſent to Mr. *Mildenhall*; which whatſoever Points of Privilege they contain'd (for he does not diſtinctly tell us) yet offered nothing as to the Main Concern about the *Portugueze*.

This Grand Omiſſion made him another Walk to Court, to demand the inſerting of thoſe other Articles too; the Subject Matter of which was equally a part of his Commiſſion with thoſe relating to Trade.

In Anſwer to this, he had good Words, and fair Promiſes: But the Council was to be conſulted again, before the Matter cou'd be abſolutely determined. In ſhort, the Council was ſo tedious and ſlow in coming to a Reſolve, that a vaſt deal of precious time was conſum'd in attending them: The Buſineſs was continually adjourn'd, and put off from one Seaſon to another; and ſo 'twas like to run on without ever coming to an iſſue. Yet in this Interval did the *Mogul* ſend once or twice for Mr. *Mildenhall*, and in a friendly manner, chide him, for not coming oftner to Court; telling him at the ſame time, that his Buſineſs ſhould at laſt be done to his Content.

Grants ſome, but not all.

The Favours that he had receiv'd all this time from this Prince, were but the common Preſent of Apparel, and about 500 *l.* ſent him in dry Money; which Sum wou'd go but a little way, in carrying a Man through the Expences of ſuch an Employment. Well, he had now once more a Proſpect of Succeſs; but ſtill it prov'd but a Proſpect: He liv'd ſix Months longer in the Faith of this Promiſe; but then his Vertue was Jaded, and wou'd carry him no further. Beſides, the Jeſuites had ſo circumvented him on every hand with their Policies, that he was not able to make one ſtep towards his Deliverance. They had fill'd the Hands of the Court-Officers with *Portugal*-Money, to that degree, that there was no room for *Engliſh* Coin, when he came to try that Method; but the worſt of all was, they brib'd his Interpreter, ſo charmingly too, that when the Buſineſs requir'd his Aſſiſtance, the Rogue fell out with him, and run away. Here was a Man left in a ſweet Caſe! His Buſineſs urgent upon him, his Adverſaries caballing and prating about his Ears, and himſelf ignorant of the Language he was to anſwer them in. This was almoſt as bad as cutting his Tongue out, or ſewing

The Jeſuites out-bribe him.

up his Mouth; nay, 'tis the ſame thing in this Caſe: For a Man without an Interpreter, can do no more than he that's gagg'd, or has loſt his Tongue.

Mr. *Mildenkall* had now but one way left to retrieve himſelf, and his declining Affair; and that was, to ſtudy the *Perſian* Tongue himſelf, under the Direction of ſome good Maſter, which he did very hard; and in ſix Months got ſo much Skill in it, as to be able to ſpeak it with a good meaſure of fluency. Now he ſtood in need of no other aſſiſtance, and the Jeſuites cou'd not prevent his ſpeaking, without they robb'd him of this Interpreter that he carried always about with him.

Thus furniſh'd with *Perſian* therefore, and able to ſpeak his own Mind, away he went to Court, and in as gentle Terms as he durſt, reproach'd the Great *Mogul* with his unkind Credulity, in believing the ſlanderous Reports of the Jeſuites; deſiring to ſtay no longer in the Country, than till he had given back the Lye to the Teeth of thoſe Men, in the Preſence of His Majeſty, and all the Court. So a Day of Audience was appointed; and there was a vaſt Aſſembly of Nobles, to hear this Controverſie managed between the *Engliſh-man* and the Jeſuites. In ſhort, Mr. *Mildenhall* made it appear, That the Jeſuites had abus'd the *Engliſh* Nation, in the Character they had given of it; in that they were not ſo baſe and deſpicable as they had repreſented them; nor ſo injurious to thoſe Princes and Countries where they were ſettled: And all this, by ſhewing the Correſpondencies the *Engliſh* kept abroad, and what conſiderable Princes both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, were fond of their Friendſhip, and ready to Court it. He added farther, That he wou'd eaſily prove the Jeſuites, (for all their Flatteries) to be no Friends to His Majeſty; as indeed to no other Princes, being Men of ſuch Principles, as no Government cou'd be eaſie with, that knew them perfectly well. And becauſe they ſeem'd to be ſo mighty careful of His Majeſty's Profit, he ask'd them publickly, What they had done, or procur'd that way? And how many Preſents had been made to the King, by them, or their Friends, in all the twelve Year that they had followed the Court? The Fathers cou'd make no Anſwer to this unhappy pinching Queſtion: But however the young Prince ſtep'd out, and anſwer'd for them at this dead lift, telling all the Company; It was moſt true, they had been a very barren Soil to His Majeſty, and had never yielded him in all this eleven or twelve Year, the leaſt Fruit, upon any Account whatſoever. The Jeſuites knew 'twas all Matter of Fact, and ſo held their Tongues, without ever offering to uſe them in their own defence; but all the Aſſembly was diverted with the ſport on't, and the King had now ſome profit by them in his Mirth.

A Day of Hearing fix'd.

Obtains his end at laſt in the King's Complete Grant.

To conclude, the King after ſome farther Conference, was ſo well pleas'd and ſatisfied, that he gave peremptory Orders for the immediate Diſpatch of Mr. *Mildenhall's* Affair, commanding the ſeveral Articles of Privileges he inſiſted upon, to be drawn up with all the Particularity and Exactneſs that cou'd be, and deliver'd to him without farther delay.

Having receiv'd theſe Writings (as he did in a few Weeks after), and now compleated his Victory over the Jeſuites, he went away for *Perſia*, and there writ his Succeſſes.

CHAP. IV.

The Voyage of Captain John Davis, *to the* Eaſt-Indies: *Pilot in a* Dutch *Ship. Written by Himſelf.*

A.D. 1598.

MArch the Fifteenth, we ſet out of *Fluſhing* with two Ships, the *Lion*, and the *Lioneſs*; the former of 400 Tun, and 123 Perſons aboard her, the latter of 250 Tun, and about 100 Perſons. The Owners and Adventurers were *Muſhrom*, *Clark*, and *Moneſ*, of *Midleburgh*: And our chief Commander was *Cornelius Houteman*, who had a Commiſſion from Grave *Maurice*.

The Twenty ſecond we anchor'd in *Torbay*, with very rough Winds.

April the Seventh we ſet ſail; and the Twentieth we had ſight of *Porto Santo*.

A. D. 1599.

The Twenty third we fell in with Iſland *Palma*; and the laſt we came to the Iſles of Cape *Verd*.

May the Firſt, we anchor'd at St. *Nicholas*, one of thoſe Iſlands, in 16 Degr. 16 Min. N. L. We water'd here the Seventh; and ſetting ſail the Ninth, we fell in with St. *Jago*.

June the Ninth, we fell in with the Coaſt of *Braſil*, in 7 Degr. South Lat. And not being able for the unſteady Winds, and bad Weather, to compaſs the doubling of Cape St. *Auguſtine*, we ſhap'd our Courſe for the little Iſland *Fernando Loranba* (a), in 4 Degr. South Lat.

(a) Iſle Fernando Loranba

The Fifteenth we anchor'd upon the North-ſide of it, in 18 Fathom.

This Iſland is very fruitful, and exceedingly well ſerved with all Conveniences for Life: Here is good Water, Beefs, Goats, Hogs, Hens, Melons, *Guiney*-Corn, plenty of Sea-Fowl and Fiſh. There's no ſcarcity of any thing but Inhabitants, who are wanting to taſte the Bleſſings and Pleaſures of the place, and to ſit down at the well-furniſh'd Table, which Nature has here ſpread. There were but twelve Negroes, eight Men, and four Women, to be found here; and theſe the *Portugueze* left to Till the Ground, and to do neceſſary Country Buſineſs.

Auguſt the Twenty ſixth, we left this Iſland; and the laſt of the Month we doubled Cape St. *Auguſtine* (b).

September the Firſt, we paſt our moſt apprehended Danger, the Sands *Abrolhes*: Theſe lie off from the Coaſt of *Braſile*, a good way into the Sea, and are in * 21 Degr. South Lat.

(b) Cape St. *Auguſtine*.

Abrolhes Sands.

* Between 18 & 20 Degr by ſome Maps.

November the Eleventh, we anchor'd in the Bay (c) of *Soldania*, in 34 Degr. South. Lat. and 10 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*; and here we found three good Rivers. We traded with the Natives at very cheap and eaſie Rates, having fat Sheep and Oxen for old Nails and pieces of Iron, a Penny-worth of which Metal, would purchaſe the braveſt Ox in the Country. Theſe Animals have ſome Peculiarities in their make in this Country: The Oxen have a great Lump of Fleſh, (like the Bunch upon a Camel's Back) between the Shoulders; and the Sheep have no Wool, but long ſhaggy Hair, and mighty Tails (all entire Fat) which weigh twelve or fourteen Pounds. The Natives are of a dark Olive Complexion, their Hair black and curl'd, like the Negroes of *Angola*, their Faces painted with ſeveral Colours, and all naked, except a ſhort Cloke of Skins, and Sandals upon their Feet.

(c) *Soldania* Bay.

They are a ſtrong active People, and very ſwift Runners. Their way of ſpeaking is rude and ſtrange, and hardly Human: You hear nothing but a parcel of ungrateful inarticulate Sounds; and if one can compare it to any thing, it is like the Clocking of a Brooding Hen. Such as they are, they are Subjects to the Great King of *Monomotapa*; and ſeem to be as much unfurniſh'd of the Helps of Art for Soldiers, as they are ill made by Nature for Orators, having no Weapons at all but Wooden Darts, which notwithſtanding they can manage to ſome miſchievous purpoſes.

Some Accounts of the People of the Bay.

Tho' they are ſo very rude and brutiſh a People as they are, yet they are ſubtle enough to underſtand an Affront, and to lay a Plot to Revenge it, and conceal their Revenge too in a very deceitful manner, till they have a fit time to execute it.

One of the *Dutch* having ſome way diſguſted them, they abſented themſelves from us for three Days, and in the mean time gave the Alarm to the Country, by great Fires made upon the Mountains. The Plot being ripe for Execution, down they came in vaſt Multitudes from the Hills; and that we might not ſuſpect any ill Deſign, they brought huge Troops of Cattel along with them. Matters appearing thus with a Face of Trade, and not of War, and we buſie in viewing our Bargains of Cattel; they made a ſudden and furious Aſſault upon us, and threw in their Hand-darts ſo thick, that thirteen of our Company was loſt in a trice, and the reſt began to run away in great diſorder, the Barbarians purſuing them at the Heels. In this Hurry, our Captain, (who did not think fit to venture himſelf in the Skirmiſh) ſent us a parcel of Weapons from the Ships; Swords, Targets, Pikes, and Muskets: But not being able to ſend Courage along with them too, theſe Arms in the Hands of Cowards did

Their Revenge.

little good, and the Burden of the Action lay moſt upon one *Engliſh-man* more, and my ſelf. But at laſt the Rabble retired, and we went all aboard that Night; only our Maſtiff-Dog would not go along with us any more; as if the Generous Creature deſpis'd us, and was aſham'd of ſuch Cowardly Company.

The Country hereabouts has a good Soil, and a pleaſant Air; it abounds with uſeful Plants, as Mint, Calamint, Plantane, Ribwort, Trefoil, Scabious, &c.

The Twenty ſeventh, we ſet Sail, and the laſt of this Month we doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*.

(*d*) Cape *das Aguilos*, where the Compaſs varies not.

December the Sixth, we doubled the Cape *das Aguilos* (*d*), which is the moſt Southern Promontory of *Africk*. It lies in 35 Degr. South Lat. and here the Compaſs has no Variation.

Madagaſcar.

January the Sixth, we fell in with the Iſle *Madagaſcar*, ſhort of Cape *Remano*: We ſpent all the reſt of this Month in attempts to double that Cape; but not being able to do it, we bore room with the Bay St *Auguſtine* (*e*), on the South Weſt part of *Madagaſcar*, in 23 Degr. 50 Min.

(*e*) Bay St. *Auguſtine.*

The People of St. *Auguſt.* Bay ſhy, upon the Account of former Injuries.

February the Third, we anchor'd in the Bay, and upon our landing all the multitude of People that ſtood upon the Shore, preſently diſpers'd and fled. The occaſion of which avoiding of us, was, that our Captain in a former Voyage, had abuſed the People there, and put one of the Natives to Death in a very barbarous manner. Yet after ſeven Days waiting, and ſome means uſed to temper their Choler, ſo juſtly ſtirr'd up and enflam'd by that Outrage, they came ſome of them to us, with ſome Milk, and one Cow (which we bought), and then took their final leave of us.

Theſe People have ſtrong and well-made Bodies; their Skin is Cole-black, their Speech ſweet and pleaſing; they uſe no Clothes at all, nor any Weapons for defence; and all that they have for the offenſive part, are Half-pikes headed with Iron.

Tamarind Trees.

Chameleons.

The Country is ſufficiently fruitful, and produces great ſtore of *Tamarind*-Trees, and a ſort of Beans (that grow upon high Trees) the Pods of which are two Foot long, and proportionably big, and make a very good Food: As for Animal Rarities, the Chameleons are the moſt conſiderable; which are no Rarities here, by reaſon of their plenty. Having endured Diſtreſs here by Hunger, (the affronted Natives refuſing to come to us with any Supplies) we ſet Sail from *Hungry-Bay* (as we term'd it, with good Reaſon), ſhaping our Courſe to the North-ſide of the Iſland.

(*f*) *Comoro* Iſles.

The Twenty ninth of *March*, we came up with the Iſlands *Comoro* (*f*), which are five in number, *Magetta*, *Auſame*, *Maglieglie*, St. *Chriſtopher's*, and *Spirito Santo*, and lie between twelve and thirteen Degrees, South Lat.

A. D. 1600.

The Thirtieth we anchor'd at *Magotta*, cloſe by a Town, where we met with a very ſociable and friendly People, that were glad of our coming, and brought us Proviſions. Our Captain being invited aſhoar by the King, went with three Drums beating before him, and was met by the King with a fine Retinue, all richly dreſt in long Silk Embroider'd Garments, after the Turkiſh Mode. After many Civilities paſt, His Majeſty diſmiſs'd him with a Letter of Recommendations to the Queen of *Auſuame*.

(*g*) *Auſuame.*

April the Nineteenth, we anchor'd at *Auſuame* (*g*), before the City *Demos*, the Ruines about which beſpeak it to have been formerly a place of Strength and Grandeur: The ſmall Remains of it were as big as *Plimouth*, and all the Houſes built with Lime and Free-ſtone. Her Majeſty wou'd not honour us with a ſight of her, but yet uſed us with great Friendſhip.

The People are a ſort of Negro's, but ſmooth-hair'd like *Indians*: They are *Mahometans*; and the beſt provided for War of all hereabouts, having Swords and Targets, over and above the common Weapons of the Barbarians. Theſe Iſlands are pleaſant and fruitful, yielding Rice, Oxen, Goats, Coco's, Bananas, Oranges, Limons, and Citrons. All Iron Ware wou'd be a good Commodity here; and Paper alſo, which is a thing the Natives are extreamly fond of.

(*h*) Iſles *Maſcaranhas.*

(*i*) *Maldive* Iſlands.

The Twenty eighth we ſet Sail, and paſs'd by the Iſlands *Maſcaranhas*, and the Shoals *De Almirante* (*h*).

May the Twenty third, we fell in with the (*i*) *Maldive* Iſlands; which are ſo low, cloſe by the Water, and ſo cover'd over with Coco's, that nothing but a Face of green Trees appears. Being at Anchor here, we had many *Indian* Boats paſs'd by us, but none wou'd come up to us; which mov'd our Captain to give Orders for the taking one of them.

The Twenty fourth our Ship-boats brought in one of them a Priſoner: She was cover'd all over with Mats, like a cloſe Barge, and had in her two Perſons of conſiderable Quality, as appear'd by all the Ornaments of their Dreſs, but much more by thoſe of their Noble Deportment. Theſe Iſlands are reported to be no leſs than Eleven thouſand in number. Their plenty of Coco's brings them a good Trade, ſince they make Bread, Wine, and Oyl, Ropes, Sails, and Cables, of the ſeveral parts of that Fruit.

The Twenty ſeventh we ſet Sail, and happily ſtruck into the true Channel called *Maldivia*, which lies in 4 Degrees, 15 Min. North Lat. and where the Compaſs has 17 Degrees of W. Variation. There are vaſt numbers of Ships from all parts, that go through this Channel, which is the only ſafe Sailing, it being generally fatal for a Ship to miſs it.

June the Third, we fell in with the Coaſt of *India*, in 8 Degr. 40 Min. North Lat. near about *Cochin*; and coaſting this Shoar, we ſhap'd our Courſe for Cape *Camorin*, and from thence for *Sumatra*.

Anchor at *Achen* Bay.

The Thirteenth, we ſaw the Coaſt of *Sumatra*: And the Twenty firſt we anchor'd in the Bay of *Achen*. Here we found ſome Barks of *Arabia*, and *Pegu*, that came for Pepper; and three or four *Portugueze* from *Malacca*, that came (as we found afterwards) to fruſtrate our Intentions of Trade. Our Captain (having made the King a ſmall Preſent) was ſent for to Court, and a Nobleman left as a Hoſtage to ſecure his ſafe return. His Majeſty, beſides a very Civil Entertainment, made him the Promiſe of a free Trade, and gave him, as a Mark of his particular Favour, the Cryſe of Honour. This is a ſort of Weapon like a Dagger; it has no Croſs nor Hilt, but the Haft and Handle are of a Metal valued more than Gold, and richly ſet with Rubies: 'Tis Death for any Man to wear it, but as the King beſtows it; and he that has this Favour, has an unlimited Power to command, or do almoſt what he pleaſes.

The *Sumatran* Cryſe, a Mark of Honour and Power.

At his return he brought a Boat-load of Pepper along with him, and told us very ſtrange things of his own good Fortune, and kind Reception at Court; but at the ſame time made it appear, that he had done no good Offices for us *Engliſh-men* there, being hardly able to forbear abuſing our Nation to our own Face, and therefore to be ſure did not ſpare it behind our backs. Our Merchants went aſhore with their Wares, having a Houſe prepar'd by the King's appointment.

The King of *Achen's* Enquiry after *England* and *Engliſh-men.*

Not long after, the Captain being at Court again, the King diſcover'd the treacherous Deſign of the *Portugueze* to him; but gave him a ſure Promiſe to ſtand his Friend, and never to ſuffer any thing to be done by them, or any others, to his prejudice. He enquired whether he was an *Engliſh-man* or no; and when he told him, he was of *Flanders*; he replied, 'twas a Country he had never heard of; but the Fame of *England* had reach'd thoſe Parts for ſome time before. And when he heard that there were ſome *Engliſh-men* in the Ship, (tho' to the Diſparagement of our Country, 'twas ſaid, that we had our Education in *Flanders*;) yet to the Captain's further mortification he told him, that he muſt needs ſee ſome Men of that Country. As for the Buſineſs of Trade, His Majeſty made this Agreement with us at that time, That we ſhou'd aſſiſt him in his Wars againſt the King of *Jor*; and in conſideration of that Service, ſhou'd have a full Lading of Pepper.

Mr. *Davis's* Entertainment by the K. of *Achen.*

Auguſt the Twentieth, the King expreſs'd ſome Reſentments, that none of the *Engliſh* (eſpecially the Pilot, which was my ſelf) had yet been brought to wait upon him; and reproach'd the Captain, as if he intended to march off, and quit the Service he had covenanted to perform. Upon this I was preſently ſent for aſhore; and the Twenty ſecond waited upon the King, with whom I ſtay'd four or five Hours, in all the Pleaſures that a noble Banquet, and a very free Converſation, with ſo great a Prince, cou'd give. He made the Sabandar dreſs me after the *Sumatran* Mode, with a Roll of white Linen round my Head, and a Saſh of the ſame embroider'd with Gold about my Waſte, then an under Veſt of white, and over that one of red. The greateſt part of his Diſcourſe was about *England*, and our Queen; whom he greatly admired for her Wars with the King of *Spain*; which Prince he imagin'd to be abſolute Monarch of all *Europe*.

September the Firſt, we had Orders to take in Soldiers and Ordnance, and to prepare for the Battery of the City of *Jor*: And to colour the Deſign that was going on the better, the great Galleys were brought out of the River, and the Sea all about us was cover'd with Praws and Boats, loaded with armed Men. Some of the chief came aboard us, with a good Company of Soldiers, appointed with all ſorts of Weapons; and tho' they pretended only a Carouſe with the good Liquors they had brought, yet we ſuſpecting another ſort of Entertainment, prepar'd accordingly, filling our Tops with Stones, and making faſt

all

A poyſonous Seed.

all our Gratings, and in every reſpect put our ſelves into the beſt poſture of defence we cou'd. But theſe Infidels (who with all this pretext of Friendſhip, had reſolved to cut our Throats, and that with as much eaſe as was poſſible) had, in order to effect it, mixed all the Meat and Drink they brought aboard, with a ſort of Seed of a very noxious Quality; the leaſt Effects of which are to intoxicate and ſtupifie a Man, to damp his Vital Heat and Spirits, and turn him into a heavy ſenceleſs Lump; but if taken in a large quantity, it ſo powerfully locks up all the Senſes and Spirits, and abates the Vigour of every active part, that there is no recovering Nature (in this Caſe) from the diſtreſs. And we found the fore-mention'd Effects of it, by that time we had eat and drunk a little while; for we quite loſt the due management of our ſelves, and began to ſtare and gape upon one another like ſo many Fools. And now they had brought us into the Condition they deſired; and expecting we wou'd fight as well as play like Fools, upon a Signal given they ſet upon us, kill'd the Captain, and ſeveral others, and almoſt poſſeſs'd themſelves of the whole Ship. My Countryman and I, and one more, defended the Poop, and the reſt on the tops pelting them ſoundly with Stones, by degrees we clear'd the Ship of them, no ſmall number leaving their batter'd Skulls and Brains, and mangled Carcaſes, as ſo many Monuments of our bloody Victory. After this, we drave away as faſt as we cou'd to our other Ship, in which the ſame Villany had been acted, and which we found in the hands of our Enemies ready to be carried away, all the principal Men being kill'd: But we recover'd her by the help of our great Guns, which ſo awed the Galleys, that they dared not attempt to come within Shot, for the ſecuring their new-gotten Prize. Beſides the Hundreds of ſlain *Indians*, that we had the pleaſure of ſeeing float about in the Sea, we kill'd the Sabandar, and one of the King's near Kinſmen, and ſome others of the principal Managers of the Conſpiracy. But the News of this great loſs, ſo inflamed the Tyrannical Prince, that he cut off the Heads of all our Men aſhore, eight only excepted, whom he reſerved for Slaves. Our loſs amounted to Sixty eight Men, including thoſe that were under Confinement, beſides our two Pinnaces, and a Boat.

The Treachery of the *Sumatrans*.

Products of *Sumatra*.

During the time of our ſtay at *Achen*, we had gotten 140 Tun of Pepper aboard our Ships; but upon the Rupture, all the Money and Merchandize aſhore, as well as the Men, were loſt; by which means many young Adventurers were quite ruin'd, and I my ſelf did not come off much better.

Golden Mines and Jewels.

The Soil of this Iſland *Sumatra* is very rich and fertile; it produces variety of excellent Fruits, but no ſort of Grain but Rice, of which they make their Bread. Here are Mines of Gold and Copper, precious Balms and Gums, Rubies, Sapphires, and Garnets, with many other valuable Commodities: Particularly Pepper grows here in ſuch plenty, that they are able to lade twenty Ships every Year, and might many more, if they were induſtrious. It grows like Hops, from a planted Root, which by degrees winds it ſelf up about a Pole, till it comes to a great Buſhy Tree. The Pepper hangs in Cluſters three Inches long, and one about, each Cluſter having forty, or more, Corns in it. Beſides theſe Mineral and Vegetable Productions, it affords plenty of ſerviceable Animals, as Horſes, Oxen, Goats, Hogs, Elephants, Buffles; which laſt they uſe in the Ploughing their Ground. All theſe Advantages, together with a very wholſome and temperate Air in moſt places, the ſweet Dews, and fruitful Showers, that never fail to cool and refreſh the Ground, do make the place very charming and deſirable.

City of *Achen* deſcrib'd.

Achen, the Capital City of the whole Iſland, ſtands in a Wood, and is ſo entirely cover'd with the Trees, that an Houſe is not to be ſeen, till one is juſt upon it. 'Tis a very large rambling place, and the Houſes ſtand almoſt like the Trees, without any thing of Order or Uniformity: They are rais'd upon Poſts eight or nine Foot from the Ground, and have Walls and Coverings of Mats; ſo that conſidering the Structure and Situation of the Building, a Gunpowder Plot, effectually executed, would be a very fatal thing in *Achen*. Here's a vaſt Concourſe of People at this City, and the three great Market-places, yield every Day the Proſpect of ſo many Fairs. The Haven that leads to it is very ſmall, being but ſix Foot at the Bar; and it has one of the worſt, and moſt ill contrived Forts in the World: But there is a very pleaſant Road for Ships near it, in which (the Wind ſtill blowing from the Shore) a Ship may ride a Mile off in eighteen Fathom, and cloſe by in ſix and four Fathom; and here is not only good Riding for Ships, but excellent Materials too for the building of them, the Country all about furniſhing Timber, the beſt that can be for that purpoſe.

The King of *Achen*, and his Riſe to the Throne.

The King was originally no better than a Fiſher-man, tho' it ſeems a fortunate one, having the good luck to catch a Kingdom. His Valour and good Conduct in the Wars, recommended him to the Notice and Eſteem of the former King, and by degrees lifted him up to the Honour of marrying his near Kinſwoman. And tho' there was an undoubted Heir, the Grand-ſon of that old King, by his Daughter, married to the King of *Jor*; yet the Fiſherman (then Admiral of *Achen*, and by Marriage ſomething a-kin to the Crown) did by the Murder of the young Prince, and of a good part of the Nobility that oppos'd him, poſſeſs himſelf of the Royal Dignity. He is an abſolute Epicure, and does nothing but eat and drink all the Day long; and when he has gorg'd to that degree, that his Belly is ready to break, he falls to chewing Arecca, which makes a conſiderable evacuation by Spittle, and procures a freſh Appetite.

His whole Life is ſpent amongſt Women, and Women manage all his Concerns: They are his Attendants and Companions, his Counſellors, and chief Miniſters of State: Nay, a Woman is his Admiral, and gives Orders at Sea; ſuch a Confidence he has in the Prudence and Faithfulneſs of that Sex; tho' if the former King had been of that mind, 'tis certain he had never been what he is. Yet for form's ſake, and partly neceſſity too, he has five conſiderable Miniſters of the other Sex, who act in Subordination to the Female Sovereigns, and execute the Laws which they make. And theſe Laws are ſo cruel and tyrannical, that no Man can call any thing his own; Life and Goods are at the King's diſpoſe; and he is reckon'd to do no Injury, if he takes away both, or either, when he pleaſes. He does an Offender a Kindneſs, a very great Favour, if he kills him to rights; that is, tears him in pieces with his Elephant, or Impale him upon a Stake; otherwiſe a Man muſt have his Hands and Feet cut off, and ſo be baniſh'd into a deſolate Iſland, there to pine away the remainder of his miſerable Life in Famine, and extream Torments.

Manner of approaching the King.

His Palace ſtands half a Mile from the City, upon the River; 'tis built like the reſt, but only higher and ſtatelier, and more nobly furniſh'd with Gold, Velvet, and Damask, in the inſide. A Man muſt paſs three Courts of Guards, before he comes at him: And if he approaches the Preſence, he muſt come bare-legg'd and bare-footed, and claſp his Hands together above his Head, and ſo bowing with his Body, and repeating ſome Words of profound Reſpect, ſit down croſs-legg'd, as His Majeſty does: For 'tis thus that he and all his Company ſits; and 'tis only the Jewels he wears, and not his Poſture, that diſtinguiſhes him from the reſt, ſince they all ſit like a Company of Taylors.

This Prince has a great Strength of Elephants, which are indeed the principal part of his Land-Forces. He has good ſtore of Braſs Guns too, as large perhaps as any in the World; but they uſe them without Carriages, and diſcharge them upon the Ground.

His Galleys (of which he has a good number) are made like a Wherry, long and open, without Deck, Forecaſtle, Chaſe, or any upper Building; the Oars are like Shovels, which they uſe only with the Hand, not reſting them upon the Galley.

The People of *Sumatra*.

The People boaſt of an Original from *Iſhmael* and *Hagar*, and can compute the Genealogies of the Bible; they are *Mahometans* in Religion, and yet pray with Beads as the Papiſts do. They have ſeveral Schools for the Education of their Children, and Spiritual Dignities and Preferments, for the Encouragement of their Studies. All ſorts of Trade and Mechanical Arts flouriſh amongſt them, but their topping Buſineſs is that of Merchandize, to which they ſeem entirely devoted.

In their Burials every particular Family has its place to its ſelf, and the Corps is laid with the Head towards *Mecha*, a great Free-ſtone being ſet there, and another at the Feet: And the ſame Cuſtom is obſerved in the Burial of the Kings, only inſtead of Free-ſtone, they have two Maſſes of Gold of 500 *l.* Weight each. They have an Annual Ceremony of going in Proceſſion to meet the Meſſias, as they call him, (that is, the Impoſtor *Mahomet*) at his promiſed Return: This happen'd at our being there, ſo that we had the Opportunity of ſeeing the Management of it.

The King, and all the Nobility, are mounted upon Elephants, richly dreſs'd with Velvet, Silk, and Cloth of Gold: One ſpare Elephant is lead amongſt the reſt, with a Caſtle of Maſſy Gold upon his Back; and this is for the Meſſiah to ride upon. Thus they go on with Banners diſplay'd, with Drums and Trumpets ſounding before them to the great Church, where they look very formally in, as if theye xpected to find the Prophet in the Pulpit. But not finding him there (and no doubt they might have ſav'd them ſelves the labour of looking) after ſome Ceremonies uſed, they mounted again, (the King taking the place intended for the Meſſiah) and go back as wiſe as they came, to Drinking and Revelling, with which they conclude the Day.

The Trade, *&c.*

Here's a great Reſort of Merchants to this place, from all parts of the *Indies*, *China*, and *Arabia*. The Names of their Coin are Mas, Caſhes, Cowpan, Pardaw, Tayell. One Mas is 1600 Caſhes, and 400 Caſhes make a Cowpan; 4 Mas's make a Pardaw, and 4 Pardaws a Tayell. And compar'd with our Coin, a Mas is 9 *d.* $\frac{3}{5}$. They ſell their Pepper by the Bhar (which is equivalent to 360 *l.* *Engliſh* Weight) at the rate of 3 *l.* 4 *s.* and their Pound, which they call a Cett, is 21 of our Ounces. The Weight by which they ſell precious Stones, they call Maſſe, $10\frac{3}{4}$ of which make an Ounce of our Weight.

The Diviſion of *Sumaira.*

This Iſland is divided into four Kingdoms, all of which are Tributary to *Achen*: They are *Achen*, *Pider*, *Manancabo*, and *Arn*; and the five principal Cities are *Achen*, *Pider*, *Pacern*, *Dain*, and *Manancabo*.

But after this digreſſion, to return to the Affairs of our Voyage: The ſame Day that we had that Encounter with the *Achenees*, we ſet ſail for *Pider*, where we came to an Anchor.

September the Second, Eleven Gallies under Conduct of the *Portugueze*, attack'd us, one of which we ſunk, and diſpers'd the reſt. But being diſtreſs'd here for want of Water, we went to the Iſlands *Pulo Botum*, upon the Coaſt of *Quedia*, in 6 Degr. 50 Min. where we refreſh'd.

October the Twelfth, we came into the Bay of *Achen* again, with a deſign to recover our Men, if poſſible; but here we found ten Gallies provided to make us keep them Company in their Captivity; which after a ſhort Fight we obliged to retire.

Tanaſſarin.

The Eighteenth we directed our Courſe to *Tanaſſarin*, a City of very great Trade. And the Twenty fifth we anchor'd amongſt the Iſlands in the Bay, in 11 Degr. 20 Min. North Lat. But the bad Winds not ſuffering us to recover the City, which ſtands twenty Leagues within the Bay (and beſides, wanting Proviſions) we ſail'd away for the Iſlands *Nicobar*, where we anchor'd *November* the Twelfth. Theſe Iſlands lie in 8 Degr. North Lat. they are very low Ground, but fruitful enough, and have a very convenient Road for Ships. The People are baſe and ſlothful, living only upon Fruit and Fiſh, and not in the leaſt taking Care of the Culture of their Ground: They brought us Oranges, Limons, and ſome Ambergreece; which we purchas'd for a little Linen Cloth.

Iſles *Nicobar.*

The Sixteenth, we ſhap'd our Courſe for the Iſland *Zeilon*: And *Decem.* 6. took a Ship from the Coaſt of *Cormandel*, bound for *Achen*, with Rice, which admirably well ſupplied our Neceſſities at that timy. She gave us Intelligence beſides, of the great Spice-Trade at *Matecalon*, in *Zeilon*, of the richneſs of the whole Iſland in general, and particularly the plenty of Pearl, and Jewels there. Upon this, and ſeveral other Reports of the advantage we might make, by viſiting that place, we beat about upon the Coaſt ſixteen Days to recover it; but being fruſtrated in our Deſign, we diſcharged our Prize, and directed our Courſe homewards.

Matecalon, and *Tringuenamall*, places of Trade in *Zeilon.*

A. D. 1600.

March the Tenth *, we fell in with the Cape of *Good Hope*. And the Twenty ſecond we doubled it.

April the Thirteenth we anchor'd at St. *Helena*, where we had good Water, Figs, and Fiſh, in great plenty.

The Twenty third, we had ſight of *Aſcenſion*, where there's neither Wood nor Water, nor any green thing for the Support of Life; but 'tis all one great barren Rock of five Leagues breadth.

May the Sixth, we arrived at the Iſland *Fernando Lozinio*, where we water'd and refreſh'd.

The Thirteenth we ſet Sail, ſhaping our Courſe for *England*. And *July* the Twenty third, we put into the Port of *Middleburgh*; which was doubly Welcome to us, after ſo narrow an eſcape from the many Dangers and Treacheries we had met with abroad.

CHAP. V.

An Account of a Voyage to the Iſle of Japan, *through the* Magellanick *Streights; by Mr.* William Adams. *Taken out of his Two Letters written upon that Subject.*

THis *Engliſh-man* being the firſt, that we know of, that viſited the Great Iſland of *Japan*, we are obliged to give his Story a hearing, and let him come in amongſt the reſt of the Celebrated Sea-men of our Country, tho' his Voyage was not of any Publick Conſequence, as to Trade and Intereſt thereby procur'd in thoſe parts.

A. D. 1598.

In this Buſineſs he was not the Servant of his own Native Country, but of *Holland*; being an able Pilot, and very skilful in all Points of Marine Knowledge: He was hired by that People to go to Sea with them. His Poſt was that of Maſter-Pilot, the management of the whole Fleet, (which conſiſted of five Sail) being left principally to his Care and Prudence. They ſet Sail from the *Texel*, *June* the 24th, and made it the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, by that time they reach'd St. *Jago*, one of the Cape *de Verd* Iſles; here they ſtay'd almoſt a Month, ſo long that a good part of the Fleet was ſick, altogether with the baſe unhealthy Air of that place; and they found it true too, by Experience, (which before the *Dutch* wou'd not believe) that 'twas a very barren place, as to any manner of good Refreſhment.

Trouble in paſſing the Line.

September the Fifteenth, they paſs'd the Line, tho' with trouble, becauſe of the contrary Southerly Winds, that then diſtreſs'd them; and this was the effect of having loiter'd away too much time before they came to attempt it. They were now carried away to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and coming up with Cape *de Lopo Gonſalves*, they landed their ſick Company there; but this place denied Relief as well as the former, and the ſick Men were forced to carry their ſeveral Wants and Diſtempers aboard with them again.

Dutch take *Annobon.*

At the Iſle of *Annobon* they met with a little better Entertainment; here were Beeves, Oranges, and other Fruits; but the Plague of an unhealthy Climate, imbitter'd the Comforts of this Refreſhment, and the bad Air made them ſick, as faſt as the good Proviſions made them well. The *Dutch* landed a Party of Men, and took the Town; a ſmall thing conſiſting of eighty Houſes, and like to be of as little Profit to the Conquerors, as it was Honour to them. 'Twas towards the middle of *November* before they got away from hence; ſo hard is it to leave a good Baiting-place, eſpecially when the next is ſo very uncertain, as 'tis in the caſe of Sea-men.

The Winds.

Between *Annobon*, and 4 Degr. South Lat. they had the Winds perpetually at S. by E. and S. S. E. but about that Parallel, they came up S. E. & E. S. E. & E. Their Courſe was now for the *Magellanick* Streights, and they made it five Months Sailing between them and the Iſle of *Annobon*. But the Miſeries they endured by Hunger in that time, were extreme and in the higheſt degree doleful, according to Mr. *Adams*'s Relation: For a good while they had, each Man, but a quarter of a Pound of Bread a Day, with a proportionally ſmall quantity of Wine and Water; but it came to that paſs at laſt, that they eat the very Skins that cover'd the Ropes of the Ships; and by this unnatural ſort of Diet, brought on ſtrange Diſorders and Feebleneſs of Body upon themſelves. Through all theſe Difficulties they made a ſhift, at laſt, to reach the *Magellanick* Streights, coming into the firſt Narrow of that Paſſage, *April* the Sixth. But this was but ſtill out of one difficulty into another; 'twas only altering the Scene of their Misfortunes, and coming to be miſerable in another place: For the Winter was coming on here apace, the Cold began to be ſevere and pinching, and the great Snows began too (to make the Circumſtance more completely diſmal). Many a time wou'd the Wind have ſerv'd to have carried them through the Streights, but the obſtinate General wou'd not embrace the Opportunity, at the Advice of thoſe that perſwaded it; and ſo was the occaſion of the miſerable Confinement of the Fleet here all the Winter Seaſon. Here was Firing indeed enough for them all, about the Streights, every place abounding with Wood; but there was a worſe Neceſſity amongſt them, which this wou'd

Come to the *Magellanick* Streights. *A. D.* 1599.

Their Miſeries there.

never ſupply, and the Cravings of the Belly were to be ſatisfied by another ſort of Proviſion. Here they continued conflicting with Hunger, Diſtempers, and bad Weather, till *September* ; ſo that they ſtood the Shock of the whole Winter at this place, and endured the Extremities of all the very worſt Months of the Year. Abundance of their Men dy'd, being downright ſtarv'd, and the reſt were as near it as they cou'd well be : And now the General having had enough of the Winter Pleaſures of the *Magellanick* Streights, very politickly concluded 'twas time to go away. His Men were half dead, and the remainder were almoſt famiſh'd, the diſmal Winter ſpent and gone, and the chearful Spring coming on with the returning Sun, he thought it high time to put out to Sea again, before the Comfort of the approaching Seaſon overtook them.

Go out into the South Sea, and are ſeparated by a Storm.

Come to the Coaſt of *Chili.*

So the latter end of *September*, they ſet Sail out of the Streights, and being got into the South Sea, were wretchedly toſs'd and beaten about in that turbulent Ocean. In ſhort, a luſty Storm ſcatter'd the whole Fleet, and drove them to ſeek their Fortunes, every one by themſelves. They had agreed before, in caſe of any ſuch Diſaſter, that they wou'd ſtay for one another, at ſome place upon the Coaſt of *Chili*, in the Latitude of 46 Degr. and if the reſt came not in a Month, then thoſe that were there ſhou'd go on. Hither Mr. *Adams*'s Ship came, according to the Agreement, and ſtay'd the appointed time. The Natives were civil and friendly to them at firſt, and barter'd Sheep and Potatoes for little Toys which they gave them ; but at laſt they fell off, remov'd up into the Country, and came no more at them.

Their Company not coming, they went away, touching as they paſs'd at the Bay of *Baldivia*, and the Iſle of *Mocha* ; but not coming to Anchor any where, till they did it at the Cape *Santa Maria*, which is about twenty Leagues from the Iſland of that Name to the Southward. Here they found a convenient Bay, and good Ground for Anchoring : There were conſiderable Numbers of People that appear'd upon the Shore ; but their Temper and Diſpoſitions, as they were unknown, ſo they were now to be tried. But they proved very croſs and untoward ; for at their firſt Attempt to land, the *Indians* looking upon them as Invaders of their Country, ſet themſelves to oppoſe them, and pour'd in a Shower of Darts and Arrows upon the Boats that came up to the Shore. But they being under the Pinch of Hunger, and driven by an abſolute Neceſſity, to endeavour ſome Means for the getting a Refreſhment, broke through the Weapons of the Barbarians, and landed their Men.

Indians oppoſe their Landing.

Now they made Signs of Peace on both ſides, and a Ceſſation of Arms being, as it were agreed on, they came to a Parley in that Language of Signs ; and the *Indians* underſtanding what they meant, brought them Wine and Fruits, for the little Commodities the others ſhew'd them ; and then ſignified to them, that they ſhould now return aboard again ; and if they came aſhore the next Day, they ſhou'd have a farther Supply of Victuals.

Treachery of the *Indians.*

Accordingly the next Day the Captain landed with a ſcore, or more, of Musketeers, and they had not march'd far, before a Party of *Indians*, to the number of a thouſand, that lay cunningly intrench'd, fell upon them, and cut them all off.

This was a terrible Misfortune upon all Accounts, particularly in that this Execution had ſcarce left them Men enough, to do the neceſſary Offices of the Ship. With this loſs they went away from the inhoſpitable Cape, and came to the Iſle of St. *Mary* it ſelf. Here they found their Admiral Ship, but in much the ſame diſtreſs'd Condition as themſelves ; the Natives of the Iſland of *Mocha* having given them the ſame rude Treatment, that thoſe at the Cape had given the others : Only of the two, the Admiral had the worſt on't ; for they had loſt more Men by the Darts of the *Indians*, and over and above that, their General himſelf.

Find their Admiral at Iſle St. *Mary.*

Their Stratagem to get Relief at St. *Mary* Iſland.

Now to get ſome Refreſhment at this place, was the great difficulty ; 'twas hard to lie ſtill and famiſh a Shipboard, and 'twas as hard to venture aſhore, becauſe they had not Men for't : In ſhort, theſe two Wants were ſo great, and ſo unhappily complicated in their preſent Circumſtance, that for all that appears, if an Accident had not reliev'd them, they muſt have concluded upon dying here without any more adoe. But a couple of *Spaniards*, that had a deſign to betray them, came aboard (in a ſeeming friendly manner) for that purpoſe ; and were ſo wiſe as to do it without Pledges, or making any Proviſion for their ſafe return. So when they had ſeen the Ship, and wou'd have gone back again, they told them, No, they were ſenſible of their ill Deſign, and would keep them Priſoners, (eſpecially ſince they came entirely of their own Heads too) unleſs they would promiſe to furniſh the Ship with ſo much Proviſion. One may eaſily imagine, the *Spaniards* were out of Humour upon't, to find themſelves taken in ſuch a Trap ; but 'twas all one, 'twas to no purpoſe to be in a Paſſion there, and they were forc'd to ſubmit to thoſe Terms of Deliverance, and glad to eſcape ſo too. The *Spaniards* brought in their Proviſion according to the Agreement, and now they were once more repriev'd from a miſerable Death.

Go for *Japan.*

After this, the two Ships ſet Sail in Company for *Japan* ; the reſt of the Fleet were given up for loſt, and one of them, they afterwards heard, fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* at St. *Jago*. Beſides this, the King of *Spain*'s Fleet waited for them upon the Coaſt of *Peru* ; and had they light of them, 'tis very probable they had both follow'd their Companion in her Fate, ſince they were in ſo very weak and ſhatter'd a Condition.

'Twas *November* the 29th, that they left the Iſland St. *Mary*, upon the Coaſt of *Chili*, and having paſs'd the Line, had a good Wind, and fair Weather, for a good while, without any interruption by Storms and Tempeſts.

Anthropophagi

In the Latitude of fifteen or ſixteen Degr. N. they fell in with ſome Iſlands of Cannibals, or Men-eaters, as Mr. *Adams* calls them, without any ſcruple ; ſince eight or nine of their Men, he believes, were devour'd by them. Theſe Fellows being weary, it ſeems, of ſo long a Voyage, and willing to take up with the next Reſting-place, put themſelves into the Pinnace, and ſo run away ; but which way ſoever the Cannibals diſpos'd of them, 'tis certain they never came aboard more.

In the Latitude of 27 and 28 Degr. the Weather began to change upon them, and the Winds that had lien ſtill and quiet ſo long, rouz'd and blew with a prodigious Fury ; they had ſuch a Storm of Wind and Rain, that equall'd or exceeded the moſt violent any Mariner amongſt them had ſeen. In this horrible Confuſion of the Weather, they loſt one another, and the Admiral never came up to them more ; but they follow'd on their Courſe for *Japan* alone, being ſtill in hope to meet her in ſome part or other of that Iſland. Certainly, hardly ever any Men perform'd a Voyage in more diſtreſs : Our Pilot tells us, that they had, of all their number, but nine or ten left, that were able to ſtand or creep upon their Knees ; as for the Captain, and all the reſt, they were at the laſt Gaſp, as it were, and expected to die every Hour. And this was a very diſmal Caſe ; for Storms will make the poor Sea-men beſtir, and work themſelves to the purpoſe : But how ſhall Nature be ſupported in the mean time, and where ſhall Men have ſtrength to do thoſe toilſome Works, that have not Food to keep Life and Soul together ?

The Admiral loſt in a Storm. Her Pilot was an *Engliſh-man* too, that had ſail'd round the World with *Candiſh*.

A. D. 1600.

'Twas *April* the Nineteenth, before they had ſight of the Coaſt of *Japan*, and by that time there was but five of their Company that cou'd go, Providence ordering the matter ſo for them, that they had then a Proſpect of Relief, when things were run up to the higheſt extremity. 'Twas near to *Bungo* that they ſaw this firſt Land, and were then in about 32 ½ Degr. But Mr. *Adams*, by the way, aſſures us, That that Coaſt of *Japan* is falſly plac'd in all our Maps, Charts, and Globes ; for he ſays, it lies in 35 ½ Degr. which makes a conſiderable difference from the common Account given by them of its poſition.

Note, upon the North-part of *Japan*

At *Bungo* ſeveral Boats of the Natives came up to them, and aboard them too, as they had a mind themſelves ; and it cou'd be no otherwiſe, for there was no Body to make any reſiſtance ; the Sailors were all quite ſpent, and if the *Japoneſe* wou'd have plunder'd them, or knock'd them o'the Head, they might have done it without any trouble. Yet they did them no manner of harm, as to any Violence, or any ſort of Affront ; but they pilfer'd and ſtole all that they could lay Hands on ; for which ſome of them paid very dear afterwards.

They come to *Bungo*, and are well entertain'd.

The Vice-King of the place prov'd very kind and friendly to them, took them into his Protection, and ſent a Guard (as ſoon as they were come to an Anchor in the Port) to ſee that none of the Merchants Goods were ſtollen : This wou'd have done very well, had it come in good time ; but the Thieves were there before them. However, here they had good ſtore of Proviſions ſent them in, a Houſe provided on purpoſe for them ; and in ſhort, were made very much of, and began in ſome meaſure to enjoy themſelves, after all the Dangers and Fatigues of the Sea. But 'twas their ill luck to meet with *Portugueze* and Jeſuites here : They were forc'd to make uſe of them for Interpreters indeed ; but they had far better been without any, and choſe rather to have us'd the ſilent Language of Geſtures and Signs, than employ'd ſuch Interpreters as they were. For theſe Men gave that Character of them, that they commonly give of their *European* Neighbours (in all parts of the World where they meet them), That they were Spies, or Pirates, and not Trading Men, as they themſelves pretended : And this ſet the *Japoneſe*

Malice of the *Portugueze.*

poneſe ſo againſt them, that Mr. *Adams* tells us he was apprehenſive at one time that they ſhould have had the Fate of Pirates in that Country, which is to be ſet up upon Croſſes. Now when a Company of poor Sea-men came to throw themſelves upon their Mercy, as it were in a ſtrange Country, where they were not able to ſpeak for themſelves, and where their Liberties and lives depended entirely upon the Peoples good Opinion of them, to go and ſerve them at that rate, was an unpardonable piece of Villany, and an Action ſo very inhuman and baſe, as was only fit for *Portugueſe* and *Jeſuits* to be guilty of. But 'twas not long before the Emperor hearing of this Ship, ſent for Mr. *Adams* being the Pilot to come to him: The Court was then at *Oſala*, which is about 80 Leagues from *Bungo*. Hither came our *Engliſh* Man, not knowing whether 'twas to Life or Death, to Priſon and Puniſhment, or farther Favour and Enlargement.

Mr. *Adams* goes to the Emperor.

His talk with the Emperor.

The Emperor view'd him (he ſays) with a wonderful deal of Attention, but yet with his mild and favourable Countenance took off in a great meaſure from the dread his preſence might otherwiſe have excited. He ask'd by his Interpreters a world of queſtions about the Country Mr. *Adams* came from; the People, their Manners, their Affairs both to War and Peace, and products of it in Beaſts, Fiſh and Fowl, the Trade and Buſineſs, and Laws and Government, and in ſhort the whole Natural and Civil Hiſtory of it. More than this he purged him as to his Religion too, and would needs examin his Faith, asking him what 'twas he believed in; a queſtion which if a Man had not known the Emperors Religion wou'd almoſt have made him affraid the Jeſuits had ſet up an Inquiſition here, and that he was one of the *Tribunel*.

The Emperor defends him againſt the *Portugueſe*.

But Mr. *Adams* puzzl'd him ten times worſe, when he ſhew'd him the Magellanick Streights, in his Chart, thro' which he ſail'd to *Japan*: The Emperor perhaps had a pretty good opinion of him before; but now he thought him a downright Lyer; the myſtery of ſuch a Voyage was ſo incomprehenſible that he had no Faith to beſtow upon it, yet ſince Mr. *Adams* affirmed it, and he could not confute him, he entertain'd it as Men do all Points of pure Myſtery, with ſilent Admiration, and humble Submiſſion of their Reaſon, to the difficulty, tho' cramp'd and tortur'd with it at the ſame time, tho' his underſtanding was affronted by it, yet his good Nature was not, and he was very good Friends with Mr. *Adams* afterward, as appear'd by his holding him in talk till mid-night. He had ſeveral other conferences with the Emperor after this, but was for a conſiderable time, notwithſtanding kept in Priſon, tho' he had all neceſſaries allow'd him, and nothing like a puniſhment, but a large confinement. The *Portugueſe* made all the Intereſt at Court they cou'd poſſibly againſt him, and by their Agents were continually buzzing ſome ſcandalous reports of him, and his Country in the Emperors Ears; but all would not do, and the Prince was ſo juſt and Generous as to tell them that the *Engliſh* having done him no miſchief, it wou'd not be fair for him to ſee them receive any in his Country; and that 'twould be contrary to all the Laws of Juſtice and Reaſon for him to ſuffer an innocent Man to be executed, meerly becauſe his Country and yours were at War.

Mr. *Adams*'s Circumſtances now begun to mend, and grow more favourable; his Enemies were quite diſhearten'd, and the Emperor expreſs'd every Day more and more good liking to him. In the firſt place, he freed him from his Impriſonment, and gave him leave to go and ſee his Ships, and Company, who were ſurpriz'd with no ſmall Joy at his having heard ('tis probable from the *Portugueſe*, who intended it ſhou'd be ſo) that he had been executed ſometime before. But here he found the Ship abſolutely plundred, and all his Goods and Inſtruments gone, and all the reſt had loſt what they had as well as he; for being all Sick and Weak aſhoar, the Goods lay ready for a Prey to thoſe that cou'd be unjuſt enough to ſeize them. When this came to the Emperor's Ear, a Search was made, in order to the recovery of them; but being gone too far out of reach, he commanded 50000 Rials of eight to be given them in part of Satisfaction; and to make ſure that this Money ſhould not be either fraudulently detain'd by his Treaſurers, nor converted to any other uſe, he ſaw the payment of it himſelf, into the Hands of one who was appointed to have the managment of their Affairs, and to give it out to them in Parcels as they wanted. After this, the Court removing to *Edde*, about 122 Leagues from *Oſaca*, the Emperor Commanded Mr. *Adams* to move thitherwards with his Ship; and here they took the Liberty to Petition him that they might be perfectly Free, and purſue the deſign of their Voyage in going to Trade at ſome other parts; but this would not take, and the Emperor was not diſpos'd to part with them yet, ſo they got the remainder of their Money into their own Hands, and divided it amongſt themſelves, every Man his ſhare; and then they diſperſed themſelves about in the Country, chuſing thoſe places to ſettle in, that beſt ſuited their Fancies. But the Emperor ordered them beſides an Allowance of Rice, Two pound a Day for every Man, and over and above ſo much yearly as came to 11 or 12 Ducats; There was no diſtinction made between Captains, Pilots, and Common-Sailers, but they fair'd all alike.

His kindneſs to them upon the loſs of their Goods.

They ſettle in the Country.

Mr. *Adams* makes the Emperor a Ship.

Thus four or five Years went over their Heads, and they follow'd every Man his Buſineſs in the Country for a livelyhood; ſince 'twas determin'd, that there they muſt Live and Die. But when the term of Years was expir'd, the Emperor ſent for Mr. *Adams* to Court, and the buſineſs was, to make him a Ship; this was not his Trade, as he told the Emperor, and tho' he knew how to Guide a Ship at Sea, yet he was not uſed to the making of them; but he was ſo very urgent and preſſing to have it done, that Mr. *Adams* undertook the work, and made him a Ship of about 80 Tun. When he came aboard it, he expected a wonderful deal of Pleaſure in it, and t'was a piece of ſervice he valued ſo much, that the maker of it riſe mightily in his Favour by this very means, beſides ſeveral good Patents, his Penſion was encreaſed too, being made as much as came to 70 Ducats *per Annum*, over and above the former Allowance of Rice, and this well managed was a tolerable livelyhood for a ſingle Perſon in that Country.

Teaches the Emperor Mathematicks.

But that which recommended him moſt effectually to the Emperors eſteem, was his Skill in Mathematical Learning. Mr. *Adams* had a good ſhare of Knowledge, it ſeems, in the Practical Parts, and was now honour'd with having ſo great a Prince for his Scholar. He inſtructed him in ſeveral Points of thoſe uſeful Arts, and made him capable of ſolving to himſelf that myſterious problem of ſailing to *Japan* by the Magellanick Straits. He could pleaſe him at any time with deſcribing Geometrical Figures; the Emperor was plung'd in the Study, Charm'd and Conjur'd within the Circles Mr. *Adams* drew him. This latter uſed his Geometry to ſuch good purpoſe, that he diſcovered the true method of managing his Royal Pupil by it, and got the exact length of his Foot. His Word was all in all in any point of Diſpute and Controverſy; and whatever ſide Mr. *Adams* took, the Emperor was always of the ſame. He had ſo great a ſtroke now at Court, that even the Jeſuites themſelves were willing to make uſe of his Intereſt there, and courted him to be their Patron; and he declares, that by his means both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* received ſeveral Favours from the Emperor, which they were otherwiſe in no likely way of obtaining. Being in theſe circumſtances, he thought it not impoſſible to win upon the Emperor ſo far as to procure leave to return into his own Country; and for that purpoſe renew'd his old requeſt, promiſing to do his utmoſt for the bringing both an *Engliſh* and a *Dutch* Trade to *Japan*, if he might be ſuffer'd to go home.

The Emperor will not conſent that he ſhould go.

His preferment in the Country.

But the Emperor was too much pleas'd with his Company, to hearken to any propoſal about the loſing of it. Mr. *Adams* ſhould have conceal'd his Skill in Mathematicks, kept his Geometry and Navigation to himſelf, if he had intended to have ſeen his own Country again: He was too uſeful a Man to be parted with; and there was no hopes of his Liberty, till he had quite loſt the knowledge of all thoſe Acts that had ſo charm'd the Emperor. In ſhort there is no going for him, and his Wife and Children muſt be contented without him; yet he procured leave for the Captain of the *Dutch* Ship he came in, to go, and to make his life as eaſie and pleaſant as might be: The Emperor ſetled a Lord-ſhip upon him, in which he had a Compaſs of Land to manage, and a parcel of Slaves to the number of 80 or 90 appointed to do his Country work. And this was the Courſe of our Engliſh-man's Fortune in that part of the World, as he himſelf has deſcribed them.

Account of the Country.

As to the State of the Country, and its Affairs, he does not tell us much. He commends the *Japoneſe* largely, for their Courteſy, and Good Humour, Valour in War, Juſtice in their Civil Concerns, and the happy Conſtitution of the Government. He believes no People to be Maſters of better Politicks, than they in their Civil Government, nor have more ſuperſtition in their Religion. They have various Sects and Opinions amongſt them, and ſome of them had imbraced Chriſtianity at the time, the Friars and Jeſuits being very deligently at work to propagate it in ſeveral parts of the Iſland. So far they had gone in Mr. *Adam*'s time as to have ſome Churches, and Proſpect of a conſiderable increaſe of Convents. The Character he gives of Trade, is, that Silks and Cloths are very vendible Commodities there, and that for ready Money: And according to his Relation, the *Japoneſe* have wherewith to be very good Pay-maſters, and can afford to give the beſt Rates for a Commodity, having

Gold

A. D. 1609. and 1611.

Gold and Silver enough in their own Country: A very happy People, to be both Rich, and Wiſe, and Good, and have both thoſe advantages ſo eminently, Money and Wit, which do ſeldom meet together. He tells us the *Dutch* were admitted to a Free Trade there, and had very good acceptance with the Emperor; and had entred into an agreement with him, to ſend a Ship or two well laden thither every Year. To conclude as to the Geographical conſideration of the Iſland, he aſſures us, that the Northern part of it reaches to the Lat. of 48 Degr. and the Southern lies in 35. that it extends 220 *Engliſh* Leagues, E. & W. and 260 N. & S. and for it's Figure, he ſays it is almoſt a Square: Which account is the more credible, in that it is given by one, who did not juſt come and take a view of the Country, and then away again, but ſpent a good part of his Life upon the Spot; and rightly pretended to have as good an acquaintance with it, as the Natives of the Soil.

This Letter out of which the Account was principally taken, was Dated, *October* 22. A. D, 1611.

CHAP. VI.

The ſecond Voyage of John Davis, *with Sir* Edward Michelbourn, *&c.*

A. D. 1604.

December the 5th, we ſet Sail from *Cowes* in the Iſle of *Weight*, with the good Ship the *Tigra*, of 240 Tun, and a Pinnace nam'd the *Tigers-whelp*.

Teneriff.

The 23d, we came to *Teneriff*, in the Road of *Aratana*.

January 16th, we paſs'd the Equinoctial, and ſhap'd our Courſe for the Iſle *Loronna*, and having made ſome three Degr. S. Lat. we met with incredible numbers of Dolphins and Bonito's, of which we took ſo many, that we were perfectly tired as well with the eating as the catching of them. We had ſport enough too, with the Sea-fowl they call *Paskarabous* and *Alcatrarzes*: The former of theſe are eaſily taken at Night, at which time they lodge themſelves in great numbers about a Ship, and will perch upon ones Head, if it be held out to them. The others are a ſort of Hawks, that live entirely upon the Spoil they get out of the Water, and are equally the Perſecutors of the Flying-Fiſh, with the ravenous Dolphins. That poor Animal it ſeems, can live quietly in no Element, and neither the Air, nor the Water, will afford it a ſecure Harbour. The Dolphins and Bonito's are continually hunting them in the Sea; and when they have no way to avoid a miſerable Death, but by uſing their Wings, and taking a turn in the Air, then theſe unmerciful Birds are preſently upon them, and inhoſpitably devour the poor Strangers driven by perſecution out of their own Element.

Multitudes of Dolphins and Alcatrazes.

(a) Iſle *Loronna.*

The 22d, we came to an Anchor at the (a) Iſland *Loronna*. We found it very difficult here to get Wood and Water aboard, by reaſon of the violent breadth of the Sea, which makes the Landing extreamly hazardous. Our own Boat was twice overſet by the boiſterous Waves, and ſome of our Men drown'd in the Attempt; and not long before us a *Dutch* Man was worſe ſerv'd, his Boat, men and all being daſh'd in pieces upon the Rocks.

The Iſland has no Inhabitants, but a few *Negroes* whom the *Portugueſe* keep here as their Slaves: Their buſineſs is to kill and dry the *Cabrito's* againſt their Maſters arrival, who generally call here in their way to the *Eaſt-Indies*. And by this continual ſlaughter of theſe Beaſts and the Wild-Oxen in ſuch multitudes for the *Portugueſe* ſervice, the ſtock of the Iſland is almoſt exhauſted, tho' formerly it was very great. But tho' there's a ſcarcity of theſe Creatures, there's good ſtore of Fowls, as Turtle-Doves, Alcatrarzes, and many other ſorts, which are very delicious meat; beſides plenty of Maize, Wild Gourds, and Water Melons, and thoſe Trees on which grows the fine Bombaſt.

Its Products.

* *A. D.* 1605.

* *February* 12. we were in 7 Degrees 5 Minutes South Lat. and here we had the ſurpriſing ſight of a Sea ſparkling at a wonderful rate, and appearing as if all on fire; the Light was ſo clear and bright at Night, that one might have read the ſmalleſt Print by the aſſiſtance of it.

The 13th, we had ſight of the Iſland, or rather the great Rock *Aſcenſion*.

April the 1ſt, we ſaw Land, which bore off us S. S. E. tho' by our reckoning we were above 40 Leagues diſtance; but yet the varying of the Compaſs told us that we were toward Land 30 Leagues before we ſaw any.

The 2d, we were hard by the ſhoar, which lies 10 or 12 Leagues to the North ſide of the Bay of *Soldania*.

The 3d we ſail'd by a little Iſle, which we ſuppos'd to be that which ſtands ſome five or ſix Leagues from the Bay. This for the multitude of Conies found here, was call'd (b) Coney Iſle.

(b) *Coney Iſle.*

(c) *Soldania.*

The 8th we came to an Anchor in the Road of (c) *Soldania*, and the next day we went aſhoar. The Country we found ſuch, both for Plenty and Pleaſure, as ſeem'd to deſerve a far better ſort of Inhabitants than it had. The Plains and Valleys are every where watered with wholſom ſtreams, which the Springs upon the neighbouring Mountains do liberally impart to them. The champian Grounds are covered with Flocks and Herds, and Woods and Foreſts filled with all ſorts of wild Game. Here one may ſee moſt kinds of Animals, that are fit either for Food, for Service, or for Sport and Pleaſure; Deer, Sheep and Oxen, Antelopes, Foxes, Hares, and Coneys; and for excellent Fowl ſuch ſtore and variety, that that luxurious *Roman* Emperor, whoſe appetite could be ſatisfied with nothing but the Tongues and Brains of choice Birds might have feaſted here to his Hearts content. And beſides all the ſorts of Tame Fowls, and more common ones, of thoſe that are wild, frequenting either the Woods or the Water, or flying in the open Air; here are Oſtridges, Cranes, Herons, and Pelicants, amongſt all which we had ſufficient, both for Game and Proviſion too.

But the People that inhabit this excellent Country, are ſome of the moſt baſe and brutal in the whole Univerſe. Human Nature is here ſo rough and unpoliſh'd, ſo ſordid, mean, and unlike it ſelf, that 'tis hard to know it thro' the diſguiſe; and certainly if there be any where a mixt Animal, a compound of the Man and the Brute, 'tis at *Soldania*. Raw fleſh is their moſt niceſt and cleanly Fare, and when they eat this, they eat like ſome other Barbarous Nations; but when they feed like themſelves, they go ſome degrees lower, from the Fleſh to the Guts of Beaſts, which they lay to warm a little while upon the Coals, and then greedily devour with all the excrements in them, and the Aſhes and Durt that cleave to them.

See *Davis's* firſt Voyage about the Trade for Cattel, and the deſcription of them.

Having had a very agreeable refreſhment here, we ſet ſail again *May* the 3d; and the 7th we were 10 Leagues to the Southward of the Cape of *Good-Hope*, paſſing that Night the Shoals of Cape *das Aguilhas*.

Cape *Aguilhas.*

The 6th we had a fearful Storm, which raged for two Days and two Nights, at laſt a Flame of the bigneſs of a Candle appear'd upon our Main-top-maſt-head, after which the violence of the weather went off.

(d) *Diego Roiz Iſle.*

The 24th the Iſle *De Diego Roiz* (d) in 19 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. and 98 Degr. Long, bare N. of us at eight Leagues diſtance. We bare room to have landed here, but the Wind growing very ſtiff, we alter'd our Reſolution: We ſaw about this Iſland great numbers of clean White Birds, which had only two long Feathers in their Tails.

June the 3d ſtanding for the Iſle *de Cirne*, we had another view of *Diego de Roiz*, which when we bare room again, thinking to ſtay for a good Wind, but finding that we cou'd not come to Anchor without very great hazards, upon the account of the Rocks and Shoals that lie about the Iſle, we reſolved now to ſtand for the *Eaſt-Indies*.

(e) Iſle *Baubes.*

June 15th we ſaw the Iſland *Des* (e) *Baubes*, which lies in 6 Degr. 37 Min. S. Lat. and 109 Degr. Long. Theſe Iſlands are very commonly placed in our common Charts, lying conſiderably too much to the Weſtward. They afford good ſtore of Fowl, Fiſh, and Coco's; but 'tis very hard to find a good Anchoring-place, there being no bottom to be met with in ſome places cloſe by the Shore, and in others ſo many ſharp Rocks, and ugly Shoals, that 'tis dangerous making the Attempt: This Inconvenience attending us, we proſecuted our Courſe to the *Indies*.

(*f*) *Diego Graciofa* Iſle.

June the Nineteenth, we had ſight of the Iſle *Diego Graciofa* (*f*), in 7 Degr. 30 Min. South Lat. and in 110 Degr. 40 Min. Long. by our Account. It appears to be about 10 or 12 Leagues long, and is ſo full of Coco-Trees, that looks like a perfect Wood. There's Fiſh and Fowl enough to be had, and if there be good Anchoring too (which we did not ſtay to examine) 'tis a very convenient place to refreſh at.

July the Eleventh we paſs'd the Equinoctial again; and the Nineteenth deſcried Land, which was a Cluſter of Iſlands lying under the high Land of *Sumatre*, and in about 2 Degr. North Lat. We cou'd not ſucceed in our Attempt of landing here, the Sea went with ſuch a violent Head upon the Shoar, tho' (as we fancied) the Natives invited us to it, and ſignified their Minds, by ſeveral great Fires made along the Shoar.

(*g*) *Bata* Iſle.

The Twenty ſixth we anchor'd within a League of the great Iſland *Bata* (*g*), in 20 Min. South Lat. This Iſland is wholly deſtitute of Inhabitants; yet 'tis well wooded, and water'd, and ſupplied with Fiſh. It produces abundance of Monkeys, and a kind of Fowl, which is reported to be the Bat of that Country. Theſe Creatures are larger than a Hare, and in ſhape very like a Squirrel, except only that from each ſide there hangs down two great Flaps of Skin, which are inſtead of Wings, and by the help of which they skip nimbly from one Tree to another.

Auguſt the Fourth, we weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood for *Priaman*.

The Tenth and Eleventh, ſtanding cloſe along the main Land, we deſcried ſeveral Praws riding over againſt *Tico*, in *Sumatra*, and were in ſome hope to find our Pinnace amongſt them, which we loſt in the Storm at the Cape. But tho' our Expectations were fruſtrated, yet we were in ſome meaſure comforted with the News they told us, of an *Engliſh* Ship that lay at *Priaman*, not above ſix Leagues diſtant from the Town of *Tico*. But while we went on to find her, we were like to loſe our ſelves, our Ship coming a-ground upon a Rock of White Coral; but having a briſk Gale of Wind, we happily got her off again, without any prejudice, in a very little time. Being come into *Priaman* (*h*) Road, (to our great Joy) we found our Pinnace there, and ſo came to an Anchor in five Fathom Water, and very good Ground. This City lies in 40 Min. South Lat. I had the Opportunity of ſeeing it, being ſent by our Admiral, with a Preſent to the Governour, and to examine the Rates that Pepper went at there. But no private Conference was to be had with the Governour, nor no Advances to be made in the Matters of Trade and Merchandize, by reaſon of the Wars then raging amongſt them. For the old King of *Achen*, having made his youngeſt Son King of *Pedir*, and nominated the elder to ſucceed himſelf in the Kingdom of *Achen*, keeping him at home with him for that purpoſe: The extravagant Prince (angry to ſee a Crown on his younger Brother's Head, while his own was without one) makes bold to depoſe his Father, telling the People he was too old to govern; and then having the Power in his hands, immediately fell upon his Brother, to the great diſturbance of the Peace and Trade of the Iſland: So that ſeeing little likelihood of doing any good here, and having gotten in all neceſſary Proviſions, the Twenty firſt we weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood for *Bantam*.

The Ship runs aground.

They find their Pinnace.

(*h*) *Priaman*.

The Twenty fifth, after a Diſpute of ſeven or eight Hours, we took a Ship of *Bantam*, bound for *Priaman*; her Lading being Salt, Rice, and *China* Diſhes; but conſidering the *Engliſh* had a Factory there, and that this Violence might poſſibly expoſe them and their Concerns to ſome Inconveniences amongſt ſo barbarous a People, we diſmiſs'd her in a civil and friendly manner, with all her Goods, which we did not diminiſh to the value of a Farthing.

Sillabar Road.

But a Ship of *Guzurate*, (which we took *September* the ſecond) did not ſcape us ſo well: She was about eighty Tun, and we ſecur'd her in the Road of *Sillabar*. That Road is in 4 Degr. South Lat. and is very much frequented for the Conveniences of Wood, Water, and many ſorts of Proviſions that are here to be had. Our Buſineſs held us here till the Twenty eighth, when we ſet Sail and proſecuted our Voyage towards *Bantam*.

Marrah Road.

October the Twenty third, we anchor'd in the Road of *Marrah*, in *Sunda* Streights, where are as good Accommodations for the eaſe and refreſhment of Sailors, as at *Sillabar*. The People here don't value Money ſo much as they do Callicoes, Pintadoes, and ſuch-like Stuffs. They are very fair in their Dealings, and will uſe you ſoberly, if you do the like by them; but then you muſt be ſure to look well to them, for their Conſciences never fly in their Faces for Stealing.

(*i*) *Bantam*

The Twenty eighth, we came within three Leagues of the City of *Bantam* (*i*), which lies in 6 Degr. 48 Min. South Lat. And here we anchor'd all Night. The *Engliſh* Fleet was gone before we came; but ſome of our Country-men, that were Factors there, came aboard, and told us of the baſe and diſhonourable Practices of the *Hollanders*, in blaſting the Reputation of our Nation at *Bantam*. They reported, That we were a leud Pirating ſort of People, that went abroad into the World, upon no other Deſigns, than Robbing and Cheating other Nations: And that we were ſuch Cowards, that we dared not come into the Road amongſt them, but would be ſure to keep at a diſtance, for fear of being beaten.

Miſchievous Reports of the *Dutch*.

Our Admiral was ſo provok'd at theſe ſlanderous Reflections, (and which the *Dutch* themſelves well knew to be Lies too) that he ſent them Word preſently, That he wou'd come and ride cloſe by their ſides; and if they dared but ſo much as to put out a Gun, or offer the leaſt Inſolence imaginable, either in Word or Action, he wou'd infallibly ſink every Ship they had, or ſink himſelf in the Undertaking. But they were ſo wiſe as to make no Reply to this Meſſage; and ſo cool and humble too, as to do what our Admiral commanded them in the point of Deportment towards us, and the reſt of the *Engliſh*; for tho' we anchor'd juſt under their very Noſes, they never ſtirr'd a Gun; nay, they hardly durſt any of them appear aſhore as long as we were there.

Novemb. 2. (having diſpatch'd our Buſineſs at *Bantam*) we held our Courſe for *Patane*: And in the way between the *Cherſoneſe* of *Malacca*, and *Pedra*, we met three Praws bound for *Java*, laden with *China* Diſhes, Pepper, Benjamin, and Storax. They ſtudiouſly avoided us, and refuſed to ſatisfie our juſt Demands of a Pilot, to conduct us to *Pulo Timaon*, and a Pilot we were not like to have, unleſs we fought for him, and purchas'd him by Conqueſt; this therefore being the Caſe, we attack'd them, and forc'd two of them to yield, and ſo furniſh'd our ſelves with a Guide for our Ships, which was all the Prize we then ſought after: This being done, we diſcharg'd them again, and held our Courſe for *Patane*.

Take ſome *Indian* Praws.

November the Twenty ſeventh, we ſaw certain Iſlands bearing N. W. from us, which neither we, nor our Pilots knew; we imagin'd them to be ſome of the broken Lands that lie S. E. from the Iſle of *Bantam*, for they were ſome of them quite ſunk under Water, nothing being to be ſeen of them, but the tops of Trees: And thoſe of them that are not plung'd, are a perfect Wilderneſs, and like for ever to be ſo, having neither Fruit, nor any ſort of Animal, for the ſupport of Life.

Deluged Iſlands.

Having water'd here, *December* the Second, we continued our Courſe for *Patane*, as well as we cou'd, with bad Winds, which at this time of the Year are generally at N. N. W. or N. E. hereabouts.

The Twelfth we took a Junck of *Pan-Hange*, laden with Pepper, Rice, and Tin, bound for *Bantam*: Our Admiral took only two Braſs Guns, and a quantity of their Rice (which yet he paid them nobly for), and a Pilot to bring him to *Patane*: The other two which we took before, tho' very unskilful, were paid for their time they had been with us, and ſo ſent back in this Junck into their own Country. Now we began to be very much troubled with contrary Winds and Currents: For in theſe parts the Sea always runs Southward, from the beginning of *November*, to the beginning of *April*, and back again Northward from *April* to *November*; and the Winds for the moſt part obſerve the ſame Time and Courſe too. All Ships from *China*, *Patane*, *Jor*, and other places, which lie to the Northward, come to *Bantam*, or *Palimbam*, when the Northerly Monſon is come, and they return with the Southerly, which Monſons come in the Months aforeſaid.

The Winds and Currents

The Monſons in theſe parts.

(*k*) *Pan hang*

The Country (*k*) of *Pan-Hange*, to which this Junck belong'd, lies between *Patane* and *Jor*, and reaches on the Sea-Coaſt as far as Cape *Tingeron*: This is a very lofty Cape, that makes a great Figure, and is the firſt Land-fall that the Veſſels of *China*, *Cambaia*, and *Macao*, do make, as they ſail for *Malacca*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, or any parts to the Southward. *Pan-Hange* is a very plentiful Country, has good ſtore of Shipping, and all Proviſions very cheap.

December the Twenty ſeventh, we met with a Junck full of *Japoneſe*, which had been Pirating along the Coaſt of *China* and *Cambaia*, and not daring to Land any where (for they are generally forbid coming aſhore with Weapons, throughout all *India*, they are ſo fierce and deſperate a People) they were now making the beſt of their way home to *Japan*. There were no leſs than Ninety of them, and they all appear'd to be Men of Quality, there being (one only excepted who was their Pilot) nothing that look'd like a common Sailor amongſt them. Several Civilities paſs'd between us, and we preſented and feaſted one another; ſome of our Men went aboard their Junck, and ſome of them, to the number of Twenty ſix, came into our Ship. But they having before concerted Matters, and order'd all the Particulars of the Plot, upon a Signal given, ſet upon our Men that were in their Junck, killing moſt part, and driving the reſt overboard. At the ſame time they ſet upon us in our own Ship, and being abſolutely deſperate, fought with an incredible Fierceneſs and Courage, madly thruſting themſelves on our Pikes, and laying about them like ſo many Furies. After ſome time, we forc'd them to retire from the Half-deck down into the Cabin, where they defended themſelves with great obſtinacy for the ſpace of four or five Hours, and reſolving to ſpare neither their own Lives, nor ours, they ſet the Cabin a-fire, and fought with all the Flames gathering about their Ears. In ſhort, ſeeing their Deſign to burn the Ship, and having them at this advantage in a cloſe Pound, where we might diſpatch them all at once, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Miſchief, which wou'd otherwiſe be remedileſs, we fired a couple of great Guns in upon them, loaded with Croſs-bars, Bullets, and Caſe-ſhot; which did ſuch fatal Execution upon them, that one only out of Twenty two eſcap'd, the reſt being torn and ſhatter'd all to pieces. Thus with much adoe, we freed our ſelves from this threatning Danger; but to do it coſt us the Lives of many of our Men; and particularly that of Capt. *Davis*, whoſe imprudent Conduct, in not ſecuring their Weapons at firſt, according to the Advice given, was very much the occaſion of it.

A deſperate Fight with the *Japoneſe*.

December the Thirtieth, we came to an Anchor by a little Iſland, where we were obliged to ſtay three or four Days to mend our Boat, and take in Wood and Water. Here we had Intelligence, by a Ship of *Patane*, of the *China* Fleet, ſhortly to come thither, and which we intended, if poſſible, to meet.

A.D. 1606.

January the Twelfth, we ſaw two Sail making towards us, which coming up to, after a ſhort Diſpute we boarded, and brought them to an Anchor. Theſe proved to be two of the *China* Ships; but were not the main Prize that we look'd after: They had Silks, and raw Silk aboard, and fifty Tun of *China* Silver; but becauſe we hoped to lade our ſelves to much better advantage, out of thoſe that were ſtill behind, we took little or nothing of this and ſo diſcharged them.

Two *China* Ships taken.

After this, we directed our Courſe back again to *China Bata*; but the contrary Winds wou'd not permit us to recover it; ſo that we put on for the Iſles of *Pulo Sumatra* (l), where we anchor'd *January* the Twenty ſecond.

(l) *Pulo Sumatra* Iſles.

February the Second, we met a Fleet of five *Dutch* Ships bound homewards, which gave us an Intelligence, that obliged us to take new Meaſures, and quit the Deſign we had upon the *China* Ships. Our *Engliſh* Merchants at *Bantam*, (they told us) were in very great danger, and expected every Day to feel the utmoſt Effects of the King of *Bantam*'s Anger and Reſentment; becauſe of our late taking the *China* Ships, by which means he had loſt his Cuſtoms.

And therefore, that no After-Events of our Voyage might procure any Danger or Diſaſters to our Countrymen, (tho' perhaps to have proſecuted it, would have ſignally advanc'd our own private Fortunes and Intereſts) we reſolved to ſet Sail for *England*; which we began to do, *February* the Fifth.

They return for *England*.

We had ſight of the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Seventh of *April*; and we arrived at St. *Helena* the Seventeenth, where we ſtaid refreſhing till *May* the Third.

The Fourteenth we paſs'd the Equinoctial.

June the Twenty ſeventh we arriv'd at *Milford*-Haven, in *Wales*.

July the Ninth, we anchor'd in *Portſmouth*-Road, having been out in this Voyage, full nineteen Months.

CHAP. VII.

A Priviledge for Fifteen Years, granted by Her Majeſty, to certain Adventurers, for the Diſcovery of the Trade for the Eaſt-Indies, *the One and thirtieth of* December, 1600.

ELIZABETH, *by the Grace of* GOD, *Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To all Our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, and to all other People, as well within this Our Realm of* England, *as elſewhere, under Our Obedience and Juriſdiction, or otherwiſe, unto whom theſe Our Letters Patents ſhall be ſeen, ſhewed, or read, Greeting.*

The Names of the Adventurers.

Whereas Our moſt dear and loving Couſin, George *Earl of* Cumberland; *and Our Well-beloved Subjects, Sir* John Hart *of* London, *Knight, Sir* John Spencer *of* London, *Knight, Sir* Edward Michelburne, *Knight*, William Candiſh, *Eſq*; Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Hollyday, John Wats, John More, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampſon, Thomas Smith, *and* Thomas Cambell, *Citizens and Aldermen of* London, Edward Barker, *Eſq*; Thomas Marſh, *Eſq*; Samuel Bachouſe, *Eſquire*, James Lancaſter, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Stile, William Quarles, Bartholomew Barnes, William Offly, Robert Chamberlayn, John Harvy, Richard Wiſeman, William Stone, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablaſter, Richard Barret, John Swynerton, *the Younger*, Thomas Garaway, William Romny, James Deane, John Eldred, Andrew Banning, Edward Leaning, Thomas Jackſon, Nicholas Leate, John Wolſtenholme, Nicholas Peard, William Chamber, Rowland Bachouſe, Humfrey Smith, Robert Sandy, Henry Robinſon, Richard Poyntel, John Highlord, William Haryſon, Humphry Style, Humphry Robynſon, Nicholas Ferrer, Thomas Farryngton, John Combe, Robert Offly, Roger How, John Hewet, James Turner, Morrys Abbot, James Carrell, Robert Brooke, Richard Chamblyn, George Chamblyn, Leonard White, John Cornelius, Ralph Basby, William Genyngs, Giles Paſlow, Robert Bell, Thomas White, Nicholas Lyng, William Palmer, Ellis Crippes, John Merricke, Humphry Hanford, Thomas Symons, Robert Cox, William Wuſtall, John Humphry, Thomas Boſtocke, Bartholomew Holland, Richard Cox, William Walton, William Freeman, Thomas Southacke, John Friar, Francis Dent, Richard Bull, Richard Pierce, Roger Henyng, Robert Cobb, Robert Robynſon, Francis Evington, Francis Taylor, Thomas Weſtrow, John Midleton, Robert Gore, Ralph Gore, William Cater, George Cater, John Buſbridge, Thomas Horton, William Bond, *Mercvant-Taylor of* London, William Cotton, John Stockley, Roger Owfield, Auguſtine Skinner, Richard Wiſe, Robert Towerſon, Richard Taylbye, Robert Middleton, Robert Bateman, Richard Goſſon, Robert Waldore, Richard Wrag, John Wrag, William Dale, Laurence Waldo, Henry Brydgman, Samuel Armytage, Edward Haryſon, Edward Nicolſon, Clement Moſely, John Newman, Humphry Wallot, Thomas Richardſon, Thomas Boothby, John Coachman, Reinald Green, Richard Burret, Robert Myldmay, William Hyne, George Chandeler, Edward Lutterfoord, William Burrell, Stephen Harvy, Thomas Henſhaw, William Ferrys, William Alderſey, William Hewet, William Fiſher, Joſeph Salbancke, Nicholas Manly, Nicholas Salter, William Willaſtone, William Angel, Nicholas Barnſly, John Hawkins, Roger Dy, Richard Clarke, Thomas Hewet, George Whitemore, Henry Polſtee, William Greenwell, Robert Johnſon, Bartholomew Huggott, Humphry Baſſe, Robert Buck, Ambroſe Wheeler, William Hale, Richard Hull *Junior*, John Hodgſon, Alphonſus Foote, Edmund Spencer, Robert Dewſy, Richard Piott, William Bonham, Edward Barkeham, George Coles, Ralph Hammer, James Colymer, Samuel Hare, George Utly, Gregory Allen, Henry Archer, Jeffry Kerby, John Caſon, Richard Beale, Thomas Shipton, John Fletcher, Thomas Talbot, Robert Pennyngton, Humphry Milward, Richard Herne, Ralph Allen, John Brooke, Anthony Gibſon, Robert Kayes, Hugh Crompton, Richard Waſher, George Holman, Morryce Luellen, Richard Parſons, Francis Barker, William Tur-

George Utly Diſfranch'd the ſixth of July 1601 ner, John Greenwood, Richard Denne, Richard Ironſide, George Smithes, James Dunkyn, Edward Walter, Andrew Chamblayn, Robert Startford, Anthony Stratford, William Myllet, Simon Laurence, Thomas Lydall, Stephen Hodgſon, Richard Wright, William Starker, William Smith, John Ellacots, Robert Bayly, *and* Roger Cotton, *have of Our certain Knowledge been Petitioners unto Us, for Our Royal Aſſent and Licence to be granted unto them, that they at their own Adventures, Coſts, and Charges, as well for the Honour of this Our Realm of* England, *as for the Increaſe of Our Navigation, and Advancement of Trade of Merchandiſe within Our ſaid Realms, and the Dominions of the ſame, might adventure, might ſet forth one, or more Voyages, with convenient number of Ships and Pinnaces, by way of Traffick and Merchandize to the* Eaſt-Indians, *in the Country and Parts of* Aſia, *and* Africa, *and to as many of the Iſlands, and Cities, Towns, and Places thereabouts, as where Trade and Traffick of Merchandize, may by all likelihood be eſtabliſhed or had: Divers of which Countries, and many of the Iſlands, Cities, and Ports thereof, have long ſithence been diſcovered by others of Our Subjects, albeit not frequented in Trade of Merchandize.*

A Body Politick.
The Stile of the Corporation.

Know ye therefore, that We greatly tendring the Honour of Our Nation, the Wealth of Our People, and the Encouragement of them, and others of Our loving Subjects in their good Enterprizes, for the Increaſe of Our Navigation, and the Advancement of lawful Traffick, to the Benefit of Our Common-wealth, have of Our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer motion, given and granted, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant unto Our ſaid loving Subjects, before in theſe Preſents expreſly named, That they, and every of them, from henceforth be, and ſhall be one Body Corporate and Politick in Deed, and in Name, by the Name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, *Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *one Body Corporate and Politick in Deed, and in Name really, and fully for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors. We do erect, make, ordain, conſtitute, eſtabliſh, and declare by theſe Preſents, and that by the ſame Name of Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *they ſhall have Succeſſion, and that they, and their Succeſſors, by the Name of Governour and Company, Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *be, and ſhall be at all times hereafter, Perſons, able and capable in Law, and a Body Corporate and Politick, and capable in Law, to have, purchaſe, receive, poſſeſs, enjoy, and retain Lands, Tenements, Priviledges, Liberties, Juriſdictions, Franchiſes, and Hereditaments, of whatſoever kind, nature, and quality, ſoever they be, to them and their Succaſſors. And alſo to give, grant, demiſe, aliene, aſſign, and diſpoſe all and ſingular other things, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, by the ſame Name, that to them ſhall, or may pertain to do. And that they and their Succeſſors, by the Name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *may plead, and be impleaded, anſwer, and be anſwered, defend, and be defended in whatſoever Courts and Places, and before whatſoever Judges and Juſtices, and other Perſons and Officers, in all and ſingular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Cauſes, and Demands whatſoever, of whatſoever kind, nature, or ſort, in ſuch manner and form, as other Our Liege People of this our Realm of* England, *being Perſons able and capable, may, or can have, purchaſe, receive, poſſeſs, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demiſe, aliene, aſſign, diſpoſe, plead, and be impleaded, anſwer, and be anſwered, defend, and be defended, releaſe, and be releaſed, do permit and execute.*

A Common Seal.

And that the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, *Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *and their Succeſſors, may have a Common Seal, to ſerve for all the Cauſes and Buſineſs of them, and their Succeſſors. And that it ſhall, and may be lawful, to the ſaid Governour and Company, and their Succeſſors, the ſame Seal, from time to time, at their Will and Pleaſure, to break, change, and to make new, or alter, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient. And further, We will, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do Ordain, That there ſhall be from henceforth, one of the ſame Company, to be elected and appointed in ſuch form and manner, as hereafter in theſe Preſents is expreſſed; which ſhall be called the Governour of the ſaid Company, and that there ſhall be from henceforth, Four and twenty of the ſaid Company, to be elected and appointed in ſuch form, as hereafter in theſe Preſents is expreſſed, which ſhall be called the Committees of the ſaid Company, who together with the Governour of the ſaid Company, for the time being, ſhall have the Direction of the Voyages, of, or for the ſaid Company, and the Proviſion of the Shipping and Merchandiſes thereto belonging, and alſo the Sale of all Merchandiſes, of, or for the ſaid Company, and the managing and handling of all other things belonging to the ſaid Company:*

Tho. Smith, Alderman, the firſt Governour.

And for the better Execution of this Our Will, and Grant, in this behalf, We have aſſigned, nominated, conſtituted, and made, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, We do aſſign, nominate, conſtitute, and make the ſaid Thomas Smith, *Alderman of* London, *to be the firſt, and preſent Governour of the ſaid Company, to continue in the ſaid Office, from the Date of theſe Preſents, until another of the ſaid Company, in due manner, be choſen and ſworn unto the ſaid Office, according to the Ordinances and Proviſions, hereafter in theſe Preſents expreſſed, and declared, if the ſaid* Thomas Smith *ſhall ſo long live.*

The firſt Committees for the Direction of the Affairs of the Company being 24.

And alſo We have aſſigned, nominated, and appointed, and by theſe Preſents for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, We do aſſign, nominate, conſtitute, and make the ſame Paul Banning, Leonard Hollyday, John More, Edward Holmden, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Style, James Lancaſter, Richard Wiſeman, Francis Cherry, Thomas Alablaſter, William Romney, Roger How, William Chambers, Robert Sandy, John Eldred, Richard Wiche, John Highlord, John Middleton, John Combe, William Haryſon, Nicholas Lyng, *and* Robert Bell, *to be the Four and twenty firſt and preſent Committees of the ſaid Company, to continue in the ſaid Office of Committees of the ſaid Company, from the Date of theſe Preſents, for one whole Year next following.*

A Deputy to the Governour.

And further, We Will and Grant by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, *Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *and their Succeſſors, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to, and for the ſaid Governour and Company, for the time being, or the more part of them preſent, at any Publick Aſſembly, commonly called, The Court holden for the ſaid Company, the Governour of the ſaid Company, being always one, from time to time, to elect, nominate, and appoint, one of the ſaid Company to be Deputy to the ſaid Governour; which Deputy ſhall take a Corporal Oath before the Governour, and five, or more, of the Committee of the ſaid Company, for the time being, well, faithfully, and truly, to execute his ſaid Office of Deputy, to the Governour of the Company; and after his Oath ſo taken, ſhall and may from time to time, in the abſence of the ſaid Governour, exerciſe and execute the Office of Governour of the ſaid Company, in ſuch ſort as the Governour ought to do.*

The firſt Day of July, or within ſix Days after the yearly Election of the Governour.

And further, We Will, and Grant, by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs, Executors, and Succeſſors, unto us the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, *Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *and their Succeſſors, that they, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy, to be one, and from time to time, and all times hereafter, ſhall, and may have Authority and Power, yearly, and every Year, on the firſt Day of* July, *or at any time within ſix Days after that Day, to aſſemble, and meet together in ſome convenient place, to be appointed from time to time by the Governour, or in his abſence, by the Deputy of the ſaid Governour, for the time being. And that they being ſo aſſembled, it ſhall and may be lawful, to, and for the ſaid Governour, or Deputy of the ſaid Governour, and the ſaid Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then ſhall happen to be preſent, whereof the Governour of the ſaid Company, or his Deputy for the time being, to be one, to elect and nominate one of the ſaid Company, which ſhall be Governour of the ſame Company for one whole Year, from thence next following, which Perſon being ſo elected, and nominated to be Governour of the ſaid Company, as is aforeſaid, before he be admitted to the Execution of the ſaid Office, ſhall take a Corporal Oath, before the laſt Governour, being his Predeceſſor, or his Deputy, or any ſix or more of the Committees of the ſaid Company for the time being, that he ſhall from time to time, well and truly execute the Office of Governour of the ſaid Company, in all things concerning the ſame, and that immediately after the ſaid Oath ſo taken, he ſhall and may execute and uſe the ſaid Office of Governour of this ſaid Company, for one whole Year from thence next following.*

Every Brother to take a Corporal Oath.

And in like ſort We Will and Grant, that as well every one above-named to be of the ſaid Company or Fellowſhip, as all others hereafter to be admitted, or free of the ſaid Company, ſhall take a Corporal Oath before the Governour of the ſaid Company, or his Deputy for the time being, to ſuch effect as by the ſaid Governour or Company, or the more part of them, in any Publick Court to be held for the ſaid Company, ſhall be in a reaſonable manner ſet down and deviſed, before they ſhall be allowed, or admitted, to Trade or Traffick as a Free-man of the ſaid Company.

The Four and twenty Committees to be yearly Elected, on the firſt of July, or ſix Days after.

And further We Will and Grant by theſe Preſents, for Us, *Our Heirs and Succeſſors, unto the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *and their Succeſſors, that the ſaid Governour, or the Deputy of the ſaid Governour, and the Company and their Succeſſors for the time being, or the greateſt part of them, whereof the Governour, or the Deputy of the Governour from time to time to be one, ſhall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have Authority and Power yearly, and every Year on the firſt Day of* July, *or at any time within ſix Days after that Day, to aſſemble, meet together, in ſome convenient place, to be from time to time appointed by the ſaid Governour of the ſaid Company, or* in his abſence by his Deputy. And that they being ſo aſſembled, it ſhall, and may be lawful, to, and for the ſaid Governour, or his Deputy, and the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, which then ſhall happen to be preſent, whereof the Governour of the ſaid Company, or his Deputy for the time being to be one, to elect and nominate Twenty four of the ſaid Company, which ſhall be Committees of the ſaid Company, for one whole Year from thence next enſuing; which Perſons being ſo elected, and nominated to be Committees of the ſaid Company as aforeſaid, before they be admitted to the Execution of their ſaid Offices, ſhall take a Corporal Oath before the Governour, or his Deputy, and ſix or more of the ſaid Committees of the ſaid Company, being their laſt Predeceſſors for the time being, that they and every of them, ſhall well and faithfully perform their ſaid Offices of Committees, in all things concerning the ſame. And that immediately after the ſaid Oath ſo taken, they ſhall and may execute, and uſe the ſaid Offices of Committees of the ſaid Company for one whole Year from thence next following. And moreover, Our Will and Pleaſure is, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and to their Succeſſors, that when, and as often it ſhall happen to the Governour of the ſaid Company for the time, at any time within one Year, after he ſhall be nominated, elected, and ſworn, to the Office of the Governour of the ſaid Company, as is aforeſaid, to die, or to be removed from the ſaid Office, which Governour not demeaning himſelf well in his ſaid Office, We Will to be removable at the pleaſure of the ſaid Company, or the greater part of them, which ſhall be preſent at any their Publick Aſſemblies, commonly called their General Court, holden for the ſaid Company, that then, and ſo often it ſhall, and may be lawful to, and for the reſidue of the ſaid Company, for the time being, or the greater part of them, within convenient time after the Death, or removing any ſuch Governour, to aſſemble themſelves in ſuch convenient place, as they ſhall think fit for the Election of the Governour of the ſaid Company; or that the ſaid Company, or the greater part of them being then and there preſent, ſhall, and may then and there, before their departure from the ſaid place, elect, and nominate one other of the ſaid Company, to be Governour of the ſaid Company in the place or ſtead of him, that ſo died, or was ſo removed; which Perſon being ſo elected, and nominated to the Office of Governour of the ſaid Company, ſhall have and exerciſe the ſaid Office for, and during the reſidue of the ſaid Year, taking firſt a Corporal Oath, as is aforeſaid, for the due Execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time, ſo often as the Caſe ſhall ſo require. And alſo Our Will and Pleaſure is, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do grant unto the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and to their Succeſſors, that when, and as often as it ſhall happen, any of the Committees of the ſaid Company for the time being, at an time within one Year next after, that they, or any of them, ſhall be nominated, elected, and ſworn to the Office of Committees of the ſaid Company, as is aforeſaid, to die, or be removed from the ſaid Office, which Committees not demeaning themſelves well in their ſaid Office, We will to be removeble, at the Pleaſure of the ſaid Governour and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy to be one, within convenient time after the Death, or removing of any of the ſaid Committees, to aſſemble themſelves in ſuch convenient place, as is, or ſhall be uſual and accuſtomed, for the Election of the Governour of the ſaid Company, or where elſe for the Governour of the ſaid Company, for the time being, or his Deputy to be one, being then and there preſent, ſhall and may then and there, before there departure from the ſaid place, elect and nominate one, or more, of the ſaid Company, to be Committees of the ſaid Company, in the places and ſteads, place or ſteed of him, or them, that ſo died, or were, or was ſo removed; which Perſon or Perſons ſo elected, and nominated to the Office, or Offices of Committee, or Committees of the ſaid Company, ſhall have and exerciſe the ſaid Office and Offices, for, and during the reſidue of the ſaid Year, taking firſt a Corporal Oath, as is aforeſaid, for the due execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time, ſo often as the Cauſe ſhall require. And further, We do by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, Will, and grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that they, and all that are, or ſhall be of the ſaid Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and every of them, and all the Sons of them, and every of them, at their ſeveral Ages of One and twenty Years, or upwards: And further, all ſuch the Apprentices, Factors, or Servants of them, and every of them, which hereafter ſhall be imployed by the ſaid Governour and Company, in the ſaid Trade of Merchandice, of, or to the Eaſt-Indies, beyond the Seas, or any other the places aforeſaid, in any part of the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, ſhall, and may, by the ſpace of Fifteen Years, from the Feaſt of the Birth of our Lord God laſt paſt, before the Date hereof, freely Traffick, and uſe the Trade of Merchandioe by Sea, in, and by ſuch Ways and Paſſages already found out, or diſcovered, or which hereafter ſhall be found out and diſcovered, as they ſhall eſteem, and take to be fitteſt into, and from the Eaſt-Indies, into the Countries, and Parts of Aſia and Africa; and into, and from all the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Creeks, Towns, and Places of Aſia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Sperancia, to the Streights of Magellan, where any Trade or Traffick of Merchandice may be uſed, or had, to, and from every of them, in ſuch Order, Manner, Form, Liberty, and Condition, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as ſhall be from time to time at any Publick Aſſembly, or Court held by, or for the ſaid Governour or Company, by or between them, of them of the ſaid Company, or Fellowſhip of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, or the more part of them for the time, being preſent at ſuch Aſſembly, or Court, the Governour, or his Deputy, being always preſent at ſuch Court, or Aſſembly, limited and agreed: And not otherwiſe, without any Moleſtation, Impeachment, or Diſturbance; any Statute, Uſage, Diverſity, Religion, or Faith, or any other Cauſe, or Matter whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding: So always that the ſame Trade be not undertaken, nor addreſſed to any Country, Iſland, Port, Haven, City, Creek, Town, or Place already in the lawful, and actual poſſeſſion of any ſuch Chriſtian Prince or State, as at this preſent is, or at any time hereafter ſhall be in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, and who doth not, or will not accept of ſuch Trade, but doth overtly declare and publiſh the ſame, to be utterly againſt his or their good will and liking. And further, Our Will and Pleaſure is, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and to their Succeſſors, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the ſaid Governour, and Company, and their Succeſſors, from time to time, to aſſemble themſelves for, or about any the Matters, Cauſes, Affairs, or Buſineſs of the ſaid Trade, in any Place or Places, for the ſame convenient, during the ſaid Term of Fifteen Years, within our Dominions, or elſewhere, and there to hold Court for the ſaid Company, and the Affairs thereof; and that alſo it ſhall and may be lawful, to, and for them, or the more part of them, being ſo aſſembled, and that ſhall then and there be preſent, in any ſuch Place or Places, whereof the Governour, or his Deputy for the time being to be one, to make, ordain, and conſtitute ſuch and ſo many reaſonable Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there preſent, ſhall ſeem neceſſary and convenient, for the good Government of the ſame Company, and of all Factors, Maſters, Mariners, and other Officers imployed, or to be imployed in any of their Voyages, and for the better advancement and continuance of the ſaid Trade, and Traffick, and the ſame Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Ordinances ſo made, to put in and execute accordingly, and at their Pleaſure to revoke, or alter the ſame, or any of them, as occaſion ſhall require, and that the ſaid Governour, and Company, ſo often as they ſhall make, ordain, or eſtabliſh any ſuch Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, in form aforeſaid, ſhall and may lawfully impoſe, ordain, limit, and provide ſuch Pains, Puniſhments, Penalties, by Impriſonment of Body, or by Fines, or Amercements, or by all or any of them, upon, and againſt all Offenders, contrary to ſuch Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, or any of them, as to the ſaid Governour, and Company, for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being preſent, the ſaid Governour, or his Deputy, being always one, ſhall ſeem neceſſary, requiſite, and convenient for the obſervation of the ſame Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, and the ſame Fines and Amercements, ſhall and may levy, take, and have to the uſe of the ſaid Governour, and Company, and their Succeſſors, without the impediment of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, or any of the Officers, or Miniſters of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, or without Accompt to Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, to be rendred or made. All and ſundry which Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, ſo as aforeſaid to be made, We Will to be duly obſerved, and kept under the Pains and Penalties therein to be contained; ſo always the ſaid Laws, Conſtitutions, Orders, Ordinances, Impriſonments, Fines, and Amercements be reaſonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, or Cuſtoms of this Our Realm. And foreſmuch as the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, have not yet Experience of the kinds of Commodities and Merchendizes, which are or will be vendible, or to be uttered in the ſaid Parts of the Eaſt-Indies, and therefore ſhall be driven to carry to theſe Parts, in their Voyages, divers and ſundry Commodities, which are likely to be returned again into this Realm: We therefore of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, for the better encouraging of the ſaid Governour,

The Committees ſhall take a Corporal Oath.

If the Governour die, or be remov'd a new one to be choſen.

If any of the Committees, new to be choſen.

Freedom for the Sons and Apprentices of ſuch, as are free of the Company.

The Place of the Freedom of this Company.

That the Company may aſſemble in any convenient place.

Authority to make reaſonable Laws, by the greateſt part of a Genera Aſſembly.

To puniſh Offenders either in Body or Purſe, ſo it be not contrary to the Laws of the Realm.

Freedom of Cuſtom of Goods outwards, for four Years.

and Company of Merchants Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and for the Advancement of the ſaid Trade, do grant unto the ſaid Governour and Company, and to their Succeſſors, that they and their Succeſſors, during the four firſt Voyages which they ſhall make, or ſet forth for, or towards the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, ſhall or may tranſport, and carry out of Our Realm of England, and the Ports, Creeks, and Havens thereof, all ſuch, and ſo much Goods and Merchandizes, being Goods and Merchandizes lawfully paſſable, and tranſportable out of this Realm, and not prohibited to be tranſported by any Law, or Statute, of this Realm, as ſhall be by them, their Factors, or Aſſigns, ſhipped in any Ship, or Ships, Veſſel, or Veſſels, to be imployed in any of the ſaid four firſt Voyages, free of Cuſtom, Subſidy, or Poundage, or any other Duties or Payments to Us, or Our Succeſſors due, or belonging for the Shipping, or tranſporting of the ſame, or any of them. And yet nevertheleſs, Our Will and Pleaſure is, and We do by theſe Preſents ſtraitly Charge and Command, That all and every ſuch Goods and Merchandizes ſo to be tranſported out of this Realm, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid four firſt Voyages, as is aforeſaid, ſhall from time to time be duly entred by the Cuſtomer, Comptroller, or other Officer of ſuch Port, Creek, or Place, where the ſame Goods, or Merchandizes, ſhall happen to be ſhipped, or laden, to be tranſported as aforeſaid.

Six and ſix Months time, for Payment of Cuſtom and Subſidy inward.

And alſo of Our further eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We do for Us, Our Heirs, Succeſſors, grant to and with the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that when, and as often at any time during the ſaid Term, and ſpace of Fifteen Years, as any Cuſtom, Poundage, Subſidy, or other Duties, ſhall be due and payable unto Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, for any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatſoever, to be returned out, or from any the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforeſaid unto the Port of London, or any of the Havens, Creeks, Members, or Places, to the ſame Port belonging, that the Cuſtomers, and all other Officers for the time being of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, for, or concerning Receipts of Cuſtom, Poundage, Subſidies, or other Duties unto whom it ſhall appertain, ſhall upon the Requeſt of the Governour, and Company of the ſaid Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, or any other their Agents, Factors, or Aſſigns, give unto the ſaid Governour and Company, their Agents, Factors, or Aſſigns, ſix Months time for the Payment of the one half; and after thoſe ſix Months ended, other ſix Months time for the Payment of the other half of their ſaid Cuſtom, Poundage, or other Subſidy, or Duties, receiving good and ſufficient Bonds, with Surety, to the Uſe of Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, for the true Payment of the ſame accordingly; and upon the receipt of the ſaid Bonds with Surety, from time to time, to give unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, for the time being, their Agents, Factors, or Aſſigns, their Cockets, or other Warrants, to take out, and receive on Land the ſame Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes, by Virtue thereof, without any diſturbance.

If Goods miſcarry outward the Value of Cuſtom ſhall be allowed in other Goods afterward ſhipped.

And that alſo as often as at any time, during the ſaid Term of Fifteen Years, any Goods, Wares, or Mercandizes, of the ſaid Governour, and Company, for the time being laden from Our Port of London, or any the Creeks, Members, or Places to the ſame Port belonging, to be tranſported to, or towards any of the Ports, Iſlands, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places, aforeſaid, ſhall happen to miſcarry or be loſt, before their ſafe Arrival or Diſcharge in the Ports, for, and to the which the ſame ſhall be ſent, that then, and ſo often, and ſo much Cuſtom, Poundage, Subſidies, or other Duties, as they anſwer'd to Us for the ſame, before their going forth of Our ſaid Ports, Havens, or Creeks, ſhall after due proof made before the Treaſurer of England, for the time being, of the ſaid Loſs, and the juſt Quantity thereof, be by Virtue hereof allowed by the ſaid Governour and Company, their Agents, or Factors, by Warrant of the ſaid Treaſurer, to the ſaid Cuſtomers or Officers, in the next Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, that the ſaid Governour and Company, or their Succeſſors, ſhall and may ſhip, for, or towards thoſe Parts, according to the true Rates of the Cuſtoms, Poundage, or Subſidies, before paid for the Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes ſo loſt, or miſcarrying, or any part thereof.

The Cuſtom of Goods being paid at coming into the Realm, it ſhall be lawful for any Natural Subject to ſhip it out again upon the firſt Cuſtom within thirteen Months.

And for that the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, are like to bring into this Our Realm, a much greater quantity of Foreign Commodities, from the parts of the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, than can be ſpent for the neceſſary uſe of the ſame Our Realm, which of neceſſity muſt be tranſported into other Countries, and there vented: We for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, of Our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, do grant to, and with the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that at all times, from time to time, during the ſpace of thirteen Months, next after the Diſcharge of any the ſame Foreign Commodities ſo to be brought in, the Subſidies, Poundage, Cuſtoms, and other Duties, for the ſame being firſt paid, or compounded for, as aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Governour and Company, and their Succeſſors, or any other the Natural Subjects of this Our Realm, which may, or ſhall buy the ſame of them, to tranſport the ſame in Engliſh Bottoms, freely out of this Realm, as well ungarbled, as garbled, without Payment of any further Cuſtom, Poundage, or any further Subſidy, to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors for the ſame: Whereof the Subſidy, Cuſtom, Poundage, or other Duties, ſhall be ſo formerly paid or compounded for, as aforeſaid, and ſo provided, and the ſaid Cuſtomer, or other Officer or Officers, to whom in that behalf it ſhall appertain, for the time being, by Virtue hereof, ſhall upon due and ſufficient proof thereof, made in the Cuſtom-Houſe, of, or belonging to the ſame Port of London, give them ſufficient Cocket, or Certificate for the ſafe paſſing out thereof accordingly. And to the end no deceit to be uſed herein to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, Certificates ſhall be brought from the Collector of the Cuſtom, Subſidy, Poundage, or other Duties inwards of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, to the Collectors of the Cuſtom, Subſidy, Poundage, or other Duties outwards of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, to the ſaid Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, have within the time limited, anſwered their due Cuſtom, Subſidy, Poundage, or other Duties, for the ſame inwards.

That it ſhall be lawful in the firſt Voyage, to carry out in Foreign Coin procured by the Company, or Bullion, the Value of 30000 *l.* ſo as 6000 thereof be coined in the Mint.

And moreover, We of Our further eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, have granted, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, that it ſhall and may be lawful for them, their Factors, or Aſſigns, in their firſt Voyage, or Fleet, which is now in preparing for their firſt Adventure to the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, to tranſport out of this Our Realm of England, all ſuch Foreign Coyn of Silver, either Spaniſh, or other Foreign Silver, as they have procured, prepared and gotten, or ſhall procure, prepare and get, as likewiſe all ſuch other Coyns of Silver, as they have procured, or ſhall procure to be coined in Our Mint, within Our Tower of London, out of ſuch Plate or Bullion, as it ſhall be provided for the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, their Factors, or Aſſigns, before the going forth of the ſame Fleet in theſe three firſt Voyages, ſo as the whole quantity of Coin or Moneys, to be tranſported in this their ſaid firſt Voyage, do not exceed the Value, or Sum of Thirty thouſand Pound Sterling. And ſo as the Sum of Six thouſand Pound, at the leaſt parcel of the ſaid Sum of Thirty thouſand Pound, be firſt coined in Our Mint, within Our Tower of London, before the ſame ſhall be tranſported as aforeſaid; any Law, Statute, Reſtraint, or Prohibition in that behalf notwithſtanding.

After the ſaid firſt Voyage, in all the reſt of the Voyages, they may carry out in every Voyage 30000 *l.* of ſuch Foreign Coin as they bring into the Realm, ſo as 6000 thereof be new coined in the Mint.

And in like manner, of Our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We have granted, and by theſe Preſents do for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors: That it ſhall and may be lawful, to, and for the ſaid Governour and Company, and their Succeſſors, after the ſaid firſt Voyage ſet forth yearly, for, and during the reſidue of the ſaid Term of Fifteen Years, to ſhip and tranſport out of this Our Realm of England, or Dominions of the ſame, in any their other Voyages, to, and towards any of the Parts aforeſaid, in form aforementioned, all ſuch Foreign Coin of Silver, Spaniſh, or other Foreign Silver, or Bullion of Silver, as they ſhall during the ſaid Term bring, or cauſe to be brought into this Our Realm of England, from the Parts beyond the Seas, either in the ſame kind, ſort, ſtamp, or faſhion, which it ſhall have when they bring it in, or any other Form, Stamp, or Faſhion, to be coined within our Mint, within Our Tower of London, at their pleaſure, ſo as the whole Quantities of Coin, or Moneys by them to be tranſported in any their ſaid Voyages, during the reſidue of the ſaid Term, do not exceed the Value or Sum of Thirty thouſand Pound in any one Voyage, and ſo as the Sum of Six thouſand Pound, at the leaſt parcel of the ſaid Sum, or Value of Thirty thouſand Pound, ſo to be tranſported as aforeſaid, be firſt coined within Our ſaid Tower of London, before the ſame ſhall be tranſported in any of the ſaid Voyages, any Law, Statute, Reſtraint, or Prohibition in that behalf in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

That the Trade ſhall be Traded, according to the Ordinances of the Company, and not otherwiſe.

And further, We of Our ample, and aboundant Grace, meer Motion, and certain Knowledge, have granted, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that they and their Succeſſors, and their Factors, Servants, or Aſſigns, in the Trade of Merchandize for them, and on their behalf, and not otherwiſe, ſhall for the ſaid Term of Fifteen Years, have, uſe, and enjoy the whole entire, and only Trade and Traffick, and the whole entire and only Liberty, Uſe, and Priviledge of Trading and Trafficking, and uſing Feat and Trade of Merchandize, to and from the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, and to and from all the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforeſaid in ſuch manner, and form as is above-mentioned, and that the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and every particular and ſeveral Perſon that now is, or that hereafter ſhall be of that Company, or Incorporation, ſhall have full, and free Authority, Liberty and Faculty, Licenſe and Power in Form aforeſaid, to Trade and to Traffick, to and from the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, and all and every the Parts thereof, in Form aforeſaid, according to the Orders and Manners, and Agreement hereafter to be made, and agreed upon by the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, or the more part of them, preſent at any Court, or publick Aſſembly, of, or for the ſaid Company; the Governour of the ſaid Company, or his Deputy for the time being always preſent at ſuch Court or Aſſembly, and not otherwiſe.

That ſix Ships and ſix Pinnaces, ſhall be yearly permitted to go into the *Eaſt-Indies*, and five hundred Mariners, any reſtraint notwithſtanding; except the Navy Royal go forth.

And for that the Ships ſailing into the ſaid Indies, muſt take their due and proper times, to proceed in theſe Voyages, which otherwiſe, as we well perceive cannot be performed in the reſt of the Year following: Therefore we of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant, to and with the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that in any time of reſtraint ſix good Ships, and ſix good Pinnaces well furniſhed with Ordnance, and other munition for their Defence, and five hundred Mariners, Engliſh-men, to Guide and Sail in the ſame ſix Ships, and ſix Pinnaces at all times, during the ſaid term of fifteen Years, ſhall quietly be permitted, and ſuffered to depart and go in the ſaid Voyages, according to the purport of theſe Preſents, without any ſtay or contradiction by Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, or by the Lord High Admiral, or any other Officer or Subject, of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors for the time being in any Wiſe, any Reſtraint, Law, Statute, Uſage, or Matter whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding. Provided nevertheleſs, that if We ſhall at any time within the ſaid term of fifteen Years, have juſt cauſe to Arm Our Navy in warlike manner, in defence of Our Realm, or for offence of Our Enemies, or that it ſhall be found needful to join to the Navy, of Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, the Ships of Our Subjects, to be alſo Armed for the Wars to ſuch a Number as cannot be ſupplied, if the ſaid ſix Ships, and ſix Pinnaces ſhould be permitted to depart, as above is mentioned, then upon Knowledge given to Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, or by any Admiral, to the ſaid Governour and Company, about the twentieth day of the Month of July, or three Months before the ſaid Governour and Company, ſhall begin to make ready the ſame ſix Ships and ſix Pinnaces, that we may not ſpare the ſaid ſix Ships and ſix Pinnaces, and the Mariners requiſite for them to be out of our Realm, during the time that our Navy ſhall be upon the Seas; That then the ſaid Governour and Company, ſhall forbear to ſend ſix ſuch Ships, and ſix Pinnaces for their Trade of Merchandize, untill that we ſhall revoke, or withdraw Our ſaid Navy for this Service.

A prohibition to all other ſubjects, not free of this Company, for trading into thoſe parts upon ſeveral pains, without the licence and aſſent of the Company.

And We of Our further Royal Favour, and of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion have granted, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and to their Succeſſors, that the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, nor the Iſlands, Havens, Ports, Cities, Towns, or Places thereof, nor of any part thereof, ſhall not be viſited, frequented or haunted by any of the Subjects of Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, during the ſaid term of fifteen Years, contrary to the true meaning of theſe Preſents.

Forfeiture of Goods and Ships.

And by vertue of Our Prerogative Royal, which We will not in that behalf have argued, or brought in queſtion; We ſtraightly Charge, Command, and Prohibit for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, of what degree or quality ſoever they be, that none of them directly or indirectly, do Viſit, Haunt, Frequent, Trade, Traffick, or Adventure by way of Merchandize, into, or from any of the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, or into and from any of the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforeſaid, other than the ſaid Governour, or Company of Merchants of London, trading, into the Eaſt-Indies, and ſuch particular Perſons, as now be, or hereafter ſhall be of that Company, their Agents, Factors, and Aſſigns, during the ſaid term of fifteen Years, unleſs it be by, and with ſuch Licence and Agreement of the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, in writing firſt had, and obtained under their common Seal to be granted, upon pain that every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall Trade or Traffick into, or from any of the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, other than the ſaid Governour, or Company of Merchants of London trading to the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, ſhall incur Our indignation and forfeiture, and loſs of the Goods, Merchandize, and other things whatſoever, which ſo ſhall be brought into this Realm of England, or any the Dominions of the ſame, contrary to Our ſaid Prohibition, or the purport or true meaning of theſe Preſents, as alſo the Ship and Ships, with the Furniture thereof, wherein ſuch Goods, Merchandizes, or Things ſhall be brought, the half of all the ſaid forfeitures to be to Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, and the other half of all, and every the ſaid Forfeitures, We do by theſe Preſents of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, clearly and wholly for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, give and grant unto the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies:

The diviſion of the forfeiture.

Impriſonment.

Entring into bond of a thouſand pound.

And further, all and every the ſaid Offenders, for their ſaid contempt, to ſuffer Impriſonment during Our Pleaſure, and ſuch other puniſhment, as to Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, for ſo high a Contempt ſhall ſeem meet and convenient, and not to be in any wiſe delivered, untill they, and every of them, ſhall become bound unto the ſaid Governour, for the time being, in the ſum of a thouſand pound at leaſt, at no time there after, during this preſent Grant, to Sail or Traffick into any of the ſaid Eaſt-Indies contrary to Our expreſs Commandment, in that behalf herein ſet down and publiſh'd.

How the Company may grant licence to others, at what time.

And further, for the better encouragement of Merchant ſtrangers, and others, to bring in Commodities, into this Our Realm, We for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the Eaſt-Indies, that They and their Succeſſours may from time to time, for any Conſideration or Benefit to be taken to their own uſe, grant or give Licence to any Perſon or Perſons, to Sail, Trade, or Traffick, into, or from any of the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, ſo as ſuch Licence be granted or given before ſuch Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes be laid on Land, and ſo as ſuch Licence be made by the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies for the time being, under their Common Seal.

That Her Majeſty will not grant to any others to enter into theſe parts, during the term of 15 years.

And further of Our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, we have condeſcended and granted, and by theſe preſents for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, we do condeſcend and grant unto the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that we our Heirs and Succeſſors, during the ſaid term of fifteen years, will not grant liberty, licence, or power to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, contrary to the tenour of theſe our Letters Patents, to ſail, paſs, trade, or traffique to the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, or into, or from the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns or Places aforeſaid, or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of theſe preſents, without the conſent of the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, or the moſt part of them.

That the Company may admit others at their pleaſure into this Freedom.

And Our will and pleaſure is, and hereby we do alſo ordain, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, or the more part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy to be one, to admit into, and to be of the ſaid Company, all ſuch Apprentices to any of the ſaid Fellowſhip or Company, and all ſuch Servants and Factors, of or for the ſaid Company, and all ſuch others as to them, or the moſt part of them preſent, at any Court held for the ſaid Company, the Governour, or his Deputy being one, ſhall be thought fit and agreeable with the Orders and Ordinances, to be made for the Government of the ſaid Company.

Proviſo, that if any named in the Patent do not bring in his promiſed adventure ſet down, it ſhall be lawful for the Company to diſfranchiſe him.

Provided always, that if any of the perſons before named, and appointed by theſe Preſents, to be free of the ſaid Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies, ſhall not before the going forth of the Fleet, appointed for this firſt Voyage, from the Port of London, bring in, and deliver to the Treaſurer or Treaſurers appointed, or which within the ſpace of twenty Days next after the date hereof, ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Governour and Company, or the more part of them, to receive the Contributions and Adventures, ſet down by the ſeveral Adventurers, in this laſt and preſent Voyage, now in hand to be ſet forth, ſuch Sums of Money as have been by any of the ſaid perſons, by theſe Preſents nominated to be of the ſaid Company, expreſſed, ſet down, and written in a Book appointed for that purpoſe, and left in the hands of the ſaid Tho. Smith, Governour of the ſaid Company, or of the ſaid Paul Bannyng, Alderman of London, and ſubſcribed with the names of the ſame Adventurers, under their Hands, and agreed upon to be adventured in the ſaid firſt Voyage, that then it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Governour and Company, or the more part of them, whereof the ſaid Governour or his Deputy to be one, at any their General Court, or General Aſſembly, to remove, Disfranchize, and diſplace him or them at their wills and pleaſures;

The Company do promiſe to bring in after every Voyage returned within ſix months, as great a quantity of Silver, Gold, or Foreign Coin as they ſhall carry out, the firſt Voyage excepted.

And the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies for them and their Succeſſours, doe by theſe Preſents covenant, promiſe, and grant to and with us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, that they the ſad Governour and Company, and their Succeſſors: In all and every ſuch Voyage, as they at any time, or times hereafter during the ſaid Term ſhall make out of this Realm, by vertue of this Our Grant, and Letters Patents, the firſt Voyage only excepted, ſhall and will upon every return, which ſhall be made back again into this Realm, or any of our Dominions, or within ſix Months next after every ſuch return, bring into this our Realm, of England, from the ſaid Eaſt-Indies, or from ſome other parts beyond the Seas, out of our Dominions, as great or greater value in Bullion of Gold or Silver, or other foreign Coin of Gold or Silver, reſpectively for every Voyage, the firſt Voyage only excepted, as ſhall be by force of theſe Preſents, tranſported or carried out of this Realm, by them, or any of them in any kind of Silver above-ſaid, whatſoever in any of the ſaid Voyages, and that all ſuch Silver, as by vertue of this our Grant and Letters Patents, ſhall be ſhipped or laden, All Silver or Gold carried forth by the Company ſhall be ſhipped at the Ports of *London, Dartmouth*, and *Plimouth.* The Priviledge ſhall not extend into any place, being in the actual poſſeſſion of any Prince in league or amity with her Majeſty.

den, by the ſaid Governour and Company, or their Succeſſors, to be tranſported out of this Realm in any of the ſaid Voyages, ſhall from time to time at the ſetting forth of every ſuch particular Voyages be ſhipped or laden at the Ports or Havens of London, Dartmouth *or* Plimouth, *or at ſome of the ſame Ports and Havens, and at no other Port or Haven whatſoever within this our Realm, or the Dominions thereof, and that all and every ſuch Silver, as from time to time, ſhall be ſhipped and laden in the ſaid Ports of* London, Dartmouth *and* Plimouth, *or any of them to be by force of theſe Preſents tranſported out of this Realm, as is aforeſaid, ſhall from time to time, be duly entred by the Cuſtomer, Comptroller, Collector, or other Officer, to whom it ſhall appertain of every ſuch Port or Haven, where the ſame ſhall happen to be ſhipped or laden, in the Cuſtom Book, belonging to the ſaid Port or Haven, before ſuch time as the ſame ſhall be ſhipped, or laden to be tranſported as aforeſaid, without any Cuſtom or Subſidy to be paid for the ſame. And that in like manner, all and all manner of Gold and Silver whatſoever, which ſhall be brought into this Realm, or any of our Dominions, by the ſaid Governour and Company, or any of them, according to the true meaning of theſe Preſents, ſhall likewiſe be from time to time, duly entred by the Cuſtomer, Comptroler, or other Officer of every ſuch Port, Creek or Place, where the ſame Gold or Silver ſhall happen to be unſhipped, or brought to Land, before ſuch time as the ſame Gold or Silver, or any part thereof ſhall be unſhipped, or brought to Land, as is aforeſaid Provided always, nevertheleſs, and Our will and pleaſure is, that theſe our Letters Patents, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not in any ſort extend, to give or grant any Licence, Power, or Authority, unto the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *or to any of them, to undertake or addreſs any Trade unto any Country, Port, Iſland, Haven, City, Creek, Town or Place, being already in the lawful and actual poſſeſſion of any ſuch Chriſtian Prince or State, as at this preſent is, or at any time hereafter ſhall be in League, or Amity with us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, and which doth not, or will not except of ſuch trade, but doth overtly declare and publiſh the ſame to be utterly againſt his, or their good will and liking, any thing in Preſent before contained, to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding. Provided alſo, that if it ſhall hereafter appear to Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, that this Grant, or the continuance thereof, ſhall not be profitable to us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, and to this Our Realm, that then, and from thence-forth upon and after two years warning to be given to the ſaid Company, by Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, under Our or their Privy Seal, or Sign Manual, this preſent Grant ſhall ceaſe, be void, and determined to all intents, Conſtructions, and Purpoſes. And further of Our ſpecial Grace, certain knowledge, and meer Motion, we have condeſcended and grated, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors do condeſcend, and grant to the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *and their Succeſſors, that if at the end of the ſaid term of fifteen years it ſhall ſeem meet and convenient, to the ſaid Governour and Company, or any the Parties aforeſaid, that this preſent Grant ſhall be continued, and if that alſo it ſhall appear unto Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, that the continuance thereof ſhall not be prejudicial, or hurtful to this our Realm, but that we ſhall find the further continuance thereof profitable for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, and for our Realm with ſuch Conditions, as are here in mentioned, or with ſome Alteration or Qualification thereof, that then We, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, at the inſtance and humble Petition of the ſaid Governour and Company, or any of them to be made unto us Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors will grant, and make unto the ſaid Governour and Company, or any of them ſo ſuing for the ſame, and ſuch other Perſon and Perſons, Our Subjects, as they ſhall nominate and appoint, or ſhall be by Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors newly nominated not exceeding in Number, four and twenty new Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of* England, *in due Form of Law with like Covenants, Grants, Clauſes and Articles, as in theſe Preſents are contained, or with Addition of either neceſſary Articles, or changing of theſe into ſome other parts, for and during the full Term of fifteen Years then next following. Willing hereby, and ſtreightly charging and commanding all, and ſingular Our Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Juſtices, Majors, Sheriffs, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bailiffs, and all and ſingular other, Our Officers, Miniſters, Leadgemen, and Subjects whatſoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping, and aſſiſting unto the ſaid Governour and Company, and to their Suceeſſors, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, Servants, Aſſigns and Miniſters, and every of them in executing and enjoying the Premiſes as well on Land, as on Sea, from time to time, when you, or any of you ſhall thereunto be required, any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviſo, Proclamation, or Reſtraint heretofore, had, made, ſet forth, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cauſe, or thing whatſoever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Although expreſs mention of the true yearly value, or certainty of the Premiſes, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts, or Grants by us, or any of our Progenitors, to the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, *or to any of them before this time made, in theſe Preſents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviſion, Proclamation, or Reſtraint, to the contrary hereof, heretofore had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoever in any wiſe notwithſtanding.*

If this Priviledge be found unprofitable for the Realm then within two years warning given under the Privy Seal, the ſame ſhall be void, but if it ſhall be found beneficial, then the ſame to be renewed with ſome additions.

In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents, Witneſs our ſelf at Weſtminſter, *the one and thirtieth of December, in the three and fortieth Year of Our Reign.* Per brevem Privato Sigillo. ſ. HUBERD.

Chap. VIII.

The firſt Voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, *for the Merchants of* London, *by Mr* James Lancaſter, *Admiral.*

A. D. 1600.

THE Merchants of *London*, having rais'd amongſt themſelves a Stock of 72000 Pounds in order, to the Eſtabliſhment of an *Eaſt-India* Trade, and having beſides, Her Majeſties Higheſt Encouragement, and Letters of Commendation to the moſt conſiderable Precepts of *India*; they ſet out a Fleet of five able Ships, to begin the Correſpondence with that part of the World. The Ships were the Dragon Admiral of 600 Tuns, the Hector Vice-Admiral of 300, the Aſcention of 200, the Suſan of about the ſame dimenſions, and the Gueſt a Victualer of 130. They had aboard them in all 480 men and were furniſhed with Ammunition and Victuals for 20 Merchants. We carried along with us to the value of 27000 pounds in Money and Goods, the other part of the Stock having been entirely ſpent upon the Ships, and the neceſſary Furniture of them.

They ſet out from Woolwich.

Being ready to Sail, we ſet out *February* the thirteenth from *Woolwich* upon the River of *Thames*, and being becalm'd in the *Downs*, made it *Eaſter-Day* before we reach'd *Dartmouth*.

April the eighteenth, we came to an Anchor in *Torbay*, where the neceſſary Orders and Inſtructions were given for our better Company keeping at Sea, as alſo what places to have recourſe to, in caſe any Ship were ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet by Storms or any other accident.

May the Second, we ſail'd out of *Torbay* directing our Courſe to the *Canaries* (a) and the fifth, had ſight of *Alequanza* the moſt Northerly of thoſe Iſlands, and ſo holding our Courſe between *Forteventura*, and the Grand *Cautery*, at the South part of it we fell into the *Calms* For the ſpace of a whole Month afterward we were ſo diſtracted between Calms and contrary South winds, and ſometimes with ſudden furious Guſts and dreadful Lightnings, that we made but little way; and we had our Hands full of work to Guard our ſelves from thoſe dangers that we look'd in the Face for ſo long together

(a) *Canaries.*

Beating up and down at this rate with much ado, by *June* twenty firſt we got into 2 Degr. of the North ſide the Line; and as they commonly ſay, 'tis a bad Wind indeed that blows no body no Good, ſo the Winds though they had been hitherto extreamly Croſs and Contrary, yet were now ſo Favourable as to blow a good Prize into our Hands. She was a Ship of *Portugal* bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, and ſhe afforded us 146 Buts of Butter, 176 Jarrs of Oil, 12 Barrels of Oil, and 55 Hogſheads of Meal. This was a very ſubſtantial Help to us in our Voyage; and now we found that the Winds had done us no great diskindneſs in not ſending us faſter along than they did.

A Prize taken.

They croſs the Equinoctial.

June the laſt, we paſs'd the Line, and loſt ſight of the North Star, and holding our Courſe S. S. W. we doubled the Cape of St. *Auguſtine* ſome 26 Leagues to the Eaſt ſide.

July the 20th, we made 19 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. and here we diſcharged our Victualing Ship, the *Gueſt*, taking all her Maſts, Sails and Yards, and breaking down her higher building for Fire-wood, we left her floating in the Sea; holding our Courſe to the South-ſide.

They paſs the Tropic of *Capricorn*.

July the twentyfourth we paſs'd the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and becauſe we had been ſo long about the Line (as we were forc'd to do, the time being paſt for a quick Navigation) and many of our Men having contracted ſtill nearer, our Admiral gave orders to ſtand either for *Soldania* or St. *Helena*, that we might refreſh our ſick Company.

Auguſt the firſt, We came into 30 Degrees South Lat. and here we met with the South Winds, to the great comfort of us all, eſpecially thoſe that were diſordered. This Wind held us till we came within 250 Leagues of the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and then it blew directly to the Eaſt for 15 or 16 Days, which made a ſudden alteration in our Ship for the worſe, and encreas'd mightily Diſtempers amongſt us. Now all that were well and ſound before, took their turns to be ſick, and in this general Diſtreſs for want of other Hands, the Merchants themſelves were forc'd to work at the Helm, and do the Offices of common Sailors.

(b) They arrive at *Soldania*.

Remedy for the Scurvy at Sea.

But this calamitous Wind left us again, and another ſucceeded, which prov'd more favourable, brought us *September* the ninth into the Road of (b) *Soldania*. At our coming in here, we had very ſenſible Demonſtrations of the ſad Effects of a prevailing Scurvy, and other ſad Diſtempers amongſt us; for the Company of three of our Ships were reduc'd to that paſs, that they were not able out of a whole Ship to make up ſtrength enough to hoiſt out a Boat or let fall an Anchor. Our Admiral indeed ſcap'd pretty well, and moſt of the Men aboard her maintained a good habit of Body in all that ſickly time, which Preſervation was imputed to the Method the Admiral took with them; which was to give them all round three or four Spoonfuls of the Juice of Limons every Morning faſting, and not permitting them to eat till Noon. And this courſe is much more effectual if people together with it will content themſelves with a ſhort and ſpare Diet, and eſpecially (if the Circumſtances of Proviſion at Sea will allow it) abſtain from eating ſalt Meats. Our Admiral went aſhoar himſelf to find a proper reſting place, and ſome Materials for the refreſhment of the ſick Company; and meeting with ſome of the *Soldanians*, he oblig'd them with ſeveral Trifles brought for that purpoſe, and as well as he cou'd ſignified to them his deſire to trade with them for Cattle. But it being hardly poſſible ever to learn or ſpeak that Tongue, he was forc'd to uſe the Univerſal Language of Brutes, Moa for Oxen, and Baa for Sheep, and ſuch like rude Terms taken out of the mouths of the Beaſts themſelves, which was all very Intelligible to theſe People that were ſo near a kin to them. So ſeveral Tents being ſet up aſhoar, and ſome little Fortifications made for our own defence in caſe any violence ſhould be offer'd us, we expected the arrival of the *Soldanians* with their Sheep and Oxen.

Trade with the Natives.

* See *Davis's* Voyages.

The third Day after our coming, they came down from the Mountains with great troops of Cattle, * and we needed no Gold or Silver to go to Market with, as long as we had any old Iron left. Within ten or twelve Days we bought 1000 Sheep, and 42 Oxen of them, which we turn'd a Grazing upon the Hills about our Tents, and we purchas'd them at ſuch eaſy Rates, that I think half the ſtock of ruſty old Iron that is commonly ſeen in a Country Smith's Shop would make a Man here as Rich in Cattle as any of the old Patriarchs were. But I ſuppoſe that by the numbers of Sheep we bought they imagin'd we intended to Plant amongſt them, and ſet up for Farmers in the Country, for after this they would ſell us no more, and when we made ſigns to them for any, they wou'd point to the Flocks that ſurrounded our Tents, giving us to underſtand they did not know how we cou'd pretend to diſpoſe of what we had already, without we reſolved to dwell there and keep them, which they did not deſign we ſhould. But we having no need of any farther ſupply, did not preſs them much for more of their Cattle, and as for living amongſt them, we had other deſigns, and beſides had no very great Opinion of them for Neighbours. While we ſtaid here, what with the good feeding and the wholeſomneſs and clemency of the Air, all our feeble Company recovered their Health and Strength to ſuch a degree, that we thought our ſelves in better caſe than at our ſetting out from *England*, tho' we had loſt 150 of our men.

Iſle of Seols and Penguins by the Bay of *Soldania*.

Having beſtowed this time upon the neceſſary work of Refreſhment, *October* the 29th we put to Sea again, going out by a ſmall Iſle (in the mouth of the Bay) ſo full of Seols and Penguins, that a Ship might find very good Entertainment there, if the Country it ſelf afforded none. Over the Bay of *Soldania* ſtands a very high Hill, flat like a Table, and therefore bears that Name; 'tis a very good mark for finding a Harbour, there being nothing like it in all that Coaſt, and its Height making it very diſcernible at 17 or 18 Leagues diſtance upon the Sea.

They double the Cape.

(c) St *Lawrence* Iſle.

November the firſt, we doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and the 26th fell in with the Iſle St. *Lawrence*, (c) to the Eaſt of Cape St. *Sebaſtian*: Here the varying of the Compaſs was about 16 Degr. and we obſerved in general, that the varying is of very great uſe in an Eaſt and Weſt Courſe, and particularly 'tis ſo in this Voyage to the Indies.

From this time to *December* the 15th we held the directeſt Courſe to the Eaſt ſide we could, intending to have reached the Iſle *Cirne* or *Diego Rederigues*, as 'tis called in ſome Coaſts; but parting from St. *Lawrence*, we had ever afterwards the Wind at E. & E.S.E. & E.N.E. ſo that we cou'd not get up with it. Upon this ſcore 'twas concluded that we ſhould Sail away into the Bay of *Antongils*, eſpecially ſince the Scurvy now creeping in again amongſt us, required us to furniſh our ſelves with Oranges and Limons, which we knew that place would ſupply us with.

(d) Iſle St. *Mary*.

December the ſeventeenth, we had ſight of the Southern part of the Iſland St. *Mary*, and the 18th we Anchored between it and the great Iſle of St. *Lawrence*, ſending the Boats thither, to enquire after the Phyſick we wanted for our Scorbutick Men. This Iſle of St. *Mary*, is very high Land, and full of Woods: It affords little but Oranges, Limons, and Rice, it has two or three good watering places on the North ſide of it, but they don't lie very conveniently for a Boat to come at them. The Natives are very Black, but tall and handſome; they ſeem to be well temper'd, ſociable, ſtout and valiant People, but like the reſt of their Complexion, make no ſcruple of going ſtark Naked.

(e) *Antongil* Bay.

Having little Encouragement here as to plenty of Proviſion, and the Country in uncertain ſtormy weather, we ſet Sail from hence *December* the third and the 25 came into the Bay of (e) *Antongil*, and here we Anchor'd in a very good Road, between the Small Iſland and the Main. Yet experience told us that there was better riding near the little Iſland, than that in the bottom of the Bay where the Admiral Anchored; for ſome of our Ships that lay under the protection of that Iſland, felt very little of a furious Storm that roſe there upon us, and drove along the reſt that lay more at a diſtance, with three Anchors a Head.

Trade with the People.

The 26th we went aſhoar upon the Main Iſland, and had the People of the Country preſently about us, who though they had but a ſmall Stock of Proviſion to diſpoſe of, yet afford to Barter with us, but at the ſame time held up all at the higheſt Rate imaginable. The Commodities they brought were but Oranges and Limons, Rice and Hens; but they made ſuch Prizes as if inſtead of Rice, we had had ſome very coſtly Grain; the Oranges had been Caſed in Gold, and the Hens like that in the Fable, had laid Eggs of the ſame Metal. Beſides they had ſo many Tricks and Artifices in their dealing, juggling together to hold all at the ſame Rates, and ſcrewing up the Buyer by little and little to an Advance in the Price, that ſome Days paſſed before we could bring them to any thing of a tolerable Trade. So that ſeeing the Humour of the People, and their ſubtle Impoſing ways, we reſolved to be at a certain lay with them, and to fix the Laws and Meaſures of the Exchange in ſuch a manner, that if they would come up to them they might, and if not we would have no dealing with them. Thus we determin'd how many Oranges, Limons or Plantans, or what quantity of Rice, ſhould be given for ſuch a number of Glaſs Beads or any other Trifles: and ſo holding tightly to this way, of dealing, every Man obſerving the ſame Rules, we traded with a great deal of eaſe and quietneſs, and had no words at all made about the Matter. And though we Barter'd for no leſs than 15 or 16 Tun of Rice, 50 Buſhels of Peaſe and Beans, beſides Oxen, Hens, and a great quantity of Oranges and Limons, yet having brought them to this way, we did all this with leſs noiſe and ſcolding than before perhaps we cou'd have bought a dozen of Oranges with. We loſt ſeveral Men here of the Flux, which we attributed to the Impurity of the Water we drank in that Country, it being a time of great Rains and Floods, and the Waters generally crude and unwholſome after that.

We ſet Sail from hence *March* the ſixth, and held on our Courſe for the *Indies*.

A. D. 1601.

(*f*) Regue-Pize Iſland.

The Sixteenth, we fell in with the Iſle *Regue-Pize* (*f*), in 10 ' Degr. South Lat. Here we cou'd find no ſafe Riding for our Ships, the Water all about being extreamly deep; but certainly had there been this Conveniency, this Iſland wou'd have been a moſt agreeable place for a Ships refreſhment. For by the delightful Scents that reach'd us, as we laid along by it, it diſcover'd what ſtore of odoriferous Plants, Flowers, and Shrubs, it produced; beſides, there was admirable good Fiſhing and Fowling there, and whole Woods of Coco-Trees, which do themſelves anſwer moſt of the Neceſſities of Human Life.

Dangerous Rocks.

March the Thirtieth, being in 6 Degr. South Lat. we were in conſiderable danger, by reaſon of a Ledge of Rocks we happen'd upon of a ſudden, which lay about five Fathom under our Ships; but preſently caſting about, we found eight Fathom, and ſo held on our Courſe Eaſtward. But all our Dangers of this nature were not over; for at ſome thirteen or fourteen Leagues diſtance from thence, we fell upon another Flatt of Rocks; and caſting about to the Southward, about twelve Leagues further we fell upon more; ſo that trying every way, we found our ſelves incloſed in a Pound of Rocks, tho' we had twenty, thirty, and in ſome places forty or fifty Fathom Water between the Flatts. And here we were ſhut up for near three Days, and knew not how to make our way out of this miſerable Confinement. At laſt, making the attempt Northward, in 6 Degr. 40 Min. we found a ſafe paſſage, and ſo following our Pinnace, which went ſounding the Depth before us, we regain'd the open Sea.

(*g*) Iſles of Nicubar.

May the Ninth we had ſight of the Iſles of *Nicubar* (*g*), we bore over to the South-ſide of the Channel, and anchor'd under a ſmall Iſland that lies near the Shore. We found the People of theſe Iſlands, very much addicted to Cheating and Cozening in their Trade; they impos'd pieces of Gum upon ſome of our ignorant Company, inſtead of Amber; and cou'd they have counterfeited the Coco Nuts too, no doubt they wou'd have done it, 'tis a Principle ſo rooted in moſt of theſe Eaſtern People to deceive and impoſe upon others, where-ever they have opportunity, or can do it to any advantage..

(*h*) Iſle Sombreros

April 20. We held our Courſe for *Sumatra*, but the Winds and Current being againſt us, we were forc'd to make towards the Iſle *Sombrero* (*i*), which lies ten or twelve Leagues to the Northward of *Nicubar*. The Inhabitants are of a tawny Complexion, and paint their Faces, with ſeveral Colours; they cover nothing but the obſcene Parts, which are bound up in a Linen Cloth, going about their Waſtes, and ſo between the Twiſt. They are exceſſively ſhy and timorous, and whatever we cou'd do to perſwade them, they wou'd none of them come aboard our Ships. Their Prieſts wear a ſort of ſtreight Cloths, that are made, as it were, for a Caſe, juſt to encloſe their Bodies, and no more: Their Faces are painted green, black, and yellow, and they have a large Pair of crooked Horns upon their Heads, that are colour'd in like manner, and a long Tail faſtned on behind, which hangs down between their Buttocks. They ſay, that the Devil appears in this Dreſs to them at their Sacrifices, and therefore that the Prieſts, who are his Servants, are oblig'd to conform themſelves to the Example and Humour of their Maſter, let him appear how he will. This Iſle affords extraordinary Timber for Ship-Maſts, the Trees being ſo large, tall, and perfectly ſtraight and even, that they are unexceptionable for theſe Uſes.

The Habit of the Prieſts.

Trees for Main-maſts.

A wonderful Vegetable.

But there is a Vegetable here, which tho' not for any known uſe, yet for its ſtrangeneſs deſerves equal notice and regard: 'Tis a little Twig, which riſes up amongſt the Land by the Sea-ſide, and by degrees grows to ſuch a bigneſs, as may make it be rank'd amongſt the ſmaller ſort of Trees. If you offer to pull it up, it contracts it ſelf, and ſhrinks down into the Ground, unleſs you draw ſo hard as to prevent it. But if you force it quite up above Ground, you find a great Worm lying at the lower part, and ſo cloſely united to it, as if it were a real part of the Vegetable, and conſtituted the Root it ſelf. 'Tis matter of Experience and Obſervation, that in the ſame proportion this Worm grows leſs and leſs, the Plant grows bigger and bigger; and that at laſt, when the former ſeems to be entirely conſumed, the latter begins to ſpread into Strings and Fibres, and roots it ſelf firmly in the Ground, drawing in its Nouriſhment by that *Apparatus* of Veſſels, in the ſame manner that other Vegetables do. But which is moſt ſtrange of all; if when its grown to maturity, you ſtrip off all the Leaves, and the outward Cortex, and ſo lay it a drying, the effect of it will be an abſolute Petrification; and inſtead of a Stick, you ſhall have a real Stony Body, hardly to be diſtinguiſh'd from White Coral. Of theſe wonderful Twigs we gather'd and brought home ſeveral.

(*i*) Achen.

May the Twenty ninth, we ſet Sail from *Sombrero*; and *June* the Fifth came to an Anchor in the Road of *Achen* (*i*), two Miles from the City. Here we found Ships of almoſt all the Nations of *India*, that came hither to Trade; and we had ſome Reaſon to believe, that our coming thither would not be ungrateful, ſince we were the Subjects of a Princeſs, whoſe Reputation was ſo well eſtabliſh'd abroad, and the Glory of whoſe Victories ſhone with ſuch a Luſtre, even into thoſe remote Parts of the World where we were. For as we were inform'd by ſome *Hollanders* that preſently came aboard us, the many Succeſſes of our Queen againſt the *Spaniards*, and particularly that ſtupendous Defeat of the *Armada*, had made ſuch a Noiſe in theſe Parts, and given ſuch a Character of the Bravery of our Country, that we might be ſure of a large ſhare of the King of *Achen*'s Favour upon that Account. The ſame Day therefore our Admiral ſent five or ſix Gentlemen of his Company to wait upon the King, to tell him of the Meſſage and Letters he had brought from her Majeſty of *England*, and to deſire the Favour of an Audience; together with his Majeſty's Promiſe for the Security of himſelf and Ships, the time they ſtay'd at *Achen*.

The Fame of Q. *Eliz.*

The King heard this Meſſage with a great deal of pleaſure, and order'd a ſplendid Banquet to be furniſh'd for the Entertainment of our *Engliſh* Gentlemen that deliver'd it. He promis'd all the Security that the Admiral deſired, and bid him come to his Audience with as much Aſſurance of good Reception, as if he were going into the Preſence of his own Queen. Beſides, at their departure, he gave the principal Perſon of them the Robe of Honour, and the Calico Tuck wrought with Gold; which the Kings of *Achen* never beſtow, but when they intend to expreſs an uncommon Degree of Favour and Reſpect.

The Admiral's Entry into *Achen*.

June the Eighth, our Admiral went aſhore with a handſome Retinue, and march'd towards the Court: Upon Notice of which, the King ſent ſix Noble Elephants, with Trumpets, Drums, and Streamers, and a good Guard of Soldiers to attend him. The largeſt of theſe Elephants, (which was a matter of fourteen Foot high) had a Caſtle upon his back (cover'd with Crimſon Velvet) in the middle of which was a Golden Baſon, and into this her Majeſty's Letter was convey'd with great Reſpect: The Admiral himſelf rode upon another of theſe Beaſts, and the reſt of his Retinue were diſpos'd of according to their Quality. Being introduc'd with a great deal of Ceremony into the King's Preſence, after Reverence done, according to the Cuſtoms of that Country, he began in a handſome Speech to open to him the Particulars of his Meſſage. But the King having heard ſome time, civilly interrupted him, telling him, That Buſineſs ſhould be done afterwards; and that now 'twas more proper for him, after ſo long a Voyage, to attend his own Refreſhment: Yet withal aſſur'd him, That for the ſake of his Queen, whom all the World admired, whatſoever reaſonable Demands he made, ſhou'd certainly be granted. Then was the Queen's Letter deliver'd to him, and the Preſent that came along with it; a Silver Baſon, with a Fountain in the midſt of it, weighing Two hundred and fifty Ounces; a ſtanding Cup of the ſame Metal, a rich Looking-glaſs, a Head-piece with a Plume of Feathers, a Caſe of fair Daggers, an embroider'd Belt, and a curious Fan of Feathers. The remaining part of the Day, after this, was devoted to Banquetting, Muſick, Dancing, and other Entertainments; in all which the Pomp and vaſt Riches of this Prince, and his great Reſpect to our Admiral, and his Company, did ſignally appear. He was inveſted in the King's Preſence with the Robe of Honour, a Girdle of fine Work was put about him, and a Pair of Creſſes hung on to his Sides. And as a more particular Favour, the King's Women, (which very few have the Happineſs of ſeeing) were ſent for out of their Apartments, to give him a Dance. Thus entertain'd with all the freedom and kindneſs that cou'd be, he took his leave of the King, and tho' invited to chuſe any Apartment in the City, he came aboard that Night again, expecting his Majeſty's Thoughts upon the Queen's Letter. The Copy of which is as follows:

The Queen's Preſent.

ELIZABETH *by the Grace of* GOD, *Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defendreſs of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion.*

To the Great and Mighty King of *Achen*, &c. in the Iſland of *Sumatra*, Our Loving Brother, Greeting.

THE Eternal GOD, *of his Divine Knowledge and Providence, hath ſo diſpoſed his Bleſſings, and Good Things* *of his Creation, for the Uſe and Nouriſhment of Mankind, in ſuch ſort; that notwithſtanding they grow in divers Kingdoms, and Regions of the World; yet by the Induſtry of Man (ſtirred up by the Inſpiration of the ſaid Omnipotent Creator) they are diſperſed into the moſt remote places of the Univerſal World. To the end, that even therein may appear unto all Nations, his marvellous Works, he having ſo ordained, that the one Land may have need of the other. And thereby, not only breed Intercourſe and Exchange of their Merchandiſe and Fruits, which do ſuperabound in ſome Countries, and want in others; but alſo ingender Love and Friendſhip betwixt all Men, a thing naturally Divine.*

Whereunto We having reſpect (Right Noble King) and alſo to the Honourable, and truly Royal Fame, which hath hither ſtretched, of your Highneſs's Human and Noble Uſage of Strangers, which repair into that your Kingdom, in Love and Peace, in the Trade of Merchandiſe, paying your due Cuſtoms, we have been moved to give Licence unto theſe Our Subjects, who with commendable and good Deſires, ſail to viſit that your Kingdom: Notwithſtanding the Dangers and Miſeries of the Sea, natural to ſuch a Voyage, which (by the Grace of GOD) they will make, being the greateſt that is to be made in the World: And to preſent Traffick unto your Subjects. Which their Offer, if it ſhall be accepted by your Highneſs, with ſuch Love and Grace as we hope for, of ſo great and magnanimous a Prince: We, for them, do promiſe, that in no time hereafter, you ſhall have cauſe to repent thereof, but rather to rejoice much. For their Dealing ſhall be true, and their Converſation ſure; and we hope, that they will give ſo good Proof thereof, that this beginning ſhall be a perpetual Confirmation of Love betwixt our Subjects on both parts; by carrying from us ſuch Things and Merchandiſe as you have need of there. So that your Highneſs ſhall be very well ſerved, and better contented, than you have heretofore been with the Portugals *and* Spaniards, *our Enemies: Who only, and none elſe, of theſe Regions, have frequented thoſe your, and the other Kingdoms of the Eaſt. Not ſuffering that the other Nations ſhould do it, pretending themſelves to be Monarchs, and abſolute Lords of all theſe Kingdoms and Provinces: As their own Conqueſt and Inheritance, as appeareth by their lofty Title in their Writings. The contrary whereof, hath very lately appeared unto us, and that your Highneſs, and your Royal Family, Fathers, and Grandfathers, have (by the Grace of GOD, and their Valour) known, not only to defend your own Kingdoms; but alſo to give Wars unto the* Portugals, *in the Lands which they poſſeſs: As namely in* Malaca, *in the Year of the Human Redemption* 1575, *under the Conduct of your valiant Captain,* Ragamacota, *with their great Loſs, and the perpetual Honour of your Highneſs Crown and Kingdom.*

And now, if your Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed, to accept into your Favour and Grace, and under your Royal Protection and Defence, theſe our Subjects, that they may freely do their Buſineſs now, and continue yearly hereafter: This Bearer, who goeth chief of this Fleet of four Ships, hath order (with your Highneſs Licence) to leave certain Factors, with a ſetled Houſe of Factory in your Kingdom, until the going thither of another Fleet, which ſhall go thither upon the return of this. Which left Factors, ſhall learn the Language and Cuſtoms of your Subjects, whereby the better and more lovingly to converſe with them.

And the better to confirm this Confederacy and Friendſhip betwixt us, we are contented, if your Highneſs be ſo pleaſed, that you Cauſe Capitulations reaſonable to be made: And that this Bearer do the like in our Name. Which we promiſe to perform royally, and entirely, as well herein, as in other Agreements and Arguments, which he will communicate unto you: To whom we do greatly deſire your Highneſs to give entire Faith and Credit, and that you will receive him, and the reſt of his Company, under your Royal Protection, favouring them in what ſhall be Reaſon and Juſtice. And we promiſe on our behalf, to Re-anſwer in like degree, in all that your Highneſs ſhall have need, out of theſe our Kingdoms. And we deſire, that your Highneſs would be pleaſed to ſend us Anſwer, by this Bearer of this our Letter, that we may thereby underſtand of your Royal Acceptance of the Friendſhip and League, which we offer, and greatly deſire, may have an happy beginning, with long Years to continue.

The next time the Admiral went to Court, he found the King extreamly well pleas'd with the Contents of her Majeſty's Letter: He told him in general, as to the League which was mention'd, That he for his part, deſired nothing more heartily than ſuch an Union and Correſpondency; but as to all the Particulars of it, he wou'd leave thoſe Points to be ſetled by his two chief Miniſters, whom he had Authoriz'd to act in that concern. A Day therefore being appointed for this Buſineſs, the Conference began, which was managed in the *Arabick* Tongue; and for this our Admiral was very well provided, by the means of a Jew he brought with him, who ſpoke that Language perfectly well.

The Conference with the King of *Achen's* Miniſters.

In the Diſcourſe, as it came in his way, to make ſeveral Demands concerning the Freedoms of the Merchants, one of the Miniſters deſired him to lay before them, thoſe Reaſons which he thought moſt proper to perſwade the King to grant thoſe Demands that were made: In compliance with which Propoſal, the Admiral inſiſted largely upon theſe, and ſeveral Topicks of the like Nature:

That Merchandize and Trade, when they flouriſh'd in any Country, brought ſignal Advantages along with them; and that no Prince ever repented giving Encouragement to them.

That *England* was capable of furniſhing his Majeſty's Dominions with Varieties of very uſeful Commodities; and particularly could ſupply him with skilful Artificers of all ſorts, who might do him very conſiderable Service, and propagate thoſe Arts that were wholly unknown in that part of the World.

That her Majeſty was not only an Enemy to the Common Enemy the *Spaniard*, but was able alſo to keep him in Awe, and cou'd put a Bridle upon that exorbitant Power, which had ſwallow'd up ſo great a part of the Weſtern, and might poſſibly attempt to ſeize another Golden Prey in the Eaſtern World.

In ſhort, that ſome of the moſt potent Monarchs of the World, were her Confederates and Allies; and her Friendſhip was never offer'd to any Prince, that did not joyfully accept it, and eſteem it at a high rate.

Theſe things were deliver'd to the King in Writing, and he was pleas'd to conſider them to ſo good purpoſe, that at our Admiral's next going to Court, he told him, He would ſeal the League with her Majeſty, and hold it inviolably on his part: And as for all thoſe particular Articles and Demands, which were the Subjects of Diſcourſe in the Conference, he would take care for his complete Satisfaction therein, and order his Secretaries to ſend him all ratified and ſigned in his Name. But he was ſo kind as to give the Writings himſelf to the Admiral, in a very few Days; and that with abundance of ſoft and gracious Words, expreſſing his Good-Will to her Majeſty, and the whole Nation in general.

Privileges granted to the *Engliſh* at *Achen*.

In theſe Papers the *Engliſh* had the following Privileges confirm'd to them, *viz.*

1. Free Entry and Trade.
2. Cuſtom-free, whatever Goods were brought in, or carried out.
3. The Liberty of making Wills, and Diſpoſing of their Eſtates, where, and to whom they thought fit.
4. Full Security as to all Bargains and Payments, in both which reſpects the *Achenese* ſhou'd be tied to a punctual and ſtrict obſervation of all the Meaſures of Juſtice, and fair dealing.
5. Authority to inflict Puniſhments on their own Delinquents, without Appeal to the Civil Magiſtrate of the Country.
6. Aſſurance of Juſtice to be done in all caſe of Injuries from the Natives, upon Complaint made.
7. Freedom from all Arreſts upon Goods or Prizes.
8. Liberty of Conſcience, and the undiſturbed Exerciſe of their own Religion.

Theſe Points being thus happily ſettled, to our own Contentment, and the great Advantage of our Nation, the Merchants began to provide for a good Lading of Pepper: But herein we lay under a Diſappointment, by reaſon of the Barrenneſs of the laſt Year; the Quantities being ſo little, that we doubted ſome of our Ships muſt go back empty: And the Price too riſing ſo much above what Merchants had been made to believe, that whereas they were inform'd, it might be had at four *Spaniſh* Rials of Eight *per* C. it coſt us almoſt twenty. But underſtanding that we might poſſibly meet with a Supply (at leaſt enough to lade one Ship) at *Priaman*, which lies about 150 Leagues to the Southward of *Achen*; our Admiral gave Orders for the *Suſan* to make ready to go upon that Deſign.

Tho' it appear'd by our Entertainment, and the Favours ſhewn us, that we were very welcome to the King and People of *Achen*; yet there were others, to whom we were as ungrateful, and whom our good Fortune ſtrongly provok'd to hate us. The *Portugueze* were ſenſible, that we had with little trouble gain'd thoſe important Points of Favour and Privilege, which with all their Application and Courtſhip, they had never been able to procure. Beſides, they ſaw that our growing Intereſt and Reputation in thoſe Parts, was in all probability, like to be the undoing of theirs; and that if we went on, as we had begun, they had e'en as good quit their Pretenſions to any Concerns there, and leave the entire poſſeſſion of the Trade to our ſelves. There ſeem'd to be no Remedy to prevent this Danger, that ſo apparently threatned their Intereſt, but by a diligent Craft to undermine us ſome way or other: For as for open Violence, they dared not pretend to any ſuch Courſe, as well upon the account of our own Strength, as the Aſſiſtance the King of *Achen* would have given us in that Caſe.

Portugueze Treachery.

Their Embaſſador therefore at Court, curiouſly pried into all our Proceedings, and watch'd every Step we took; he did all that he cou'd to inſinuate things into the King to our diſadvantage, and to ſeaſon him with Prejudices againſt us; but it ſeems his Majeſty was too well fix'd in his good Opinion of us, to be chang'd by this Detractor, and he got no Credit nor Reſpect at all, by this invidious Undertaking.

He deſired leave of the King, to ſettle a Factory in his Country, and to erect a Fort at the entry of the Harbour, to ſecure the Merchants, as he pretended; but, indeed, to keep us *Engliſh* out. But neither wou'd this Project take; and the King, who very well underſtood his meaning told him, That his Maſter was as careful of his Country, as if his Daughter were to be Queen of it in time; and that he ſhou'd not need to be at the Charge of building a Fort for that uſe, ſince he wou'd furniſh the Merchants with a convenient Houſe, where all their Goods ſhould lie out of danger, both of Fire and Enemies too.

They take a Spy.

But beſides all theſe Endeavours, they ſet a Spy upon us in our own Houſe; an ingenious crafty young *Indian*, who came every Day to us with Hens to ſell; and under the diſguize of a Market-man, had an opportunity given him to make his Obſervations upon us, and our Affairs; which the *Portugueze* that ſet him a work, by this means hop'd to come to the Knowledge of. Our Admiral ſuſpecting this Perſon, and taking occaſion one Day to enter into a free Diſcourſe with him, by very kind Words, and charming Promiſes of Liberty and Reward, got the whole Truth out of him: And he told him plainly, That the *Portugueze* had not only employed him as a Spy upon the Domeſtick Concerns, but had alſo planted a very ſubtle one aboard their Ships; who being there wholly unſuſpected, had taken a perfect Draught of them, as to their Dimenſion and Furniture, and the Number of Men and Guns that every one carried. Beſides, obſerving how much their Men were weaken'd and diſcompos'd by Sickneſs, they intended to draw a conſiderable Force from *Malacca*, and ſo aſſault them as they lay in the Road. Our Admiral ſo preſs'd the Point, and manag'd Matters with this Spy, that he entirely came over to his Intereſt and Service, and inſtead of being a Tool to the *Portugueze*, he became a very uſeful Inſtrument to us, to diſcover all their Plots and Intrigues, and give us Notice of every important Affair that was carrying on in the Embaſſador's Houſe. Being ſent for to Court, the next Day, he diſcover'd all theſe Proceedings of the *Portugueze* to the King, what they had already done, and what they further intended to do; and therefore requeſted of his Majeſty, That he wou'd order thoſe Servants of the Embaſſador, that were going away from *Malacca*, to be Arreſted at ſome Port of his, where they wou'd be ſure to go in order to their paſſage; that ſo by ſeizing the Intelligence they carried, there might be a more complete Evidence, and fuller Account of their Deſigns.

The *Portugueze* Bark ſtay'd by the King's Order.

This the King very kindly promis'd to do, in caſe Notice were given him when they went: And accordingly when the time came, upon a private Intelligence from the Admiral, that the *Portugueze* Bark was gone, a Frigate was ſent after them, which gave a ſtop to their Voyage, and commanded them back to *Achen* in the King's Name. The Bark was ſearch'd, and all their Trunks and Packets were open'd, but the chief Prize, the Intriguing Letters that concern'd the *Engliſh*, were either loſt in the Hurly-burly, or ſecretly convey'd over-board.

Now the Year had paſs'd over us as far as *September*, and our Admiral began to think of putting to Sea again, in order to accompliſh his main Buſineſs. But hearing that the *Portugueze* Embaſſador had his Diſpatch, to be gone in a very few Days, (and it being on ſeveral Accounts expedient, that we ſhou'd be out at Sea before him) he went to entreat the Favour of the King to ſtay him for ſome time.

The King, who was always very eaſie of Acceſs, and ready to grant any Requeſt of the Admirals, receiv'd him with a great deal of good Humour, and pleaſant Jokes, upon what had paſt with the *Portugueze*, and at laſt told him merrily, That he wou'd do what he deſired, upon Condition, he wou'd bring him a fair *Portugueze* Girl, for a Preſent, at his Return. So taking leave of his Majeſty, and preſenting two of the chief Merchants to him, that were to ſtay behind to Trade, and whom he was pleas'd to take into his particular Protection. All things being now in a readineſs, we ſet Sail *September* the Eleventh for the Streights of *Malacca*.

They go for *Malacca*.

We had in our Company a *Dutch* Ship of 200 Tuns, that offer'd to bear a part in the Adventure; and by Agreement was to have an ⅛ of what was taken.

In the mean time the King did not fail to act his part, in detaining the *Portugueze* Embaſſador; and tho' he every Day urged his Diſpatch to be gone, yet ſtill he was delay'd and whil'd off, upon one pretence or another, which was a very great advantage to us; For had he ſet out before us, the Alarm wou'd have been given all about the Streights, and Care wou'd have been taken, that no Ships ſhou'd paſs that way, where 'twas likely that we ſhou'd ever meet with them; whereas now we had the opportunity of poſting our ſelves conveniently for a Prize, and lay undiſcover'd within Twenty five Leagues of *Malacca* it ſelf, in the very Streights.

A Prize taken.

October the Third, we deſcried a Sail, and thereupon ſpread our ſelves into a wide Compaſs, that ſhe might be ſure not to miſs one or other of us. She happen'd to fall in with the *Hector*; which preſently gave us Intelligence, by two or three Guns let off for that purpoſe, ſo that we drew altogether about her: We gave her ſeveral Shot, and ſhe reply'd pretty briſkly again; but the Admiral coming up, and with a Diſcharge from his Prow, ſtriking down her Main-yard, the Diſpute was at an end, ſhe not being forward to ſhoot any more; and we fearful, leaſt ſome unhappy Shot from us might ſink her, lighting between Wind and Water.

The next Morning the Captain of her came aboard the Admiral, and reſign'd his Ship and Goods into his hands: We took poſſeſſion by four of our Men, whom we ſent aboard as well to ſecure her, as to prevent the pillaging and rifling, which is very common upon theſe Occaſions, and unavoidable, when a Rout of common Sailors come where Plunder is to be had.

This Ship came from St. *Thomas*, in the Bay of *Bengala*, and was bound for *Malecca*: She was of 900 Tun Burthen, had 600 Perſons aboard her, and a Lading of 950 Packs of Calicoes, Pintades, and a great deal of other Merchandice, beſides Rice, and things that we made little account of. And now we were eas'd of that care and fear that was upon us, of returning home with empty Ships; and our greateſt concern, as the caſe ſtood, was more for room to beſtow what we had gotten, till the return of the Ships from *England*.

A Water-ſpout.

October the Twenty firſt, we ſet ſail out of the Streights of *Malacca*, for *Achen*; and in our paſſage were like to be overwhelm'd with one of the Water-ſpouts, that pour'd down very near our Ship. When theſe Spouts fall, 'tis almoſt as if a great River pour'd out of the Clouds into the Sea; it puts the Ocean into a violent Ferment, and makes it foam and boil again, with the exceſſive Irritation: They are ſometimes a quarter of an Hour in falling; and ſhou'd they light of a Ship, they wou'd infallibly ſink it. But we happily eſcap'd this Waſh, and proceeded in our Voyage to *Achen*.

October the Twenty fourth, we came ſafe into the Port of *Achen*, where we found all our Merchants, and their Affairs, in very good Circumſtances; and that the King, according to his Engagement, had been a faithful and careful Guardian to them in our abſence. And to make ſome Acknowledgment for this his Favour to us, the Admiral choſe ſeveral things out of the Prize we had taken, ſuch as we imagin'd wou'd be moſt pleaſing to him, and preſented them to his Majeſty, with his humble Deſire they might be accepted, as a Teſtimony of our Gratitude: This was highly obliging to him, and he expreſs'd a great deal of Satisfaction, not only in the Preſent it ſelf, but in the occaſion of it too, our Succeſs againſt the *Portugueze*.

We had not been here long, but our Admiral gave Orders to bring all the Lading of Spice (we had) aboard, and to make ready for our going to *Bantam*, where we were like to meet with a far greater Return of Pepper, and at more reaſonable Rates than we cou'd buy it at *Achen*. So going to Court, to take Leave of the King, after a long Conference, the following Letter was deliver'd him for her Majeſty, written in the *Arabick* Tongue.

The LETTER of the King of *Achen*, to the Queen of *England*.

The King of *Achen's* Letter.

GLory be to God, who hath magnified himſelf in his Works, glorified his Dominion, ordained Kings and Kingdoms, exalted himſelf alone in Power and Majeſty: He is not to be uttered by Word of Mouth, nor to be conceived by Imagination of the Heart, he is no vain Phantaſm: No Bound may contain him, nor any Similitude expreſs him: His Bleſſing *and his Peace is over all his Goodneſs in the Creature: He hath been proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and ſince that often, and now again by this Writing at this preſent, inferiour unto none. For this City, which is not ſlack to ſhew their Love, hath manifeſted it, in the Entertainment of that Society, which filleth the Horizons with Joy, and hath confirmed it to the Eye by a Sign, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their Requeſt is juſt, with purpoſe for exchange; and they themſelves of honeſt Carriage, and their kindneſs great in doing good in general to the Creatures, helping the Creature in Proſperity and Adverſity jointly, giving liberally unto the Poor, and ſuch as ſtand in need of their abundance, preſerving the Creature to their uttermoſt with a willing Mind: Which for them now is extended unto* India *and* * Arach; *ſending forth the chiefeſt Men of Diſcretion and Note, calling alſo the beſt of the Creatures to counſel herein.*

* Or Carmania.

This is the Sultana *which doth Rule in the Kingdom of* England, France, Ireland, Holland, *and* Friezland: *God continue that Kingdom, and that Empire, long in Proſperity.*

And becauſe that he which hath obtained the Writing of theſe Letters, from the King of the Kingdom of * Aſhley, *who doth Rule there with an Abſolute Power: And for that there came unto us a good Report of you, declared and ſpread very joyfully by the Mouth of Captain* James Lancaſter, *(God continue his Welfare long.) And for that you do record that in your Letters, there are Commendations unto us, and that your Letters are Patent Privileges. Almighty God, advance the purpoſe of this Honourable Conſociation, and confirm this worthy League.*

* Or Achen.

And for that you do affirm in them, that the Sultan of * Afrangie *is your Enemy, and an Enemy to your People, in what place ſoever he be, from the firſt until now, and for that he hath lift up himſelf proudly, and ſet himſelf as King of the World: Yet what is he, beſides his exceeding Pride and haughty Mind? In this therefore is our Joy increaſed, and our Society confirmed: For that he and his Company are our Enemies in this World, and in the World to come: So that we ſhall cauſe them to die, in what place ſoever we ſhall meet them, a publick Death.*

* Or Spain.

And moreover, you do affirm, that you deſire Peace and Friendſhip with us. To God be Praiſe and Thanks, for the Greatneſs of his Grace. This therefore is our ſerious Will, and honourable Purpoſe truly in this Writing, That you may ſend from your People unto our * *Ports, to Trade and to Traffick; and that whoſoever ſhall be ſent unto us in your Highneſs's Name, and to whomſoever you ſhall preſcribe the time, they ſhall be of a Joint-Company, and of Common Privileges. For this Captain, and his Company, ſo ſoon as they came unto us, we have made them of an Abſolute Society: And we have incorporated them into one Corporation and common Dignities: And we have granted them Liberties, and have ſhewed them the beſt Courſe of Traffick: And to manifeſt unto Men, the Love and Brotherhood between us and you in this World, there is ſent by the Hand of this Captain, according to the Cuſtom, unto the famous* * *City, a Ring of Gold, beautified with a Ruby, richly placed in his Sett, two Veſtures woven with Gold, embroidered with Gold, incloſed in a red Box of* * Tzin.

* Or Bandar.

* Of London.

* Or China.

Written in * *Tarich* of the Year 1011. of *Mahomet*.
Peace be unto you.

* That is, by Computation of time.

The Preſent.

Together with the Letter, a Preſent was deliver'd too, conſiſting of three rich Pieces of Cloth, embroider'd with Gold, and a Ring with a very large Ruby: And the Admiral himſelf was preſented with another Ring with a fair Ruby in it. Before he went away, the King asked him, Whether we had the Pſalms of *David* extant among us? To which he replied, That we had; and did conſtantly ſing them in our Divine Service. His Majeſty then told him, That he and his Nobles there preſent, would ſing a Pſalm to God for their Proſperity and good Voyage; which they did: And afterwards the Admiral and his Company, did, at the King's Requeſt, do the like, to ſhew him the *Engliſh*-way of Singing: So after the Pſalm was ended, his Majeſty in great Order pronounc'd a Bleſſing upon us, and diſmiſs'd us with a Promiſe, that we ſhou'd find the ſame kind Entertainment, if ever we came into his Country again.

Pſalms of *David* amongſt the *Mahometans*.

November the Ninth, we ſet Sail with our three Ships for *Priaman*, and *Bantam*, the *Suſan* being gone towards thoſe Parts before, to get a Lading of Pepper.

They go from *Achen*.

In two Days time the Admiral diſpatch'd the *Aſcenſion* home for *England*, ſo that now we were but two in Company; and we held our Courſe along the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, hoping to meet with our Ship the *Suſan*, which was trading thereabouts. There are ſome very dangerous places along this Coaſt, certain very low Iſlands, encompaſs'd with Flats and Rocks, where we had like to have had a full Period ſet to our Voyage; but by a favourable Providence we got free from the danger. Having croſs'd the Equinoctial the third time, we arriv'd at *Priaman* (*k*), *November* the Twentieth, where we found our Ship, and that well towards a Lading too, being provided with Six hundred Bahars of Pepper, and Sixty ſix of Cloves. This Commodity coſt us much leſs here than at *Achen*, tho' it does not grow about *Priaman*, but is brought moſtly from *Manangcabo* (*l*), which lies eight or ten Leagues up in the Country; and is remarkable, not only for the Quantities of Pepper it yields, but the ſtore of Gold Duſt and Grains found thereabouts, which the great Rains waſh down from the Mountains.

Flatts and Rocks.

(*k*) *Priaman*.

(*l*) *Manangcabo*.

Priaman, tho' it lies ſo very near the Line (as being in 15 Min. South Lat.) yet is a very healthy place, and has a curious refreſhing Air; beſides, there's plenty of Proviſion, and good freſh Water there. The *Suſan* was order'd here, to get her Lading compleated, and ſo direct her Courſe homewards.

December the 15th, we entred the Streights of *Sunda* (*m*), and anchor'd under the Iſle *Pulopanſa*, three Leagues from *Bantam*.

(*m*) *Sunda* Streights. *Pulopanſa* Iſle

The Sixteenth we entred *Bantam* Road, and the Vice-Admiral went aſhoar, to certifie the King of our Arrival and Buſineſs, and to deſire his ſafe Conduct. The King was very glad of our coming, and ſent a Nobleman back with the Vice-Admiral, to bid the Admiral Welcome, and to conduct him to the Court. This Prince was not above ten or eleven Years old, being under the Tuition of a Protector, who managed the Affairs of the Kingdom during his Minority: He welcom'd the Admiral very kindly, and receiv'd the Queen's Letter and Preſent of Plate, with much ſatisfaction, referring all the Points of Trade and Buſineſs, to be adjuſted by his Council, from whom he deſired the Admiral to take his Anſwer. And the Reſult of the Conſultation was, that we ſhou'd come aſhore and trade, with all the freedom we cou'd deſire, and be as ſafe, in all reſpects, as if we were in our own Country. So we had convenient Houſing provided for us, and our Merchants brought Goods aſhore, and the Trade began, and proceeded to ſuch good purpoſe, that within five Weeks there was more ſold in Goods, than would have laded our two Ships; and that they brought away from thence 276 Bags of Pepper, weighing 62 *l.* a piece. Theſe coſt us 5 ½ Rials of Eight *per* Bag, beſides our Anchorage, and the King's Cuſtom; the former of which amounted in the groſs to 1500 Rials of Eight, and the latter was a Rial upon every Bag.

Their Reception at *Bantam*.

Trade begins

'Tis a Cuſtom always obſerved here, that the King is to begin the Trade, and furniſh himſelf with what Commodities he pleaſes, before any of his Subjects are ſerv'd; and this is no diſadvantage at all to the Merchant, ſince he gives a reaſonable Price, and is a very good Paymaſter.

Tho' the *Javans* are reckon'd ſome of the moſt thieviſh pilfering People in the World, yet we had a tolerable meaſure of quiet amongſt them, and they did not very much diſturb us by thoſe Knaveries, conſidering how horribly they are addicted to them. But then it muſt be own'd, that 'twas more our Care and Watchfulneſs that made them honeſt, than any thing of their own Inclination: And beſides, we had a Commiſſion from the King, to execute thoſe upon the ſpot, that we ſhou'd find about our Houſe in the Night, upon any ſuch Deſign; and after we had made four or five Examples, the reſt were better adviſed, and forbore troubling us.

While we were here, we loſt our Vice-Admiral, Captain *John Middleton*. But our Trade went on ſo briskly, that by *February* the Tenth *, our Ships had their full Lading of Pepper, and were ready to Sail. The Admiral before he went, diſpatch'd a Pinnace for the *Molucca's*, to begin a Trade there, and procure a Factory to be ſettled, againſt the next return of the Ships from *England*. He made proviſion too for carrying on the *Bantam*-Trade in his abſence, leaving a ſufficient number of Men and Factors, for the diſpoſing of the Merchandice that was left.

* *A.D.* 1603.

A Pinnace ſent to the *Molucca's*.

Factory in *Bantam*.

After this he went to take Leave of the King, and to return him his laſt Thanks, for the Favours and Privileges vouchſafed the *Engliſh* Nation in his Dominions. His Majeſty was pleaſed to make him the Bearer of a Letter, and a Preſent of very fair Bezoar Stones for the Queen, and for himſelf a Stone of the ſame kind, and a curious *Java* Dagger, which is a thing very highly eſteem'd amongſt them. This Ceremony ended, we had nothing now to do, but to get a Shipboard as faſt as we cou'd, and ſet out for our Native Country.

The Twentieth of *February* we ſet ſail for *England*, with a very chearful Heart, having ſucceeded in our Deſigns, for the

They ſet out for *England*.

the Service of our Country, to ſo good a Degree, and met with ſo many unexpected Advantages that had hitherto ſweetned our Voyage to us.

The Twenty ſecond, and Twenty third, we came into the Streights of *Sunda*; and the Twenty ſixth got clear of all the little Iſles that lie in thoſe Streights, and ſo holding a South Weſt Courſe, in two Days we made 8 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat.

March the Thirteenth we paſs'd the Tropick of *Capricorn*, keeping ſtill for the moſt part, a South Weſt Courſe.

April the Fourteenth, we were in 34 Degr. ſuppoſing the Iſle of *Madagaſcar* to be to the North of us.

A fearful Storm.

The Twenty eighth, we had a Storm ſo furious and violent, and the Sea ran ſo exceſſively high, that we had little hopes left of eſcaping a diſmal Burial, under thoſe Mountains of Waters that came ruſhing upon us. Yet all this was but the beginning of Sorrows, a Prologue to a more black and direful Scene of Miſeries, which began to open it ſelf to us on *May* the Third. Now the Sea beat ſo fiercely upon the Ships Quarter, that it ſhook all the Iron-work of the Rudder, and quickly broke off the Rudder it ſelf from the Stern, to the confounding of the beſt and moſt experienc'd of us all. The Sea that we were in, was one of the moſt tempeſtuous in the World, and here our Ships drive up and down like a Wreck, being entirely at the Winds diſpoſal, and not able in the leaſt to command, or direct her own Motions. Sometimes we ſhou'd be carried within three or four Leagues of the Cape of *Good Hope*; and then again driven out to almoſt forty Degrees Southward, into Storms of Hail and Snow, and miſerable ſleety Weather.

Once we attempted to take our Mizen-maſt, and put it out at the Stern-port, hoping by the help of that Device, to make a poor ſhift, till we cou'd reach ſome Harbour or other, where we might repair the Breaches of our ſhatter'd Veſſel: But when this was tried, we had no relief, but an increaſe of our Danger; for the Sea being ſomewhat grown with lifting up the Maſt, did ſo ſhake the Stern, and put all into ſuch a threatning a Condition, that we thought our ſelves happy when we had got the Maſt in again. And now all was deſperate, unleſs we cou'd make a new Rudder, and bring it to paſs that it ſhou'd hang faſt in the Sea; which conſidering the great Burthen of our Ships, the roughneſs of the Sea, and the loſs of moſt of our Rudder-Irons, was a Work of ſurprizing difficulty. Yet having made out of our Mizen-maſt as good a one as we cou'd, and faſtned it as well as our pitiful Tackling wou'd allow, having alſo the Comfort of a little fair Weather, we continued our Courſe homewards: But 'twas not long before the Sea took it off again, and put us to a great deal of trouble to ſave it; ſo that now our Fears were rais'd to as high a degree as ever. Yet after all theſe Diſcouragements, by the help of our other good Ship the *Hector*, we accompliſh'd the fixing it on once more, tho' it hung very gingerly, there being but two Hooks left to hold it. And in this Caſe we went on, directing our Courſe to St. *Helena*, the Wind falling ſo ſhort, that we cou'd reach no part of *Africk*; and we knowing that we had already doubled the Cape, by the Latitude we were in.

They arrive at St. Helena.

June the Fifth, we paſs'd the Tropick of *Capricorn* again; and the Sixteenth had ſight of St. *Helena*: Which after a proſpect of ſo terrible Dangers, as thoſe we had gone through, was not a little refreſhing to us. We bare cloſe along by the Shoar, the more conveniently to reach the beſt part of the Road, which is right againſt the *Portugueze* Chapel, in twelve Fathom Water. Here we fitted up our Ship, and having almoſt as much need of mending and repairing our ſelves, as our Veſſel, we allow'd ſome time for that neceſſary Work, to which the Iſland contributed pretty well, in the good freſh Water, Hogs, and Goats it afforded us.

Paſs the Equinoctial.

July the Fifth we ſet Sail, holding our Courſe N. W. and the Fifteenth paſs'd by the barren and deſolate Iſland of *Aſcenſion*. From hence we continued to hold our N. W. Courſe, till the Nineteenth, and then we croſs'd the Equinoctial.

The Twenty fourth we made 6 Degr. North Lat. being as we judg'd then, 150 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Guinea*.

Iſle Fogo.

We held a N. & W. by N. Courſe, till the Twenty ninth, at which time we ſaw the Iſle *Fogo*.

Auguſt the Seventh, we made 16 Degr. and the Twelfth paſs'd the Tropick of *Cancer*, ſteering Northerly.

The Twenty ninth we paſs'd the Iſle St. *Mary*.

September the Seventh, we had the Lands-end of *England* about 40 Leagues from us.

The Eleventh we caſt Anchor in the *Downs*, after all the Perils of this long and tedious Voyage.

CHAP. IX.

A Deſcription of Java, *and the firſt* Engliſh *Factory there: With divers Occurrents relating to the* Indian, Engliſh, *and* Dutch *Affairs. Written by Mr.* Edmund Scott, *containing a Hiſtory of thoſe Matters, from* A. D. 1602, *to* 1605.

Account of the Iſland it ſelf.

THis Iſland runs near 146 Leagues in length, E. and W. and is in the wideſt part about 90 in breadth, Northward and Southward. 'Tis comprehended between the 135th, and the 145th Circles of Long. and the 7th and 9th Parallels of South Lat. The Central Parts of it are generally very mountainous and rugged, yet not ſo as to hinder Travelling, and thoſe bordering upon the Sea, are low and marſhy: Together with which diſadvantage of Situation, they have an impure and unwholſome Air, which generally afflicts Strangers with many troubleſome Diſtempers; yet hereabouts all the principal Towns of the whole Kingdom lie, the chief places of Trade and Buſineſs, as *Bantam*, *Jacatra*, *Jortan*, *Chiringin*, and the reſt.

This Soil yields nothing worth the Trading for, but Pepper, which is brought in from all parts of the Kingdom to *Bantam*, and has rais'd ſuch a Trade there, that no Town in all that part of the *Indies* (not *Achen* it ſelf), can pretend to Rival it in that reſpect. And there uſed to be a good Stock of this Commodity brought in from divers other Countries too; but of late Years the *Dutch* have intercepted that Trade, and by buying it up abroad, prevented its coming to *Bantam*.

Bantam.

This Town is three *Engliſh* Miles in length, and as populous as moſt Towns of its bigneſs perhaps in *Aſia*. They are to enter here upon the Affairs of Trade, that they keep three Markets every Day; and there is ſuch a Throng of People at that in the Morning, that one wou'd think it rather a ſolemn Fair, in which Buſineſs was to be done but once a Year, than a common Market that occurs every Day.

There are two Diviſions of this Town, the one entirely taken up by the *Javans*, the Natives, and genuine Poſſeſſors; the other devoted to the uſe of Foreigners, and ſuch as come thither upon the Accounts of Trade and Merchandice.

The Javan Town.

The *Javan* Diviſion is for the moſt part very ſlightly built, the Houſes being generally fram'd with no ſtronger Materials than Canes; deſtitute of all Brick and Timberwork, except ſome very little, in a few places, where it adds neither Strength nor Beauty to the Building. 'Tis water'd with ſeveral ſmall Rivers, that run up and down about it; and there is one Branch that paſſes through the very middle of it up to the Court, which holds a conſtant Correſpondence with the Sea in its ebbing and flowing, and will bring up Gallies, and Junks, of great Burthen, to the very heart of the Town. It has the Convenience of a good Road for Ships too, and 'tis defended with a ſtout Brick Wall, with ſeveral Turrets and Bulwarks, ſo that it might be made a very conſiderable place, if the People had the Sence to underſtand their own Advantages.

The China Town.

The other part, which they call the *China* Town (with reſpect to the Building) makes a far handſomer appearance than this, the Houſes conſiſting moſtly of Brick, but rais'd after the *Chineſe* Faſhion, ſquare and flat at top, with Contrivances of Boards, and Canes cover'd over with Brick and Sand, to defend them from Fires, which together with the thieviſh People, are the everlaſting Plagues of Merchants Houſes in *Bantam*.

'Tis parted by a narrow River from the *Javan* Town; and 'tis here that all the Strangers, and Merchandizing People of other Countries do reſide; particularly here are the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Houſes, which are ſome of the beſt and ſtatelieſt built in the whole Town.

The King, and his Government.

The King of this place is now reckon'd (ſince the depoſing of the Emperour of *Damack*) the moſt potent Prince of the whole Iſland. He Governs all by an abſolute Deſpotick Power; and the Laws upon which his Subjects Lives and Fortunes depend, are ſhut up entirely in his own Breaſt.

Adultery is here puniſh'd with preſent Death, in both Parties that are guilty of it; but as for Murther, the Law is to pay a Fine to the King: So that his Majeſty may have a conſiderable Revenue coming in by Blood, conſidering the revengeful and implacable Temper of the *Javaneſe*: For if the Friends of the murther'd Party, do kill the Murtherer, and his Friends again revenge it upon them, and ſo deſtroy one another by whole Families, there's no more to be done, but to pay their Fines; and ſo the King, tho' he loſes Subjects, yet gets Money by the Bargain.

The People of *Java*.

Their Temper and Qualities.

The People of this Country are exceſſively proud and ſlothful, and conſequently poor: They deſpiſe all manner of Labour and Employment, and think it beneath them to have a dependance upon any thing of that kind for a Livelihood. The Gentry themſelves are as poor as ever they can tell how to live; and 'tis certain, that they muſt be ſo, ſince (beſides their neglect of all Buſineſs) they keep ſuch vaſt Numbers of Slaves, that they are quite eat out by them, and their Rice and Pepper can hardly grow faſt enough, to maintain the huge Trains of Tenants they affect to draw after them. They are ſo tender of their Honour, that they are ready to meaſure the very Seats upon which they ſit, for fear one ſhou'd be higher than another; and no Man will endure another Perſon of the ſame Rank and Quality, to ſit one Inch more exalted than he does. They are horribly malicious and quarrelſome, and care not what they do to accompliſh the Revenge of an Injury; but they generally do it in a cowardly and clandeſtine way, and will ſooner diſpatch a hundred Enemies, with a private Stab or Thruſt, than meet one honourably in the Field. Stealing, Cheating, and Defrauding, ſeem to bear a part in their Conſtitution, as well as Sloth and Idleneſs; their Vertue is too weak to reſiſt the Temptation of the ſmalleſt Bribe, and their Conſcience ſo little, that they'll not reſign a Pawn, or a Pledge, or any thing they are truſted with; nor pay any Debt, if they can poſſibly help it. And yet their Laws are very ſevere in this Caſe; for the Creditor has Power, not only over the Goods, but alſo the Wife and Children of the Debtor, whom he may ſell for Slaves, if he pleaſes.

Their Religion.

As for their Religion, 'tis very hard to ſay what it is; and any other thing, relating to them, is ſooner accounted for than this. They have Temples amongſt them, but they ſerve more to adorn the City, than any thing elſe; for the *Javaneſe* very ſeldom ſee the inſide of them, upon any Religious Occaſion. They ſay, There is one God that made Heaven and Earth; but he being ſo very good, that he cannot poſſibly hurt them, they don't make ſo many Prayers to him, becauſe the fear and dread of Evil, is the main Ground of their Devotion. But as for the Devil, they ſay he is very wicked and miſchievous, and ready to do them all manner of Ill Turns, and ſo they ſerve him in their own defence, and by way of prevention. They have ſome Notion of Jeſus Chriſt, whom they acknowledge to be a Great Prophet: But their greateſt Diſguſt againſt Chriſtianity, is upon the account of its ſtrict Prohibition of Polygamy, and the Vices that relate to Women, which all the Eaſtern People are wonderfully addicted to.

Their Apparel and Dreſs.

The uſual Garb of the better ſort, is a Tuck on their Heads, and a fair Pintado about their Loins, and all the reſt of the Body naked: But ſometimes, upon extraordinary Occaſions, they wear a cloſe Coat of Cloth, Velvet, or Chamblet, according as they can purchaſe it. The meaner People content themſelves with a flat Cap of Taffita, or Callicoe, and about their Middles a piece of the ſame, a Yard broad, and commonly of two Colours. There is another ſort of Clothing ſometimes us'd by them, which is made of Cotton, and the Rinds of Trees; but by reaſon of their intolerable Lazineſs, there is very little of this made and worn. The Men take a great deal of Pride in their Hair, which is very thick and frizled, and go bare-headed, very often, a purpoſe to ſhew it: As for the Women, they always go bare-headed; the Genteeler ſort tying up their Hair in Bobs, as we do our fine Horſes Tails.

Their Weapons.

The Arms moſt in uſe amongſt theſe People, are Darts, Pikes, and Targets, and ſome few Guns, which they manage after a very awkard manner; this is their Furniture for the Wars; but the Weapon for common uſe and wearing, and which does moſt of the bloody Executions, (which are ſo very frequent there) is the Criſe, or Dagger, which is about two Foot long: The Blade of this is not ſtrait and even, but crooked and waved; and the Handles, which are of Wood, or Horn, are curiouſly carved, and wrought into ſeveral Figures, this being all the Work the *Javaneſe* pretend to, and the only piece of Ingenuity they can boaſt of. Theſe Weapons are generally tinctur'd with a Poiſon ſo very ſtrong and pernicious, that not One in Five hundred that's wounded with them, comes off with Life.

The *Chineſe* that live in *Java*.

Their Manners.

As for the *Chineſe* that live here, they are abſolute Maſters of all the Arts and Policies, that can any way ſerve to carry on the Deſign of thriving in the World, and growing rich. They make all the advantage imaginable, of the Dulneſs, Pride, and Sloth, of their *Javan* Maſters: They are the Perſons that manage the Concerns of Planting, Dreſſing, and Gathering the Pepper, and Rice; and as they do all the Work, ſo they ſuck up all the Profits, and leave the others little more than the bare Title to their Lands and Eſtates. They'll refuſe no Labour, how mean and hard ſoever, if they have but a proſpect of ſqueezing any advantage out of it; and they care not who they are Slaves to, nor what Drudgery they undergo, ſo they can but make their own Market, out of the Folly and Eaſineſs of their Maſters. And then in all Points of Trade and Bargains, let a Man that deals with them, have his Wits about him, ſince they are not to be held by any Bonds of common Honeſty and Juſtice, and are never ſincere and fair in their Dealings, but when a Plot to cheat and play the Knave happens to be diſcover'd, or can't be put in practice.

In the Matters of Religion, they are very near a-kin to the *Javens*, and have much the ſame Meaſures of Devotion, tho' with more fooliſh Ceremonies and Superſtition than they.

Religion.

The Doctrine of Tranſmigration of Souls, obtains greatly amongſt them; and they pretend to believe, that the Reward of good and vertuous Actions, when they quit theſe Bodies, ſhall be to come down again into better, and be born to great Eſtates, and high Preferments: But on the other hand, that if they live wickedly and baſely here, they ſhall, in the next Revolution of Souls, ſlip into ſome vile and deſpicable Bodies, be united to ſome Beſtial Carkaſe, and make their appearance in the moſt foul and horrid Shapes of the Creation.

But if the *Chineſe* do heartily believe this Doctrine, 'tis a great wonder they don't live more juſt and regular Lives than they do; ſince if it prove true, 'tis moſt certain, that there's not one in 500 of them, that can expect to be any better than a Toad, or a Viper, or ſome very loathſome Animal, the next time they ſhift their Bodies.

Cuſtoms.

They have a Cuſtom of Sacrificing every New Moon; and, they ſay, they do it to God Almighty; tho' their Neighbours affirm, 'tis to the Devil: But to which ſoever it is, the Ceremony is attended with Prayers and Singing, and at the end of every Prayer, they ring a little Bell. The Altar is furniſh'd with Fowl, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits; but they eat up all this themſelves, and offer up nothing by Fire, but certain pieces of painted Paper, which they value at a great rate.

There are many of them pretty well ſeen in Aſtronomy, and keep a regular Account of their Years and Months: But they have no Diſtinction of Days amongſt them, as to any Religious Purpoſes; and never keep a Sabbath, but when they lay the Foundation of a Houſe, or ſtrike ſome great Bargain; any thing of which kind, ſanctifies a Day with them ever after.

When any of them are a dying, they ſet up Lights in the Room where they lie, four above, and three under the ſick Party: The Reaſon of which Ceremony, they are very backward to give an Account of; and ſay, That 'tis only the Faſhion of *China* ſo to do. When they are dead, their Bodies are burnt to Aſhes; which is put up into cloſe Jars, and ſo ſent home to *China*.

Plays.

They delight very much in Muſick, Plays, and Interludes; which latter are not fram'd purely for Diverſion, but have ſome Characters of Religion and Devotion upon them, as appears by the pretence and concern of the Prieſts in the matter, the Actions of Kneeling, and Kiſſing the Ground, and the Sacrifices which are offer'd in the beginning of the Drama. Beſides the uſual time for Acting theſe Plays, is, when their Ships go out, and come in; which Circumſtance ſeems to intimate, as if they did ſomething in thoſe Entertainments, either in hope and expectation of happy Succeſs in their Affairs, or at leaſt in a way of Gratitude, and thankful Acknowledgment for it.

They have, beſides their ordinary Prieſts, a ſort of Men amongſt them, whom they commonly call Southſayers; Southſayers. who are in mighty eſteem, as pretending to very great matters, by a kind of Inſpiration; and (they ſay) able to accompliſh them. Theſe Fellows are ſometimes poſſeſs'd with a ſudden Fury, under the Tranſports of which, they appear and act like ſo many *Bedlams*, running up and down the Streets with drawn Swords, tearing their Hair, beating themſelves againſt the Walls, and rowling upon the Ground. While this Fit laſts, the *Chineſe* ſay, they can unriddle the darkeſt Myſteries, foretel future Events, ſhew the Succeſs of any Buſineſs or Affair that is in hand, and performs things far above the reach of other common Mortals. And as they very frequently conſult them upon all theſe Accounts, ſo they ſay, their Predictions are always juſtified by the Event: And, indeed, conſidering the horrid Impieties of that People, 'tis not impoſſible that ſome of them may have Credit enough with the Grand Enemies of Vertue and Goodneſs, to be of his Council, and to be made Partakers of ſome of his Secrets.

The *Chineſe* are ſome of the moſt effeminate, mean, and daſtardly Spirited People in the World: And as they have not the Tones, ſo neither have they the Faces of Men; being for the moſt part quite ſmooth, at leaſt very little of a Beard to be ſeen.

Their Habit is a long Gown with a Kirtle under it, Their Garb. which hangs below the Gown: Upon their Heads they wear Cauls of Silk, and the Nobility a ſort of Hoods made of divers Faſhions; but all of them have their Hair, which is very long, tied up in a Knott, upon the Crown of the Head.

Their way at *Bantam*, is, to buy Women-Slaves, by whom they have what Children they have there (becauſe they bring no Women with them out of *China*), and ſo when they go into their own Country for good and all, they ſell the Mothers again, and carry the Children with them. But if they cut their Hair when they are abroad any where, they muſt never pretend to go back into *China* more, their Cuſtoms not allowing it: And if they die at *Bantam*, all their Goods are forfeited to the King, by the Laws of the place; tho' they commonly take care to prevent the King's growing rich that way, by ſending their Effects out of his reach, home, into *China*.

CHAP. X.

The Dangers the English *went through, by means of the Falſhood and Treacheries of the* Javans.

'TIS related before, how Admiral *Lancaſter* had laid the Foundation of a good Factory at *Bantam*, and provided for the encouragement and carrying of the Trade, by ſeveral Merchants left there for that purpoſe.

Orders alſo were given, for the ſending of a Pinnace to the *Molucca's*, upon the ſame Deſign; which accordingly A. D. 1603. ſet Sail *March* the Sixth, with a Lading of Fifty ſix Cheſts and Fardels of Goods, but meeting with contrary Winds, after ſhe had ſpent two Months beating up and down at Sea, ſhe came back again to *Bantam*.

But in this ſpace of time, we that reſided there, had a very difficult part to play, to defend our ſelves from the Troubles by the *Javans*. fatal Effects of the Malice and Wickedneſs of the *Javans*. There being ſomething of a Feud broken out between us and them, (which was before our Ships departed) they made it their Buſineſs to ſtudy all Methods of Revenge imaginable, and were never eaſie, but when they were attempting ſome miſchief or other upon us. They wou'd ſhoot flaming Darts and Arrows in the Night, into the Houſe where our Goods were ſecured, hoping to fire it that way; and even in the Day-time, if we brought out any quantity of Goods to Air, they wou'd ſet the Town a-fire to the Windward of us, not caring what Miſchief they did, ſo we might be involv'd in the ſame.

Quickly after the going out of our Pinnace, we addreſs'd to the Work of building a convenient Publick Houſe, according to the Liberty given us: We deſign'd it Seventy two Foot in length, and Thirty ſix broad, and proceeded ſo far as to lay the Foundation, but by reaſon of ſome Changes made at Court, and the ſetting up a new Protector, a ſtop was put to this Affair for a time; and it coſt us not a little Trouble and Money too, before we cou'd remove all Impediments.

March the Twenty firſt, the Town was accidentally The Town fired. fired, and ſeveral Houſes fill'd with Goods, were entirely conſumed. We had a conſiderable ſhare in the Loſs and Damage done by it too; for amongſt others, the *Dutch* Houſe was burnt to the Ground, and there we had no leſs than Sixty five Fardels of ſeveral ſorts of Goods (which all became Fuel irrecoverably), beſides 190 Sacks of Pepper loſt in another place. But we reckon'd that Providence was very favourable to us, in permitting us to come off at ſo cheap a rate as we did, and eſteem'd it little leſs than a Miracle, that both our Houſes were preſerv'd; eſpecially one of them, which the raging Flame advanc'd within three Yards of, and threatned in a very frightful manner, yet went off at laſt in a ſurprizing and unaccountable way, doing no other harm than ſcorching the Walls and Windows, and a little diſcolouring it in the outſide.

In the time of this general Confuſion, we were forc'd to be very nice and ſtrict in our Watch; for all the pilfering Villains of the Country, almoſt, were got together about us, waiting for the Fire to make a Breach, and very ready to ſhew it the way, by throwing Firebrands themſelves. And we had ſo much to do to defend ourſelves from the Treacheries of theſe raſcally People, that we thought them almoſt as bad a Plague as the Fire it ſelf: They were everlaſtingly either plotting new Miſchief, or promoting ſome already begun; we had them continually fluttering about our Houſes, like ſo many Birds of Prey about a Carkaſe, ſtill waiting for the good time to fall on and devour us.

And then ſo aſtoniſhingly bold and impudent in the Proſecution of their leud Deſigns too, that no Creature in the World, I think, can have more Braſs in the Complexion of it, than a *Javan* has. 'Twas a ſmall thing with them, to come and ask us, What Strength we had, and how many to guard the Houſe? This was Modeſty at *Bantam*, tho' 'twou'd be reckon'd a piece of Impudence any where elſe; but they wou'd come and examine the Doors, and look upon all the Locks and Bolts, to ſee how ſtrong they were, and ſearch about, to try if they cou'd find any Defects; and all this before our very Faces. And being thus haraſs'd as we were, what with continual Pains and Wearineſs, and Over-watching in our own Defence, againſt this barbarous Crue, we contracted ſeveral Diſtempers, particularly that of the Country, which is the Flux, and which two of us never recover'd.

April the Nineteenth, there came into the Road Nine A. D. 1603. Dutch Ships come to Bantam. Sail of *Hollenders*, under the Command of Admiral *Warwick*, which were diſpers'd abroad into ſeveral parts of the *Indies*: We receiv'd ſeveral Civilities at his hands, and he was very obliging to all *Engliſh-men* in general; having formerly been reliev'd in very great Extremities at Sea, by the timely aſſiſtance of ſome of our Nation.

A little after this, we loſt one of our principal Factors; and about the ſame time, our Pinnace return'd from her fruitleſs and unhappy Voyage for the *Molucca's*.

We were now forbid going on any further with the Work of our Houſe; perhaps, becauſe the new Officers that were come into play at Court, had not yet been brib'd for that purpoſe; however, upon Application made to the Admiral of *Java*, (who is, as it were, the common Father and Protector of all Strangers) he order'd matters ſo with the reſt of the Nobility, that we had a freſh Permiſſion to proceed; and ſo we finiſh'd our Houſe in a little time.

Our Company was ſtill farther diminiſh'd, by the loſs of our chief Factor, and Manager of the Trade there, in *Bantam*.

In the Eleventh of *July*, we had ſome Loſſes by Fire, which were kindled by the Villany of certain *Javans*; who thinking to get ſome Spoil out of the *Chineſe* Houſes, took that Method to accompliſh their Deſign; and as it happen'd, ſome of the Sufferers being in Debt to us, they were by that means totally diſabled from paying.

Loſſes and Danger by Fire.

But the ſucceeding Month we had like to have ſuſtain'd a far greater prejudice than the former; for having brought out ſeveral Packs of Goods to air, one of theſe *Javan* Birds ſet Fire to a Houſe juſt by us; but we diſcover'd it ſoon enough, to prevent the intended Miſchief, and had the Actor of it laid cloſe in Irons for his pains. The truth on't is, we cou'd hardly ever be at reſt, or do any thing free from diſturbance by theſe People: 'Twas our Cuſtom at Night, when we ſet the Watch, to ſing a Pſalm together, in which Exerciſe we had once like to have had our Brains knock'd out, and the Houſe it ſelf, as we thought, beat down, by a Company of thoſe Rakes, which were got together into a Yard by us, and poured great Stones ſo faſt in at the Windows upon us, that happy was he that cou'd get out of the way.

Inſincerity of the *Hollanders*

But they were not the only Enemies we had to do with, (tho' conſidering what barbarous ones they were, they were bad enough) for we began to diſcover ſome undermining Practices of the *Hollanders* againſt us; who tho' they carried it with a fair Face of Friendſhip outwardly, yet by ſome falſe and degrading Stories which they raiſ'd of us, made it manifeſt, that they bore us no hearty Good Will.

The new Protector too, pretended a great deal of kindneſs towards us; but he was a great Maſter of Diſſimulation and Flattery, and did it only to wheedle a Sum of Money out of us.

But neither did all thoſe that were Enemies to us, agree very well amongſt themſelves: For as we and the *Javans* were always at Daggers-draw, ſo did the *Chineſe* and *Javans* perpetually wrangle, and the *Dutch* often ſcuffle with them both; ſo that between one ſide and the other, there was everlaſting Scolding and Contention. Tho' the truth of it is, the *Dutch*, by their uncivil Carriage, and looſe diſorderly way of living, did procure themſelves far more trouble and enmity than they needed to have done; and at the ſame time make the Chriſtian Name very odious amongſt thoſe Heathens, who ought to have had better Examples of the Purity of it ſet before their Eyes.

Lampones Enemies to the *Javans.*

But as if we had not Plagues enough in *Java*, and Enemies ſufficient to exerciſe our Vertue there, we had, *September* the Fifth, a new Sett that came from the Iſle of *Lampon*, in the Streights of *Sunda*, to torment us. 'Tis true, they came upon the ſcore of the old Enmity and Grudge between them and the *Javans*; but we being there at that time, had a ſhare in the trouble as well as the reſt.

Theſe People are ſo like the *Javans*, that they are hardly to be known from them; and this is an advantage to them in their Deſigns of Miſchief and Revenge, ſince they often paſs for the Natives of the place, and ſo ſcape the Puniſhment they wou'd otherwiſe meet with: Their way is to get into the Houſes, and cut off the Heads of all they can light of, as they did by ſeveral at that time; and had a great mind to have had ſome of ours too, at leaſt our Goods, if not our Heads, tho' we prevented them by our diligent Watch.

Cruelty of the *Javan* Women.

The Reaſon why they are for a Spoil of Heads ſo much, is, becauſe the King gives them the Reward of a Woman, for every Strangers Head they bring him; and the Rogues do very often cheat their King in this ſort of Commodity, by opening the Graves, and cutting off the Heads of them that are newly buried. But the *Javan* Women are ſo kind, as to ſupply them with ſome of their Husbands Heads ſometimes, which they take the opportunity to whip off when they are aſleep, and they ſell them at very good rates to the *Lampones*.

But our Miſeries and Dangers (like the Waves of a ſtormy Sea, rowling in one upon the back of another) were after a very ſhort interval, revived again: For now we were inform'd by ſome of our Friends, that there was a ſolemn Combination made, for the deſtroying our Perſons, rifling our Houſes, and ſwallowing up all we had; and this not by the more ſordid rakiſh part of the Country, but Perſons of Figure and Power, who had great numbers of Slaves to aſſiſt them in the Deſign. And accordingly they did encompaſs the Houſe, and march'd round about two or three times; but ſeeing the Illuminations we had made, and the good Guard we kept, they durſt not make the attempt. However, being fruſtrated here, they turn'd their Arms upon the *Chineſe*, and aſſaulted them with the Rage and Fury of ſo many Devils; and their Houſes being at that time full of our Goods, we were oblig'd to protect and ſtand by them; and we did them very good Service with our Guns: For the ſinging of a Bullet is as terrible to a *Javan*, as the Cry of a Pack of Hounds to a poor frightful Hare. But ſtill, of all the Alarms that daily confounded us, the moſt ſcaring was that of Fire: The fear of it had made ſuch an impreſſion upon us, that that very word pronounc'd in the Night, tho' with a ſoft whiſper, wou'd frighten us out of our Sleep, and make us run to our Arms. 'Twas ſo common a Calamity in the place where we were, and had ſo often threatned us, that the horrible Idea was always freſh in our Minds, and ready to preſent it ſelf upon all Occaſions. Yet tho' the Town was fired no leſs than five times in the ſpace of three Months, and the *Javans* play'd all the Tricks imaginable, to drive the Flames down upon us; Providence ordering it ſo, that the Wind generally favour'd us, we ſcap'd the Ruine they plotted to involve us in.

Sly Practices of the *Hollanders.*

But the ſly and crafty Proceeding of the *Hollanders* was not the leaſt of our Troubles, under all the other ill Circumſtances that attended us: For they having at their firſt coming into thoſe parts, made bold to uſurp the Name of *Engliſh-men*, and pretending all along behind our backs, that they were really of that Country, had by that means ſo poſſeſs'd the common People, that they confounded them and us together, and believ'd us to be all one Nation. And by this means they run us into a great deal of danger; for they being generally of ſo rude a Behaviour, ſo apt to affront and abuſe the Country People; and doing all this under the Notion and Character of *Engliſh-men*, they incens'd the Mobb againſt us to that degree, that we had great reaſon to fear, we ſhou'd feel the Effects of their Rage and Fury; that we ſhou'd chance to pay ſome of the Scores they had contracted; and that tho' the pretended *Engliſh-men* had committed the Crimes, yet the true and real ones wou'd go near to ſuffer for't: For matters were come to that paſs, that we cou'd not walk the Streets, nor go into the Market, but the People wou'd be all in an uproar, curſing and railing at us bitterly; tho' all the while they meant the *Hollanders*, and intended all theſe coarſe Complements for them.

They diſtinguiſh themſelves from them.

To prevent the miſchief therefore that might follow upon this Miſtake, ſo induſtriouſly propagated by the *Hollanders*, and for ever to diſtinguiſh our ſelves from them, *November* the Seventeenth, our Queen's Coronation-Day, we ſet up St. *George*'s Banner upon our Houſe, diſcharg'd our Ordnance and Small-ſhot, and march'd up and down with our Drum, and the little Muſter of Men we cou'd make, in Scarfs of White and Red Taffata. The Reaſon of this Ceremony we told to all the People that came about us: And when they ask'd, Why the *Engliſh* at the other Houſe did not do the like, (by whom they meant the *Dutch*) we told them, They were not *Engliſh-men*, but of another Country, and under another ſort of Government, and had abus'd both us and them, in making thoſe Pretences they had made. By this means we were ever after diſtinctly known from them, and the People began to diſcover publickly their different Sentiments of us: Now the very Children wou'd run after us in the Streets, crying, *Oran Engree, Sayk, Oran Hollanda inbad*: The *Engliſh* are good, and the *Hollanders* ſtark naught.

Our Troubles and Confuſions were ſo many, and ſo very frequent, that Trade went on but dully, and the Year was ſpent without any Matters of great Importance done that way.

Dutch cheated by the *Chineſe*, in their buying of Pepper.

Effects of the Heat of Pepper.

The *Dutch* Ships came in and out ſo often, that we were oblig'd to make what haſte we could to buy up all the Pepper that was good and ſaleable, which was not to be gotten neither in any great Quantities: For the *Chineſe* (thoſe honeſt and fair-dealing People) had got a way of mixing Dirt and Water with their Pepper, to help ſpin out the Commodity a little farther; and this Traſh went off very well with the *Dutch*, for they were conſtant Chapmen, and ſo greedy of Trade, that they refus'd nothing almoſt that was ſet to Sale. Let the Wind blow out of what Quarter it wou'd, it brought ſome Ship or other of theirs for Pepper; inſomuch, that the People of *Bantam*, aſtoniſh'd with the Quantities they ſwallow'd up, jeeringly ask'd them, Whether they beat Pepper into the Mortar and Plaiſtering of their Houſes, to keep them warm, in order to ſave Firing. But the truth on't is, a Houſe may be heated, and that to a very offenſive degree too, by the meer Steams of the Pepper, where there's a good Stock of it: And we found by our own Experience, that ſeveral of our Men were very much diſorder'd by the hot ſuffocating Fumes ariſing from thence, in the Houſe where we us'd to Mill and Shute our Pepper.

Thus this Year paſs'd over us, which had brought along with it ſuch a Train of Miſeries and Perplexities, that one might reaſonably have hop'd the Scene wou'd now change, and Fortune look with a more favourable Countenance upon us for the future. But the New Year

began

A. D. 1604. * began as uncomfortably as the Old had ended ; and the firſt Scenes were hardly any thing but Murther, Fire, Wars, Plots, and damnable Intrigues : We had firſt of all, the Affliction of loſing more of our Company, and being reduc'd to a very ſmall number, ſo that of the Factors that were left for theſe Parts, we were now but two in that Quality, and no more than ten in all. Our Trade had a conſiderable Bank by the dearneſs and ſcarcity of Rials, and the cheapneſs of Caſhies ; for upon this account we cou'd not vent a piece of Stuff at half the value that it went off at at our firſt coming. But theſe were ſmall things, in compariſon of our ſucceeding Calamities ; for we narrowly eſcap'd loſing our ſelves, Houſe and all our Wares and Furniture, and that at one ſtroke, by the Treachery and Helliſh Contrivance of ſome of our Neighbours.

Javans and *Chineſe* undermine the *Engliſh* Houſe.

A Crue of theſe Villains had carried a Mine quite under the Foundation of our Houſe ; and their Deſign being to open themſelves a way into the Warehouſe, the Boarding of which hinder'd and ſtopp'd them ; not being able at once to cut their way through, becauſe they might poſſibly have been diſcover'd at their Work, they reſolv'd to accompliſh it by Fire, which wou'd clear the paſſage, and make no noiſe. But by that time the Fire had burnt through the Planks, and got to the Mats and Packs, of which the Warehouſe was full, it rais'd ſo terrible a Smoak, and diffus'd ſuch a Scent all about, that the Miſchief quickly betray'd it ſelf, and gave us the Alarm. And under the Conduct of a favourable Providence, we made ſhift to put a ſtop to the progreſs of it, and diſcovering where it had its Riſe, with all the Depths of the Plot, we took effectual Care to prevent the return of the Danger that threatned us.

We were ſo lucky too, as to diſcover and apprehend the principal Managers of this barbarous Contrivance, perhaps ſome of the moſt ſullen, ſtubborn, and obdurate Wretches, that ever that Country bred. But as they ſhew'd nothing of Pity, or common Humanity to us, ſo we had no Mercy at all on them, but with the free Conſent of the Government executed them, and that in a very ſevere and exemplary manner.

And the truth on't is, as we endeavour'd to carry it in the moſt juſt, equal, and inoffenſive manner that we cou'd, towards theſe People, and were ready to do them Kindneſſes, when they were any thing tolerable ; ſo we never fail'd to make them feel the Effects of our Indignation and Reſentment, when they gave us a juſt and ſufficient Provocation thereto. To be ſure, they never miſt a good Baſting for their little pilfering Tricks, if we catch'd them in the Fact : But as for the more flaming Outrages they ſometimes committed upon us, we either wounded them ſeverely, or as it happen'd, ſometimes kill'd them upon the ſpot, or elſe had them executed in a more formal way, for a Terror to others.

The *Engliſh* make no Bones of puniſhing the *Javans*.

But hardly any Nation dared take the Liberty we took ; and we cou'd ſtab a *Javah* at a much cheaper rate than a *Dutch-man* cou'd give a Box on the Ear. And this was a common Obſervation among all the Foreigners at *Bantam*, and the matter of their very great wonder too, that that deſperate, rough, unmanageable People, ſhou'd ſtand ſo much in awe of us as they did, and ſo tamely endure the Correction we gave them for their Villanies. They have often ſaid (when they have ſeen us doing Juſtice upon thoſe Fellows), That 'twas hardly ever known, that any *Javan* was ſo much as ſtruck in *Bantam*, before we came thither ; and that we in doing it, did that which none durſt pretend to but our ſelves.

In *September* the Town being accidentally fired, the Upper-work of our three Houſes was entirely conſumed, to our very great danger, coſt, and trouble : For now we were laid open to all the Enemies that had any Inclination to attempt us ; and 'twas very probable, that they who had ſo often ſought to make their way into our Houſe, now the Fire had made it to their Hands, wou'd not fail to enter. However, the *Dutch* being in better Circumſtances than we (as having ſcap'd the bad Effects of the Fire, lent us a ſtrength of Men to guard our Goods ; this, together with ſome of the King's Officers, which were alſo order'd to attend us in that extremity, was ſufficient for our Security, till we had repair'd our Buildings, and to do the *Dutch* Juſtice, we muſt own that (the Matters of Trade ſet aſide, in which they are apt to undermine, and practiſe againſt their Rivals) they were in all other Caſes very much our Friends, diſcover'd a Generous Pity and Concern for us, in any Misfortunes, and were ready to contribute to our aſſiſtance and relief.

Dutch Kindneſs.

Towards the latter end of the Year, we were altogether employ'd in providing a Quantity of Pepper, againſt the time our Ships came in from *England*, which now we began to look very impatiently for, and wiſh'd ſome happy Gale wou'd ſend to us with as much ſpeed as cou'd be.

Admiral *Middleton* comes to *Bantam*.

'Twas not long before our Deſires were ſatisfied, and we had the chearful ſight of our *Engliſh* Ships coming into the Road : 'Tis true, both they, and we too, were in uncomfortable Circumſtances, by reaſon of the Sickneſs, and dying Condition of many of our Men ; but yet having been ſo long condemned to barbarous Faces and Manners, to meet with our Country-men was a Refreſhment, tho' it had been but to ſee, and then die together. This was *Decemb.* 22.

The laſt Day of that Month, our Admiral went aſhore with all the Company, that Sickneſs wou'd give leave to attend him, to wait upon the King, and deliver the Letter and Preſents now brought from *England*. Theſe were ſent in the Name of His Majeſty King *James* the Firſt, then upon the Throne, our glorious Queen having left this World ſome time before ; the News of her Death producing a no leſs general Mourning abroad, than the Actions of her Life had Admiration and Eſteem.

K. *James's* Preſent to the King of *Bantam*.

The Preſent conſiſted of a large Baſon and Ewer, two fair Standing-Cups, and ſome Spoons, all of Silver, guilt ; ſix Muskets, with their Furniture ; which the King very kindly receiv'd.

All the principal Officers of the Court were preſented too by the Admiral ; we having found by many Experiences, that Gifts in the Hands of theſe topping Men, are of very great advantage, and have a peculiar Influence upon the Succeſs of Buſineſs, whenever we have occaſion to make uſe of their Intereſt. Beſides, the preſent King being a Minor, and conſequently entirely under the Movement of Courtiers, by whoſe Eyes he ſaw, and by whoſe Motions all his were form'd ; not to ſet them right, had been to neglect the principal Springs, upon whoſe favourable Motions, all the happy Events of our Affairs depended.

By that time the Admiral had been with us a little while, and we had debated all neceſſary Points, we came to this Reſolution concerning the future diſpoſal of the Ships we had here, *viz.* that two of them ſhould be diſpatch'd to the *Moluccaes* ; and the other two ſhou'd take in the Lading of Pepper we had gotten, and ſo go for *England*.

*A.D. 1605. Two Ships ſent to *Banda*.

Accordingly *January* the Eighteenth *, the two Ships ſet Sail for the *Moluccaes*, and the Iſles of *Banda*, in bad caſe enough, for want of ſtrong and healthy Men ; but the others that were bound homewards, (what by the loſs of their Captains and Maſter, and of a conſiderable number of the common Sailors) being thereby reduc'd to great Straits for Men, were detain'd till *March* the Fourth. Neither cou'd they then have got out upon that very account (ſuch havock had the Diſtempers of *Bantam* made of our Company), if we had not hired a Sett of Guzeratts, and *Chineſe* Sailors, to aſſiſt in the Voyage, to our very great coſt and charge. And now we had (tho' againſt our Wills) a pretty long Vacation from all Matters of Trade and Buſineſs, the whole Country almoſt being taken up, in Preparations for the Triumphs and Shews, that uſually attend the Ceremony of the King's Circumciſion.

Two more for *England*, laden with Pepper.

The King of *Bantam's* Circumciſion and Publick Shews at that time.

The firſt Scene that entertain'd the Eyes of the Spectators (and which is indeed but preparatory to the reſt), is a lofty Pageant, brought out into the Green before the Court-gate, in which are plac'd three Chairs of State, the middlemoſt, and moſt rais'd, for the King ; the other two for the next Heirs to the Crown.

All round the Rails that encompaſs the Green, are plac'd the King's Guards, both Shot and Pikes, to the number of Six hundred, or more ; and here they entertain the People with Martial Exerciſes, for ſeveral Days together, before His Majeſty appears.

And at this time, having an opportunity to make a more nice Obſervation of their Diſcipline and Furniture, it may not be amiſs to add a few Remarks to that purpoſe.

Javan Diſcipline.

The *Javan* Soldiers, when they ſtand drawn up in a Body, are regularly placed in Files, according to the Method us'd in other parts of the World ; but when they march, they don't obſerve the uſual ways of going ſo many Men a-breaſt, but march one by one in a ſingle Line, carrying their Weapons bolt upright. Their Pikes are tolerably good ; but they are very unſkilful in the Management of Fire-Arms : And therefore to Grace this Solemnity the more, the Protector borrow'd Shot both of us and the *Dutch*.

Their Drums are huge great Pans, made of a ſort of Metal they call *Tombegs*, and yield as pleaſant a Noiſe as one may imagine a Porridge-pot, or the Bottom of a good ſounding Tub wou'd do.

Their ordinary Colours do reſemble ours, but their Standards and Ancients differ much : For the Stuff of the

Ancient is very high, and bends at the Top like a Bow, from whence the Colours which are hardly a Yard in breadth, hang down with a long Pendant. But to return to the other Circumſtances of the Shows.

The Order of the Show.

After all things were made ready to render the Appearance as ſtately as they could contrive, the King was brought forth (tho' me thoughts in ſomething an indecent manner) ſitting aſtride upon a Mans Neck, and in that poſture was carried up to His Chair of State in the Pageant. Being plac'd, the ſeveral Companies that Compos'd, the Show began to ſet forward.

Firſt a parcel of Shot, then the Pikes, in the midſt of which were ten or twelve Tombagas, which being rais'd a Note each above the other, made that ſort of Muſick, more like ringing of Bells than beating of Drums.

After theſe came a Company of Targetiers and Dartsmen, which were follow'd by a ſhow of Beaſts and Fowls, partly alive, and partly the work of Art; but ſo curiouſly done, and ſo much to the Life, that Art and Nature were very hardly to be diſtinguiſh'd in that Appearance.

The next was a crew of Dancers, Vaulters, Tumblers, and Players; at the Heels of which advanc'd an Army of Women, diſpos'd and led on by ſeveral grave motherly old Souldiers, whoſe buſineſs was to order the March, and ſee that every one kept their aſſigned Places. Theſe Women had their Hands all full of Preſents, but ſuch as were of an inferiour Degree; for after them came all the Rich and Noble Offerings made by the Courtiers, and all the Lords and conſiderable People of the Country; who always (ſuch is the Cuſtom) preſent the King at the Ceremony either of a Coronation or Circumciſion.

The Party that brought up the Rear, were the Sons of thoſe great Men, that had made the Preſents dreſſed and attended after the manner of the Country, to the higheſt Degree of Pomp and Bravery.

Theſe young Nobles all came up to the King's Pageant, and made their Reverences to him, and then caſting their Preſents at is Feet, ſate down themſelves upon Mats ſpread upon the Ground for that purpoſe.

The Engliſh Preſent.

After this all the Muſick begins to ſtrike up, which is intermixed with ſeveral Volleys of Shot; and in the mean time the Tumblers and Dancers perform their ſeveral parts of Activity, and the Martial-men do all their Exerciſes before the King. We alſo (to comply with the Cuſtom) made our Preſents to the King, which tho' not for the richneſs and coſtlineſs, yet at leaſt for the prettineſs and ſingularity of it, was very grateful to him and the Company, and it was brought along in this Order.

Firſt march'd a couple of Javan Pikes, which were followed by 30 of the comlieſt Boys we cou'd get dreſt, in very rich Apparel; immediately after them was brought upon a Carriage a curious Pomegranate-Tree, taken up all entire by the Roots, and placed in a large handſome Frame. About the Roots were laid green Turfs of earth, ſo that it look'd as if it were ſtill growing, and all the Branches of it were laden with Fruit, ſome fully Ripe, ſome Green, and ſome yet in the Bud. Amongſt the Boughs ſate ſeveral little pretty Birds, which we had faſtned there, and notwithſtanding their confinement chirp'd as merrily as if they had been rambling in the open Air. At the bottom there were ſeveral Milk white Coneys, that ſate nibling the Graſs and Plants that grew upon the Turfs, and ſome furious Serpents, that look'd as if going to ſeize a Prey; which though not Natural, were yet ſo nicely made by the *Chineſe*, that any eye might have been deceiv'd unleſs upon very good examination. This ſcene of ours in which Art and Nature were both conſider'd, and to the beautifying of which, they contributed their ſeveral Shares, prov'd as Entertaining as any part of the ſhow; and I don't know but we came off as well as the beſt Lords in *Java*. In ſhort the King accepted it, he was pleas'd with it, and tho' other things of ſome value went along with it (as pieces of rich Cloth and Stuff, and Caſes of Piſtols) yet this beſt ſuted his puerile Fancy and Temper; and 'tis no matter for his being but a Child, for he was a King, and that was enough to give our Performance a Reputation.

The King of *Jacatra's* Show.

The King of *Jacatra* a Tributary to him of *Bantam*, came ſhortly after to do Homage to his Sovereign, and to make his Preſents too upon the ſame occaſion. This Ceremony was performed with a great deal of State and Magnificence on the part both of the King that received, and the King that did Homage. The Shows preſented, were very agreeable and fine, the Guards and Attendance numerous, the Preſents coſtly and valuable; but ſome things there were which being extraordinary to us, deſerve a more particular Mention.

The *Matchan* ſtrange Beaſt.

Beſides many ſtrange ſorts of Fowls, and as many of Beaſts, which were brought in their Order: There was one Beaſt which they call a *Matchan*. This Creature is ſomething bigger than a Lion, and every whit as proud and ſtately; it has a noble Skin, full of Red and White ſpots, intermixed with long black Strakes, which run down from the Back quite under the Belly. It is extreamly fierce and ravenous, and a very ſtrong and ſprightly Creature withal, and will (which I have been an Eye-witneſs to) leap more than 18 Foot at one ſingle leap after a Prey. They are very often hunted by the King and Court; but conſidering how eaſie 'tis for a Creature that Jumps at that rate, to leap upon a Man's back in the middle of his Sport, it ſhould appear to be one of the moſt dangerous Games in the World: and it ſeems they do very often make a Breakfaſt upon the Javans, when they catch them ſtragling out in the Woods.

For works of Art preſented at this time, there was a Giant of 30 Foot high, and a horrible Devil of much the ſame ſize.

An Artificial Garden.

But the moſt entertaining Pageant of all, was that of a Garden, adorned with all ſorts of Plants and Flowers; in the middle of which was a lovely Pond, where various ſorts of Fiſhes were to be ſeen playing about; and beſides this, all the kinds of Fiſh both great and ſmall which are known in thoſe Countries were brought in, either in Life, or the proper artificial Repreſentations.

After all theſe Shows were over, His Majeſty was carried (upon a Friday, which is their Sabbath) in his own Pageant to Church, and there Circumcized according to their way. And now 'twas time for Sport and Diverſion to give way to Trade and Buſineſs (which on thoſe Occaſions had been long neglected) to be reviv'd again.

In order to which (very happily) our Admiral came into the Road *July* the 24th from his *Molucca* Voyage, having gotten a good quantity of Cloves towards a lading, we not much doubting in a little time to furniſh him with the reſt. And we had gone on in the Courſe of Trade to much better purpoſe than we afterwards did, if ſome unhappy Differences with the *Dutch* had not given us a Diſturbance. Many times before, quarrels had riſen between us, but things never came to that Extremity that they did now, and in which poſture they laſted good part of the time of our ſtay at *Bantam*. They cannot themſelves charge us as being the Aggreſſours, ſince 'twas manifeſt to the whole City that they themſelves were ſo.

Frayes with the *Dutch*.

The firſt thing that gave occaſion to our after rough handling of them, was the abuſe of ſome of our Men, who came home bleeding to us, and by their Wounds gave ſufficient Proof of the Violence the Dutch had uſed towards them. Upon this our General ordered a ſmall Party to Arm themſelves, and go out into the Street to give thoſe rude Fellows a little Correction, which was ſo effectually performed by us, that the Streets were quickly clear'd of them, and they were oblig'd to retire to their own Houſe. The *Dutch* Merchants came to enquire into the Reaſon of this Proceeding on our part, but underſtanding, that their own Men were the Aſſailants, they ſeem'd to be eaſie, and we parted very good Friends. But when this News came to Court they had ſo little Pitty there, that when ſome about the King told that ſome of the *Dutch* Men were killed, Anſwer was made again, It had been no matter if they had all gone the ſame way. Yet all this paſſed off, and the Friendſhip and good Correſpondence between us was as great as cou'd be deſired. The *Dutch* Merchants invited our whole Company to a Dinner, and no People could underſtand one another better than we did. The Quarrels always begun amongſt the raſcally underling People of both ſides; the better ſort had more Sence and Prudence than to fall out, becauſe their drunken Sailors went together by the Ears.

But made up again.

A new Quarrel managed with Violence on both ſides.

September 22d our General ſent to Compliment the *Dutch* Admiral lately arrived at this place from the Iſles of *Banda*, and this very Day on which the Civilities were at the higheſt, the Squabbles and Feuds were unhappily ſo too. The miſchief was begun by a drunken *Dutch* Man, whom, if his Liquor had laid up faſt aſleep in the Rack-houſe, it had been better both for us and them. Our General was ſitting at the Door diſcourſing with a Man of ſome Faſhion, when this Gentleman of the *Nether-lands* comes by pretty well blown up with the Fumes of the Rack, that the World ſeem'd to go round in his Head, and being no ſmall Fool in it in his own Conceit; he very fairly comes to take his place accordingly, and ſo claps down upon the Bench between the General and the other Perſon. The General to expreſs his diſlike of this ſaucy familiarity, gave him a Box on the Ear and puſh'd him away, which his Company reſolved not to put up, preſently drew their Knives and Sables and came Hectoring about the Gate in a moſt furious manner. Being thus beſieg'd, our Men were oblig'd to endeavour to raiſe it, and ſo breaking out upon them, after a ſhort and ſharp diſpute, the *Dutch* gave ground, and retired for ſhelter to their old place the Rack-houſe; hither our Men purſued them, and tho' they had fortified themſelves, yet we burſt open the Doors, and having dealt ſome blows among them, brought away ſome Priſoners to our General. But we were quickly beſet by another party of them, who came to the others reſcue, and now the point was tried by Club-Law again, and the broken pieces of Pikes, Halberds and Faggot-ſticks flew about the Streets like wild. This hot Work continued as long as the other party thought fit to ſtay by it, but they did not run to the Rack-houſe now, but to their own Houſe, which was in no Danger of being broke open. The truth on't is, the Confuſion and Noiſe was great, and ſome Blood ſhed of both ſides, tho' that that was, came moſtly from broken Pates, there being no Hearts pierc'd, or Bodies dangerouſly mangled in this encounter. Tho' 'tis certain they abſolutely concluded upon the Ruin of us all, and one of their Factious Ship-maſters went about from Ship to Ship, to raiſe Company and provoke them to land their whole force upon us. And they had at that time ſeven ſtout Ships in the Road, and we but two, ſo that the *Javans* thought us next kin to Mad-men to pretend to ſtand upon theſe Terms with the *Dutch* that had ſo formidable a Power at that time at *Bantam*.

And the Buſineſs was carried ſo far amongſt them in the Fleet, that Orders were actually given to kill all the *Engliſh* they could light of either a-Ship-board or aſhoar; which notwithſtanding wou'd not have been ſo eaſily put in Execution, ſince we had a conſiderable Force of Men, at leaſt ſuch as wou'd Fight luſtily, and late Experiences had taught us that our Enemies were not Invincible. But we are certain (whether they'll acknowledge it or no) that they were greatly beholding to us for letting them come off at ſo cheap a rate as they did in the laſt Battle, for 'twas manifeſtly in our Power to have cut off a great number of them, and the Blood of all the *Engliſh* was ſo throughly ſtirred at that time, that if our General had given but the leaſt word to that purpoſe, it had infallibly been done.

At the latter end of the buſineſs, the *Dutch* Admiral came with all his Company towards our Houſe, and was met by ours in like manner attended. When the matter was fairly ſtated and opened to him, he was ſo far from taking the part of his own Men, that he highly commended what ours had done: And whereas ſome of his Officers objected, That we complain'd, but their ſide bore all the Blows, as might appear by their broken Heads and Shoulders: He replied, That they were rightly ſerv'd, and for the future ſhould be made to practiſe better breeding.

Dutch and Engliſh part Friends.

This worthy Commander and our *Engliſh* General had all this while a perfect good underſtanding of one another, and ſo likewiſe all the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Merchants and Officers ſhook Hands and parted in a very friendly manner. And afterwards by mutual Feaſtings and Entertainments, we endeavour'd on both ſides to perſwade each other as much as was poſſible, that we were heartily reconcil'd.

More Fires at Bantam.

Several Fires happen'd in the Town before we cou'd get away. One of them almoſt deſtroyed the *Dutch* Houſe, the Flame coming upon it with the Advantage of the Wind; and ours tho' out of that Danger, yet was not preſerved without a prodigious deal of Labour and Trouble. Twice the *Javans* (thoſe everlaſting Incendiaries) brought us into the extremity of Danger, and as often did we by the Bleſſing of Heaven, and the unwearied care of our Men, eſcape the Miſery they deſigned for us.

Theſe people are as troubleſome while they live, as they are bold, obdurate and daring when they are to Die. They count it the greateſt Glory to receive the fatal Stroke without any marks of Fear or inward Reluctancy: And certainly they do in this as far as 'tis poſſible for Fleſh and Blood to do, and ſome People can't be leſs concern'd at the paring of their Nails, than theſe *Javans* are (to the Eye) at the loſing of their Heads. This we had particular Opportunities divers times of ſeeing both in Men and Women, and amongſt the reſt, at an Execution perform'd a little before we came off, upon a couple that had ſtolen ſome of our Goods.

October the 4th, The General, and all the Merchants went in a Body to the Court to take leave of the King and Protector.

Sail for England.

The 7th we ſet Sail for *England*, which we did with no little ſatisfaction, conſidering what a place of Horrour and Confuſion *Bantam* had been to us almoſt all the time of our being there.

CHAP. XI.

The Second Voyage ſet forth by the Company, with four Ships, the Red Dragon *Admiral, the* Hector *Vice-Admiral, the* Aſcenſion *and the* Suſan, *under the Command of Sir* Henry Middleton, *Admiral. Taken out of Mr.* Claybourn*'s large Journal.*

WITH this good Fleet every way equipp'd for ſuch a Voyage, we ſet Sail from *Graveſend*, *March* 25th *A. D.* 1604. and the ſame Day of the ſucceeding Month, we came up with the Iſle of *Maio*, and went aſhoar there. The Natives were ſo rude to us as to make away with one of our Merchants, whom though we fought with a good Force up and down the Iſland, yet we could not recover him. He ſome how accidentally fell into their Hands, and they having him faſt, betook themſelves to their ſecret lurking places, where 'tis impoſſible for any Strangers to find them out. This Iſle and *Bonaviſta* bear S.W. by S. about 12 Leagues diſtance. The N. & N. N. W part of *Maio* is all very bad and foul Ground, and 'tis dangerous attempting to Ride there. Full North, from the high Hammocks there's a great ledge of Rocks from the Lands, ſome five or ſix Miles off, and a Mile without them you have 20 Fathom Water. On the Weſt ſide of the Iſle, you may borrow in 12 or 15 Fathom, till you come into the Road, where you may chuſe your depth.

Iſle Maio, the People uncivil.

Sick Men recovered at Soldania.

Having paſs'd the Line, we came to Anchor in the Bay of *Soldania*, *July* the 17th, we brought hither a great many ſick feeble Men, but carried them all away again ſound and perfectly recovered. The benign Air of the place, with the good refreſhment it affords, generally proves a Cure for moſt of our Marine Diſeaſes.

Arrive at Bantam.

We made a ſtay of five Weeks here, upon the Account of which long reſting time, t'was the latter end of *December* ere we got to *Bantam*. Here we found a *Dutch* Fleet in the Road, which at our Arrival made us the Civil Complement of their Guns as we did the like to them; and nothing paſs'd either between the Admirals or Seamen on both ſides but what was very friendly and good natur'd. Our Admiral went aſhoar to deliver His Majeſties Letter, and Preſent to the King of *Bantam*, which was receiv'd with a great deal of Ceremony. Our Fleet parted Company at this place, the *Hector* and *Suſan* were left here to lade Pepper, while the *Dragon* and *Aſcenſion* ſet out upon other Voyages; the Admiral in the *Dragon*, to the *Molucca*'s, and the *Aſcenſion* to the Iſles of *Banda*.

King's Letter and Preſent deliver'd to the King of Bantam.

We that made the latter of theſe Voyages, Arrived at the Iſles of *Banda*, *February* the 21ſt, and made a ſtay there of 21 Weeks. The buſineſs done was not conſiderable, but we have theſe few Obſervations to make relating to Geography and Sailing. The Lat. of theſe Iſlands is about 4 Degr. 40 Min. S. the chief Town of all is *Nero*. From the South part of *Amboina* hither, the Courſe is E. by S. to the South ſide 30 Leagues, and the going in is to the Weſt ſide. There's a high Hill in Proſpect which is alſo a Volcano, and continually belches out Smoak and Flame: This is a very good Mark, and to Sail right, this burning Mountain muſt be left on the Lar-board ſide, and the other great Iſland on the Star-board. The Entrance

is

Nautical Obſervations about *Banda* and *Amboina.*

Pulerin and *Puloway.*

is ſtrait and narrow, and not to be diſcover'd till you come within half a Mile of it. There's no Danger at all in ſtanding with the Iſle that has the Volcano upon it, even till you come within two Cables length; but on the contrary, Experience proves it to be the beſt way ſo to do, for at that diſtance you ſhall have 20 Fathom water, and ſo continuing to ſtand along ſtill about a Cables length, you ſhall have eight, ſeven, ſix Fathom, to the very narroweſt of all, where 'twill be five Fathom, and that laſt depth holds till you come into the very Road. If a Ship obſerves this Method, ſhe may go in without Danger; 'tis true 'tis ſomething ſhallow on the Star-board ſide in the narrow of the entrance, but this will eaſily Diſcover it ſelf. There are two ſmall Iſles that lie about three Leagues to the Weſt ſide of the going in, but there's no Danger near them but what a Sailor that has his Wits about him may perceive and avoid well enough; beſides they may be left on which Hand a Man pleaſes, either going in or coming out.

The Winds.

About theſe parts we found the Wind very uncertain, and ſhifting from the middle of *March* to the middle of *April*, and then they lie between the E. & S. E. full four Months, and ſometimes (as the People ſay) five Months; then they blow as long between the W. & N. W. and then two Months again variable; and in this manner do they fill up the Revolution of the Year. And farther as to the weather, we obſerved, That in the dark Moons 'tis moſt commonly very rainy and guſty, and a fair Day is reckon'd no other than an interruption of the uſual and ſetled Courſe of the Weather at that time.

An Account of Sir. *Henry Middleton's* Voyage to the *Molucca's.*

Dutch and *Portugueze* Fight at *Amboina.*

Dutch get the Caſtle.

Wars between *Ternate* and *Tydore.*

Engliſh protect the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch* Merchants.

'Twas the 21ſt of *Auguſt A. D.* 1605, that we came back into *Bantam* Road from the Iſles of *Banda*: Our Admiral who had been at the *Moluccas* met us here again, and the moſt material Circumſtances of that Voyage were to this purpoſe. When they came to *Amboina*, they found all things involved in the Confuſions of a War, which was going on between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueze*. The *Portugueze* at that time were Defendants being poſſeſſed of the Caſtle, and the *Dutch* were endeavouring to drive them out and imploy a good Force for that purpoſe. The Defendants had certainly the diſadvantage of it in one reſpect very greatly, for all the Country people were violently ſet againſt them, and heartily wiſh'd their Ruin, and as much encouraged the *Dutch* in their undertaking. Indeed they ſent for them to come to their Aſſiſtance, and promis'd if they wou'd expel their inveterate Enemies the *Portugueze*, to reſign all into their Hands. In ſhort the *Dutch* gave their Summons to the other party to yield up the place, and they as obſtinately refus'd it; they made ſeveral Attempts to win it by ſtorm, but were ſtill repuls'd; yet at laſt they came to a Compoſition, and the Caſtle was ſurrendred to the *Dutch*, by that good Fortune become the Lords of *Amboina*. Upon this Account there was no Trade to be gotten by the *Engliſh* there, and the Governour of the Town (by the Command of the *Dutch*) poſitively refus'd us. So our Admiral proceeded in his Voyage to the *Molucca's*, where Affairs were in as troubleſome a poſture as they had been in at *Amboina*. There had been a War of a long ſtanding between the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*, and it raged at this time with as much fury and violence as ever. Each party was back'd with a potent Aſſiſtance from abroad; the *Dutch* eſpous'd the King of *Ternates* Intereſt, and the *Portugueze* ſtood by him of *Tydore*. A very ſuitable Match in every reſpect, the Seconds being as hearty Enemies as the Principals; and beſides this new Quarrel having one of their own of a very ancient Date to ſet them on with the more eagerneſs. When our Ship was got up under the Land of *Tydore*, they ſpied two *Ternateen* Gallies coming with great ſpeed towards them, and making ſigns to them to ſtay; in the foremoſt of them was the King of *Ternate* himſelf, and ſeveral of his Nobles and *Dutch* Merchants all in a mortal Fear and Conſternation, upon the account of a parcel of *Tydorian* Gallies that were making out after them. They moſt earneſtly implor'd the Admirals Aſſiſtance in that Extremity, and deſired him to undertake their Defence againſt thoſe Adverſaries, into whoſe Hands if they fell, they muſt expect no Mercy. And tho' all was done that cou'd be done of a ſudden, and our Ship play'd upon the *Tydore* Gallies with her Ordnance, yet thoſe Deſperate Fellows wou'd not loſe their Prey, but got up with the hindmoſt *Ternate*, boarded her even within reach of our Guns, and put them all to the Sword in a moment. This horrible Execution ſtruck a deeper Terror into them than before; and now they promis'd that if our Admiral wou'd but be their Protector till they were out of Danger, they wou'd furniſh him with a mighty quantity of Cloves and other Commodities at *Ternate*. But theſe great Words came to little, as the event afterwards proved; and the vaſt Spicy-Mountain in promiſe, ſunk down to the dimenſions of a Mole-Hill in performance. And 'twas a good paſſage enough of the King of *Ternate* (who was by this means more beholding to us than we to him) that when he came aboard our Ship in that horrid Fright the *Tydore* Gallies had put him into, he ſhook and quiver'd at a moſt violent rate like a Man that was pinch'd with the extremity of weather; the Admiral thinking he ſhook for co'd (not imagining all the while 'twas his Fear) put a rich Damask Gown over his Shoulders to give him a little Comfort; and truly 'twas ſo comfortable that the King e'en kept it on (when 'twas on) for good and all, and carried away the Gown without taking any notice of making the leaſt offer to reſtore it.

Comes to *Tydore.*

Reports of the *Engliſh.*

The Admiral having at preſent taken leave of this Noble Prince, went away directly to the Iſle of *Tydore*. Here he met with a cold Entertainment, and little proſpect there was of doing Buſineſs that was any thing conſiderable. At the *Portugueze* Town, the Governour of the Fort ſent him word that the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch* both had given the *Engliſh* a very ſcandalous Character, which for his own part he pretended to believe to be falſe and unjuſt. And at the King's Town he found the *Dutch* Admiral at his Arrival, who huff'd and made a noiſe that we had aſſiſted the *Portugueze* in their Wars againſt the *Ternateans* and them. This the Admiral prov'd by Witneſſes ſufficiently credible to be a Lye, and the other party was both convinc'd and aſham'd of the Slander. But the King of *Ternate's* Civility and Gratitude was very great indeed, if he join'd with the *Dutch* in giving that baſe Character of the *Engliſh* Nation, who had deſerv'd ſo well of him. One wou'd have expected it ſhould have been a little obliging to have a good warm Gown thrown over him in a cold ſhaking fit; or if not that, yet to be deliver'd out of the Hands of the *Tydorians*, who wou'd have cut His Majeſties Head off as ſure as ever it had a Crown on. But we can't poſitively charge him, tho' there is hardly any thing of a ſincere friendſhip to be expected from theſe little *Indian* Princes as far as their Intereſt will let them go; they may practice ſome little Matters of it, but they are entirely govern'd by that, and they'll ſtrike in with every Wind and Tide that ſerves their turn.

Dutch threaten the King of *Ternate*, if he Trades with the *Engliſh.*

However whether he really was or no, the *Dutch* thought him to be pretty much enclin'd to us, and therefore threatned at a barbarous rate, how they wou'd deſert his Intereſt, and join with the King of *Tydore*, if ever they found him, diſpos'd to grant us a Trade or Factory in his Country. And to diſſwade him by all the proper Motives they could think on; they told him a parcel of wretched Stories of the *Engliſh* Nation and at the ſame time magnified the Greatneſs and Power of their own King (as they call him) above all the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom put together. This was always their way to make People abroad believe they had a King in *Holland* and (to greaten the Idea of it) repreſent their Government as a Monarchy. There's no tolerable Reaſon to be given for this, and it muſt be acknowledged to be a downright Trick. 'Tis a piece of Vanity to ſay that they had no other Terms ſo proper as that of King to expreſs their meaning by to the *Indians* where they came, or that they cou'd not ſo well underſtand any other Account of their Government. The *Indians* know the difference between a Monarchy and a Commonwealth as well as they do, and wou'd have underſtood it if they had told them which theirs was. Was not there the Example (if there had been no other) of the Iſles of *Banda* before their Eyes, which were as abſolutely Commonwealths as the United Provinces? Why cou'd not they have told them plainly, without any thing of Fraud that their Government was ſuch as that of thoſe Iſlands? And then 'tis manifeſt beyond all Exception, that the *Indians* have words enough to expreſs any difference of Governments or Governours by. Their Language is not ſo barren, and if there be but honeſt People to ſpeak it, there need be no complaints for want of more Scope or Variety, nor no pretences of not being underſtood. Amongſt the *Mahometans* beginning with the ſupreme Title *Sha*, there follows *Sultan*, *Mirze*, *Immirze*, *Chan*, and ſeveral others; and amongſt the Gentiles or *Pagans*, there's the *Rajas*; the *Pangrans*, the *Sabandars*, the *Orancajus*, and other Terms, enough to give a juſt Idea of the Degrees of any perſons Power and Authority in the Government one ſpeaks of. And the *Indians* knowing all theſe Differences perfectly well in the ſeveral Frames of their own Conſtitutions, wou'd eaſily and naturally have underſtood the Proportions of them in other Foreign Governments, if they had given them a ſincere and ingenuous Information.

The Noble States General would not allow or bear them out in ſuch Practices.

But the *Dutch* as much as they hate a King at home are very fond of having one abroad, and not only ſo *, but they preſume to exalt him to a vaſt height above all his Neighbours, and make all other Princes very inconſiderable puny things, in compariſon to him. Yet however, to ſhew that notwithſtanding all their endeavours to leſſen the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Nation abroad, the Princes of thoſe parts did not think our King and Country ſo very contemptible, theſe following Letters to His Majeſty from the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*, (which our Admiral brought with him) may be conſider'd.

The King of *Ternate*'s Letter to the King.

Fame of Sir *Franc. Drake.*

HEaring of the good Reports of your Majeſty, by the coming of the great Captain Sir Francis Drake, *in the time of my Father, which was about ſome thirty Years paſt: By the which Captain my Predeceſſor did ſend a Ring unto the Queen of* England, *as a Token of remembrance between us: Which if the aforeſaid* Drake *had been living, he could have informed your Majeſty of the great Love and Friendſhip of either ſide: He in the behalf of the Queen, my Father for him and his Succeſſors; ſince which time of the departure of the foreſaid Captain, we have daily expected his return, my Father living many Years after, and daily expecting his return. And I after the Death of my Father, have lived in the ſame hope, till I was Father of eleven Children: In which time I have been informed, that the* Engliſh-men *were Men of a bad Diſpoſition, and that they came not as peaceable Merchants, but to diſpoſſeſs us of our Kingdoms; which by the coming of the Bearer hereof, we have found to the contrary; which we greatly rejoice at. And after many Years of our expectation of ſome* Engliſh *Forces, by the Promiſe of Captain* Drake, *here arrived certain Ships, which we well hoped had been* Engliſh-men, *but finding them contrary, and being out of all hope of Succour of the* Engliſh *Nation, we were enforced to write to the Prince of* Holland, *to crave Aid and Succour againſt our ancient Enemies the* Portugals; *and according to our Requeſt, he hath ſent hither his Forces which have expelled the* Portugals *out of all the Forts which they held at* Amboina, *and* Tydore. *And whereas your Majeſty hath ſent to me a moſt kind and friendly Letter, by your Servant Captain* Henry Middleton; *that doth not a little rejoice us: And whereas Captain* Henry Middleton *was deſirous to leave a Factory here, we were very willing thereunto; which the Captain of the* Hollanders *underſtanding, he came to challenge me of a former Promiſe, which I had written to the Prince of* Holland, *That if he would ſend me ſuch Succours as ſhould expel the* Portugals *out of theſe parts, that no other Nation ſhould have Trade there, but only they: So that we were enforc'd againſt our likings, to yield unto the* Holland *Captains Requeſt for this time, whereof we crave Pardon of your Highneſs; and if any of your Nation come hereafter, they ſhall be welcome. And whereas the chief Captain of the* Hollanders *doth ſollicit us not to hold any Friendſhip with your Nation, nor to give Ear to your Highneſs Letters, yet for all their Suit, if you pleaſe to ſend hither again, you ſhall be welcome: And in Token of your Friendſhip which we deſire of your Majeſty, we have ſent you a ſmall Remembrance, a Bahar of Cloves, our Country being poor, and yielding no better Commodity; which we pray your Highneſs to accept in good part.*

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

A Friend at a pinch.

TERNATE.

The King of *Tydore*'s Letter to the King's Majeſty of *England*.

THIS Writing of the King of Tydore *to the King of* England, *is to let your Highneſs underſtand, That the King of* Holland *hath ſent hither into theſe Parts, a Fleet of Ships, to join with our ancient Enemy the King of* Ternate, *and they jointly together, have over-run and ſpoiled part of our Country, and determined to deſtroy both Us and our Subjects. Now underſtanding by the Bearer hereof, Captain* Henry Middleton, *that your Highneſs is in Friendſhip with the King of* Spain, *we deſire your Majeſty that you would take pity of Us, that we may not be deſtroyed by the King of* Holland *and* Ternate, *to whom we have offered no wrong: But they by forceable means, ſeek to bereave us of our Kingdom. And as great Kings upon the Earth are ordained by God, to ſuccour all them that be wrongfully oppreſſed; ſo I appeal unto your Majeſty for Succour againſt my Enemies; not doubting but to find Relief at your Majeſty's Hands: And if your Majeſty ſend hither, I humbly intreat that it may be Captain* Henry Middleton, *or his Brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your Kingdom, bleſs you and all your Counſels.*

TYDORE.

Now all Buſineſs was diſpatch'd, and we were ready for a Voyage homewards. But the Admiral taking his Leave at Court before he came away, a Letter was deliver'd for His Majeſty, (with a Preſent of Bezoar Stones) the Copy of which is here ſubjoyn'd.

The King of *Bantam* to the King of *England*.

A Letter given by your Friend the King of Bantam, *to the King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *deſiring God to preſerve your Health, and to exalt you more and more, and all your Counſel. And whereas your Majeſty hath ſent a General,* Henry Middleton, *he came to me in Health, I did hear that your Majeſty was come to the Crown of* England, *which doth greatly rejoice my Heart: Now* England *and* Bantam *are both as one. I have alſo received a Preſent from your Majeſty; the which I give you many Thanks for. I do ſend your Majeſty two Bezoar Stones, the one weighing Fourteen Maſſes, the other three: And ſo God have you in his keeping.*

BANTAM.

Our other two Ships the *Hector* and *Suſan*, had got their Lading of Pepper, and were gone away in *February*; and we ſet out to follow them the enſuing *October*.

Sail for *England.*

About the Cape of *Good Hope* we found the *Hector*, in a lamentable diſtreſs'd Condition: She was driving up and down the Sea at random, her Men all dead but ten, her Companion, the *Suſan*, loſt for three Months before, and was never heard of afterwards. Having refreſh'd ſome time in the Bay of *Soldania*, we all three ſet Sail for *England*, and came to an Anchor in the *Downs*, *May* the 6th, *A. D.* 1606.

CHAP. XII.

The Third Voyage ſet forth by the Eaſt-India *Company, with three Ships, the* Dragon, Hector, *and the* Conſent. *Capt.* William Keeling *chief Commander. Taken out of his, and Mr.* Finch (*Merchant*) *his Journal.*

The firſt part of the Voyage as far as *Sierra Leona*, we have no Account of.

[*The Voyage made by the* Conſent, *comes afterwards by it ſelf.*]

August, *An. Dom.* 1607.

'TWas to *Sierra Leona*, that we came back with our Weather-beaten Ships for ſome Refreſhment after the ſeveral Toils and Croſſes of the former part of our Voyage. Here we found the Comforts we wanted, and pleaſant Experience told us, we took the wiſeſt Courſe in coming hither.

Sierra Leona.

The King of the Country keeps his Reſidence in the bottom of the Bay; he is a mighty Prince amongſt the Negroes, and has ſeveral other petty Princes in Subjection to him; one whereof lives at a Town within the Second Court, and another on the other ſide the Bay. His Dominions ſtretch at leaſt forty Leagues up into the Land; and his Tribute is paid him in Cotton Cloth, Elephants Teeth, and Gold: Himſelf, with ſome of his principal Men, decently clothed in Fuſtian Jackets and Breeches, and ſome with Hats: But the Commons nothing but a Cotton Cloth

The King of the place, and his Dominions.

Cloth about their Waſtes, and hanging down before, and the Children ſtark naked.

The Natives and their Cuſtoms.

The Men and Women do all in general race and pink their Skins, in all parts of their Bodies: They do it with a great deal of Curioſity and Fancy, and 'tis the only Ornament that belongs to them. Their Fancy is not quite ſo good in the management of their Hair. The Men indeed have no certain Faſhion for theirs; ſome wear it in Tuffs and Bunches, others cut it away in ſeveral long Paths and Roads, running this way and that way, quite croſs their Heads. As for the Women, they have but one Faſhion amongſt them, and that is to cut it all clever off, and keep it ſhaved cloſe to the Skin: They pull off all the Hair from their Eye-lids, and file their Teeth ſo ſharp and picked, that I think they could go near to conquer a Bone, and might diſpute that point with ſome of their four-footed Domeſticks.

Their Diet.

They feed much upon Roots and Fruits, planting about their Houſes, Gourds, Potatoes, Pumpions, Plantanes, and *Guinea* Pepper: Herbs too are a part of their Fare, together with Cockles and Oyſters, which they get upon the Rocks by the Sea-ſide; and conſidering their Teeth, may eat Shells and all, without the trouble of opening. They have alſo ſome little Crops of Rice; but of this no more than juſt what's neceſſary for the Service of their Families, and that juſt by their Houſes too. Their Bread they make of a little Seed, or Grain, they call *Pene*, not much unlike the Seed of Winter-Savoury.

As for Fleſh they have very little of that, all the Varieties of this kind being only a few Hens, and a piece of wild Veniſon ſometimes from the Mountains, when they can get it. Fiſh indeed they have pretty good ſtore, and they are ingenious enough in Contrivances for Angling, after their way.

Taking Tobacco.

Tobacco is as much to them as half their Livelyhood; and the Women are as violent Smoakers as the Men. They preſs the Juice out of the Leaves, when they are green and freſh, and then lay them a drying upon a Sheard over the Coals, and ſo cut them for uſe: For they intimated by Signs to us, that the Tobacco would make them drunk, if they took it with all its ſtrength remaining in the Leaves. The Bouls of their Pipes are made of Clay, and very large; and in the lower end of them they ſtick a ſmall hollow Cane, of a Foot and half long, thro' which they draw the Smoak: And this they are not contented to let come only into their Mouths, but they muſt have it down in their Stomachs too, and ſo drink Tobacco in the ſtricteſt Sence.

Towns and Houſes.

Their Towns conſiſt of about thirty or forty Houſes, ſet together all in a Cluſter, cover'd with Reeds, and incloſed with Mud-Walls, as our Hogſties generally are. They have a Mat hung up inſtead of a Door, a parcel of Billets laid croſs one another, and cover'd with Mats for Bedſtead and Featherbed; and theſe Mats are alſo the Hangings of their Rooms. The Particulars of their other Houſhold-ſtuff, is quickly reckon'd up. Two or three Earthen Pots, to keep Water, and boil Meat in. *Item*, One Gourd for the fetching of *Palmito* Wine, and another for a Quaffing-Cup. *Item*, A few Earthen Diſhes for their Loblolly. *Item*, A Basket or two to gather Cockles. And Laſtly, A Knapſack made of the Rinds of Trees, to carry the Provant, with Tobacco and Pipes.

Their Weapons.

But their Martial Furniture ought to come into the Account too; which is a little ſhort Sword hammer'd out of a piece of Iron by themſelves, a Bow and Quiver of Arrows, headed with Iron, and poiſoned, or elſe a Caſe of Javelins pointed in like manner, and ſometimes both.

They are a ſtrong, big, well-made People, have ſome ſhare of Spirit and Courage too; and for ſo rude an Education as they have, tolerably Civil, and Well-carriaged. They are very honeſt and juſt in their Dealings, puniſh Theft with preſent Death, and are more temperate than moſt People in the Love of Women, keeping for the moſt part to their own Wives, of whom they are extreamly jealous.

Conditions and Religion.

Their Religion lies ſomething more in the dark, and I could not ſee enough of it, to know what it is; I queſtion whether they do themſelves. It ſeems to be a Hotchpotch of Chriſtianity, Judaiſm, and Heatheniſm; for they have *Portugueze*-Jeſuites amongſt them, and a Chapel; yet are they circumciſed, and keep Idols of Wood in their Houſes: Which of theſe three is the prevailing Ingredient in the Compoſition, I know not; only this I find, that the Jeſuites have taught them to obſerve ſome Holidays, and given them at leaſt ſome general Notion of a Supreme Almighty Being, which they ſeem'd to expreſs, by lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and other devout Actions of that kind.

The Products of their Country.

Limons and Palmitoes.

The Country yields a delightful Variety of very excellent Fruits, and theſe Trees grow here wild, and by whole Wood-fields, that would be eſteem'd mighty Rarities, and have a great deal of Nurſing and Attendance in other Parts of the World. Orange-Trees indeed are not ſo very plentiful; but Limons, and Palmito's, are like Oaks and Elms in other Countries; and there's a vaſt long Wood of the former, juſt by the Watering-place, near the Town.

The Palmito-Wine is the Strong Drink, (for the Small is Water:) And this the Men are ſo Good-natur'd as to drink themſelves, giving very little, or none to the Women.

Their way of climbing the Palmitoes.

They are wonderfully nimble and dextrous in running up the Trees; and I think, no Cat can climb better than they: For tho' there are no Boughs, nor Branches, upon thoſe Palmito's, nor any thing for a Man to hold by, except juſt at the top, being beſides of a great height and bigneſs, yet they mount up with a ſtrange ſwiftneſs, and come down again with their Gourd of Wine, with as much ſteddineſs and good order. All the aſſiſtance they have for this piece of Dexterity, is a Withey, which they faſten about the Tree, and their own middle, and then bearing their Body a little back, they raiſe up that part of the Withy that goes about the Tree, and ſo by the help of their Feet lift themſelves upwards, after a very clever manner, as eaſie to them as it appear'd ſtrange to us.

Plumbs.

Manſamilio's.

Beningenions.

Beguils.

Other Fruits.

Poyſonous Beans.

They have ſeveral ſorts of Plumbs in the Country, ſome very good and agreeable to the Taſt, of a Black and Wheaten Colour; the Black are the more eſteem'd, as being not only the larger, but the more Aromatick Flavour. Other Fruits are the Manſamilio's, reſembling a Wheaten Plumb, but containing a Fruit that proves very fatal to the Eyes, if any of it be accidentally ſpurted in, as is alſo that of the Boughs of the Trees. Beningenions, about the bigneſs of a Limon, and having a kind of a reddiſh Rind, a very wholſome Fruit. Beguils, as big as Apples, with a rough knotty Skin, which pared off, the Fruit eats like a Strawberry, and is like it alſo in Colour and Grain. Wild Grapes, of which there is great ſtore in the Woods; and they have a woody bitter Taſt. Beſides theſe, we obſerved a ſort of Fruit of a dark yellowiſh Colour, growing in Cluſters of ſeven or eight together, as long and big as a Man's finger, ſomewhat ſoft and downy, and having within the Rind, a Pulp of a ſweet and pleaſant taſt, but how wholeſome I dare not aver. But the moſt remarkable of all was the poyſonous Beans, growing upon great Trees in the Woods, almoſt like Beeches: We took Notice of three kinds of theſe, very different from one another. The firſt large and tall, bearing a Pod like a Bean, which contains four or five ſquare Beans, almoſt like the Seed of a Tamarind, incloſed with a hard Peel like a Shell, within which lies a yellow Kernel, which is a very dangerous Poyſon, and us'd by the Negroes for poyſoning their Darts; they call this Fruit *Oyou*. The ſecond ſort is leſs, the Pod crooked, of a very thick Rind, and ſix or ſeven Inches in the bending, and half as much in breadth, it incloſes five Beans an Inch long each. The third has Leaves like the former, but the Food much bigger, ſtanding on a ſtrong woody Stalk, thick and maſſy, a little indented on the ſides, nine Inches long, and five broad, within which are five Beans longer than the other, and called by them *Quenda*; and thoſe they ſay are alſo venomous.

Beſides theſe Beans, I have ſeen there Trees like Willows, which bear a Fruit like Peas-pods.

Fruit Gola.

Up further in the Country they have a Fruit, to which they give the Name of *Gola*; 'tis of the bigneſs of a Walnut, hard, reddiſh, bitter, jagged, and full of Corners, like that, and incloſed in a hard Shell. This is a thing mightily ſet by in the Country, and ſerves the two grand purpoſes, both of Money and Meat too; neither have they any other but this, which does as well amongſt them as Gold and Silver in other parts of the World. The other way they make uſe of it, is by Chewing, which they do, mixing it with the Rind of a certain Tree, which they are mighty fond of upon that account. One Man takes a mouthful, ſucking and turning it about for a while; and then he puts it into the next Man's Mouth, who plays his part with it in the like manner; and ſo it goes as far as 'twill go, all round the Company: They don't ſwallow down any part of it, but every Man is obliged to give it as entirely to his Neighbour, as he receives it himſelf, for Quantity at leaſt, whatever it be for Quality and Virtue.

Cotton.

In the inner parts of the Country, they have pretty ſtore of Cotton, of which they make a tolerable good Cloth, about a Quarter broad, for that little Covering they have before them.

Cambe.

There is a Wood too called *Cambe*, which dyes a good Red, and they uſe it about their Purſes, and Mats, for that purpoſe.

It may not be amiſs, beſides this general Scheme of the Vegetable Variety of theſe parts, to give a more particular Deſcription of thoſe more noted common Fruits, and their reſpective Trees, which are alſo of an equally conſiderable Uſe and Service to Mankind.

Deſcription of the Limon Trees.

The Limon-Tree much reſembles the Crab in ſeveral points, is very full of Prickles, and carries a ſlender Leaf like a Willow; it yields very plentifully, as the Crab-Trees do, the Fruit begins to ripen in *Auguſt*, and hold on upon the Tree till *October*.

Plantans.

That which they call the Plantan-Tree, ſeems to be an annual Plant, and in my Opinion, ought rather to be reckon'd amongſt the Reeds than the Trees. It is of a moderate height, and about the bigneſs of a Man's Thigh; it is not of a denſe, compact, woody Subſtance, but ſeems to conſiſt of ſeveral Orders of Leaves, or Skins, wrapped cloſe upon one another, almoſt in the manner of an Artichoke, it has nothing of Branches, but the Leaves ſhoot immediately out of the Trunk it ſelf, throughout the whole length of it, and are for the moſt part two Ells long, and one broad, having one long Rib going through the middle of them. The Plantans themſelves hang in Cluſters of ten or twelve together, each a Span long, and almoſt as thick as a Man's Wriſt, ſomewhat crooked, and bending inward; at firſt it looks very green, and then turns yellow as it ripens; and if you take them then and ſtrip off the Rinds, you'll find the Pulp within of the ſame colour, and a very pleaſant taſte. Beneath the Fruit on the ſame Stalk, hangs down a leafy Tuft ſharp pointed, which ſeems to have been the Flower; but whether there's any thing of a Seed or no, I am not certain; they give this Fruit the Name of Bannana's, and have good plenty of them. They are ripe in *September* and *October*, and will, if they are gathered green, ripen of themſelves, ſo as to be fit for eating in about ſix Weeks time, as we found by Experience.

Of the Guinea-Pepper.

Guinea-Pepper, a Fruit this Country ſhews too amongſt the reſt, tho' in no great plenty, grows wild in the Woods; the Plant is a ſmall thing, almoſt like Privett, or Prickwood, adorned with little ſlender Leaves, and bearing a Fruit reſembling Barberries in form, and of the ſame colour too, when ripe, only they don't hang in Bunches as Barberries do; but here and there two or three together about the Stalk; their Name for it is *Banque*.

Of the Pene.

The *Pene* ſpoken of before, of which they make their Bread, is a ſmall ſlender Plant like Graſs, the Stalk full of Seed, not encloſed in any ſort of Husk. This ſeems to be the ſame with what the *Turks* call *Cuſcus*, and the *Portugueze*, *Tſunde*.

Of the Palmito.

The *Palmite*-Tree is very ſtraight, high, knotty in the Rind, of a ſoft and yielding Texture within, wholly without Boughs, except at the top, and thoſe rather like ſo many Reeds than real Boughs, being all Pith in the inſide, only cover'd with a rough Rind; the Leaf is long and ſlender, in manner of Sword-graſs, or the *Calamus* Flags; and thoſe Reedy Boughs on which they ſtand, are beſet on both ſides with ſharp and ſtrong Prickles, ſtanding like the Teeth of a Saw, but much longer; the Fruit is about the bigneſs of a Cheſnut, it being a tough, hard, inſipid Kernel, incloſed in a much harder and more compacted Shell, ſtreaked with Threds on the outſides; the People call the Tree it ſelf *Toball*, and the Fruit *Bele*; which is indeed good for little, tho' they eat them roaſted. When they draw the Wine of this Tree, they cut off one of the Branches, with a Span of the Head, and making ſomething of an Inciſion, they faſten the Mouth of a Gourd to the Orifice, which in the ſpace of Twenty four Hours will be fill'd with a clear whitiſh Water, of a grateful reliſh, and ſtrong enough to make the Negroes drunk.

Oyſter-trees.

I ſee nothing in theſe parts like the celebrated Plant that has gotten the Name of Senſitive: But here is a Tree that ſhews a Fruit, which deſerves to be call'd ſo, ſince it really is ſo without diſpute; 'tis indeed all the Fruit the Tree can pretend to, tho' not to be imagin'd the natural and genuine product of it. The Tree is ſomething like a Willow in make and ſize, but the Leaf very broad, and almoſt as thick as Leather, bearing ſmall Knops like thoſe of the Cypreſs. The Boughs of this hang down a good way into the Water; for they ſtand all about the Bays, and are quite overflown, as it were, by the Tide; and thus together with the Mud and Slime that ſticks to them, the young Oyſters bred thereabouts faſten on to them too, and that in ſuch vaſt numbers, that one can hardly ſee any thing almoſt but long Ropes of Oyſters.

Animals; Fiſh, Fowl, & Quadru Peds.

Having taken a View of the Vegetable Productions of this Country, we may now look upon the Animals, beginning with the Fiſh; ſince the Oyſter-Trees, in which Plant and Fiſh are united, make that Tranſition juſt and natural: Here then we find Mullets, Rays, Thornbacks, Old-wives, Garfiſh, Cavallio's, like Mackarel, Pikes, Sword-fiſh, with Snouts a Yard long, Toothed on both ſides like a Saw; Dog-fiſh, Sharks, and Sharks which are like a Shark, but have a flat broad Snout like a Shovel; Shoemakers, having on each ſide the Mouth Pendants like Barbel, and making a grunting Noiſe like Hogs.

Their Fowl, are Pelican, white and as large as Swans, with a mighty long Bill; Hearns, Curlews, Boobies, Ox-eyes, with ſeveral other ſorts, whoſe Names we know not. Only their grey Parrots are not to be forgotten, as alſo their *Guinea*-Hens, a very beautiful Fowl, of the bigneſs of a Pheaſant, and party-colour'd.

As for Beaſts, the Mountains are full of Lions, Tygers, and Ounces; and the Woods of Monkeys, leaping about from Tree to Tree. And there ſhould be Porcupines too by the Quills of them, which the Negroes ſhew, tho' we ſaw none. Elephants are ſcarce here about the Bays, but up in the Country they are plentiful enough.

A ſtrange Beaſt.

The Natives told us alſo of a ſtrange Beaſt, which the Interpreter rendred a Carbuncle, very often ſeen by them, but only in the Night-Seaſon. This Creature, they ſay, has a Stone of an incredible Luſtre in his Forehead, ſo bright, that he is not only thereby rendred viſible in the darkeſt Night, but ſees alſo by the help of that Natural Torch, to find out and manage his Provender. It is a very ſhy, jealous, and timorous ſort of Creature, and furniſhed by Nature with ſo good Ears, that it takes the Alarm of the ſmalleſt Noiſe, being always in a liſtning attentive poſture. It has a kind of a Muſcular Film, or Skin, that plays forth and back over that lucid Stone, ſo that 'tis managed juſt of all the Word like a Candle in a Dark-Lanthorn, open or ſhut, as the Creature pleaſes; and this is the way of it when it hears any Noiſe, immediately the Filmor's clapp'd over the Stone, and the Light's loſt, and ſo the Animal preſerves its Liberty, by blundering its Purſuer, and leaving him in the dark.

This Account the Negroes give, with all imaginable aſſurance: And if there be ſuch a Luminous Stone as this, 'tis certain, that ſince 'tis impoſſible it ſhould ſhine by any Reflection of an external Light, that it muſt be from the Texture, Diſpoſition, and Inteſtine Motion of the Parts of that Stone, or ſome more active fiery Corpuſcles, tranſmitted into it from the Body of the Animal, and reſiding in its Pores, which upon the turning aſide of the Film, diſcovers ſuch a Phœnomenon as the Phoſphorus (or *Bolinian* Stone), expos'd to the open Air.

The Trade of the Country.

The principal Commodity of the Country, that can any way ſerve to invite a Trade, are Gold and Elephants Teeth, which the *Portugueze* have made ſometimes very advantageous Barter for; bringing only meer Toys, and Trifles, as Beads, Bells, Knives, Glaſſes, Copper, and Iron Veſſels, &c. But in this part of the Country, about the Sea-Coaſts, they will not part with their Gold at theſe rates, tho' they do up in the Heart of it, where the People live more out of the way of Converſe and Traffick, and leſs underſtand the Value of their own Commodities; here they will barter Victuals for your Toys; but I ſee no proſpect of procuring any thing elſe, that's very much to advantage.

See *Mair* and *Schouton's* Voyage.

The Point, or Cape, of *Sierra Liona* it ſelf, lies ſomething low and depreſſed; but the Land over it riſes extreamly high, and may be ſeen in a clear Day 14 or 15 Leagues off.

Land of *Sierra Leona*. The Rock to the Weſtward.

To the Weſtward of the Cape, ſtands the great Rock, which makes a Figure remarkable enough; you have no leſs than ſixteen, fifteen, ten, or nine Fathom Water, North and South with the Rock, at a Mile and half diſtance; and within half a Mile you have ſeven Fathom very good Shoaling between your Ship and the Rock; paſſing the Rock there's twenty Fathom, and Shoaling to eighteen, ſixteen, twelve, and ten Fathom, all the way into the Roads bordering very near the South Shore, for there's a conſiderable Sand that lies about two Miles from the Northern Shore, where the Sea breaks. We found very convenient Riding in ten Fathom Water, and good Ground, the Point of *Sierra Leona*, bearing W. by N. the N. point of the Bay bearing N. W. and the aforeſaid Breach, or Sand, N. N. E. * 'Tis to be obſerv'd alſo, That coming in we were N. & S. with the Rock, it bare with the S. Point, and with *Ilha Verd* N. by W. and S. by E. which *Ilha Verd* (by the way) is a very round Spot, and a particular Mark for all that are bound thither from the Southward.

A Sand on the North Shoar.

Note.

Obſervations on the Varia

'Tis remarkable, that all the Obſervations of the Variation, ſince our coming from 2 Degr. North Lat. to *Sierra Liona*, proved very erroneous; and we found, in order to ſet this matter to rights, that thirty Leagues muſt be added to each Diſtance, when we have reference to any Meridian Eaſterly of that Diſtance, and ſo many ſubtracted from it, when we refer to a Weſterly Meridian.

Experience taught us the Practice of this Rule hereabouts, and this a Man muſt make his ſureſt Guide, and not lay too much ſtreſs upon his Inſtruments, which may deceive the moſt skilful Obſerver.

Watering.

The Watering all hereabouts is very good and convenient, tho' the beſt Watering-place, as alſo the beſt Road too, is the Fourth Bay, to the Eaſtward of the Point of *Sierra Leona*. There the Courſe of the Water is pretty near to the W. S. W. and in the Spring-Tide it riſes at Flood at the leaſt twelve Foot.

Tides.

Latitude and Variation at *Sierra Leona.*

When you have the *Ilhar Verd* bearing from you, S. E. ½ Southerly, and the Point of *Sierra Leona*, N. E. by E. ½ Eaſterly, and about three Leagues from you, you ſhall in that Diſtance and Poſition, find a ſtrong Tide ſetting N. E. by N. The Road of *Sierra Leona* (by the beſt Obſervation we had opportunity of making) lies in 8 Degr. 36 Min. North Lat. and the Point bears near W. from it, and is about a League or four Miles diſtant. The Variation here alſo, as far as we cou'd find, was 1 Degr. 50 Min. N. E. our Courſe from hence being to the Bay of *Soldania*, we obſerved as follows: That the *Sugarloaf* and *Penguin* Iſlands bear S. by E. and N. by W. from one another, the Weſtermoſt South Iland, and the Point of the *Sugarloaf* bear S. S. W. and N. N. E. Between the Iſland and the Shore, 'tis at leaſt ſeven Miles, and about half a League from the Iſland to the E. S. E. is a conſiderable Breach, as alſo another to the South, at a Mile diſtance from it: Neither is that Flatt to be forgotten, which lies half a Mile from the Weſt Point of the Bay.

We refreſhed a few Days at *Soldania*, and then proceeded for St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay. In which Courſe, when by obſervation we were in 34 Degr. 4 Min. South Lat. by the Computation of our Ships Reckoning, we ought then to have been in 33 Degr. 14 Min. ſo that we were 50 Min. more to the South, than our Rules would allow of. And this was evidently the effect of the Current that we fell into thereabouts; from whence 'tis plain, that thoſe that depend upon their dead Reckoning, and the meer Rules of Art, without due reſpect had to the Currents, and the Allowances to be made on that ſcore, muſt needs fall into intolerable Errors; and this ſeems to be very good Reaſon why the Current ſhould be of greater force here, where we made this obſervation, becauſe the Land goes away with a very ſudden fall, N. E. and S. W. and we happening to open the Gut, were ſo far influenced by the ſtrength of it, as is before related; and there's as much Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that as a Ship goes more Eaſterly paſt the middle of the Gut, ſo the force of the Current will be proportionably diminiſhed.

Variation in 23, 37 Min. South Lat.

In South Lat. 23 Degr. 37 Min. the Variation was 15 Degr. 30 Min. But by a ſucceeding Obſervation more nicely made it came but to 15 Degr. 26 Min. This laſt Obſervation was made over the Land half a Degree high, otherwiſe the Variation would have been more; and theſe, eſpecially the laſt, or ſecond, ſeem to be ſuch, as a Man may repoſe a conſiderable degree of Confidence in.

Tides thereabouts.

The Tide here flows directly with the Eaſt; you have from ten, twelve, to twenty Fathom, between this and the Bay, but coming near the Point in the height of the Bay, you have no Ground at a hundred Fathom, till you come a great way in, and then there is from thirty to eight Fathom, tho' 'tis to be obſerved, that the deepeſt Water is upon the South ſide, the other being made much ſhallower in proportion, by reaſon of the Mud and Sand brought in by the Rivers which are on that ſide.

Depth to the Bay.

Cape *Auguſtine.*

The Tide at St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay, flows pretty near E. and riſes to a great heighth. It is indeed generally called Cape St. *Auguſtine*, but it is moſt certainly a Bay, and not a Cape, ſince it has no Point or Neck of Land, that bears out more than the reſt about it. There are Breaches on both ſides of it, lying about a League W. S. W. from the Main, which makes it very eaſie to be diſcerned.

Note, The Author of this Journal hath ſaid a great deal of *Soldania* too: But that place being ſo commonly ſpoken of, by almoſt all that go thoſe Voyages out of whom the moſt remarkable things of it have been obſerv'd already, we therefore omit his Account.

In the bottom of the Bay there are two Rivers running, the Stream of which is ſo violent, that the Flood never overcomes it, tho' it flows at leaſt two Fathom: And the Land all about theſe Rivers, is broken, low, ſandy Ground. There's very good Fiſhing at this place for Smelts and Shrimps; of the former of which we catched ſome that were a Foot, and of the latter ten Inches in length: And the beſt place for this ſort of Sport is on the Sandy Shore of the low Land, where all the Natives do ply with their Nets.

In the low Land, within the Woods, we found vaſt plenty of Water-Melons, which afford good Refreſhment: But the River yield us nothing at all, the Water of them is not good; and thoſe that go to try to fiſh in them, are in danger of having their Sport ſpoiled by Allegators. The Proſpect of the Country for a Mile or two about the Bay, is homely and unpleaſant, appearing rough, ſtony, and in ſome places over-run with ſmall Woods: It does not ſeem neither to be over-ſtocked with Inhabitants, we never ſeeing above twenty of them together. They are a tall, luſty, well-ſet People, not of ſo ill Features as many Blacks are; nor are they ſo unpleaſing to thoſe that converſe with them, as moſt of that Complexion are, by reaſon of that Musk-ſcent they carry along with them. Their black Hair is decently plaited, and frizled upon their Heads, and it is reaſonably long; they have no other Covering upon that part beſides their Hair, as alſo none for any other part of the Body, except a ſort of a Girdle made of Rinds of Trees, adorned all behind with ſome of their Trinkets, and other odd things, which are faſtned on with Allegators Teeth, and hang there partly for ſhew, and partly for occaſional uſe.

The Natives of the Country about Cape St. *Auguſtine.*

See *Davis's* firſt Voyage, and Captain *Keeling's*.

Beſides their Darts and Launces (which are their principal Weapons), they wear about them certain great Knives, like Butchers Knives, whether for common Service only, or the uſe of Fighting beſides, I am not certain; however, they are all (as well as the other Inſtruments) of their own making, and there are ſome Diſcoveries of Art, and ingenious Fancy, in the Contrivance of them.

They are a ſubtle ſort of People in the Matters of Trade, and were not to be charmed with pieces of old Iron, as other Barbarians were. They made us pay a conſiderable Rate for the Cattel we had of them, in compariſon to what we gave at *Soldania*, and other places: And then they would take no Payments in any Metal below Silver, do what we could. We gave them for three Kine, two Steers, and four Calves, no leſs than 19 *s.* the Value of which in old Iron, would have purchas'd Cattle enough at *Soldania*, to have ſtocked two or three good Farms: But then 'tis certain, that the Cattle here are far better than at *Soldania*, tho' the make of them is much the ſame, having Bunches on their Backs like Camels, as they have, only theſe ſtand a little more forwards. But beſides the ordinary ſort of Cattle, as Sheep and Cows, which are in this Country very large and good, there are ſome which it boaſts of, as its own peculiar Rarities. The Woods afford great ſtore of thoſe Creatures, which for their Lovelineſs are called by ſome the Beautiful Beaſt; 'tis about the bigneſs of a Monkey, has a ſmall Head, and a very long Tail; the Furr of it is extreamly fine, aſh-colour'd, and ſtreaked with black and white. We killed ſome of them with our Guns, not being able to take them alive.

Beaſts, and other Creatures.

The Beautiful Beaſt.

The Camelion.

The Camelion is alſo a Native of this Country; and the Experience we had of them aſſures us, (if there were not other Reaſons for it), that the Vulgar Notion of them as Creatures that live upon the fluid Air it ſelf, without any other Suſtenance, is falſe, as well as ridiculous: We quickly found one of them, that we kept, a hunting after Flies, and as ſoon as ever he had the deſired Prey in his Eye, he ſuddenly darted ſomething out of his Mouth; what, I know not, unleſs 'twere his Tongue, but of a very ugly figure and appearance, and ſtruck the Fly, and eat it; and all this with ſuch ſpeed and nimbleneſs, that one can't imagine any cunning Spider, to ſurprize with more violence and ſuddenneſs than the Camelion do.

Fowl.

There are Bats here almoſt as big as Conies, headed like a Fox, and a thick hairy Furr: In all other Points like Bats: We meaſured the Wings of one that we killed, and found them, upon a full ſtretch, to be an Ell in length.

We ſaw here alſo good ſtore of Baſtard-Hawks, Herns of ſeveral colours, white, black, blew, and mix'd of divers together: And a ſort of Birds, whoſe Names we knew not, of as many Colours as one can well imagine, and tufted upon their Head like Peacocks.

Lizards.

Inſects.

Lizards are very common here; and a ſort of Inſect that has a great number of Legs, almoſt like our Crabbs, and hangs about upon the Trees, encloſed within a double Cod of white Silk. In the Trees upon the Hills are abundance of large Spiders, that carry their Webs from one Tree to another; and ſpin very ſtrong ſubſtantial Silk, of a yellow Colour, and that as good a Yellow as if made ſo by the fineſt Dye.

Vegetables.

Strange Plants.

As for Plants, beſides the Tamarinds, and the *Semper-vive* which yields the Aloes, here's a Plant ſomething ſtrange and peculiar; which, according to the beſt Judgment I can make of it, imagine to be a wild Coco-Nut: 'Tis of a ſhrubby Nature, and comes up with ſeveral prickled Stalks, very near two Yards long, and at the end of each ſtands a Leaf, indented half round like Sword-graſs, and as big as that of a Cabbage: Out from the tops of theſe Stalks, amongſt the Leaves, ſhot forth great numbers of woody Branches, as thick ſet with Fruit as ever they can ſtand one by another, of the colour and bigneſs of a large *Catharine* Pear, and like a Sheeps-bell in form, with a Rind bearing forth near the Head; flat at top, and ſmooth within, which Rind is hard Cortex, almoſt like the Coco ſhell, and within that the Kernal, which tho' it be hard, yet it may be eaten, and contains about a Spoonful of a pleaſant, cool, limpid Water, pretty much reſembling that of Coco. Here's a Tree too, as large and as big as a Pear Tree, very thick ſet with Boughs and Leaves like thoſe of the Bay Tree, bearing a mighty great Fruit as round as a Ball, and hanging on a ſtrong Stalk divided by Seams through the whole length of it into four parts. The Rind is vaſtly thick and being cut when 'tis Green, it yields a ſort of viſcid Matter like a Turpentine; it contains a Kernel, of a darkiſh Colour, hard, bitter and every way ill taſted. And thus much for the Products of this Country.

The Phœnomenons of the Water here were pretty odd and ſtrange, it being at high Water very Freſh, and at low extreamly Salt again at high Water Freſh on one ſide of the Ship, and Salt on the other.

Note, that all along the Low-land from Eaſt to Weſt lies a ledge of Rocks half a Mile from the Shoar, you have two or three Fathom Water, proper for Landing, and as good Fiſhing as can be deſired. Beſides this ledge of Rocks there's a Branch four Miles from the North Point of the Bay, bearing S. S. E. and then in the Road it ſelf the Water is very deep in moſt places, and the Ground foul and full of Pits, ſo that all things conſidered, this Bay ſeems to be no place for Ships to Refreſh at.

We ſet Sail from *Auguſtine* Bay to *Zoctoare*, and in South Lat. 15. Degr. 42 Min. by the difference of the way really made, and what in Judgment might here be allowed, we found the influence of the Current, which runs pretty ſwiftly there, and as it ſhould ſeem leſs to the S. W. than to the S. For the Reaſon of this Current 'tis probable that the deep Bay between Cape *Corientes* and *Mozabigue* makes an Indraught or Eddy of ſome Streams coming either from the N. E. or more Eaſterly in at the N. E. of St. *Lawrence*, and ſo along the Land to Cape *Corientes*: Or elſe that ſtream which is reported to ſet from St. *Lawrence* N. W. meeting at the Land of *Mozombigue* may be the falling away of the Land ſo drawn that way, which ſuppoſition if it be true, then 'tis an errour for any Ship to fall with the Land before ſhe is got nearer the North of *Mozombigue* Point. And 'tis to be obſerved upon this Principle that if ſhe does not fall too much Weſterly and bring the ſaid Cape too nigh her Meridian, ſhe will feel very little or nothing of this Stream.

Zocatoria. See after in this about the making the Aloes, as what the Practice and Trade for it, and other Commodities of the Iſland not here mentioned.

After ſome difficulties, we reached the Iſle of *Zocatora*, very well known in the World (and as much celebrated) for the Aloes it produces; the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil in the production of Dates is alſo no contemptible part of the Character of this Iſland. They have two Harveſts of this Fruit in a Year, the one of which fell in the Month of *July* at the time of our being there. When they are throughly Ripe, they are laid together upon Skins, and the Liquor which Diſtills from them, is that which they call Pate-wine. The Dates being thus drain'd, to Preſerve them they take out the Stones, and pack them up titely in a Skin; or at other times they cut them and take out the Stones before they are quite Ripe, and ſo lay them a drying, which is by far the better way, and makes them eat as if they were Candied: But they muſt be open'd at ſome time or other, for whole they will not keep. When the Harveſt of Dates comes, there's a Deputy of the Kings, that's appointed to preſide over the Concerns of every Valley, ſee all be clean gathered and brought into a certain place, and till this Affair be over, no Man dare touch a Date upon pain of Death. Then when all is carried in, the whole produce of the Iſland is divided into three equal parts, Firſt for the King, another for the *Arabs*, and the Third for the *Caffars*: But tho' they make the Diviſion equal, they don't make the Diſtribution, but Arbritrarily as they pleaſe. On the Strand there grows Cotton plants in ſome places; as alſo amongſt the Stones a ſhrubby Plant call'd Eſhac; it bears a thick round Leaf as broad as a Shilling, and Fruit like a Caper, which is of uſe in Sallets, and pretty much in requeſt for that purpoſe.

Products of *Zecatora*.

There are ſome Oranges too, but thoſe ſcarce and (like Butter and other Eatables) at *Zecatora* exceeding dear.

Strange Trees.

But the moſt remarkable of all next to the *Sempervivum*, or Aloes plant, is a large Tree of the height of a Man, or ſomething better: 'Tis very groſs and thick about the Root, and grows ſo very taper upwards, that at the top 'tis almoſt compleatly picked; the Trunk is all along very ſmooth, and has no Bark to cover it, nor no Branches but at the top, and thoſe void of Leaves; but they yield a reddiſh Flower, out of which a green Fruit diſcovers it ſelf in form and bigneſs not unlike a Date, and containing ſeveral ſmall white Kernels of a bitter Tart; the Branches alſo are very bitter, and are full of a reſinous Subſtance; whether this may be the Mirtle Tree or no, thoſe that have ſeen both may do well to determine: about the Shoar there are ſeveral delicate ſorts of Shells to be found, particularly your fine Pearl Oyſter-ſhells, as alſo the common ſort in abundance, and yet not one Oyſter to be had all over the Iſland, ſo that it is plain they are driven thither by Sea.

Civet Cats.

The Animals that deſerve the moſt notice, here are the Civit-Cats, which are taken in a Trap upon the Mountains; they are very numerous, and the Country people will ſell them at any time for twelve Pence a piece.

This Iſland is in the Hand of the King of *Tartach* or *Cuchem* in *Arabia Felix*, and has been in that ſtate of Subjection about 100 Years. The ſame Prince being alſo Maſter of the two *Irmans* and *Abladelcuria*.

The Government and Inhabitants

The Inhabitants are conſequently of two ſorts, the *Arabian Mahometans*, and the *Caffars* (or *Infidels* as they call the others). The old Poſſeſſours of the Iſle the *Arabs* are well proportioned Men, Tawny, wearing their Hair long, and a Turbant or linen Cloth wrap'd about their Heads, and no other Apparel, but another about their Middles. Their Legs and Feet quite bare too, except a ſorry pair of Sandals. They have ſome few Shot amongſt them, but their Weapons elſe are only a crooked Dagger and a Target.

The *Arabs*

They are Induſtrious, Diligent, Fair and Civil enough in their Behaviour, though not altogether ſo Honeſt in their Dealing. They are mighty lovers of Tobacco, and they love as well to Spunge it, where they may be permitted. The better ſort of Men or the Courtiers will throw a Pinſado over their Shoulders, in the manner of an *Iriſh* Mantle, and ſome make them Skirts of white Calicoe, as others alſo a pair of Linen Breeches like the Guzerats; but this is a high pitch of Dreſs, and not the common Mode of the Country. The Women wear Calico Shifts, Red, Blew, or Dark coloured, hanging down to the very Ground, covering their Faces with a ſort of a Veil, pretending a deal of Modeſt behaviour and ſhieneſs to be ſeen, tho' at the ſame time their Tempers are jolly, open and waggiſh enough. They are much better Complexioned than the Men in general, and take not a little care to ſet off the gifts Nature has endow'd them with, by all the Advantages of dreſs and finery. All that their Husbands are worth almoſt is laid out on their Backs, the Money that ſhould be in the others Pockets is all about the Arms and Necks of thoſe extravagant Women in Chains and Rings, Carkanets, and Mavillias, and no Body knows what Gambols beſides. They load themſelves ſo with theſe things that they can't ſtir, but make a noiſe and gingling like ſo many Morice-Dancers. And I believe that one of them take her with all her Particulars, would be near enough to furniſh an ordinary Toy-ſhop. I have ſeen one of them, and that none of the beſt ſort neither, and conſequently not ſo well ſet out with theſe Fopperies, that had in each Ear at leaſt a dozen Silver Rings as big as Curtain Rings, and thoſe larger ones had as many of a ſmaller ſize hanging to them, two Chains of Silver and one of Gold Boſſes wreathed about her Neck; ten or twelve Mavillia's of Silver, each as big as ones little Finger about her Wriſts; Plates of Silver almoſt like Horſe locks upon the ſmall of her Legs, and every Finger covered with Rings; ſuppoſing all this, 'tis no wonder that the Men are poor, and want Money to buy Tobacco, eſpecially conſidering that three, four, five or ſix of theſe chargeable Creatures fall to the ſhare of one Man to maintain, or perhaps more, according to their quality, for their Religion lays no reſtraint upon them in that point. A Man had need have his Wives ſent home to him ready furniſh'd and rigg'd, and if there be no other Portion in the caſe, her Parents ſhould dreſs her at leaſt, or if the Husband muſt do it at firſt for Cuſtom, he ſhould have the liberty of undreſſing her afterwards for Conveniency, and not pinch for want of Money, when his Wife has a load of Silver upon her Back. They do indeed want a little lightning in this Sence, tho' perhaps they may want a Grain or two of a juſt weight in another.

The Dreſs of the Women of *Zocatora*. Children.

Their Husbands are very Jealous of them, but they don't ſeem to be Jealous of their Husbands, nor ſo ſowre Tempered as they are neither. They'll turn up their Veil and glance freely upon a Stranger they like, and if he be a Merchant, and brings them Cryſtal, Amber, and Coral Beads, they'll Barter with him as long as he pleaſes, provided it be a good ſecure Place, where their Husbands may not come to ſpoil their Trade.

Children.

Their Children (except ſome few of the beſt ſort) go quite Naked, till they come to ſome years, for ought I know to Years of Marriage, for they Marry them here at ten or twelve Years old. Theſe People, like the *Turks* and other Eaſtern Nations, eat all their Victuals upon Mats or Carpets ſpread upon the Ground, uſing neither Knives nor Forks, but Fingers, which were made before both. Their Liquor at their Meals is only fair Water: Neither have they any other but Date-Wine, with which too they'll be ſoundly Drunk in Private, as Zealous *Mahometans* as they are.

Way of Eating.

For Entertainment, they have a thing they call *Coho*, which is a black bitter Drink they make of a Berry like a Barberry, brought from *Mecca*, this they ſup off very hot, and 'tis reckoned good for the Head and Stomach.

Coho a Drink.

As for the *Caffers*, they are People that live in all the Miſeries and Calamities of a ſervile State. The *Arabs* won't ſuffer them to have any Arms, nor are they allowed to kill any ſort of Beaſt for their Suſtenance, ſo that they chiefly live upon Fiſh, and that ſhare of the Dates, which the Conſciences of the *Arabians* will allow them. The Men are more Swarthy than the *Arabs* are, they wear nothing upon their Heads, and their Hair is exceeding long, and only a courſe Cloth of Goats Hair or ſome other Woollen about their Middle, except ſomething on their Feet in the nature of Scandals. They have a very rough barbarous Aſpect; and look always ſtaring as if they were Frighted.

The *Caffers*.

The Women have nothing about their Heads, but wear the long Calico Shifts like the *Arabians*, and ſtrain as far as ever their horrid Poverty will let them to be fine like them, and to ape them in all their Faſhions; thus they get Mavillia's of Iron, or ſome ſuch baſe Materials inſtead of Imitation of the Silver Mavillia's, and the other Womens Beads inſtead of Carkanets, and to make up for the want of other Ornaments they paint their Faces up and down in Patches with Black and Yellow, which makes them appear very frightful Figures. Their Language is different from the *Arabick*, which yet being the Tongue of the Conquerour they moſt of them learn.

As for their Religion they are meer Heathens as the *Arabians* ſay, and have all the Women in Common, obſerving nothing of Matrimonial Rites or Ceremonies, and beſides letting out their Women to Hire without any ſcruple to thoſe that will drive a Bargain with them for that purpoſe. How true all this is I am no judge, but this I know, that they have a Church, and there's an Altar, and two Croſſes in it, and 'tis certain that before the coming of the *Arabs*, the Religion of the Iſland was Chriſtian or Popiſh at leaſt, and that the coming of ſuch a People as the *Arabs* are amongſt them, ſhould make them Heathens, is no very ſtrange thing. I can't avouch any thing for their Religion, but I believe be it what it will, it can't be much leſs than that of their *Mahometan* Maſters.

Some think them originally to be a part of the Chriſtian Jacobites.

They have alſo one Town too (whether more or no I know not) to themſelves; the Houſes were built with Stone, covered over with Rafts and Palm-branches, ſecured with Doors and wooden Locks, pretty Artificially made.

At our firſt Landing thy ran all away at the ſight of us and left their Town at our Diſpoſal; the Reaſon was, becauſe they took us for *Portugueze*, who had made ſome Inroads upon them formerly, and carried away ſome of them Priſoners.

In ſhort as Matters now ſtand, they are a very unhappy People, and unleſs the Arabs would be ſo juſt as to quit the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland to them again, they can't do them a greater Kindneſs than to knock them all on the Head.

The Moors *at* Delisa *give us theſe following Inſtructions,*

That upon the Coaſt of *Mombaze* and *Magadexa*, there are ſome Years to be found lumps of Amber-grice, of an incredible Bigneſs and Weight.

* *Deliſa* a Road on the North of *Socotora* Iſle, in the *Arabian* Seas, where they were forced to ſtay till the *Monſon* freed them.

They reckon that the Monſon of the Southerly Winds commences yearly with the Month of *May*, and continues about 100 Days. The moſt Boiſterous Wind is in *June* and *July*, and a little way in *Auguſt*, for about the tenth or twelfth of that Month it begins to abate its Force; and ſoon after that, the North Wind comes on, with a great deal of Rain, which generally holds for three or four Months more. About this time 'tis that they prepare moſt of their *Aloes* at *Socotora*, which Drug is only the Juice of the *Sempervivum* put in Goat Skins to be dried. We gave at the rate of 150 Dollars for 125 *l.* neat of this Commodity, and traded for near 2000 *l.* weight of it.

* *Sempervivum*, the Plant from which they make their *Aloes*.

They reported farther that both the Weſterly and Eaſterly Monſons do return each Year ſucceſſively eleven Days later than the Year before, ſo that they make a compleat Revolution in the ſpace of 33 Years, beginning then the very ſame Day of the Month preciſely that they did ſo many Years before; ſo that knowing the time of their ſetting in any one Year, by the Allowance of the aforementioned number of Days, it may be computed for any other Year; but this Doctrine of the *Moors* ſeems hardly credible.

The Laws of the *Monſons*.

That as the Weſtern Monſon blows here all South, ſo the Eaſtern blows all North.

That after the 25th of *September*, no Ships can go from the *Red-Sea* to the Eaſtward, and that no Rain (commonly at leaſt) falls on the Coaſt of *Arabia* till the 70th Day of the Eaſt Monſon. 'Tis with this Monſon that they begin the Computation of their year: It holds between five and ſix Months, and when theſe Eaſterly Winds have ſo done their parts, after the ſhort interval of three or four Weeks calm and fair weather. The Weſterly Winds begin to come on, ſo that theſe two Monſons (with the little Intermiſſion between) do fill up the Compaſs of the Year. That in both Monſons there is an extream conſtant Sea-Gate upon the Coaſt of *Arabia*; and the Currents alſo conform themſelves to the Winds.

Note, that at *Deliſa*, the two Ships parted Company: Captain *Hawkins* in the *Hector* going for *Surat*, and Captain *Keeling* for *Bantam* in the *Dragon*.

That *Burrom*, *Mekella*, and *Cayxem* are good Harbours for both Monſons on the Coaſts of *Arabia*, but no places for Trade; on the other Hand that *Xae* is no Harbour for either Monſon, but drives a Trade for Iron, Lead and ſuch like Commodities. That 'tis very bad Riding at the entrance of *Surat* in the Weſterly Monſons, and contrarily here at *Deliſa* extreamly good for that very Seaſon, tho' two Miles either Eaſt or Weſt from the Road, there's always ſuch a Guſt of Wind, that no Ship can hold to Ride there: And this our Experience juſtified the Truth of.

Harbours on the Coaſt of *Arabia*, proper or not for the *Monſons*.

As for other places of Trade they informed us, That *Chaul*, *Dabul*, and *Danda Ragee puree*, were very rich trading Towns, and good ſafe Ports upon the Coaſt of *India*: As likewiſe that at *Saada*, *Ilbockee*, *Auzoane*, *Mootoc*, four of the Iſlands of *Comora*, there's abundance of Rice cheap and good, and the People by a kind Temper and Diſpoſition fit to be Traded with; whereas at *Jughezeegee* and *Malale*, two more of the ſame knot of Iſlands, both the People and the Commodity too, are ſo bad, that neither deſerves any regard. Theſe were their Accounts: For the Truth of which univerſally, we cannot avouch our own Experience, tho' as to ſome Particulars we know they are in the right, and may be ſo in all the reſt.

Trading places.

We ſet Sail from *Zocotora* in *July A. D.* 1606. directing our Courſe to * *India*. About 4 Degr. 2 Min. S. Lat. we had a proſpect of three Iſlands the moſt Northerly of which is a large high and woody Iſland, and between the two Southmoſt there lies a very dangerous Beach about the middle way; to ſcape which, the beſt way is to ſteer about two Leagues from the middlemoſt Iſland, where you have a very good Paſſage and keep the Breach near three Leagues to the South of you.

* Note that ſome of the Company were ſet down at *Surat*, whoſe Relations follow after.

Notes of the Iſland to Sea-board of *Priaman*.

To determine it more exactly for Cautions ſake, it lies (from the Eaſt end of the moſt Northerly of the two South Iſlands) full S. E. half a Channel over; and of thoſe two Iſlands the Weſtern part of the moſt Northerly and the Eaſtern Point of the moſt Southerly do bear juſt N. & S. 10 Leagues diſtance from each other.

Dangerous Beach.

We obſerve the two Hummocks of *Tecu* upon the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, with the High-Lands over them, to bear from each other N. and by W. and S. by E. half a Point Eaſterly, and the three Iſlands of *Priaman* to lie S.S.E. and N.N.W. being diſtant from each other about a Mile. Our Rates for Pepper at *Priaman* were 22½ Dollars the Bahar beſides 6 *per Cent.* Cuſtom. This Town and ſome of thoſe adjoyning will yield 2500 *Bahars* of Pepper yearly, and might be bought cheap enough if the Factory were ſettled there for the taking of it in at the beſt Rates all the Year round. Their Harveſt is only in *Auguſt* and *September*, and the moſt part of it is fetched away by the *Achenees* and the *Javans*, the *Guzurats* being prohibited Trading there by the King of *Achen*'s expreſs Order. It ſeems very reaſonable upon good Conſideration, that if our Ships put in at *Surat* and brought ſome quantities of Calicoes, fine Pintadoes, ſtriped and chequered Stuffs to *Priaman*, that there might be a very advantageous Trade driven with theſe Commodities, ſuppoſing (as was hinted before) that a Factory was ſettled there.

Priaman Iſlands.

From hence we proceeded to *Bantam*, ſetting out the latter end of *Septemver*. The Salt Iſland in the *Streights* of *Sunda* between *Sumatra* and *Java* lies (by our Obſervation) in 6 Degr. 6 Min. South Lat. This Iſland with the Point including the whole Bay, in which is *Bantam* Road

Salt Iſland.

lie E. N. E. and W. S. W. But the ſame Iſland with the higheſt South Land of *Sumatra*, and the N. W. Point of *Java*, do bear E. S. E. and W. N. W. The *Hummock* of *Sumatra*, and the Point of *Java* being about twenty Leagues diſtant.

The Streights of *Sunda*.

The Streights of *Sunda*, in which *Salt* Iſland lies, are properly made ſo by certain Rocks, and ragged Iſlands, ſeated in that paſſage between *Java* and *Sumatra*, which otherwiſe of it ſelf wou'd allow a Ship ſcope enough to paſs, without ſo much Caution as now is requiſite. The two main Rocks bear North and South of each other, and there's at leaſt four Miles between them: The Southermoſt is very near *Java*, and the Northermoſt more than half way, ſtanding between the Point of *Bantam*, and another low ragged Iſland bearing W. S. W. with that Northermoſt Rock. They are both of them remarkable for the Trees that cover them; and 'tis between theſe two, that you are to ſteer your Ship in your paſſage from *Sumatra* to *Java*.

We got to *Bantam* the beginning of *November*. Here we found the *Dutch* before-hand with us, having when we came, two Ships laden with Cloves, and two more ready to be laden with Pepper.

At this place alſo the Embaſſador of *Siam* gave us to underſtand how glad the King his Maſter wou'd be, to hold a Correſpondence with His Majeſty of *England*; and to what good purpoſe a Trade might be maintain'd in that Country. He aſſerted, That a Thouſand Red Cloths wou'd go off there in a Day or two, all their Horſes and Elephants having their Coverings and Trappings made of it. Beſides, by his Report they are full of Gold and precious Stones there; and it's ſeldom unfortunate or diſadvantageous, to have to do with a Country that affords ſuch Commodities.

Our Ship the *Dragon* was diſpatch'd from this place for *England*, whil'ſt we went on with the *Hector* for the *Banda* Iſles.

Dangerous Beach.

In this Courſe we found a very dangerous Sand, lying off the Weſtern Point of the Iſle *Jacatra*; and it's neceſſary, in order to ſail quite clear of it, for a Ship to borrow ſomething of the Iſland that ſtands oppoſite to the ſaid Point.

If you obſerve the Bay of *Jacatra*, you'll find the two Points that make it to bear E. S. E. and W. N. W. four Leagues diſtant from each other.

About ten Leagues from *Java*, lies an Iſland which we find not ſo much to the Eaſt, as the Maps do place it: But in order to the Deſcription of its Poſition as near as may be, 'tis enough to ſay, that the great Shoal call'd *Los Hermannos*, three Leagues from *Java*, lies N. and S. with this Iſland.

Noſſaſeres and _Celebes_.

The Iſland *Noſſaſeres* has 5 Degr. 30 Min. South Lat. and runs two or three Leagues in length N. W. and S. E. From hence to the *Celebes*, we reckon about Seventy ſix Leagues: As alſo between *Bantam* and the *Celebes*, we judge the common Computation of the diſtance, *viz*. Two hundred and thirty five Leagues to be pretty near the truth.

Deſolam Streights.

The higheſt South Land of the *Celebes*, and the Weſtern Point of the Iſle *Deſolam*, bear N. N. W. twelve Leagues diſtant, and the Weſt-end of *Deſolam*, with the low Eaſt Point of the *Celebes*, (which is the narroweſt of the Streights) bears South by Weſt, twelve or fourteen Leagues diſtant.

The Coaſt of *Deſolam* runs neareſt to the S. W. and the E. end of that, and of the *Celebes*, with the Iſlands that make the Streight, do lie in a right Line to the Eye, pretty near N. and S.

Cambina W. Point. *Buttone* Head-lands.

The Weſtern Point of *Cambina* is remarkable, as being a very high and round Hill: And the Iſle of *Buttone* no leſs, for the three or four conſiderable Head-lands which it makes.

Amboina bears from the Iſland *Buno*, E. by N. twelve Leagues, and lies ten Leagues long to the E. and from the Eaſterly part of it, the High-land of *Banda*, bears E. by S. ½ Southerly, 25 Leagues diſtant.

The Cuſtom at *Banda*, is, before we begin to Trade, to agree with them upon the ſeveral ſorts of Duties and Payments, as the *Rooba*, the *Serepinang*, the *Piſtelin*, which are paid either in Money alone, or partly Money, and partly Commodities. The Weights uſed here, are chiefly the *Cattee*, which poizes about 5 Pound 14 Ounces, *Averdupoize* Weight.

Under-hand Practices of the *Dutch*.

We made an Agreement with them of *Puloway*, for a Factory to be ſettled in that Iſland, which the *Dutch* ſet themſelves to oppoſe and hinder, with all the Art and Intrigue imaginable; notwithſtanding our Trade there ſucceeded in ſome meaſure, and we receiv'd from thence 225 ¼ *Cattees* of Mace, and 1307 ½ of Nuts, in *April*, *A. D.* 1609. But having Information that the *Dutch* had a Deſign to erect a Fort at *Banda*, and knowing what the Conſequences of that wou'd be, I propos'd to the chief Men the formal Delivery of *Banda* to us, in the Name, and for the Uſe of His Majeſty of *England*, before the *Dutch* began their intended Work. This Propoſal they ſeem'd to like very well, but yet deferr'd the coming to a final Reſolution upon the Point ſo long, that we had Reaſon to ſuſpect ſome under-hand Practices with the *Dutch*; and the preference, or at leaſt a ſecret Encouragement given them in their Deſign of Trade: Yet at the ſame time did theſe hollow-hearted Infidels, carry it with all the ſpecious Pretences of Friendſhip and Kindneſs to us in the World. They told us, we ſhou'd have the whole Spice-Trade at *Puloway*, *Pulorin*, and *Ayre Putee*: That it ſhou'd be Death for any Man to ſell ſo much as a ſingle *Cattee* of Spice to the *Hollanders*; and that if we wou'd not buy it, it ſhou'd all rot upon the Trees for them; for they wou'd rather die than be obliged to trade with the *Dutch*.

Treachery of the Natives.

The Inſolency of the *Dutch* at *Banda*.

But whether this was the Effect of a feign'd or a real Diſlike or no, 'tis no matter, ſince we are ſure, that not long after the Feud was real, and the Spleen and Hatred on the ſide of the *Bandaneſe* very ſtrong and inveterate. 'Tis to be granted, that they are a faithleſs inconſtant People: But then the *Dutch* carried it at a rude and inſolent rate amongſt them; and to all the reſt, added that of the building of a Fort; an encroachment upon their Liberty, that the *Bandaneſe* wou'd never pardon. And not only ſo, but they profaned their Sacred Ground too, defaced the Sepulchres of the Dead, and carried up their Fort juſt by the Moſque, or Temple; all which are the higheſt Degrees of Abomination amongſt theſe ſuperſtitious *Mahometans*. And as they did highly reſent it, that the *Dutch* had taken theſe Liberties with them, ſo they did by a ſevere Revenge taken upon them, make them know, that they wou'd not endure it: For having drawn the *Dutch* Admiral, with all his Council, into a convenient place in the Woods, upon pretence of conferring there, about Matters in diſpute between them, they fell upon them with a conſiderable Power of Men, and put every one to the Sword; and had not the Admiral's Soldiers, that attended at a little diſtance, been upon their Guard, they had ſerv'd them the ſame Sauce with their Maſter. Beſides this, the People ſeveral times conſpired the cutting off all of them that were there in *Banda*; nay, they did actually riſe upon them, and the Plot had been executed to the utmoſt rigour, had not we *Engliſh-men* interpos'd on their behalf. Many a time did we reſcue them out of the hands of the furious Mobb, and ſecure not only their Perſons, but their Goods and Effects too; for which Civility we were afterwards very handſomely rewarded: For theſe Tumults were in the Month of *May*, and 'twas but in *June* that they began to entangle us in our Trade, and lay I know not what Reſtraints upon us in our Dealings with the People of *Puloway*, and *Labatacca*; as that we muſt carry no Proviſions nor Ammunition with us thither, and that our Ships muſt lie open to be ſearched by them. And this, after a great deal of Conteſt, we were forced to ſubmit to, we being but Sixty two to above a Thouſand of them; and beſides, their Fort commanding all at that rate, that if we fell out with them, they cou'd, by the Terror of that, debar us from lading our Ships at *Banda*.

***Dutch* Admiral ſlain.**

Kindneſs of the *Engliſh* to the *Dutch*.

Their ill Requital.

Engliſh commanded out of *Banda* Road.

But theſe things ran a great deal higher in the ſucceeding Month of *July*, for then we had an Order ſent us in writing, ſigned by the Vice-Admiral, and all the reſidue of the Council, commanding us to withdraw our Ship out of the Road of *Banda*, within five Days after the Date thereof. Indeed, they had expreſs'd a great uneaſineſs under our Company ſeveral times before, and had offer'd to take our Debts there upon themſelves, and ſo diſcharge us, provided we would be gone, tho' we had not near our Lading: But now it ſeems they were come to a Point, and were reſolv'd we ſhou'd ſtay no longer: For they pretended (in their Order), that being determined to carry on a bloody War againſt the *Bandaneſe*, in Revenge of the Barbarities committed upon their Admiral, and his Company, they wou'd not have their Enemies ſtrengthned by *Engliſh* Powder and Shot; which they had good Reaſon to believe they wou'd, if we were ſuffer'd to lie there while the War laſted: Beſides this, they abſolutely forbid us Anchoring at *Nera*, *Labatacca*, or any other Roads belonging to places in their Power, during the Breach between the *Bandaneſe* and them. However, ſhortly after a Peace was concluded between theſe two Parties, ſo violently ſet againſt each other, and the *Bandaneſe* having no preſent Remedy, tamely endured the encroachment of the Fort.

Peace between the *Dutch* and *Bandaneſe*.

The *Dutch* and we too came to an Agreement about the Time of our Stay, and the Payment of our Debts at *Banda*, *da*, which by this Contract were payable to us at *Bantam*; we having Letters of Credit from the *Dutch* for that purpoſe.

Factory at *Bantam.*

Having diſpatch'd theſe Concerns, and gotten all the Lading of Spice and Nuts we cou'd get from the treacherous People we dealt with; we ſet Sail for *Bantam*, where by the time of our coming, the Factors had made ready 3481 Bags of Pepper. Here we reſolv'd to appoint a Factory, which we happily accompliſh'd; and adjuſting all things relating to it, addreſs'd for our Voyage for *England*, *October* the Third.

We ran about 650 Leagues in 24 Days, after our ſetting out from *Bantam*; and then we had 25 Degr. South Lat. and 24 Degr. Variation.

* Note.

* We find an Obſervation of *Linſchott*'s to be very true, *viz.* That generally your Eaſterly Winds coming about to the Northward, if it prove Rainy, the Wind preſently changes to the W. S. W. and blows there.

Donatal.

At the Weſtern-part of *Terra Donatal*, the Variation was about 8 ½ Degr. and South Lat. 31 Degrees, 27 Min.

Mauritius Iſle.

We had from ſome *Hollanders* this Account of the Iſland *Mauritius*: That there are two Havens there, the N. W. in 20 Degr. South Lat. the S. E. in 20 Degr. 15 Min. That the Iſland is between thirty and forty Leagues in compaſs, and the Variation 21 Degr. and N. W. That it is a very healthful place, and yields abundance of Turtles, Manatees, Fowl, Goats, and Hogs, tho' the latter not in ſuch plenty as the former, the Goats having been but lately tranſported thither by the *Dutch*.

* Note.

Near Cape *Agalhas* we have very little Variation, and the Latitude there is about 35 Degr. 26 Min. * A Man bound home upon this Coaſt, and finding no Weather for obſerving either Latitude or Variation, may ſafely truſt himſelf in Sixty Fathom Water, and Shelly Ground: When he finds it Ouzy, he may conclude he is very near this Cape *Das Agalhas*; and if he loſes Ground at 120 Fathom, 'tis certain he is paſt it, provided he be within the Latitude of 36 Degr.

We finiſh'd this Voyage *May* the Tenth, *A. D.* 1610; it being none of the leaſt remarkable Circumſtances of it, that as we went out, ſo we came in, with all our Company entire, neither Death nor Sickneſs (tho' both ſo often look'd in the Face, in the various Climates we had paſs'd through) having made any Breach upon us.

CHAP. XIII.

A Relation of Mr. Finch, *Merchant, concerning his Trade and Travels in the Mogul's Country; with an Account of the moſt remarkable Roads and Places of Trade in that mighty Empire.*

* This was part of the Company that was landed at *Surat*, while the Ships went on to the *Banda* Iſles, *&c.* as is before related. See the Particulars as to the Succeſs of the Factory, in Capt *Hawkins* Relation that follows.

* BEing come to *India*, we went all aſhore at *Surat*, where we hoped to have an *Engliſh* Factory ſettled in time. 'Twas our ill luck notwithſtanding, to meet every-where with People of baſe and perfidious Principles, to find a Knave almoſt in every Poſt and Place of Truſt, from the Court to the Cuſtom-Houſe, from the loftieſt Viſier, to the meaneſt Officer, 'twas all alike; there were Places and Titles of Honour to diſtinguiſh Men from one another, but Honeſty and Conſcience made no difference.

Decemb. Jan. February.

The *Portugueze* (the proud Uſurpers of Sovereignty in theſe parts, and very troubleſome Neighbours to the *Great Mogul*, as well as other *Indian* Princes) had about this time their ſhare of Calamities, as well as we. The *Mogul* indeed hardly dares pretend to chaſtiſe them, (ſo far from that, that he is forc'd to yield to all their Impoſitions upon his Ships, and not one can ſtir any way to Trade, but is obliged to take their Paſs, and pay for't) but the *Mallabars*, and the *Dutch*, between them, do pretty well pay thoſe Scores, and mortifie the Power of that inſolent ambitious People, which without ſuch Adverſaries to check it, one does not know what heighth it wou'd grow to. The *Mallabars* deſtroy'd, ſunk, and took, no leſs than fifty of their Frigats, in a very little time: And the *Dutch*, who were for playing higher Game with them, addreſs'd themſelves to the Siege of *Malacca*, with thirty ſtout Ships. In defence of this important place, the Vice-Roy of *Goa* has made all the Force that's poſſible; and what will be the Event of ſo great an Action as is like to be between them, is yet uncertain. But 'tis certain, that the laſt Year that place was fatal to them, and they receiv'd a moſt diſmal Overthrow by the *Dutch* then.

March, A.D. 1609. *Malacca* beſieg'd by the *Dutch.* As alſo the laſt Year.

The Account of that Action.

The Matter was thus: That the *Dutch*, with ſome of the *Indian* Princes, their Confederates, had laid a very cloſe Siege to *Malacca* both by Sea and Land; the Vice-Roy of *Goa* immediately came to relieve the place, and meeting with the *Dutch* Fleet, there was a long and bloody Fight between them, and great damage done on both ſides; inſomuch, that both Fleets thought enough done for the preſent, at leaſt till they had fitted up themſelves for a freſh Trial.

The *Portugueze* however (according to their Vain-glorious boaſting way) made a huge Noiſe of Victory, and thinking that they had quite cool'd the Courage, as well as ſpoil'd the Undertaking of the *Dutch*, fell to Feaſting and Revelling aſhoar, leaving the Fleet to look to it ſelf.

The *Dutch*, in the mean time, having ſtopp'd their Leaks, and new rigg'd at *Jor*, return'd with a Reſolution to try the Fortune of a Second Battel with them, and came in good time to ſurprize them in the midſt of all their Triumphs; ſo without any more adoe, falling upon the Fleet, they burnt and ſunk every Ship that was there, making beſides a cruel Slaughter: And if five or ſix of their Ships had not by chance been ſent away before, the whole Fleet that came upon this Deſign had entirely periſh'd. Beſides, quickly after this, a Sickneſs in that City ſwept away moſt of the *Portugueze* there, and the Vice-Roy amongſt the reſt; ſo that their Pride and Greatneſs by all theſe Strokes, was conſiderably humbled.

Achen ſaved from the *Portugueze.*

And 'twas very well for the King of *Achen*, and his Country, that the *Dutch* at that time attempted the Siege of *Malacca*, and gave the *Portugueze* ſo fatal a Blow as they did; 'twas the moſt ſeaſonable thing for them that cou'd poſſibly have happen'd, and no leſs perhaps than the Redemption of the whole Country out of the hands of thoſe Devourers: For the King of *Portugal*, who had before reſolv'd to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies*; as alſo, ſeverely to chaſtiſe all thoſe *Indian* Princes and States that had given Countenance and Encouragement to them (of which 'tis probable he reckon'd the King of *Achen* to be one) gave Orders to his Vice-Roy to go and begin with that Prince, and then proceed to the King of *Jor*, and ſo to the *Malucca's*, and about. And the *Portugueze* Fleet (wonderfully ſtrong and well furniſh'd) was at that very time before the City of *Achen*, ready to execute the King's Commands, when the News came, that the *Dutch* were aſſaulting *Malacca*, and all was like to be loſt there. This News drew off the whole Power of the Fleet, and deliver'd *Achen*; the Vice-Roy had no time (as well as Commiſſion) to attend the making of new Conqueſts, when old ones were ready to be loſt, and the Intereſt was ſinking in another place.

And 'tis not utterly improbable, that there were ſomething more than meer lucky Chance and Contingency in this matter; and that the *Dutch* (for ſome Obligation or other to the King of *Achen*) might ſtudiouſly give his Adverſaries this very ſeaſonable Diverſion: But however, 'twas, the *Portugueze* had the worſt on't, and came off with the loſs both ways.

The *Mallabars* ſpoil the *Portugueze.*

The *Mallabars* were a horrid Plague to them this ſame Year too, and took or ſunk of them, at ſeveral times, better than ſixty Sail.

The *Portugueze* Fleet coming into the *Indies*, loſt.

Add to all this, the loſs of the beſt part of their new Fleet, ſent out of *Portugal* to carry on the War againſt the *Dutch*: They were in all nine brave Men of War, and ſix Ships Attendants; they were ſcatter'd with bad Weather, about the Coaſts of *Guinea*, and never met together afterwards. About five of them did make a ſhift to get to *Goa*, and another of the Company was ſet afire by her own Men, to avoid her falling into the Hands of the *Dutch*, that then rode at the Bar hectoring and challenging the *Portugueze* Admiral to come out and fight.

Theſe ſame *Dutch* had fired two more of this Fleet a little before at *Mozambique*, (where alſo they had aſſaulted and batter'd the Caſtle, tho' they could not take it) and from thence they came directly for *Goa*, hoping to find the reſt; which Deſign being fruſtrated, they endeavour'd to provoke the *Portugueze* to a Battel; but they were wiſer than to accept of the Challenge at that time, and for all the Inſults of the *Dutch*, wou'd not ſtir out of their Port.

But they continue ſtill to make further Preparations on both ſides; ſo that in all probability, it won't be long before the Grand Controverſie depending between thoſe two Nations, in theſe Parts of the World, will be decided: The Buſineſs of *Malacca* is now in hand, which will ſerve only for an Introduction to greater things.

May.

Wars between the *Mogul*, and K. of *Decan.*

But the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* were not the only Scufflers in this Country; for the *Great Mogul*, and the King of *Decan*, were carrying on a very hot and violent War. News came now, that this Prince, with a flying Army of 22000 Horſe, had beſieg'd the City of *Aurdanegar*, once the Metropolis of that Kingdom, and conquer'd by the brave *Ecbar*, this *Mogul*'s Father. But it ſeems, the Gevernour of that place was too cunning for the King of *Decan*; for pretending that he wou'd deliver up the City into his hands, upon Condition of withdrawing his Army ſome four or five Coſe diſtance, that they might march out with Bag and Baggage more ſecurely; inſtead of that, he aſſaulted them to rights (taking the advantage of their Security and Unprovidedneſs), and preſs'd ſo very cloſe upon them, that the whole Army was routed, and that with conſiderable loſs too.

* A Coſe is a Mile and half *Engliſh.*

But 'tis not much doubted, but the King of *Decan* will pay this Debt with Intereſt before it be long; for he's a very potent Prince, and his Subjects are ſome of the beſt Soldiers in the *Indies*; and have as good a Character for Land-Service, as the *Mallabars* have for that of the Sea.

July.

On the other ſide the *Great Mogul* went on with his Preparations, great and mighty, in proportion to his vaſt Deſign: He was now reſolved not to ſit down contented with the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Decan* only, but to take in all the Countries in the Southern part of *India*; he wou'd carry his Victorious Arms all through the Continent, and fix the Bounds of his Empire at Cape *Comori*.

To break the force of this mighty Storm, the Three mighty Kings, of *Decan*, *Viſapor*, and *Golconda*, with all their Powers, prepare to ſet themſelves in the way of it, intending to receive the firſt Shock; they reſolve to ſtand as Barriers between the *Mogul*, and that part of *India*; ſo that he ſhall not break in there, before he has broke through all their Armies. They are now on both ſides in their Tents in the Field, ready for Action, and expect only the breaking up of the Winter to begin it.

December.

We had alſo our ſhare of Troubles at *Surat*, occaſion'd by the Rumour of a certain Adverſary's approach, very formidable in theſe Parts: It was one *Raja Badur*, a kind of an Outlaw, that very often made great Spoil in that Country, marching up and down with a Body of Horſe, and taking his Plunder where he found the Towns moſt liable to a Surprize.

Badur, a great Outlaw.

He was a Deſcendant from the Kings of *Cambaya*, and had been King himſelf, if the Arms of the *Mogul* had not wreſted that Kingdom away from his Family: So that 'tis probable he turn'd Rapparee in Revenge, and took that Courſe to make himſelf Satisfaction, for the Wrong the *Mogul* had done him.

About two Years before this, he plunder'd and ſack'd the Great City of *Cambaya*, and was now coming to do the ſame to *Surat*; which put all the City into a moſt wretched Confuſion: But having Intelligence of the Strength of Men and Arms got together for the Defence of it, he went off, and did not make the Attempt.

But to leave theſe Affairs, I ſhall give an Account of my own Journey to *Agra*, and through the moſt remarkable Parts of *India*, together with the principal Places that occur in thoſe Roads, with the moſt ſerviceable Obſervations relating to them.

January. *Surat* deſcrib'd.

Surat, from whence I began my Journey, may alſo begin the Character. It ſtands ſome twenty Miles up in the Country, upon the Bank of a very fine River; 'tis a City of the middle ſort for bigneſs, very populous, and full of Merchants. About three Miles from the Mouth of the River, is the fam'd Bar, where Ships ride and unlade: Over this the Channel is very fair to the City-ſide, and able to bear Veſſels of 50 Tun Burthen.

This ſame River runs directly to *Bramport*, and as you come up it on the Right-hand ſtands the Caſtle, conſiderably large, well wall'd and moated, and as well defended and provided with Military Furniture.

Before the Caſtles lies the *Medon*, which is a ſpacious pleaſant Green, with a tall *May*-Pole in the midſt, about which they make their Paſtimes on Feſtival Days. The City lies all open on the ſide of the Green; but in all other parts 'tis ditch'd and fenc'd, and has three conſiderable Gates; without one of which is a fine Grove of *Mango*-Trees, where the Citizens uſe to go out and Banquet. There is a good *Alphandicar*, or Cuſtom-Houſe, and a Market-place for Horſes and Cattle; with ſeveral other Conveniences, better to be taken by Sight than Report and Deſcription.

The moſt conſiderable Things without the Gates, are (beſides the Grove of *Mango's*) the fair Pond not far off it, three Quarters of a Mile in compaſs, and ſurrounded on every ſide with Stone-ſteps, and beautiful Tombs, with a large pav'd Court, and great Trees, with an Arbour rais'd in it, where the *Indian Fokeers*, or Holy Men, ſit and ſhew their Piety in State.

Ranell.

Croſs the Water ſtands a ſweet little Town call'd *Ranell*, the Inhabitants of which are quite a different People, and ſpeak another Language; they are all of them Seamen by Employment, and go there by the Name of *Naites*, which may be very well deriv'd from *Nautæ*, and makes their Name and Buſineſs agree perfectly together. The Streets here are narrow, but the Houſes graceful and well built, with very high Steps before every Door: But 'tis the pleaſant Gardens that charm the Citizens of *Surat*, and invite them to come over and paſs away ſo many Hours as they do at this place. I know of nothing to abate the Pleaſure of theſe lovely Walks, but the infinite Number of great Bats that take up their Lodging in the Trees; there they hang by the Claws in the Boughs, in ſuch vaſt Cluſters, as wou'd ſurprize a Man to ſee; but the Noiſe and Squeeling they make is ſo intolerable, that 'twere a good Deed, to bring two or three Pieces of Ordnance, and ſcour the Trees, that the place might be rid of ſuch a Plague as they are to it. The Winter begins at *Surat* about the beginning of *June*, and holds to the latter end of *September*; but not with continual Rains, as 'tis at *Goa*; but with great uncertainty, and as much variety of Weather, Wind, Rain, and Thunder. It always takes its Farewell of them with a cruel Storm, which they call the *Tuffon*; which is alſo uncertain as to the degree of its Violence and Fury; but for the moſt part, obſerves this ſtated Courſe to come with extremity every two or three Year.

Multitude of Bats.

The Weather and Seaſons.

The Monſons for the South ſerve here in *April* and *September*; for the *Red Sea*, in *February* and *March*: Ships come hither from the *South*, in *December*, *January*, and *February*: From the *Red Sea*, in the beginning of *September*, after the Rains: From *Ormus* in *November*.

Nacampore.

Let us remove the Scene now from *Surat* to *Nacampore*, one of the firſt Towns of great Note in my way to *Agra*. In this Road begins that long Ridge of Mountains that runs from *Amadavar*, croſs this part of the Country, and amongſt which *Badur* the troubleſome Rebel has ſeveral Strong-holds, and has fortified himſelf ſo well, that all the Forces of the *Great Mogul* are not able to injure him; and this Series of Mountains continues it ſelf as far as *Bramport*.

Dayta.

Badur.

The next great Town is *Dayta*, encompaſs'd almoſt round with a River, ſtanding like an Iſland in the midſt of a moſt delicious Country that lies about it; and *Badur* its next Neighbour of Note, a Town as unpleaſant as the former was agreeable; a Dirty Hole, a Den of Thieves, and remarkable for nothing elſe, but its Dirt, and Dirty People; except the Quantities of Wine made here, of the Fruit they call *Mewa*. This is a very ſweet and luſcious Fruit, the Wine of it pleaſing enough; but my own Experience prov'd it not wholſome, unleſs well burn'd.

Mewa Wine.

An *Indian Raja*, and his Strength.

Several of theſe Towns that lie hereabouts, are under the Command of a certain Gentile *Raja*, who acknowledges the Sovereignty of the *Great Mogul*; but upon Courteſie as it were, and juſt as it pleaſes him. He lives indeed, at preſent, in Peace and Amity with him, and ſends his Annual Preſents; and beſides, leaves one of his Sons at *Bramport*, for a Pledge of his Friendſhip: But then if he ſhou'd do otherwiſe, the *Mogul* can't help himſelf; for the *Raja* has ſuch a Guard of inacceſſible Mountains about him, that he may bid Defiance almoſt to all the Armies in the World. Beſides, tho' he may be beſieg'd in thoſe Mountains, yet they can never ſtarve him there; for there's abundance of good Paſture, Grain, and Fountains of Water, upon the higheſt part of them, ſo that if he did fall out with the *Mogul*, and take up Arms, he had Nature of his ſide, and the Fruitfulneſs of his own Territories wou'd ſupport him in his Rebellion. But then did he let an Army paſs undiſturb'd, to the very Foot of his Mountains, they cou'd never get up to him; for all the Paſſes to his two principal Cities, are prodigiouſly fortified (there's eighty Forts at leaſt ſcatter'd up and down to ſecure them), and then they are ſo narrow, that no more than two Men can march a-breaſt: The Names of theſe two Cities are *Saliere* and *Muliere*, each of which have two mighty Caſtles to defend them.

Saliere and *Muliere.*

Ecbar Sha, this *Mogul*'s Father (a Soldier as capable of managing an Enemy to good purpoſe, as moſt *India* has had), found this Mountaneer too ſtubborn for him; he ſpent ſeven Years a beſieging him, and at laſt was forc'd to compound, giving him ſeveral Towns, upon Condition of ſome poor Acknowledgment of Sovereignty to him, and his Succeſſors: And this was the wiſeſt part of his Conduct in the whole Affair: For in ſhort, without this Agreement, his Merchants cou'd never have had any Security in paſſing along this Country.

Bramport.

My Journey from theſe Towns to *Bramport*, was troubleſome enough; partly upon the Account of Thieves that infected the Roads, and an ill Diſtemper (the Bloody-flux) gotten by drinking the Water of *Sindkeny* River, a Town that lay in the Road.

February.

The *Decans* alſo (who had juſt beat the *Mogul*'s Forces, and taken a ſtrong Town from them, and extreamly brisk upon that Succeſs) were abroad in Parties, making all the Spoil they cou'd in the *Mogul*'s Dominions; ſo that 'twas impoſſible to travel with any Safety, without a Guard; and this Comfort I accidentally met with, in a good Body of Horſe, that convoy'd me ſecurely to *Bramport*. This is a very great City, but has a baſe, low, unpleaſant Situation, a very unwholſome Air, and as bad Water about it: It has a large and well fortified Caſtle, ſtanding upon the Bank of the River which comes from *Surat*, which is the only conſiderable Ornament of that kind, the City has to ſhew. The Vice-Roys Gardens are indeed very fine and curious, but they lie ſome two Coſe out of the City.

Cloſe by the Caſtle-ſide, in the River, ſtands an Elephant carv'd in Stone, with ſo much of the Life, as well as all the exact Proportions of that Beaſt; that another Elephant that came down one Day to drink there, miſtook it for a real Animal, like himſelf, and accordingly running againſt it with all his force, broke both his own Teeth by the Aſſault, but cou'd make no Impreſſion upon his Adverſary.

The City was at this time as full of Soldiers as ever it cou'd hold, and the Vice-Roys Camp lay between this and *Badurpore*, extending a matter of two Coſe in length; on the other ſide, about twenty Coſe diſtance, lay the the Army of the *Decanees* encamp'd, conſiſting of at leaſt 50000 Men, threatning *Bramport*, and demanding the Surrender of it. And 'tis certain, that this place muſt have been yielded up to them, if Sultan *Pervis* (the Prince) had not come in the nick of time, with a ſtrong Army, to prevent it.

Bramport like to be loſt.

Their Forces about this place, all joyn'd together, are as good as 60000 Horſe, and 1500 Elephants; ſo that they match the *Decanees* in number; yet before I went from hence, News came, That a part of the Army was entirely routed.

We had Intelligence of a freſh Loſs the *Portugueze* had at Sea by the *Mallabars*: Their Fleet conſiſting of fifty Frigats, and two Gallies, being upon the *Mallabar* Coaſt, and in ſome meaſure diſorder'd and diſpers'd there by bad Weather: The *Mallabars* eſpying that advantage for an Onſet out of their Lurking-holes, purſued it preſently, and ſo fired, ſunk, and took the whole *Armado*.

March.

Under the Protection, and in the Company of the Governour of this place, I continued my Journey to *Agra*. Our Way lead us croſs the great Ridge of Mountains that comes from *Amadavar*; not far from which paſſage ſtands the vaſt and mighty Caſtle of *Haſſere*. It's ſtrongly ſeated upon the tops of the Mountains, has Paſtures and Ponds about it; and is it ſelf (by Report) big enough to entertain above 40000 Horſe. Were it not for one unhappy thing, it would be abſolutely invincible, and a Man that had the Defence of ſuch a Strong-hold as this, need not fear being thrown out by any Force, except that of Lightning, or an Earthquake, ſhou'd do it. It muſt infallibly tire any Adverſary in the World, if it had but the advantage of good Water; but the want of this Neceſſary will not allow it to hold out a Siege ſo ſtubbornly, as its own Strength wou'd eaſily do. 'Twas by this means that it came into the Power of *Ecbar Sha*, who elſe in all probability had never taken it: It had at that time 600 Pieces of Ordnance; and the Old *Mogul* was almoſt weary of his long Siege: But the Water bred Worms, and other Inſects, in ſuch multitudes, that the Defendants had a grievous Mortality amongſt them, by drinking of it; and ſo they were forc'd to come to a Compoſition, and deliver up the Caſtle.

Caſtle of *Haſſere.*

This Progreſs in the Mountains, brought us to the Ruines of the ancient City of *Mandow*, three Coſe of the way up to which, is vaſtly ſteep and ſtony, and ſo narrow, that 'tis as much as a Coach can do to preſs along. On the top, at the very edge of the Mountain, ſtands the Gate, or Entrance, of this old City, over which is a handſome Fort, and a Houſe of Pleaſure, the Walls running all along the ſide of the Mountain, for many Coſes together.

Ruines of old *Mandow.*

The Ruines beſpeak the City to have made a Noble Appearance when it was in its Glory; amongſt which there are ſeveral pieces of ſtately Walls, Tombs, and Moſkites, ſtill remaining. It was four Coſe long N. and S. and at leaſt ten or twelve, E. and W. and yet to the Eaſtward of all, lies good Paſture Ground, for the length of ſeveral Coſes. There are a great many fair Ponds that lie ſcattering up and down in the Mountain about the City, and Forts, too well ſituated and diſpos'd.

The preſent City.

The preſent City is but ſmall, in compariſon with what the former was; but the Buildings of it are admirably ſtrong, beautiful, and uniform, all of Stone; and the Gates ſo very high, that I believe there's nothing like them in all Chriſtendom. It has a Noble Palace, and right againſt that as fine a Moskit, in which are the Tombs of ſeveral *Indian* Kings, who lie very pompouſly interr'd there.

The Turret that ſtands by, is 170 Steps high, built round with Galleries and Windows to every Room, beautified with ſtately Ports, Arches, and Pillars, and the Walls all inlaid with a green Stone.

The main Gate is exceeding ſtrong, and has a ſteep Aſcent to it: Without it are ſix other Gates, all very ſubſtantial, and Courts of Guard between Gate and Gate.

The Wall runs all along the edge of the Mountain, with Flankers in ſeveral places up and down, and yet is the Aſcent ſo very ſteep of it ſelf, that 'tis hardly poſſible for a Man to climb up to any part of it on all Four.

This City was taken by the preſent *Mogul*'s Grand-Father, *Hamown Sha*; from *Sha Selim*, one of the *Indian* Kings of *Delly*, whoſe Anceſtors had enjoy'd it for above 400 Years: There was, 'tis true, Force in the Caſe; but if Treaſon and Policy had not given a good ſtroke towards it, the Race of the Old *Indian* Kings might have had their Dwelling here ſtill.

And ſince the Perſons here mention'd, were ſome of thoſe that were then upon the Stage, when that remarkable Revolution happen'd, that brought this Family into the Imperial Throne of *India*; it may be proper to give an Account of that Affair, in which the Fortunes of ſo conſiderable a Country as this is, under-went a Change ſo very great and ſurprizing.

The Story of the Conqueſt of India, by the Moguls.

The preſent *Great Mogul*, is the Great Grand-Son of *Babur* King of *Cabul*, a *Tartarian*; and as upon the Death of the mighty *Tamerlane*, that vaſt Empire had a great number of Heirs amongſt his Sons, and was divided into ſeveral petty Kingdoms and Governments; ſo 'tis probable, that this of *Cabul* was one of the Fragments of that broken Empire; and conſequently *Babur*, either directly deſcended from *Tamerlane*, or at leaſt had ſome of that Blood in his Veins. However, upon this Account it is, that the *Great Mogul* boaſts ſo highly of his Pedigree, and calls himſelf the Off-ſpring of *Tamerlane*; pretending too, that he is the Ninth, in a direct Lineal Deſcent from him.

The Old *Indian* Kings making *Delly*, for the moſt part, their Royal Seat, this *Babur*, with thirty or forty of his Nobles, diſguis'd like *Fokeers*,, came to the King *Secandar*'s Court, 'tis probable, either as Spies, or in order to attempt ſomething towards the Conqueſt of the Country. They were quickly diſcover'd there by their Countanances, tho' the *Indian* King had them fully at his diſpoſe, yet he ſpar'd them, and gave them their Liberty, upon Condition of *Babur*'s Oath, not to make War during that King's Life.

Babur kept his Oath while *Secander* liv'd; but when his Son was in the Throne, thinking himſelf then diſcharg'd from it, he ſent *Hamown*, (this *Mogul*'s Grand-Father) with a mighty Force, and ſeiz'd upon the whole Kingdom.

But the Conquerour was hardly ſettled in his Throne, before *Selim*, an *Indian* Prince of the Royal Family, took up Arms to drive him out again: And the Matter coming to be fairly tried by Battel, the *Indian* got the Day, and the *Tartar* was forc'd to fly, and take Sanctuary in the King of *Perſia*'s Court. But having obtain'd a good Army of that King, he came back again into *India*, and then by the help of his *Perſians*, carried all before him, and ever after that ſat free from diſturbance.

The *Tartar* being now poſſeſs'd of the Imperial Seat again, *Sha Selim* retir'd to the ſtrong City of *Mandow*, juſt now deſcrib'd, and there fortified himſelf, holding it out againſt all the Power of *Hamown*, 'till Treachery (againſt which there is no Guard) work'd his Ruine. But yet, tho' beaten out thence, he maintain'd his Liberty all the Reign of *Hamown*, and a good part of his Son *Ecbar*'s too, ſtill retiring from one Mountain to another, and defeating all the Plots of his Enemies laid to take him.

This City of *Mandow*, is ſaid to be built above a Thouſand Years ſince, by one of the Old *Indian* Princes; and 'tis worthy of remembrance, as having been the Scene of ſuch important Actions.

Malva.

From hence we paſs'd through the pleaſant and fertile Country of *Malva*, where there's alſo a vaſt deal of Opium. They give the Heads of Poppies two or three ſcratches, from whence diſtils a Tear, which at firſt is white, but afterwards congeal'd by the Cold, turns of a reddiſh Colour; but 'tis a great deal of Pains they beſtow in this Buſineſs, for a ſmall Matter of Profit; for the Heads are ſmall, and drop their Tears very ſparingly.

Between this and *Gualere*, are theſe Places of Note and Trade:

Sarampore.

Sarampore, adorn'd with a fine Caſtle, and Town-Houſe, a large place, and famous for Turbants, and good Linen.

Cuckra.

Cuckra, abounding with all ſorts of Grain, Victuals, and *Mewa*-Wine.

Syrange.

Syrange, remarkable for its Betele-Gardens.

Norwar.

Norwar, a City of large Dimenſions, and handſomely built; its Caſtle ſtands upon a ſteep ſtony Mountain, with a very narrow Cawſey leading to it, of more than a Mile's Aſcent, defended with four ſtrong Gates, and Courts of Guard to every one of them, beyond the fourth and laſt of which no Stranger is permitted to enter, without ſpecial Orders from Court. The Towers and Flankers, and other Contrivances for Defence, render it invincible by any thing but Treaſon; indeed, the whole Ridge of the Mountain upon which the City ſtands, and is five or ſix Coſes in compaſs, is fortified both by Art and Nature, to a wonderful degree. This was formerly the Boundary, or Gate of the Kingdom of *Mandow*, and was in thoſe Days much ſtronger, as well as more ſplendid than 'tis now.

Gualere.

Gualere is a City as beautiful, and in many Reſpects more remarkable than the former. The ruggy Cliff upon which the Caſtle is ſeated, is at leaſt ſix (ſome ſay eleven) Coſes in compaſs, and all incloſ'd with a very ſtout Wall: And here is the like narrow Cawſey, with Gates, Barricadoes, and Courts of Guard, as at *Norwar*; and the ſame Caution uſ'd in the Admiſſion of Strangers. The Governour's Lodging has a great deal of Pomp and Curioſity about it; it has abundance of high Turrets gilt at the top, and the Walls all inlaid with green and blew Stone, ſuch as I think is hardly to be ſeen any where but in *India*.

Priſons for Noblemen.

This place is one of the three fam'd Priſons for Noblemen, and all of high Quality, that fall under the Prince's Diſpleaſure; the other two are at *Rantimore*, a place not very far from hence; and at *Rotas*, a Caſtle in the Kingdom of *Bengala*.

Thoſe that are ſent to *Rotas*, are ſuch as are condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, out of which there's very ſeldom any Redemption: But all that go to *Rantimore*, have the Black Mark for Execution ſet upon them, and never none come back from that fatal place.

And their Execution.

When the Criminal has been there about ſome two Months, the Governour of the Caſtle brings him up to the top of the Wall, and gives him a Diſh of Milk, which after he has drunk off, he is thrown down upon the Rocks.

There's abundance of fine Ground, and Ponds, about this Mountain of *Gualere*; as alſo delicate Meadows, and Gardens of Pleaſure, encloſ'd with a ſtrong Wall at the foot of the Hill, which Meadows are for the ſecure feeding of Horſes in time of War. There are ſeveral Houſes too on the Town-ſide, entirely cut out of the main Rock, in which a part of the Trading People live; and what prodigious Labour, as well as Art and Skill, ſuch a Work muſt require, to hew and form the vaſt irregular Cliffs, into convenient Habitations, a Man can't eaſily imagine. Hereabouts were, formerly, the Frontier Lines of the Kingdom of *Delly*, bordering on that of *Mandow*, as thoſe of *Mandow* it ſelf, about *Gualere*, on that ſide.

April A. D. 1610. Doulpore.

Between this and *Agra*, lies the Town of *Doulpore*, the next remarkable Stage in our Journey: It has running by it the River *Cambere*, as large and broad as the *Thames*; and ſhews a Caſtle encompaſs'd with four mighty Walls, one within another, the way between each exceeding ſteep, and all pav'd with Stone; and 'tis at leaſt three quarters of a Mile in a direct Line through, from one Gate of it to the other, on the oppoſite ſide.

I muſt confeſs, I believe, hardly any Country in the World, can ſhew prouder Buildings of all ſorts, Palaces more magnificent, Forts and Caſtles more ſurprizingly ſtrong, and a greater Variety of all theſe, than *India* can. To ſee all the Inſtances of its unbounded Riches and Greatneſs, and State and Grandeur of its ancient Kings, in thoſe Monuments, and rare Pieces of Antiquity, remaining to this Day; together with all the Demonſtrations of admirable Art and Contrivance in thoſe illuſtrious Buildings, which it preſents to a Travellers Eye, is enough to convince him, that the Country was as much wrong'd, as it muſt be little known, to have the Character of Barbarous ſo long given to it.

Agra deſcrib'd.

This tedious and hazardous Journey, had now a Period ſet to it, by our happy Arrival at *Agra*: Here I found Captain *Hawkins*, in no ſmall Favour and Figure, at this Court, and with not a little Work upon his hands; of countermining the Jeſuites, and breaking the Meaſures taken by them, and their Party, for the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Intereſt and Trade in this Country.

The City of *Agra* (tho' now it has ſcarce a Rival in all *India*) has riſen but very lately to this degree of Greatneſs and Fame; it is now an Imperial City, but 'twas an ordinary Village in *Ecbar*'s time, who removed his Court from *Felipcſe* hither. 'Tis vaſtly large, and populous, beyond meaſure; but the Streets for the moſt part narrow and dirty: There are ſome that may be call'd ſtately, as the great *Bazar*, and a few more; but the biggeſt part of the City is far from coming up to that Character. It lies in the form of a Half-moon, bearing out to the Land-ward ſome five Coſe in length, and as much by the River-ſide; this is the River *Gemini*, which is as broad as the *Thames* at *London*, and runs with a very ſwift Current, diſcharging it ſelf into the *Ganges* at laſt.

The Caſtle.

Upon the Banks ſtand the lofty Palaces of the Nobility, and the admirable Caſtle of this place, reckon'd beyond moſt of that kind in the whole Eaſtern World. It is between three and four Mile in compaſs, encloſ'd with a Wall of ſtrong ſquare Stone, about which is caſt a large Ditch, with ſeveral Draw-Bridges; beſides this, 'tis defended with various Bulwarks, and regall'd with a Counterſcarp without, ſome fifteen Yards broad: And as if this was not Guard enough, there are two more as ſubſtantial Walls as this within it. The Gates, and Courts, and Buildings belonging to it, are too many for a tranſient Deſcription; the mighty Caſtle of *Agra* is a Subject ſufficient for an almoſt entire Volume by it ſelf.

To return to the City: Altho' it has the Defence of ſix very ſufficient Gates, yet it has no Walls to complete the Strength of it, but only a Ditch, and that not broad neither, nor full of Water; but on the contrary, quite dry: Without this, lie all the Suburbs, which are very large, the City and they making one Way ſeven Mile in length, and three in breadth. The Houſes of all the conſiderable People are built with Brick and Stone (with flat Roofs); but thoſe of the Commonalty are of Wood, and have Mud-Walls, and thatch'd a great part of them; by which means Fires once kindled, do make horrid Work in thoſe Parts of the City. And this was the Caſe at my being there; for a good while together the Fire was hardly ever out in one place or other; ſo that ſeveral Thouſands of Houſes were conſum'd, beſides a great number of Inhabitants and Cattle that periſh'd too.

May, June. Fire at *Agra*

July.

This Court was now alarm'd with News, of the ill Succeſs of the War managed againſt the *Decanees*: *Amdavanger*, a Town in thoſe parts, was fallen into their hands; the vaſt Army of the *Mogul*, which was upon the March to relieve it, being forc'd by Drought and Famine, to retire back to *Bramport*, by which loſs of time the place was loſt.

The fighting part of the Army was at leaſt 100000 Horſe; but then take in all the Attendants, and Hangers-on, the Managers of Elephants and Camels, (of which there was an incredible number) and 'tis reckon'd, that the whole Body of the Camp, amounted to 500000, if not ſix. They eat and drank up the Country as they paſs'd along, the largeſt Stores were exhauſted, and the Rivers not able to ſupply them with Drink; a ſmall quantity of Water was ſold for a Roupie, and not enough to be had neither.

In the mean time, the cunning *Decanees* march'd about ſpoiling the Country before them, cutting off all Intercourſe between them and places of Supplies; and ever now and then, vexing them with falſe Alarms, Skirmiſhes, and one Stratagem or other; ſo that in ſhort, the whole Army was in a very dangerous and declining State. Thus inſulted by the Enemy, and beſides half-ſtarv'd in to the bargain, they were forc'd to leave the City for a Prey, and march back to *Bramport*; but well leſſen'd in their Numbers by that time they got together, having loſt above 70000 Horſe, beſides Elephants, Camels, and other Cattel.

This is the Fruit of ſuch monſtrous, unconſcionable, great Armies: A Prince had far better forbear thoſe needleſs Demonſtrations of Pomp and Power, in ſuch vaſt Preparations as theſe are, than conſult his Grandeur in the giving of them, when it is likely to be attended with ſuch fatal Conſequences. So huge a Body muſt needs be ſlow and heavy in its Motions, leſs capable of Order and Government; and whether they fight or no, and do Service to the Country, muſt ſtill be devouring it where they are.

Potana ſack'd.

The *Mogul*'s Affairs went croſs in other places too, beſides *Decan*, about this time: For *Potana*, a conſiderable City in the Kingdom of *Porrop*, was taken, and ſack'd, and the Caſtle, with all the Treaſure of it, ſurpriz'd by the Rebels: The Citizens fled, and left the King's Treaſure to look to it ſelf; for which Expreſſion of their Care and Loyalty, ſome of them were ſent hither to *Agra*, to receive the Rewards of it; which was to be ſhaven, dreſſed in Womens Attire, and carry'd about the Streets upon Aſſes, and the next Day to loſe their Heads.

The King, this Month, made a great Noiſe about Chriſtianity, commending it in Publick, before his Nobles; and at the ſame time railing at *Mahomet*, and the *Alcoran*, as good as calling the one a Cheat, and the other a Pack of Lyes and Fables.

Perhaps his Loſſes put him into this Pett with his Religion, the Goodneſs of which he meaſured by the Succeſs of his Arms, and the Sharpneſs of his Sword, as the firſt Planters of that Impoſture did. However, he was ſo far fallen out with *Mahomet*, that he wou'd make three young Princes (his Brother's Sons) of another Flock; and therefore put them into the Hands of the Jeſuites, to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, in order to Baptiſm, which was afterwards adminiſtred in a very ſolemn manner.

But all this while, (to ſpeak the plain truth) here was no Quarrel between him and his Prophet, nor no Love to the Chriſtian Religion: The Jeſuites perhaps might poſſibly expect another good Chriſtening, and think of having the *Mogul* himſelf at the Font in a little time (who if it had been ſo, cou'd have had no leſs than the Pope for a Godfather); but they were very much miſtaken in him, and all their fond hopes of his Concern about their Religion. If they have a mind to ſubmit to the Rites of his Religion, and be circumciz'd, they may; but I'll engage (for all his Raillery upon the Alcoran) that he'll never be baptiz'd. This Action of his, was only a politick Contrivance for his own Security; he made theſe young Princes Chriſtians, to make them odious to the People, and cou'd not have taken a more effectual Courſe to do it: 'Tis infallibly certain, by this means he has made it impoſſible for them ever to come into the Throne, or ſo much as to riſe to ſuch a degree of Popular Eſteem and Intereſt, as to be likely to do him, or his Children, any miſchief.

October.

The *Portugueze* continued to be upon the loſing Hand in theſe parts ſtill; thirty of their Frigates being now caſt away at the Barr of *Surat*: This was the Effect of their Over-eagerneſs to get out, (before the Winter was over) to catch ſome of our *Engliſh* Ships; thoſe of them that eſcap'd the Fury of the Sea, were afterwards forc'd to crave Relief at our Doors, whom they were going to plunder and deſtroy.

November.

The Affairs of Trade at this time, obliged me to make a Journey from *Agra* to *Byana*; my chief Buſineſs being to buy Indico, which Commodity that place abounds with. All along this Road from *Agra*, as far as *Aſmere*, (which is 130 Coſes) are Stone-Pillars erected at every Coſe-end; and ſeveral fine Moholls, or Summer-Palaces, richly furniſh'd and fitted for the Entertainment of the King and his Women, when they pleaſe to come to any of them.

Fetipore.

The firſt place of great Note I came to, was the famous City of *Fetipore*, deſervedly call'd ſo, tho' yet an unfiniſh'd, and partly a ruinous City. It was the Noble Deſign and Work of *Ecbar Sha*, who removed his Court from hence to *Agra*, becauſe the Water hereabouts proved brackiſh and impure, and bred Diſtempers amongſt thoſe that drunk it: So the City now almoſt ready to vie with any in *India*, was left condemn'd to undergo the Decays of Time, and to moulder away into Ruines. The Wall and the Gates, hold out pretty well; but the Buildings are very much loſt in the middle, and a good part of it is turn'd into Gardens.

Jam Seges eſt ubi Troja fuit.

And here one may ſee whole Fields of Indico, and other Grain, where the Auguſt Buildings of *Fetipore* once lifted up their heads.

The King's Palace and *Moholl*, (now wearing out apace) were once every way worthy the Magnificence of the Builder, if one may gueſs by what Time has ſpared: And the *Bazar*, or Market-place, half a Mile long, paved with broad Stone, and encircled with Buildings, made no leſs fine an Appearance.

But the Perfection of all, for rare Workmanſhip, and Ornament, both within and without, is the Moskit, which had it been finiſh'd, 'tis believed, 'twould have been ſuperiour to moſt of the glorious Buildings of the *Eaſt*. Hardly any thing of that kind is rais'd higher than the Gate of it, having a matter of thirty Steps of Aſcent up to it; which together with the Loftineſs of the Building it ſelf, makes it eaſie to ſee the top of it at eight or ten Miles diſtance; and there's ſcarce another Gate that yields ſuch a Proſpect in the World beſides.

The Area of the paved Court within, is full ſix times as large as that of the Exchange at *London*, and the Piazza's more than twice as broad, and as many times as high as thoſe of the Exchange; and which is the more remarkable, all the Pillars are of one entire Stone.

The Builder of this rare Fabrick, was not King *Ecbar*, but a Mooriſh Kalender, or Votary, that lies buried here: Beſides a large Stock of Piety (which they ſay he had) he had ſo much of the Bleſſings of this World, as to afford to build ſuch a Church as this, and to lay himſelf in a Noble Sepulchre; which beſides the rich Paintings, and other Ornaments of it, is all inlaid with Mother of Pearl. This City was at firſt call'd *Sykany*, which ſignifies *Seeking* or *Hunting*; but afterwards 'twas chang'd to *Fetipore*, that is as much as to ſay, *A Place of Content*, or *Hearts Deſire obtain'd*. The Reaſon of which ſhall be given, when we come to ſpeak of the Town of *Aſmere*, from whence the Cauſe of it is to be deriv'd.

The Fruit Hermodacts deſcribed.

Without the City is a very large Pond, which together with a deal of excellent Fiſh, and Wild-Fowl, affords great Quantities of that Plant which bears the Hermodactyles; and 'tis very common in all the Ponds about *Agra*, running all over the Surface of the Water. The Fruit before 'tis ripe, is ſoft and tender, white, and of a mealiſh taſte, very much eaten in *India*, but certainly of a very cold Nature: 'Tis inclos'd in a woody hard Shell, three-corner'd, having at each Angle a ſharp pricking Point, and is ſomewhat indented on the ſides.

Camolachacheries.

Here was another ſort of Fruit too, in the manner of a Goblet, flat on the top, of a ſoft greeniſh ſubſtance on the outſide, and within containing ſix or eight ſmall Fruits, like Acorns, each inclos'd in a peculiar Membrane, taſting like an Acorn, or Nut, and at firſt of a greeniſh Colour; in the midſt is a ſmall green Sprig, of a malignant Nature: The *Indians* call theſe *Camolachachery*, as they do the *Hermodacts*, *Syngana*.

Cannewa; Ouchen.

Between *Fetipore* and *Byana*, are two other Towns, *Cannewa*, and *Ouchen*, of ſome Note, for the Quantities of Indico they make yearly, eſpecially the latter, which is exceeded by none in the Production of this Commodity, unleſs it be *Byana* it ſelf.

Byana. December.

This City is call'd *Biany*, in *Selbank's* Journey, where the Indico is ſlightly deſcrib'd, but here more particularly, and at large.

This has formerly been a beautiful City, and of great bulk, but now lies for the moſt part in Ruines. 'Twas the Seat of one of the *Petane* Kings; and in its flouriſhing State, had its Walls extending at leaſt eight Coſe in length along the Cliffs, being defended in other places by a Natural Fortification of Rocks, ſo high and cragged, that 'twas impoſſible for any Adverſary to ſcale them. The Inhabitants are a poor ſort of People, that feed Cattel, and make Butter and Cheeſe; they live up and down amongſt the Ruines, minding only their Dairies, and other Country Affairs.

This place, like many others, affords plentiful Inſtances of the Magnificence of the Old *Indian* Kings, in the Tombs, Monuments, ruin'd Palaces, and other Pieces of Antiquity here to be ſeen: But the Ruines are not only the Effects of Time, but partly of the conquering Power of *Ecbar Sha*, who beat out from hence that *Indian* Prince *Selim* (before-mention'd) and demoliſh'd moſt of the Fortifications of it, as he did at *Mandow*.

Indico deſcrib'd.

The vaſt Quantities of Indico (for which this place is ſo famous), come off from a Spot of Ground not above twenty or thirty Coſe long. And here it may not be out of the way, to run over the Natural Hiſtory of this Commodity, to ſee it in its firſt Riſe, and by what Steps of Management 'tis brought into that Form in which it appears to us.

It is the Product of the Herb Nill: This Plant grows in Form not much unlike our Chich-Peaſe, having a ſmall Leaf ſomething reſembling that of Sena, yet ſhorter and broader than that, and ſet upon a very ſhort Stalk, the little Branches that ſhoot out of which, are hard and woody, like thoſe of Broom. It uſually grows not above a Yard high; and the Stalk, which comes to its greateſt bigneſs the third Year, is never much thicker than a Man's

Thumb. The Seed is incloſed in a ſmall round Cod, about an Inch long, bearing ſome reſemblance to that of Fenugreek, except that it is blunter at both ends; it's ripe about *November*, and then gather'd. It carries a ſmall Flower like that of Hearts-eaſe.

The Seed once ſown, holds for three Years, and produces three ſeveral ſorts of Indico, differing much from one another in goodneſs and perfection. That of the firſt Year is call'd *Notee*, and is a reddiſh weighty Indico, ſinking in Water, and not yet advanc'd to its beſt and moſt mature ſtate. That of the ſecond Year (which they call *Cyree*) is rich and fine, of a pure Violet Colour, and ſwims upon the Water. The *Catteld*, which is that of the third Year, is groſs, black, and weighty, by much the worſt of the three; the Plant being now impoveriſh'd, and in a declining Condition.

The making of Indico. The time for cutting the Herb, is in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, after the Rains; which Work being done, 'tis thrown into a long Ciſtern, where it's preſs'd down hard with Stones, and then cover'd over with Water, and ſo lies ſteeping there for ſome Days, till the Water is well tinctur'd with the Virtue of the Plant, and has got the purer part of its Subſtance into it. This Water they let run forth into another Ciſtern, where they ſtir it about well with Staves, and then when 'tis ſettled, they skim off the clear Water at top. This Operation they repeat ſo often, 'till there's nothing but a thick Sediment remains at the bottom of the Ciſtern; this they take out, and ſpread upon Cloths, ſetting it to dry in the Sun; and when 'tis a little hardned, they make it up into little Balls, and lay them to dry ſome time farther in the Sand. They chuſe to take this Courſe to dry it now, becauſe any thing elſe but Sand wou'd drink up the beautiful Colour of it. So alſo, if the Rains fall upon it, as it lies there, it certainly loſes its Gloſs and Colour; and thus deprav'd they give it the Name of *Aliad*.

The beſt Indico ought to be only that of the ſecond Years growth, tho' there are ſome that mix the Crops of all the three Years, and lay them a ſteeping in the Water together; which is a wrong both to the Cuſtomer, and the Commodities. Theſe things are required in that which pretends to be the beſt Indico, and may ſerve to diſtinguiſh it by: A pure Grain, a Violet Colour, a good Gloſs in the Sun, to be light and dry; to yield a fine blew Vapour when 'tis burn'd, and leave but a ſmall quantity of Aſhes.

The Character of good Indico.

January. From *Byana* I return'd to *Agra* again; the News was now freſh, that the *Decanees* had ſued for Peace, and offer'd to reſtore all that they had taken from the *Mogul*; who yet was reſolv'd to carry on the War againſt them, and rais'd more Forces for that purpoſe.

Goes for *Labor*. I had not reſted long here, at *Agra*, before I was obliged to undertake a Journey to *Labor*, as well to recover Moneys there owing, as to put off part of our Indico gotten at *Byana*, which there was ſome hope of doing to advantage.

Acabarpore. In this Road, the firſt place of Note was *Acabarpore*, an illuſtrious City in Ancient Times, and ſtill famous for the Antiquities of the *Indian* Gobins, or Saints.

A little ſhort of it are ſeveral large Vaults, fill'd with Pagods, monſtrous and frightful Images of Stone, much reſorted to by the *Indians*, and as much ador'd and honour'd with Varieties of Offerings.

The City of *Della* was the next remarkable Stage: This ſtands in a delightful Plain, encompaſs'd with curious Gardens and Monuments; 'tis a matter of two Coſe in length from Gate to Gate, and has the Fate of a great many other Noble Cities of *India*, to lie partly in Ruines. In this place the Imperial Crown is ſet upon the Head of the *Great Mogul*; and the Ceremony muſt (by the Laws of the Country) be perform'd here; otherwiſe the Prince is look'd upon as no better than an Uſurper. Here are the Tombs of at leaſt twenty of the Old *Potan* Kings, very fair and ſtately; and that alſo of *Hamown*, the preſent King's Grandfather, together with ſeveral others of his Wives and Children, that lie buried about him.

The Ruines of the Old *Delly* lie a little diſtance from hence, ſeparated by an Arm of the *Gemini*, over which is a Stone-bridge of eleven or twelve Arches. Particularly there appears amongſt theſe Ruines, the Carkaſe of that ancient Building call'd the *Caſtle*, that had to the number of Fifty two Gates; a thing of ſurpriſing Glory and Statelineſs in its time, but now worn out and disfigured to the laſt degree. There's ſaid to be no leſs than four Cities of this Name, and all within five Coſe of one another; of which three were built by the ancient *Potane* Kings, and the other (where the Tombs are) by *Selim* before ſpoken of.

A little beyond *Delly* are the Relicks of a ſtately Hunting-houſe, built by an ancient *Indian* Monarch, which has very great Curioſities of Stone-work about it. * Amongſt the reſt there's a Pillar all of one entire Stone, ſome Twenty four Foot high, and as many under Ground (as the *Indians* ſay) having a Globe, and a Half-moon at top, and divers Inſcriptions upon it; this, according to the Tradition of the Country, a certain *Indian* King wou'd have taken up and remov'd; but was prevented in his Deſign by a multitude of Scorpions that infeſted the Workmen. But 'tis certain, that there are a great many of thoſe huge Pillars fix'd thus deep in the Ground, up and down in *India*; and 'tis not long ago, that there was one found buried near *Fetipore*, that was a hundred Cubits in length, which the King order'd to be remov'd to *Agra*; but 'twas broke by the way. And 'tis remarkable, that moſt of the *Indian* Quarries (eſpecially thoſe about *Fetipore*) do afford a Stone of that nature, that may be wrought almoſt any way by the Workman, either cleft like Logs, or ſawn like Planks into vaſt great pieces, ſo as to ſeil Rooms, or cover Houſes with it, if they had a mind.

* Some ſay, that the Inſcriptions are *Greek*, and that this Obelisk was plac'd there by *Alexander* the Great.

Tanaſſar, its Sal Armoniack Pits. About *Tanaſſar* begins a long Ridge of Mountains, extending towards *Labor*, the tops of which are all cover'd with Snow: This City is remarkable chiefly for its Pagods, reverenc'd through all *India*; and its Sal Armoniack Pits, at a little diſtance from it.

Surinam is celebrated for the delicate Garden the King has there, which is more than four Coſe in compaſs, yields all the Varieties of rare Plants, Flowers, and Fruits, and is rented for 50000 Roupies *per Annum*. The two main Croſs-walks of it, are full forty Foot broad, and eight high, planted on both ſides with Cypreſs's, and Water in neat Stone-Channels, running along the middle. In the Centre of it ſtands an Octagonal Mohol, the Centre of which is a fair Pond alſo, about which all the Lodgings of the Mohol are pleaſantly diſpos'd: The Building is of a fine *Indian* Stone, and very pompouſly ſet out with Painting and Carving in the inſide.

February. Comes to *Labor*. Having eſcap'd not a few Dangers in the way, by means of the Thieviſh People that lie abroad for Spoil in theſe parts, I arrived at *Labor*, the more Northern Metropolis of this vaſt Empire. This certainly is one of the greateſt Cities of the Eaſt; and perhaps, when all is done to it that this King deſigns, it may be one of the fineſt. It takes in near Twenty four Coſe in Circuit; and the City and Suburbs is ſix Coſe thorough: There is a Ditch now caſting up round the whole Circumference, and 'tis deſign'd ſhortly to be incloſ'd with a Wall too. The Streets are fair, and well-pav'd, the Buildings lofty, moſtly of Brick-work, and ſet out with all Curioſities of Carving about the Doors and Windows.

Its Deſcription.

The Caſtle ſtands upon the River *Rawee*, which falls into the *Indus*, and carries Boats of ſixty Tun, and upwards: It has twelve Noble Gates, nine opening to the Land-ſide, and three to the River. 'Tis inhabited chiefly by Trading People, *Bannians*, and Handicraft-men; but all the White People of any Note, generally take up their Lodgings in the Suburbs.

As for the Rarities of the Caſtle, or Palace, they are by far too numerous, as well as too glorious, to be juſtly repreſented by a ſhort Deſcription: The Mohols, the Courts, the Galleries, the Rooms of State, are almoſt endleſs; and to give an Idea of the extravagant Richneſs of the Furniture of theſe, it may be ſufficient to ſay, that in the King's Lodgings, the very Walls and Ceilings are all overlaid with the pureſt Maſſy Gold; and the others are as prodigally rich and ſumptuous in their proportion. There's a vaſt number of ſtately Pictures hanging up and down in the Galleries, and Publick Rooms, all drawn at full length. Here's the whole Royal Family, down from *Babur*, that made the Conqueſt of *India*, to this preſent *Mogul*. And beſides theſe, all the principal Noblemen of the preſent Government, the *Mahometan Emirs* and *Cans*, and the *Gentile Raja's*, or Native *Indian* Princes, that are of any great Power or Figure about the King. For Curioſities without Doors, the King's Garden may be reckon'd amongſt the chief: Here *India* and *Europe* ſeem to lie together in the ſame Spot, which preſents the Eye with the Vegetable Varieties of both. And, indeed, the Country almoſt all along, on the further ſide of the River, is extreamly pleaſant in this reſpect, yielding ſuch a fine Proſpect of Gardens, and charming Walks, that hardly any thing can be more agreeable.

The more Northern Parts of *India*, about *Calul*, were very much diſquieted at this time; the *Patans*, that ſhelter themſelves in the Mountains, came down with a great Force, and ſack'd that important place, carrying off a great Booty. They are a ſort of People that live in perpetual Defiance to the *Mogul*, and all his Power can't tame them perfectly; but ever now and then, they will ſally out from their Strong-holds in the Mountains, and ſpoil and ravage the Country.

Mar. *A. D.*

The Wars between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, put a ſtop at preſent too to the Trade about *Candahar*; the latter had raz'd the famous City of *Taurus*, and ſpoil'd the Country about, ſtopping up the Wells of Water, and laying all waſte, to hinder the progreſs of the *Turkiſh* Army; upon which account the Merchants were nonplus'd, and dared not paſs on beyond *Candahar*.

Account of other places of Note.

Having given this Account of my Journeys to theſe two principal Cities of *India*, with the moſt remarkable Obſervations of the chief places I viſited as I paſs'd; it may be requiſite to ſubjoyn the Characters of ſome other Places of Note and Fame in this mighty Country, which lie in the great Roads to *Agra* and *Labor*, as they run from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom.

Surcrood.

From *Labor* Northwards to *Cabul*, are few places of great note or ſignificancy: *Surcrood*, a ſmall place in that Road, has a Medicinal River running along by it; the Water looks not of the ordinary Colour, but red; and being drunk, has the Reputation of procuring a good Appetite.

Haſſanabdal.

In your paſſing between *Labor* and this place, you may take Notice of the Ponds at *Haſſanabdal*: No Drops of Morning-Dew, are, in compariſon clearer and purer than this Water; but the pleaſanteſt Spectacle is that of the Fiſh, which have Golden Rings hung in their Snouts, and may be very eaſily ſeen with thoſe Ornaments playing up and down, by reaſon of the perfect Tranſparency of the Water: This was the Frolick of *Ecbar Sha*; who, it ſeems, was reſolv'd, that Ponds ſo rare and fine, ſhou'd have Fiſh every way as extraordinary.

Cabul.

Cabul (the firſt Seat of the *Mogul*'s Family) is a large and fair City; but ſeems to come ſhort of the Character of the ſtately Cities of *India* already deſcrib'd.

Tarthaun.

'Tis reckon'd between two and three Months Journey by Caravan, from hence to *Caſcar* in *Tartary*: This is a large Kingdom, and the chief City of Trade in it is *Tarchaun*, or *Tarmancan*, from whence comes Silk, Porcelan, Musk, Rhubarb, and other Merchandize; but it comes thither from *China*. The Merchants always pitch their Tents without the Gate of this City, and lie there with their whole Cargo, ſending ſome ten or fifteen into the City to do Buſineſs; for the *Tartars* will not permit any great Numbers to enter at once.

But to return from this little Walk into *Tartary*, to the more ſafe and pleaſant Roads of *India*.

Caſſimere.

You go almoſt directly Northward from *Labor*, to the fair and fruitful Country of *Caſſimere*: The principal City bears the Name of the Province; a ſtrong place ſeated on the River *Bahat*. The Country about it abounds with Varieties of Fruits, Grain, Saffron, and (which are not to be forgotten, amongſt its other excellent Products) very fine and beautiful Women: Here are made alſo the rich Pomberries, which go up and down all *India*. This Country is cold, and ſubject to great Froſts and Snows, in that part of it which borders upon *Tartary*: 'Tis ſeparated from it by a Fence of Mountains, ſo ſteep and rugged, that no Caravans can paſs this way. Yet ſome People a foot make a ſhift to climb the Mountains, and deal with the *Tartars* for Musk and Silk, tho' they are forced to carry on their Trade by the help of Engines, letting down, and drawing up their Goods to one another, from the tops of the Precipices.

Another way from *Agra* to *Surat*.

When I made my Journey to *Agra*, I went the more direct and ſtraight way from *Surat*, to that place: But there is another Road between theſe two Cities, that goes ſomething more about to the Weſtward, and takes in theſe conſiderable places not hitherto deſcrib'd.

The Tomb of *Hodgee Mundee*, the Great *Indian* Saint.

Aſmere, ſeated on the top of a prodigious ſteep Mountain, ſtrengthned with mighty Walls, and a Fort almoſt invincible. It ſhews ſeveral remarkable Pieces of Antiquity, but the moſt celebrated of all, is the Tomb of a famous *Indian* Saint who lies buried here. 'Tis viſited with almoſt as much Devotion and Reverence by the *Indians*, as *Mahomet*'s is by the *Turks* and *Arabs*: Pilgrimages are made to it, Vows and Prayers liberally pour'd out over it, ſo great is the Reputation of this Holy Man amongſt them.

The Great *Ecbar*, in a Fit of warm Affection, went his Pilgrimage hither a Foot, from *Agra*; the Walk was at leaſt 130 Coſe, but his Buſineſs was urgent, and the Favour great that he had to ask. He was at that time wholly without Children, and no proſpect of filling the Imperial Throne of *India* with one of his own Blood, after his Deceaſe; and therefore to procure an Heir, he took the probable Courſe of viſiting the Sepulchre of this Saint. And it ſeems it was to very great purpoſe; for now in a little time three Princes came to Town, and the Succeſſion in his own Line, was put out of doubt. The preſent King was one of the Fruits of that Devotion, and a part of the Bleſſing of the Pilgrimage; but little did the old Prince imagine what a Bleſſing was put into his hands when he came. Cou'd he have foreſeen things, no doubt (as much as he wanted an Heir) if he cou'd have had no other, he wou'd not have trudged almoſt 200 Mile a Foot, to pray for a Son that ſhou'd afterward endeavour to ſend him out of the World before his time. However, 'twas upon this occaſion, that that Prince, to expreſs his Joy and Content, gave the Name of *Fetipore* to that place now call'd ſo; and ſet up a Row of ſtately Pillars all along the Way from *Agra* to *Aſmere*, the place that had been ſo fortunate to him: At every Coſe-end is one of theſe Columns, and at every eight Coſe diſtance, is a fine Mohol erected.

The Sepulchre, with the Buildings about it, is a very Noble Thing; 'tis as rich and fine as a prodigal blind Zeal and Superſtition, might be ſuppos'd to make a thing, which it declares the higheſt Reſpect for. You paſs three large Courts before you come to it, the firſt of which is near an Acre of Ground, and is paved with Black and White Marble; the others are proportionally large, but the nearer to the Sepulchre, the more extravagant the Pomp and Glory of them. There is ſuch an Opinion of the Sanctity of all theſe Places adjacent to the Tomb, that no Perſon dares walk here, but with a naked Foot; you muſt be quite bare, or not pretend to tread any part of theſe hallow'd Courts.

The Caſtle of *Gelour*.

Proceeding in this Road, the ſurprizing Caſtle, or Fort of *Gelour* lies in your way. This is call'd the Frontier of the Kingdom of *Guzurat*, upon which it borders, and is for Strength it ſelf almoſt equivalent to a Kingdom. The whole Building is no leſs than eight Coſe in Circumference, and the Steep of the Mountain on which it ſtands is about three Coſe; the Cauſey broad enough for two Men to paſs a-breaſt, is wall'd on both ſides, and guarded with Gates and Portcullis's, and all the Contrivances for Defence that can be.

'Tis now in the hands of the *Great Mogul*; but 'twas Treachery, and not Force, that did the Buſineſs; and he might, by far, ſooner have built, than taken and conquer'd ſuch a Caſtle as this, with all the Strength of his Empire. It has a great Pond cut down a vaſt depth in the ſolid Rock, the *Indians* ſay 'tis fifty Fathom deep, very clear, and good taſted Water.

A monſtrous Snake.

They affirm too, that there's a Snake that lies about in the Buſhes, and woody part of the Mountain, that is Twenty five Foot long, and as big as a Man's Waſte; which becauſe it does no hurt to Man or Beaſt, it receives none from the Country; nay, they wou'd be angry if it ſhou'd be kill'd, becauſe they eſteem it a Token of good Fortune.

This may not be altogether improbable, ſince 'tis known that *India* does afford Creatures of this kind, that are very large: However, 'twas my good Fortune, to avoid the Demonſtration of the Truth of this particular Story, in the actual ſight of the Monſter it ſelf.

Amadabat.

I omit the particular mention of many ſtately Ruines of ancient Cities, Walls, and Palaces, the Monuments of *Indian* Kings, and other agreeable Entertainments, to a curious Traveller, which occur in this way; and paſs on to *Amadabat*, or *Amadawar*, a remarkable City of *Guzurat*. It's ſeated on a fair River, and has as good a ſhare of Strength and Proviſions for Defence, in its Caſtle, Gates, and ſtrong Walls, as it has of Beauty in its other Buildings, which are in this reſpect comparable to thoſe of moſt Cities in *Aſia*. 'Tis a place of vaſt Trade and Dealing, entertains abundance of rich Merchants, and excellent Artificers, for Carving, Painting, Inlaying, and Embroidery.

There is ſome Quantity of Indico made hereabouts, which they call *Cickle*, of a Town at a little diſtance; but 'tis not near ſo good as that of *Biana*: But tho' the Trade be ſlight upon that Account, yet 'tis ſo great in other Points, that there's Two hundred Coaches laden with all ſorts of rich Merchandize, that go every ten Days hence for *Cambaya*. From *Gelour* to this City, the Way lies all through a horrid Deſart, full of Lions and Tygers, Thieves and Outlaws, which may well be reckon'd amongſt thoſe Creatures of Prey, and are, by far, the worſt Beaſts of the number.

Cambaya.

The next Neighbour of Note to this, is *Cambaya*, the Grand Mart of *Guzurat*. 'Tis a graceful, ſubſtantial, well built City; ſtands by the Sea, and has a topping Trade for all ſorts of Cloth, and rich Drugs: *Cambaya* Cloths are a Commodity well known, and as much valued all over the Eaſt. It has a very large Bay, but extreamly dangerous, by reaſon of the violent Tide, which ſinks abundance of Ships: In the Neap Tides there's the leaſt danger; but it always requires a skilful Pilot to manage a Ship hereabouts.

Bay dangerous.

This place is very much infeſted with two ſorts of Creatures, which are both alike troubleſome, if not dangerous to People that come here. If you go but croſs the Channel, 'tis ten to one but you fall into the hands of the Pyrating People, unleſs you are very well provided indeed; and then your Goods muſt either be loſt, or by a long Diſpute you may be betray'd into the Danger of the Tide, which comes ſo very furiouſly, that 'twill be an exceeding hard matter to bring your Ship off clear. Within the Town the Monkeys are as great a Plague as the Pyrates are upon the Water: You ſee prodigious Numbers of them climbing up and down upon the Houſes, frolicking and leaping about from one Houſe to another; and if they wou'd be contented with playing theſe Tricks only, they wou'd make but good Sport; but they are for uncovering the Houſes, picking the Stones and Bricks out of the Walls, rattling down the Tiles upon Peoples Heads as they paſs along; ſo that a Man hardly knows when he is ſafe, or where to go, upon the account of theſe Vermine, that are every-where ready to pelt him with Stones, Tiles, and Brick-bats.

Troubleſomneſs of the Monkeys.

'Tis pity, the Quiet and Order of ſo fine a City, ſhou'd be diſturb'd by Monkeys; and if there were not more beſides theſe upon the Houſes, the place wou'd be better managed than 'tis. You ſhall often ſee a Fleet of Two hundred *Portugueze* Frigats riding here at a time, 'tis a place ſo mightily haunted by that People, as well as by the others laſt mention'd.

Baroche.

Baroche (between this and *Surat*) is ſeated in a River twice as broad as the *Thames*; 'tis famous for a Mine of Agats, and the rich Baffata's made here, much ſurpaſſing the *Holland*-Cloth in Fineneſs; it goes at fifty Roupies *per* Booke, which are not Three Quarters broad, and contain about fourteen Yards *Engliſh*.

To *Surat* you have now only the pleaſant and fertile Country of *Wariaw* to paſs through, abounding with vaſt Numbers of the wild Date-Trees, from whence they draw their Liquor they call *Tanie*: But theſe Trees are no Rarity here, for they are plentiful in all, or moſt of the Sea-Coaſt parts of *India*.

From *Agra* to *Jounpore.*

I ſhall now give ſome Account of the principal Places in the great Road from *Agra*, to *Jounpore*, by the way of *Cannowa*; and back from thence to *Agra*, by that of *Alabaſſe*.

Cannowa.

To begin with *Cannowa* it ſelf, which lies to the Eaſtward of *Agra*, a large City, but not like the reſt of the *Indian* Cities, for prodigious Strength and Defence. The *Ganges* anciently took his Courſe along by the Foot of this City; but now has broken it ſelf a paſſage through the Valley ſome four Coſe diſtant, ſo that but a ſmall Branch of it now comes up to *Cannowa*. This famous River is Three quarters of a Mile breadth in its own proper Channel here at this place, but upon great Rains ſwells to far greater Dimenſions, and overflows the Valley for ten Coſe about. It has eighteen Branches, and receives the Water of thirty Rivers of conſiderable note. It produces Allegators in ſuch ſurprizing numbers, that if it yields good Fiſh in proportion, it muſt be one of the richeſt Rivers in the World.

Lacanow.

Lacanow is a place of mighty Trade in this part of *India*; but the chief Commodities it deals for, are Linen Cloths.

Oudee.

Oudee, a City of an ancient Character, the Seat of ſome of the *Potane* Kings, but much defac'd by Time and Wars.

The Ruines of *Ranichand* Caſtle, contribute the largeſt ſhare of the Fame it has now-a-days. The Bramens that live in theſe Ruines, record the Names of all thoſe *Indians* that come and waſh in the River hard by. It ſeems 'tis reckon'd a piece of Religion amongſt them ſo to do, and there's a great Reſort from all parts of *India* for that purpoſe. The Bramens encourage the Practice by the Argument of Antiquity; and tell the People, that it has been maintain'd for four Lacks of Years, which is 394500 Years before the World was made, according to the *European* Chronology.

There's abundance of Gold got out of the Ruines of the Caſtle; but the place yields a Commodity which is ſet at a higher Rate than Gold or Jewels either: It is the Horn of ſome Beaſt, but what I know not, nor the *Indians* hardly themſelves; tho' ſome ſay they are the true Unicorn's Horn. The more ordinary ſort of them are a Commodity mightily traded for at this place, the *Indians* apply them to the Uſes both of the Houſe and the Field, making Bucklers, and ſeveral kinds of Drinking-Cups out of them.

A rare Horn.

Bonarce.
Jounpore.

In this Road to *Jounpore*, lies *Bonarce*, the principal Mart for all *Bengala* Commodities. *Jounpore*, it ſelf, has no Rarities for Building, but Monuments, and ſeveral other Relicks of Antiquity to ſhew; but for Trade, it has ſome that are conſiderable: From hence come great Quantities of ſweet-ſcented Oyls, rich Carpets, Hangings embroider'd with Silk, and all ſorts of fine Linen.

From *Jounpore* back to *Agra*, by the way of *Alabaſſe.*

Now to return back to *Agra* from hence, by the way of *Alabaſſe*; this place is the firſt that deſerves mention, and 'tis all an entire Foreſt hither. The Caſtle is reckon'd one of the Wonders of the Eaſt, and 'twas one of the mighty Undertakings of *Ecbar Sha*; and that after many fruſtrated Attempts of the ancient *Potane* Kings to the ſame purpoſe: It's pleaſantly ſeated, and has the River *Gemini* running on the South-ſide of it. It may be gueſs'd what a ſtupendious Building it will be when perfected, when 'tis told of it, that it did for many Years employ the conſtant Labours of 20000 Workmen, and has of late Years had more than 5000 engaged about it, and yet (tho' it has been forty Years in hand) no Body knows when 'twill be finiſh'd. 'Twas in this Caſtle that the preſent *Mogul* ſhelter'd himſelf, when he rebell'd againſt his Father; and he cou'd not have choſen a more Auguſt Building to ſet up for King in than this.

Alabaſſe.

A remarkable Pillar.

In a certain Court of it there ſtands a Pillar of Stone fifty Cubits above Ground; but how far it goes downward, there's no diſcovering, it ſtands ſo deep: By the Diſcourſe of the *Indians* it ſhou'd ſeem to have been plac'd there by *Alexander* the Great, or ſome other Conquerour, that was here ſtopp'd in the Courſe of his Victories by the *Ganges*, which runs but a little way off, and into which the River *Gemini* here falls.

Pagods.

Here are to be ſeen in a low Vault, the Sculptures of *Adam* and *Eve*, *Noah*, and ſeveral others, both of the Antediluvian, and Poſtdiluvian Patriarchs in Stone; which are viſited by great Numbers of Votaries from all parts of *India*. Before they approach theſe Images, they waſh their Bodies in the *Ganges*, and ſhave their Heads, laying a great ſtreſs upon this performance, for their Purification from Moral Defilements. They are of the Opinion, that this was the place where Man was firſt created; or at leaſt, that he liv'd in his Paradiſiacal State, for ſeveral Years hereabouts.

A ſtrange Tree.

They ſhew a Tree that ſtands in the King's Mohol, to which they give the Title of the Tree of Life, and honour it accordingly. And the truth on't is, if their Reports be true, it may well enough be call'd the Tree of Life, ſince 'tis of ſo ſtubborn a Nature, that 'twill live in ſpite of all Endeavours to deſtroy it. It is a ſort of a wild Fig-Tree, which having once rooted it ſelf there, wou'd continue growing there, whatever Courſes were taken to the contrary: Take away the Earth from about it, ſtock it up, manage it how they cou'd, yet ſtill ſome ſpreading Roots or other which cou'd not be reach'd, wou'd ſend up a freſh Tree; and at this rate it held out, ſo that ſeveral of the *Potane* Kings, and of this Family too, who try'd at it, were forc'd to give it over as an impoſſible Work. The preſent *Mogul* has taken a Turn at it; but finding he is able to do no good, he cheriſhes, and makes much on't.

When the great Froſts are paſt in *October* and *November*, Boats may go from hence down the *Ganges* to *Bengala*; but the paſſage is not ſo ſafe.

Chappergat.

Between this and *Agra* you come to theſe other places of ſome Character: *Chappergat*, which ſhews a *Saray*, (or Publick Inn) which has very few, if any in all *India*, to ſtand in competition with it: 'Tis ſufficient to give Entertainment to a thouſand Men, and the Lodgings are all very neatly built and contriv'd beſides.

Itay.

Itay, where the *Indians* perform a Solemn Worſhip to the Effigies of a Man's Face, carv'd in Stone, at the entrance of the Caſtle; the principal Ceremony of which is, the pouring out a great Quantity of Oyl upon it: This is the Practice; as for the Riſe and Reaſon of it, I have no Information.

Amedipore.

From hence to *Amedipore*, is a plentiful Country, and full of fine *Saraies*, for the Conveniency of Caravans: There's much of a groſs ſort of Indico, call'd *Cole*, made in theſe Parts, which is either all ſpent in *India*, or carried into *Tartary*, to *Caſcar*, *Samercand*, and thoſe places, none of it going into *Europe*, except it be mix'd with that of *Biana*. From hence you have but a ſhort ſtep to *Agra* again.

An Account of the *Indian Raja's.*

I ſhall now conclude this Diſcourſe of *India*, with an Account of ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the *Indian Raja's*, that lie about in the Country; the moſt of which maintain their Liberty againſt the *Great Mogul*, and all his vaſt Power, and will neither be ſubject to, nor hold Correſpondence with him.

Gurchite Caſtle.

And we may firſt look upon *Raja Rana*, that has his principal Seat in the impregnable Caſtle of *Gurchite*, ſtanding upon the Mountains of *Marna*, that run up towards *Amadavar*. This Prince is the chief in eſteem of all the Gentile *Raja's*, or *Resbouts*, as they are called. He is amongſt the *Indians*, what a Pope may be in Chriſtendom for Authority, or a Caliph amongſt the old *Arabians*: His Power is not ſo very formidable perhaps as ſome others may be; but he is look'd on as the Father, or chief Patron of the ancient *Indian* Religion and Rites; and on that ſcore highly reverenc'd by all. His Country is 150 Coſe in length, and 200 in breadth ſome ways, in which he has ſeveral fine Cities and Caſtles: But his greateſt Strength is the Fortifications he has about him, partly in the Work of Nature, in long Ridges of inacceſſible Mountains; and partly the Fruit of Art and Induſtry, as in all places where Nature has left a Gap for an Enemy. 'Tis upon this Account, and that of the Character he bears, that he remains unconquer'd, and is like to do ſo ſtill: The mighty and fortunate *Ecbar*, that had tam'd ſo many unruly Adverſaries, cou'd make nothing of this Prince; his Fortune here was at a ſtay, and cou'd not carry him over the Walls of *Gurchito* Caſtle, tho' he puſh'd it on with all the Vigour in the World. But then the moſt part of the *Raja's*, even thoſe that are in Friendſhip with the *Mogul*, don't care to meddle with him for the ſake of his Character; and therefore if ſent againſt him, find ſome ſhift or other to avoid hurting him, or making any Spoil in his Territories.

'Tis believ'd by ſome, that this Prince is the true and undoubted Succeſſor of the Noble *Porus*, celebrated in Antiquity; that the *Indian* Blood is here preſerv'd untainted and pure; and in a word, that all the genuine Remains of the old *India*, are here more than any where to be found: This is grounded upon the appearing Impoſſibility of making a compleat Conqueſt of the Country. However, 'tis reported now abroad, that the *Mogul* has courted him into a ſort of a ſlight Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty; perhaps as much as a ſmall Tribute may come to, which alſo he can withold without danger when he pleaſes.

Others about *Guzurat*. About the Country of *Guzurat*, lie three more of theſe *Raja's*, that ſtand upon their own defence, againſt the *Mogul*.

One of them is that *Badur* before-mention'd, that makes ſuch havock up and down in the Country: This Prince has ſometime appear'd with a Bady of 100000 Men; as particularly when he plunder'd *Cambaya*.

The other two do (as he does) lie out of the reach of the *Mogul's* Forces, either in impregnable Forts and Caſtles, or inacceſſible Mountains, or elſe in impaſſable Wilderneſſes and Deſarts.

One of them is reported, to have a Breed of Horſes that is not to be match'd again in all the Eaſt; they are valued each at 15000 Roupies, and are ſaid to be far before the *Arabian* Horſes for ſwift Running; and not only ſo, but they are ſtrong to hold it too; ſo that a Man may ride one of them almoſt a full ſpeed, a whole Day, and never draw Bit: The *Raja* has (they ſay) 100 Mares of this Breed.

Others towards *Labor*, and thoſe parts. All along the River *Ravee*, Eaſterly, lies the Country of another great *Raja*, whoſe chief City is *Tem-mery*: He is a very mighty Prince, and as it happens, a Subject to the *Great Mogul*: Out of his Country come vaſt Quantities of the fine *Indian* Drugs, Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gum-lack, Turpentine, Coſtus, &c.

But his next Neighbour, another *Raja*, as potent as himſelf, and more ſecure by his Fence of Mountains, equally deſpiſes both the Power and the Friendſhip of the *Mogul*. His chief City is *Negercoat*, fam'd for an Idol in great requeſt, that ſtands there: Multitudes of People come hither for the Redreſs of their Grievances, which they pretend to receive to their entire Satisfaction, at this place: But beſides their other Offerings, they do (in the Tranſports of that wicked Zeal which acts them) make an Effuſion of their own Blood, barbarouſly mangle their Bodies, and ſometimes proceed ſo far as to cut their own Throats, which is indeed a full Solution of all Doubts, and Period of Trouble and Miſery.

To the Eaſtward of theſe, lies another *Raja*, whoſe chief Seat is at *Calſery*; his Country 500 Coſe in length, Northward and Southward, and 300 broad; and he is able to bring 500000 Foot into the Field upon occaſion. His Dominions are rich and fruitful, but keep all ſhut up within themſelves, communicating with none of the adjacent parts of *India*.

Farther ſtill to the Eaſtward, between *Gemini* and *Ganges*, ſtretches out the Country of another of theſe *Reſboot* Princes, 300 Coſe long, and 150 broad, the principal City of it *Serenegar*. This *Raja* is vaſtly rich in Gold, and is ſaid to have all his domeſtick Furniture of that valuable Metal. The Country is fertile, and happy enough in its Soil, but not altogether ſo in the Temper of its Climate, the Winter here being extreamly ſharp, and the Snows ſo violent upon the Mountains, that the People, at that Seaſon, are forced to remove down into the Valleys.

On the further ſide of the *Ganges* lies another *Raja*, whoſe Territories are ſo large, that 'tis not agreed where to fix the Bounds of them: *Camow* is his Capital City; but his Country runs (ſome ſay) Eaſtward, almoſt as far as *China*; however, few allow him leſs than 400 Coſe in length, and as many in breadth. It yields a great deal of Musk, and is as liberal in the Production of Grain; it has no Force of Elephants, nor not much of Horſe in compariſon; tho' thoſe it does afford are of a Noble Breed for Uſe and Service, and the beſt Mountain-climbers in the World: So that this Prince's main Force conſiſts in his Foot, and therein perhaps may not be much inferiour to the *Mogul* himſelf. Horſes call'd Gunts.

To the Southward of this laſt, a-thwart the Streams of *Ganges*, you come into the Country of a *Raja* vaſtly powerful, both in Foot, Horſe, and Elephants. He has the greateſt Rarity and Treaſure in his Dominions that *India* affords, which is the Old Rock of Diamonds, of which he makes no ſmall advantage. Diamond Rock.

And below him, amongſt the Streams of *Ganges*, is ſeated a *Potane* Prince, of the Race of the ancient *Delly* Kings; who puts the *Mogul* to the conſtant Charge and Trouble of maintaining a Frontier Army; and all this but juſt for his own Defence: For he is not able to reach this *Raja*, who is as well defended againſt him by the Iſlands and Branches of the *Ganges*, as the others are by their high Walls of Mountains.

From hence all along to the Mouth of the *Ganges*, the *Mogul* commands without Controul or Diſturbance; only at the very Mouth it ſelf, there's a Gang of *Portugueze* Outlaws, that have the Protection of a Fort, that value no Prince, nor no Law, nor no People; but bidding Defiance to all, do what Miſchief they can, as they have opportunity.

CHAP. XIV.

A Diſcourſe of the Affairs of India, *and of the Proceedings at the Court of the* Great Mogul. *Written by Capt.* William Hawkins, *and Directed to the* East-India *Company.*

I Kept Company with Captain *Heeling* in his Voyage as far as *Deliſa*, a Road in the North of *Socotora* in the *Arabian* Sea, at which place we parted, he purſuing his Voyage in the *Dragon* for *Bantam*, and my ſelf in the *Hector* for *Surat*.

*Capt. Hawkins comes to *Surat*, A. D. 1608.

I came thither *Auguſt* the 24th *; and having informed the Governour of my Arrival, and the Character I came in of his Majeſty's Embaſſadour, I receiv'd his Compliment and ſolemn Invitation to come aſhoar, and had at my Landing an Entertainment, that if all the reſt had been agreeable, would have given me no cauſe to complain.

'Tis to be obſerved that the Management of the Affairs of *Surat* lay in the Hands of two great Men; the one Viceroy of the King of *Decan*, who had cognizance of all Cauſes that related to Land Buſineſs and Civil Government; the other Viceroy of *Cambaya*, who preſided over the marine Affairs. This was the perfidious *Mecrebchan*, into whoſe Hands, Merchants. and Sailors, and all that are any thing a Kin to the Sea, muſt of neceſſity fall; without whom no Trade can be eſtabliſhed, nor any Factory be ſetled in thoſe parts, and who does in all theſe Matters juſt what pleaſes himſelf, and is agreeable to his own Covetous and Ambitious Humour. No Man ſeemingly ſtudies more his Princes Honour and Intereſt than he, and none minds it leſs; no Man to appearance more Loyal, Honeſt, and Sincere, and none that dares Practice theſe Vertues leſs; a Man that can be Wiſe, Real, True and Juſt to himſelf alone, and in ſhort remarkable only for his Preferments and extraordinary ill Qualities. My Concerns falling under his Cognizance, and he being at *Cambaya* when I Landed, I was forc'd to wait till Orders came from him before I cou'd proceed in any Buſineſs, tho' in the mean time I had very civil Treatment from the other Viceroy, and the Promiſe of his beſt Endeavours with *Mocrebchan* on my behalf. When ſome twenty Days were expired, a Meſſenger came with a Letter from this great Man, wherein he gave me Licence to land the Goods I had brought, as alſo to buy more for my lading this preſent Voyage; but as to the Point of a future Trade and the ſetling of a Factory he could ſay nothing to that till he had further Orders from Court. And then at the ſame time he wrote to the chief Manager of the Cuſtoms under him at *Surat*, to bring all my Goods into the Publick Cuſtom houſe, and ſecure them there till his Brother came; to chuſe out ſuch Parcols as were moſt fit for the King as he pretended, tho' 'tis nothing leſs than the King's Profit they deſign by all thoſe Practices with Foreigners.

English Barks taken by the *Portugueze.*

The Plot of *Mocrebchan* and the Jeſuits.

The *Portugueze* refuſe to give Satiſfaction.

Their Deſigns upon his Life.

However having this Liberty I brought my Goods aſhoar, getting in ſome conſiderable quantities of Money, I began to lay it out upon ſuch Commodities as are vendible at *Bantam* and *Priaman*, and which the *Guzurats* with a great deal of Profit came thither for every Year. I accompliſh'd the lading of two Barks with this ſort of Merchandize in a little time, tho' not without ſome Noiſe and Grumbling from the Merchants of the Town, who now began to make publick Complaints of me, as a Perſon that had undermin'd them in their moſt profitable Trade, and craftily ſnatch'd a good part of their Advantage out of their Hands. But for all this having Licence from the higher Powers to Ship and Goods I had bought, I made bold to ſend them away, tho' as it prov'd, in the moſt unlucky time in the World for my ſelf, and the moſt proper to gratifie the Spite and Malice of the Merchants. For the next Day I had news that both the Barks were taken with all the Men and Goods by the *Portugueze*, and that not without ſeveral Grounds of Suſpicion that the chief Men I had intruſted in them, were guilty of a treacherous Correſpondence with the Enemies. But the truth of the Matter was, That an abſolute Plot was form'd for the betraying of them into the Hands of the *Portugueze* by *Mocrebchan*, and the Pious Jeſuites of his Club; and the Reaſon why I was delayed ſo long before I could have Orders to lade and diſpatch, was, That the Veſſels might hit to go out juſt at that time that the *Portugueze* were ready to ſwallow them up. And under this Misfortune 'twas in vain for me to make Complaints, or ſo much as attempt to ſeek any redreſs. Shou'd I apply my ſelf to *Mocrebchan*? He was the firſt Spring and grand Author of the Miſchief; and to ask there for help, had been courting a Knave to right the Wrongs done by himſelf, and beging a Plaiſter from the malicious Hands that gave the Wound. As for the *Portugueze* themſelves that did the Injury, when I demanded Satisfaction, I had nothing but ſcorn and ſpite, ill words and railing to make me amends. It was to no purpoſe for me to alledge His Majeſties Authority and Commiſſion, by which I was empower'd to act in thoſe parts, with the bad Conſequences of ſuch Acts of Hoſtility as theſe were in producing a War between the two Nations. For as for His Majeſties Commiſſion they valued it not a Farthing, and they affirm'd he ought not to have ſent his Subjects there without leave from the King of *Portugal*, who was the rightful Lord of thoſe Seas; and then with all the Manners and good Breeding peculiar to that civil People, they expreſs'd themſelves concerning my Prince at ſuch a rate, as if he had been indeed little better than one of thoſe Fiſhermen, of whom they ſcandalouſly ſaid that he was King. This was their Character of the *Engliſh* Men, becauſe they live in an Iſland; but there is ſtill a better Reaſon (tho' no good one to them) why the *Engliſh* ſhould be call'd Fiſher-men; and that is, becauſe they have generally ſuch good Fortune upon the Waters, and drag ſo many *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Ships within the reach of their Nets. And the only courſe that I cou'd take under thoſe Affronts to vindicate the Honour of my Prince, and Country (ſince I cou'd not do it in a more publick way) was to offer to do it by my own Sword, and to return the Traytor and the Villain to the Teeth of the inſolent *Portugueze* Captain, with a Challenge to anſwer me in the Field. But they it ſeems had more mind to diſpatch me without any thing of the Ceremony of a formal Combate, and thought it a ſurer way to Piſtol or knock me 'othe Head in the next place they met me, than leave the Matter to the Iſſue of a Duel. And that this was their Deſign is evident, becauſe all the ways were continually beſet by them, ſo that I hardly dared to ſtir out of doors; and 'twas impoſſible for me to obey the call of Buſineſs without the manifeſt Hazards of my Life, by that barbarous Crue, that waited for an opportunity to Sacrifice me. They were ſo mad upon this Deſign, that they came a whole Body of them in open manner to a Feaſt, (where I was Invited) asking for me in plain Terms, intending without all doubt to have my head to bring up the rear of Diſhes at the Table. But here was an *Indian* Captain that ſtood my Friend with his Company to ſuch good Purpoſe, that the *Portugal* Buff-Coats were glad to make off with ſome haſt, and for ought I know, it had been the laſt Feaſt ſome of them wou'd ever have been at. Nay, they did not bluſh to beſet formally, and aſſault the Houſe where I lived; and as if I had been ſome very odious Perſon, whom the Church had curs'd and conſign'd over into the Hands of the Executioners of her Sentence, they came with a Prieſt at the Head of the Troops, to crave a Bleſſing upon the Attempts, to inſpire the Souldiers with Courage and Reſolution, and take care of the Souls that ſhould be ſent away in this godly Enterprize. And to give thoſe Pious Fathers their due, they had their Hand and peculiar Influence in every Plot that was form'd againſt my Life and Liberty. When the reſt of my Adverſaries were dull and indifferent, they wou'd infuſe new warmth and vigour into them, rouze up their ſleeping Malice and Revenge, and prompt them to Action with the utmoſt Diligence. And if they hapned to be at a dead lift for a Plot, the never failing Invention of the Jeſuits wou'd be ſure to help them out with one. What between the heat of the Climate, and the inward Fire of their own Rage and Jealouſie, their Wits were throughly warmed, and their Brains crowded with brisk volatile Spirits fit to work upon the fine Arts of Intriegue. They are not dull in any part of the World, nor ever to be charged with Poverty and Barrenneſs of Fancy in Matters of this kind. But here their Elevation was extraordinary, their Flights fine and rapturous beyond Compariſon; they did not think, but were tranſported into happy Thoughts and Contrivances, they plotted by Inſpiration.

The Villany of *Mocrebchan.*

I found it a very hard task to eſcape all the Snares and Ward off the ſeveral Blows theſe Men and their Inſtruments made at me. There were ſo many that pretended to my Life one way or other, that 'twas become a very difficult matter to keep it, and I had defended it ſo long, that now I began to grow weary. But beſides all theſe things the Injuries I ſuſtain'd by *Mocrebchan* in the Matters of Trade and Dealing were ſo foul and unprofitable, that I thought it high time to repair to Court and ſeek for Juſtice and Redreſs (as well as the diſpatch of my Buſineſs) at the Kings own Hands, ſince 'twas impoſſible to have either from this vile Miniſter, for he took what Goods he pleas'd, and at what Rates he pleas'd, and wou'd pay me for them when he thought fit, and as long as any thing choice and good laſted, I had ſome of his Flatteries and diſſembling Smiles, but afterwards cou'd get neither good Words nor Money. Upon this ſcore I ſay I reſolved for *Agra*, and therefore in plain Terms demanded his Licence and Letter to the King for that purpoſe. This was a Requeſt which he cou'd not for ſhame deny, and therefore was forc'd to yield to it; yet to ſhew his good Will to me in the Caſe, he refus'd to let me have any Guard to conduct me thither, that ſo it might be the eaſier for me to be knock'd in the Head by the way. Whoſe friendly Advice this came about by may eaſily be gueſs'd, and will appear by after Circumſtances; but however with or without his Guard, to *Agra* I reſolved to go, and for *Agra* I prepared.

Captain *Hawkins* ſets out for *Agra, Feb.* 1. *A.D.* 1609.

Having in purſuance of this Deſign entruſted one of my Company with the overſight and management of Buſineſs at *Surat* in my abſence, I procured a Troop of Horſe of ſome 40 or 50 (beſides ſome Shot and Bows which I hired) from one of the Vice-roy of *Decan*'s Captains.

Pattans good Souldiers.

Province of *Craly* between *Daman, Guzarat* and *Decan.*

Dayta Province.

The Horſe I had were all *Pattans* who are a very valliant People and much feared in thoſe parts; And 'twas very well that I was ſo provided, ſince alſo in all likelyhood I had been intercepted in my Journey. For the *Portugueze* had laid a Trap for me in the Province of *Craly* by an *Indian Raja* who Commanded there, and was ready by their Inſtigation to have fallen upon me with 200 Horſe: But the Terrour of my *Pattans* kept him at a diſtance, ſo that we paſs'd without any diſturbance. In the Province of *Dayta* (thro' part of which I paſs'd next) I eſcap'd a more formidable becauſe a more ſecret and hidden Danger; and the Inſtrument of my Preſervation was my drunken Coachman tho' ſhrewdly againſt his Will. This fellow was hired to Murther me by the way, and had in all probability acted his Deſign, had not the good Liquor made him tell Tales of himſelf; but being brim full of the Plot and of ſtrong Drink too, according to the Temper of thoſe Men, he let his Tongue run ſo far before his Wits that out came the Plot before he was aware. This drunken Fit of his was very luckily tim'd for me, ſince the thing was to have been Executed the next Morning early, when we began our Travel, which is always two Hours before Day. But tho' the little Villain would not diſcover the great ones that had engaged him in this Work, as my Truchman or Broker did, confeſſing that he alſo was a Tool employ'd upon the ſame Deſign, and had undertaken to accompliſh that by Poiſon, which the other had promis'd to do by a Stab. That *Mocrebchan* had hired them to do it, but the Jeſuite *Pineiro* had put this Deſign into his Head to prevent my Complaints at Court, ſince they could not (becauſe of my Character) pretend to ſtop me any other way. And I doubt not but the Father wou'd have been very liberal to theſe Men, had they executed their Deſign, ſince he bid an extraordinary Price for me once before; no leſs than 40000 Rials of 8 to have me ſent away Priſoner to *Daman*; a Rate far beyond that which the Chief Prieſts and Phariſees ever pretended to give for innocent Blood

Deſigns to Murther him by the way.

But after all theſe Difficulties under the good Conduct of the *Pattans*, who clear'd the way before me, and did me very faithful and commendable Service. I arrived ſafely at *Bramport* the then reſidence of the Vice-roy of *Decan*, by whom I was nobly entertained. I had his very kind Letter of Commendation to the King, and all needful Aſſiſtance for my Journey to *Agra*; to which place a favourable Providence and good Guide, brought me thro' many Dangers and threatning Miſchiefs, after near a Months Travel in the Proſpect of them.

Comes to *Bramport, Feb.* 18.

My entrance into the City was not (nor could not it ſeems be) ſo private, but notice was preſently given to the King; and whereas I had a Deſign to be incognito for a time, till I had put my ſelf into a poſture for a more publick Appearance, I was utterly prevented, His Majeſty ſending ſeveral Troops of Horſe and Foot to find me out, and bring me to Court in the moſt Pompous manner that could be.

Comes to *Agra, April* 16.

Being introduced to his Preſence (tho' I came without any Preſent worth his acceptance, his good Servant *Mocrebchan* having robb'd me of what I deſign'd for this purpoſe) I was receiv'd with uncommon Honours and degrees of Reſpect, ſuch as I cou'd no way have conceited or hoped for.

His Reception at Court.

My Prince's Letter he received from me with his own Hands, reaching it out to that end a conſiderable way from the ſtately Throne he ſate on; and tho' an old Knave of a Jeſuite that ſtood there by to interpret it, pretended to find fault with the ſtyle of it as not reſpectful enough, yet he himſelf was very well pleas'd, and took no notice of what was inſinuated by the ſlanderous Prieſt. In ſhort he proteſted in a moſt ſolemn manner that he wou'd grant all the Contents of the King's Letter, and more too if it were demanded. That as he underſtood that *Mocrebchan* had abuſed me, ſo he wou'd take care I ſhould have Satisfaction, and ſome courſe ſhould be taken to prevent the like ill Treatment of me or any of my Nation for the future.

And in purſuance of this, he preſently diſpatch'd a Courier to that perfidious Miniſter at *Surat*, giving him a ſtrict charge to deal Juſtly and Favourably with the *Engliſh*, and as he valued his Favour, or pretended to any Duty and Loyalty to him, that he ſhould take care to ſhew it, particularly by a punctual Obedience to this Command.

The *Mogul's* Letter on the behalf of the *Engliſh*.

But beſides theſe Favours, upon the publick Account, I had the good Fortune to enjoy many very ſignal ones upon my own private Score. After I had once been at Court, I could hardly ever be at reſt for Meſſengers to bring me thither: For His Majeſty underſtanding very well the *Turkiſh* Tongue, and finding me to ſpeak that freely, 'twould be his Delight to ſit and talk with me both Night and day; and none had more of his Company than I, except his Miſtreſſes.

We went over all the Affairs of *Europe*, and particularly of *England*, and the adjoyning Countries; and after that into the *Weſt-Indies*, which he had heard ſome reports of, but never receiv'd any compleat Satisfaction, till he had it from me who had been in thoſe parts. Theſe things pleas'd him to that degree, that he began to plot how to engage me to him for ever, and in order to it, made me the moſt tempting Offers he could poſſibly think on. I ſhould have a certain Stipend of 3200*l. per An.* for my firſt encouragement, and this ſhould be encreas'd together with his Favour every Year. But farther (and which was the moſt perſwaſive Argument to a Man that valued the Good of his Country before his own particular Fortunes) if I would yield to ſtay with him, he would grant me all the Privileges I could deſire with reference to a Factory, and this Grant he vowed ſhould never be repeal'd. And upon theſe Conſiderations both out of Duty to the Publick, and Reſpect to my ſelf, I thought it neceſſary to comply with his Deſire. But notwithſtanding I was thus (to all appearance) ſecurely poſted under the Protection of ſo great a Prince, and in ſo high a Degree poſſeſs'd of his Favour too; I found by many unpleaſant Experiences I was not got beyond vexation and diſturbance, nor out of the reach of Enemies. For now the *Mahometans* began to ſwell with rage and envy that a Chriſtian ſhould be placed ſo near the King; and the *Jeſuites* and *Portugueze* were no leſs then ſtark mad that I had flown above all their Toils and Snares into ſo ſoft and eaſie a Neſt in the very Centre of the Court. The News that it was ſo, ſpread all about the Country, to *Goa*, to *Surat*, and wherever there was any of that Cattle to be found. And this ſet them all moſt buſily at work; the Jeſuites neglected their Devotion and rack'd their Brains Night and Day, they made Confederacies, they ſent Diſpatches from one place to another, they conſulted Hell to remove me and work my overthrow. They brib'd *Mocrebchan*, their old Friend and Brother in theſe Villainies, to write a Letter to the King upon this Subject; to repreſent to him the dangerous Conſequences of the Liberties and Favours he had vouchſafed to the *Engliſh*, and the Reports that went current abroad of the Deſign we had of ſeizing ſome of his Ports when our Shipping came. But the King (as yet kind and conſtant) giving no credit to this Letter (tho' 'twas ſeconded with another to the ſame purpoſe from the Vice-roy of *Goa*) they fell into the laſt extremity of rage and madneſs at the Diſappointment; and now concluded, ſince I was the main Obſtacle, and nothing elſe cou'd be perform'd to remove me out of the way by the old Catholick Method of Poiſoning. They began with ſome of my Servants, one of which they ſent into the other world; and finding by my own growing indiſpoſition, that was ſo like to follow quickly after, I plainly told the King the Circumſtances of extream Danger I was in. Upon this he preſently ſent for the Jeſuits and bid them look to it, ſince if I died by any thing of an extraordinary caſualty that afforded the leaſt ground for Suſpicion, they ſhould every Man pay for't with their Lives. After this being at ſome quiet, I ſolicited the compleating of His Majeſty's Favour, with reference to our Trade and Factory at *Surat*, whither I had obtain'd leave to go in Perſon with his Commiſſion now ready for me. But the chief Vizier, an implacable Enemy to all Chriſtians, and in the ſame Intereſt with *Mocrebchan* and the Jeſuits, inſinuated to the King ſeveral Inconveniences and Dangers, which he pretended wou'd certainly follow my going thither; by which means my Journey was ſtopp'd, and the Commiſſion was ſent by another Hand, tho' as full and effectual to all the Purpoſes of our Buſineſs as could poſſibly be deſired.

His liberal Offers to Captain *Hawkins*.

The Endeavours of his Enemies to remove him from Court.

The King's Commiſſion ſent to *Surat*.

A little before it came, our Ship the *Aſcenſion* was unhappily caſt away there, and the Men tho' ſaved were forbidden by the Barbarous *Mobrebchen* to come into the City of *Surat*, where only they could expect to find Friends and Relief in their Diſtreſs. But his Majeſty upon my Complaint ſent freſh Orders to that ill natur'd Man, whoſe carriage now he began highly to reſent, to take all thoſe poor Seamen into the City and uſe them kindly, and not only ſo, but to uſe his beſt endeavours to ſave all the Goods of the Ship too if it were poſſible, Beſides this being ſurrounded on every ſide with the Cries and Complaints of his Subjects upon the horrid Injuſtice and Tyranny of that Miniſter, he could no longer defend himſelf againſt them, but was forc'd to ſend for him up to Court, there to anſwer the Crimes laid to his Charge. And tho' he made his Appearance there with all his ill gotten Goods and Wealth, the Effects of many Years Extortion, Oppreſſion and Cheating, amongſt which alſo I ſhew'd the King the things I deſign'd for a Preſent to his Majeſty; yet by the induſtrious Care and Application of his Friends, he got clear again, being only confin'd for a time and ſo oblig'd to pay his Debts and make Reſtitution. It had been happy for the *Engliſh* Nation had this Traytor (then in ſo fair a way for't) been brought to a deſerved Puniſhment; but inſtead of that he was reſtor'd to his old Place and Preferments again, and reſerv'd as it ſeems for a farther plague to us in overturning the faireſt Proſpects and Deſigns that perhaps ever will be form'd in that Country.

Mocrebchan Commanded to Court upon Complaints made againſt him.

But to proceed with our Affairs, tho' the King's Command had oblig'd *Mocrebchan* (very much againſt his own inclinations) to be Juſt and Honeſt to his Creditors, yet I cou'd not be ſo happy as to obtain the Benefit of that

Order in the full payment of the Debt owing to me. His late Diſgrace and Danger had not ſweeten'd nor mollified him one jot, and he came out of Priſon the very ſame deſigning Knave and Cheat that he went in. He wou'd neither pay me my Money nor reſtore me the Goods that he had taken from me; neither cou'd I ſee any proſpect of Satisfaction to be made me, unleſs a few Heatheniſh Promiſes and Flatteries wou'd have ſerv'd the turn. And 'tis certain that this muſt have been all, if I had not demanded Juſtice of the King, and got a poſitive Order for payment; notwithſtanding which the Infidel cut off a good part of my Bill, and abated me 12500 *Mamedies*.

New Deſigns carried on.

But this was a very inconſiderable Damage in compariſon with that which quickly followed after. For now *Mocrebchan* being at full Liberty again, the Jeſuits, the *Portugueze* and he fell to the old Trade of Plotting with the utmoſt Vigour and Diligence. And that now they might have all deſired ſucceſs, and at one ſtroke carry their Point for ever; the Matter was ſo order'd, that a Letter ſhould come from the Vice-roy of *Goa* to complain of his Majeſties encouraging the *Engliſh*, and to ſhew how ill the King of *Portugal* took it at his Hands. And at the ſame time ſome Merchants were made to come in and give their Evidence how much they had ſuffer'd in their Trade and Buſineſs upon the Account of the *Engliſh* that were in his Majeſties Ports, for whoſe ſake the *Portugueze* wou'd not permit them to have free egreſs and regreſs at theirs.

The King revokes his Grant to the *Engliſh*.

Theſe malicious Inſinuations back'd by a charitable Speech of *Mocrebchan's* to the ſame purpoſe ſo effectually wrought upon the King that he quite loſt his Conſtancy; repeal'd his former Grant, and gave Orders that the *Engliſh* ſhould be forbidden his Ports for ever. But 'twas not long before a better Humour and more cool and ſober Thoughts produced an Order quite contrary to this again; re-eſtabliſh'd us in the enjoyment of our former Privileges, and made the King as much our Friend as he was at firſt. This was a ſudden tho' a comfortable Change; and as 'twas only the Effect of the Abſence of our Enemies, and a ſlight Preſent I made him, ſo I doubted the Foundation and Cauſe, was too mean and poor to produce any thing of a noble and laſting Effect. And my Preſages were juſt and true; for the King being now got into this changeable Humour, did nothing elſe but alter his Mind and go from one Reſolution to another.

His Inconſtancy.

When the Jeſuits writ to him and preſented him, then he wou'd be for turning us out of his Kingdom, and calling in the Commiſſion for our ſettlement of Trade: And perhaps the next time I offer'd to petition him, all ſhould be right and well again, and the *Engliſh* the moſt welcome People to him in the World. No leſs than three or four times were our hopes thus rais'd, and as many times ſunk into the loweſt deſpair: thus often did he do and undo; ruin and recover us, ſuffer ſentiments of Kindneſs and Diſpleaſure towards us to rule and act him by turns. However at laſt our indefatigable Adverſaries carried the Day from us; the Poiſon of the Jeſuites ſcour'd him beyond all Recovery by Preſents or any other Means. His laſt Reſolutions were againſt our Trade and Settlement in his Country; and I my ſelf ſo courted and careſs'd by him was left to my Liberty either to go or ſtay, as I pleas'd. And the Truth on't is, that as my great Temptation to ſtay there, was the Hopes and Proſpect I had of doing my Country ſome good Service; ſo when I had loſt thoſe Hopes, I had no ſmall Reaſon to be glad of a Diſcharge. For beſides the continual Dangers that threatned my Life in a Country where ſo little Honour, Honeſty or any ſort of Vertue was pactiſed; I had no Charm at all to bind me to this place from the Honours and Profits which his Majeſty promis'd to heap upon me. 'Tis true, I was called the *Engliſh* Chan or Lord, but the Title wanted a proportionable Revenue to ſupport the Grandeur of it; and the *Engliſh* Lord without the *Indian* Penſion to maintain him, was but a very poor thing.

He determines againſt the *Engliſh* finally.

And this was punctually matter of Fact, that out of all that honourable Stipend which was at firſt aſſur'd to me, ſo much *per Ann.* I could never receive the full Value of 300*l.* the reſt being devour'd by the hungry Courtiers, or injuriouſly detain'd by the Intrigues of ſome of my Enemies.

A little before Matters came to this paſs with me at Court, I had the happy News of three *Engliſh* Ships at the Bar of *Surat*: Theſe were under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton*, and with them I reſolv'd to ſet Sail for *England*. And indeed I found it not ſo hard a matter by far to go away in quiet, as to live there in Peace, and without Diſturbance. For tho' I make no queſtion but the Jeſuits and the reſt of my Adverſaries wou'd have been very glad to have prevented me by ſome fatal Plot, cou'd they have had a fair opportunity for the Execution of it: yet not having that, they were glad to be rid of me upon any Terms, and counted it a conſiderable Point gain'd to have removed out of the midſt of them a Perſon likely to do them ſo much Miſchief as I was.

Three *Engliſh* Ships come to *Surat*.

So taking my leave, I ſet out from *Agra*, *November* the 2d and went directly to *Cambaya*. From hence I purſued my Journey towards the place where the Ships lay, to which I came with all my Effects, *January* the 26.

A. D. 1611.

We ſet Sail out of this Harbour the 11 of *February*, and arrived at *Dabul* the 16 of the ſame Month. Here we took a *Portugueſe* Ship and Frigat, and in them ſome quantities of Goods, tho' too little to make Compenſation for the Wrongs we had received in *India* by their Means. We directed our Courſe from *Dabul* for the Red-Sea, having a juſt Quarrel with the *Turks*, and that ſort of People to call us thither, and whom we intend now in ſome meaſure to make ſenſible of the Diſpleaſure our Nation had ſo juſtly conceiv'd againſt them. Here we had the good Fortune to meet with three Ships of our own Country, which as we found ſo we alſo left there, directing our Courſe back again towards *India*, diſpatching ſome Buſineſs at *Teca* in *Sumatra*, and from thence to *Bantam*, by which time the Year had almoſt finiſhed it's Revolution, it being now the Month of *December*.

A. D. 1612. He comes aboard the *Engliſh* Ships.

Dabul.

A *Portugueſe* Ship taken. Come to the Red-Sea.

Teca.

Sir *Henry Middleton* being oblig'd to ſtay here by the Neceſſities of Trade, I embark'd in another *Engliſh* Ship, *January* the 13th for my own Native Country, from which I had been abſent five or ſix Years.

Goes for *England*. *A. D.* 1613.

CHAP. XV.

The Voyage of the Conſent, *a Ship of the laſt Fleet, Commanded by General* Keeling. *Perform'd by Captain* David Middleton, *Brother to Sir* Henry.

WE have ſeen already the Performances of the other Ships of this Fleet, in thoſe ſeveral parts of the *Indies* to which they went: But the *Conſent* being out of the Company of the reſt, has hitherto ſcap'd our Notice. We muſt now enquire what was done by her abroad; what Advancement of Trade, what Diſcoveries, what kind or ill Treatment from Foreigners, ſhe brings us News of.

A. D. 1607.

Cap. *Middleton* came into the Bay of *Soldania*, a conſiderable time before the reſt of the Fleet; it was the Sixteenth of *July*, and they did not reach it till the ſucceeding *December*. They ſtaid here, it ſeems, but a little time, being uncertain when their Company wou'd come; however, they did make a ſtop for a few Days, to enjoy the Pleaſures of this place, and the Diverſions of its near Neighbour, *Penguin* Iſle. This Iſland is famous enough for the Production of thoſe Fowls from whence it has its Name; but they give us more ſtrange Accounts of the Multitudes of them, than what we commonly have: That you may drive them along before you, Five hundred, or more in a Flock; and the Seols in far greater numbers all about upon the Shoar.

But

Pengwin Iſland, a good place for Fowl.

But beſides theſe, you have wild Fowl of ſeveral ſorts, good Geeſe and Ducks, Pelicans too, and many others, which they don't give us the particular Names of: So that no Man can want ſport, that goes thither for it; unleſs the too great plenty of Game prove ſomething of a hindrance, and loſes the pleaſure of ſearching out, and purſuing, which is indeed all the Life of the Exerciſe.

From hence they went on for the Coaſt of *India*, in all which Courſe we have nothing remarkable, as far as the

The Eugano.

Iſland *Juganas*, or *Eugano*, as ſome call it. This Iſland they place in 5 ½ Degr. South Lat. and make the Variation there to be four Degr. 13 Min. It lies Eaſterly S. and W. and by N. and is five Leagues in length, or thereabouts; the Eaſt-end is much the higher Land, and the Weſtern is woody and full of Trees.

Go to the *Molucca's*

They went away firſt of all for *Bantam*, where they diſcharg'd their Burden of Lead and Iron, and took aboard in the room of it other Merchandiſe proper for the *Molucca's*.

Theſe rich Iſlands were next to be viſited by them, in order to which they ſet Sail from *Bantam*, *Decem.* the 6th. They had terrible Thunder and Lightning in this paſſage, Rain, and all ſorts of ill Weather; rough and boiſterous Winds excepted. But that was their advantage, they had no Trouble nor Danger upon that ſcore; but ſail'd on through all that Fury of the Weather, very merrily and well contented, that the Wind, the moſt dangerous Enemy of all, did not engage together with the reſt againſt them. 'Twas ſo kind and favourable at that time, as to be of their ſide, affording them all along a brisk ſteddy Gale, by the help of which they reach'd the *Molucca's* in the beginning of *January*.

The Account we have of their Proceedings at thoſe Iſlands, is very ſhort and imperfect. In general, we find that near two Months was ſpent in meer Ceremonies and Complements between them, the *Spaniards*, and the *Moluccan* Princes.

'Tis true, this was better than Fighting and Wrangling all that while; and at firſt ſight it appears ſtrange, that the *Spaniards* ſhould be guilty of ſo much Civility and good Breeding towards the *Engliſh*, whom they uſed to

Deſign of the *Spaniards* to hinder our Trade at the *Molucca's*.

treat after another manner. But 'tis to be conſider'd, that in this long Interval, they were concerting Matters amongſt themſelves, to ſend them packing from thence. They were reſolv'd the *Engliſh* ſhou'd not Trade there; but yet were unwilling to uſe violence, or turn them away rudely. And therefore ſome plauſible Pretence muſt be made for their Diſmiſſion, or ſuch Conditions propos'd in order to their ſtay, that they not being able to agree to, might upon a Denial be the more handſomely turn'd off. Now this being the Caſe, 'twas as good to fall a Complementing in the mean time, as not; there's no Charge in a few flattering Words, or a little diſſembling Carriage; but there's ſomething of advantage in it, becauſe 'tis a compleat Cover for an ill and treacherous Deſign. The *Spaniards*, with all their Gravity and Formality, tell our Men, They can't admit them to Trade, till the Camp-Maſter has given leave.

And why does not the Camp-Maſter then determine the Matter, and ſay Yes, or No, plainly, without farther delay?

Why, becauſe he is contriving to do it more neatly and genteelly; that is, with more *Spaniſh* Ceremony and Circumlocution: 'Tis much the better way to query and propoſe, to offer and make Conditions (no matter how impoſſible), than to come out with a peremptory Denial, and ſay bluntly, You ſhall not Trade here.

Now the Circumſtances of theſe Iſlands at that time, furniſh'd Matter enough for this way of proceeding: For the *Dutch* and they were up to the Ears in Broils and Quarrels, and nothing cou'd be better, than to propoſe to the *Engliſh* to come into the Quarrel too, and take their parts againſt the *Dutch*. This they might eaſily gueſs was what their Commiſſion wou'd never allow them to do, nor bear them out in; but upon that Account 'tis to be ſuppos'd they made the Propoſal. In ſhort, Captain *Middleton* poſitively refus'd it; and the *Spaniards* at the ſame time deſired to be excus'd from granting him the Liberty of Trade. This was the Upſhot of the Buſineſs: And 'twas a pretty Concluſion, to be uſher'd in with ſuch a Train of Complements and Careſſes, and to lie upon hand, from the beginning of *January* to the middle of *March*. 'Tis true indeed, a free Trade was permitted at the beginning of *March*; but that Liberty expired in a very few Days again; thoſe favourable Orders were countermanded, and the *Engliſh* urged to be gone.

People privately Trade with them.

However, the Natives had more kindneſs for them than this came to; for they made ſhift to drive a Trade with them out of the *Spaniards* ſight; a ſign what they wou'd have done, had they had the Liberty to chooſe their own Cuſtomers. 'Twas impoſſible to do this by Day, and therefore they did it under the Protection of the Night; the *Spaniards* all the while ſuſpecting nothing of theſe dark Cabals, but frolicking it very pleaſantly with the *Engliſh* in the Day-time, as Perſons that were capable of doing them no miſchief. Thus they went on, doing ever now and then a Jobb in private with the Natives, till about the middle of *March*, when the laſt Orders for their Removal came forth.

Having left the *Molucca's*, they ſought for Buſineſs ſome where elſe, entring the Streights of *Bangaya*, *March* the Twenty third. The People hereabouts were very

People about the Streights glad to Trade with the *Engliſh*.

fond of a Correſpondence with them, and by all the obliging Behaviour that cou'd be, endeavour'd to procure it. They came with at leaſt a Hundred Praws up to them, and brought good ſtore of Proviſions, Hogs, Hens, Fiſh freſh and dry, Plantanes, Caſſatho Roots, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits beſides. They were very eaſie and reaſonable in their Terms of Dealing, and deſired only coarſe Cloth, and *China*-Diſhes in exchange for what they brought.

The King of *Botun* himſelf ſent them a Refreſhment, and earneſtly deſired leave to come aboard. He had never ſeen any *Engliſh-man* in his Life, and now having a fair Opportunity, crav'd a Permiſſion to improve it for that purpoſe.

King of *Botun* comes aboard.

This Requeſt the Captain eaſily granted, and the King quickly came up in his Carracol, rowed with at leaſt a hundred Oars, carrying with her four hundred Men, well arm'd, and ſix Braſs Pieces. She had five more attending upon her, which had in all a thouſand Men more aboard them. The King was treated and preſented to his very great Satisfaction and Content a Shipboard: In Return of which Kindneſſes, he made the Captain a Preſent of ſome of his Country Cloth, and very civilly invited him to *Botun*, promiſing to ſend a Pilot to guide the Ship thither.

In the mean time, one of the *Engliſh*, who had been ſent aſhoar to get Proviſions, return'd with the News of his Entertainment by another *Indian* King, a Neighbour

The King of *Colina*.

to him of *Botun*. This Prince had never ſeen any *Engliſh* neither; and ſome of his Subjects having brought this Perſon to him, he was wonderfully pleas'd at the ſight of him.

The poſture our *Engliſh-man* found him and his Nobles in, was ſomething odd, and ſufficient to ſtrike a Terror into the Mind of a Stranger: They were Carowſing and Drinking very hard together, and the Room all about them was beſet with dead Mens Heads. Theſe were the Trophies of a Victory newly obtain'd, and they were at that time (as it were) juſt come out of the Field, reeking with the warm Blood of their Adverſaries. However, the *Engliſh-man* had no farther occaſion for ſad Thoughts, than what the horrid Spectacle gave him; the King did not offer to ſet his Head up amongſt the reſt; but after a kind and gentle Treatment, ſent him away in ſafety.

The King of *Botun*'s Pilot being come, they ſet Sail for that Town, and came to an Anchor before it, *April* the Twenty ſecond. *A. D.* 1608.

Come to *Botun*.

Here the King came out to bid them Welcome, with his whole Fleet of Carracols, gallantly ſet out with Colours and Pendants; and on both ſides the Small-ſhot and Ordnance were briskly diſcharg'd. The Captain was invited aſhore to Dine with the King, where every thing was done in the beſt manner, according to the Faſhion of the Country. The Meat was ſerv'd up in great wooden Chargers; but tho' the Diſhes were homely and coarſe, yet the Proviſions themſelves were fine; and which was better than all, the Welcome very hearty and ſincere. Their Liquor was only *Irea Pote*, a Drink of a very agreeable pleaſant taſte; not heady and intoxicating, but ſufficient to revive the Spirits, give them a due Elevation, and anſwer all the Ends and Purpoſes of Drink.

And as the Captain was feaſted aſhore, ſo the King (indeed the whole Royal Family) was again a Shipboard. They were ſeldom without one or other of them; ſo greedy were they of the Company of a People they had ſo long deſired, but cou'd never ſee till then.

There was another neighbouring petty King, that hearing the News of the Arrival of the *Engliſh* at *Botun*, came with his whole Family to be a Spectator too. He rowed round the Ship in his Carracol, and view'd it and them moſt attentively: But with all their kind Entreaties, and the Example of the King of *Botun* before his Eyes, he wou'd not be perſwaded to come aboard them.

Trade at *Botun*.

As for the Buſineſs done here, the main part of it ſeems to be the getting a good Lading of Cloves. This was an accidental Bargain; they were brought into *Botun* by the *Javan* Veſſels, and the *Engliſh* being there at the time, happily ſecur'd them for themſelves.

The King of *Botun* had before told them of ſome Quantities of Pearl he had by him, which they ſhou'd have the Refuſal of. They don't tell us, they bought them of him; nor yet that he bought any of their Cloth, tho' by the Account they give of his looking over that Commodity, and liking it very well, 'tis probable there was ſome Dealing betwixt them.

Having finiſh'd all Buſineſs here, they took their leave of this Prince (one of the faireſt and juſteſt we have had any Dealings with in thoſe Parts), and ſet ſail for *Bantam*. They reach'd it *May* the Twenty ſecond; and left it again *July* the Fifteenth, ſailing then for *England*.

Sail for *England*.

The reſt of the Voyage homewards, is both barren and tedious; upon which Account we ſhall excuſe the Reader from the trouble of it, and without any further Attendance upon the Ship, take one good Step quite croſs the Sea from *Bantam* to *England*.

CHAP XVI.

An Account of the Fourth General Voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, *with the two Ships, the* Aſcenſion, *and the* Union, *under the Command of Capt.* Alex. Sharpey: *Together with the Diſcoveries in the Red Sea, by the* Aſcenſion. *Writ by Mr.* Tho. Jones.

* *A.D.* 1607

WE weigh'd Anchor at *Woolwich*,* *March* the Fourteenth, with the two good Ships, the *Aſcenſion*, and the *Union*; which latter Ship, had ſhe made good her Name, and not unhappily wander'd from us, our Voyage might have been more fortunate than 'twas.

* *A.D.*1608. Beginning the Account of the New Year, from the 25th of *March*.

Having ſpent ſome Days in refreſhing, at the Iſland *Maio*, we parted from thence the Sixth of * *May*, in order to croſs the Line. Being got out into South Lat. we quickly found the Influence of the General Trade-Wind, which blows continually between the S. E. and S. E. and by E. And we obſerve, that the farther we ſail to the Southward, we find the Wind ſtill more Eaſterly.

July the Thirteenth brought us to an Anchor in the Bay of *Soldania*; and here we ſtaid till the latter end of *September*, at which time the Weſterly Monſons have done blowing, and the Wind comes about more between the S. and S. E.

Comora Iſle.

Now 'twas, that (being out at Sea again) the Union between us and the Ship of that Name, was diſſolved; and the Winds (which blew away our Companion from us) toſs'd us up and down the Great Waters, till the latter end of *October*; at which time we bore up with the Iſlands of *Comora*, between St. *Lawrence*, and the Main. The King of the People where we put in, were Civil to us beyond the common Rates of the Civility of Barbarians; we had Limes, Hens, and Coco's of them; but freſh Water is a Bleſſing they have little or ſcarce any of themſelves, and therefore cou'd not impart it to us.

Pemba Iſle.

Treacherous People.

We fell in next with the Iſle of *Pemba*, in 6 Degr. South Lat.; tho' our deſign was for *Zanzibar*, where we knew there was good Watering. This Iſland is Hell, for the Malice, Barbarity, and Treachery of the Inhabitants: They enticed us aſhore with all the Familiarity, and ſeeming Good Nature in the World; but did all in purſuance of a Plot to cut our Throats. They laid an Ambuſh of Two hundred Men about the place where we fill'd our Water, and when we were at work, they broke out upon us. Here, tho the Odds of Number and Strength were very great on their ſide, yet that of Courage and Reſolution was not ſo; theſe treacherous Barbarians had not Hearts brave enough to fight well; and we made a ſhift to carry off our Water with flying Colours. We left 'tis true, a more valuable Liquor (ſome of our Mens Blood) in the room of it: But our loſs was ſmall, and we felt it not.

3 Mooriſh Barks taken.

Moors Revenge.

But the *Moors* of *Melinda* were like to do us a far greater miſchief: For it being our Fortune (after we had parted from *Pemba*) to light upon, and take three Barks of theirs; we brought all the principal Men aboard us, to the Number of fifty. They let us take them (it ſeems) with the more eaſe, and ſubmitted themſelves more quietly into our hands, in hope of working their Revenge, and taking their advantage of us the better afterwards: For being amongſt us, of a ſudden they all drew their long Knives, and ſtabb'd two or three of the Company (tho' not all of them, mortally) and were going on as faſt as they cou'd, to ſerve the reſt of us in like manner; which Violence once begun on their part, was ſo continued and carried on by us, that of the fifty *Moors*, we ſent more than forty away, to make their Complaints to the Prophet in the other World. The reſt we ſent home to *Melinda* to carry the News; which, as we afterwards heard, introduc'd a General Mourning into the Country.

The Perſons we had ſlain, were Gentlemen of the beſt Quality in *Melinda*, and many of them of the Royal Blood. 'Twas high time for us now to get out of thoſe Seas; and 'twas not conſiſtent with our Safety, after this Action, to ſtay any longer within the reach of *Pemba* and *Melinda*, or any other place that might pretend to a Concern in the Revenge of theſe *Moors* Death.

Deſolate Iſlands.

The Month of *December* was going off apace, when this Circumſtance happen'd, and the Winds (unfavourable to us) kept us toiling and beating up and down at Sea, till the ſucceeding *January* was far ſpent; then we fell in with a Cluſter of Iſlands, as ſecure a Retreat for us as was poſſible, and where we had no fear of Enemies to examine or forbid us entrance: For here indeed were no Inhabitants at all, not a reaſonable Creature, civil or barbarous to be found, in all the whole Number. And yet the Iſlands, upon many Accounts, very well deſerving the pretence of fixed Inhabitants, as well as the frequent Viſits of Travellers and Sea-men: For they are like ſo many Groves of Coco and Palmeto-Trees; the Rivers are full of delicate Fiſh; ſuch Numbers of Turtle-Doves, every-where fluttering about, and withal ſo very tame, that a Man may take twenty Dozen a Day only with his hands. They are at leaſt twelve or thirteen in number, and being wholly deſtitute of Inhabitants, we call'd them the Deſolate Iſlands.

A. D. 160

Aden.

The uncertain Winds, which hinder'd our brisk Progreſs at Sea, continu'd till *March* the Thirtieth, when the Weſterly Monſons began to blow, by which means we got up with the Iſle of *Socotora*, and from hence directed our Courſe to *Aden*, in the Road of which we caſt Anchor, *April* 8.

This City acknowledges the Sovereignty of the Great Turk, and it is the Key that lets him into all the Treaſures and Sweetneſſes of the Happy *Arabia*. Our General coming hither in a Publick Figure, and having His Majeſty of *England*'s Letters to the Baſſa, was receiv'd with ſutable Honours, both by the Captain of the Caſtle, and the Governour.

Entertainment by the Baſſa.

The King's Letters were ſent to the Baſſa, whoſe Reſidence was at *Zonan*, fifteen Days Journey up into the Country from *Aden*: And ſhortly after two of our Merchants, with a parcel of Cloth, were ſent after them. The Baſſa was extreamly kind and civil; but becauſe they had not the Grand Seignior's Patent, he told them, He cou'd not now give them leave to ſettle a Factory; however, they ſhou'd be permitted a free undiſturb'd Trade, both for buying and ſelling, and ſhou'd pay no Cuſtom: In Conſideration of which Favour, he wou'd take that Cloth they brought with them, for a good Handſel.

Moha.

The Turk having been ſo civil to them, they were forc'd to let him be thus civil to himſelf; the Point of a Free Trade at *Aden*, which was gain'd, being a Conſideration valuable enough to make amends for the Cloth. So leaving theſe Merchants to their future Succeſſes in that place, we ſet Sail from *Aden* for the City of *Moha*, whither we came *June* the Eleventh.

This lies up higher upon the Red Sea, about forty Leagues from *Aden*: 'Tis the Grand Staple for all *Indian* Trade; whatſoever *Cairo*, and *Alexandria*, and all thoſe Parts are furniſh'd with, coming from hence.

The General was treated here in a very courteous and reſpectful manner, and our Occaſions obliged us to lie in this Road till the latter end of the next Month. Then our Reſolutions being fix'd for *Cambaya*, in *Guzurat*, we ſet out in proſecution of that Deſign, and putting in at *Sokotora* again, (where we had very troubleſome Experiences of the ſtrong S. W. Winds, that blow there at this Seaſon of the Year) we made it *September* the Second, by that time we reach'd the Coaſt of *Din*. And now 'twas that we were guilty of that fatal Miſtake, that proved ſo great a Detriment to the Noble Company, as well as an entire Ruine to all the Merchants and Mariners concern'd in the Ship.

Our General was inform'd (tho' the Informer was a *Moor*, and therefore perhaps not credited) that there were ſome particular Dangers of Sholes and Lands attending us, which required great Skill and Acquaintance with thoſe places, as well as Care and Diligence to avoid. Beſides, he was offer'd for a ſmall matter, to have a skilful Pilot, that ſhou'd infallibly conduct his Ship into the Port he intended for.

The Ship loſt upon the Sholes of *Cambaya*.

But unluckily for us, this good Offer was rejected, and our head-ſtrong Maſter deſpis'd the aſſiſtance of a Foreign Pilot; and ſo we did (as it was foretold of us) run our Ship upon thoſe Sholes, to the undoing of us all. We ſaved all the Men indeed in the Boats, tho' they were loaded to a high degree, and we had eighteen Leagues to the Shoar: But all the Goods and Treaſure, and the Ship it ſelf, were irrecoverably loſt.

Their eſcape.

Providence took care of us in this Diſtreſs, and prov'd a far better Pilot to us, than (as we had laid our Deſign) we had been to our ſelves: For we did all we cou'd, to fall in with the River of *Surat*; which if we had done, we had been ſwallow'd up of the *Portugueze*, that lay ready with five Frigats at the Bar of *Surat*, to catch us when we came. But now inſtead of this Courſe, we ſlip'd inſenſibly into the River of *Gaudever*, ſome five Leagues to the Southward of the Bar; the Governour of which Town, a *Bannian*, gave us a very comfortable Entertainment.

From hence we travell'd by Land to *Surat*, where we had a Factory, and a Friend of our own Nation (Captain *Hawkins*), of a conſiderable Intereſt in the *Mogul*'s Court, tho' at *Agra* at the time of our Arrival.

The General, and the beſt part of the Company, took a Journey to *Agra*, intending from thence to ſtrike into *Perſia*, and ſo go home that way. As for my ſelf, and two or three more, we had the good Luck to fall in with an honeſt *Portugueze* Prieſt, who (not at all tainted with the common Prejudice and Spite of his Nation againſt ours) very generouſly undertook to provide us a ſafe and good paſſage to *England*, or at leaſt to *Portugal*; which he as faithfully perform'd.

So after the Toil and Labour of two Years and half, (but to how little purpoſe, is plain, by the foregoing Circumſtance) we recover'd the ſight of our Native Country again, *Sept.* 17. *A. D.* 1610.

C H A P. XVII.

The Circumſtances of the unhappy Voyage of the other Ship the Union, *in her way to* Priaman. *Written by* Henry Morris, *at* Bantam, *Sept.* 14. *A. D.* 1610.

WE have heard before, how the two Ships, the *Aſcenſion*, and *Union*, were parted by a violent Storm; after which they each of them ran their ſeveral Courſes of Adventures; but on both ſides plunged into very great Misfortunes.

The *Union* comes to St. *Auguſtine's* Bay.

Goes to *Zanzibar*.

The *Union* having loſt all hopes of meeting her Companion again, to ſecure her ſelf from the fatal Effects of the Storm, put into St. *Auguſtine* s Bay, at St. *Lawrence*. After a Refreſhment here for ſome twenty Days, they made away to *Zanzibar*; where they had much the ſame Entertainment by the People of that Iſland, that the other Company had at *Pemba*: Firſt kindly uſed, and then an Ambuſh laid to knock them o'the Head. Some of the Company were loſt in this Skirmiſh, and the reſt with much difficulty recover'd their Ship again.

Land of *Madagaſcar*.

After a conſiderable time ſpent at Sea, and little or no way made, (and beſides a good part of the Men quite down with the Scurvy) they ſteer'd back again to the Iſle of St. *Lawrence*, intending to ſtay there till their Men were recover'd; and the contrary Monſons that were then blowing, had finiſh'd their ſtated period. They fell in upon the Weſt-ſide of the Iſland, into a very large and ſpacious Bay, call'd by the Natives *Canquomorra*, the Country all about which is very fruitful and pleaſant to the Eye.

Natives beſet them.

Here the Captain, and ſome others, ventur'd to go aſhore upon a Viſit to the King of that part of the Iſland, and they had this encouragement to it; that many times before the *Engliſh* Merchants had done ſo, and had met with very Courteous Entertainment. But that little Stock of Civility and Good Manners, which was amongſt theſe Barbarians, was, it ſeems, quite ſpent before they came: For the Natives had taken effectual Care to make them Priſoners, and they were no ſooner landed, than they found themſelves betrayed. And tho (as deſperate Men in ſuch an extremity) they uſed their utmoſt Efforts to break thro' the ſurrounding Snares, and get back to the Ship, in which Attempt they happily ſucceeded; yet the Danger that threatned, ſtill purſued them; and thoſe that were juſt before like to be taken out of the Ship, were now in ſome danger of being taken in it, Ship and all together: For by that time the Ship had taken the Alarm, and put it ſelf into a little poſture of defence, ſhe was preſently encompaſs'd with ſuch Swarms of Praws and great Boats, and thoſe ſo boldly making up to them, that they thought they muſt immediately have been taken without any more adoe. But the great Guns quickly ſcatter'd this Fleet of the Natives, and made the Ship more room; eſpecially after ſome of their Boats were ſunk, and the Men that fill'd them were tore in pieces with the Shot. This ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the reſt, that they accounted it as much Prudence to keep out of the way for the future, as good Fortune to have eſcap'd the paſt danger.

They aſſault the Ship, and are repuls'd.

They ſtaid fourteen Days in the Bay after this Fight; in which time the Natives made a ſecond Attempt, follow'd with the like ill Succeſs; which diſhearten'd them to that degree, that now they wou'd not try their Fortune any more in that kind; but took their Revenge with ſtanding all aſhore and gazing upon the Ship. And they aboard ſeeing them in this fit poſture to receive a Farewel, brought the Ship a little nearer the Shore; and ſo giving them a whole Broadſide, which broke into the thickeſt Ranks, and made a horrible wide Lane amongſt them, they took their Leave and went off.

They go from St. *Lawrence*. *A. D.* 1608.

Come to *Achen*.

Their Trade there with the *Guzurats*.

Being out at Sea, the Winds prevented their reaching *Sokotora*, and the Winterly Monſons being come, for that, and other Reaſons, they reſolv'd not to ſteer for *Cambaya*: They concluded therefore to direct their Courſe to *Achen*, where they arrived the Twenty ſeventh of *July*. The King here was made their Friend by diligent Application, and good Preſents; but the *Hollanders*, who aſpire to the univerſal Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*, made a conſiderable oppoſition: Yet Matters were ſo compos'd between the *Hollanders* and them, that they drive a pretty handſome Trade with the *Guzurats*, trucking our *Engliſh* Lead and Cloth for the white and black Buffes, or *Guzurat* Cloth.

Go to *Priaman*.

Some time ſpent here this way, they went to *Priaman*, upon the ſame Iſland of *Sumatra*; where they fell into a Trade ſo fine and flouriſhing, that the Happineſs of their Settlement there, did ſeem to make ſufficient Amends for all the paſt Misfortunes of the Voyage.

All Buſineſs ended here, and a good Lading of Pepper got into the Ship, they ſet Sail out of this Port for *England*; but with ill Succeſs, and Repetition of the former, or worſe Diſaſters.

CHAP. XVIII.

Mr. Salbank's *Journey* (*after the* Aſcenſion *was caſt away*) *through* India, Perſia, *and part of* Turky, *and* Arabia, *A. D.* 1609. *Written to,* &c.

Gandeve.

OUR Ship the *Aſcenſion* being unhappily loſt upon the Sholes of *Cambaya*, we made the beſt of our way in Boats to the Shore, and put in at the Town of *Gandeve*: This place has the advantage of a very fair and commodious Haven, which is generally fill'd with good ſtore of Shipping, ſo that it ſeems to be a place of no ſmall Trade and Buſineſs.

Sobay, and its Callicoe-Trade.

From hence we came to *Sobay*, remarkable for the Quantities of Cotton and Callicoe Cloths made there; there being indeed hardly any other Trades flouriſhing in the whole place, but thoſe of Spinning and Weaving, and what relates thereto.

Nabon.

Surat was our next Stage, a City ſufficiently known; from whence (intending a Journey to *Agra*) we went on to *Nabon*, whoſe chief Commodities are all ſorts of Grain, Cotton-wool, and Sugar, which grows here in great abundance.

Daytaot Drugs, Callicoes.

Then to *Daytaot*, where there's a great Market for Drugs, Pintadoes, and Callicoe-Lawns.

Netherberi Materials of Braſs, Armour, *&c.*

And from thence to *Netherberi*, that deals as much in all ſorts of Braſen Ware, and Suits of Armour; beſides its Drugs, Pintadoes, Cotton-yarn, and Wool; in which it comes not behind its Neighbour *Daytaot*. The coarſeſt Cloth bears a conſiderable Price here; and therefore 'tis very probable, that that particular Commodity wou'd turn to good Account, if brought hither.

Bramport. Armour and Cloth of Gold and Silver, *&c.*

Paſſing two or three Towns of no great Importance, we made our next ſtop at *Bramport*. This is a mighty City, and the Trade of it as big and conſiderable as the Dimenſions: All ſorts of Armour and Weapons, are very ſaleable here: As alſo Cloths of Gold and Silver, Velvets, Broad-Cloths, and Bayes: For the City is vaſtly ſtock'd with Gentry, and People that affect the Gallantry of Apparel.

Cannow.

Cannow, which lay next in our way, is a large City too, and vents a great deal of Armour, and Harneſs, and all ſorts of Colours for Dyers. The Temper of the Climate will certainly make our *Engliſh* Cloths a good Commodity here; for the Cold pinches pretty hard in the Three Months of *January*, *February*, and *March*.

Croſs the *Ganges.*

A Day's Journey from hence, we croſs'd the celebrated River *Ganges*; which riſes out of the North, and diſcharges it ſelf into the Gulf of *Bengala*: And now a Journey of eleven Days, through a moſt charming fruitful Country, lay between us and *Agra*. This City is very large and populous, the Streets wide and handſome, the Houſes, for the moſt part, built of Stone. Here's a great reſort of Merchants out of *Perſia*, and all parts of *India*, trading for Silks and Cloths, and all ſorts of Jewels.

Agra.

The Diamonds are the genuine Product of the Country, and are found about *Agra*, *Delly*, and *Biſnagar*; but a great part of the Rubies, Saphires, *&c.* come from *Pegu*.

Without all doubt, our *Engliſh* Silks, Velvets, and Cloths, of the richer and finer ſorts, will go off here to great adventage; becauſe of the communication between this place and *Labor*, *Fetipore*, with many others of the like importance; which latter City *Fetipore*, (by the way) is not above twelve Miles from *Agra*, and is every whit as big as *London*.

Biamy, or *Biana*, as 'tis call'd before, lib. 2. ch. 13.

From *Agra* we ſet out for *Hiſpahan*, the Capital City of *Perſia*, and that by the way of *Biamy*, this being but two Months Journey; and that by *Labor* being four. This *Biamy* is the great Storehouſe of Indico to the whole Country; no place in all the *Eaſt-Indies* coming near it, for the Meaſures of this Commodity annually produced. The Indico it ſelf is a Vegetable Production: The Plant which yields it, is a ſort of a ſmall Buſh, or Shrub, and bears a Seed almoſt like that of a Cabbage. When the proper Seaſon is come, it is all cut down, and left in heaps upon the Ground to rot, for half a Year; then the Seeds are trod out from the Stalks by Oxen, and afterwards ground very fine, and ſo boil'd in a Furnace; which done, 'tis ſorted out into ſeveral parcels, according to the different degrees of fineneſs.

The making of Indico ſomething different from that before. *Ibidem.*

Between *Biamy* and *Candaha*, we paſs'd through theſe chief Towns: *Merta*, noted for its three weekly Markets of Indico, Cotton-Wool, Yarn, and Cloths.

Merta.

Reuree.

Reuree, a Town of Merchandiſing Husbandmen, who together with the Affairs of Agriculture, do with no ſmall Induſtry equally promote thoſe of Trade and Merchandize.

Buckar.

Buckar, where Sword-blades are ſo good a Commodity that one worth but a Noble in *England*, will eaſily bring 10 *l.* there.

Rivers, *Damiadee* & *Sinde.*

Cloſe by the City runs the River *Damiadee*, which empties it ſelf into the River of *Sinde*; which is Navigable by Barks of 40 and 50 Tun; by which means a Communication is open'd between divers of the adjacent parts of *India*.

Suckar.

Laſtly, *Suckar*, ſeated on an Iſland in the midſt of the River, inhabited moſtly by Dyers and Weavers, which ſerve all the Country round about.

Candahar.

'Tis twenty Days Journey between this place and *Candahar*, and the way not a little difficult and dangerous, becauſe of the vaſt Woods and Deſarts to be paſſed thro'. This City is govern'd by a Vice-Roy, and is much frequented by Merchants out of *Perſia*, *Turkey*, and all parts of the *Indies*.

'Tis five Days Journey from hence to *Grees*, the firſt Town upon the Frontiers of *Perſia*, after you are paſs'd the River *Sabaa*, which divides theſe two great Empires one from another.

River *Sabaa* divides the *Perſian* and *Mogul.*

Between this place and *Hiſpahan*, we paſs'd through *Vea*, noted for plenty of Felts and Carpets; *Parra*, *Pabanani*, and *Godana*, for the Quantities of Raw Silk they produce. To which alſo ought to be reckon'd *Gora*, a very handſome Town, which drives a mighty Trade in Raw Silks, Quilts, Carpets, and the like.

Hiſpahan.

We came next to *Hiſpahan*, a City of great Extent, Trade, and Fame, and now of late, the uſual Reſidence of the Kings of *Perſia*. The People are wonderfully curious in making Velvets, Sattins, Damasks, *Ormuzine*, and *Perſian* Carpets, Girdles, and Saſhes. Here's a continual Trade of Drugs, Spices, Jewels, Silks wrought as well as raw. Cou'd our Ships lade with ſafety in the *Perſian* Gulf, a profitable Trade might be planted here: For no leſs than Fifty in the Hundred may be gain'd from *Ormus* to *Hiſpahan*, and that in eighty Days Travel. The Commodities to be brought from *England* hither, ſhould be Tin, Copper, Braſile; Kerſies for the common People, and Broad Cloth for the Merchants and better ſort: Camlets, Velvets, Cloths of Gold and Tiſſue, with fine Linen for the King's Sultans and Nobility. Beſides all kinds of Warlike Furniture, which the *Perſians* will be very good Cuſtomers for.

Commodities for *Perſia* to be brought out of *England.*

Bagdat.

We went from this famous City to *Bagdat*, a Town two Miles in compaſs, and ſeated on the River *Tigris*. 'Tis very populous for the bigneſs of it, and a Man never fails meeting vaſt Crowds of Strangers and Travellers here, it being a common Road into *Turkey*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and all thoſe parts.

Balſora.

Here we embark'd for *Balſora*, a Town planted near the *Perſian* Gulf, ſtrengthned with a good Garriſon, and a conſiderable Power of Shipping, and is very near as big as *Bagdat*. It muſt needs be a profitable City to the Great Turk, in whoſe hands it is; for the Country about it is vaſtly fruitful, and the Trade thither ſo great, that there comes into that Port from *Ormus* alone, every Month, ſeveral great Ships, furniſh'd with all ſorts of *Indian* Merchandize.

Baharem Pearls.

We proceeded in our Voyage from *Balſora* to *Catiffa*, on the Coaſt of *Arabia Fœlix*; and from thence to the famous Iſland *Baharem*, in the mid-way between *Balſora* and *Ormus*. Here 'tis that they fiſh for Pearl, in the Months of *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, *September*; and thoſe found about this Iſland, are reckon'd ſome of the nobleſt and beſt in all the Eaſtern World.

Calara.

Having viſited *Calara*, a Town on the Coaſt of *Arabia Fœlix*; and ſo paſs'd by Land to *Shirrif Din*, my Deſign was to have gone for *Aman*, to Sir *Henry Middleton*; but underſtanding of his barbarous Uſage at *Moha*, and that he was carried in Chains to the Baſſa of *Sinan*, a conſiderable

Lima.

Soar where he is taken Priſoner by the *Portugueſe.*

ſiderable way up in the Country, I turn'd off to *Lima* on the *Perſian* Gulf, where I embarked for *Zocotora*, but was driven by a parcel of Pyrates to land at *Soar*, a Coaſt-Town not far from *Lima*. But this was but out of the Frying-pan into the Fire; an eſcape out of the Hands of Raſcals at Sea, into the power of worſe Knaves at Land: For here the *Portugueze* inform'd the Governour againſt me, and having made him believe I was a Spy,. got me to be deliver'd into their hands; and a Man's greateſt Enemies cou'd hardly wiſh him in worſe, ſuppoſe him out of the Devils.

Muſcat.

Having me in their power, they ſent me to *Muſcat*, a ſmall Iſland, where they have a Garriſon, and ſome Shipping; and here I muſt have lain in everlaſting Bondage, had not an honeſt *Engliſh* Jeſuit I met there, procured my Releaſe from thence.

Ormus.

From *Muſcat* I was ſent in Chains to *Ormus*, croſs the Mouth of the *Perſian* Gulf: This Iſland is about thirty Mile in circuit, and is certainly the drieſt Iſland in the World. All their Water, Wood, and other Neceſſaries, are brought out of the adjacent parts of *Perſia*, which is not above twelve Mile from thence. It's famous for the Quantities of Salt it produces, and the Fiſhery of Pearls: There is indeed a very great Trade driven there for all ſorts of Merchandize almoſt, Spices, Drugs, Silks, fine Tapiſtry, Pearls, Horſes, which are from hence tranſported into *India*. The *Portugueze* have a Caſtle, and a good Garriſon here.

Sinde, And the Trade of it.

After ſome ſtay here, I was ſent away for *Goa*; in our paſſage, to *Sinde*, between the Countries of *Guadel* and *Guzurat*. The Commodiouſneſs of the River which runs by this place, with reference to Trade, was hinted before; and there is another particular Conveniency belonging to it, which I will not omit, and that is, that the *Portugueze* have no Fort all along this River, nor cannot accompliſh it, perhaps, if they attempted it, the Country People hereabouts keeping them in very great awe and ſubjection. The Commodities that the place does vent, are Cloths of all ſorts, (eſpecially light Colours) Tin, Lead, Iron, Spices, particularly Pepper and Cloves; then all your Calicoes, Pintadoes, Quilts, Carpets, *&c.* go off here in great Quantities, and at very reaſonable rates. The Country yields and makes ſo many of theſe ſort of Commodities, that they are extreamly cheap, and a little Stock will keep a ſubſtantial Trade of this kind going on here. Beſides, you may ſtore your ſelf with ſeveral very good Drugs here; and a Ship-load of Opium almoſt (the Soil is ſo natural and kind to that Drug in particular) which wou'd be a very good Commodity at *Bantam*, and the parts thereabouts, as well as the Stuffs mention'd before.

Diu.

Leaving the Coaſt of *Sinde*, we came to *Diu*, in the Kingdom of *Cambaya*; 'tis the ſtrongeſt Town the *Portugueze* have in all this Province, and ſends out every Year a great number of Ships laden with Varieties of Merchandice, for *Ormus*, the *Red Sea*, and other parts.

Goa.

From hence we paſs'd to *Goa*, the end of the preſent Voyage, and the place of my doleful Captivity.

The *Portugueze* have no more important place, no ſecurer Retreat, no finer Spot in all the Eaſtern World than this. It ſtands in an Iſland thirty Miles in compaſs, as pleaſant, convenient, and fit for Command, as any thing can do. 'Tis ſurrounded with ſeveral Villages, intermix'd with Gardens, Orchards, and delightful Woods; but all the while 'twas my Priſon, which was ſufficient to caſt a Horror upon the moſt charming Appearances in Nature.

CHAP. XIX.

The Voyage of Mr David Middleton, *to* Java *and* Banda. *Taken out of a Letter written by himſelf to the Company, this being the Fifth Voyage ſet out by them.*

Set Sail *A. D.* 1609. Come to *Soldania.*

WE Sail'd out of the *Downs* the 24th of *April*, in the good Ship the *Expedition* of *London*; and with a mixture of foul and fair Winds, which blew in their turns, we reach'd *Soldania* by the 10th of *Auguſt*.

Arrive at *Bantam.*

We paſs'd from hence to *Bantam*, without any remarkable Occurrent by the way, and 'twas in the beginning of *December* that we got thither. We found the State of Affairs alter'd here for the worſe from what it had formerly been; the preſent Governour being a very troubleſome, covetous, exacting Perſon, encroaching upon our Privileges, and not allowing us the Liberties that uſed to be granted.

Goes for the *Molucca's.*

Bengaia The People deſert the Iſland for fear of the *Dutch.*

Having provided in the beſt manner I cou'd for the Quiet and Security of our Factory under that diſtemper'd Circumſtance, I ſet Sail for the *Molucca's* the 18th of the ſame Month, putting in at the Iſle of *Bengaia* in the Proſecution of this Voyage, we found the Country quite empty of Inhabitants, the King and all the People with one Conſent were run away, whatever Danger it was that had frighted them. And all things conſidered, I concluded 'twas for fear of the *Dutch*, who wou'd (it ſeems) have broke in upon them, and built a Fort in the Country againſt their Wills; but they choſe rather to quit the Iſland and leave them the whole Dominion entirely to themſelves, than live under their Command, and endure the Bondage a Fort wou'd bring them into. Looſing from hence we had the Wind and Stream ſo powerfully againſt us, and we labour'd with our Ship to ſo little purpoſe, that we were oblig'd to alter our purpoſe for the *Molucca's*, and ſo bear up the Halm for the Iſles of *Banda*, towards which we were carried away a main.

Alter their Courſe for *Banda.*

Tyranny of the *Dutch.*

Lautor kind to the *Engliſh.*

When we came thither (which was in the beginning of *February*) we found all things under the Command and managed according to the Pleaſure of the *Dutch*. No Sail came into the Road but they wou'd take as much of the Lading as they pleas'd, and either not pay at all, or pay at their own time and price according to their own Conſciences, which made it indeed next to no payment at all. And then there muſt be no correſpondence with the People of the Country, and if a Ship brought Commodities ever ſo vendible there, and attempted but to land them, theſe impudent maſterful *Hollanders* wou'd immediately play the Ordnance of the Caſtle upon them; and by this Means they had gotten ſeveral Juncks of conſiderable burthen into their Power, which came thither upon an honeſt deſign of Trade. The Inhabitants of the Town of *Lautor* were very willing to deal with me, and ſell me their Spice, but they cou'd not do it without the leave of the *Dutch* with whom they were then link'd in a friendſhip, and to whom I muſt go to beg a Trade if I meant to have any. However I underſtood that they were at War with the Iſlands of *Puloway* and *Puloria*, who therefore wou'd not ſend me to ask leave of the *Dutch* to buy their Spices.

But then the great Difficulty, was, to manage the Trade with them without provoking the *Dutch* to acts of open Violence and hoſtility. I had now received an expreſs Commandment from the Governour of the Caſtle, and the Vice-Admiral to come in with my Ship, and not to ride in the Road where I did; which Command I did in as peremptory a manner refuſe to obey, having the Examples of ſeveral Ships unjuſtly detain'd there before my Eyes. And farther I put my ſelf into the beſt poſture of Defence in caſe of an attack, which I had reaſon to expect. Yet that all things might be manag'd as fairly and inoffenſively on our ſide as might be (eſpecially ſince Intereſt and Policy required it to be ſo) I yielded ſo far as to write a Letter to know whether they wou'd deal with me themſelves or let the People of *Lautor* do it; and if not that, then whether I might without offending them Trade with the Iſlands of *Puloway* and *Puloria*.

The baſe Proceedings of the *Dutch*.

They were ſo civil as to return no Anſwer to this Letter, but inſtead of that made preparations to come and try their Fortune in order to the taking of my Ship. Upon notice of this Deſign, I went immediately my ſelf to the Caſtle, and carried my Commiſſion along with me, being reſolved to let them ſee the Authority that empower'd me to act; as alſo to do all that might be done fairly (without a baſe Submiſſion) before it came to a down right Battle. The ſight of the Commiſſion with His Majeſties broad Seal to it made ſome Impreſſion upon them, and this together with the offer of 1000*l.* over and above for the lading of my Ship, procured me not only a civil Treatment, but a promiſe alſo to ſatisfie my Deſires with reference to a Trade Yet after this they fell back from their Word, ſo ſurely paſs'd and gave it me as their laſt Reſolution, that I muſt pretend to buy no Spice there. This made me fix my Purpoſe for *Puleway*, whither I purpos'd to go in ſpite of the *Hollanders* and all their Force, and ſent the Governour word plainly that I wou'd do ſo, let him do his worſt to prevent me. And the *Dutch* it ſeems did not think fit to try to ſtop me, for thither I came without any oppoſition with my new Pinnace the *Hopewell*, which I fitted up on purpoſe for a Lading at that Iſland. Here I agreed for my Spice at the ſame rates as Captain *Keeling* had done before me, and got my Pinnace laded with Mace and a good large Junck with Nutmegs. And all the Spice that we bought here was carried (as faſt as we cou'd lade theſe Veſſels) to our Ship which lay in the Road of *Geicgula* at the Iſle of *Ceran*, about 30 Leagues from *Banda*.

Comes to *Puloway*.

Ceran Iſle. Cannibals.

This Iſland by report of the *Indians* is Inhabited by a ſort of *Cannibals*, that lie in wait to catch the Paſſengers and Fiſhermen that come upon that Coaſt, whom they infallibly Devour like ſo many hungry Beaſts of Prey. Eſpecially if they take any Chriſtians they beſtow a good dreſſing upon them, and lay them down to the Fire to roaſt alive. The cauſe of which barbarous Treatment, they ſay is (and 'tis very likely) ſome Injuries which theſe creatures have receiv'd from the *Portugueze*, for whoſe ſakes they handle all others thus ſeverely that they get into their Clutches.

By the Month of *September* we had pretty well accompliſh'd the lading of our Ship, which done (and the Matters of our Company ſetled that were to ſtay behind for the Proſecution of the Trade) we ſet Sail from *Puloway*, and directed our Courſe to *Bantam*, where we arrived *October* the 9th. When we came hither we found two of our principal Factors dead, and almoſt all the Goods we left there, as that ſhut up in the Ware-houſe; very little or none having gone off, eſpecially of our Cloth which lay all upon our Hands. However 'twas tollerable good Fortune to have ſucceeded ſo well at *Puloway*; to have out run the *Dutch* in the point of Trade there this Year, and brought off a good lading of Spice ſo handſomely, before their very Faces, while they themſelves cou'd not get a pound. This was ſo great a Pain and Mortification to them to ſee us ſtill paſſing to and fro with our laded Ships, that they reſolved to take any Courſe to put an end to it. They thought of coming to take the whole Iſland, and ſo make but one buſineſs on't, to plunder us of our Spice, and revenge themſelves upon the People for ſelling it to us. And they actually brought up their Ships in order to make the Attempt, but providence fought againſt them in the contrary Tide, which ſet their Ships to the Weſt ſide of the Iſland, and wou'd not let them Land. So that for all this and their many other Plots to catch me by the way, I brought the Effects of my Trade at *Puloway* to *Bantam* in ſafety. The whole Amount of my Lading was 139 Tun, 6 Cathays, ¼.12*l.* of Nutmegs; and 622 Suckets of Mace, which makes 139 Tun, 9 Cathrges, ¼ 2*l.* of Mace; beſides which, I left with one of the Factors, 24 Tun, 7 Cathages, ½ 8*l.* which coſt with Charges 25071 ¼ Rials.

Arrive at *Bantam*.

I left Orders with ſome of our Factors to put in for a ſhare in the Trade of Diamonds at *Succadania* in *Borneo*, and having ſettled that Concern as well as all others that detain'd me there, I ſet Sail from *Bantam November* the 16th and had a good Paſſage to *Soldania*, where I Anchored *January* the 21ſt, and from whence I made all imaginable Diſpatch for *England*.

Chap. XX.

The Sixth General Voyage ſet forth by the East-India *Company, with the three good Ships, the* Trade's Increaſe, *Admiral, of* 1000 *Tun; the* Pepper-Corn, *Vice-Admiral, of* 250 *Tun; the* Darling *of* 90; *and a Victualling-Bark of* 180. *Extracted out of the Letters and Journals of Sir* Henry Middleton, *Admiral; and Mr.* Nich. Dounton, *Capt. of the* Pepper-Corn.

May, *A.D.* 1610.

Coming to an Anchor in the Road of Cape *Verd*, we ſtaid there ſome time, to lay in a Recruit of freſh Water, and repair what was defective in our Ship-Tackling; having had ſome little Miſfortunes of that nature by the way. And indeed, all things conſider'd, I know not a more convenient Road for theſe purpoſes, and all others almoſt that may invite a Ship, than this of Cape *Verd* is: For beſides the plenty of good freſh Fiſh, and the advantage of Watering here, 'tis very fit for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, and it is not at all out of the way.

Cape *Verd* Road very good.

As for our Courſe from hence to the Line, we concluded with one Conſent, to Sail S. S. W. for about ſixty Leagues, then to ſteer S.S. E. till we grew near the Line, and ſo to hale over Eaſterly.

July.

By the latter end of *July* we made the Bay of *Soldania*, where we found the People as beaſtly and brutiſh as they have ever uſed to be repreſented, but not near ſo free and ready to Trade as they formerly were. 'Twas a very hard matter to perſwade them to bring any Cattel at all to us (we were forc'd to bribe and court them to it), and then thoſe they did bring were ſo old, ſo tough, and ſo lean, that 'twas almoſt as bad as faſting, to be obliged to eat them.

Soldania Bay The People not for Trade as formerly.

Beſides, Old Iron was now no current Money amongſt them, and thoſe brave Trading Days were over, when a Man cou'd purchaſe a fat Ox, or two or three good Sheep, for an Iron Ring, or a few Hobnails. Copper was, at this time, all in all amongſt them, and they wou'd take nothing but pieces of this Metal, cut three or four, or ſix Inches ſquare; and one of theſe was the Price of a Sheep, which conſidering what they were, was dear enough.

What the Reaſon of this alteration ſhou'd be, is uncertain: Whether thoſe plentiful Markets of Cattle they us'd to bring down from the Mountains, were Spoils taken from one another in Wars, and ſo they put them off to others, as they took them themſelves: Which if 'twere ſo, then 'tis probable, that the Reaſon why they ſo highly valued Iron in thoſe Days, was its uſefulneſs to them in their Wars, for heading their Darts and Launces, and conſequently that it grew out of Requeſt amongſt them, when a General Peace was made, and their murdering Weapons laid aſide. Or 'tis poſſible, that the *Dutch*, by their over-great Liberality, may have poſſibly help'd to ſpoil the Trade here: For as 'tis their Humour, to conſider only their own preſent Occaſions, without conſulting the Advantage or Intereſt of any that are to come after them; ſo 'tis very likely, that they by giving theſe People ſome extravagant Rates for their Commodities, may have taught them how to expect and inſiſt upon the ſame with all other Cuſtomers. They have more than once ſpoil'd the Trade ſo, in other places abroad in the World, and 'tis not incredible that they ſhou'd do ſo here.

We reckon this Bay of *Soldania* to lie ſome fourteen Leagues N. N. E. from the Cape of *Good Hope*, and ten Leagues N. by W. from Cape *Falſo*; both which Capes may be ſeen pretty plainly out of the Bay. But the two Capes are parted alſo by another great Bay beſides, which is diſtant from that of *Soldania* about three Leagues; and all the Ground between is low, marſhy, and plaſhy, the effect perhaps of the Water brought off from the Mountains that ſtand of either ſide. Let a Ship, when ſhe comes in for the Bay of *Soldania*, bring the Northern Point of it to bear W. N. W.—N. W. and by W. thwart of the

The Diſtance and Bearing of the Cape of *Good Hope*, and Cape *Falſo*, with *Soldania*.

Ledge of Rocks, near the Shore, (which will then be laid in the Swamp, as it were between the Table and the Sugar-Loaf) and ſhe may find good Anchor-hold, and ride ſafely in four, five, or ſix Fathom, according to her Draught.

'Tis worthy of Obſervation too, that the Main-Land, tho' it be thirteen Leagues diſtant, yet runs away ſo to the W. and by W. that there is little more than Three Points open to let in the N. W. Sea, which is always here the moſt ſtormy and troubleſome. There's good Fiſhing about the Bay for Millets (or a Fiſh very like them) Smelts, Thornbacks, Dogs, and a ſmall ſort of Whales: And all about the Rocks, Limpets, and Muſcles in abundance. We obſerv'd a ſort of Tree growing hereabout, that bears a Fruit in bigneſs and form reſembling a Pine-Apple; the Seeds of which were all entirely eaten out of the Husks by the Birds, and the Husks left ſtanding in their Natural Order upon the Tree. Theſe Husks were more ſoft and ſpongy than thoſe of a Pine-Apple, tho' otherwiſe like them: The Tree it ſelf is low, and ſpreads into a conſiderable breadth at top, and the Leaves of it are like our *Engliſh* Houſleek, only not quite ſo thick.

Auguſt. See other Accounts differing from this in Mr. *Davis's* Voyages, *&c.* Trees with a Fruit like Pine-Apples.

I believe, with ſome good Reaſon, that the Country might be cultivated into a very excellent Plantation for all ſorts of Herbs and Trees; and that our *Engliſh* Garden-Plants wou'd thrive to much higher degrees of Perfection here than at home, to the very great advantage of all that ſhou'd refreſh here; if any wou'd be ſo generous as to begin and make the Experiment. In ſhort, Nature has done ſo much to our hands, in order to the making the whole Country a Garden, that Art has but a very little left to perform, to make it as perfect as need be deſired.

Madagaſcar. September.

We ſet Sail from hence, directing our Courſe to the Iſle of *Madagaſcar*, and came to an Anchor in St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay. The People of the Country carried it to us juſt as they of *Soldania* did; and but that 'tis pretty certain, that there is no intercourſe between them, one wou'd otherwiſe have thought, that they had made a Bargain together to ſtarve all the Chriſtian Ships that come into the Roads. They are a ſtout hardy People, fit for the Wars, and 'tis reported of ſome Skill in Martial Diſcipline; but withal exceſſively treacherous and falſe; ſo that whoever comes amongſt them, muſt be ſure to ſtand well upon their Guard.

* Beſides the Tamarind-Trees, which the Country yields in great plenty, here's a ſort of Tree whoſe Timber is as hard and firm as *Lignum Vitæ*, and very white, but carries a ſmall brown Pith in the middle of it; whether any kind of White Saunders, or no, I cannot tell. Here's alſo a Plant very like a *Sempervive*, and for all I know, might yield as good an Aloes as that does: There's a great deal to be found of it in thoſe parts, tho' the Savages have hardly any knowledge of the Uſe and Virtue of it.

* See *Davis's* Voyages for a farther Account of this place too. Trees and Plants about Cape St. *Auguſtine.*

Sailing from hence towards the Line again, we met with ſeveral Currents, which put us out conſiderably in the Reckoning of the Ships way and motion. Sometimes a Current ſetting to the Southward affected us, which as 'twas againſt us in our Courſe, from the more Southerly Latitudes of *Madagaſcar*, to parts nearer the Line; ſo made us fall ſhort in our true way by ſome Leagues, of what in Judgment might have been allowed. Again, ſometimes a powerful Current ſetting to the Northward, reach'd us of a ſudden; which going along with us, as much diſturb'd our Reckoning, by making us run more Leagues than the true Courſe of the Ship in ſuch a time wou'd amount to.

Currents.

October.

The former of theſe Currents was the moſt diſcernible for the two next Days, after our ſetting out from St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay, when we were about 21 Degr. South Lat. but the latter, which ſet to the Northward, kept with us continually even to the Line, and after we had croſs'd the Line, till we were in more than 5 Degr. North Lat. at which time we loſt the Current, and again began to find the force of another ſetting to the Southward. This Current followed us for ſome three or four Days; and then in about 7 Degr. North Lat. another ſetting to the Eaſtward, ſucceeded in its room, the Effects of which were more or leſs diſcernible from that Latitude, till we were almoſt come up with the *Duas Irmanas*. Theſe are two little Iſlands, which bear W. by S. and E. by N. of each other; and are diſtant about 7 ½ Leagues from the Weſtern Point of *Zocotora*.

Duas Irmanas

We came to an Anchor in a certain Sandy Bay in the Iſle of *Zocotora*, about the latter end of this Month; and here, to our very great Comfort and Refreſhment, we met with ſuch plenty of Fiſh, as gave all our whole Fleet ſome Meals, and wou'd have given more, cou'd we have preſerv'd what we took ſweet and good.

Good Fiſhing at *Zocotora.*

Tamerin.

We put out of this Bay into the Road of *Tamerin*, the principal City of the Iſland, and ordinary Reſidence of the King. 'Tis ſeated at the Foot of ſeveral high ragged Hills, 'tis adorn'd with a Caſtle, and the King's Palace ſtands upon the top of one of the Hills overlooking the Town. The Latitude here is 12 Degr. 30 Min. the Variation of the Compaſs 19 Degr. 18 Min. and the Road lies all open between E. by N. and W. N. W. I ſent ſome of my Men aſhore, with a handſome Preſent to the King; which he very kindly accepted, and to expreſs his Gratitude ſent me back a Preſent of Goats, with an hearty Welcome to his Country, and Invitation to come aſhore and ſee him.

General *Middleton* ſends a Preſent to the King of *Zocotora.*

When I landed, I was receiv'd with a Diſcharge of his great Guns, and conducted in the beſt ſort to his Court, where I believe every thing was contriv'd to make as good a Shew, and to give me as great an Idea of the Grandeur of this little Prince as might be. The Entertainment I had there, was as good as the ſuddenneſs of the occaſion wou'd permit. But as for his Deportment towards me, I muſt ſay, that it was very free, civil, and obliging; conſidering the violent Prejudices of the *Mahometans*, for the moſt part, (and the *Arabians* eſpecially) not only againſt the Principles, but the very Perſons and Converſation of Chriſtians.

Goes aſhore, and his Entertainment.

I cou'd procure no Aloes of him, for that was all ſent away before (as he alledged) to his Father, the King of *Tartack*, in *Arabia Felix*; under whom indeed he was no more than a Vice-Roy in this little Kingdom of *Zocotora*. He granted us free Liberty to take what Water we had occaſion for here, and (which is a Favour not granted to other Nations without paying for't too. But as for Wood, it ſeems, 'tis a very ſcarce Commodity in thoſe parts, and there he cou'd not furniſh us, without ready Money; nay, if we wou'd have any, we muſt give a very great rate.

The truth on't is, the whole Iſland is nothing but a Lump of Rocks and Cliffs, and there's hardly any room for Timber-Trees to grow, 'tis all ſo fill'd up with Stones, and a hard barren Earth, almoſt unfit for the Nouriſhment of any ſort of Vegetable. I know of none of any ſignificancy growing there, but the Plant that yields the Aloes, and the Shrub, or Tree, whoſe Tear is that Drug, which we call in *Europe* the *Sanguis Draconis*; and then the Date-Trees, which afford them indeed their chiefeſt Suſtenance. The Date-Trees, 'tis true, are pretty numerous, for they make the beſt of their Bread of that Fruit: As for the others, the whole Iſland affords no more than about a Tun of Aloes in a Year, and a very inconſiderable quantity of *Sanguis Draconis*.

Products of *Zocotora.*

The Animals that are here, are ſcarce worth a mention, except it be for the fewneſs and meanneſs of them; they are as ſorry as the Country that breeds them, and ſhew the Poverty of the Soil they live on, by the Dwarfiſhneſs of their own Bulk and Stature: And yet they are dear Pennyworths to them that will undertake to buy them, for a Cow goes at twelve Rials of Eight, a Goat at one, Sheep and Hens each at half a Rial apiece. As for the Dates, there's no having them under twelve Rials *per* Hundred; and a parcel of Wood, as much as an ordinary Man's Burden is valued at 1 *s.* and wou'd certainly inſtead of that be at 1 *l.* if *Zocotora* with that ſcarcity of Wood lay as far from the Line as *England* does.

The King ſees the ſelling of all Commodities himſelf, that any Strangers Trade for upon this Iſland; 'tis he that ſets the Price, and drives the Bargain, not leaving it to the Fidelity of any of his People, but paſſing all through his own hands. Nay, none of his Subjects dare hold any Correſpondence with Foreigners, or ſo much as ſpeak to them, till he has had Intelligence of them, and began the Correſpondence himſelf. Indeed, he has little to do with any but the *Arabs*, who compoſe his Guard, his Court, his Nobility, and are all in all about him; for as for the old Inhabitants of the Iſland, they are Slaves to the domineering *Arabs*, and live skulking up and down where they can find a ſure Retreat, like ſo many Outlaws, or Perſons baniſh'd, even in their own Country. But neither *Arabs*, nor any other, dare begin any Diſcourſe, much leſs a Trade with Strangers, till he has had Notice of their Arrival, and performed the Ceremony of bidding them Welcome.

King of *Zocotora*'s Care and Policy in Trade.

He highly commended to us the Trade of the *Red Sea*, and the People of *Aden*, and *Moha*, for their Civil Carriage to Strangers, and Fair Dealing in all their Traffick. And this was ſo far a Motive to us (that having loſt our Seaſon for going to *Cambaya*, becauſe the Eaſterly Monſon was already come, we concluded to go and viſit theſe Trading Towns upon the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*, and make ſome Experiment of the Good Humour of the People: Tho' as Matters afterwards fell out, we had better have taken his Word for't, than have gone thither to try our ſelves. Whether this *Arabian* had any Deſign upon us or no, I know not; however, 'tis certain, that his Accounts of theſe places were all falſe and wrong, and that in purſuance of his Advice, we fell into the greateſt Miſeries that perhaps any Chriſtians ever endured in thoſe parts.

Go from *Zocotora* for *Aden*. *Abba del Curia*, and the two white Rocks. *November*. Cape *Guadarfui*.

Having bid Adieu to *Zocotora*, we had not ſail'd far, before we had ſight of the towering Rocks and Mountains of *Abba del Curia*. This is a narrow ragged Iſland, ſome five Leagues in length E. and W. ſubject to the King of *Zocotora*, remarkable for the two great White Rocks that ſtand near one another, at the Northern part of it; and which raiſing up their Heads to a mighty heighth above the reſt, diſcover themſelves a good way off at Sea. We reckon'd fourteen Leagues from the Weſtern Point of *Zocotora*, to the Eaſtern Point of this Iſland *Abba del Curia*; and from the Weſtern end of that, fifteen Leagues more to Cape *Guadarfui*, which is the Eaſtern Point of the Kingdom of *Adel*, which lies on the *African* ſide.

City of *Aden* in *Arabia Felix*.

The ſtrength of it.

A few Days Sailing in this Month, gave us a proſpect of the Coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, which appear'd barren, mountainous, and rugged, without ſhew of Woods, or Fields, or any delightful Green. And whereas we now quickly expected to have a proſpect of the City of *Aden*, a Current ſet us ſo far out of our way, that when we fell with the Land, we found our ſelves no leſs than ſixty Leagues ſhort of that place; but yet ſail'd along the Coaſt without danger, having from Eight to Twenty five Fathom Water, till we came up with it. The City it ſelf ſtands in a bottom, under the covert and protection of a Mountain; yet notwithſtanding that diſadvantageous Situation makes a pretty handſome appearance. 'Tis encompaſs'd with a good Stone-Wall, defended in many places with Forts and Bulwarks; and if well furniſh'd with Ammunition, and ſtock'd with bold reſolute Soldiers, is a place certainly capable of maintaining its Liberty againſt a very great Power. It may ſeem indeed to lie ſomething open to the Seaward, it being quite dry there at low Water; but then Nature and Art have both conſulted to keep out the Danger that threatens to come that way: For there are a couple of Rocks lying there, one of which is bigger than the Tower of *London*, and ſo horribly ragged and full of Cliffs and little Precipices, that 'tis impoſſible to be aſcended, but in one particular part of it alone; and there the Path is ſo very narrow, and ſo ſteep too, that half a Dozen Men may defend it againſt a whole Army.

But then add to the Strength and Impregnableneſs of theſe two natural Forts, the Improvements that Art and Induſtry has made, in Forts and Batteries rais'd about them, which are very well furniſh'd with all ſorts of Ammunition; and the place appears to be ſo well guarded, as not much to need the help of the Sea to ſecure it on that ſide. This City is ſupplied with Proviſion partly from the neighbouring parts of *Arabia*, and thoſe of *Africk*, oppoſite to it on the other ſide the Streight. There's a continual Trade and Correſpondence between it, and the Town of *Barbora*, which ſtands juſt over againſt it in the Kingdom of *Adel*: And from hence they bring to *Aden*, Cattle, Fruit, Incenſe, Myrrh, and ſome better Commodities too, tho' as yet to be conceal'd, till better Information gotten of the truth of it.

Coſmographical Obſervations of *Aden*.

The Latitude at this place, I reckon to be 12 Degr. 35 Min. Northerly, the Variation of the Compaſs twelve Degr. 40 Min. Weſterly. The Water riſes at the Port ſix or ſeven Foot upright upon the Change-Day, and a S. E. by E. or N. W. by W. Moon, makes a full Sea. Here we had News of Capt. *Sharpeigh*, who was at this place the Year before, and traded both here and at *Moha*; and whatever Entertainment he had, we were made believe ours ſhould be extraordinary. They told us, if we were *Engliſh-men*, we were moſt heartily welcome thither, and ſhou'd meet with as kind and civil uſage in theſe parts, as at any other place where our Nation traded. That the Baſſa that govern'd here at preſent, was a more eaſie and affable Man than the former: And as for a Trade, we needed not at all queſtion it, eſpecially at *Moha*; where there was a great Merchant reſided, who wou'd himſelf (if other Cuſtomers fail'd) take off all the Goods we had brought.

Sir *Henry Middleton* prepares for *Moha*,

They were very deſirous to have one of the Ships left in the Port to trade with their Town, while the other two went to *Moha*; promiſing to buy all ſhe had aboard, let it be ever ſo much: Which upon Conſideration I yielded to, leaving the *Pepper-Corn* there, and took the *Darling* to bear me Company to *Moha*.

The Town of *Aden* refuſes him a Pilot,

I was forc'd to attempt this paſſage without any Pilot to aſſiſt me in it; becauſe I plainly ſaw they had no mind I ſhould have any; and 'twou'd have been to no purpoſe to have ſpent time in waiting upon a Pack of Miſcreants, that value no Promiſes they make, and think of their Words no longer than they are in their Mouths a ſpeaking. I ſuppoſe they had a mind I ſhould fall foul upon ſome Rocks or Sands, in my paſſage to *Moha*, that ſo being ſwallowed up of the Sea, they might with the more Eaſe and Security ſwallow up the rich Ship left in the Port. It cou'd be for no other Reaſon but this, that they ſhou'd ſo often (as they did) promiſe me a Pilot, and yet never take care to ſend me any.

Streight of *Babelmandel*. Their Courſe to and thro' it.

Now the greateſt difficulty we had to encounter, was that in paſſing well the Streight of *Babelmandel*, which is about thirty Leagues diſtant from *Aden*. We ſteer'd along the Land ſometimes W. S. W. and W. by N. in 28 and 30 Fathom Water, obſerving all the Coaſt as we paſs'd to be very high Ground, and ſhooting out into the Sea with many Head-lands. We continued moſtly the ſame Courſe, haling along the Land all that Night, and the next Day betimes ſaw the great Head-land running into the *Red Sea*, riſing up like an Iſland, and about Noon we got a-croſs the Streight. It is not above three Mile broad, and the Depth between eight and eleven Fathom; on the North-ſide lies an uneven ragged Land like an Iſland; and on the South a flat low Iſland, call'd *Babelmandel*, which gives the Name to the Streight; to the Southward of which Iſland there ſeems to be a broad Entrance, or Channel.

Arrive at *Moha*.

The Admiral a-ground, & got clear again.

The ſame Day we had ſight of the Town of *Moha*; and preſently thereupon (as if our Misfortunes muſt begin with the very proſpect of that place, afterwards ſo fatal to us) my Ship was run a-ground: Whether by the Unskilfulneſs, or the Treachery of my two *Arabian* Pilots, I cannot tell; for I had pick'd up a couple out of a ſmall Village by the way, near the Streight of *Babelmandel*, and under their Conduct (poſſibly by their contrivance) this came to paſs. However, if 'twas a Plot to ruine me, it did not take effect; for as it pleas'd Providence, we brought the Ship off again ſafe and ſound, to our very great Comfort. Being come hither, we had all the kind Salutations, and joyful Welcome imaginable. The Aga ſent to Complement me aboard, and gave me full Aſſurance of as free, quiet, and good Trade here, as at *Aleppo*, *Conſtantinople*, or any other part of the *Turks* Dominions.

His Reception at *Moha*.

I was earneſtly deſired to come aſhore, to have better Proofs of their Civility and Reſpect, than I cou'd have at that diſtance; and at my landing was receiv'd by all the great Men of the Town, and conducted with Muſick, and other Expreſſions of Pomp, and Publick Joy, to the Aga's Palace.

Here I deliver'd His Majeſty's Letter and Preſent for the Baſſa, and alſo one to the Aga himſelf; upon which, (after a ſolemn Renewal of the Promiſes before made, relating to our Trade and Security there) I had the rich Veſt of Crimſon and Silver put upon me, as a Mark of the Grand Seignior's Favour and Protection. In that Dreſs I was carried through the Streets on Horſeback, ſet out with a very ſplendid Equipage, and ſo triumphantly deliver'd in at the *Engliſh* Houſe in that Town.

The horrible Barbarity & Treachery of the *Turks*.

Yet in all the heighths of this Careſs (as it appear'd by the ſequel) they acted in the greateſt Contrariety that cou'd be, to their own inward Thoughts and Sentiments. But the *Turks*, who are inferiour to none in the Arts of Diſſimulation, did do all with ſuch an Air of Friendſhip, and Cordial Love; they acted their Parts ſo very finely, that 'twas impoſſible for the moſt diſcerning Eye to ſee any thing but Sincerity, in that outward Deportment. But 'twas not long before they threw off the Diſguiſe, and appear'd like themſelves: They quickly paſs'd from one Extream to the other, from the heighth of Complement and flattering Reſpect, to the laſt degree of Outrage and barbarous Inſult. Without any the leaſt appearance of a foregoing Coldneſs and Indifference, any ſuſpicious Token, or Symptom of ſuch a change; and I am very ſure, without the leaſt occaſion from us, they riſe upon us with one Conſent, beſet our Houſe, and fell to knocking on the Head thoſe of us that were without Doors, as faſt as they cou'd. I my ſelf felt their Fury amongſt the reſt, being left for dead upon the Ground in the Scuffle; and beſides pillag'd of all the Money, Rings, and valuable Matters I had about me.

At the ſame time that they aſſaulted us aſhore, they made an Attempt upon one of our Ships, which was moſt within their reach; but tho' they made a ſhift to get their Cut-throat *Turks* aboard her, yet they cou'd not keep poſſeſſion of her, our Men blowing them up with a Barrel of Gunpowder, without any prejudice to themſelves.

We that had eſcaped with our Lives were manacled like ſo many Slaves, and ſo led in that baſe and diſgraceful manner away to the Aga, by whom I had been receiv'd with ſo much Pomp but juſt before. And now the *Turk* had put on another Face, and his Stile was alter'd too

as

The *Agelmanes* for the Admiral to be yielded to him.

Admiral *Middleton* put into a Dungeon. *December.*

as much as his Looks. Now inſtead of a ceremonious Welcome, and a ſet of high flown *Turkiſh* Compliments, I was roughly demanded what I had to do to come thither; and how a polluted Chriſtian durſt be ſo bold as to offer to ſet his Foot upon that Country, where the City of their Holy Prophet ſtood? But the Burthen* of the Song was, that I ſhould write to my Men aboard the great Ship to perſwade them to come all aſhoar, and yield themſelves and the Ship into his Hands, and he wou'd let us have the leſſer Ship to carry us home again. But as I had proof enough of his Conſcience and Courteſie to be a ſufficient Security for my ever truſting to either again; ſo I did by a ſcornful rejecting of his Propoſal, give him to underſtand that I thought it as Ridiculous, as I did him Impudent, for the making of it; and that I wou'd never purchaſe my freedom from his Chains, with the loſs of my Honour and Honeſty to thoſe which had entruſted me. 'Tis true, he enforc'd his Perſwaſions with an Argument very cogent in ſome Circumſtances, but in my unhappy State it was of no power at all: He threatn'd if I did not comply he wou'd take away my Head; but the loſs of that was not great enough to move me, having loſt that which is more valuable than Life before. So I was carried out of his Preſence loaden with great Fetters and Iron Shackles, to a filthy Dungeon where the vileſt Malefactour wou'd hardly have been beſtowed, and into which 'twas as bad as an Execution to go. But at the Interceſſion of the Conſul of the *Bannians* my lodging was changed; and I had the Favour to be removed into another Hole, where I had a dry tho' a hard Floor for my Bed, a great Stone for my Pillow, and good ſtore of Rats and Mice to keep me Company.

In this Diſtreſs I was very often viſited by the *Aga*, whoſe Buſineſs being to tempt me to betray my Truſt, made his Preſence more hateful to me than any of the Vermin of the Dungeon.

'Twas a great Mortification to him to hear our Ships were ſo well provided with Victuals, and that they had ſtock enough for two Years; for he expected that Neceſſity wou'd have brought them into his Hands, ſince they cou'd not have a Wind to go off till the ſucceeding *May*; but I knew that it was Matter of Fact, and 'twas no ſmall Comfort to me in my Misfortunes that they were ſo happily out of the treacherous Villains reach. My Men aboard too had the Comfort to hear I was alive, contrary to the firſt Report ſpread about of our being all cut off.

Sent for by the *Baſha.*

There was ſome intercourſe betwixt us alſo to our mutual Satisfaction, by the good Conduct and Courage of one of them, who boldly ventur'd his Life and Liberty to come and ſee me, and was permitted by the *Turks* ſo to do, hoping to make their own Advantage out of it. Now whilſt I lay here continually expecting the laſt Scene of my Tragedy to come on, ſome Officers came to the Town from the *Baſha* with Orders to bring me up to him. This I knew to be but a Remove from one Dungeon to another, and only a change of Place but not of Condition and Circumſtance to me. The *Baſha* was a bigger Man than the *Aga* in his Quality and Figure, but of the ſame ſize exactly as to Conſcience and Honeſty; and as to the Point of good Uſage, it was not a Farthing matter whether I were in the Hands of the Knave the Maſter, or the Knave the Servant. However to breath, the ſweet and pure Air, after the noiſom Stench of a Dungeon was ſome Advantage; and 'twas better to be upon the Road for a few Days, than to lie immur'd the ſame time in a receptacle of Vermin.

Go from *Moba* to *Zenan.*

Ties.

Extream Cold between *Ties* and *Zenan.*

We ſet out from *Moba* the latter end of *December*, being 35 of us in all, who were to make our Appearanoe before the *Baſha* at *Zenan*. This City is the Principal one of that part of *Arabia Felix*, diſtant 180 Miles from *Moba* to the N. N. W. and (according to my Obſervation made when there) in 16 Degr. 15 Min. N. Lat. ſeveral of our Friends amongſt the *Turks* and *Arabians* themſelves, who had expreſt a generous Compaſſion for me in my Confinement, and daily refreſh'd me with their Kindneſs, did at our departure expreſs the like by their friendly Farewels, and hearty Wiſhes for our good Succeſs at *Zenan*; and particularly by their Letters to the great Men about the *Baſha* on our behalf. Nay one of them (the Conſul of the *Banniams*) went thither a little before us, on purpoſe to mollifie the rough Temper of the *Baſha*, and act the part of a Mediator for us. The moſt remarkable Obſervations that occurr'd in our way to *Zenan*, was that of the Cold we felt; which was indeed ſo extream and piercing, that I think we had been all ſtarv'd to Death, if we had not been well provided with Fur-Gowns. The Air was pretty tolerable and temperate till after we had paſs'd the City of *Ties*, which is four Days Journey from *Moba*; but between that and *Zenan* it was ſo ſevere, that being forc'd to lie upon the bare Ground too, had it not been for the Defence of our Cloathing, I believe the Cold wou'd have made us too ſtiff to have ſhewn our *Engliſh* breeding, in bowing and ſcraping to the *Baſha* by that time we got to him. And in *Zenan* it ſelf we had every Morning the Ground covered with a hoary Froſt, and Ice of a Finger thick in one Nights freezing; and all this while we were in the *Torrid Zone*, and tho' 'tis true that the Sun was then on the other ſide of the Line in the South half of the *Torrid Zone*, yet I ſhould ſcarce have believ'd that the Cold was ſo extream in theſe parts that lie ſo directly in his Road, if I had not by both theſe Sences had ſuch convincing Demonſtrations of it.

The *Turks* led us into *Zenan* with a great deal of Triumph, and the *Aga* march'd by us in a very ſtately manner, as if he had done ſome very Heroick Action in betraying and leading us Priſoners, that had neither Arms nor Warning to defend our ſelves againſt his Treachery. As if we had been the Relicks of ſome conquer'd Army, and were brought out of a bloody Field, where the Fate of a whole Kingdom had been determin'd by the Valour and Conduct of this mighty Man; ſo were we brought into the City, and ſtar'd at by the Mobble of *Turks* and *Arabians*. And the *Baſha* to contribute his Part too, to the gracing of this fooliſh Scene, ſent out Shots, Drums, and Trumpets to meet us; lin'd all the way to the Caſtle with Souldiers, and got all his great Men together about him: No leſs than the whole Divan being ſummon'd together upon this Occcaſion.

Sir Henry Middleton brought to the *Baſha.*

Sent to Priſon.

When I came into the Room of Preſence (which was a ſtately long Gallery, ſpread from one end to the other with *Turkie* Carpets, and as full of Grave Councellors as ever it could hold) I found the haughty *Turk* ſitting in Kingly State at the upper end of it, threatning no leſs than Death to me and all my Company in his terrible ſurly Looks, and Eyes ſparkling with Fury and Indignation againſt us. His Stile and Diſcourſe was no leſs Lofty and imperious than his Looks; and I had little from him but ſuch ſort of rude and barbarous Queſtions, as I had from his good Servant the *Aga*. He told me however at laſt, that the *Aga* had done what he did by his Orders, and that they came directly from *Conſtantinople*; and 'twas the *Grand Seignior*'s Pleaſure that all Chriſtians that came into thoſe parts ſhould be treated in this Manner; and therefore ſince we were come upon that Forbidden Ground, our Lives and Fortunes were at his Maſters diſpoſal, and we muſt wait till Orders came from Court either to Execute, Enſlave or Diſcharge us. This was our Sentence, which when paſt we were order'd to our ſeveral places of Confinement; my Men to the common Priſon, and my ſelf to one a little better, in the Keeper's Houſe. 'Tis true the *Baſha* was not ſo great, his Air ſo ſtern and ſour, nor his Words ſo ſcaring; but I had Preſence enough to Interpoſe and Argue what I thought convenient, as well in our own Defence, as Reflections upon the ſcandalous Treachery of *Agra*. But Innocence cou'd be no Protection here, as well as breach of Faith and Truth no Crime; and the *Baſha* and his *Aga* were ſo cloſely link'd together in the Villainy, that one muſt of neceſſity defend what tother had done. Yet I think they ought both to have ſpar'd the *Grand Seignior*'s Reputation, and not to have brought him in for ſnacks in the Scandal of their own private Knaveries. They muſt rob Ships, cut Throats, pillage, plunder and impriſon Strangers, and violate all the Laws and Cuſtoms of Nations, even thoſe that are ſacred amongſt the moſt Barbarous; and then upon the Pretence of our being Chriſtians, thro' all upon the *Grand Seignior's* Orders; which is to Compliment him with the Title of Patrone to Thieves and Villains, and make him ſo much worſe than themſelves as his Character and Figure is greater. And I make no Queſtion at all, but that (we being at that time join'd in a ſtrict League of Friendſhip with the Port) the barbarous Orders to uſe us ſo, wou'd have been publickly diſown'd there, if the Matter had been fairly repreſented; and theſe Actions would have coſt the proud *Baſha* his Place and Honour if not his Head.

Friends about the *Baſha* endeavour his Diſcharge.

January.

Now while we continued in theſe Circumſtances at *Zenan* there were divers of the great Men about the *Baſha*, which continually did us very good Offices with him, and labour'd moſt heartily for our Releaſe. The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the *Cayba Baſſa* or Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, the Conſul of the *Banniams*, and one or two more *Arabian* Merchants; to every one of whom I muſt acknowledge a particular Obligation. Theſe gave me to underſtand (by that time we had been ſome 8 or 10 Days here) that when the reſt of our Company now expected were come up to *Zenam*, we ſhould all be ſent back again to *Moba*. And after the Arrival of this part of our Company, the *Baſha* himſelf

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They are to be ſent back to *Moha.*

(before whom I was order'd to appear) confirm'd this News to me, and told me we ſhould all return to *Moha*, and part of us ſhould go abroad preſently, but my ſelf and 29 more ſhould be detain'd till all the Ships of *India* were come in, and then we ſhould have our full Diſcharge too.

As for our Goods he alledged he cou'd not make a Surrender of them, for they were all put up to the *Grand Seignior*'s Account, and ſo was our Pinnace too, and therefore out of his Power to redeliver; but all other things belonging to us ſhou'd be reſtored, and our Liberty ſhould be infallibly ſure when the time he had fixed for our ſtay was expired.

February.

About the middle of the ſucceeding Month, the time came on for our departure to *Moha*, and I went to take my leave of the *Baſſa*, but a little before exalted to the high Place and Dignity of a Vizier. His Pride being encreaſed together with his Honour, he commanded me in a very imperious manner to look to it, that neither I nor any of my Nation came any more into thoſe parts; and 'tis certain that he might have ſav'd himſelf the Trouble of giving that Command, ſince no Man that had once been there and ſo entertain'd, could ever be fond of coming the ſecond time amongſt a pack of ſuch inhuman Barbarians as they were. But when I begg'd on the behalf of my Nation, that (if any of their Ships ſhou'd happen to come into thoſe parts before notice cou'd be given to *England* for the Prohibition) they might not be betrayed as we had been, but plainly told that they muſt not come there, that they might know what to truſt to: He poſitively refuſed that they ſhould have any ſuch warning; which I think was a ſufficient Proof of a baſe Deſign, and that he intended more the Plunder of Ships, than to ſhew his Reſpect to the *Grand Seignior*'s Orders, which were to keep them from coming to Trade there.

Deſcription of *Zenan.*

This City of *Zenan* is conſiderable for it's largeneſs, being ſomething bigger than our City of *Briſtol*, and ſtrongly built for the moſt part with Stone and Lime. The Wall that ſurrounds it, is indeed of Earth, but 'tis ſtrengthen'd with Turrets in every part of it, by which means 'tis made a ſubſtantial Defence to the City. Beſides there are two good Caſtles, one to the North ſide, ſeated upon a Hill, which overlooks the Town, and defends that part from the wild Mountain People, that uſe to annoy it from thence; and another to the Eaſt ſide, which is the *Baſſa*'s Palace, and incloſ'd with ſeveral Walls with Turrets and Battlements. 'Tis ſeated in a barren ſtony Valley, and has not a drop of Water, but what's fetch'd out of Wells, and that they dig extreamly deep for too: And then for Wood, 'tis as ſcarce and dear here as 'tis at *Sokotora*, whereas the pinching Cold I am ſure requires no little Plenty all hereabouts. Adjoining to the Wall of the *Baſſa*'s Caſtle, is a large and ſpacious Yard, where abundance of Women and Children are kept as Pledges and Securities for the good and peaceable Behaviour of their Husbands and Parents under the *Turkiſh* Government.

General *Middleton* goes back for *Moha.*

Within ſight of this place was my Priſon too, which now I was ſo happy as to take my leave of, and ſet out with my Company for *Moha*. The *Turks* have erected ſeveral publick Houſes or Inns for the Reception of Travellers upon the Road; there's five or ſix of them between *Zenan* and *Moha*, and they are built and maintain'd altogether at the *Grand Seignior*'s Charge. The moſt remarkable places that we paſs'd thro' in our Journey (for now we had a little more heart as well as leaſure to make Obſervations than the firſt time we went this Road) were theſe that follow,

Damare.

Damare, which is about 40 Miles from *Zenan*, a Town prettily built of Lime and Stone and divided into five ſeveral parts, which ſtand at ſome diſtance from one another like ſo many diſtinct Towns. This place is ſituated in a ſweet and fruitful Plain, and has the Bleſſing of Water and all ſorts of Grain in great plenty, being a kind of Store-houſe of the neceſſary Proviſions of Life, from whence the poorer Neighbouring Places draw the beſt part of their Suſtenance.

Tayes or *Ties.*

Tayes, is a conſiderable City too, being half as big as *Zenan*, and wall'd with a Mud-Wall, as moſt of the Cities of *Arabia* (I have ſeen) are: 'Tis hemm'd in on every ſide with very high Hills, one of which has a fair and ſtrong Caſtle upon the top of it. 'Tis good Travelling hereabouts, all ſorts of Proviſion being very cheap; and the Country has the Reputation of yielding ſome quantities of *Indico*, but how much, or of what goodneſs I cou'd not learn.

Eufras *March.*

Eufras is a little Town not far from *Ties*, remarkable only for the Honour of affording a Burying place to ſome celebrated *Arabian* or *Turkiſh* Saint, whoſe Tomb here is viſited every 5th of *January* by a vaſt multitude of devout Pilgrims and People of all ſorts. This Superſtitious Company after they have performed ſome certain idle Ceremonies here, do all jog away together to viſit the Holy City of *Mecha*.

Mouſa.

Mouſa is a Town not great but very populous, about a Days Journey from *Moha*, the Country about which, likewiſe yields ſome ſtore of *Indico*. And indeed all the Country our Travels led us thro' was very populous, and thoſe Towns that wanted good Houſes were far from wanting Inhabitants to fill them. The *Arabs* do dwell with the *Turks* in all the plain and open Country; and the *Turks* are Maſters in moſt of thoſe places as well as in the Maritime Towns: But in the Hilly Country the *Arabs* are abſolute Lords; they deſpiſe the *Turkiſh* Power, and ſcorn the Yoke laid upon the reſt of the Country, and a *Turk* dares not Travel there without a Paſs from the *Arabian* Governour, in whoſe Territories he is.

They Arrive at *Moha.*

Our next Stage was from this Town of *Mouſa* to *Moha*, a place too well known to us, in reſpect of our many Diſtreſſes we underwent there. The common ſort of People did in general diſcover a very great Satisfaction at our ſafe return; and the diſſembling *Aga* himſelf, who thought he cou'd do no leſs than congratulate us upon this Occaſion, did it with all the counterfeit Joy and Proteſtation of his innocence that could be imagin'd. He treated us, careſs'd us at all the publick Feaſts, fawn'd and flatter'd as he us'd to do; ſwore upon the Alcoran before a numerous Aſſembly, that his Heart was ever clear of all Malice and Prejudice, and ever ſhould be fill'd with true Love and Kindneſs for us.

Deſcription of *Moha.*

This Town of *Moha* which is one of the *Turkiſh* Keyes to *Arabia Felix*, is not above one ſixth part ſo big as *Zenan*. 'Tis a very populous Town, but wholly without the Defence of Walls, and has an ugly ſituation in a Salt, Sandy, Barren Soil, cloſe by the Sea ſide. All Boats that bring any Goods aſhoar, are enjoin'd to Land at the Key cloſe by the Governour's Houſe, where they are overlook'd and watch'd, ſo that there's no ſtealing of Cuſtom. Juſt by this Key there's a Platform, upon which are planted about a Dozen Braſs pieces, and at the Weſtern end of the Town, there's a Fort furniſhed with the like number of Ordnance, and for all that, I find this is all their ſtrength.

General *Middleton* puts Part of his Men aboard.

April A. D. 1611.

Quickly after our return to *Moha*, the *Darling* came into the Road and brought me News of the good Condition of my other two Ships; and now according to the Agreement made with the *Baſha*, I ſhipp'd all my Company appointed for that purpoſe aboard the *Darling*. I my ſelf and 29 more were to ſtay behind till the *Indian* Ships were all ſafe come into the Road; which they doubted would be endanger'd by us, ſhould they ſend me away to Sea before.

Aſſab Road.

The *Darling* having got her Company, Sail'd off to the other two Ships of our Fleet, which lay in a good ſecure Road upon the *Abaſſinean* Coaſt. This Road they had found out in the time of my Impriſonment at *Moha*; the Name of it was *Aſſab* Road, and it afforded them as much Wood and Water as they could ever need or deſire, and that at no dearer rate than their labour in fetching it.

The Ships Trade with the People on the Coaſt of the *Abaſſine* Country.

The People of the Country thereabouts are as black as the Negroes of *Guinea*; and they are *Mahometans* on the Sea-Coaſt, but up in the main Land Chriſtians, and Subjects to *Preſter-John*. As for theſe Borderers on the Sea, they go all naked, except a ſmall Cloth about their Waſtes. They were mighty free and forward to Trade with our Ships, (tho' the *Turks* did what they cou'd to prevent their mutual Correſpondence) bringing great Numbers of Oxen, Sheep, and Goats, which they ſold at very reaſonable Rates; firſt for dry Money, and afterwards for coarſe Callicoes, by way of Truck; which Commodity they were more fond of, than Money it ſelf. Tho' the better ſort of them do both ſpeak and write the *Arabick* Language, yet their own Vulgar Speech is vaſtly different from it, and not at all underſtood by the *Arabians* their Neighbours.

Rabaita.

Their King has his ordinary Reſidence at a Sea-Coaſt Town call'd *Rabaita*, lying to the Southward, towards the Streights of *Babel mandel*. He ſent ſome of his principal Men with Preſents to our Ships, and to make them the Offer of any thing his Country afforded, which cou'd any way procure their Satiſfaction. I was very glad (as I had good Reaſon) that my Ships were in ſo good Circumſtances, and lay ſo ſecurely at that little diſtance from me; as alſo, that the Work of our Deliverance was ſo far gone on, as that a part of my Company was actually at liberty aboard their own Ship.

But now I began to think ſeriouſly and heartily how to accompliſh my own eſcape alſo together with the Remainder of my Company) out of this Neſt of barbarous Infidels. 'Tis true, by the Baſſa's Order we were to ſtay till the Ships of *India* were come in; but that was, if we cou'd not get away before: And I had no Scruple of Conſcience at all in the matter, of attempting to make my Eſcape before the time came, that he prefix'd and forc'd me to agree to. For as 'twas the higheſt degree of Violence and Injuſtice in him, to ſeize and detain me in that manner; ſo 'twas juſt and natural for me, or any Man in that Circumſtance, to endeavour to free himſelf from the Wrong and Injury that's done him as ſoon as he can. Liberty is a Privilege granted by Nature, and I enjoy it as a Man, and to aſſert the Rights that belong to me in that Capacity, is to act agreeably to Reaſon and a Natural Law.

But the Difficulties of bringing this Project to perfection, were far harder to be removed out of the way, than any Scruples of Conſcience concerning the Probity of it: And if I cou'd but once have accompliſh'd the thing, I wou'd have prov'd it to have been juſt and righteous afterwards. Beſides, I was the more obliged to look to my ſelf, becauſe I was inform'd by ſome of the Baſſa's intimate Friends, that nothing but fear wou'd make him honeſt and true to his Word, and that if he cou'd break it without danger, he wou'd certainly do it. So that conſidering this; beſides the Kindneſs I ſhou'd do my ſelf by eſcaping, 'twou'd be (I found) a piece of Charity to the Baſſa too, becauſe hereby I ſhou'd put it out of his power to play the Knave, and falſifie his Word and Promiſe.

May.
Sir H. Middleton prepares for his Eſcape.

Being upon the wait for an Opportunity to put this Plot in Execution, I had a very fair and promiſing one put into my hands, by the abſence of the Aga, who went out one Day with all the Great Men of the Town, to make merry at his Gardens, that lay at ſome little diſtance from it. And to render the Opportunity more complete too, the Sub-Baſſa, our Guardian, and all the inferiour Officers, went to a Racky-houſe, and got drunk that Day; which Debauch of theirs, as they tim'd it, was the moſt kind and favourable thing to our Buſineſs that cou'd be.

Our Ship the *Darling* was the Day before come into the Road, and lay there waiting for Intelligence from us, who were Priſoners in the Town; which was alſo permitted and allow'd of by the *Turks*, not imagining any more than an ordinary Correſpondence. Matters were thus agreed on between me and my Company, that I ſhould by ſome very Politick Method be convey'd into the Boat, that was to carry our Letters (as was uſual) to the *Darling*, and in that Boat take up ſuch a part of the Company as it would conveniently hold; and the reſt ſhould go and poſſeſs themſelves of another Boat, that lay ready fitted for their Service at one end of the Town, and ſo all make towards the Ship as well as we cou'd. And this was not extreamly difficult to be put in practice, ſince my Orders obſerv'd of their not going all together in a Body, but diſperſing themſelves by two and three in a Company, there wou'd be no manner of ſuſpicion of any ſuch Deſign, becauſe they had all their free Liberty to walk up and down about the Town at pleaſure. As for my ſelf, I cou'd not ſtir without a Guard to attend me, ſo that 'twas impoſſible for me to go to work that way; and there was no means for me to get aboard, but by putting ſome very fine Trick upon my Keepers. And all things conſider'd, I cou'd light of no better a one than this, to put my ſelf into an empty Cask, and ſo amongſt other Lading be tumbled into the Boat. 'Tis true, I had here a very cloſe and ſtraight Priſon on't; but yet as ſtifling as 'twas, it was better than that at *Moha*; becauſe here was ſome hopes of coming out again. So into my Barrel I went, and being out upon the Water, I forc'd out the Head on't, to have liberty of Breathing, and Providence guided me ſo happily, that I came without Impediments to the place where my Company attended me, and took them in.

The General's Contrivance to get away.

The other Party alſo managed their Buſineſs ſucceſsfully, and got out to Sea without diſturbance, and we all met aboard the *Darling*. A ſmall Number indeed of our Company by their own negligence, delay, and ill management, gave ſuch an Alarm to the Town, that they were diſcover'd and intercepted in their paſſage to the Boat where they ſhou'd have been taken in; and ſo being carried back Priſoners, were like to have loſt their Heads by the extravagant Fury of the Aga; who now return'd from his Diverſion, was like to run mad with the Confuſion and Trouble which this Eſcape gave him. However, to add to his Eaſe and Contentment in this Juncture, I ſent him a Meſſage to this effect: *That if he did not ſpeedily ſend me the reſt of my Men, and make Satiſfaction for Damages receiv'd, I wou'd fire all the Ships in the Road, and batter the Town about his Ears.*

Comes aboard.

Demands Satiſfaction for the Wrongs receiv'd.

And as Circumſtances now happen'd, I had Opportunities enough to take my Revenge; for there were ſome conſiderable Ships in the Road already, and others that came freſh in, whilſt I lay in that threatning poſture before the Town. Now all the Merchants and Great Men of the Town that before deſpis'd me, complemented and courted me, addreſs'd me in the moſt humble manner imaginable, for the ſake of their Ships, and labour'd earneſtly with the Aga to bring him to Terms with me. A Day hardly paſs'd too, without ſome Preſent or other from him, to keep me quiet, and to ſtop the Mouths of my great Guns, which were now ready to ſpeak a Language to him he did not care to underſtand. Even the Baſſa himſelf (now forc'd to be honeſt whether he wou'd or no) ſent me his Commendations, and aſſur'd me he was ſorry I was gone away in ſo obſcure a manner, becauſe he had deſign'd to have diſcharged me in a way more honourable and beſitting my Quality and Character.

June.

I heard all this *Turkiſh* Diſſimulation with Scorn, but having it now in my power to right my ſelf, I gave them my laſt Reſolutions ſo to do; and as the Wrongs I receiv'd there were real and ſubſtantial, ſo in ſhort, I let them know, that I wou'd have another ſort of Reparation than by Flattery and Careſs. My Demands were to have all my Men return'd ſafe aboard to me; to have my Pinnace (which they had ſeized) reſtored; and 70000 Rials of Eight, in Conſideration of the Loſſes I had ſuſtain'd, by the means of the Treachery and Violence there offer'd me.

The two firſt Particulars were eaſily agreed to and perform'd; but the latter (of the Payment of ſo much Money) wou'd not go down with them. However, at laſt, after many Conferences and Debates on both ſides, I yielded to take 18000 Rials, and ſo a Peace was concluded betwixt us and them for two Years, from the Port of *Moha*, to that of *Cananor*, upon the Coaſt of *India*; but this for our better Security I wou'd have confirm'd by a Writing under the Baſſa's own Hand and Seal, which was promis'd, but never perform'd: And this was a Proof clear enough, that tho' neceſſity had compell'd them to make a Peace with us, they intended to break it as ſoon as they had opportunity.

Peace and Agreement made.

July.
Come into *Aſſab* Road.

Having thus diſpatch'd all our Concerns at *Moha*, we ſail'd away for the Road of *Aſſab*, where our Ships had met with ſo good Entertainment before, and where when we now came, we had plenty of Proviſions brought in by the Country People, and Meſſengers from the King, to congratulate our ſafe and happy Eſcape from *Moha*.

Here we paſs'd the time in a pleaſant Correſpondence, and mutual Acts of Kindneſs and Civility between theſe People and us, till the latter end of this Month, when we rouz'd, to go look after a *Turkiſh* Prize; a rich Galleon that comes yearly from *Sues* to *Moha*; which I had the more mind to take, becauſe the Baſſa and the Aga were conſiderably concern'd in her. But in this purſuit, having the Wind very much againſt us, and running into ſome Dangers, which our want of a Pilot expos'd us to, we were oblig'd to give over that Deſign.

Go on for *India.*
Auguſt.

We went on now to the Streights of *Babelmandel*, in proſecution of our *Indian* Voyage. And here in this paſſage we detected at once the Falſhood and the Deſign of that Report, made by the *Turks* and *Arabs* concerning this Streight, *viz.* that the Southern Paſſage between the Iſland and the Coaſt of *Africk*, is not navigable for Rocks and Shoals, and other terrible things; and that a Ship that will go into the *Red Sea*, muſt go the Northern Paſſage between the Iſland and the Coaſt of *Arabia*, or not at all.

No danger in the Southern Paſſage of *Babelmandel.*

I doubt not but the *Turks* do wiſh 'twere unnavigable, or wou'd make it ſo if they cou'd; but that Nature has actually made it ſo, is as falſe, as to affirm no Paſſage at all that way.

Our *Darling* went between the Iſland, and the Coaſt of *Africk*, and found the Paſſage at leaſt three Leagues wide, and forty Fathom Water for ¾ part of the way, and not the leaſt appearance of danger in the whole paſſage. But the *Turks* wou'd make the World believe the contrary, becauſe the other Streight is not a Mile and half over; which may be ſo fortified, that no Ships ſhall come into the *Red Sea*, without either asking them leave, or ſtanding the Shock of their Ordnance.

Septemb.

The beginning of the next Month brought us into the Road of *Deliſha*, in the Iſle of *Zocotora*, where I furniſh'd my Ships with Water, and traded with the King for what Aloes he had; which I think he made me give dearer for than ſome of our Nation before, that had dealt with him for the ſame Commodity. A few Days ended what Buſineſs we had to do here; and ſo holding our Courſe for *Surat*, we came (without any remarkable Occurrence in the way) to an Anchor in *Swelly* Road, the latter end of the ſame Month.

Arrive at *Swelly* Road.

The Tides in *Swelly*-Road.

According to our Obſervation here, the Water flows E. N. E. one quarter N. and W. by S. one quarter S. by the Moon, and by this time the Flood holds five Hours, and the Ebb ſeven: The Reaſon of which difference is from the abundant Rains which do help to ſtrengthen the Current of the River, and ſo far overcome and ſhorten the Flood-ſtreams; whereas at other Seaſons, tho' the Streams do ever go ſtrong, yet the Flood and Ebb are equally ſix Hours apiece.

The *Portugueſe* oppoſe their Landing.

Here we had Intelligence, that a whole Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigats, to the number of twenty, and very well provided with all things, as well to offend us, as defend themſelves, lay waiting for us at the Bar of *Surat*. Theſe had, it ſeems, Notice of our being in the *Red Sea*, and of our Deſign for *India*; and therefore came out with a Reſolution to diſpute the Point with us, and, if poſſible, to hinder our Trade either at *Surat*, or any where elſe, upon that Coaſt.

We now found our ſelves in a Circumſtance of ſome Difficulty and Diſtreſs; go back and loſe our Voyage we wou'd not, and we ſaw no probability of getting into *Surat*, without forcing our way through the whole *Portugueze* Fleet. They kept ſo ſtrict a Watch, that no Boat cou'd either go to, or come from the Shoar, with Intelligence to us but they muſt of neceſſity fall into their hands; and if they had any thing worth the taking, to be ſure were plunder'd. And upon this pretence they took occaſion to rob divers Ships, and Boats, alledging, (whether they did or no) that they held a Correſpondence with their Adverſaries, and were bringing Supplies to us, upon which ſcore all their Lading was confiſcated and ſeiz'd. All Communication between us and the Land being thus cut off, and no Proviſion poſſible to be brought to us, our Men began to grow very weak and diſtemper'd, and Matters grew to ſuch a paſs, that 'twas neceſſary for us in a very little time to break this Chain, or reſolve all to ſtarve or be eaten out with the Scurvy a Shipboard. I did therefore deſire, by Letters directed to their Admiral, that theſe Matters might be amicably compos'd and adjuſted, and that I might not be compell'd to have recourſe to violent Methods, to procure that Liberty which I had as great a Right to in that place as themſelves; both by the Authority of the King from whom I came, and of the King to whoſe Country I came, who had very kindly entertain'd our Nation there, upon the Deſigns of Trade. But as for them who value no Laws, either of Nature or Nations, nor no Authority but that of their own Prince, they inſiſted upon the old Topick of the King of *Portugal*'s Prerogative in thoſe Seas, and concluded that I ſhou'd not be admitted to come there, without I ſhew'd an Order from him. This, with many baſe Reflections upon our Country, and other Expreſſions of Scorn and Contempt, was all the Anſwer I cou'd get from them.

Gen. *Midd.* ſends to the *Portugueze* Admiral.

His Anſwer.

October.

And 'twas not only in the Matters of Trade that we were thus inſulted by them; but they barbarouſly denied us thoſe common Liberties, which might have been ſafely granted us, without any prejudice to themſelves: For whereas we had ſeveral of our Country-men and Merchants aſhore, whom I wou'd have taken aboard, they wou'd not allow this; but told us ſcoffingly, they wou'd carry them to *Goa* along with them, where they ſhou'd have as good Uſage as any *Jews*, and *Turks*, ever had among the *Portugueze*: And from thence they wou'd ſend them home as they ſaw fit.

The Inſolence of the *Portugueze*.

The Governour of *Surat* ſends to the General.

I had ſhortly after a Civil Meſſage from the Governour of *Surat*, who offer'd all the Kindneſs he cou'd do for us; but complain'd that the *Portugueze* were an Impediment in his way, that he cou'd not do what he deſired and intended; but withal, adviſed me to ſail out of this Road to *Goga*, where I might ride nearer the Shore with my Ships, and the *Portugueze* Armado cou'd not hinder my landing; and beſides, 'twas nearer to *Cambaya*, where I ſhou'd find much greater advantage for Trade than here. But as I had for ſeveral Reaſons no Inclination to follow this Counſel, ſo I was the more particularly determin'd againſt it, by an Advertiſement which came from ſome of our Country-men aſhore, by which (amongſt other things) I underſtood, that Capt. *Sharpigh*, with ſome others, were coming from *Cambaya* to *Surat*, in order to go along with me. Thus neither to deſert my Country-men, nor give my Adverſaries an occaſion to reproach me, with flying out of an apprehenſion of their Power, I continued in that Road, and anchor'd near the North Point, a-thwart the Bar, at the entrance of the River of *Surat*. Being now reſolv'd to Command my Landing, in ſpite of the *Portugueze*, we put on for the Shoar with our Ships, in the beſt order that might be: The *Portugueze* likewiſe advanc'd in Order of Battel, and ſtood in between us and the Shore. 'Twas not long before ſome of their Frigats began to make the Onſet, which were follow'd by the whole Power of the Fleet; and 'twas as little a while before our Shot (which we beſtow'd pretty liberally amongſt them) obliged them to retire further from us, and leave us not only the Liberty of the Shore, but the poſſeſſion of one of their Frigats, which we took in the Skirmiſh.

General *Middleton* defeats the *Portugueze* Fleet,

Now we had a free paſſage open'd between our Ships and the Land; and tho' the *Portugueze* laid ſeveral Ambuſcades to cut off our Retreat when we went aſhoar, we had the good Luck to avoid the danger of them all, and convoy ſafely aboard all the Company we expected from *Surat* and *Cambaya*.

And takes all the *Engliſh* aboard.

But the greateſt Concerns, which were thoſe of Trade, lay all this while unminded; the Difficulty and Trouble made us by the *Portugueze*, having hitherto rendred any progreſs in thoſe Matters impoſſible. But now the Governour of *Surat* (who had given me a Meeting once or twice on the Shore) aſſured me, That *Mocrebchan*, the Governour of *Cambaya*, wou'd come to confer with me about thoſe Points, in a little time; and in the mean ſpace the Country ſhou'd be order'd to bring in their Proviſions for the Supply of our Ships.

Novemb.
A Market upon the Strand.

So a Market was kept upon the Strand, by *Swelly*-Road, to which the *Indians* brought in Beaſts, Fowl, Butter, Cheeſe, all ſorts of Fruits, dried Fiſh, and Palmito-Wine. Beſides, the more common Fruits which we meet with every Day, they had a ſort of Peaſcod, which they call *Paupery*, and a Fruit as big as a ſmall Crab, of a grateful taſte, mixt of ſweet and ſour, having one ſmall round Stone in the midſt of it, to which they give the Name of *Gindus*.

This part of the Promiſe perform'd, was very quickly follow'd with the accompliſhment of the other, (ſo much did the Fidelity of the *Indians*, at this time, tranſcend our expectation;) for now *Mocrebchan*, with a mighty Train, came to the Conference I ſo earneſtly deſired. Having paſt the firſt Complement aſhoar, I invited him to go aboard my Ship, where I deliver'd His Majeſty's Letter directed to him, and careſſed him in the beſt manner the ſhort Warning we had of his coming wou'd allow. But as for his part, his great Buſineſs when he was there, was to ſearch and look all about the Ship, to find out all the little Toys that pleas'd him, and to beg them when he had done. There was not a Cheſt, nor a Box in the whole Ship, that cou'd ſcape him, but he wou'd have it open'd; and if he took a liking to any thing he ſaw, he wou'd either ask for't, in plain Terms, or ſignifie his Mind by ſuch broad *Innuendo's*, that I cou'd not avoid giving it him. And thus he went picking up of Toys and Gambols from one Ship to another, without ever coming to the Main Buſineſs in hand; and if I offer'd to propoſe any thing of that kind to him, he wou'd put it off with one Excuſe or another; ſo that I plainly ſaw, he had no Mind to do any thing. To do him Juſtice however (tho he did us ſo little) he was our Chapman for ſome Commodities; as Knives and Glaſſes, and ſome Cheſts of Sword-blades: But no Money paid, nor no Time prefix'd when it ſhou'd be ſo; and yet at the ſame time that we muſt give him this Credit, he was pleas'd to repoſe ſo little Confidence in our Honeſty, as not to truſt us with the keeping of his Bargain till he was got aſhoar, but wou'd ſee all ſent away before he went himſelf.

Mocrebchan comes to the General, and goes aboard.

Mocrebchan's baſe Dealing with Sir *H. M.*

And to make himſelf the better Cuſtomer to us, he pick'd out of the Parcels of Sword-blades we ſold him, all that were very fine and good, and ſent me back the reſt without the Money too, or any Conſideration for that Diſadvantage; tho' I had let him have a much cheaper Pennyworth upon that very account, that he took all one with another.

Thus having got what they cou'd out of us, they remov'd their Goods and Tents, both he and the Governour of *Surat*, and went away; and not only ſo, but made Proclamation, That no Proviſions ſhould be brought to us, and that under a very ſevere Penalty (the loſs of the Noſe) to be inflicted upon the Delinquent in this Caſe. Yet at the ſame time that I was thus abus'd in my Commodities, and they were endeavouring to force me away by Famine from the Country, did this covetous, ſordid-ſpirited Infidel, ſend a Meſſenger to beg a fine Spaniel-Dog, and my Perfumed Jerkin off from my Back; as he had but a few Days before begg'd my Bever-Hat off from my Head, and wou'd then fain have had the other too. Which I mention not for the Value of the things given him, which were inconſiderable, but to ſhew what ill Circumſtances a Man is in, that deals in theſe Countries, with People of ſuch inſatiable Avarice, of ſuch griping, ſqueezing Tempers, that will never leave a Man by their Good Will, as long as he bleeds one drop of any thing that's agreeable to them.

December.

But they had a mind, it ſeems, to more of our *Engliſh* Commodities, and therefore after a few Days paſs'd came

down

Decemb. Traffick with the *Indians.*

down again with ſeveral Packs of *Indian* Cloths, and other Goods. They pretended they wou'd deal with us for our Lead, Quickſilver, Vermilion, and Velvets, which latter *Mocrebchan* had a very great Inclination to; but then they wou'd Trade upon ſuch Terms, that they wou'd gain Fifty in the Hundred, tho' our Commodities were brought to their own Doors, and we were at the Charge and Trouble of ſo tedious a Voyage to come to theirs. However, at laſt, we agreed upon the Prices, and ſome part of the Goods were deliver'd, and the Lead, and the reſt, were brought aſhore as faſt as we cou'd, in order to their weighing.

Difference between their Weights and the *Engliſh.*

But here a freſh Difficulty was ſtarted, which had well nigh put all in Confuſion again: For they were for weighing with the Weights and Beam of their own Country, and we inſiſted upon the uſe of ours; and there appear'd upon Trial ſo much difference between them, that had we gone by their Beam, they had pinch'd us at a very fine rate; for in every five Pigs there was ten or eleven Maunds difference, every Maund being Thirty three Pound *Engliſh* Weight.

And upon our refuſing to comply with their Humour in this matter, the old Governour of *Surat* flung away in a Rage, and declared we ſhou'd pay for his Goods, half in Money, and the other in our Commodities, or elſe the Bargain ſhould be void, and he wou'd turn all we had landed upon our Hands again.

And I doubt not, but had we been left entirely to his Mercy, we ſhou'd have come off conſiderable Loſers; but as it fell out, we were able to make our own Terms with him, and bring him to a reaſonable Concluſion: For I had at this Juncture, two Men of very great Figure aboard my Ship, one of which was the new Governour of *Surat*, whom (tho' they came upon a Civil Viſit) I made bold to detain, (with all the Entertainments my Ship cou'd give them) till I had brought the Matters of Trade into a better Condition. And I think we were beholding to theſe Pledges for ſo fair and reaſonable a Concluſion of the Buſineſs as we did come to; for after this we went on without any more of thoſe Diſputes and Brangles that we had before; and we bargain'd for a matter of forty Packs more of their *Indian* Cloths.

Mocrebchan and *Hoia Naſſan* turn'd out of their places.

'Twas about this time, that an Order came from Court to turn out *Mocrebchan* from his Government of *Cambaya*, and *Hoia Naſſan* from his of *Surat*: This latter was he that held that Poſt at our firſt coming hither, and that managed the Trade ſo unfairly with us, putting us to ſo much trouble, as to keep thoſe two Perſons before-mention'd in ſafe Cuſtody, till we had done Right and Juſtice to our ſelves. And whatever the timely removing of this Perſon wou'd have ſignified, I believe, if *Mocrebchan* had been remov'd ſome Years before, the Intereſt of our *Engliſh* Nation in thoſe Parts wou'd have fared much the better. For as he was a Man that valued not the Service of his Prince, or Profit of his Country, any farther than either was conſiſtent with, or made for his own private advantage; ſo he was a particular Hater of our Nation; he was a Friend to the *Portugueze*, their greateſt Enemies; did all their Buſineſs, and carried on all their Deſigns at Court, which were directed to the utter overthrowing of thoſe happy Beginnings of a Trade and Factory in this Country, under the Conduct of Capt. *Hawkins*.

January.

All the *Engliſh* go away from *Surat.*

And come aboard.

And 'twas at this time, that that worthy Perſon, and faithful Agent for his Country, having ſeen the fruſtration of all his Hopes and Deſires, partly by the Inconſtancy of the *Mogul* himſelf, the Malice and Diligence of the Jeſuits, the Bribes of the *Portugueze*, and eſpecially the invidious Repreſentations made of our Nation by *Mocrebchan*, was preparing to return to *England*, no more Service being to be done here. A Factory was abſolutely and peremptorily denied, and all *Engliſh-men* were commanded to be gone out of the Country, being not allowed ſo much time as Juſtice and common Honeſty wou'd have allotted them for the gathering in of their Debts. This being the Caſe, I ſent to all our Country-men to repair as faſt as they cou'd, with their Goods, to our Ships, that we might go all together, and leave a People ſo fickle, baſe, and inhoſpitable, for ſome other that might give us better Entertainment. And they very readily taking the Alarm, being now as weary of the Country, as the Country was of them, in as little a time as their Affairs wou'd allow, came down with all their Effects, bringing the Two Captains, *Sharpeigh*, and *Hawkins*, along with them.

February.

We now underſtood the Reaſon of this ſo very ſudden a change, and why our People were expell'd the Country in ſuch a hurry, not being permitted ſo much as to call upon their Debtors before they went away. The Jeſuits, it ſeems, had ſent a Letter to *Mocrebchan*, wherein they ſignified, That if they receiv'd the *Engliſh* into a Friendſhip and Trade in thoſe Parts, the *Portugueze* wou'd come and burn all the Towns upon the Sea-Coaſt, and rifle all their Ships they met any where abroad. Such a degree of Pride and Inſolence, is that rude and domineering Nation now come to, that they muſt pretend to govern the Countries of other Princes, preſcribe their Intereſts and Alliances to them, and fix the Bounds of their Trade and Correſpondence as they think fit.

We had, to our very great diſadvantage, worn out no leſs than One hundred thirty eight Days in this Country; all which time was fill'd up with nothing on the part of the *Indians*, but Tricks and Delays, and Breach of Promiſe; and on ours with vain and fruitleſs Expectations of a profitable Trade.

Go to *Dabul.*

Being therefore, on all accounts, high time to be gone, we ſet Sail for *Dabul* about the beginning of *February*, and came thither the middle of the ſame Month. I had ſome hopes of doing ſomething to the purpoſe here; however, at worſt, 'twas but ſhooting one Arrow more, after ſeveral others loſt before.

I reckon the Latitude about the Bar of *Dabul*, to be between 17 and 18 Degr. N. and the Variation at the ſame place to be 15 Degr. 34 Min. W. So I make by my Account and Obſervation, near 4 Degr. in Latitude, and about 1 Degr. in Variation, leſs, at this Bar of *Dabul*, than at that at *Surat*, or in *Swally* Road, within the Bar.

Trade at *Dabul.*

The Governour of the place ſent me a Preſent at my Arrival, and promis'd a very Friendly Correſpondence, and a Free Trade: Upon which the Merchants were ſent aſhore, with ſeveral ſorts of Commodities. But tho' they made a Noiſe at firſt of fine Cloths, Indico, and Pepper, which they wou'd barter for our Wares, yet we cou'd find nothing of that forth-coming; and all that they dealt with us for, were ſome of our Broad Cloths, and Kerſies, of the beſt and lighteſt Colours, and ſome Quantities of Lead in Bars.

Take a *Portugueze* Ship and Frigat.

While we lay here, the *Portugueze* made us ſome ſmall part of an Amends for the many Damages they had done us, by bringing (tho' againſt their Wills) a good Ship and Frigat of theirs within our reach.

The Ship was of 300 Tun Burthen, belonging to *Cochin*, and bound for *Chaul*, and her Lading was Coco's, Tin, Sugar, Racka Nuts, *China*-Diſhes, Spices, Wax, Alom, and baſt Ropes.

The Frigat was of 60 Tun, bound for *Ormus*, and laden with Rice and Tamarinds; out of all which we took what we thought convenient, and cou'd well beſtow in our Ships. We wou'd fain have found their Bills of Lading, if poſſible; but they had either none at all, or elſe had ſecur'd them, where we cou'd not come at them.

March.

And now we began to think of leaving *India*, and ſailing back again towards the *Red Sea*. We were induc'd to this Courſe, upon Conſideration of the Opportunities we might there meet with, of putting off thoſe Goods which ſtill lay upon our hands, to thoſe Ships of *India* we ſhou'd find thereabouts: Partly to take ſome further Revenge upon the *Turks* of *Aden* and *Moha*; as alſo to prevent the Danger which threatned a Ship of our Country gone a Year before into thoſe parts; of which we had Notice when we were at *Surat*.

Set ſail for the *Red Sea*. Come to *Zocotora.*

So diſcharging the *Portugal* Ship and Frigat we ſet Sail from *Dabul*, directing our Courſe towards the Coaſt of *Arabia*. And the latter end of this Month brought us to the Iſle of *Zocotora*.

From the Coaſt of *India*, to this Iſland, we continually found our ſelves carried farther to the Southward, than by our Courſe we cou'd expect; eſpecially when we were thwart the entrance of the *Perſian* Gulf; which I impute to the Influence of ſome Current ſetting thence to the Southward.

As we coaſted along by Cape *Guadarfui*, and *Monte Felix*, the Country People came to us with Sheep and Goats, and ſome parcels of Olibanum, and Gum-Arabick, which we bought of them at reaſonable Rates.

But this Civil Correſpondence and Traffick with us, was all over the fruit of a miſtake; for they ſtill took us for *Mahometans*: And had they known us to have been otherwiſe, 'tis very much to be doubted, whether they wou'd not have been for giving us the ſame Treatment that their *Arabian* Neighbours did.

April, A. D. 1612.

Being now come into theſe parts, that we might the better accompliſh the Deſigns we came for, both of ſecuring our own Country Ships that ſhou'd come that way, and taking Satisfaction from all *Indian* and *Turkiſh* ones, for Wrongs received; I ſet one of my good Ships, the *Pepper-Corn*, to guard the Paſſage towards *Aden*; and my ſelf, with the other, went to keep the Paſſage of the

Captain *Saris* gone into the *Red-Sea* ſome time before General *Middleton* Arrived.

Streight of *Babelmandel.* And I had now Intelligence from *Zocotora*, that Captain *Saris* Commander of a Fleet of three *Eaſt-India* Ships, notwithſtanding the Writing I had left at that place ſome time before, to adviſe him to the contrary, was already gone into the *Red-Sea* to Trade, hoping for better Entertainment than I had found there, becauſe of the Protection of the *Grand-Seignior*'s Paſs which he had gotten. This Advice I had by our own Ship the Darling, which we had diſpatch'd a little before the reſt of our Fleet to *Zocotora* in our coming hitherwards to enquire concerning any *Engliſh* Ships that had come that way; and there our People ſaw the Letter left by Captain *Saris*, giving an Account of his paſt Voyage, and future intended Progreſs to the *Red-Sea*.

Two *Indian* Ships ſiez'd.

We had not been long expecting in the Streights, before ſome ſcattering Prizes fell into our Hands: First a Ship of *Baſano*, and then a Ship of *Din* bound for *Moha*: I forc'd them both to come to an Anchor by me, and took out of them whatſoever Goods were for our purpoſe.

Captain *Saris* comes with his Ships.

My Letters directed to Captain *Saris* at our firſt putting into the *Streights*, were it ſeems honeſtly deliver'd, tho' a *Turk* was the Poſt; for he quickly came with all his Ships to Anchor by me upon the News of my Arrival; ſo that our Force in the *Red-Sea* by this conjunction of the two Fleets was pretty conſiderable. The Captain told me that my coming thither in that hoſtile manner had ſpoil'd his Trade at *Moha*, which he believ'd otherwiſe would have been very good, becauſe of the *Grand-Seignior*'s Paſs. For my part I believe that Paſs would have ſignified little in the latter end, and that ſuch arrant Villains as thoſe *Turks* of *Moha* are, would have found ſome way or other to have eluded it when 'twas for their Advantage. Beſides we were now in a Condition to do our ſelves and our Nation more Service by other Methods, than falling into a Trade with the baſe and knaviſh People of *Moha*, or *Aden*, or any other Town upon thoſe Coaſts. And Opportunities of this Nature came thick and threefold upon us, and we had almoſt as much work in ſieizing and ſtopping Ships as we could well manage. For before the end of this Month, we had gotten no leſs than 11 or 12 *Indian* Ships more into our Power, which were all bound for *Moha* and *Zidda*, and laden with Pepper, Rice, and other *Indian* Commodities; ſome of them were very large Ships too, as particularly the *Rhemy* of *Surat* (belonging to the old *Mogul* Empreſs) of 1500 Tun, and others of 600, 400, 200, *&c.* but none of them all inconſiderable either for their burthen or their lading. So that now we were in a capacity of forcing the *Turks* to make us ample and compleat Satisfaction for the many Injuries and loſſes we had ſuſtain'd from them; and they dared not refuſe coming even to our own Terms, ſince we had 13 good Ships in our Hands, in which the Town of *Moha* was ſo deeply concern'd, and whoſe loſs would have been no leſs than a breaking to the whole place.

More *Indian* Ships taken.

May.

But this was not the whole of our Succeſs neither, for the *Pepper-Corn* left to guard the Paſſage to *Aden*, had her ſhare in this kind of Sport too, getting three or four good *Indian* Ships within her reach, out of which ſhe furniſhed her ſelf with ſome quantities of uſeful Commodities. This Ship having done her work, came to us in *Aſſab* Road, which was the common place of Rendezvouz, whither our united Fleets, and all our Prizes repair'd, after we had done our Buſineſs in the Province we had undertaken.

Here we receiv'd a ſolemn Viſit from the King of *Rabita*, who came ſplendidly attended with all his Guards and Nobility to bid us welcome and congratulate us upon our Succeſs.

The *Turks* come to compound with General *Middleton*.

June.

And now alſo Commiſſioners came from *Moha* to treat with us about the Redemption of the Ships, as the Sabander or Governour, the Captain of the Gallies, and an *Aga*, who were order'd by the *Baſha* to come to a Conference with us upon that Subject. My Demands were (as at firſt) 100000 Rials of Eight, a Sum they did not well know how to accompliſh the Raiſing of, and beſides could not agree to till they had heard the *Baſſa*'s Reſolution upon the Matter. This concern was a long time a debating, and the Captains of the *Indian* Ships being horribly diſguſted that their Ships were thus arreſted upon the *Turks* ſcore, and conſequently backward to advance any thing towards the payment of their Debt; it came to no head, and a whole Month was conſum'd to little purpoſe. And all this while our People were buſie in romaging the *Indian* Ships, opening and packing of *Indian* Cloths fit for our turn, and giving them Engliſh Commodities in lieu of them. This was the leaſt Juſtice we could do our ſelves as to them, conſidering the foul dealing we had met with in their Country, and many tricks put upon us in Trade, and the Debts claimable there, which we had reaſon to look upon as deſperate, if in this Juncture we ſhould neglect the Opportunity of doing our ſelves right. As for the *Turks* we plainly ſaw by their Delays, and refuſing to come to a poſitive Concluſion, that they intended to abuſe us farther, and ſhuffle us out of Payment, if we did not by ſome method ſpeedily compel them to it.

July.

Go from *Aſſab* Road towards *Moha*.

And therefore moving with the whole Fleet out of *Aſſab* Road towards *Moha*, I ſignified to the *Indian* Commanders, that the *Turks* not being minded to make me that juſt and full Satisfaction which I demanded, I had no other way at preſent to be revenged of them ſo effectually as to ſpoil their *Indian* Trade. And therefore tho' I had done what I thought fit in conſideration of the Injuries received in *India*, yet I muſt carry all their Ships away with me out of the *Red-Sea*, to cut off all Commerce between the *Turks* and them for this Year, that the latter might not receive any Benefit by them.

The *Indians* agree with General *Middleton* for their Trade.

August.

The *Indians* who ſaw this Seaſon would be wholly loſt to them, if their Ships ſhould be thus forc'd away, and being unwilling to carry back what Commodities they had again into *India*; they reſolved to compound for their Trade this Year, and pay every Ship ſuch a Summ of Money that they might not be diſturb'd in the free Vent of their Merchandize amongſt the *Turks*. And this Offer of theirs upon deliberation I accepted of, leaving the fuller Satisfaction due from the *Turks* till another time; ſo every Ship paid in its Quota, the great *Rehemy* of *Surat* allowing for it's part 15000 Rials of Eight, ſhe being equal in value to four other good Ships.

This Affair thus adjuſted (which was the Occaſion that brought us to and detain'd us in theſe Seas till this time) we were now ready for the purſuing of Buſineſs in other parts of the World.

They all go out of the *Red-Sea*.

Captain *Saris* having firſt diſpatch'd one of his Ships, in a few Days ſail'd away himſelf out of the *Red-Sea*; and we ſtaid no longer behind than the middle of this Month of *Auguſt*.

General *Middleton* goes for *Tekoa*.

September.

We had ſent away our Ship the *Darling* as long ago as *May* for *Tekoa* in *Sumatra*, in which Voyage ſhe was preſently after follow'd by the *Thomas*, a Ship of Captain *Saris*'s Fleet, and now my ſelf with the other two, the *Trade's Increaſe* and the *Pepper Corn*, ſet Sail in proſecution of the ſame Voyage. After we had paſs'd the Straits of *Babelmandel* the *Currents* (which we then lay open to) began to render our ſailing ſomething doubtful and perplexed. While we were yet within proſpect of the *African* Coaſt, a Current ſetting to the S.W. did conſiderably abuſe us in our reckoning; afterwards, when farther out at Sea, we were moſt ſenſible of one ſetting the contrary way, *viz.* towards the N. E. We eaſily diſcover'd our approach towards the Coaſt of *India*, by the numbers of Snakes which we met ſwiming in the Sea, this being a never failing Token of it, as the Experience of all Sailors do juſtifie. Theſe creatures in a fair and calm Seaſon are a very common ſight in the Water about theſe parts, but there are hardly any of them to be met with, if the weather be any thing foul and boiſterous. As we ſail'd along the Coaſt of *India*, we obſerved the Sea for the moſt part thick and muddy, but ſometimes intermixt with ſpots of clear tranſparent Water, ſo that here it look'd like dirty puddle, and there bright and pure, as if without any defiling mixture; and this change from one extream to the other was ſudden and all at once, without any thing of an orderly Tranſition from one Degree to another, or finding any Tokens of ſuch an alteration as appear'd.

Snakes ſwiming in the Water, a ſign of being near the Coaſt of *India*.

October.

Come to *Tekoa*.

The Month of *October* was more than half gone by that time we came to our deſired Port of *Tekoa* in *Sumatra*. Here we found our Ship the *Darling* and her Companion the *Thomas*, but little Buſineſs done by either of them, the quantities of Pepper they had gotten being very inconſiderable, and no more to be had till the next *April* or *May*.

Sir *Henry Middleton* goes to *Bantam*.

This Diſappointment made me think of a Remove from hence to ſome other place, where ſomething might be done worth my ſtay and attendance; for I plainly ſaw that the Civil Wars (which raged in this place at the time of our being here) would be an invincible Obſtruction in the way of our Trade.

So after a few Days I ſet Sail from this place for *Bantam* in the *Pepper-Corn*, leaving my own Ship the *Trade's Increaſe*, to finiſh the little Buſineſs that was yet to be done there, with Orders to repair to *Bantam* as ſoon as thoſe concerns were over.

Stays at *Bantam* till his Admiral Ship is mended.

This Ship having a Misfortune to receive ſome prejudice by a Rock in her way, was ſo diſordered when ſhe came to *Bantam*, that I found it moſt adviſable to diſpatch the *Pepper-Corn* away for *England* to give ſome Satisfaction to the Adventurers, till ſhe had received a new ſtrength for the Voyage her ſelf, and cou'd bring me to give a fuller Account of thoſe Matters.

APPENDIX *to the former Journal, extracted from Captain* Downton's, *concerning thoſe Particulars of the Voyage which happen'd in his ſeveral Partings from Sir* Henry Middleton: *Commencing from the time of their Separation at* Aden, *where he was left by the Admiral, who went with the other two Ships from thence to* Moha.

November.

We had not been long in the Port of *Aden* before the General enticed by the falſe and flattering Accounts given here of the Trade and People of *Moha*, ſet ſail for that place leaving me to manage the Buſineſs at *Aden*, and that not without the very earneſt intreaty of the Governour and Inhabitants for my ſtay amongſt them. And they ſoon made it appear for what Reaſon 'twas they deſired our Company there; they could not contain themſelves long without beginning to expreſs the Fondneſs and Kindneſs they had for us. The very next Day after the Generals departure, three of our Merchants going aſhoar to treat with the Governour about the points of Trade, were very fairly detain'd there, and not ſuffer'd to come back to the Ship. This was the firſt Inſtance of their Humanity and vertuous Diſpoſition, and they had no Pretence nor Colour for this Proceeding, but only to ſecure the payment of Anchorage and other Duties, which as they were in no Danger of loſing by us, ſo they needed not have taken this Method to have been ſure on't. The Spring of Knavery and Treachery thus once open'd, run on amain, and held it's Courſe for the whole time of our abode at this place; and after their Hands were once in, by this initiating ſtroke, they did nothing elſe but juggle and put Tricks upon us. Their great Deſign was, to draw us to land our Goods, which no doubt they would have made as welcome, as they did our Merchants.

Engliſh detain'd aſhoar at *Aden*.

But if their former deceitful dealing with the General had not been enough to have prevented my truſting of them, theſe latter Abuſes wou'd have done it; and I ſhould never have queſtion'd their Robbing me of my Goods, that had in ſo villainous a Manner robb'd me of my Men. Beſides I had my general poſitive Orders not to venture any Concerns amongſt them, but make them come and pay for what they had a Ship-board or not deal with them, he had ſeen ſo much of them before he went, and had entertain'd (not unjuſtly) ſo good an Opinion of their Conſcience and Vertue. However they labour'd mightily to court us into a Compliance with their Deſigns in this Point, told me they would ſend to the General at *Moha* for his Permiſſion to land our Goods, which once done the Merchants would pour in from all parts of the Country to buy them up, and we ſhould have our Hands as full of Buſineſs as we cou'd deſire. And to make us believe that they were a People of very great dealings in the World, and their Town much frequented on that ſcore; whenever any Strangers came, they told our Men they were all Merchants that waited for their *Engliſh* Commodities, when for the moſt part theſe Merchants were no other than Souldiers and cut Throats drawn thither from the adjoining places to execute the Plots they had laid againſt us.

They would have the *Engliſh* bring their Effects aſhore.

Their Stratagems for that purpoſe.

And indeed as for their Pretences to Trade and Buſineſs, a little Survey of the Town it ſelf was a ſufficient Confutation of them. For tho' formerly it has had a good ſhare of concern with Merchandizing People, yet at this time 'twas in a very low and poor Condition; there were no conſiderable Shops in any part of the Town, nor none hardly to be ſeen that deſerved the Title of Merchants. But their Ignorance of Money made the matter much plainer ſtill, for when our People offer'd to change a Rial of Eight amongſt them, they gave it about from one to another and ſtar'd upon't as a ſtrange thing they had never ſeen before; which is a very ill ſign in a Town that pretends to Trade and Dealing. Our Men under confinement were at firſt very kindly dealt withal, even to compliment and careſs it ſelf: they hoping by this Means to work themſelves into our good Opinion and Eſteem, and by a ſoft Chain of Flatteries to draw our Ship a little nearer to them. But afterwards they began to give them a finer *Turkiſh* Entertainment; and when they found we were not charm'd and taken with the Bait, they made our poor Priſoners feel the ſharpneſs of the Hook with which they fiſh'd for us. They did not proceed to the inflicting of any corporal Puniſhments, but they order'd it ſo, that they ſhou'd be pinch'd in the Matters of Proviſion; they were hardly allow'd a Belly-full, and forc'd to pay the Meſſenger (every time they eat) as much for bringing their Victuals, as the things themſelves coſt.

Aden in it's decayed ſtate.

The *Engliſh* Priſoners us'd hardly.

The treacherous Governour endeavour'd by good Words to keep them in Heart, telling them that as ſoon as the Trade open'd they ſhou'd have their Liberty without the payment of any Money in conſideration either of that, or any Duty or Cuſtom formerly demanded. But ſtill all the Civility promis'd was made an Introduction to a farther propoſal of ſending to the General about landing the Goods.

December.

I had indeed ſent ſome Letters to him at *Moha* (tho' I was well aſſur'd he would never alter the Method he had reſolved to purſue in dealing with the People of *Aden*) but theſe Letters were either not delivered, or the Anſwers to them by the juggling *Turks* ſtopt and intercepted. And now more of my Men unluckily fell into their Hands, and went to bear their fellows Company in a doleful Impriſonment at *Aden*.

The *Turks* take more of the *Engliſh* Priſoners.

I had craved leave of the Governour for ſome of them to do a little Buſineſs belonging to the Ship in ſafety in a convenient place under the Town Wall; which Requeſt was granted with all the eaſe in the World, and Security from all Treachery faithfully promis'd. But in the mean time he ſet his Smiths a work to make Shackles for them as faſt as could be, and ſo ſeiz'd them in the midſt of their Buſineſs, laying them all faſt in Irons, and beſides grievouſly abuſing them ſeveral other ways. 'Twas no leſs than 20 that they took all together at this time, amongſt which were ſome of the moſt uſeful and neceſſary Men in the Ship, whoſe Company and Aſſiſtance there I dearly wanted.

The Inconvenience of *Aden* Road in the Winter.

But it being impoſſible for me to right my ſelf and redeem them at preſent, and no hopes of ever coming to a fair Trade with theſe People, I found it to no purpoſe to ſtay here any longer. Beſides 'twas dangerous upon many Accounts; for if we ſtaid till we wanted Water, we could not go aſhoar to get that without loſing our ſelves; and then in this Seaſon the Wind and Sea are both ſo troubleſome there, and the Shoar of *Aden* lies ſo low, without any thing of a Fence from the Violence of the Billows, that a Ship would be forc'd from the Road into ſome Shelter near the Town, and ſo lie at the Mercy of their Ordnance.

Goes for *Moha*.

Upon theſe Conſiderations I ſet ſail for *Moha*, hoping when I came to find my Generals Entertainment there better than mine had been at *Aden*. I paſs'd the Streight of *Babelmandel* between the Iſle and the Coaſt of *Arabia*, where I found a ſtrong Tide ſetting thro' the middle, and about ten Fathom Water; there is a good broad Channel on the other ſide of the Iſle, between that and the *African* Coaſt; but the Water is deep, and not ſo fit for Anchoring.

When I came to *Moha*, I found our *Admiral* Ship there, and underſtood too ſoon of the horrible Misfortune befallen us, in the loſs of our General by the Treachery of the *Infidels*. Preſently after my Arrival came in the *Darling* too, which by the Generals Order had been diſpatch'd towards *Aden*, to give me information of all theſe Matters, and to prevent my coming to *Moha*, tho' the bad weather had hindred her Voyage, by which means I was kept in the dark as to theſe Accidents, till I came to inform my ſelf.

January. They find a good Road on the *Abaſſine* Coaſt.

Being now all together, we ſet ſail out of *Moha*-Road, intending to ply up towards *Babelmandel*, or ſomewhere that way, as well to find out a convenient Watering-place, and a Road where we might lie ſecurely, as in hope to meet the *Indian* Trading Ships, whom we reſolv'd to ſtop, till the *Turks* had releas'd the General, and made us Satiſfaction for all Injuries. So ſtanding over to the *Abaſſine* Coaſt, after ſome ſearch, we happily found out the convenient Road of *Aſſab*, where we had all the Security and Advantage for Water and Proviſions that we cou'd deſire.

The Country People were very friendly to us, and ſo honeſt and ingenuous, as to confeſs, That the *Turks* had put them upon knocking us in the Head, if we came there, giving them their Example and Warrant for that Practice. But as they found no Reaſon from our Carriage amongſt them, to offer us any ſuch violence, ſo they entertain'd us after a very different manner from what the *Turks* encourag'd them to. Whether they knew us to be Enemies to the Superſtitions of *Mahomet*, (which they embrace all hereabouts, and how 'twould have been with us then, I cannot ſay;) but as Matters were, they carried it fairly and civilly to us; we paid them Money, and had our Bargain punctually, and without deceit.

Crab Iſle, by *Aſſab* Road.

Near this Road where we lay (perhaps ſome three Leagues diſtance) lies an Iſland, which we call'd *Crab-Iſland*, for the multitude of great Crabs we found there. We wanted nothing where we had poſted our ſelves, but the Preſence of our General, and the reſt of our Company under Confinement with him. And this, after a multitude of wicked Delays on the *Turks* part, and as many fruſtrated Expectations on ours, was happily accompliſh'd by his own Contrivance and Reſolution, in the Month of *May*, after we had lain in this Road more than four Months.

The General having now brought himſelf and his Company all off clear, went away to *Surat* and *Dabul*, whither I accompanied him; and from thoſe Parts I came back with him again into the *Red Sea*, where we arreſted the *Indian* Ships, in order to bring the *Turks* to a Compoſition.

This Affair ended in the *Red Sea*, we went away with both our Ships for *Tekoa*, in *Sumatra*; at which place we found ſo ſmall Encouragement for Trade, that the General wou'd not ſtay there, but went, changing Ships with me, to *Bantam*; whither I had Orders to follow him, as ſoon as I had diſpatched at *Tekoa*.

Cheating in the Pepper at *Tekoa*.

Here I was moſt horribly abuſed by the raſcally Natives, in the Pepper I bought; for when I came to weigh it, we had ſeveral Bags of rotten decayed Pepper; and in ſome there was Paddy, Rice, ay and great Stones cramb'd in too, to help make up the weight. But there was no Remedy for this Miſchief, and ſo we were forc'd to abide by the loſs.

The Ship runs upon a Rock.

Sailing from hence for *Bantam*, we were like to have been all undone by the ſetting of our Ship upon a Rock, into which danger the Current helped to bring us. We made a ſhift, by God's aſſiſtance, to get her off again, and ſet her afloat; but yet that Encounter had done her ſo much prejudice, that we were obliged (as the ſurer Courſe) to return back again to *Tekoa*, to ſtop her Leaks, and repair the other Defects of her.

December. Comes to *Bantam*.

But our Attempt at the ſecond ſetting out, proved more ſucceſsful, and we came without any more ſuch Encounters, in ſafety to *Bantam*.

Goes for *England*.

The General ſtaid here till his Ship (injured in the Voyage from *Tekoa*) was new careen'd; whilſt my ſelf in the *Pepper-Corn* was diſpatch'd from thence for *England*; my Voyage commencing in *February*, and ending (without any conſiderable Adventure) the following *October*.

CHAP. XXI.

The Seventh Voyage ſet forth by the East-India *Company, with the* Globe, *under the Command of Capt.* Anthony Hippon; *extracted out of the Journals of* Nath. Marten, *Maſter-Mate, and* Peter Williamſon Floris, *Cape Merchant.*

A. D. 1610.

WE ſet ſail out of the *Downs*, in the good Ship the *Globe*, the Fifth of *February*, and came into *Soldania* Bay (a place frequently viſited by our *Engliſh* Ships) the Twenty firſt of *May*. 'Twas then Winter in this part of the World, the Sun being taking his appointed Turn on t'other ſide the Equator. The Mountains were cover'd over with Snow, the Trees naked and bare, the Fields in all the Rudeneſs of a Winter-Dreſs; the whole Face of Nature (here at other times ſo charming and bright) appeared with a ſullen gloomy Air; the Heavens were dark and cloudy, and the Earth ſeem'd to mourn at the abſence of the chearful Sun. Little good Entertainment was to be had from the Country at this Seaſon of the Year, and the Rains that fell made it ſo bad travelling, that we cou'd not go far to get what it wou'd have afforded us.

A. D. 1611. Come to *Soldania*. *May*.

The Root *Niugim*, at *Soldania*.

We took ſome pains to find out the Root *Niugim* at this time, and our Labour muſt have been quite loſt, if we had not receiv'd ſome Inſtructions in that matter; becauſe the new Leaf was now but juſt peeping out of the Ground, and the Plant does not come to its perfection till the depth of our Winter.

Here were two or three *Dutch* Ships that came to make the ſame enquiry, and one of them firſt diſcover'd this Root here; whether by chance, or any foregoing Information, I am not certain, nor is it much material. The *Soldanians*, in their barbarous and brutiſh Speech, call this Root *Canna*, by which Name it muſt be enquired after amongſt them; tho' 'tis poſſible they may be ſo ſpiteful and ill-natur'd, as to refuſe to put Strangers in the way of finding it.

Auguſt. *Ceylon* Iſland. Miſtake in placing of *Negapatan*, in the Maps, and *Punta de Gal.*

We left the *Dutch* in the Bay, bartering for Skins and Hides, and making Train-Oil, and ſail'd away for the *Indies*, getting ſight of the Iſle of *Ceylon* the firſt of *Auguſt*, and ſo coaſting along towards *Negapatan*, upon the Land of *Coromandel*.

'Tis worth our while to correct ſome Miſtakes commonly made in Maps, as to the Situation of ſome remarkable places hereabouts, by the Obſervation we have made of them.

Punta de Galla, the moſt Southern Point of the Iſle of *Ceylon*, is ordinarily placed in 4 Degr. North Lat. whereas indeed it lies in 6 Degr. neither is the Iſland ſo broad as 'tis often drawn in the vulgar Maps.

Then *Negapatan* is not much leſs than 28 Leagues diſtant from that Situation we gueſs'd it to have had; and as the *Dutch* have been blunder'd by this Miſtake as well as we, ſo 'tis fit it ſhou'd be taken notice of, becauſe the Effects of it may be dangerous to a Ship ſailing by contrary Meaſures.

Lanagupatan

Majapor.

Coaſting along by *Coromandel*, we paſs'd the Town of *Lanagupatun*, (where the *Dutch* have a Factory, but are weary of holding it, they have ſo little Buſineſs to do; and then *Majapor*, which is eaſie to be known by the remarkable Token of a very high Hill.

Paleacatte.

We came next to *Paleacatte*, where we hoped to meet with ſome Trade; and accordingly having a ſafe Conduct from the Sabander, we landed Men for that purpoſe: But we quickly found our good Fortune here ſpoil'd and prevented by the Intereſt and Footing the *Dutch* had got in this place; and it ſeems they were ſo well fix'd, that the Sabander highly pitied us for the Miſchance of our coming hither; as ſo much unprofitable loſs of time, and endeavour to no purpoſe. The *Dutch* Preſident very fairly deſired us to be gone; and for that purpoſe ſhew'd us an Inſtrument in Writing, given them by the King of *Narſinga*, wherein the *Dutch* only were allow'd to Trade upon all that Coaſt; all others beſides them, or ſuch as cou'd not produce Prince *Maurice* his Patent, being ſtrictly prohibited attempting any thing of that nature. We who thought the King of *England*'s Patent as good and ſufficient as Prince *Maurice*'s, were willing however to have tried what we cou'd have done; but the Intrigues of the *Dutch*, and the Influence they had upon the People, were ſuch Obſtructions in our way, that we muſt have hazarded the loſs of the Monſon for *Patane*, and ſo mightily prejudiced our main Concerns, to have ſet about the removing of them.

Privilege granted to the *Dutch*, by the King of *Narſinga*.

The *Engliſh* can't Trade at *Paleacatte*.

The Town of *Paleacatte* lies in 13 Degr. 30 Min. North Lat. The Variation has been obſerved here to be 1 Degr. 15 Min. tho' about the Road it has been made 13 Degr. 10 Min. a very great and ſurpriſing difference. The

Marks for finding this Road, are the Round-Hill, and the *Hollanders* Fort. About two Leagues to the South ſide of the Town there's a Shoal, but if you keep in 10 or 12 Fathom, there's no fear of running over any part of it.

Trade at *Petapoli.*

Being able to do nothing here, we ſet ſail for *Petapoli*, where we found room to come in for a little ſhare of Trade. We agreed with the Governour for ¾ *per Cent.* Cuſtom, and ſo ſent our Goods aſhoar: We left two of our Factors to carry on the Trade at this place, and went on with the Ship for *Maſulipatan*, where there was a better Road. The varying obſerv'd at *Petapoli* was 12 Degrees, 27 Min. and the Mark to go in over the Bar, is a Set of Palmito-Trees, on the Bank on the Northern end of the high Cliff.

'Tis to be obſerved, that ſix Leagues from the High-land of *Petapoli*, you ſee another High-land before you, which is a Pagod. You may, if you will hale in with it into five Fathom, when the Hill is N. N. W. but then you muſt go off E. for it. And beware (in going off) of a lowneſs of Sand, and come no nearer it than twelve or thirteen Fathom, till you are certainly paſt it.

Maſulipatan.

A fine Fetch of the Governour's to juſtifie his Knavery.

At *Maſulipatan*, the Governour bids us Welcome to a Trade; but as it appear'd, 'twas becauſe he had a Deſign to cheat us, if he cou'd. We agreed with this Man for Cuſtom at 4 *per Cent*; and yet contrary to the moſt expreſs and plain Terms of the Bargain, he wou'd have it, that we concluded upon 12 *per Cent*: And he had no other Reaſon to prove it by, but this, That he was a Deſcendant from the Prophet, and had the Blood of *Mahomet* running in his Veins; and therefore his Race being ſo pure and holy, his Word ought to be taken before that of a Chriſtian, and eſteem'd more juſt and true. But notwithſtanding the Sanctity of his Pedigree, we wou'd not lie at the Mercy of his Conſcience; and if 'twas true, that he was a Branch from ſuch a Root as *Mahomet*, he was the more likely to be a cheating Knave, and not fit to be truſted; and upon that Score we threatned him into a compliance with us, upon fair and reaſonable Terms.

December. Obſervations of the Sun and Stars. *January.*

The Geographical Obſervations we made at *Maſulipatan*, and *Petapoli*, were theſe: The Variation of the Compaſs at *Maſulipatan*, is 12 Degr. 22 Min. the Point is in 15 Degr. 57 Min. North Lat. and the Road in 15 Degr. 36 Min.

The Town of *Petapoli* lies in 15 Degr. 49 Min. the Star call'd the Ships Stern, we had in 21 Degr. 29 Min. the Foot of the Croſiers in 12 Degr. 54 Min. the Flank of the Centaur in 15 Degr. 32 Min. and the Foot of the ſame in 14 Degr. 41 Min.

Go for *Bantam.* *February.* *April,* *A. D.* 1612.

Having clear'd all Accounts at theſe two places, and invited by the opportunity of a good Monſon, we ſet ſail from theſe parts for *Bantam*, where we happily arrived the latter end of the ſucceeding Month of *April*. When we came hither, we found the *Dutch* ready to march away for *Jacatra*, not being able to endure the new and unwonted Exactions of the Governour; neither cou'd we ſettle Matters with him without a great deal of Diſpute and Jangling; however, at laſt we agreed with him for 3 *per Cent.* Cuſtom.

Factory at *Succadania*, in *Borneo.*

We had ſome Account at this place, of the Factory firſt ſettled at *Succadania* in *Borneo*, by Capt. *David Middleton*, and that the Management of Affairs there, at this time, was not ſo fair and regular as cou'd be wiſh'd, in order to the Publick Benefit.

Our Concerns at *Bantam* being not great, we had no occaſion for a long ſtay there: Our Courſe from hence lay to *Patane* and *Siam*, places not ſo frequently viſited by our *Engliſh* Ships, and where we now went to make our Nation's firſt Court for a Trade. We took care in this Courſe to come no nearer the Point of *Mompyne*, than 3 ½ or four Leagues, becauſe of a Ledge of Rocks that lie two Leagues off the Eaſtermoſt Point of *Sumatra*, being the ſeventh Point of the Streights; this Ledge of Rocks bears pretty near E. and W. with the two ends of it; and when you have got *Mompyne* S. E. of you, then you are clear of all danger from the Rocks.

June. Go for *Patan* and *Siam.* Note.

We came into the Road of *Patane* before the end of this Month, and having gotten Information of the Manners of the Country, we went aſhore in a full Body, with as much State and Greatneſs as we cou'd, to deliver His Majeſty's Letter, and a Preſent to the Queen.

Go aſhore at *Patane.*

The Letter was carried in a Baſon of Gold, upon a Noble Elephant, uſher'd along with Flags and Muſick to the Court; the Preſent amounted to the Value of 600 Rials of Eight, and no ſmall Preparation was made at Court for the Reception of both theſe. We had not the Honour of ſeeing the Queen at this time; however, we were handſomely treated by Her Majeſty's Order; but the beſt part of our Entertainment, was the doing the great Buſineſs that we came about, accepting His Majeſty's Letter, and granting us a Free Trade there, paying only the ſame Duties that other People did. The moſt hard dealing we had here, was in the Price they made us give for the Ground of a Publick Warehouſe, which was 4000 Rials of Eight; but this Impoſition we ſubmitted to, in hope of making more advantage than that came to afterwards.

Free Trade allowed at *Patane.* *July.*

There's a great Enmity and Heart-burning between the *Japeneſe* and the People of this place; and the former do never fail to take all the Opportunities that can be to ravage and ſpoil the Country: Within leſs than the ſpace of ſix Years, they have come up twice to the Town of *Patane*, and ſet it a-fire.

Auguſt.

The Factory being eſtabliſh'd, ſome of us ſtay'd to mind the Affairs of Trade at this place, whil'ſt the Ship, with the reſt of the Company, went away for *Siam*, to try the Temper and Inclination of that People to a Correſpondence with us. In the mean time we had a very ill Market for moſt of our Commodities, (eſpecially our Lawns) at *Patane*; whereas ſome few Years ago there has been ſo quick a Vent, that there was more fear of Diſadvantage by wanting Stock, than by having any part of it lie upon one's Hands. And the Reaſon of it is, the *Portugueze* bringing in ſuch Quantities to *Malacca*, and the *Dutch* filling *Bantam* and the *Molucca's*, together with the Trade of the *Moors* at *Tanaſſerin* and *Siam*; then the *Guzurats*, and thoſe from *Negapatan*, together with our ſelves, do all help to cloy and over-do the Market.

Dull Trade at *Patane.*

Reaſons of it.

September.

At this time we cou'd not make 5 *per Cent*, when it was eaſie ſome time ago, to make in the ſame Market, four of one.

Some part of the Country was involved in the Troubles and Calamities of War too; the Kings of *Jor* and *Pahan* (both upon the ſame Continent with *Patane*) being together by the Ears, burning and deſtroying one another's Territories, and Trade never thrives in a Country peſter'd with Wars and Factions.

October.

The Inconſiderableneſs of Buſineſs here, was an Incitement to us to attempt to find better ſomewhere elſe; for which purpoſe we ſent away a Cargoe of Goods for *Macaſſar*.

A Cargoe ſent to *Macaſſar.*

November. An Account of the *Globe's* Succeſs at *Siam.*

Our Ship the *Globe* having now been abſent three Months, return'd from the *Siam* Voyage, making but eight Days in her paſſage between that place and *Patane*, and ſhe brought us the following Account of her Voyage, Entertainment, and the State of Affairs in that Kingdom.

Having caſt Anchor in the Road of *Siam*, they gave Notice of their Arrival to the Town, which lies ſome thirty Leagues up along the River. The King ſent two Men of conſiderable Figure to bid them Welcome, to receive His Majeſty of *England*'s Letter, and to bring them to Court.

When they came into his Preſence, he heard with pleaſure the Account of their Buſineſs and Deſign, and without any delay promis'd a free Trade; adding beſides as a Token of his Favour, the Gift of a piece of Cloth, and a little Cup of Gold to every one of them. But as the Courts of all Princes are troubled more or leſs with a ſort of hungry covetous Officers, that are for ſelling their Princes Favours as dear as they can, and taking all unjuſt Methods to make a Purſe for themſelves: So here the Mandarins muſt be gratified and brib'd to give their Conſent to what the King had freely promis'd; and thinking we had our Privilege too cheap, wou'd pretend to oblige us to drive a Bargain with them. To find a Remedy in this Caſe againſt the Extortion and Oppreſſion of theſe inſolent Courtiers, our People made their Application to the King, openly complain'd of the Injuſtice of the *Mandarins*, and crav'd His Majeſty's Protection from them. This ſucceeded ſo well, that the Mandarins were curb'd and ſilenc'd, and all our Goods carried peaceably to the Publick Houſe appointed for them; with an Order for all thoſe Perſons to forbear moleſting us, that had pretended either to take any Bribe from, or impoſe any Burden upon us.

The covetous Mandarins oppoſe the Liberty granted to the *Engliſh.*

The King's Order to ſecure it.

But notwithſtanding all this Encouragement given to Trade, it went but poorly on at this time; and tho' the Prince had bid it Welcome into his Country, that was not ſufficient to make it flouriſh. And the reaſon is, becauſe the Country was all embroil'd in the Miſchiefs of War, Faction, Treaſon, and Rebellion; the preſent King was young, hardly well fix'd in his Throne, and ſome of his revolted Tributaries combining together to pull him out of it.

Trade low at *Siam*, and the Reaſon of it.

How matters came to this paſs, will be ſeen in the following ſhort Account of the State of that Kingdom, and the ſeveral Riſques of Fortune it has run for ſome Ages paſt, which it may not be altogether ungrateful or uſeleſs to ſet down.

Siam

Story of Siam.

Siam was once a very large and potent Kingdom, giving Laws to the greateſt part of its Neighbours round about, and bearing an abſolute Sway, far and wide, in the *Indian* Continent, on that ſide the *Ganges*. This Imperial Glory had ſhone bright at *Siam* for ſome time; when by the powerful Diſpoſals of him who deſtroys one Kingdom and ſets up another at his pleaſure, it began to fade and darken there, and diſcover its Luſtre in another place. *Pegu* of a ſudden becomes a Rival to *Siam* in Power and Pretenſions to Command, and quickly from a Rival became its Miſtreſs, obliging *Siam* to wear its Yoke.

And as 'tis uſual for the Sons of Tributary Princes to be kept in the Court of the Grand Sovereign as Hoſtages, or Securities for their Father's Duty and Obedience; ſo were the Sons of the King of *Siam* carried to receive at once their Education and Confinement in the Court of *Pegu*.

But the Scene was quickly ready to change, and *Pegu*, ſo ſuddenly riſen to the Heights of Fortune and Glory, muſt ſink down again, and relapſe into its former State and Vaſſallage.

The old King of *Siam* dying, left two Sons behind him, bred up in the King of *Pegu*'s Court; the eldeſt of which, upon his Father's Death, made his eſcape into his own Country, and by the help of the *Portugueze*, got into the Throne.

The *Peguan* preſently attacked the new Prince with a formidable Army, which was entirely routed by the other, and the young Prince of *Pegu* ſlain in to the Bargain; in Rage and Madneſs for which loſs, the King ſacrificed a vaſt number of his Lords and common Soldiers, not at all guilty of any Treachery againſt him.

This ill Succeſs in his Wars, and cruel uſage of his Subjects conſequent upon it, put his whole Government into a Confuſion, and made his Tributary Princes (of which he had no leſs than twenty) fall off from him every Day. And the *Siameſe* apprehenſive of the advantage this Diſorder gave him, now requited the King of *Pegu*'s former kindneſs, carrying the War into the Bowels of his Country; ſhutting of him up, and almoſt ſtarving him in his Capital City of *Pegu*.

The Siege was broke up after two Months continuance, and the King of *Siam* having done no more than the Pounding of his Adverſary, return'd into his own Country; however, the *Peguan* was ſo far weakned, that he was forc'd to put himſelf under the Protection of the King of *Tangu*; eſpecially to avoid the Danger threatned by the King of *Arracan*, who now broke into the Country too, and laid all waſte before him.

Theſe two Kings of *Tangu* and *Arracan*, agreed together to ſhare the King of *Pegu*'s vaſt Treaſures and Dominions amongſt themſelves; and alſo (to be eaſie and quiet) they ſent him out of the way by a violent Death.

Amongſt other things that fell to the King of *Arracan*'s part, was the King of *Pegu*'s * White Elephant, look'd upon as one of the greateſt Curioſities in the World, and valued by him almoſt as much as all his other Treaſures.

* Some of our *Engliſh* ſaw this Elephant at *Arracan*.

Thus was the famous Empire of *Pegu* ſwallowed up, and *Siam* deliver'd from ſo powerful a Rival, began now to ſwell again into the Bulk and Dimenſions of an Empire; † reducing the Kingdoms of *Cambodia*, *Lanianh*, *Jagomai*, *Patane*, *Teneſerin*, and divers others, into its Subjection.

† *A.D.* 1600. or thereabouts.

That Prince who firſt threw off the *Peguan* Yoke, dying without Iſſue, left his Brother to ſucceed him; who was call'd the White King, as the other had the Title of the Black. The White King left ſeveral Sons behind him, but the Eldeſt being murder'd by a Villainous Plot of a certain Lord of *Siam* (who intended to have aſpired to the Crown himſelf), the Second Son of the White King was inveſted with the Regal Dignity; and this was he then in the Throne when our Ship was there. But from hence ſprung up horrible Confuſions and Diſſenſions; for the preſent King revenging his Brother's Death upon that fore-mention'd aſpiring Traytor; all his Slaves preſently run to Arms, broke into the Court, got the King into their hands; and having forc'd him to ſign a Writing with his own Blood, they ſpar'd his Life, but went off with a deal of rich Plunder, in ſpite of all Oppoſition, and contrary Endeavours of the King's Guards.

This Tumult at Court gave riſe to many others abroad in the Kingdom; the Countries of *Lanianh* and *Cambaya* immediately broke out into a Rebellion, and the other Tributary Princes, began to think of following their Example. So ſpreading was the Contagion of thoſe baſer Slaves Treaſon, and ſuch a notable Precedent did it prove to thoſe of a greater Figure, who thought ſcorn any longer to obey a Sovereign, that had been inſulted and trampled on by the Dregs of his Court. And 'tis ſaid, that ſome of theſe petty Princes now broke looſe from the Bonds of Duty and Subjection, have reſolv'd to joyn their Powers together, and come and viſit the King of *Siam*, with a very numerous Army, the next Spring. For all which Combinations and Leagues, he may ſit ſecure and eaſie enough in his Throne, if domeſtick Treaſon and Contention does not ſet in with the Endeavours of a Foreign Power to accompliſh his Ruin.

This was the State of Affairs at *Siam*, when our Ship was there; and being ſo, 'twas our Misfortune to come in ſo troubleſome a time, when the whole Nation living in expectation of a ſudden War, had little Diſpoſition to mind Trade and Buſineſs.

They Winter at *Patane*. December.

Upon this Account we determin'd to ſpend our Winter here at *Patane*, to do what might be done at this place, and alſo to be ready to hold a Correſpondence with *Siam*, if any favourable Opportunities ſhou'd invite us to it. While we lay here, we ſaw the Queen, and had Conference with her ſeveral times. She was a comely, grave, majeſtick Perſon, ſo handſome and ſtately, in ſpite of her Old Age, that we ſaw very few *Indians* that came up to her Meaſures of Beauty.

Floods riſe about *Patane*.

This Winter Seaſon the Rains were ſo violent, and the Floods riſe ſo high hereabouts, that one might truly ſay, this part of the *Indies* was deluged: The Cattel in the Fields were waſh'd away, the Houſes beat down in many places by the ſtrength of the Torrent, and a great deal of harm done in many reſpects.

January.

In *January* we had good News from *Siam*, that our Factor left there, had ſold off the better half of his Goods, and that the King himſelf had taken a conſiderable quantity: And hereupon, to follow theſe flattering Beginnings of a Trade, we diſpatch'd the *Globe* away in *March* for that place, with a freſh Supply.

March. The Ship goes for *Siam* again.

The *Hollanders* about this time ſuſtain'd a great Loſs at *Paleacatte*, by the Violence of the *Portugueze*, who came with a Power from St. *Thome*, took their Houſe in that Town, kill'd all their Men, and carried away their Goods.

The Country hereabouts too was all in War and Confuſion; the King of *Jor* falling upon him of *Pahan*, and the *Acheneſe* upon the King of *Jor*; and the King of *Borneo* preparing alſo to ſupport the King of *Pahan*, while thoſe of *Achen* diſtreſs'd his Adverſary.

On the other ſide the Queen of *Patane* ſtruck in with the Enemies of the King of *Pahan*, her Neighbour, and Brother-in-law; the Ground of the Quarrel being only this, That he had married her Siſter; and whereas ſhe had often requeſted, by ſolemn Embaſſies, to ſee her at *Patane*, her Husband wou'd never let her come. This was taken ſo very ill by the Queen, who was reſolved to bring her Siſter by force, ſince ſhe cou'd not by fair means, that ſhe ſent out her Fleet againſt the King of *Pahan*, and did all ſhe cou'd to ſpoil the Trade of his Country, till ſhe had diſtreſs'd him into a Compliance with that reaſonable Demand, of bringing his Wife to *Patane*.

May. *A.D.* 161 Good Tid *at Siam.*

We had now a Continuation of the Good News from *Siam*, by a freſh Advice, informing us of the ſafe Arrival of the *Globe* there, and the profitable Sale our Factors had of their Commodities. And ſoon after as bad Tidings from *Bantam*, of the great Loſſes our *Engliſh* receiv'd by Fires there; in which Calamities the *Dutch* alſo had a ſhare with them.

July.

The War begun by the King of *Jor*, proceeded to ſuch an extremity, and drew ſo many Misfortunes upon him, that he was by this time rendred incapable of diſturbing the Quiet of any of his Neighbours. The *Acheneſe* purſued him ſo cloſe, that they brought their Fleet under his very Walls; and after a ſtreight Siege, took the City, rifled it, carried away a great Booty of Slaves and Ammunition, and forc'd the miſerable Prince himſelf to fly his own Country, and ſeek a Refuge in ſome Foreign Territory.

The King of *Pahan* too was not in a much better Condition, his Country being horribly waſted by War and Famine; and he himſelf now at laſt reduc'd by the Arms of the Queen his Siſter-in-Law, to ſubmit to her Terms, and lie at her Mercy.

This Prince came to *Patane* when we were there, and invited us very civilly to a Traffick with his Country; which, alas, was at this time too much embroil'd, and impoveriſh'd, to give Merchants any Encouragement to come thither. The Queen indeed treated him civilly; but he was a meer Jeſt and Laughing-ſtock amongſt the *Patanee* Nobility; and the only Point of Reſpect that was ſhew'd him, was the killing all the Dogs in the Country when he came; he having a particular Averſion to that ſort of Animal.

Augu

Our Affairs at *Macaſſar* went but badly on, and our Factors there were ready to come away, being able to do nothing to the purpoſe; but in that Juncture an *Engliſh*

Sir Henry Middleton Dead at *Bantam*, and the *Trade's-Increaſe* in bad Condition there.

September.

The *Dutch* under Hatches at *Banda.*

Ship arriv'd with a good Lading of Cloth to ſettle a Factory there, which oblig'd them to ſtay longer. This Ship was the *Darling*, one of the three that went into the Red Sea, under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton*; that worthy Perſon himſelf being lately dead at *Bantam*, and his Admiral Ship, the *Trade's-Increaſe*, yet lying there in very ill Circumſtances, as well as the Company left in her. The *Dutch* who a little before were getting Ground in the *Molucca's* upon the *Spaniards*, and had taken the Caſtle and the Iſland of *Solor*, were now like to loſe all at *Banda*, ſinking faſter here than they riſe in the other places. The *Bandaneſe* had as we underſtood confin'd their Government to the Caſtle, and kept them in ſuch awe that they dared not give an ill Word; a good part of their Men were gone off to the Natives, and become *Mahometans*; and the whole *Dutch* Power in that Iſland ſignified no more at this time than juſt to tyrannize in the Caſtle a little, and command the Junks that rid there with their great Guns.

The *Globe* returns from *Siam.*

The latter end of this Month the *Globe* came back from *Siam*, having finiſhed her ſecond Voyage thither: Our Factors there had ſent a Cargaſon of Goods to *Jagomai*, but had no News of the Succeſs of it when the Ship came away; the Wars between the People of *Ava* and *Lanianh* having cut off all intercourſe between thoſe places.

October.

Patane almoſt deſtroyed by Fire.

Patane had now it's ſhare of Misfortune amongſt the reſt, tho' not by War, yet by Fire, an Enemy more mercyleſs and outragious than the Sword. This came about by the Villainy of the *Javans*, who are the neverfailing Plagues of all Countries where they come; and Practiſe the ſame tricks of firing Towns and Houſes abroad with as much deſperateneſs as they do at home. We and the *Dutch* were oblig'd to join our Forces together for our common Security in the midſt of this hurly burly; for the Town was all in Flames about our Ears; and theſe cut-Throats were roaming about in a full Body, murdering all that came in their way, and rifling Houſes as faſt as they could. And they were juſt coming to make us a viſit, when we (reſolv'd to be before hand with them in Civilities of that Nature) had ſet out to meet them, which they having Intelligence of, and finding our Strength, were ſo wiſe as to run away and ſhift for themſelves, and ſo leave us to the Labour of driving them. Thus we did our ſelves a Kindneſs, and ſo much Service to the Town too, that we purchas'd the name of it's Defenders thereby. We had ſtaied by this time ſo long at *Patane*, as to ſet the Wheels of Trade a-moving there and at ſome other places about; which Buſineſs done we prepar'd to return back to *Maſulipatan.*

Go for *Maſulipatan.*

November.

In our Courſe from hence, we came to the dangerous Riff, which falls off from the Point of *Jor* four Leagues into the Sea, and we paſs'd it not without ſome Difficulty and Hazzard, having the Point with the three little Iſlands W. S. W. from us. But 'tis beſt to keep towards the Sea till you bring thoſe little Iſlands ſhut in with the Point of *Jor*, and *Pedra Bianca* open with the Iſle of *Bantam.* This *Pedra Bianca* is a great Rock, upon which vaſt numbers of Fowl do live, and covering the Clifts of it with their Dung make it look very white, from whence it has that Name.

We underſtood by the way that the King of *Achen* having routed out the old King of *Jor* had ſettled a new one in his room, Nephew to the former; and had given Orders for the rebuilding the Fort and City, ſo, that that Country was like to be in a thriving Condition again, after ſo many Calamities, eſpecially ſince the King of *Achen* (by an Alliance with this new King) has as it were engaged himſelf in the Defence and Protection of it.

December

Come to *Maſulipatan.*

We arriv'd at *Maſulipatan* the middle of *December*, and found here a Ship of our own Nation (the *James*) waiting for us, being ſent directly to Second us in our Voyage.

We agreed with the Governour at 4 *per Cent.* Cuſtom, and fell to lading of Goods; but the *James* was ſent away for *Petapoli*, and from thence for *Bantam.*

Tidings from *Pegu.*

January.

News came to us here from *Pegu*, that the King of *Ava* (a Country lying about a great River of *Pegu*) had taken the Fort of *Siriangh*, and ſlain all the *Portugueze* that kept it. This Town or Fort of *Siriangh*, ſtands in an Iſland below the Mouth of the aforementiond River of *Pegu*; and 'tis to be noted that when the King of *Arracan* had (according to the former Relation) made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom of *Pegu*; he put this Town and Fort into the Hands of the *Portugueze*, who behav'd themſelves there (as they do in all other places) after a very inſolent and domineering Manner; and particularly to requite the Kindneſs of the King of *Arracan*, they ſhortly after took his Son Priſoner, and extorted a vaſt Sum of Money and a huge Quantity of Rice for his Ranſom. This ingratitude to their Benefactors was very well puniſh'd by the King of *Ava*, who it ſeems broke in upon them with a good Force, and routed them entirely out of that Neſt. This Prince pretends to reſtore the decayed Empire of *Pegu* to ſomething of a Luſtre again; having call'd in all the diſpers'd *Peguans*, and given Orders for the Rebuilding the old City, with many fair Promiſes of Quiet and Protection there. The *Moors* at *Maſulipaton* were highly pleas'd at theſe Actions of the King of *Ava*, becauſe they hope they ſhall now get the Trade of *Pegu* into their Hands again, which the *Portugueze* lying thereabouts had in a great meaſure deprived them of. But whatever Sentiments of Pleaſure the King of *Ava*'s Actions excited in the *Moors*, the King of *Narſingas* were no leſs agreeable to us: For now that mighty Prince ſent his Embaſſadours to us to excuſe the former Neglect of Correſpondence with us when we were at *Paleacatte*, and to invite us to ſettle a Factory in his Country where we pleas'd our ſelves; and all this ſweeten'd with the Promiſe of what Privileges we would deſire.

A. D. 1614.

July.

King of *Narſinga's* Offer to the *Engliſh.*

Indeed the Complaints of the People went a great way towards the procuring this Favour for us; for they were netled to ſee our Ships paſſing by them every Year, and not have the Liberty of Trading there as the *Dutch* had. And tho' the *Dutch* did all they could to keep us out, yet the Country was ſenſible that they were not ſo much their Friends as their own, in endeavouring to exclude us; and therefore they never left the King, till he had in this friendly manner invited us to a Trade there. His Letter brought to us was written upon a Leaf of Gold, and together with it, was deliver'd his Cave or Safe Conduct, and his Abeſtiam, or the Token of our Privilege, which was a white Cloth, upon which the King's Hand was Printed in Saffron.

The King of *Narſinga's* Letter and Caul.

August.

Strange Floods.

In the Month of *Auguſt*, the Country about *Narſapur peta* and *Golconda* was laid under Water in a moſt frightful manner. Many Thouſands of Men and Cattle were ſwept away, whole Towns were ruin'd, and all the Fruits of the Field deſtroyed; Plants and Trees were carried along with the Flood, and the Water lay three Yards high above the Level of the Ground. The City of *Golconda* ſuffer'd very greatly in it's Houſes and Bridges by this inundation; 4000 Houſes were waſh'd away to rights, and two very fair Bridges rais'd at leaſt three Fathom above the ordinary height of the Water, were now three Foot under Water; and tho' exceeding ſtrong, as being built of Stone and conſiſting, the one of 19 and the other of 15 Arches, yet there were ſix Arches of the biggeſt entirely carried away with the Force of the Stream.

October.

King of *Narſinga* dies.

The Superſtitious *Indians* might poſſibly eſteem this to be ominous, and not think themſelves miſtaken, when preſently after (in the ſpace of a few Weeks) ſo great an event follow'd as the Death of the mighty King of *Narſinga.* At the Celebration of his Funeral, three of his Queens burnt themſelves quick with the Corps, in Teſtimony of their Love and Conſtancy, after the manner of that Country. Very great Troubles were now like to follow upon this ſtroke, and all Foreigners were oblig'd to look to themſelves and their Concerns in that Country as well as they could. As for our parts we endeavour'd to get in our Debts with all ſpeed, and for that end ſent to the Governour to come and clear all Accompts with us. But that deceitful Miniſter did nothing but abuſe and trifle with us, put us off with frivolous Pretences and Excuſes, till he had delay'd the Buſineſs ſo long, that it would have been very injurious to us to have loſt any more time.

November.

And therefore ſeeing nothing was like to be done by fair Means, we were forc'd to uſe other Methods; by which tho' we might ſeem to run a very great Riſque, and do an Action which all the World would call deſperate in theſe Countries; yet our Circumſtances which was little leſs than deſperate would admit of no other Remedy.

An adventurous ſtroke of the *Engliſh*, in ſeizing the Governour's Son.

Having ſecretly convey'd ſome Weapons aſhoar (for they will not let Foreigners appear with any publickly) and concerted all Matters relating to the Execution of our Plot; we went directly to the Cuſtom-Houſe at a convenient Seaſon, intending to ſieze either the Governour, himſelf, or his Son, and ſo keep the Prey a Ship-board in ſafe Cuſtody till the Debt was diſcharged. All things fell out as well as could be; and concurr'd to render our Attempt eaſie and proſperous. The Governour's Son was there with a very ſlight Guard; we ſiez'd the Souldiers Weapons, arreſted him and got him into our Boat, and ſo row'd away to the Ship with as much ſpeed as we could. We were indeed quickly purſued by a vaſt number of Boats, and the whole Poſſe of the Town was rais'd upon us; but with our Fire-Arms we made good our Retreat, and deliver'd our Priſoner quietly in at the Ship, and that in the ſight of Three or Four thouſand People.

Some of our Men were left aſhoar to give the Reaſons of this Act of Hoſtility on our part, and to gather in the ſcattering Debts; who tho' they might ſeem very much expos'd to the Fury of the provok'd People in this caſe; yet they had a good Protection, for the Governour himſelf took particular Care to ſecure them from all Harm, becauſe his Son was in our Hands, and conſequently in Danger of feeling the Effects of any Wrong that ſhould be offer'd to them aſhoar. The Governour was now under a Neceſſity of doing us Juſtice, and that in a very little time too, if he lov'd his Son's Life; not that we intended to offer him any Violence, but his own Superſtition would have given him Death without any Remedy. For it ſeems he was a *Bramen*, and all of that Character are forbidden by the Laws of their Sect to eat or drink any thing but what they provide themſelves. All animal Food is an abomination to them, and they have ſo many peculiarities of Diet (and then being oblig'd to be their own Cooks too) that the poor *Bramen* was like to ſtarve a Ship-board, keeping a longer and ſeverer Faſt than perhaps his Religion ever put him upon. He would not touch a bit of any thing we had, and tho' Nature ſtruggl'd hard, and made heavy Complaints for Relief, yet Conſcience reſtrain'd and curb'd her, ſilenc'd all that Noiſe, and got the Victory; ſo that the young Man muſt certainly die in a very ſhort ſpace, unleſs he could either over-rule his Conſcience, or perſwade his Father to ſhew a little in paying a juſt Debt.

Superſtition of the *Bramens*.

And this being the Caſe, the old Governour diſputed the Buſineſs no longer; the Sence of his Sons Danger ſoftned and overcame him, and to avoid being his Murderer, he diſcharged the incumbent Debt, and balanc'd all Accompts with us: So we ſent back the mortified Priſoner again, having faſted now ſome four or five Days, enough to make a Man hate that Superſtition, and forſwear being a *Bramen* any longer.

The Governour pays the Debt.

His Son ſet at Liberty.

But yet how ridiculous and idle ſoever the Doctrine of the *Bramens* be in the Theory, 'twas very uſeful and profitable to us in the Practice of it; for if we had not got a *Bramen* into our Hands, a Fellow that muſt be preſently redeemed, or elſe would ſtarve himſelf out of Conſcience, we don't know when we ſhould have got our Money.

Decem.

We deſired the People to make this uſe of what had paſs'd, to learn thereby to deal juſtly and honeſtly, and not pretend to Wrong our Nation, nor any other any more in that nature; And alſo by Letters directed to the new King, to deſire him to order Matters ſo for the time to come, that more quick Juſtice may be done by his Miniſters to thoſe that come to Trade in his Country.

Go to *Bantam*. *January.*

After this we parted in a fair and friendly manner, and all Buſineſs being done we took leave of *Maſulipatan*, and went away for *Bantam*, where we arriv'd the beginning of *January*. We found ſome *Engliſh* Ships here, and particularly the *James* our Second, lately come from *Patane*, and had notice of our other Affairs at *Macaſſar*, *Siam*, &c. which at this time went on but dully becauſe of the Commotions in thoſe Countries,

February.

Captain *David Middleton* coming in hither the next Month with three *Engliſh* Ships more (all in very good caſe) a Council was held for ordering the ſeveral Diſpatches of theſe Ships, which by Agreement were diſpers'd to various parts of the *Indies*, to *Sumatra*, *Ambrina*, *Patane* and *Japan*, to inſpect the Trade, and viſit our Factories in thoſe parts.

As for us in the Globe we left *Bantam* the latter end of this Month ‡ (having ſent the *James* ſometime before us) and holding our Courſe for *England*, after * five Months ſailing or little more, had the happineſs to Arrive there in ſafety.

‡ *Auguſt. A. D.* 1615.

* Note that by the Obſervations made in this Voyage, the Iſle of S. *Helena* lies 100 Leagues more to the Weſt than the Common Charts do make it.

Chap. XXII.

An Account of a Voyage to the East-Indies, *in the* Pearl, *Commanded by Captain* Samuel Caſtleton. *Written by Mr* John Tatton, *Maſter of the ſame Ship.*

Auguſt, A. D. 1611.

THis Ship ſet out from *Graveſend* the 22d of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1611. But the Accounts of the former part of her Voyage having nothing conſiderable and entertaining in them, we ſhall omit them upon that Score. We will let her paſs the *Canaries*, the *Azores*, and the Iſles of Cape *de Verd*, call in at *Soldania*, and turn the moſt Southern Point of *Africk*, making her way up to the Equator again. 'Tis to no purpoſe to attend her, while ſhe only caſts Anchors, Sounds the depth of the Water, or Bartars a little old Iron, for a few Sheep and Beeves, with the Barbarous People as ſhe Sails along.

At the *Indian* Coaſts we fell in with her again: Here ſhe begins to do Buſineſs and furniſhes matter ſomething worth Obſervation.

Pearl at *Priaman* and *Teco*.

In the firſt place therefore we find them Trading upon the great Iſland of *Sumatra*; *Teco* and *Priaman* are places fam'd enough for their Pepper, and here our Ship was buſie for ſome time, 'tis to be preſum'd upon that ſame Account, tho' we are not told what particular Concerns ſhe had there.

Auguſt. A. D. 1612.

Ayrebangye Bay deſcrib'd.

From hence ſhe went towards the Iſland of *Ceylon*, putting by the way into the Bay of *Ayrebangye*. This Bay receives it's name from a Town ſo call'd, lying a little to the South ſide of it, and 'tis in Eight Min. North Latitude. At the entrance into it there's a Shoal, all round about which there's nine Fathom Water; but between it and the main is the beſt Channel with a North Wind, becauſe the Point of the Iſle lies Shoal a good Cables length off to the N. ſide. So again about two Miles of the ſhoar, athwart the Weſtern Point lies another, where there is but 8 or 9 Fathom at moſt, and very Rocky too. But then all over between that Land and the long Iſland in the Offing, that lies about ſeven Leagues diſtance, there is 28 and 60 Fathom.

Pattahan Iſle a good River. *September.*

They proceeded next to the Iſland of *Pattahan*, the great River of which they deſcribe as very good and commodious. The Water of it is excellent, and a Ship may advance into it ſix or ſeven Foot upon the Barr. They reckon the Latitude here, 28 Min. to the North of the Line; and tell us that the Coaſt hereabouts is Ouzie all along the Shoar, except in ſome few places where 'tis Shoally. Some 25 or 26 Leagues to the North of *Pattahan*, and in 1 Degree 40 Min. North Latitude they came to a pretty big Iſland, which deſerves to be mention'd, in that 'tis a kind of a Guide to the finding out of a very lovely Bay.

A great Iſland with a fair Bay.

The Iſland is about two Miles from the Main, has two other ſmall ones to the South of it, and a high round Hummock ſtanding between it and the Main. Upon the N. W. ſide of it there's a Freſh running down a ſteep Cliff like a River, and may be ſeen by the white Appearance it makes at a matter of ſeven or eight Leagues diſtance. By this Deſcription the Iſland it ſelf may be found, and then the Bay ſo commended is eaſily diſcover'd; for 'tis but looking upon the North ſide of this Iſland and there you find it. Going fair along by the Iſland, you have good Depths in moſt places, and ſo alſo within it, and cloſe up to the very Main, all Ouzie Ground, and your Anchor over both Flooks.

Nicobar Iſlands. *October.*

When they had viſited this Iſland and Bay, they ſail'd on to the *Nicobar* Iſlands, where they met with very good Refreſhing, and the People as much diſpos'd to Trade and Deal with them: Nay, when they went from thence the *Canoes* follow'd them for ſome time, and kept the Trade ſtill going on. Their Courſe from theſe Iſlands was towards that of *Ceylon*, an Iſland not much viſited by our *Engliſh* Ships. The South Point of *Ceylon* call'd *Diundra*, they place in the Latitude of ſix Degrees, or thereabouts; for when they made that Latitude by the Suns Meridian Altitude, *Diundra* at the ſame time bore due Eaſt of them. The varying hereabouts, or rather in 5 Degr. 32 Min. was 13 Degr. and 24 Min.

Ceylon Iſland *Velegam* Bay

They ſail'd directly into *Velegam* Bay upon this Iſland ſeeing a great many Boats there, and hoping to find good watering. And ſince they were ſtrangers to theſe ſort of

People, and were uncertain what kind of Treatment they ſhould find amongſt them, they would not preſently go aſhoar amongſt them, but ſent out their Skiff with a Flag of Truce.

November.

The Natives ſeem'd inſenſible of their meaning, and made ſigns that they did not underſtand the *Portugueze* Tongue in which they ſpoke. Upon this they ſent the Boat to the other ſide of the Bay, where there were a parcel of Houſes built by the *Portugueze*, who were planted there amongſt theſe People, for all they pretended ſo much ignorance of their Language. Here they could talk *Portugueze*, tho' they could not at the other place; at leaſt one of them did do ſo, and 'tis likely that others might as well as he. This Perſon who was the Spokesman for the reſt (as they pretended) told the *Engliſh*, that they could not be ſupplied with any thing there till the King had given leave, and that the next morning they ſhould have the King's Anſwer about the Buſineſs at the ſame place.

Treachery of the Natives and *Portugueze*.

In ſhort 'tis probable enough that ſome of theſe were *Portugueze* in diſguiſe, or at leaſt were ſet a work by them to wheedle and draw our Men into their ſnares. For at the ſame time they eſpied by chance a party of *Portugueſe* lying very cloſe together ready for an aſſault, which in all probability had been made then if they had held in talk much longer; but having diſcovered thoſe Preparations, they ſpoil'd the Deſign by making off from the Shoar. However to try what the event would be, a few Days after they ſent their Skiff again towards the Shoar, but under the Protection of their Boat, which was provided for it's Defence. The People aſhoar kept themſelves cloſe and ſtill, but diſpatch'd one of their Company to talk with the Skiff, promiſing them Water if they would pay for't, which the *Engliſh* did not deſire to have upon any other Terms. This fellow having acted the part he was ſent for, by a ſudden retreat away from them, gave the appointed ſign to the Ambuſcade, who immediately diſcharg'd a mighty Volley of Shot upon them; and having done that, preſently ſally'd out of the Buſhes, running into the Water, as far as they could to lay hold of the Skiff. But the Boat that was her Guardian played ſo briskly upon them with her Shot, that they were quickly forc'd to get out of the Water and retire into the Buſhes again.

And thus being fully convinc'd of the Treachery and ill Deſigns of theſe People; as alſo that nothing of Refreſhment was to be procured here, they left them, continuing notwithſtanding to coaſt along the Iſle. We don't hear of any thing of a Trade they met with any where upon this Iſland; they indeed once propos'd to go to *Maricalo* (a conſiderable City) for that purpoſe; but ſince they ſay nothing of it, 'tis likely that the Proofs they had of the baſe unhoſpitable Temper of the People, did put a ſtop to that Deſign. The *Portugueze* alſo were ſo great amongſt them, that no good was ever to be done by our Men.

Colombo Fort.

People of *Ceylon.*

They have a Fort there called *Colombo*, and are encroaching farther and farther upon the Peoples Liberties, every Day, as they have opportunity. All the Natives we ſaw were an old ſort of People; huge great holes in their Ears, and their Hair (many of them) tied up in a Knot upon their Crowns. They have no covering, but a piece of Cloath, which hangs down before as low as their Knees. And after all, their Minds are by far more naked and unpoliſh'd than their Bodies; they are void of all Principles of Vertue and Humanity; a ſly ſubtle intriguing People, naturally diſpos'd to Villanous Actions, and ready to take all Advantages to commit them.

March.
Rippling Water.

Nothing to purpoſe being to be done upon this Coaſt, they ſet ſail homeward again; in which Courſe they met with various Currents and ſtrange Ripplings of the Water from 4 Degr. 30 Min. South Latitude, to 13 Degr. Sometimes thoſe Ripplings were ſo great, that they would make a Noiſe like Over-falls; this was eſpecially in the Parallel of *Pedras Brancas* to the Weſt of it. They had alſo once 24 Degr. 26 Min. varying, the greateſt they ever had in all the Voyage, and this was in 13 Degr. 7 Min. South Latitude; again in South Latitude 16 Degr. 50 Min. they had varying 23 Degrees 10 Minutes, ſo that the varying heightned going Southward. On the North ſide of the Line about the Coaſt of *Ceylon*, they had no higher than 12 and 13 Degrees and ſome odd Minutes varying, as far as five and ſix Degrees of Latitude.

Pearl Iſland, and the Products of it.

Being come into 21 Degrees South Latitude they diſcover'd an Iſland of a very high ſituation, good anchoring all about it, in a fine black Sand; and from forty to four Fathoms cloſe in to the Shoar. The North Eaſt Point of it very high and ſteep; and a little to the S. Eaſt there's low Land, refreſh'd with a very good running Water; a Boat can't go into it, but notwithſtanding 'tis a very compleat convenience for Watering. They call'd this Iſland *Pearl* Iſland, according to the Name of the Ship that diſcover'd it; and a very choice and valuable one 'tis too, tho' it has hitherto ſcaped falling into the Hands of any particular Maſter or Poſſeſſour. 'Twas wholly deſtitute of Inhabitants; which ſure muſt be, becauſe it had lain conceal'd, and no body had the luck to hit of it before; for ſo fine a Spot as this could never have been deſpis'd, and if it had not been ſeiz'd for a dwelling, yet at leaſt it would have been known and viſited ſometimes. It is all over moſt delightfully ſhaded, and appears more like a Thicket (ſtanding in the Sea) than any thing elſe. Here are land *Tortoiſes*, ſo many, ſo large and ſo good, that few places can ſhew the like. Of Fowl there are Geeſe, Ducks, Doves, Parrots, and a white Fowl as big as a Turkie, extreamly Fat, and ſo ſhort winged, that it cannot Flie. They are all ſtrangely tame and familiar, and may be eaſily taken without the help of Ginns and Snares, or any devices of Art. They have liv'd here calmly and quietly by themſelves, never us'd to any thing of Noiſe and Violence, or expos'd to the out-rages of their fellow Creatures. Here had been no Fowlers to Hunt and Perſecute them from one place to another, no Guns to moleſt and Terrifie them, and make them afraid of Mankind. There was no appearance of any ravenous ſort of Fowl neither amongſt them, that by preying upon them, and diſturbing their eaſie peaceable Life, might help to make them ſhie and frightful. Upon this Account they diſcover'd all the Boldneſs and Freedom of that innocent undiſturbed Life they had always been us'd to; they knew not what Injuries meant, and therefore fear'd none, and ſo ſuffer'd themſelves very tamely to be taken. Our *Engliſh* Men 'tis probable were the firſt that ever invaded their free and quiet State; that began to exerciſe Dominion and Arbitrary Power amongſt them, in Sacrificing ſome of their Lives to their Neceſſities. But Tyranny being a perfectly new thing to them, they were eaſily brought under the Yoke; ſo eaſily, that they ſay ten Men may with little difficulty get Fowl enough to ſerve forty People a whole Day.

As for Fiſh they tell us of none but Eels, ſome of the largeſt and faireſt in the World. Strike them with a Pike, and they'll move a Yard or two, and then lie ſtill and be taken; as if the Fiſh were tame as well as the Fowl; having been always free from Vexation and Fright, by the Plots of buſie Anglers and Poachers, the everlaſting Plagues of their Element. The North part of this Iſland is finer and more pleaſantly beſet with Trees than the South ſide, tho' that be charmingly ſhaded too.

Having refreſh'd here to their Hearts content, they ſet ſail homewards *April* the 1ſt, *A.D.* 1613. All that they met with remarkable in this Courſe, was the conſiderable quantities of the Saragoſſa, a Sea Weed with a ſmall long Leaf, and white Berries of the ſize of a Pepper Corn; 'tis called the Sea of *Graſs*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Eighth Voyage ſet forth by the Eaſt-India *Company, with three Ships, the* Clove, *the* Hector, *and the* Thomas, *under the Command of Capt.* John Saris: *His Courſe to, and Actions in the* Red Sea, Java, Molucca's, *and the Iſle of* Japan, *where firſt began and ſettled an* Engliſh *Trade. Taken out of his own Journal.*

April, A. D. 1611. *Auguſt.*

* Note concerning the Winds.

September.

WE ſail'd out of the *Downs* with the three good Ships, the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*, *April* the Eighteenth; and the Firſt of *Auguſt* put in at the Bay of *Soldania*, where we refreſh'd for ſome Days. For ſome Weeks Sailing after, we had paſs'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, * we found nothing of the Monſons of Weſterly Winds, which are ſo commonly talk'd off; but on the contrary had North Eaſterly, South Eaſterly, and Eaſterly Winds, with furious Storms of Rain, Thunder, and Lightning: Yet in the beginning of *September*, the Weather ſo very fair and hot, that ſome enſuing Calms were very much to be doubted. The ſame ſort of Winds continued moſt conſtantly throughout the whole Month, except ſome little Touches of a S. W. or S. S. W. Wind, tho' that very ſeldom.

Currents.

Angoxas Iſles

We were ſenſible of no ſort of Current, till having had ſight of St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay, on the Iſle of St. *Lawrence*, we were got beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn* to the Northward; and then we found a very ſtrong one ſetting S. S. W. And holding on our Courſe towards the Iſles *de Angoxas*, we had for the moſt part thoſe Southerly Currents working againſt us, in ſome places more violently, in others leſs, as the Obſervations of the Latitude, and the Ships way did aſſure us; only coming up about a Seven Leagues diſtance from the Iſles *Angoxas*, we had the Current ſetting the quite contrary way, *viz.* to the N. N. W. for we cou'd perceive by the Land, that we ran very faſt to the Northward; yet making a nearer approach to them, the Current ſetting to the Southward, took place again.

Obſervations of the Iſles *Angoxas.*

Theſe Iſles of *Angoxas* are many in number, and for the moſt part falſly plac'd in the Plats; for whereas they generally ſtand there in 15 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. we find them to be in 16 Degr. 20 Min. and the Variation to be 13 Degr. Weſterly.

There's a very bad Shoal that lies Eaſt of the North-part of the moſt Northerly of theſe Iſlands, at the leaſt three Points into the Sea, having a dry Splat of White Sand between it and the Main. We ſounded, and had Ground at 30 Fathom, red Stones like Coral, with grey Sand and Shells: And finding the Current ſetting ſo ſtrongly here to the S.W. by W. and ſuch uncertain Shoaling beſides, we ſtood off for St. *Lawrence*, ſteering N. E. N. E. by E. and E. N. E.

A remarkable paſſage about the Iſle *Juan de Nova.*

And in this Courſe, (the next Day after our parting from *Angoxas* Iſle) we began to look out for the Iſle *Juan de Nova*, which *Linſchoten* adviſes Sailors to take care of coming near in a ſmall Moon, and which Rule we were forc'd to tranſgreſs by an abſolute neceſſity that lay upon us, of getting out of the Current, and other Inconveniencies that then attended us. We had no proſpect of any thing like the Iſle *Juan de Nova*; but on the other hand, after a continuance of the E. N. E. Courſe for two Days more, to our very great wonder we ſaw Land lying to the Weſtward, ſome four or five Leagues off, where we ſo little expected to ſee any, that we waited only for a proſpect of *Juan de Nova* to the Eaſtward, which we reckon'd cou'd not be above ſix Leagues to the Southward from us. And this Land that ſurpriz'd us, what ſhou'd it be, but the Northermoſt of the Iſles *das Argoxas*, which we parted from a few Days before; which did ſo effectually diſappoint, and at once diſcourage all our Mariners, that they began to conclude, there wou'd be no proceeding in the Voyage this way.

Now the Reaſon of all this, we ſuppoſe, to be ſome Counter-current, which in the Small of the Moon ſets E. N. E. and W. S. W. from the *Plaſhella*, or Point of the Shore, which lies N. E. by E. of the Northermoſt part of *Juan de Nova*; and this Current meeting with the common N. N. E. Current, did certainly carry us thus away to the Weſtward. And from hence 'tis plain, that if there be any ſuch Iſland at all as this *Juan de Nova*, it does not lie ſo far Weſtward as *Daniel*'s Plats do make it, but certainly is poſited nearer to the main Iſland; for otherwiſe we cou'd not have miſſed the ſight of it.

Trick of the *Portugueze* in the wrong Poſition of *Juan de Nova.*

Caution.

Thoſe of the Fourth Voyage made in the *Aſcenſion*, aſſured themſelves, that they paſs'd to the Eaſtward of this Iſland, and St. *Lawrence*; which thing the *Portugueze* pretend to be impoſſible; ſaying, that it ſtands ſo near the main Iſland, that there's no paſſage, but a little narrow Channel, which one of their Ships was once forc'd to put through; but no Ship, either before or ſince (as they have heard of) has ever done the like. To ſpeak the plain Truth, the *Portugueze* ſeem to have abus'd the World in this matter, and to deſign (by placing ſuch an Iſland ſo far to the Weſtward), that thoſe that ſail hereabouts, being not ſo well experienc'd as themſelves, ſhould fall into the Snare of the ſtrong Weſterly Current. And therefore 'tis neceſſary for all that are bound this way, to be upon the Coaſt of St. *Lawrence* by the firſt of *June*, and from the Cape of St. *Auguſtine* till they come into 12 Degr. to keep up to the Eaſtward, and not make their way to the W. of the N. or N. by W. for fear of the S. W. Current, which (with Calms and 14 Degr. 2 Min. Var. Weſterly) will certainly ſet them over upon the Coaſt of *Sofala*.

Beſides, in *Auguſt* and *September*, you ſhall have here ſuch violent N. W. Winds, that if you wou'd ſtand it over for St. *Lawrence*, you ſhall not be able to fetch it without danger of the Sholes of *India*, (that is, if you be to the North of the ſaid Sholes), neither can you ſtop upon the Main to keep your Latitude; for 'tis broken Ground, and very deep Water.

October.

Come to *Moyela.*

After many of theſe Difficulties we came to an Anchor between *Sofala* and *Mozambique*, where we had Latitude 16 Degr. 32 Min. Longitude 76 Degr. 10 Min. Variation 11 Degr. 50 Min. W. We anchor'd under an Iſland near the Main, at which place we had neither freſh Water, nor People to direct us to any; ſo leaving that uncomfortable Harbour, we put out to Sea again, and were toſs'd up and down between the variable Winds, and the old N. E. Current, till the latter end of *October*, when we came to an Anchor at *Moyela*, which is one of the Iſles *Comora*, and in 12 Degr. 13 Min. South Lat. Here we found both People and Proviſions too; the Inhabitants were kind and free, and brought out all their Stores to us. As Nature had been frank and liberal in her Favours to them, ſo they did with an open hand paſs over her Bounties to us.

Products of the place.

In exchange for little Haberdaſhry Ware of a trifling value, we had Bullocks, Goats, Hens, Fiſh, Eggs, Milk, Sugar-Canes, Tamarinds, Coco's, Plantans, Pomegranates, Papanes, Limons, Rice, and almoſt whatever we cou'd have occaſion for.

The People.

The King of *Moyela.*

The People have all the Characters of Negroes in their Colour, Feature, ſhort curl'd Hair, and Dreſs; about their Middles they wear a Pintadoe, and white Caps on their Heads, tho' thoſe of them that are *Mahometans* wear Turbants. And this is the prevailing Religion of the Iſland, at leaſt amongſt the better ſort: The King himſelf is a Diſciple of *Mahomet*, and at the time of our being there kept his *Rammadam*, or *Lent*, according to the Laws of his Prophet. 'Twas for this Reaſon that he cou'd not accept of a Banquet we provided to entertain him; the Sun was above the Horizon, and he cou'd not eat then without affronting his Religion. Yet he had ſo good a mind to the Entertainment, and his Appetite was charm'd ſo far, that I doubt he broke the Commandment in his Heart; for he carried all the beſt of the Victuals home along with him, and reſolv'd to eat it there as ſoon as the Sun was down. This Prince cou'd ſpeak a little *Arabick*; and his Devotion having once carried him a Pilgrimage to *Meccha*, had purchas'd thereby the Title of *Xeriff*, a Term of Honour, affected by the moſt ſtanch and zealous Princes of the *Mahometan* Sect.

His Apparel was only a white Cotton Coat, a Turbant upon his Head, and a *Guzurat* Pintado about his middle.

The People in general are more deſirous of Trading for dry Money, than by way of Barter for other Commodities; only if it be for any Commodity that's eatable, they'll barter as long as you pleaſe; and bring them but Crimſon Cloth, *Cambaya* Cloth, red Scull-Caps, and Sword-Blades; and you may have any thing of that nature that the Iſland affords, and good Bargains too.

His Note for Friendſhip.

At our departure the King gave me a Note under his own Hand, written in *Arabick*, as a Teſtimony of his Friendſhip, and requeſted my Letter of Commendations, to ſhew to any others that ſhou'd come thither; for a ſtanding Evidence of his fair Dealing and Civility towards us, and an Encouragement to thoſe that ſhou'd viſit him afterwards.

I found a *Dutch* Admiral that had been here, had given ſuch a Teſtimony, and ſo follow'd his Example with another; only adding a Caution privately, that Strangers ſhou'd not be off their Guard here, nor truſt theſe People too far: For how fairly ſoever they carry it, when Care and Vigilance won't allow them to do otherwiſe, yet one does not know what they might be, or do, if by a ſecure preſuming upon their Honeſty, one ſhou'd give them an Opportunity to play the Knave.

November.

Note concerning the Main Land of *Melinda*.

December.

Thus we parted in a very Friendly manner from *Moyela*, directing our Courſe now to the Iſle of *Zocotora*. We made the Main-land of *Melinda*, (coming up within four Leagues S. E. of the Bay of *Formoſa*) when by our Reckoning we were more than 48 Leagues diſtance from it: And hence conclude this Land to lie more Eaſterly than 'tis placed in our Plats; for otherwiſe we cou'd not have fallen with it ſo ſoon.

A Rippling Sea.

We had frequently a fearful rippling Water, ſometimes to ſuch a degree, that 'twas like the Fall at *London*-Bridge; and this too out of the ſight of the Land, and where we cou'd find no Ground at a Hundred Fathom Water. Theſe Ripplings ſhew juſt like Shelves, and are very uncertain as to the Meaſures of their Greatneſs or Smallneſs, tho' in this Courſe we met with them very often in a Day. They make as much Noiſe by the Ship's ſide, as if ſhe ran five Leagues a Watch, when at the ſame time ſhe ſcarce goes a-head. The Southerly Current, and theſe Ripplings, for the moſt part, went together, and when the one went off, the other grew inconſiderable likewiſe. Being off from the Main, we had almoſt a continual Calm, and the further we went, ſtill the leſs Wind.

Uſeful Obſervation.

The latter end of *December* we found our ſelves put back into 5 Degr. 25 Min. South Lat. when a Month before we were 1 or 2 Min. to the N. of the Equator, cloſe by the Shore; and therefore it may be uſeful for all that are bound to *Zocotora*, at this time of the Year, to obſerve this Method. Let them hold to the Eaſtward of *Pemba*, 200 Leagues Eaſt by N. the Variation, there increaſing Weſterly, which will bring them the more Northerly; and ſo keeping the Iſle of *Zocotora* open, between the N. by E. and the N. N. E. they ſhall be in a Condition to make the beſt uſe of thoſe Winds, which blow near the Main, with a conſtant Gale between the E. by N. and E. by S. tho' off at Sea about the Iſles *Maſcarenha's*, they are generally at N. E. N. and ſometimes at N. W. W. and W. by S. with Varieties of Weather, ſometimes calm, and at other times Storms of Thunder and Lightning, with a fearful Rippling of the Water. And obſerve, that tho' the N. E. and N. Winds, are but indifferent Helps, yet you'll have this advantage, that by how much the more Eaſterly you are, by ſo much the more you ſhall recover to the Northward of the Line, before you meet with the Main; and if you can avoid the Main, 'tis beſt to do ſo in the time of the Eaſterly Monſon, till you are got into 10 Degr. North Lat. whereas in the Weſterly Monſon you muſt keep the Shore aboard, ſtill remembring that it lies more to the Eaſt than the Platts do repreſent it.

January.

Doara.

Having made the Cape *Das Baxos*, upon the Main of *Magadoxa*, (which we did the firſt of the New Year) we had much Wind and Current Southerly, and made the Main of *Doara* (up higher upon the Coaſt of *Africk*) about the middle of this Month: A ſandy barren Country 'tis, (and not very high), as indeed 'tis moſtly along from *Magadoxa* hither.

February.

Cape *Dorſui.*

The next Land that came within view, was Cape *Dorſui*, which appears very high and barren by the Sea-ſide: And we had ſome Reaſon to take Notice of it, becauſe the Current ſetting to the N. W. which began to play its part with the Ships about the Coaſt of *Doara*, did work us about ſo effectually, that after we had parted from Cape *Dorſui*, and been out at Sea ſome eight or nine Days; this N. Weſterly, or rather perhaps W. N. W. Current, brought us within ſight of it again, when we thought of forty five or fifty Leagues diſtance from it. As for the Variation in general, for a Direction to thoſe that ſhall ſail this way, they may take Notice of what Experience has taught us, *viz.* That tho' the Variation obſerves no certain proportion, yet in running to the Eaſtward, we have Variat. Weſterly increaſing, and ſtanding in to the Shore N. W. our Variation was Weſterly decreaſing; ſo that reckoning according to the Plats, we found our ſelves much further off the Land, than the juſt proof by Variation wou'd allow. This is a Truth that we are ſure of, and our ſo often falling with the Main, gain'd us that Point of Knowledge, which others may make uſe of to their advantage.

Obſervation of the Var.

Come to *Tammerin.*

We came to an Anchor in *Tammarin* Road, in the Iſle of *Zocotora*, the latter end of this Month, having by the hindrance of Winds and Currents ſpent, at leaſt fourteen or fifteen Weeks in our paſſage between *Moyela*, and this place.

The King gave us a very Friendly Entertainment, and together with a Preſent, ſent me the Letters left there by Sir *Henry Middleton* for me. Theſe gave an Account of his horrible Uſage at *Moha*; and in ſhort, the whole Series of the Misfortunes attending the Fleet under his Command in the *Red Sea*; together with Advice to us, to make the beſt uſe of thoſe Examples, of the perfidious dealing of the *Turks*, for our ſecurity and defence.

But ſince there was no Buſineſs to be done upon this Iſland, the King having no Aloes to furniſh us with; and then no going for the *Indies* till the end of *September*, becauſe the Monſon wou'd not ſerve till then; for thoſe Reaſons, and ſeveral others, we concluded notwithſtanding to ſail away for the *Red Sea*. Beſides, we had the Grand Seignior's Paſs and Safe Conduct, which we had Reaſon to believe, wou'd have ſome Influence to procure us a Civil Treatment at leaſt in thoſe parts. Or if matters came to the worſt, and no Trade was to be had there, we ſhou'd be in a Condition to defend our ſelves, from any Violence the *Turks* cou'd pretend to offer; and alſo to take ſome Courſe for revenging the Affronts our Nation had receiv'd from them.

Go for the *Red Sea.*

March.

At our departure the King counſell'd us, if we went to the *Red Sea*, to be ſure to ply to the Southward of *Abba del Curia*; becauſe keeping to the North-ſide, we ſhou'd be put over to the *Arabian* Shore, and not be able, without great difficulty, to fetch Cape *Guardefui*; and by proof we did find it beſt to keep the *Abaſſine* Shore aboard, according to the purport of his Direction. About the Bay of *Monte Felix*, we had excellent Fiſhing, and plenty of Water and Wood at the Town, but not in the bottom of the Bay: The paſſage up to the Town is ſo large, that three Ships may go a-breaſt without danger, and the going in is between the high Hummock, and the low ſandy Point. This place affords excellent good Gums, which are a delicate Perfume when burnt; and curious Mats, which are greatly in requeſt at *Aden*, *Moha*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Note.

Felix, or *Felack* Town

We had not ſeen a Drop of Rain for above four Months, when now, a little before we came up with the Streights of *Babelmandel*, we had a light ſprinkling, and that was all.

Come to *Moha.*

We came to an Anchor in *Moha* Road, the middle of this Month of *March*, having had better Luck at our coming in, than the *Trades-Increaſe* had, by avoiding that fatal Shole, where ſhe ſtuck, to her very great danger for twenty four Hours.

This Shole will diſcover it ſelf by the Colour of the Water, and you muſt bring the Steeple of the high Church in the Town E. N. E. Eaſterly, before you can be clear of it at your coming into the Road. We were ſoon ſaluted by a Meſſenger from the Governour, to know what we were, and what we pretended to in coming thither: By whom I return'd Anſwer, That if the Governour wou'd ſend an equal Pledge to ſtay aboard in my room, I wou'd come aſhore, and ſatisfie him my ſelf*. The State of Affairs was, it ſeems, now alter'd at *Moha*, much for the better, and 'twas quite another place than what 'twas when General *Middleton* was there: For the barbarous Aga, that ſo rudely handled our *Engliſh* then, was thrown out of his Government, and another fix'd in his place, a Man, as 'twas reported, of a good Temper, courteous to Strangers, and a zealous Promoter of Trade. 'Twas poſſible at this time to go aſhore without fear of being rifled, plunder'd, or knock'd on the Head, by a parcel of rude *Turks*; there was ſomething of Juſtice and Civility in the place, which in the time of *Regib*, Aga, were abſolutely baniſh'd hence.

* Thus it was reported to them.

A better Governour at *Moha.*

Having ſatisfied the Governour however who we were, and the Warrant we had from the *Grand Seignior* for our coming hither; I received a very courteous Welcome from him, both by Word of mouth and Letter. He promis'd a ſufficient Pledge for my ſafe return if I pleas'd to land; plain and open dealing in all points, without any thing of that plotting Fraud and Treachery, that had ſo abus'd our Nation before; only as to the main Buſineſs of a fixed Trade he could not determin it till the *Baſſa*'s Orders (which he expected) were come, but if in the mean time any of my Men came aſhoar they ſhould be well us'd, and buy or ſell without moleſtation. And whether it were Conſcience or fear of Revenge I know not, but the *Aga* was in all reſpects to a Punctilio as good as his Word: Our Men that went aſhoar were feaſted and careſs'd in the higheſt degree, veſted in Cloth of Silver, and carried up and down the Town, with Muſick playing before them to ſhew the People how welcome they were.

The General goes aſhoar.

Shortly after he ſent three Perſons of conſiderable figure to remain as Pledges in thy room, upon which Security given I went aſhoar with all the Merchants; being receiv'd by a Body of the great Men, with the *Turkiſh* Muſick and ſeveral Volleys from the great Guns of the Caſtle. My reception at the *Aga*'s Palace was agreeable to all the reſt of the Scene; every thing appear'd ſtately and magnificent, expreſs'd welcome and reſpect, and afforded pleaſure and delight, only the Complements of the *Turks* were troubleſome, and that very formal ceremonious way they uſe in their addreſs to Strangers was ſome allay to the reſt of the Entertainment.

The *Aga* receiv'd our King's Letter reſpectfully, but the *Grand Seignior*'s Paſs he took with a Reverence and Devotion almoſt Religious; kiſſing and laying it on his Head, as he would have done his Alcoran. He made a world of excuſes for the Wrongs done to Sir *Henry Middleton* laying all the blame upon the drunken Soldiers, and the ill humour of the late *Aga* who had acted beyond his Commiſſion, and had receiv'd a due Puniſhment for his Inſolence by a diſgraceful remove from his place; by all which diſcourſe it was very manifeſt that they ſuſpected a deſign of Revenge, and fear'd we would call them to a reckoning for thoſe paſt Injuries.

Their Entertainment at the *Aga's*.

After this a noble Dinner was prepared for us; which yet (had the Liquid part been proportionable to the reſt) would have been much more entertaining, eſpecially to Sea-men; but our Drink was only pure Element, or elſe (for variety) a kind of decoction of a certain bitter Herb, which made it an abſolute Doſe, and was ten times worſe than the Water in it's own pure naturals.

Their way of Eating,

Their way is to ſerve up all the ſeveral Diſhes together, and ſet them down at once, before the Gueſts fall to Eating; and then they don't place them upon a Level as we do; but pile them up one over another, ſtory upon ſtory, a matter of a Yard high; ſo that ſitting (according to the manner of the *Turks*) croſs legg'd upon a Carpet in the Floor, the higheſt Diſhes were almoſt above our Heads. Theſe Diſhes are alſo made with Feet that they ſtand hollow above one another, and the meat in any of them may be come at conveniently enough (if one can but reach) without removing them out of their places.

And Perfuming.

After Dinner the *Agas* little Boys came in with their Chaffing-diſhes, and ſeveral rich Perfumes, as Ambergriece, Lign-Aloes, *&c.* to gratifie that Sence as well as the reſt: This is a Ceremony they uſe in all their great Entertainments, and it being the Cuſtom, we ſubmitted to it, and held our Noſes down over the Chaffing-Diſhes. And 'tis true thoſe Odours were very grateful and pleaſant; yet I think at the rate that Liquor went in the *Aga*'s Houſe, we had no need of Fumigations at that time, and could have gone back ſoberly enough to our Ships, without the help of Ambergriece, or any of thoſe fine Scents to ſet our Heads to rights.

For a Concluſion of the whole Careſs, a rich Sute of Apparel after the *Turkiſh* Mode was brought forth; the Veſt of Cloth of Gold, the Turbant ſutable, and a curious Damaskeen or Scimeta, all which the *Aga* put on with his own Hands.

Captain *Saris* led thro' the Town in great Pomp.

This as he told me was the *Grand Seignior*'s Preſent, and I muſt needs walk in this Garb with the great Officers through the Town, that the People might all ſee the Marks of the Emperor's Favour conferr'd upon me. I ſhould have ridden indeed, for that's the Cuſtom, and a ſtately Horſe was provided for that purpoſe; but I choſe rather to walk, that I might have more opportunity to make a nice Obſervation of the Town.

Return to their Ship.

This Ceremony over, I returned to the Palace, and took my leave of the *Aga*, who ſtill moſt earneſtly deſired that all paſt Offences might be put up; and thoſe Thoughts of Revenge ſo juſtly awakned in us, might give way to Sentiments of perfect Love and Friendſhip for the Future. Thus we went back to our Ships with the Reſpect and Applauſe of the whole Town of *Moha*, and being come, we diſcharged the Turkiſh Pledges. Mention being made before of the *Grand Seignior*'s Patent, and it being all our Foundation and Security in this Attempt upon a Trade with theſe parts; it may be worth while to incert here a Copy of the ſame exactly taken from the Original *Arabick*.

The *Great Turk*'s Letters Pattents *Engliſhed*.

YOU that are My moſt Laudable, Fortunate, Wealtly, and great Vice-roys *and* Beglerbeys, *that are on the way from My moſt Happy and Imperial Throne (both by Sea and Land) unto the Confines and Bounds of the* Eaſt-Indies, *Owners of ſome part of Dignity, and thoſe unto whom belongeth to give aid, help, and ſuccour in God's cauſe, and* Muſſulmanical *Religion, upon their Emperious beck, The Wealth and Greatneſs of whom let it continue for ever. Likewiſe unto ye My moſt Laudable and Valiant* Saniacq Beys, *that are under the above-named* Beglerbeys, *owners, and hope of future greater Dignities, and theſe unto whom belongeth dutiful Aid and Help in God's cauſe and Religion, upon their Emperors Direction: the Honour and Dignity of whom be ever continuing. And unto ye My moſt Laudable, Wiſe, and Prudent Juſtices of Peace, Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, that are within the Precincts of the ſaid* Saniacq Beys, *whoſe Judgments, Juſtice, and Words do flow, as from a Fountain of all Wiſdom and Prudence: The Worthineſs and Greatneſs of whoſe Dignity and Function, let it continue for ever. Alſo unto ye My Laudable, Great, and moſt Worthy Captains and* Reyſes *of all Our Navies and Shipping that ſwim upon the Face of the Sea. Unto ye my laudable Captains of the Caſtles, Cities and Towns: And unto ye Worthy and Laudable Cuſtomers, dwelling upon the Sea-Coaſt, upon Rivers, Bridges, and all other parts of Our Dominions, and thereunto adjacent. Upon ſight of this My moſt High and Imperial Commandment, in conformity of your moſt Bound Duties, ye ſhall ariſe, and do Obeiſance and Reverence thereunto.*

Hereby ye ſhall underſtand, that the Embaſſadour of the King of Great Britain *that reſideth in Our Happy and moſt High Port, hath given us to underſtand by his Supplication; That foraſmuch as ſome of his Maſters the King of* Great Britain *his Subjects, have with great Charge and Labour, diſcover'd a Trade in the* Eaſt-Indies, *and withal underſtand of Wealth, and likelihood of Trade in ſome Parts of Our Dominions by the way to be had in their Paſſage to the ſaid* Indies, *being therefore deſirous to viſit thoſe places for the better enlarging of their ſaid Trade. To the end that ſuch Men may in ſo good and laudable Enterpriſes have all Favour, Aid, and Help, (ſo far as lawfully and conveniently may be granted) Hath requeſted us in the Name of his ſaid Maſter the King of* Great Britain, *to vouchſafe them our ſafe conduct and recommendations. In conformity of whoſe Requeſt, as alſo in regard We and our Predeceſſors, are and have been for the ſpace of many Years in ſtrict League and Amity, with the afore-mentioned King of* Great Britain, *and the Subjects of that Kingdom, who long have had, and at this preſent have free Traffick and Trade in Merchandizing in our Dominions and Provinces through the* Mediterranean *Seas. We therefore do Command, and expreſly charge ye all, and every of ye, our above mentioned Subjects and Officers, that ye will not only kindly and lovingly entertain and receive the ſaid Merchants and Subjects of* Great Britain, *coming or paſſing through or by any of our Dominions, eſpecially intending to Trade to the Dominions of* Yemen, Aden, *and* Moha, *and the parts adjoining thereunto. Aſſiſting and relieving them with all things needful for themſelves, their Men and Ships: but alſo freely to permit them by Land or by Sea, to go or ſail, outward and returning, even as their Occaſion ſhall require, and to remain in any of our Dominions, Countries or Cities, granting them ſuch liberty of Traffick and Privileges as ſhall be reaſonable, without giving or ſuffering any let or hindrance, injury or moleſtation to be offered or done unto them. Yea, ye ſhall yield unto them ſuch Offices of Benevolence and Humanity, as ſhall be meet and convenient to be yielded unto honeſt men, and Strangers, undertaking ſo long and laborious a Voyage. And if ſo be that We ſhall underſtand, that contrary to the Capitulations, the Amity and League, which is between us and the King of* Great Britain, *ye do offer them the leaſt wrong, and any way moleſt and trouble the ſaid Merchants in their Traffick, and ought elſe: Know ye for certain, that ye ſhall not only incur Our high diſpleaſure, but ye ſhall be puniſhed for example unto others: and therefore carry your ſelves conformable to this My Imperial Commandment, and give credit to this My Imperial Enſign. Written at Our Manſion*

Guard at Conſtantinople, *on the fifteenth day of the Moon called* Zilkigie, *Anno.* 1019.

Deceitful Tidings.

Some little time after this came the long expected Meſſenger from the *Baſſa*, and word was accordingly ſent me from the Captain of the Town that the Orders of the Pattent would be inviolably obſerv'd, and a free Trade eſtabliſh'd. And yet at the ſame time I had ſome private hints given, intimating that the *Baſſa* had ſpoke another Language in his Letter to the *Aga*; that matters if they did not run againſt us, were not order'd to our Advantage, and that we ought to take care and not come aſhoar without Pledges; no tho' the *Aga* and all his Officers ſhould ſwear all round upon the *Alcoran* for our Security; (for as our Informer told us) they were Souldiers, and had Conſciences of ſo ſtrong a digeſtion, that no Perjury in the World would ſit uneaſie upon them.

April, A. D. 1612.

Some *Indian* Ships came in the beginning of the next Month, laden with Indicoes, Calicoes, Pintadoes, Ambergrice, and Spices, all very good and vaſt quantities of each, and theſe we held by us in our own Defence, in caſe any Injury ſhould be offer'd aſhoar. And there was a great deal of Reaſon to ſuſpect that ſome Miſchief was hatching, becauſe the Governour all this while had taken little notice of the *Baſſa*'s pretended Licence for our Trade; at leaſt only in ſuch obſcure and general Terms, as would rather have excited than ſilenc'd a Suſpicion of ſome perfidious Deſign; but on the other Hand was very earneſt for me to come aſhoar again, and then I ſhould underſtand more of the Buſineſs.

The *Turks* fly off from their Promiſe.

But for this Point of Civility I begg'd his Pardon and Excuſe, having no mind to make any more Viſits at *Moha* as matters ſtood; but I ſent one of my Company, who tho' he went without Pledges in his room came back again as it happen'd, and brought Word of the appearing Fruſtration of our whole Deſign; that the *Turks* gave no hopes of performing their Promiſe, and that the *Aga* concluded we muſt ſend ſome of our People to the *Baſſa* at *Zenan*, and get our Diſpatch immediately from himſelf.

Sir *Henry Middleton* comes with his Ships.

And this Courſe (ſince there was no other left) I had certainly purſued; when by the ſudden Arrival of Sir *Henry Middleton*, and a Summons from him to quit the place as ſoon as was poſſible, the whole Scene was changed, and all Deſigns of that kind for ever laid aſide. We had done now courting the falſe and perfidious *Turks* for a Trade; the General was come back from the *Indies* with a full Deſign of Revenge, and the *Infidels* that had hitherto abus'd us were no longer to be excus'd from making Satisfaction. Theſe were his Reſolutions; tho' I could have wiſh'd firſt to have ſeen what the *Turks* would have done with us, and what would have been the Reſult of our Perſonal Application to the *Baſſa*; whether they would have granted us a fair and quiet Traffick, according to the Intent of the *Grand Seignior*'s Letters, or have gone on in the ſame Road of Cheat and Abuſe to the end of the Chapter. There were ſeveral ſtrong Suſpicions of ill Deſigns a-Foot; and for all I know the *Turks* might have given our Nation in this Affair too, a ſecond Demonſtration of their ſurpaſſing Skill in the Arts of Tricking, Wheedling and Diſſembling; yet the Captain of the Gallies now ſent poſitive word that the *Baſſa* had commanded the *Aga* to ſhew all the Kindneſs imaginable to us, to let us have a publick Ware-houſe in *Moha*, and a Factory ſettled there without any more ado; and beſides to take care for the ſafe Conduct and good Accommodation of thoſe *Engliſh* Merchants in their Journey that deſign'd to come to *Zenan* to him. But a Man is ever at a loſs that has to do with People of ſuch a Principle and Diſpoſition as the *Turks* are; A People that can Flatter and Deceive ſo perfectly, hide an ill Deſign ſo artificially, deal ſo rudely when out of Fear and Danger, and ſpeak ſo very fairly when under any uneaſie Apprehenſions.

Note this Story of their Dealing with the *Indian* Ships is in General *Middleton's* Voyage, and therefore not to be repeated here. Only the bare Account of what concern'd Capt. *Saris* in particular.

In ſhort theſe flattering Methods of the *Turks* now did no good; and as Sir *Henry Middleton* perſiſted in his Deſign of forcing Satisfaction from them; ſo I concluded to joyn with him in ſo juſt an Attempt, and in purſuance thereof, got clear from *Moha*, and came up with my Ships to his. The Agreement made betwixt us, was, That both Fleets ſhou'd joyn to Trade with as many of the *Indian* Ships as we cou'd meet with; and Sir *Henry* to diſpoſe of Two thirds of the Goods that ſhou'd be barter'd for, and my ſelf the other One third. The whole Cargaſon of Commodities I barter'd for with the *Indian* Ships in this place, amounted but to 46174 Rials of Eight, as I make appear by the Diſcharges and Acquittances given by the Captains of thoſe Ships.

The Weights and Meaſures at *Moha*.

While I lay here at *Moha*, I order'd my Men aſhoar to take an Account of the Meaſures and Weights, in uſe at that place, and alſo of the Prizes of ſeveral Commodities moſt in vogue. The moſt common Weight here us'd is the Juen, which contains two Rottala's, each Rottala being One Pound weight of theirs; and Ten Junes, which make Twenty Pound of their Weight, comes to Twenty three Pound of our *Engliſh Averdupoize*, or Twenty four Pound ſometimes, as the weigher has a mind to befriend you. Indico is ſold by the Charl, which is in their Weight 150, and in ours betwixt 166 and 170 Pound. Cotton Wool is ſold by the Bahar, which is 300 Rottala's, and makes between 332 and 344 Pound *Engliſh* Weight, at Eighteen Rials *per* Bahar very good and clean. Their Meaſure of Length is call'd a Peck, and is about Three fourths of our *Engliſh* Yards.

How the Trade ſtood at *Surat* at that time.

I had alſo at this time the following Account of the ſtate of Trade at *Surat*, and the Prizes of Commodities there but a little before. Broad Cloth of Twenty three Pound, a Cloth of ſeveral colours at Twenty Mamoodies the Conido; the Conido is a meaſure of 35 Inches *Engliſh*, and the Mamoodie is in value One fifth part of a Rial of Eight. Kerſies at 84 Mamoodies the piece, which was leſs than ours coſt in *England*. Lead, the great Maund, which contains Thirty three pound *Engliſh*, at Seven and One third Mamoodies. Tin, the leſſer Maund, containing Twenty five Pound *Engliſh*, at 5 [illegible] Rials of Eight.

And at *Dabul*.

At *Dabul*, Iron went at 21 Rials the Bahar, which is about 360 pound *Engliſh* Weight. Pieces Damask'd, from Twelve to Eighteen Rials the Piece. Elephants Teeth at Sixty five Mamoodies the greater Maund. Indico of *Cirkeſa* (whereof there's three ſorts) the beſt at Fourteen Roupies the greater Maund, the ſecond ſort at Twelve, and the third at Eight; and Fourteen of theſe Roupies make about half a Rial of Eight. Indico of *Labor* (which is the beſt of all, and of which alſo there's three ſorts) the beſt at 36 Rupies, the biggeſt Maund of 55 pound, the ſecond ſort at Thirty, and the third at Twenty four Roupies. The Charges of bringing it to the Waterſide was 10 in the hundred for *Cirkeſe* Indico, and 20 in the 100 (Cuſtom) for that of *Labor*.

Auguſt. Captain *Saris* goes for *Bantam*.

Having ſeen the laſt reſult of our Affairs in the *Red-Sea*, we ſet ſail in proſecution of our *Indian* Voyage, directing our courſe firſt of all to *Bantam*. We put in by the way at *Zocotora* for a Bargain of Aloes, it being about this time of the Year that the King of that Iſland had told us he ſhould be able to furniſh us with a quantity. He held it up at a very high rate, demanding Forty Rials of Eight *per* Rintal, which is 104 pound weight, alledging that the *Portugueze* courted him to let them have the refuſal of it, and would be glad of it at that Price. We agreed with him at laſt at Thirty Rials for one parcel, and Thirty eight for another, and ſo took of him the quantity of 4067 pound, which coſt us to the value of 1418 [illegible] Rials of Eight; but we found him falſe both in his Word and Weight too, tho' we made no breach with him upon that ſcore for the ſake of future Trade.

September.

Take in Aloes at *Zocotora*.

A remarkable Phænomenon.

After we had parted from this Iſland we were one night ſurpriz'd with a ſtrange ſparkling and glaring of the Water all about us. 'Twas but juſt before ſo dark that one could not ſee half the length of the Ship any way round, and now there was ſuch a clear Skie on every ſide, as would have ſerv'd to have read by tolerably well. And this was not a ſudden flaſh of light that gave a ſhort glare, and then was gone again preſently, but it held us for a matter of half an hour ſailing; and when all came to all, and the Philoſophy of the whole Fleet was puzzl'd to find out the cauſe of it, 'twas a parcel of Cuttle Fiſh ſwiming about us that made this appearance, and were ſo kind as to afford us the Aſſiſtance of their Light in the dark Night, when the Stars denied us theirs.

The deceit of the Plats in the Poſition of Cape *Cammorin*.

When we came up with Cape *Cammorin*, upon the *Malabar* Coaſt, we found by Obſervation that it's erroneouſly placed in the common Plats, lying conſiderably more Northerly than they make it; for whereas the Latitude is generally reckoned ſix Degrees ten Minutes, we find it to be 7 Degrees 42 Minutes to the North of the Line. Beſides we had no ſight of ſeveral other Iſlands mentioned in our Plats; particularly we light of none of the *Maldives*, which are ſo very numerous, according to the vulgar Accounts, neither indeed did we deſcry any Land till we ſaw the Main of *Malabar*.

October.

Being in ſight of the Iſland of *Sumatra* (the Eaſt part of which did then bear E. N. E. 14 Leagues diſtance) and in 4 Degr. 49 Minutes South Latitude, we found a very ſtrong Current ſetting to the South ſide, which put us forcibly off from the Land.

Note of the Current near *Sumatra*.

From hence it may be proper to give this caution to thoſe that are bound for the *Streights of Sunda*, that they keep *Sumatra* aboard after they are come into 1 Degree 30 Minutes South Latitude, becauſe there the Current begins; and for diſtance, that they hold a matter of 30 Leagues off with good looking out, becauſe there are ſeveral Cayos 15 or 20 Leagues off, which by Reaſon of the Current we did not ſee.

Come to *Bantam.*

We came to an Anchor in *Bantam* Road the latter end of this Month, finding here ſeveral Ships of our own Nation, and the *Dutch's*, and more of ours every Day expected. The Arrival of all theſe Ships, and the expectation of ſo many more, made a ſtrange alteration in the Price of Commodities; thoſe in any Requeſt being hoiſted up to three times the Value of what they were ſold for but two Days before. Cloves which went but at ſixteen Rials of Eight the Peecul, were now riſen to above forty; and the Price of Pepper encreaſed in a far greater proportion; this Peecul tried by our *Engliſh* Weights, bears about 132 pound. At the time of our being here the Protector was all in all in the Country; the King tho' of Age did nothing but fill up the Throne, and enjoy his Pleaſures, committing all Buſineſs to the ſole management of the Protector.

November. Trade for Pepper.

The Main of the Buſineſs done here this Seaſon was the laying in Twelve or Fourteen thouſand Sacks of Pepper for the lading two of my Ships quickly, to be diſpatch'd from hence to *England*; and this we had at ſeveral Prices, from 160 to 125 Rials the 100 Sacks, and all of the *Chineſe* Merchants who are the great Dealers here. Beſides this, we took in 700 Sacks of the ſame Commodity for a trial how 'twould go off at *Japan*; for thither I was bound from this place, going to make the firſt Attempt at ſettling an *Engliſh* Factory upon that Iſland. One of our Nation (Mr *William Adams*) was at this time in very great Repute and Favour with the Emperour there; he had been in *Japan* ever ſince the Year 1600, and liv'd in very good Circumſtances, and from him Letters came to us at *Bantam*, giving us very great Hopes of a good Reception, and profitable Trade at that Country.

January.

Danger near *Pulo Lack.*

Currents.

My two Ships the *Hector* and the *Thomas* being ſent away laden for *England*, I weighed out of the Road for *Japan* with my biggeſt Ship the *Clove*. The very next Day a Miſfortune overtook us, that had like to have oblig'd us to put back to *Bantam* again, to the very great Prejudice of our intended Voyage. For having *Pulo Lack* on our Star-board, and paſſing within two little Iſlands that lie to the Eaſt ſide of it, we run aground, and ſtuck faſt for ſome Hours in a very forlorn caſe. The Miſchief that reduc'd us to this Diſtreſs, was a Shoal lying in that Paſſage, which has not above ſix Foot on the Top of it, nor is above half a Cable's length every way; hard aboard it there's ten Fathom, and the next caſt on ground, as we found by ſad experience. Obſerve, that to go clear of this Shoal, you muſt keep cloſe to the Iſlands and not to the Main, for that's all Shoald. In the Courſe from hence to the Iſland *Celebes*, we had the Current changing two or three ſeveral ways: Not far from the watering place call'd *Ting Ina*, which is about fourteen Leagues from *Bantam*, you ſhall find it ſetting to the E. S. E. which you muſt allow for, as you have the Wind; we had it as we ſteer'd near the Eaſt of thoſe two Iſlands, that lie over againſt the Watering place, and are about five Miles diſtance from the Point of *Jacatra*. In the Latitude ſix Degrees nine Minutes (after having paſs'd the Iſle *Pulo Labuck*) the Current run directly (at leaſt pretty near) to the Weſt ſide, and within ſight of the *Celebes* (the Eaſt part bearing Eaſt by North ſix Leagues off, and Latitude five Degrees 52 Minutes) it ſet to the North Weſt ſide.

Here we took in our Sails to keep ſhort of the Streights of *Deſalon*, and keeping our Lead all Night, we had firſt 20 Fathom, and then drove into 33 and ſo to 47 Fathom, fearing a Shoal, which lies almoſt a League from the *Celebes*, and at low Water plainly diſcovers the breach upon it.

Paſſage by the *Celebes* dangerous.

Directions to ſail there.

February.

On the *Celebes* ſide 'tis very dangerous, and full of ſunken Ground; and for that Reaſon, we haled over for *Deſalon* ſide, having for a Mark the piked Hill, which is next to the Sea ſide, and riſes up like an Iſland. When this Hill bears N. by W. then you are thwart the Eaſt end of the Shoal, and when 'tis North you are thwart the Weſt end of it, and then will the Iſland which you leave on your Star-board ſide, bear E. N. E. ſo that you may boldly ſteer out in the middle between the two Iſlands. Obſerve alſo, that the Eaſt end of *Deſalon*, ſhews like an Iſland, and will go near to deceive you till you come to it; but when once you have brought the North end of the Point to bear E. N. E. half a Point Eaſterly, then you may go ſecurely on, for you are clear of all Dangers from the aforementioned Shoal.

About four or five Leagues diſtance from *Cambine*, we found the Current carry us to the North ſide, and near the Iſland *Tingaleſſe* to the N. E. which is a near Neighbour to the conſiderable Iſle of *Botun*.

Strain of *Botun.*

Directions to paſs that Streight.

From the Eaſt Point of *Botun* the Land falls away ſuddenly, with two or three great Bays to the North Weſtwards, by which the three great Iſlands, that lie to the North ſide of *Botun*, are the Streights ſo call'd made. 'Tis requiſite to obſerve concerning theſe Streights, that the Paſſage is not above a League broad, and the entrance is of the North ſide of the Iſland, and if you come from the Weſt ſide, when you are athwart the N. W. Point, your Courſe is E. N. E. and E. by N. up to the Road, and no Danger but what you may eaſily ſee; but then you muſt leave the three Iſlands to the North ſide of you, and yet not go between any of them; and when you fall with the Weſt end of *Botun*, don't go between it and the two long Iſlands that lie off it; but leave them on your Star-board ſide, becauſe 'tis all broken Ground between them and *Botun*. But if the Wind ſerve you, then hale to the North ſide of all the Iſlands, either between *Botun* and *Cambina*, or elſe to the North ſide of that too, and ſo you may keep the Coaſt of *Celebes* ſafely enough.

Come to the *Molucca's.*

The latter end of this Month, we came up with the Iſland of *Bachig* (call'd by our *Engliſh* Sailors *Halebolin*) which is one of the *Mobucca's*, and very eaſily known by the Proſpect it yields, being a high copped round Iſland, and very different in ſhape from any other Iſlands to be ſeen thereabours. The Point of this Iſland bearing E.N.E. four Leagues of, and Latitude one Degree 16 Minutes, we found the Current ſetting N. E. and the high Land of *Machian* bearing N. by E. and Latitude 51 Minutes. We had it ſetting to the N. N. E. *Bachian* has been famous for the production of Cloves, and would ſtill have maintained it's Reputation for the ſame Commodity, did not the unhappy Commotions there diſturb the Labours and induſtrious Endeavours of the Natives.

Wars in the Iſle *Bachian.*

The ill Deſign of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* in *Bachian.*

They are altogether by the Ears in a Civil War; and whilſt they are forming Plots and Stratagems to run down and deſtroy one another, the Clove-Tree ſtands neglected, and the noble Spice rots upon the Ground. The *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* (who both make their Pretentions to this place) ſtand by and ſee thoſe Contentions of the *Bachians* with no ſmall Pleaſure; and if they did not at firſt make the quarrel between them, yet they do all they can to foment and encreaſe it. They ſit ſecure in their ſtrong Forts, diverting themſelves with the Proſpect of the Spoil theſe People make of one another; and for fear their Paſſions ſhould cool, and the raging Fit go off, they loo them on with all the eagerneſs in the World, and continually inſpire them with freſh Jealouſies and Suſpicions, ſo that the Feud holds up to its height, and muſt be immortal while theſe Incendiaries are amongſt them, at leaſt while there is a race of People left that will be ſo fooliſh as to hearken to their Suggeſtions. Theſe Foreigners are too cunning to meddle at all in the Matter, but think it the better way to leave them to work it out by themſelves; that is, they have too little Honeſty and good Nature to do any thing towards the making of Peace, and bringing the contending Parties to a good underſtanding, at leaſt by affording a juſt Aſſiſtance to the weaker and injured ſide, to help to bring the Aggreſſours to reaſonable Terms: this won't anſwer their Deſign, for the inverted Sence of the Proverb is true as well as the direct, when honeſt People fall together by the Ears, the Knaves that ſtand by lay hold of their Right; let the Natives murder and diſpatch one another, and then the Iſland is all their own, without any farther coſt or trouble. The poor Natives groan under theſe Calamities, and would be heartily glad to be rid of the troubleſome Company of the *Dutch*, as they freely confeſt to me, wiſhing that the *Engliſh* were planted here in their room. The King would fain have come aboard the Ship, but the *Dutch* oblig'd him to forbear; and the People would have ſold us Cloves too, but the terrour of the *Dutch* kept them in ſuch awe, that they declar'd 'twas a hazarding of their Lives to do it.

The *Dutch* Force ſmall in *Bachian.*

And yet the Strength of the *Dutch* is inconſiderable there too, if they did not buſie themſelves, as I did not think they would in matters of this nature; for according to the Report of their Captain himſelf, their Fort (tho' ſtrong and ſubſtantially built) is not furniſhed with above thirteen Pieces of Ordnance, and thirty Souldiers, a trifling Power to ſtrike ſuch a Terrour into a whole Country; but the great Guns are the main Buſineſs, and a ſmall number of Men with a Train of Artillery on their ſide, may command a vaſt multitude furniſh'd at no better rate than theſe *Indians* are. But tis to be hoped that the *Dutch* will be ſtronger in time, and have a Troop of Souldiers of their own breed to Fight the *Bachians*, for they have taken care to furniſh their Fort well with Women, ſome of their own Country, and thoſe of ſo huge and large a ſize, that they were a good Garriſon themſelves; fit to defend the Fort without any more Aſſiſtance, and certainly cannot fail of bringing very luſty Souldiers into the World.

This Band of *Amazons* follow'd the *Dutch* Captain to our Ship, and preſently falling to the Victuals with the common Sailors, gave ſo good Proof of their Ability that way, that if it be anſwerable other ways, the Men may e'en go to ſleep, and turn over the Fort to the Care of theſe Females; one of which is almoſt big enough to ſtop up any Breach an Adverſary ſhou'd make in the mean time.

* The Road by the Fort is call'd the Road of *Amaſane.*

The Town of *Bachan* ſtands hard by the Fort, and any that ſhou'd have a mind to come to Anchor out of the Command of the Guns, may do it on the Eaſt-ſide of the Bay, in twelve, ſixteen, and twenty Fathom, hard Coral Ground, at the opening or going out near a little Iſland, taking care of a Shoal that lies to the Southward of the Fort, about three Cables length, in Lat. 50 Min.

March.

The Variation of the Compaſs here, is 4 Degr. 48 Min. Eaſterly.

Go for *Machian.*

The State of this Iſland not allowing any Trade, we ſail'd away for *Machian*, another of the *Molucca's*; the rather, being invited thereto by a *Moor* of Quality in this place, who promis'd good ſtore of Cloves there, and furniſh'd us with Pilots for the Voyage.

The Streights in the paſſage to *Machian.*

The Proſpects of *Machian* and *Tydore*, are ſomething like that of *Bachian*, being high copp'd Iſlands, only *Tydore* is not ſo high Land as that of *Machian* ; it is ſhut into the Point of the Weſtern-ſide of the outwardmoſt Iſle of the three that lie in the going out, two of them being without the Narrow or Streight, and the Third makes the Streights it ſelf, tho' there are more Iſlands on the Eaſtern-ſide.

The Iſland call'd *Tanally Bachar*, is one of thoſe that contributes to the making of the Streights, on the Southern-part of which is a Shoal reaching over to the Southern-part of *Bachian*, having three Fathom on the Skirts, and is dry at low Water.

We reckon it five Leagues from the Streights of *Narrorat*, and fourteen from the Road of *Amaſane* to this Paſſage. About the little Iſland that lies in the Streight's Mouth, you have Anchoring from eighteen Fathom and upwards: And a touch both of a Southerly and a Northerly Current, before you paſs the Streights, the latter eſpecially, towards the Streights themſelves. We found the Sound clear of all Iſlands between *Bachian* and *Gilolo*, S. E. and N. W. and 'tis all very broad; but there are Iſlands lying on the Starboard-ſide, as you go to the Northwards.

The Channel between *Bachian*, *Machian*, and *Gilolo*, lies N. by W. and S. by E. and is ſix Leagues over in the narroweſt part.

Machian wrong plac'd

Paſſing between *Gilolo* and *Caia*, we had by Obſervation North Lat. 17 Min. ſo that *Machian* is not truly plac'd in the Plats, ſince the Equator there cuts it in the middle, and we find it to lie five Leagues more Northerly.

The Variation of the Compaſs where this Obſervation was made, was 4 Degr. 58 Min. Eaſterly, and a Current in the ſame place ſetting to the Southward.

Tabanee Road very good.

About the middle of this Month, we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Pelebero*, hard by the Town of *Tabanee*, in *Machian*, where there's the beſt Riding of the whole Iſland (tho' very near the Shore) and free from all danger.

The ſame Day we came, we took in a quantity of Cloves, the Price at 60 Rials of Eight *per* Bahar, the Bahar containing 200 Cattees, and each Cattee amounting to the Value of three Pound five Ounces *Engliſh*.

The *Dutch* angry at their coming

The *Dutch* were highly diſguſted at our coming hither, and as inquiſitive to know who directed us to this place; threatning all with Plagues and Death, that had been concern'd in the matter, if they cou'd find them out; and particularly, that they wou'd treat thoſe with the utmoſt Severity, that ſhou'd offer to bring any Spice to us. They pretended to have conquer'd this Country by juſt Arms, and to have a good and lawful Title to it; and therefore told us we were injurious to come and pretend here, where they had ſo fairly planted themſelves.

The Natives forward to Trade.

But as theſe ſpecious Pretences wou'd never prove them to have a juſt and ſufficient Title to this Country, or ſuch a Property in it as to exclude all others from Trade, and conſequently were little regarded by us; ſo all their Threatnings were as little valued by the Natives: They found us to be their Friends, Perſons that came not to attempt any thing to the prejudice of their rightful Liberties and Privileges, but only to eſtabliſh a Commerce to the mutual advantage of both Parties; and therefore they wou'd not be curb'd by the *Dutch*, but declar'd they wou'd come aboard us, and bring Spice, notwithſtanding their imperious Orders to the contrary. And they were as good as their Word, maintaining the Trade with us, in ſpite of the inſolent *Hollander*; we barter'd *Cambaya* Cloth for Cloves with them, and ſome we ſold for ready Money.

But the induſtrious Malice of our Adverſaries quickly oppos'd it ſelf by more effectual Methods to overturn this good Correſpondence; and the Natives, who ſaw it, inform'd us of it, and at the ſame time repin'd at their ill uſage, and that they were not able to relieve themſelves or us.

The Methods took by the *Dutch*, to prevent their Trade at *Machian.*

The *Dutch*, it ſeems, got an Order from the Prince of *Ternate*, commanding all the Iſlanders upon pain of Death to forbear bringing any Cloves to us; and to make ſure on't, they guarded all the Avenues and Paſſes of the Iſland, by which 'twas poſſible that any Communication ſhou'd be held between us and the Shoar. They drein'd all their Forts and Garriſons, and brought out their whole Power to watch upon the Coaſts, and attend the Motions of the Natives, and our Ships; nay, more than that, they ſent to *Tydore* for a couple of their great Ships to come and beat us out of the Road: And now the Natives (who knew no better) expected to ſee us driven away with a Vengeance.

In the mean time the Prince of *Ternate* (whom I had before endeavour'd to qualifie by a good Preſent) came to give me a Viſit a Shipboard, and there in the midſt of the good Entertainment, very frankly promis'd to ſtand our Friend in the matter of Trade, to revoke that invidious Order the *Dutch* had extorted from him to our prejudice, and give the Natives a full Licenſe to bring their Spice to us.

April.
A. D. 1613.
Go out of *Pelabery* Road

But this Prince (as the Event proved) was afraid to diſpleaſe the *Dutch*, and durſt not be honeſt and true to his Word; tho' to do him Juſtice, I believe he had a mind to be ſo. The Coaſts were all faſt lock'd up; and the Spies upon the Sea ſo diligent and curious in their Watch, that all the Arts that cou'd be uſed to deceive the quick-ſighted Jealouſie of our Adverſaries, were to no purpoſe. The *Dutch* Ships kept cloſe to us, but made no offer to aſſault us; and ſince to have gotten the Trade, we muſt firſt have ſunk them at Sea, and then have beat all their Forces at Land too (which if we cou'd have effected, 'twas more Violence than we intended) the matter being thus, we left the *Dutch* to enjoy their Repoſe here, and ſail'd away out of the Road.

A Trade as they go away

We obſerv'd the Latitude in this Road of *Pelabery*, to be 26 Min. to the Northward, and the Variation of the Compaſs 3 Degr. 28 Min. But good Luck, which was not over ready to come to us while we ſtaid there, began to follow us when we went away: For as we ſail'd along, the Natives (who watch'd for an Opportunity as heartily as the *Dutch*) having their Cloves ready, whipp'd them aboard in a trice; and they held doing ſo for a pretty while, as faſt as ever we cou'd weigh and pay for them. The *Dutch* followed, and perhaps were ſenſible of this, but were not able to prevent it; for we were got ſo far to the Windwards of them, that the Bargains were all made and concluded, before they cou'd come to the ſpoiling of them. We bought thus at parting a conſiderable quantity of Spice, and had done a great deal more, if the People had not been frighted at the ſight of a *Dutch* Veſſel paſſing by: However, 'twas pretty well, and ſo much the better, in that it was wreſted out of the Hands of thoſe that would unjuſtly have engroſſed the whole Commodity to themſelves.

We directed our Courſe now to the Iſle of *Tydore*, the two *Dutch* Ships ſtill plying after us.

Dangerous Shoal.

About the Iſles *Motiere*, *Machian*, and *Marre*, the paſſage between, or on any ſide, is free from all danger; but between *Marre* and *Gilolo*, you have a dangerous Shoal ſtretching N. E. and S. W. which requires the Pilot to look well about him: The Water looks whitiſh about it, and when 'tis Flood, the Shoal is even with the Water, but at Ebb 'tis eaſie to be diſcern'd; and the beſt way to eſcape it, is to keep cloſe to the Iſlands: It ebbs about this place ſix Foot, and the Tide ſets ſix Hours to the Northward, and as many to the Southward.

Come to *Tydore.*

The *Spaniards* Fort at *Tydore*, ſtands on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland, all whereabouts the Water is very deep, and no good Anchoring, tho' there is a particular place about 1 ½ League from the Fort, where a Ship may ride well enough. At our firſt coming within ſight and reach of the Fort, we were welcom'd with a Shot or two made at us; which tho' it did us no harm, yet obliged us to be upon our Guard. The *Spaniards* it ſeems miſtook us for *Flemings*, and notwithſtanding our *Engliſh* Colours wou'd not believe the contrary, till they had ſent out a Boat to parley with us, and ſatisfie themſelves from our own Mouths.

The Policy of the *Dutch.*

And the Reaſon of this was, becauſe the *Dutch* had ſometimes cheated them, by hanging out *Engliſh* Colours inſtead of their own, and ſo had got by the Fort under the Protection of thoſe Colours, which otherwiſe with their own they wou'd not have done: For the *Spaniards* wou'd beat their Ships in pieces, before they'd let them paſs here.

The *Spaniſh* Friendly Carriage in appearance.

After this diſcovery who we were, the *Spaniards* were extreamly civil to us; the Captain-General ſent his Pilot-Major to bid us Welcome, and bring the Ship into the beſt Anchoring-place; they ſent us Preſents, and came to Treats a Shipboard; and there was ſuch a reciprocation of Kindneſſes betwixt us, as if our two Nations had never fallen out, and we had been all of a piece, both in our Civil and Religious Intereſts.

They promis'd moreover, to diſpatch Letters to the Maſter de Camp at *Ternate*, for his Orders to Trade with us, and earneſtly deſired my ſtay till the return of the Meſſengers; and when News came that thoſe Orders were arrived at *Tydore*, the Captain-General, and another Great Officer, ſent word, They wou'd come aboard me the next Day to do Buſineſs. We made ready to receive them, and by the noiſe of the great Guns, thought verily they had been coming; when we found that ſhooting to be for the Arrival of the Warlike Prince of *Tydore*, who was come home in Triumph with the Heads of a hundred *Ternates*, and amongſt them the Head of the Prince of *Ternate*, whom we had careſs'd at *Machian*.

The Slaughter of the *Ternatees* by the Prince of *Tydore*.

This Prince of *Ternate* was call'd over to *Machian* by the *Dutch*, on purpoſe to keep the Country People from ſelling their Cloves to us; and the *Tydorians* who attended their Motions in going back, and lay in Ambuſh for them, cunningly drew them into their Snares, and making a ſudden and furious Aſſault upon them, cut them all off to the number of 160 Men: The young Prince himſelf underwent the Fate of War amongſt the reſt, and his Head was brought in a very triumphant manner, for a Preſent to his Siſter, Wife to the Conquerour, Prince of *Tydore*.

Beſides this, there were two other Royal Victims which fell at that time, by the raging Sword of the *Tydorian*, the younger Brother of that Prince of *Ternate*, and the King of *Gilolo*: The *Dutch* have often felt the Effects of the Force and Courage of this Prince, and 'twas but a little before this, that he ſurpriz'd and took one of their Men of War.

We were oblig'd now to keep double Watch and Ward, and be in all the readineſs imaginable to withſtand an Aſſault, having this daring Prince ſo near us: Beſides the *Spaniards* increas'd their Forces, and ſeem'd to be providing for ſome attempt; all which appear'd very doubtful and ſuſpicious, and were Symptoms of ſo ill and threatning an Aſpect, that I reſolv'd to prevent the Danger that might follow, by a ſudden Remove away from them. 'Tis true, the Prince of *Tydore* promiſed a good parcel of Cloves, if we ſtaid a little while longer; but thoſe Cloves might poſſibly have coſt us too dear; and ſuch a Deſperado as he, with the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, might have ſold us a very bad Bargain; upon which ſcore we left him to ſell his Cloves to other Chapmen, being reſolved to take none upon thoſe Terms.

State of Trade, &c. at the *Molucca's*.

It may not be amiſs here, before we take our leave of theſe *Molucca* Iſles, to give ſome Account of the Original of the *European* Intereſt there, the Fortune of the Country under its ſeveral Maſters, and the Civil Circumſtances of it, as to Trade and Commerce, at the time of our being there.

The * *Portugueze*, we know, were the firſt *Europeans* that found the way to theſe Iſlands; at leaſt, that open'd a Correſpondence with them: When they came hither, they found a dreadful War commenc'd between the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*. Theſe two Princes had drawn their Swords, and the whole Intereſt of the *Molucca's* being divided between them, either as their Subjects or Confederates, all the other Iſlands were up in Arms, and became Seconds in the ſame Quarrel. The *Portugueze*, for the better ſettling of themſelves, joyn'd themſelves to neither Party, but pretended to be Friends to both; and conſequently having no Work upon their Hands, while the others fought, they fell to building of Forts and Caſtles upon both the Iſlands of *Ternate*, and *Tydore*: They left the two Kings to diſpute which ſhou'd be Maſter of the others Country; and in the mean time took care, that neither of them ſhou'd be ſo, or rather to make both their Vaſſals. By this means they got the whole Clove-Trade into their hands; the *Molucca's* were abſolutely at their Command and endured the Yoke of their domineering Power, till the Year 1605.

* See the Circum-Navigators, *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

Portugueze, *Spaniſh*, and *Dutch*, Poſſeſſors of the *Molucca's*.

But the *Dutch* (who were charm'd with ſuch a Proſpect as the *Molucca's* yielded) then took their Turn for a Taſte of the Profit and Pleaſure of them, drove out the *Portugueze* by main Force, and planted themſelves in their room. But they were ſcarcely well-ſeated here, before the *Spaniards* came to deſire them to remove, and by the ſame Law that they ſucceeded the *Portugueze*, they forced themſelves to be the *Dutch*'s Succeſſors, in the enjoyment of thoſe Iſlands.

The *Spaniards* were gotten into the *Philippine* Iſlands at the ſame time, that the *Portugueze* were at the *Molucca's*, but they wou'd not pretend to diſplace them, being not only Neighbours in Country, but Brethren in Religion, and Sons of the ſame Holy Church together with themſelves: But the great thing was, that the Pope had commanded them not to meddle; the Church gave Orders to the contrary; otherwiſe, if the Mother had not interpoſed her Authority, 'tis likely enough that theſe good Children of hers might have ſquabbled, and gone together by the Ears, about ſo fine a Toy as the *Molucca's* were. Whereas the *Dutch* had hardly time to look about them, before the Catholicks came from the *Philippines* to drive them out; they had no Pope of their ſide, no Intereſt in the Motherly Care and Protection of the Church; and therefore as a Spurious and Baſtardly Race, were to be expell'd, and not ſuffer'd to ſhare the Inheritance of thoſe parts with her own Genuine Off-ſpring. However, the *Dutch* (who value not the Rattling of the Keys, the Snarling of the Pope, nor the Curſes of the Church; that fear no Storms but thoſe at Sea, nor no Excommunication but that from a good Trade) were ſome time after that even with them; working themſelves ſo effectually into theſe Iſlands, that all the Endeavours of the *Spaniards* have not been able to remove them ſince. They have Forts more or leſs upon every one of the Iſlands, and ſome of them ſtrong and well furniſh'd too; ſo that now they ſeem to be ſo well fix'd, that unleſs the Church can drive them out by her Prayers, and other Spiritual Weapons, for all that appears, they are like to ſtay there.

The Quantities of Cloves produced by the ſeveral Iſles.

Of all theſe Iſlands, *Machian* is the moſt rich and fruitful of Cloves, and yields in the Year of the great Monſon (as they call it) above 1800 Bahars. *Ternate* yields 1000; *Tydore* 900; *Bachian* 300; *Motiere* 600; *Meau* 50; *Batta China*, or *Gilolo*, 35. Theſe are the Proportions, according to the Accounts of the Inhabitants, one Year with another. Every Third Year is conſiderably more fruitful than the two foregoing, and this is call'd the Year of the great Monſon, when Nature ſeldom fails by an extravagant Bounty, to make amends for her Sparingneſs at another time.

The *Dutch* pretend a Contract of perpetual Obligation with the Natives for all their Cloves, at the Rate of fifty Rials of Eight *per* Bahar: As for our parts, we were willing to give ſixty, in order to the having a quick Lading; and that increaſe of the Price of 10 Rials in the Bahar, made the People ſo ready to furniſh us, that if the *Dutch* had not perfectly ſcar'd them, and kept them in by force, I ſhou'd have had my full Lading in one Month's time.

Our Trade was moſtly by way of Barter with them, and that chiefly of your Cloths of *Cambaya*, and *Coromandel*. The Sorts requeſted, and the Prices they went at, were as follows:

The Commodities vended at the *Molucca's*.

The Candakeens of *Barochie*, for ſix Cattees of Cloves.
The Candakeens Papang, or flat, at three Cattees.
Selas, or ſmall Baſtas, ſeven and eight.
Your Patachere Malayo, ſixteeen.
Dragam Chere Malayo, the ſame.
Fine Caſſas, at twelve.
Courſe of that kind, eight.
Betellias, or Tancoulos red, forty four, and forty eight.
Saraſſas-chere Malayo, forty eight and fifty.
Sarampouri, thirty.
Chellos, Tapſiels, and Matafons, twenty and twenty four.
White Caſſas, or Tancoulos, forty and forty four.
Drougerius, fine of that kind, twelve.
Courſe of the ſame, eight and ten.
Pouti Caſtella, ten.
Ballachios, the fineſt, thirty.
Pattachere Malayo of two Fathoms, eight and ten.
Great Potas, or long, four Fathom, ſixteen.
Parcallas white, twelve.
Salalos Ytam, twelve and fourteen.
Turias and Tappe Turias at one and two.
Patolas, of two Fathoms, fifty and ſixty.
Thoſe of four and one Fathom, in like manner.

Rice goes here at the Rate of one Rial of Eight for twenty eight Pound.

Sagu, which is a Root they make their Bread of, and is the chiefeſt Food through the Country, is ſold in Bunches, and is worth one fourth of a Rial *per* Bunch.

And to conclude, all Velvets, Sattens, Taffata's, *China* Stuffs and Silks, are in very great requeſt at theſe Iſlands.

Having ſtaid now ſome time at *Tydore* to no purpoſe, and our longer ſtay there being likely to be attended with

more

Go from the *Molucca's.*

more Danger than Profit, we went on with our Voyage, calling in at *Ternate* by the way ; where we found as little good to be done as at *Tydore.*

Between the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards*, all thoſe Iſlands are ſo managed, that they themſelves alone have the entire advantage of them ; they devour all, and then are ſo ſpiteful, that they wou'd rather chuſe to ſee the Commodities ſpoil'd and confounded, (as the Spice is now by their means partly) than ſuffer any others to take them at a good Price.

Doy, a great Iſland, and its Products.

Sailing along from *Ternate*, we had an Eaſterly Current continually, till we came up with the great Iſland *Doy* ; and all about the Northern Point of that Iſland, the Current ſet very ſtrongly the ſame way. We found a very large Bay here, where there's Anchoring good enough, but pretty deep ; and off the Northern Point lies a great Shoal half a League into the Sea. We found no People upon this Iſland, but other Creatures in ſome plenty, which we had more occaſion for at that time : There were a very large ſort of Swine and Deer, Pheaſants, Woodcocks, and Wood-pigeons, the latter very plump, and large bodied like Hens. It yields likewiſe good ſtore of Cokers, Penangs, Serie, and Palmita's ; and the tops of theſe Palmita-Trees, dreſs'd with Beef, are as good and ſweet as any Cabbage in the World : And that nothing might be wanting to our complete Refreſhment at this place, we had Water and Wood enough, not only for the Supply of a preſent Neceſſity, but to make what Proviſion we pleas'd for future Wants.

May.

Tho' no People appear'd, yet upon enquiry aſhore, we found the Ruines of Houſes, and certain old Pieces of Houſhold-ſtuff ; ſo that 'tis certain the Iſland had been inhabited, as it very well deſerv'd to be, tho' the People, by ſome Calamity or other, were deſtroy'd or driven away from their Habitations.

This *Doy* is the North Eaſtermoſt Iſland of *Gilolo*, or *Battachina* ; the Latitude here is 2 Degr. 35 Min. N. and the Variation 5 Degr. 20 Min. Eaſterly. We refreſh'd at this place for the better part of a Month, and then purſued our Voyage to *Japan.*

June. Iſles *Dos Reyes Magos.*

Having paſs'd the Tropick of *Cancer*, we had ſight of the Iſles *Dos Reyes Magos*, which lie along N. E. and S.W. They are ſmall Iſlands, and at leaſt ten or eleven in number, with broken Ground and Breaches, reaching over to each Iſland, ſo that we cou'd diſcern no Paſſage to the Weſtward.

Ximo Iſle, or *Maſhma.*

Japoneſe Fiſher-boats.

We had ſight of various other Iſlands (in our paſſage from theſe) which were wholly unknown to us ; but the next Land that came in view, that we were certain of, was the great Iſland *Ximo*, to the Southward of *Japan*, and a part of that Empire, call'd by the Inhabitants *Maſhma.* Here ſome of the Natives that were abroad a Fiſhing came up to us with their Boats, in the Contrivance of which we found ſome Curioſity worth our Obſervation. They were about five Tun a piece Burthen, fitted with one Sail, which ſtood like that of a Skiff, and ſkull'd with four Oars of a ſide : Their Oars reſted upon a Pin faſtned on the top of the Boat's ſide, the Head of which Pin was ſo let into the middle-part of the Oar, that the Oar hung in an exact poize, giving thereby much leſs trouble to the Rower in the management of it, than otherwiſe it muſt be. Beſides, the Rowers perform their Work ſtanding, as ours do ſitting, and ſo take up abundantly the leſs room in the Boat ; and as they take up leſs room, ſo they do leſs time too, for they row at a far ſwifter rate than we can pretend to. We agreed with ſome of theſe to Pilot us to *Firando* ; which they very willingly agreed to, and as honeſtly perform'd, bringing us ſafe into the Road, before the middle of this Month.

Arrival at *Firando.*

The King of *Firando* comes aboard

For our firſt Welcome hither, we had a Viſit a Shipboard from Perſons of no leſs Figure than the Old and the Young King of this Iſland of *Firando* ; which is one of the Particulars of the large Empire of *Japan.* The two Kings came attended with a great ſhew of Boats and Gallies, which when they were near us, fell back, and made way, in a very decent manner, for the two principal Gallies to come up to the Ship.

Their Habit.

They were both of them dreſs'd in Silken Gowns girt to 'em, with a fine Shirt, and a Pair of Flaxen Breeches next to their Bodies ; they had no Stockins on, but a ſort of Shooes or Sandals ; the forepart of their Heads very cloſe ſhaven, and their Hair behind long, and tied up in a Knot, which was all that part had either for Ornament or Defence, they wearing nothing of Hats, Caps, or Turbants, as other People do. They had each of them two Cattans (or Swords of that Country) girt by their ſides, the one of half a Yard, the other a quarter long ; a deſperate kind of Weapon, and nothing inferiour to the *Indian* Criſes, or *Turkiſh* Scimitars.

The manner of Saluting Strangers in *Japan.*

Their manner of Salutation was thus : Firſt they put off their Shooes, then clapping their Right-hand within the Left, they put them down towards their Knees, and ſo in that ſtooping poſture they waved their Bodies, ſideling to and fro, inclining this way and that way alternately, and all the while crying out, *Augh, Augh*, which is a Word of Complement and Welcome amongſt them.

They were very highly pleas'd with the Entertainment we gave them, and our *Engliſh* Muſick made no ſmall part of their Diverſion and Pleaſure a Shipboard ; they made no ſcruple of promiſing all the Encouragement and Kindneſs that Country cou'd afford us, eſpecially upon the preſenting of our King's Letters, which they receiv'd with a wonderful Joy and Satisfaction. This Letter the King wou'd not pretend to open, till he had ſent for *Auge* (as he call'd him) to interpret it to him : This *Auge* ſignifies in their Language a *Pilot* ; and the Perſon intended by it was no other than Mr. *Adams*, our Country-man, and Friend, and at this time a Man of no little Note and Significancy in *Japan.* A Diſpatch was ſent away immediately for him ; as likewiſe to the Great Emperour up in the Country, to give him Notice of our Arrival and Buſineſs.

The Nobility come and bring them Preſents.

After theſe two Great Perſonages had been with us, all the Lords and Great Men came aboard us in a full Body ; they came with ſuch a Train, that we hardly knew where to beſtow them ; they made a perfect Crowd, and there was ſcarce any ſtirring to and fro in the Ship, for Noblemen and their Attendants. But they were ſo far from coming to ſpend upon, or be chargeable to us, that they brought their own Entertainment along with them, (at leaſt as much as it was worth) every Noble-man made his Preſent, ſome in Veniſon, ſome in Wild-Fowl, others in Fiſh, Fruits, or ſomething or other very acceptable and good. They mightily admired the Structure and Contrivance of the Ship, view'd it in all its parts, and ſurvey'd it from one end to the other, with ſo much Attention and Curioſity, that we thought they wou'd never have had enough of the ſight.

Multitudes of People come to ſee them.

But we had more trouble with the common People, who were our next Viſitants, and quickly ſupplied the place of the Lords, when once they were gone. There was no poſſible keeping of them away, the Ship was ſuch a Wonder to them : And when we were as full as ever we cou'd ſtand wedged by one another, the reſt contented themſelves with gazing upon the Ship out of their Boats ; ſome admired the Head, and ſome the Stern, and others the Tackling ; and at the ſame time crowded ſo thick about her, that ſhe cou'd no more ſtir for Boats, than we cou'd that were in her for Swarms of People. In ſhort, I believe, if the Ship had been big enough, the whole Nation wou'd have come aboard at once ; and as it was, if the King's Orders had not prevented them, they wou'd certainly have taken their Turns all round the Country, and never left till every Body had ſeen it. 'Tis true, the People were very civil, and far from offering any thing of Rudeneſs or Violence; they pretended to no more than a little ſtaring and peeping about ; but that Curioſity of theirs was ſo unwearied, and grew ſo troubleſome to us, that we were forc'd to deſire the Preſence of an Officer of the King's, as well to prevent any Diſorder that might happen in ſuch a promiſcuous Multitude, as to give us a little Reſpite from theſe tireſome Viſits.

I can't but take Notice of an odd Miſtake, in a matter of Devotion, made by ſome of the *Japoneſe* Gentlewomen, whom I admitted into my Cabin. Theſe were ſome whom the *Portugueſe Jeſuits* had been at work upon, and had receiv'd from them ſome little Matters of Chriſtianity, about as much as the ſaying of a few Gibberiſh Prayers, or the cringing before an Image or Picture might come to.

The Miſtake of the *Japan* Chriſtians.

The good Women being in the Cabin, chanc'd to caſt their Eyes upon a Picture of *Venus* and *Cupid* that hung there ; at which ſight they were immediately ſeiz'd with a Fit of Devotion, and clapp'd upon their Knees without any more adoe, tumbling out all the Religion they had learn'd of the Fathers ; and very zealous they were in their Addreſſes to the two modeſt Deities there painted before them. The Buſineſs was, they miſtook this Pair for the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary* and her Son, whom the Jeſuits had given them ſo very ſlender an Account of, that they knew no difference between them, and *Cupid* and *Venus.* A very ſtrange thing, that the Reverend Planters of Chriſtianity in theſe Parts, which make two thirds of the Religion they teach, to conſiſt in a Concern with Pictures, ſhou'd do that Work ſo ſleeveleſly : That they ſhou'd not make their Converts perfect in ſuch an important Point, as knowing the Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin, eſpecially from that of a lewd Strumpet, that's always drawn with an Air of Looſeneſs and Immodeſty, and plainly diſcovers her ſelf at the firſt Glance : 'Tis to be fear'd, ſuch *Japoneſe* Chriſtians as theſe, are no profound Scholars in the Doctrines of Religion, when they han't learn'd the Introductory Leſſon of Pictures; and that the Jeſuits, that have not ſhewn them the difference between *Venus* and the Virgin *Mary*, han't labour'd very hard at teaching them their Catechiſms.

The King's Women, and their Skill in Muſick.

Quickly after the King came aboard again, and was ſo complaiſant and free, as to bring ſome of his Miſtreſſes, and Ladies of Pleaſure along with him: An Argument of the very great difference between the free, open, and jolly Temper of theſe *Japoneſe*, and that ſour, moroſe, and jealous Diſpoſition, that prevails all over the *Mahometan* World; where the Women are cloiſter'd up in Seraglio's, and live like ſo many Priſoners of State, inviſible to all Human Eyes, except thoſe of a few Eunuchs, and their Paramours. Theſe Ladies had, all of them, very good Complexions, comely and graceful Features, and extreamly well Carriag'd; a nice Judge of Beauty might have ſaid, they were defective in Stature, and a ſize too low, and perhaps wanted Bluſh in their Faces; yet their other Graces excuſed well enough their want of height; and as for Colour, they fetch'd in aſſiſtance from Art, and painted themſelves, ſince Nature had not done it.

Their Habit was Silken Gowns, girt cloſe about them; no Stockins, but a ſort of Buskins bound with a Ribbond about their Inſtep; their Hair, which was very black and long, handſomely tied up upon the Crown of their Heads, but no where ſhaven as the Mens was.

They ſung very finely, and play'd upon ſeveral ſorts of Inſtruments; one of which was very much like our Lute in the ſhape of it, and fretted like that, only longer in the Neck, and had but four Strings, which were not Wire neither, but Gut-ſtrings; and then in their Play they don't ſound the Inſtrument with their Fingers, but touch the Strings with a little piece of Ivory, as we do when we play upon a Cittern with a Quill. They have their Songs for Vocal Muſick, and their Leſſons for Inſtrumental, orderly prick'd down in their Muſick-Books, as we have; and thoſe Books have the Diviſions of Lines and Spaces for the ſeveral Notes, much after the rate of ours, tho' what particular and leſs material Differences there may be between the Muſick of this Country, and ours, I can't pretend to tell.

The King having invited us to come aſhore, and fix upon a Houſe for the Entertainment of our ſelves and our Goods, we went to do that piece of neceſſary Buſineſs, as alſo to pay a reſpectful Viſit to the King himſelf, who had made us ſo many, and that in ſo familiar a manner; beſides, we had the very good Errand of delivering a Preſent from our King to him, which was of the Value of about 140 *l.* This was taken with extream kindneſs, and a Noble Feaſt (after the *Japan* manner) was made, to expreſs how Welcome the Bringers of it were.

Goes aſhore to Viſit the K. of *Firando*.

They ſit at Meat in the ſame poſture that moſt of the Eaſtern Nations do, croſs-legg'd, upon rich Carpets and Mats; and I think they are as good Drinkers as moſt of the Eaſtern Nations too, at leaſt they'll do it when a Health is call'd: The Old King, notwithſtanding his Age, turn'd off his Cup (that held near a Quart) of Spirits diſtill'd from Rice, every whit as ſtrong as our *Aquæ Vitæ*, and this without ſtopping till he came to the bottom; and all the *Japoneſe* Lords there preſent did the ſame; and I my ſelf, for Company, was obliged to do the like, it being a Health to the King of *England*.

July. How Matters of Trade went at *Firando*; with their Meaſures and Weights, &c.

Having a Houſe now agreed upon and provided for us, we brought part of our Effects aſhore, and attended the Beginnings of a Trade. At our coming hither, we found Broad-Cloths of fifteen or ſixteen Pound a Cloth, to be ſold by the *Dutch*, in *Firando*, at forty eight Rials of Eight, which is eight Pound Sterling the Matt, that being two Yards and a quarter: But we deſirous to keep up the Price of our Cloth, and finding the *Dutch* had good ſtore of them, came to this Agreement with them, that we wou'd of both ſides ſet Rates upon the Cloths we had, and be punctual in not ſelling any under the Prices determin'd by us.

Ill Dealing of the *Dutch*.

But they very eaſily broke the Bonds of this Agreement, and preſently ſhipp'd off great Quantities of Cloths for ſeveral Iſlands thereabouts, ſetting them at baſe low Prices, for the more ſpeedy Vent of their own, and glutting the places before ours came.

Your *Bantam* Pepper ungarbled, which coſt at *Bantam* 1 ¼ of a Rial of Eight *per* Sack, was worth here at our coming ten Tayes the Pecul, which is a hundred Cattees, and makes about 130 *l.* *Engliſh*; and the Taye is 5 *s.* Sterling. A Rial of Eight in ordinary Payment, goes but for ſeven of their Maſſes, which amounts to about 3 *s.* 6 *d.* in our Money. Tin went at thirty Tayes the Pecul, Elephants Teeth at eighty, Iron caſt Pieces at ſix, Powder at twenty three, Aloes Succotrina at ſix Tayes the Cattee, Fowling-pieces at twenty Tayes a-piece, Callicoes, and your *Cormandel* and *Guzurat* Commodities, at uncertain Prices, as they were in goodneſs.

At the Iſle *Maſhma* (or *Ximo*) there ſeem'd to be a good Vent for moſt of the Commodities we generally bring into theſe parts; tho' 'twas not ſo much upon our own Experience, as that of the *Dutch*, we came to underſtand this: For they did all they cou'd to conceal the Trade at that place from us, and wou'd not be known to have ſold a Penny-worth of Goods there: But we had Notice, that they did not only make a good Market there, but return'd alſo good ſtore of Bars of Silver; which they endeavour'd to keep as ſecret as they cou'd. And they were pleas'd too, to uſe that cunning Fetch in theſe parts, which they have done in ſeveral other parts of the World, for their own advantage, but not at all to ours; and that is, to call themſelves *Engliſh-men*; expecting more Reſpect, and better Treatment abroad under that Name, than otherwiſe as *Dutch-men* they cou'd ever pretend to.

Now 'tis odd, that any People ſhou'd behave themſelves ſo, as to be aſham'd of owning their own Country, leaſt it ſhou'd be ſaid that Country yields a Pack of Knaves; but 'tis much worſe, that another Country ſhou'd be ſtigmatiz'd, and lie under a Diſreputation for it, that *Dutch-men* ſhou'd do diſcommendable things, and *Engliſh-men* bear all the blame.

The Reports of the Jeſuits concerning the *Engliſh* in *Japan*.

But the *Engliſh* Name has been much more ſullied and blacken'd by the ſcandalous Reports of the *Portugueſe* Jeſuits; the *Japoneſe* knew us long before we came hither; but 'twas as a parcel of Pyrates and Rovers, that lived only upon the Spoil of other People, and were the Plagues of all the Seas in that part of the World. And they had inſinuated this Notion ſo far into the *Japoneſe*, that they had made a Song of us to that purpoſe, the ſinging of which they uſed to accompany with ſeveral Actions and Geſtures, ſhewing how we ſeize and plunder the *Spaniſh* Ships. And thus ſinging and acting the *Engliſh*, they us'd to ſcare their froward brawling Children out of their noiſe and troubleſomneſs, and make them quiet; juſt as the *French* did theirs, with the Name of the Lord *Talbot*; and the *Turks* theirs, with that of *Scanderbeg*.

But when we came upon the Spot, the *Japoneſe* ſignified by all the Particulars of their moſt obliging Carriage to us, that we had been unfairly, and very diſproportionally repreſented to them; that the Jeſuits had given them a falſe Pourtraicture of us, and that their Picture was as much unlike the Original it ſelf, as the Picture of *Venus* to that of the Virgin *Mary*.

Cuſtoms in puniſhing Criminals, and the manner of their Executions.

The Laws of this Country are horribly ſtrict and ſevere in many Particulars, and Offenders are no where treated with more Bitterneſs and Rigour than in *Japan*. Duelling is here an unpardonable Crime, whether in the Natives, or Foreigners that ſtay here but for a time; the Laws will take hold of all of them alike: And the *Japoneſe* will not allow the Stain of any Bloodſhed in that manner to lie upon their Country. Nay, if a Man does but draw a Weapon in Anger upon another, the Cattans are preſently at work upon him, and he is cut in pieces without any farther Ceremony, tho' he has done no harm, nor given no Wound to him he threatned: But if any Miſchief be done, not only the Aggreſſor himſelf, but all his Family are involved in the Puniſhment, and the Law (which I confeſs is barbarous) exerciſes the ſame Severity upon them, as on him.

To ſteal a Slave from another Perſon, is Death without Mercy alſo: Or if the thing wrongfully taken from another, be of ever ſo trifling a nature, if the Fact be clearly proved, there's no Reprieve, nor Mitigation of the Sentence of the Law, as far as I can find.

Their ſolemn Executions are perform'd with theſe Ceremonies following:

In the firſt place marches a Man with a Pickaxe, who is follow'd by another with a Shovel, to dig the Grave of the Malefactor, (if at leaſt that Favour be permitted him, as in the Caſe of ſome Crimes it is not) next to theſe comes a Perſon carrying a ſmall Table, upon which the Offence for which the Party dies is written, and expos'd to the view of all; then follows the Criminal himſelf, having his Hands bound behind him, and unto him is faſtned a ſort of a little Banner, upon which his Offence is likewiſe written; the Executioner brings up the Rear, with his Murdering Weapon by his ſide, holding in his Hand the end of the Cord with which the condemned Man is bound, and on each ſide of him walks a Soldier, reſting his Pike on the Shoulder of him that is to die, to prevent his attempting to make an eſcape from Juſtice.

And in this manner I ſaw one led to Execution, who at the ſame time carried it with ſuch an Air of Courage, appear'd ſo abſolutely intrepid, and above all the Horror of his Circumſtance, that I ſhou'd hardly have thought (had I not ſeen it) that Human Nature cou'd ever have arriv'd to that degree of Triumph over the Fears of Death, which are ſo natural to it.

Common Women allow'd in *Japan*, and their Prizes ſet.

But notwithſtanding the Rigour of the *Japoneſe* in ſome caſes, they are looſe and ſlack enough in others; a Thief muſt die, but a Whore or a Bawd may live, and have the Law of their ſide: A Man muſt not ſteal two or three handfuls of Rice, tho' it be to keep Life and Soul together; but a Man may throw away his Eſtate upon Wenches, and ruine his Family at a naughty Houſe. They have a great number of Men amongſt them, whoſe Buſineſs and Profeſſion is nothing but pandering and furniſhing thoſe that want Whores. Every one of theſe has ſuch a ſtock of Women of his own, bought for the moſt part with his Money, and according as Nature has made them finer or courſer, ſo he rates them, and puts down the ſeveral Prices at which they ſhall be let out; 'tis left to his own diſcretion to ſettle this Point at firſt, but after he has once ſet his Price he can't raiſe it, fall it he may; but if he offers to exact any more, upon complaint made, he certainly dies for it. Now when any Man is diſpos'd for an Entertainment of this kind, he has nothing to do to conſult the Inclination of the Female, whether ſhe likes him or no, much leſs to make any Bargain with her; all the difficulty lies in ſettling the Price with the Maſter Pander, which once done the Women are obliged to fulfil the Conditions of the Agreement. And at this rate the greateſt Noble-men in *Japan* make no ſcruple of ſending for theſe lewd Fellows to their publick Inns when they are upon the Road, and agreeing with them for ſuch a number of Wenches as they have a mind to, and that in the moſt open manner in the World, as if they were driving a common bargain, or treating of the moſt innocent matter in the way of Trade.

Theſe publick Women are the Actors of their Plays too many times.

The *Japoneſe* abuſe the dead Bodies of the Panders.

But the Panders tho' in ſo very great requeſt while they live, are of all men us'd with the moſt contempt after they are dead; they are not allow'd Burial like other Men, but as the vileſt creatures in the World, are firſt dragg'd about the Streets and thro' every Kennel, and then loaded with filth and mire, are left to rot upon ſome Dunghill in the Fields. A plain intimation that the *Japoneſe* think the Employment ſcandalous and odious, and yet they ſupport it by their lewd Practices, without which it would fall of courſe.

The King of *Goto's* Invitation of the *Engliſh*.

In this Month a certain petty King of a neighbouring Iſland came to *Firando* upon the fame of our being there: It was the King of *Goto*, who hearing the news of us and our Ship, came with an earneſt deſire to ſee both, which he did to his very great Satisfaction, and heartily invited us to come and Trade at his Iſland, where he promis'd us as kind a Welcome as we had at *Firando*.

Go for the Court. *Auguſt.*

But it was now time for us to go and wait upon a far greater Prince, even the mighty Emperour of *Japan* himſelf; a Command was come for our Journey to Court, in order to which we prepar'd the ſeveral Preſents that were to be made to the Emperour and the great Perſons about him. The old King of *Firando* furniſh'd us with a Gally, and all things neceſſary for our Paſſage; the beſt part of my Company was left there to inſpect the Affairs of the Houſe and Ship in our abſence, ſome few only going along with me to this Grand Audience. Before we went we had the Comfort of ſeeing our Country Man Mr *Adams*, who was come to interpret our King's Letters to the old King of *Firando*: He ſtill gave us the ſame Encouragement concerning a Trade in this Country, and the ſame Character of it's good diſpoſition thereto by word of Mouth, that he did by his Letters ſend to *Bantam*.

Fuccate a great City.

Having ſet ſail from *Firando*, we paſs'd by divers Iſlands, the moſt part of which were very well Inhabited, and had fair Towns upon them; but the firſt of note that we put in at was *Fuccate*, a very large and conſiderable place, not much leſs than *London* within the Walls, very well built, and ſo even and uniform, that one might ſee from one end of a Street to another. It has a ſtrong Stone Caſtle, a good Ditch and a Draw-Bridge, all kept in very good repair, but no Souldiers nor Ordnance: As for Ordnance indeed I did not ſo much wonder to find none, ſince there was no ſuch thing at *Firando*, and 'tis a ſort of Military Furniture that the *Japoneſe* are wholly without.

No Ordnance amongſt the *Japoneſe*.

Women Divers.

All along this Coaſt and ſo up to *Ozaca*, we found Women that liv'd with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their livelyhood by Fiſhing, at which they were very great Artiſts. But they had two Strings to their Bow, and 'twas next to impoſſible for the Fiſh to eſcape them; for what they miſs'd with their Lines and Nets they would dive for, and catch that way without fail; and this they would do with eaſe to the depth of 8 Fathom. Theſe Women were very eaſie to be known from all others, for by continual diving their Eyes were ſtrangely alter'd, and look'd as red as Blood; and by this Token the diving Women are diſtinguiſh'd in *Japan*.

Oſaca a large Town, and a Sea Port.

When we had paſs'd the Streights of *Xemina-ſeque*, the next Town of note we came to was *Oſaca*, nothing inferiour to the former in Compaſs and Dimenſions, and one of the Principal Sea-Ports of the Empire. There's a River comes up to it as wide as the *Thames*, and ſeveral very fine Timber Bridges laid over it; it has a Caſtle very extraordinary for bigneſs and ſtrength, with very deep Trenches about it, and ſeveral Draw-Bridges artificially made, and Gates ſo ſtrongly plated with Iron, as may ſeem to bid defiance to any battery in the World. The whole building of the Caſtle is of Free-Stone, and the Walls are of the ſame, but a matter of ſeven Yards thick, and put together without any thing of Mortar or Cement, the Stones being ſo nicely cut as to lie perfectly cloſe together, and need no other binding; only if there happens to be a void ſpace any where, they throw a little Earth in to fill up the crevice, and that's all they do. 'Tis regularly contrived, ſtrengthned with Bulwarks and Battlements, with good ſtore of loop holes for ſmall Shot and Arrows, and various Paſſages for the throwing out of Stones upon thoſe that ſhould come to attempt it. And one would eaſily believe it to be a mighty ſtrong and ſecure building, without having a particular Account of it, when one hears what uſe the Emperor puts it to, and of what importance the Jewel is here kept in ſafe Cuſtody. In ſhort here lives (lock'd up in this Caſtle) the true and genuin Heir of the Empire of *Japan*; here I ſay he lives, but ſo happy as to be ignorant of his real Quality, Rights, and Juſt Pretenſions, tho' at the ſame time ſo unfortunate as to be excluded from all. The truth of the matter is, The preſent Emperor is an Uſurper, and ſtept into the Throne in a way not only contrary to the Laws of that Kingdom, but the more ſacred ones of eternal Juſtice and Reaſon. The old Emperor Father to the Prince (at our being there a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Oſaca*) when he died left this Son, then an Infant, to the Care and Tuition of four principal Noble-men, whereof *Ogoſhoſamma*, the preſent Emperor was One and Chief. The other three Governours, Men of intrigue and ill Principles, and fonder by far of flattering their own Pride and Ambition, than diſcharging the Duties of a ſacred Truſt committed to them; made Pretentions to the Sovereignty, and put in for the Crown themſelves. In oppoſition to whom, as alſo to aſſert the Rights of the Royal Pupill, *Ogoſhoſamma* took up Arms, and having entirely routed the other Pretenders, had the ſupreme Power, ſuddenly clap'd all into his own Hands. And now (perhaps not thinking of any ſuch thing before) the charming Opportunity told him he had e'en as good be Emperor himſelf; all his Competitors were remov'd out of the way, the true Heir was incapable of underſtanding and redreſſing his caſe, all the Power was his own, and he wanted only the name of an Emperor, which was ſo very ſmall a thing that he reſolved not to be without that any longer. The young Prince he kept always about him, and in perfect Ignorance of himſelf and his relation to the Crown, ſuffering him to know no other but that he is his Son; all that are about him being ſuch as the preſent Emperor has brought up from their Cradles, and ſo not able to give him any better information. And to make all ſure when he was grown to Years, he married him to his own Daughter, and ſo confin'd them to the Caſtle of *Oſaca*, where they live like the Children of an Emperor, as to all points of State and Grandeur, only Liberty, that ſweetens all the reſt, civil policy is pleas'd to deny them.

A ſtrong Caſtle.

The Story of the Prince of *Japan* kept in *Oſaca* Caſtle.

Sacay

Over againſt *Oſaca*, on the other ſide of the River, lies another great Town call'd *Sacay*, a place of very great Trade for all the Iſles thereabouts.

Fuſhimi.

At *Fuſhimi* to which we came next, we found a Garriſon of 3000 Souldiers appointed for the keeping ſome of thoſe parts in good order; this Garriſon is ſhifted every three Year, and the change happening when we came thither, we had the advantage of ſeeing ſomething of the Rules of their Millitary Diſcipline. They generally march no more than five a Breaſt, and to every ten Files there's an Officer deputed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their diſpoſition according to the quality of their Arms is thus. Firſt of all march their Shot, that is Calievers, for Muskets they have none, neither will they uſe any; then follow Pikes, then Cattans and Targets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadaſhes or Hooks, and laſtly Calievers again cloſe the March; and amongſt all theſe they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any ſort of Warlick Muſick.

The Diſcipline of the *Japoneſe*.

Their Companies conſiſt of uncertain Numbers, from 150, to 500, and in the midſt of every Company, they have ſpare Horſes led along, very nobly trapp'd and furniſh'd.

The Captain comes laſt of all on Horſeback, but riding in ſuch a poſture as wou'd better befit a Mountebank, or a Market-man, than a Commander of Soldiers: His Bed, and all his Neceſſaries, are pack'd up upon his own Horſe, and over them is ſpread a red *China* Felt for a Covering; and ſo the Captain ſits mounted up a high upon his Pack, with his Legs upon the Horſes Neck, much after the rate that our Butter-Women ſit upon their Paniers, and truly as handſomely.

As in the parts of the ſame Troop, or Company, thoſe Files that march next the Captain, are more pompous in their Furniture than thoſe that are remoter; ſo 'tis in whole Troops, thoſe that come neareſt the General, who is laſt of all, are much more bravely accoutred than thoſe that went before: The Glory of the Army ſinks and falls by equal ſteps, from that part where the General is, and where it ſhines with the brighteſt Luſtre: A good hint for the General by the way, and may ſerve to put him in mind, that he ought to be indeed the Glory of the Army; and to anſwer his Character and Truſt, ſhou'd outſhine all the reſt in Military Vertues, as much as he does in viſible Pomp and Splendour.

The *Japoneſe* Horſes are not great and tall, but of the ſize of our middling Nags, ſmall Headed, and extreamly mettleſome, and in my Opinion far beyond your *Spaniſh* Gennets, both in ſtately Carriage and Stomach too.

Their good Orders.

Their Soldiers obſerve very good Orders upon the Road, and are ſo exactly govern'd, that they are as welcome at the Publick Houſes as any Gueſts whatſoever: No Man is in the leaſt diſturb'd, or diſcommoded by them, they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for't, without any quarrelling. The Roads are very well ſtock'd with Houſes of Entertainment; and when there are Soldiers upon the March, they provide Victuals ready for them, ſo that they have at an inſtant's warning what they want, and that at very cheap Rates, a Dinner of good wholeſome Food, and enough, from Two Shillings downward to a Penny.

The Diet in *Japan.*

The Diet generally uſed through the Country, is Rice of divers ſorts, (the white being counted the beſt;) Fiſh, freſh and ſalted; Herbs, Radiſhes, Beans, Duck, Teal, Pheaſant, Partridge, Quail, and Hens: Of Beaſts, they have all ſorts of Deer, Wild Boars, Goats, and Kine: Cheeſe alſo in great plenty, but Butter they make none, neither will they eat any Milk, becauſe they eſteem it as the Blood of the Animal; and for what Reaſon I know not, they will not touch a bit of any tame Beaſt, tho' they have them in abundance.

Their Wheat ought not to be forgotten, which is as plump and good as any our Nation can ſhew, but all of the red Colour. We did, in our Travels in the Country, buy Rice at a Half-penny per Pound; Hens and Pheaſants the beſt and fatteſt, for Three-pence a piece; Pigs very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for Five Shillings; a good Beef at Sixteen Shillings; and a Goat at Three Shillings.

The Drinks in requeſt in the Country, are only the Spirits diſtilled from Rice, very ſtrong, and of the Colour of Canary, and common Water, which is all in all amongſt the poorer ſort of People, that can't reach to the Price of the other Liquor: They always drink their Water warm, and ſay, that 'tis good to kill the Worms in the Maw; which I ſhould be very ready to believe, provided they put good ſtore of Salt in it.

They travel by Land.

Our Motions being directed to *Suranga*, where the Emperor then kept his Court; by the latter end of this Month we had gone as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finiſh the remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furniſh'd with Horſes and all Conveniencies for that purpoſe at the Emperor's Charge. I had alſo a Palankin, or one of their Sedans, provided for me; and a freſh ſupply of Men drawn out of every place ſucceſſively, for the Office of carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horſe, and for the greater State, a Slave appointed to run with a Pike before the Palankin: The King's Harbingers alſo went before, and took up our Lodgings upon the Road.

September. The Goodneſs of the High-ways in *Japan*, and the Conveniencies of them.

This part of the Journey was very pleaſant and eaſie; the Way for the moſt part was exceeding even and plain, and where-ever there was any rugged mountainous Ground, a ſmooth level paſſage was cut through it. This Road (which is the great one of all this part of the Country) is all along good Sand and Gravel; 'tis divided into Leagues for the benefit of Travellers, and at every Leagues end, are two ſmall Hills rais'd of either ſide one, and upon each of them a fair Pine-Tree planted; the Deſign of which Marks, is to make Travellers competent Judges of the length of their own Journeys, that ſo they may not be abus'd by the Hackny-men, and thoſe that let out Horſes, and pay for a greater number of Miles than they have rode.

All along the Road, you meet with a World of People paſſing to and fro, and ever and anon Towns and pleaſant Villages, Farms, and Country-houſes; and ſometimes Temples, ſtanding at a little diſtance, in ſhady Groves, with the Habitations of the Prieſts all round about them.

Dead Bodies of Malefactors upon Croſſes.

The moſt unpleaſant ſight we had, was the dead Bodies of Malefactors, faſtned upon Croſſes near all the Great Towns where thoſe Executions had been performed: Crucifying is a very common Puniſhment in *Japan*; and as they manage it, 'tis ſome ſort of a Puniſhment to Travellers too, to paſs by a multitude of noiſome putrifying Carkaſes; and beſides the Horror of the Sight, to have the Diſturbance of the Smell thoſe Bodies yield. And we had the worſt Trial of all of this kind, when we came to *Suranga*; there were Croſſes, Scaffolds, and Gibbets, Heads, Carkaſſes, and Limbs, hanging about in ſo many places without the City, that our Pleaſure in going along was wonderfully leſſen'd.

Come to *Suranga*.

Suranga ſeems to be full as big as *London*, taking in the whole Compaſs of the Suburbs too: The outer parts of it we found entirely taken up by Mechanicks and Artificers of all ſorts, who are plac'd there for the eaſe and quiet of the Genteeler People, that don't care to be diſturb'd with the Noiſe and Buſtle the others make in their Trades.

Audience of the Emperor

After a Repoſe of a Day or two, I went with all my Company in a Body, to the Caſtle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and deliver the Preſents intended for that Court. I was introduc'd by two of the greateſt Men then in Attendance, the Emperor's Secretary, and his Admiral: Theſe led me firſt into a very fine matted Room, where we ſat down for ſome time, according to their Cuſtom, upon the Matts, then they brought me into a Chamber of Preſence, where ſtood an empty Chair of State, to which I was oblig'd to do Reverence; after ſome ſhort time, word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which theſe Courtiers brought me, but durſt not preſume to look in themſelves. The Cuſtom is, for all the Preſents that are brought, to be plac'd in order upon the Mats of that Room into which the Emperor comes; and accordingly when I came in, I found them all in a very orderly manner laid before him. He receiv'd His Majeſty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then, by his Interpreter, bid me Welcome. He deſired me to go and ſee the King his Son at *Eddo*, (with all the Neceſſaries for which Journey, he wou'd take care to furniſh me) and by that time I return'd, his Letters ſhou'd be ready for our King.

The Articles relating to the Matters of Trade and Privilege, which we requeſted His Majeſty's Confirmation of, were all eaſily granted by him, one only excepted, reſpecting the *Chineſe*. The Tenour of it was to this purpoſe, That whereas the *Chineſe* had refus'd all Trade and Commerce with the *Engliſh*, if we cou'd take any of them abroad at Sea, it might be lawful for us to bring them into *Japan*, and make Sale of the Goods ſo taken, in His Majeſty's Dominions. This the Emperor granted at firſt, but his Mind was alter'd afterwards, by a Conference with the Leiger of *China*, and he refus'd to allow it: The reſt all paſt under his Great Seal; which is not of Wax, like ours, but ſtamp'd like a Print, and colour'd red. The Secretary wou'd take no Preſent, nor any thing like a Gratuity from us; the Emperor, it ſeems, had commanded the contrary, and 'twas as much as his Life was worth to do it.

Having ſeen this Buſineſs done, we ſet out from *Suranga* for the Great City of *Eddo*, where the Emperor's Son, the young King, keeps his Court. The Country is well inhabited between theſe two Cities, the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the *Fotoquis*, or Temples, ſcattering up and down in good numbers too.

The Idol *Dabis*.

There's one mighty Image (which they call *Dabis*) that ſtands in this Road, at which all the *Japoneſe* ſtop to pay their Devotions when they go this way: It is made of Copper, all hollow within, tho' very thick; 'tis in the ſhape of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks reſting on his Heels, and his Arms extended; he is repreſented wearing of a Gown, and notwithſtanding that bending poſture, is twenty two Foot from the Level of the Ground, and all the Body proportionably large. Some of our Men went into the Body of it, and there fell a hollowing and hooping; the Noiſe of which, out of the wide Mouth of the Image, was much ſuch agreeable ſort of Muſick, as, I believe, was made by *Phalaris*'s Brazen Bull. It ſtands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their paſſage to the celebrated Temple of *Tencheday*; they always make a pauſe at *Dabis*. But this is but a ſlight Ceremony, 'tis at *Tencheday*'s Temple the Great Work is

Tencheday's Temple.

to be done, and the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel: And here one may meet all ſorts of People, rich and poor, ſound and diſtemper'd, continually coming and going thither, and that by Night as well as by Day, and that all the Year round.

Strange Cuſtom.

The Stories told by the *Japoneſe* of this their God *Tencheday*, are too unaccountable to be related with any meaſure of Confidence; ſo that inſtead of their Accounts, (which I ſhall abſolutely wave) I ſhall only offer what Mr. *Adams*, our Country-man (who has been at this Temple) told me as Matter of Fact, and of his own Knowledge.

He ſays, That there is conſtantly, every Month, one of the lovelieſt Virgins that the whole Country will afford, brought into this Temple, in a very neat Apartment of which, ſhe is ſhut up all alone; and that at certain times *Tencheday*, as they call him, comes to her in a viſible Form, and having known her carnally, reſolves any Doubts or Queſtions ſhe puts to him, according as the Prieſts inſtruct her; and at his going away, leaves behind him a ſort of Scales like thoſe of Fiſhes. Mr. *Adams* ſays, 'Tis certain a freſh Virgin is taken in every Month: But what becomes of them, and how they are diſpos'd of, he is utterly ignorant: As to the other Circumſtances of the Story, there's no opportunity for any Body but the Prieſts and the Virgins themſelves, to be ſure of the Truth or Falſhood of them; and therefore the Credit of them depends ſolely upon their Report, as far as I ſee: For Mr. *Adams* does not pretend ever to have ſeen any of thoſe Appearances, or the ſurprizing Effects of them mention'd. In ſhort, if *Tencheday* be the Devil, his Frolicks in *Japan* are very unaccountable, and different from what they are in other places; but if *Tencheday* be one of the Roguiſh Bonzes, or Prieſts, 'tis no ſtrange thing that he deſires a Monthly Sacrifice of Virgins, conſidering what an Aſcendant the wanton Planet has all over that Country.

Arrive at *Eddo*.

About the middle of this Month we came into *Eddo*, a City much larger than *Surunga*, nobler in its Buildings, and every way more glorious in its Appearance; the very Tiles of the Houſes are gilded, and the Poſts of the Doors ſet off with a ſhining Varniſh: They have no Glaſs-Windows, but all of Board, which open in Leaves, and are very delicately painted.

There's a Cawſey runs clever thro' the chief Street of the City, which Street is as broad as any in *England*, and a fine River paſſes along by, or rather underneath the Cawſey; at every fifty Paces there's a Well-head ſubſtantially fitted up of Free-ſtone, and ſerv'd with Buckets for the People to fetch Water with, in caſe of any danger by Fire.

The Caſtle of this City is a much ſtronger and nobler Edifice than that at *Surunga*; and the young King lives in much greater State, and has a more pompous Attendance than the Emperour his Father.

Entertainment by the young King.

He receiv'd us in a very courteous obliging manner, taking the King's Letters and Preſents with a wonderful Satisfaction and Content, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our King, and a Preſent of two entire Suits of *Japan* Armour, finely varniſh'd; and a long Sword and Waggedaſh for my ſelf: 'Tis to be noted, that the Cattans are a common wear; but the Tatches, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Perſons of the beſt Account.

'Tis ſaid to be no leſs than Twenty two Days Journey by Horſe, from this City of *Eddo*, to the Northermoſt part of *Japan*; which makes it a Country of a vaſt extent. Our Buſineſs here being no more than the paying of a Complement; that being done, we had no further occaſion of ſtaying here: And ſo having got this Prince's Letters and Preſents for the King of *England*, we went back for *Surunga*, where we arrived again at the end of this Month.

October.

We had not been here long, before the Emperor's Letters to our King were ready for us; as alſo the Grant, or Inſtrument of Privilege relating to our Trade and Settlement in *Japan*; the Tranſlations of both which, as near the Original as may be, are here ſubjoyn'd.

To the King of *Great Britain.*

Your Majeſty's kind Letter, ſent me by your Servant Captain John Saris, *(who is the firſt that I have known to arrive in any part of my Dominion) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to underſtand of your great Wiſdom and Power, as having Three plentiful and mighty Kingdoms under your powerful Command. I acknowledge your Majeſty's great Bounty, in ſending me ſo undeſerved a Preſent of many rare things, ſuch as my Land affordeth not, neither have I ever before ſeen: Which I receive not as from a Stranger, but as from your Majeſty, whom I eſteem as my ſelf. Deſiring the continuance of Friendſhip with your Highneſs: And that it may ſtand with your good liking, to ſend your Subjects to any Part or Port of my Dominions, where they ſhall be moſt heartily Welcome, applauding much their Worthineſs in the admirable Knowledge of Navigation, having with much facility diſcovered a Country ſo remote, being no whit amazed with the Diſtance of ſo mighty a Gulf, nor Greatneſs of ſuch infinite Clouds and Storms, from proſecuting Honourable Enterprizes, of Diſcoveries, and Merchandiſing: Wherein they ſhall find me to further them, according to their Deſires. I return unto your Majeſty a ſmall Token of my Love (by your ſaid Subject), deſiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoyceth in your Friendſhip. And whereas your Majeſties Subjects have deſired certain Privileges for Trade, and ſetling of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the ſame unto them under my Broad Seal, for better eſtabliſhing thereof. From my Caſtle in* Surunga, *this Fourth Day of the Ninth Month, in the Eighteenth Year of our* Dary, *according to our Computation. Reſting your Majeſty's Friend. The higheſt Commander in this Kingdom of* Japan.

Subſcribed,

Minna. Mouttono. yei. ye. yeas.

Privileges granted by *Ogoſhoſamma*, Emperor of *Japan*, unto the Right Worſhipful Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knight, Governour; and others the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

1. IMprimis, *We give free Licence to the Subjects of the King of* Great Britain, *viz. Sir* Thomas Smith, *Governour, and Company of the* Eaſt-Indian *Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, ſafely to come into any of the Ports of our Empire of* Japan, *with their Ships and Merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their Goods. And to abide, buy, ſell, and barter, according to their own manner, with all Nations: To tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleaſures.*

2. Item, *We grant unto them Freedom of Cuſtom, for all ſuch Merchandices as either now they have brought, or hereafter ſhall bring into our Kingdoms, or ſhall from hence tranſport to any Foreign Part. And do Authorize theſe Ships that hereafter ſhall arrive, and come from* England, *to proceed to preſent Sale of their Commodities, without further coming or ſending up to our Court.*

3. Item, *If any of their Ships ſhall happen to be in danger of Shipwreck, we will our Subjects not only to aſſiſt them, but that ſuch part of Ship and Goods as ſhall be ſaved, be returned to their Captain, or Cape Merchant, or their Aſſigns. And that they ſhall, or may build one Houſe, or more, for themſelves in any part of our Empire, where they ſhall think fitteſt. And at their departure to make Sale thereof at their pleaſure.*

4. Item, *If any of the* Engliſh *Merchants, or other, ſhall depart this Life, within our Dominions, the Goods of the Deceaſed ſhall remain at the diſpoſe of the Cape Merchant. And that all Offences committed by them, ſhall be puniſhed by the ſaid Cape Merchant, according to his Diſcretion; and our Laws to take no hold of their Perſons or Goods.*

5. Item, *We will that ye our Subjects trading with them for any of their Commodities, pay them for the ſame, according to Agreement, without delay, or return of their Wares again unto them.*

6. Item, *For ſuch Commodities as they have now brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for our Service and proper uſe: We will that no Arreſt be made thereof, but that the Price be made with the Cape Merchant, according as they may ſell to others, and preſent Payment upon the delivery of the Goods.*

7. Item, *If in Diſcovery of other Countries for Trade, and return of their Ships, they ſhall need Men or Victuals, we will that ye our Subjects furniſh them for their Money, as their need ſhall require.*

8. *And that without other Paſs-port, they ſhall and may ſet out upon the Diſcovery of* Yeadzo, *or any other part, in or about our Empire.*

The Diſcovery of Trade to the Northward.

From our Caſtle in *Surunga*, this Firſt Day of the Ninth Month, and in the Eighteenth Year of our * Dary, according to our Computation. Sealed with our Broad Seal, &c.

* Or Reign.

Under-written,

Minna. Mouttono. yei. ye. yeas.

The Language.

The *Japonian* Language ſeems to agree with the *Chineſe* in this, That they expreſs whole Words compendiouſly, by their ſeveral proper Characters, not compounding them of diſtinct Letters and Syllables as 'tis in other Languages; the Character is very different from that of the *Chineſe*, and they read beginning at the Right hand and ſo downwards perpendicularwiſe in the ſeveral lines. They take a wonderful deal of care to ſpeak and write in the ſhorteſt and conciſeſt manner that can be; they are not given to flouriſh and inlarge upon a Subject, but deliver their Minds in very pertinent, exact and comprehenſive Terms, contracting a great deal of Sence into a little Compaſs. The Letters and the Inſtrument were both written in it very fairly after their manner, and the firſt rarities of that kind that our Nation I believe ever had.

Go from Surunga.

Meaco.

The Order of the Trades at Meaco.

Thus was all our Buſineſs at *Surunga* finiſhed too, upon which we took leave of the Emperor and Court, and ſet out for *Firando*. Our way lay by land as far as *Oſaca*, and in paſſing thither we took *Meaco* in our way; this is abſolutely the greateſt City in *Japan*, and a place of mighty Trade. All the Trades-men dwell in a part of the City by themſelves, and all of ſuch an employment in ſuch a Street by themſelves; the *Japoneſe* think it very unſeemly and irregular to have men of ſo many ſeveral Profeſſions and Buſineſſes mixt and huddled together in ſuch a confus'd manner as they are in other places, they are for making all of the ſame Trade (who are fitteſt to converſe together) neighbours to one another; Birds of the ſame Feather to be all in a diſtinct Flock by themſelves, that a Man that looks may know where to find them. And the plain Truth on't is, this Order is not without it's Beauty and Conveniency, and it added methoughts a peculiar grace to the City, which all it's other Advantages would not have given it.

The Great Eyoqui.

Idol Mannada

The moſt magnificent Temple of the whole Country is here at *Meaco*, built of Free-ſtone and as long as St. *Pauls* in *London* from the Quire, arch'd, adorn'd with mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one peculiar Altar, at which they make their Offerings of Rice and ſmall Money (call'd Cundries, twenty of which make a Shilling) for the maintenance of the *Bonzee's* belonging to it; and by this Altar ſtands the great Idol *Mankada*, made of Copper, and of the ſame form with *Dabis* before mentioned, but much higher, reaching up to the very Arch.

The Temple ſtands advantageouſly upon the top of a high Hill, and upon each ſide the Aſcent you have a long row of Columns of Free-Stone, about 50 in each Series, ten Paces diſtant from one another, and upon the top of every Pillar is a Lanthorn, the Lamps in which are lighted every night, and make a very glaring ſhew. There are divers other Temples beſides this, but this vaſtly exceeds all the reſt in all Points of Beauty and Grandeur: 'Twas juſt finiſhed at our being there, the Foundation being laid by the fam'd *Taicoſania*, whoſe Horſe (in memory of him) is kept in an apartment hard by, and is to be maintain'd here in a Life of perfect eaſe and reſt as long as nature will allow him to hold it out.

Jeſuits College.

The *Portugueze* Jeſuits have a ſtately Colledge in this City very well furniſhed with men of that Society; they breed up abundance of *Japoneſe* Youth, reading Philoſophy and the Popiſh Divinity to them, making a great many them Preachers, and I ſuppoſe at laſt Jeſuits too. There's no doubt but they endeavour to make them as good as they can, and amongſt other Arts teach ſome of thoſe that are peculiar to their Order.

New Teſtament in the *Japan* Language.

They have the New Teſtament tranſlated into the *Japoneſe* Tongue, and beſides this hopeful fry breeding up in the College, there are reckon'd five or ſix thouſand that profeſs Chriſtianity in *Meaco*, While we ſtaid here we receiv'd the Emperor's Preſents for our King, which were ſent after us; *viz*. Ten Beobs or large Pictures to hang a Room of State with.

November.

Come to Firando.

From hence we travell'd to *Oſaca*, where the Gally that ſet us down before was attending our return, to tranſport us to *Firando*; and this at the charge of the brave and generous old *Foyne*, the King of that place. This Prince was extreamly glad at our return to his Iſland, as alſo of the ſucceſs of our Affairs at Court; and had carried it with the ſame ſteady and even hand of Kindneſs to our Company left there that he did to all of us when together. But yet the Trade amounted to little or nothing in our abſence, the *Japoneſe* had been no good Cuſtomers, tho' we had come from tother end of the World to take their Money. One reaſon of this was, becauſe it was not yet certain that we were to be allow'd in the Country, and till the Trade has it's publick Warrant from the Emperor, as no Stranger may offer to ſell, ſo no Native may dare to Buy. But another thing (and of no inconſiderable prejudice to us) was this; the moſt part of our Commodities we intended for theſe parts were broad Cloaths, (which had not long before been ſold here at forty Rialls of Eight *per* Mat which is two Yards) a ſort of Ware the *Japoneſe* were now almoſt out of conceit with, becauſe we did not take care to recommend the goodneſs of it by our own wearing.

The *Japoneſe* find fault at our not wearing our own Cloths.

You (ſay they) cry up your broad Cloths to us, and at the ſame time hardly wear a rag of it your ſelves, but are all for your Silks and Stuffs, and any thing in the World, except juſt what you would have us buy of you. And the truth on't is, the *Japoneſe* are in the right, and their Objection not eaſily to be anſwer'd; we ought to be more fond of our own Country Commodities, and tell other Nations they are valuable by the uſe of them we make our ſelves. Forreigners won't be ſo ready to believe us if they ſee we don't order our Faſhions ſo as to give a Reputation to what we recommend abroad in the World; and for all I know other Nations may tell us as well as the *Japoneſe* of not wearing our own broad Cloth, may reproach us with the neglect of our own Commodities, and deſpiſe them till they ſee us do otherwiſe our ſelves.

This *Firando* is a very good place for our Ships to put in at with reſpect to the Point of Victualling and all that, but it is not ſo proper for Trade becauſe it lies off from the main Iſland of *Japan*, where are not only the moſt, but the moſt conſiderable People, capable of giving an encouragement to Trade, which in theſe little by-Iſlands is to be not expected.

Oringgaw the beſt part for our Ships.

We might, I don't queſtion, be welcome at any of them all, and the Kings of two of theſe petty Iſlands gave us a formal invitation; but there's few of them can afford a Buſineſs that will turn to account, and defray the Charges of a Settlement. Therefore my Advice is, that our Ships that come to Trade here would ſail not to *Firando*, but to Oringgaw upon the main Iſland, and about 15 Leagues diſtance from *Eddo*, where they will find very good Riding and a much greater proſpect of Advantage. This place indeed is not capable of giving ſo good an Entertainment as may be deſired, Proviſions are not altogether ſo plentiful here as at *Firando*; but that want may be ſupplied by a Correſpondence with the circumjacent Country. Chriſtianity makes no conſiderable Figure comparatively any where in this Empire, but at *Meaco* and *Langaſacque*, a Town ſituated upon the Sea-Coaſt, about eight Leagues from *Firando*. It had 'tis true gotten footing in *Eddo*; but the Emperor upon ſome pique taken againſt the Chriſtians baniſh'd them all from thence, and confin'd them to *Langaſacque*; and as a prevention of it's creeping into the Court, and rooting it ſelf any where near him; he made it death to any that ſhould offer to build a Church or ſing Maſs within ten Leagues of the place where he reſided. This change was but a very little time before our going to *Eddo*, notwithſtanding which, the Religion is otherwiſe indulged; the Chriſtian *Japoneſe* at preſent have (as far as I ſee) the ſame Protection and Privilege with the others, and the Jeſuits ſeem to enjoy an unreſtrained Liberty in the making of Proſelytes.

December.

Factory ſettled.

The Foundation of a Factory being now firmly laid in the Emperor's full Grant to that purpoſe, we proceeded to build upon it, being the rather encouraged to it, in that we were now aſſur'd that *Engliſh* Factories were actually ſettled at *Siam* and *Patane*, as alſo that the *Dutch* made ſomething of their Buſineſs here, and we had reaſon to believe we had not a leſs ſhare in the Good Will and Eſteem of this Country than they We therefore appointed ſome of our Company to reſide here upon this Affair, with inſtructions alſo to make what Diſcoveries they could upon the Coaſt of *Corea*, *Tuſhmay*, and other parts adjoining againſt the next return of the Ships.

Go from Firando.

By exact obſervations made during our ſtay here, we determine the Latitude of *Firando* to be 33 Degrees 14 Minutes North, and the varying of the Compaſs two Degrees 50 Minutes Eaſterly. When we took our leave of old King *Foyne*, he gave me a Letter for our King written in the Chineſe Language, out of which it was by two *Chineſe* Merchants tranſlated into the *Malayan*, and from thence into *Engliſh* as follows.

To the King of Great *Britain*, &c.

Moſt mighty King, how acceptable your Majeſties loving Letter and bountiful Preſent of many worthy things ſent me by your Servant Captain John Saris *is unto me, I cannot ſufficiently expreſs, neither the great happineſs I eſteem my ſelf to be in, by enjoying your Highneſs friendſhip: For which I render you many thanks, deſiring the continuance of* *your Majeſties love and acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your Subjects ſafe arrival at my ſmall Iſland, from ſo long a journey. My help and furtherance they ſhall not want to the uttermoſt, for the effecting of their ſo worthy and laudable enterpriſes of Diſcovery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their forwardneſs therein: referring their hitherto entertainment to the report of your Servant, by whom I return unto your Majeſty an unworthy token, wiſhing your Majeſty long life. From my Place of* Firando, *the ſixth day of our tenth Month.*

Your Majeſties loving Friend,
Commander of this Iſland
Firando, in *Japan*,

FOYNE SAM-MASAM.

Errors of the Plats.

Setting ſail from hence we reſolved to keep along the Coaſt of *China* (our Courſe directed to *Bantam*) in doing which we came to feel the great Current that ſhoots out between *Corea*, and the Main of *China*, and makes a very great Sea. The Iſlands that lie along the Coaſt of *China* we find to lie more Southerly than the Plats repreſent them; and there's not a leſs material miſtake in their placing the Land of *Cambcia*, which lies not ſo far to the Eaſt as they make it; the Land lies here S. S. W. and N.N.E. with divers Rocks like Iſlands, ſome one League, ſome one League and a half off from the Main, beſides which there's no other Danger that we could diſcover. 'Tis worthy of note too that here we found the Winds trade along the ſhoar, for from *Firando* hither we did go large, finding the Winds to follow us as the Land trends.

Linſchoten Obſervations true, and *Mole's* Plat.

And to give *Hugen van Linſchoten* his due praiſe, it muſt be ſaid that the Obſervations of his Book are very true and juſt as far as we had opportunity of reducing any of them to a Trial; for in plain Terms we directed our Courſe ſolely according to his meaſures ever ſince our ſetting forth from *Firando*. The like Character is to be given of the Plat made by *Janſen Mole* a *Hollander*, for we find the poſition of thoſe Iſlands, that make the Streights of *China Bata* (or *Pulo Bato* as 'tis call'd by ſome) to be as he has plac'd them; and the Shoal that lies in the entrance of the Streights to be rightly plac'd, and a true account given of it's depths.

January, Come to *Bantam*.

The beginning of this Month we came to an anchor in *Bantam* Road, where we found the beſt part of the Men left in the Factory at our going to *Japan* dead, and the Survivours had as good have been dead too for the Service and Buſineſs they did in our abſence: There was nothing of a lading got in readineſs, no Pepper laid in, and the Commodity riſing every day, and nothing more certain than that, we that were homeward bound, and muſt of neceſſity procure a lading, ſhould be made to pay for what we had to the purpoſe.

All the Factories reduc'd to one.

Beſides, we found a diſadvantage in having ſo many ſeveral diſtinct Factories as we had in this one place; for by this means it came about that one party endeavouring to out-bid another on the account of their own particular Voyage, the priſes were rais'd, and ſo the publick Intereſt was ſtill a ſufferer by it. To redreſs this therefore, we reduc'd all the ſeveral Factories at *Bantam* to one Government, and fix'd them in one Houſe together, and leſſen'd the number of Ware-houſes, taking care to regulate the placing and diſpoſing of our Goods with more diſcretion for the time to come. I bought here of the *Chineſe* Merchants Four thouſand Sacks of Pepper at thirteen Rials of Eight *per* ten Sacks, the Baſſe three in the Hundred.

Bantam burnt to the ground.

Before we went away we had the misfortune of ſeeing very near the whole City of *Bantam* laid in Aſhes; how the fire begun is uncertain, but when once 'twas kindled the Wind carried on the Flame with that irreſiſtible fury, that the whole Town almoſt was preſently conſum'd, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Houſes only excepted (which were providentially ſpared) and ſome very few more; but as if theſe few muſt of neceſſity follow the reſt in their fate, a ſucceeding Fire two or three days after devour'd them too; only the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Houſes had ſtill the ſame powerful and kind Protection, lifting up their Heads when all the other Buildings of the Town were levell'd with the Duſt about them.

February. *May* A. D. 1614.

Thus leaving theſe two Houſes to bear the name of the Town till it roſe out of it's Aſhes again, we ſet ſail homewards, coming to an Anchor in *Soldania* Bay by the middle of the ſucceeding *May*, where we found the *Concord* of *London*, the firſt Ship that was ever ſet out by the Joint Stock.

Concord the firſt that went for the United Stock.

The Natives here were grown exceſſively rude and treacherous, and tho' they never had good Manners, yet they uſed not to be ſo forward to ſhew their ill Manners and barbarous Temper; both the Concord and we felt the effects of their Treachery, and we for our parts had like to have loſt all the Men that kept the Skiff by a ſudden and furious aſſault of theirs while the reſt were aſhoar; nay, they had periſh'd every Man if they had not immediately hurried themſelves out into the Water. Some reports have been, that the Beef of this Country wont take Salt well tho' all allow it to be very good meat; but by the experience we had of it in a good quantity, which we powder'd, it ſeems to take Salt as well as any meat of that kind in the World.

September. Arrive at *Plimouth*.

We finiſh'd this long and tedious Voyage the latter end of *September*, when we came ſafe into *Plimouth* Road; here the Winds and Weather were more ſevere upon us than in all thoſe vaſt and mighty Seas that we had paſs'd; we were actually in more danger than we had ſeen in ſailing above half the Globe, and fear'd we were come from *Japan* to *China* to be wreck'd at our own very doors: This tempeſtous weather held for five or ſix Weeks, and then went off.

I have thought fit to let this Account of *Yedzo* (which I had from a *Japoneſe*, who had been twice there, at my being at *Eddo*) attend the former Journal.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, *receiv'd at the City of* Eddo *in* Japan, *from a* Japoneſe *that had been twice there.*

Yedzo an Iſland.

THis Intelligence ſays, that *Yedzo* is certainly an Iſland lying on the N. W. ſide of *Japan*, and about ſome ten Leagues diſtance from it. That the People are of a fair Complexion, good manner'd enough, far more humane in their temper and conditions than their outward aſpect and appearance, being all over rough and hairy almoſt like Monkeys, yet their Skin (as before hinted) white and clear. The Weapons us'd amongſt them are Bows and poyſon'd Arrows: Thoſe in the Southern parts are the much more underſtanding People, and fit for Commerce, having the knowledge of Weights and Meaſures, which in the middle parts of the Iſland they are entirely ignorant off.

The Natives.

Dwarfiſh People to the Northward.

That up in the Northern parts are a People which ſeem to be different from the reſt of the Iſland, and of quite another race, being ſo extreamly low and ſhort that they may be call'd Dwarfs in a ſtrict and proper Sence, whereas the *Yedzoes* are commonly of the ſtature of the *Japoneſe*. They have none of them any ſort of Apparel but what is brought them from *Japan*, and ſo the moſt part of their Rice (if not all they are ſupplied with) is brought from thence too; but then they have that amongſt them, which will make other People think it very well worth their while to come and bring them theſe neceſſaries; they have a great deal of Silver, and a ſort of Sand-Gold, in which they make all their payments to the *Japoneſe* for what they take of them.

Commodities carried thither.

The Commodities moſtly tranſported hither are Rice, Cotton, Cloth, Iron and Lead; but of all things, neceſſarie for the Back and Belly, are the moſt welcome and acceptable to theſe People; particularly Rice carried from *Japan* to *Yedzo* has yielded four for one.

Matchma Town.

The chief Meat-Town where the *Japoneſe* reſide and trade is call'd *Matchma*, where they have alſo a Fort, and at leaſt 500 Families of that Nation conſtantly dwelling there. In *September* the Natives come down in vaſt numbers to buy and lay in their Winter ſtores, and in *March* they bring Salmon, and ſeveral ſorts of dried Fiſh (beſides other Wares) which they barter with the *Japoneſe*. This *Matchma* is the chief Town for Buſineſs known to the *Japoneſe* upon the whole Iſland, and they have no manner of concern or ſettlement any where but here.

The Winds and Currents;

The Winds hold the ſame Courſe here for the moſt part that they do in *Japan*, *viz*. The Northerly begin in *September* and end in *March*, and then the Southerly ſucceed them, and begin their courſe. And as a concluſion of the whole Account, there ſets a very violent Current between *Yedzo* and *Japan*, which comes from *Corea*, and goes away to the E. N. E.

A SUPPLEMENT to CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning divers Cuſtoms of the Japoneſe, *and ſome Remarkable Occurrences at* Firando. *Taken out of the Relation of Mr.* Richard Cocks, *Cape-Merchant, and chief Reſident in the* Engliſh *Factory there.*

Japoneſe Feaſts.

'TIS common enough every-where in the World, for Friends to meet and make merry together, for kind and good natur'd Neighbours to make much of one another, and ſtrengthen their Friendſhip by mutual Entertainments: Now in this point the *Japoneſe* go beyond all the reſt of Mankind, and make ſuch Feaſts as hardly any other People, I believe, dare pretend to the like. We ſhou'd think it very odd, for a parcel of People in one Country, to invite their Friends in another two or three thouſand Leagues off, to come and take part of a Collation; for a Man in *England* to ſend to another in *Japan*, or the remoteſt parts of *Tartary*, to come and Dine with him ſuch a Day. But the *Japoneſe* are far more extravagant than this comes to; and deſire their Friends to take a much longer Journey: They look out into the other World for Company; give Invitations to the Dead, and call at the Grave's Mouth for Gueſts at their Entertainments.

Strange Gueſts invited.

When the Seaſon for this Solemnity is come, very great Preparations are made all over the place; the Streets are ſwept clean, and Gravel is laid in a decent manner before every Man's Door; at Night too there are Illuminations, and Candles are hung out every-where: This muſt be either for a Token of Joy and Welcome to their Friends at their Arrival, or elſe to give them a little Direction, and prevent their being Blunder'd by the Way. All things thus ſet in order, in the dead of the Night they march with abundance of Lights to the Graves and Tombs, carrying all their Proviſion both for Eating and Drinking along with them; and here they ſet to it, and are exceeding merry, enjoying all the Pleaſures of Good Fellowſhip at this rate, for ſeveral Nights together. At the breaking up of the Feaſt, they go up and down the Town in Companies, with Flags and Banners, beating upon Great Pans, and dancing very briskly to that fine Muſick, before every Great Man's Door, and at all the Temples and Sepulchres. This is the Concluſion of the whole Solemnity, and now the airy Gueſts are diſcharg'd till the next Invitation.

They are ſo very ſtrict in obſerving the Orders of this Feaſt, that 'tis made Capital for any Man to neglect his Duty here: 'Tis Death not to ſweep a Door, and hang out a Candle, upon this occaſion; and that was the Fate of one poor *Japoneſe*, at the time of our being at *Firando*.

Maſquerades

Beſides this, the *Japoneſe* are mightily given to another ſort of Night-Diverſion, and that's Maſquerading, in which the Kings, and the Noble-men, act the moſt conſiderable parts: All the Streets are now enlightned with Candles again, and the Muſick plays the Company along with all the Jollity imaginable; they march ſometimes to one great Houſe, and ſometimes to another, according as the Frolick works, and ſpend perhaps the beſt part of the Night in the Dancings, and other Comical Parts of this Entertainment.

The Nights hardly paſs away any where, I think, more merrily, than at *Firando*; when other People are a Bed and a Sleep, they are at the Balls and Publick Dancings, perhaps Maſquerading up and down the Streets, or Carowſing in ſome Great Man's Houſe, at one of their Mid-night-Feaſts. This is their common Trade, and the old King *Foyne* is as good at it as any of them all, has as much Air and Youth in all Diverſions of this kind, as the young King his Grand-ſon: 'Tis the Temper of this People to be airy, jolly, ſociable, love Entertainments, and Publick Meetings, chuſe rather to wear away the melancholy Night in the Company of their Friends, than ſpend it in Solitude, and upon dull Repoſe.

Shooting Exerciſes at Firando.

There is not leſs Feaſting and Doings of all ſorts, at the time of their Publick Shooting-Matches. The Kings, and all the Nobles then appear on Horſeback, and are follow'd by all the whole *Poſſe* of Slaves, Pikes, Bow-men, and Small-ſhot. The Exerciſe is chiefly managed by the Archers, who ride full ſpeed, and diſcharge their Arrows in the Carcer at a Buckler, that hangs up againſt a Wall. 'Tis perform'd in the Street before their great Pagod, or Temple; and the Deſign of it (I ſuppoſe) is to encourage that ſort of Dexterity, and make them skilful Marksmen, that they may be able to do better Service in the Wars.

Japoneſe Plays.

And amongſt other Recreations in uſe in this Country, thoſe of the Stage are not to be forgotten; for the *Japoneſe* are not ignorant of theſe things, and have both Air and Life, Carriage, and Wit enough, to make a handſome appearance in a Drama. The worſt part of the whole Entertainment, is the baſe Muſick that attends it; I know not what Influence it may have upon the Spirits of the *Japoneſe*, or how agreeable it may be to them, but there's nothing of Sweetneſs or Harmony in it to an *European* Ear: 'Twas all Diſcord to us, ſo harſh, flat, and confus'd, that one wou'd think it ſhou'd rather diſcompoſe the Audience, and prejudice their Temper, than excite any pleaſing ſuitable Paſſions in them, and give a reliſh to the Play.

This Muſick (at leaſt what we ſaw) was a ſort of Tabors made in the form of an Hour-glaſs, great at both ends, and ſmall in the middle; they beat upon one end with one Hand, and ſtrain the Strings with the other, proportioning the Sounds as they pleaſe to their Voices which accompany it; beſides which, they have ſomething of a Fiſe, or Flute; but Tabor, Voice, and Flute, are all dull and unmuſical. Some of their Women indeed, ſing and play ſweetly enough upon the Cittern of their Country; but the Muſick of the Stage, where it ought to be fineſt, is there the moſt ordinary and courſe.

In ſome Circumſtances it muſt be own'd, that they go beyond us; for in all their extraordinary Plays, the Actors are no leſs Perſons than the Kings themſelves, and the top of the Nobility; ſuch who by heighth of Birth and Blood, and an Elevation of Mind and Temper anſwerable to that of their Fortune, are very well qualified to act a Real and a Natural Part, and to give the utmoſt Degrees of Life and Strength, to thoſe Repreſentations of Heroical Vertue, that are contain'd in the Play.

The Subject Matter of thoſe Drama's, is always ſome important Affair of their own Country; they don't concern themſelves with any Foreign Stories, but ever draw the Scene for ſome place within the Bounds of *Japan*: They run over (at ſeveral times) the whole Hiſtory of the Country, the various Fortunes of it, the Wars and Valiant Actions of their moſt Renown'd Anceſtors; by which means they keep up a lively Remembrance of them amongſt the People, and provoke them to a generous Imitation of thoſe Vertues they ſee repreſented, with ſomething more of Advantage, than if the Perſons of the Play were abſolute Strangers to them. Nay, they come down from Antiquity to the preſent Times, and bring the Life and the Fiction ſometimes together; making thoſe Circumſtances the Subjects of the Drama, that were real to themſelves, and thoſe Perſons Actors, that bore a part in the Life. And in this Caſe, no doubt the Performance muſt be very agreeable, becauſe Nature has here ſuch a part to play; and the very Hero's themſelves, who can moſt decently excite and manage their own Paſſions, are brought upon the Stage to do it.

The Feaſtings after the Plays.

All theſe great Plays, in which the Courtiers are concern'd, conclude with as Noble an Entertainment; and whatever be the Prologue, a good Feaſt to be ſure makes the Epilogue. The Nobles all ſend in their ſeveral parts of the Proviſion, and do every thing to make it as pompous as can be: And then all the People that come to ſee, are Royally Feaſted, and made very much of, both ſmall and great, without exception. There is no excluſion of any, either from the Play or Entertainment, but as many as the place will contain, are admitted: And there's ſome Reaſon for it too, ſince the moſt of them that are any thing ſubſtantial, contribute to the Feaſt as well as the Nobles. They are very merry at theſe times, but yet in their decent civil way.

Tho'

Superſtition of the *Japoneſe.*

Tho' the *Japoneſe* can be very Civil and Friendly to Chriſtians, and the Religion is entertain'd by ſome of them themſelves, yet the Country in general, ſeems to be poſſeſs'd with ſome ſort of ſtrange ſuperſtitious Prejudices; the Effects of which are ſuch, as repreſent Chriſtians (if not Chriſtianity it ſelf) to be deſpicable amongſt them. Thus if a Chriſtian dies there, as they have a Burying-place to themſelves, ſo the Corps muſt never be brought in ſight of any of their Pagods; if the place of Interment be but at the end of a Street, or hard by, if there be a Church of theirs in the way, the Funeral muſt go two or three Mile about, unleſs there be any ſhorter Cut, by which 'tis poſſible to avoid the Street where the Church ſtands.

Thus they ſerv'd us, when one of our Company was to be buried; we were forc'd to carry the Corps by Water I know not how far round, becauſe the foppiſh Prieſts wou'd not ſuffer us to bring it along the Street, ſanctified by the Preſence of one of their Idol-Temples. And if we had had no Boat or Skiff of our own, to convey a Corps by Water, we muſt e'en have buried our Companions upon the ſpot where they died, or have flung them into the Sea; for they won't ſuffer any of their Boats to touch the dead Body of a Chriſtian. Nay, more than that, they won't be hired, any of them, to dig a Grave; ſo that in this Country we are forc'd to be Sextones to one another, having none elſe to do that Office for us: For the *Japoneſe* will rather endure the ſtench of a putrifying Body, than ſet their Hands to the laying it under Ground.

The Bonzees and their Jugglings.

The Bonzees of this Country are mighty Pretenders to the Knowledge of Future and Secret Things, which they ſay are reveal'd to them by their Oracle: Thus they pretend to reſolve all ſorts of knotty, dark, myſterious Queſtions, to determine the Circumſtances of contingent Events; in ſhort, to give an account of all thoſe Things, which cannot be accounted for, but by ſuppoſing them to have ſome ſupernatural Intelligence. But the miſchief on't is, they very often ſhoot beſides the Mark; their Predictions and the Events very ſeldom agree: Upon which account (ſince it is not to be ſuppos'd that they have thoſe falſe Informations from any good Spirit), 'tis paſt all doubt, that either the Devil tells them Lyes, or they tell Lyes of the Devil.

Fires at *Firando.*

They very often put the Town into a diſmal Fright about Fires, which they ſay poſitively ſhall happen ſuch a Day; and then all the People are in a hurry, providing Tubs and Buckets, and filling Water againſt the fatal time comes; and at laſt perhaps they have their Labour for their Pains, and may e'en throw their Water out again, for any uſe they have for it at that Seaſon. 'Tis true, the Town is very often fired; and I think it may be almoſt compared with *Bantam,* for the frequency of that Calamity: But then 'tis very ſeldom ſo, when the Bonzees tell of it; that they had better either quite hold their Tongues, or lay their Plot ſo ſure, that the Town may be ſet on fire without fail: For we make no doubt at all, but the Bonzees are either the Incendiaries themſelves, or at leaſt ſome employ'd by them; and that partly out of hopes of getting Plunder, when the People are in a Confuſion, and of eſtabliſhing the Reputation of their Predictions, by making the Event anſwerable. So that when a Fire does happen as they foretel it, there's no neceſſity of ſuppoſing any Magick in the Caſe, or that an Oracle reveal'd this Myſtery to them: For a Villain may foretel his own leud Actions, without being call'd a Conjurer if they come to paſs.

The matter ſtands thus: The Bonzees can't have their deſired Spoils, without ſetting the Town a-fire, nor they can't be Prophets, except they tell on't before-hand; but Spoil they will have, and Prophets they will be too, and therefore to anſwer both theſe ends, they have no other way, but to form the Plot themſelves, and tell the People before-hand, that the Devil will put it in execution at ſuch a time. And when it is done, it is really perform'd with ſo much ſlyneſs and ſubtle management, that there is hardly any finding the Authors of it; I don't remember of all the Fires that happen'd at *Firando* at our being there, (and there were ſeveral) that there was any diſcovery or ſeizure of a Villain made: They have been ſeen indeed ſometimes at a diſtance, and purſued; but there are ſo many ſly places, and cunning holes, for Rogues to lie ſkulking about in, that 'tis almoſt impoſſible to catch them. Otherwiſe it might be ſuſpected, that the Bonzees laid the Saddle upon the right Horſe, and that ſome evil Spirit indeed was concern'd in the miſchief; but the purſuit of the Villains takes off that; and beſides, there are Crowds of pilfering People lying about the Town, that break very often into Houſes, and rob and ſpoil, and offer Violence of all other ſorts; where there are ſuch ſort of Cattle, there's no need of going farther a-field, to fetch the probable Authors of ſuch Villanies as theſe.

In order to the future more effectual prevention of theſe Diſturbances, we (whoſe ſhare of dread and danger by the Fires was not the leaſt) made a Motion to the King, That an Edict might be publiſh'd, enjoyning a moſt ſtrict and particular Watch to be every-where kept; that no Man ſhou'd be ſuffer'd to be out late, but what cou'd give a very good Account of himſelf, and his Buſineſs; and beſides, always to have a Light before him, that he might be ſeen what he was. And theſe Orders were accordingly put in execution with all diligence: So that now there's hopes, that the Town, and the Merchants in it, will enjoy a more undiſturb'd Repoſe: For the plain truth on't is; what with the terrible Apprehenſions of the Fire, the Hurry of the Town thoſe Nights 'twas expected, and the Noiſe and Bellowing of a parcel of Fellows in the Streets, that go about to give Warning, and bid People have a Care of their Houſes, there was no Reſt to be had, and a Man liv'd continually in all the Extremities of Confuſion and Haring at ſuch times as thoſe: Beſides, the Calamity was likely enough to come, and the Bonzees Emiſſaries, we know, wou'd not fail of the utmoſt Care to give a Reputation to their Predictions.

Good Orders eſtabliſh'd at *Firando*

A moſt fearful Tempeſt at *Firando.*

In *September,* at which time Captain *Saris* was gone upon his Journey to the Emperor's Court, we were ſurpriz'd at *Firando,* with the moſt horrible Tempeſt that perhaps ever any Man ſaw: We that had been at Sea, and in all the Extremities of Weather in that unquiet Element, never ſaw any thing comparable to it; and the oldeſt *Japoneſe* then alive, declar'd it the greateſt Prodigy ever ſeen in their Country.

The Airy Regions were all over in a Hurly-burly; and as one wou'd have imagin'd (by the furious Motions they were then put into) commencing a War that ſhou'd end in an Univerſal Confuſion. The Noiſe of the Wind (raging above the degree of a Tuffon) was accompanied with a Diſcharge of Thunder and Lightning ſufficient to have ſhaken the moſt fix'd and ſteddy Courage in the World; the Rains fell at the ſame time, in a moſt violent manner, which tho' perhaps an advantage in reſpect of the Lightning, yet added exceedingly to the Horror of the Storm. The Winds beat ſo fiercely upon the Town, that above a hundred Houſes were preſently overthrown; a great part of the reſt were until'd and laid open, and all trembled, as if the Earth it ſelf had ſuffer'd a Convulſion. The Sea at the ſame time feeling the Effects of the general Commotion, and not able to keep within its uſual Bounds, broke into the Town, undermin'd the Great Wharf, beat down the Stone-Wall, and ſunk and ſhatter'd in pieces above fifty Barks that then lay in the Road. God be thanked, our Ship eſcap'd in this common Calamity, and came off with the loſs of one of her Anchors only.

This Storm did more Miſchief at *Langaſaque,* than here at *Firando:* All the while it continued, the ſuperſtitious People run up and down the Streets with Firebrands, a Ceremony, I ſuppoſe, intended to pacifie the angry Deity that ſent that bad Weather: But this in all probability had ſet the Town a-fire, if the Rains had not done ſomething by way of prevention.

CHAP. XXIV.

Obſervations made by Capt. John Saris, *relating to the Univerſal Trade of the* Eaſt-Indies, *the moſt remarkable Places, the Commodities they afford, or are chiefly in requeſt in every one of them; with the Rates, Prices, Cuſtoms, and Impoſt, every-where obſervable.*

Rules for the Choice of certain Drugs, with the Places from whence they come.

Lignum Aloes

LIgnum Aloes, (call'd by the *Malayans Garroo*) the beſt of it comes from *Malacca*, *Siam*, and *Cambaya*, and is in large Sticks, and very maſſy, black, and mix'd with Veins of an Aſh-colour. 'Tis bitter if taſted; and laid upon the Fire, yields a moſt delectable Smell, and fries away till it be quite conſum'd, much after the rate that Pitch does.

Benjamin.

Benjamin, (call'd by the *Malayans*, *Minnian*;) the beſt ſort comes from *Siam*, which is a very pure, clear, and white, with little Streaks of Amber-colour. There is another ſort which comes from *Sumatra*, which is very good, but not ſo white and fine. And a third ſort, particularly from *Priaman*, and *Barrowſe*, which is very coarſe, and not valued in *England*, tho' at *Bantam* it goes off well.

Civet.

Civet, the beſt is that which is of a deep yellow Colour, inclining to that of Gold: If it be of any conſiderable Age, and looks white, 'tis a ſign 'tis adulterated; but if it be newly taken, 'tis natural for it to look ſomething whitiſh, with bright Colour, by degrees, wears away into a yellow.

Musk.

Musk, there are three ſorts of it, black, brown, and yellow; of which the firſt is ſtark naught, the ſecond good, and the third beſt of all: It ought to be of the Colour of the beſt Spikenard (that is of a deep Amber) and incloſed within one Skin only, and not with ſeveral one over another, as 'tis many times ſeen to be, and not over moiſt neither, which increaſes the Weight, but is no ſign of the Goodneſs of the Commodity; 'tis beſt to chuſe that alſo, that has ſome few Hairs like Briſtles, little Stones, Pieces of Lead, or other Traſh mix'd with it (for all this is natural) and of ſo ſtrong a Scent, as to be rather offenſive than otherwiſe; eſpecially if taſted when the Fumes of it ſeem to pierce violently into the Brain, and ſearch the Head at a wonderful rate: If it be right, a bit of it taken into the Mouth, will not be preſently diſſolved; as neither on the other hand, ought it to remain undiſſolv'd any conſiderable time. You muſt take care not to keep this Drug near any of your fine ſcented Spices, leaſt it loſe its own Odour thereby.

Bezoar.

Bezoar is of two kinds, the Occidental, and the Oriental Bezoar; which latter is worth full double the Price of the former. The Forms of both ſorts are various, ſome round, others long, like Date-ſtones, others like Pigeon-Eggs, others again in the ſhape of a Kidney, or like a Cheſsnut; but all, for the moſt part, not ſharp and picked, but blunt at the ends. There is as much Variety in the Colour too; for there is a light Red, a Honey-colour, a dark Aſh-colour, but for the moſt part 'tis of a Wateriſh Green. The Oriental Bezoar (or that from the *Eaſt-Indies*) conſiſts of ſeveral diſtinct Peels, or Coats, lying one over another, as thoſe of an Onion. They all of them appear bright and ſhining; but the inner one's ſtill more reſplendant than the outer: They are thicker or thinner, in no certain proportion, but moſtly according to the largeneſs of the Stone, and the largeſt are the moſt valuable, and beſt for Sale.

A certain way to try the Goodneſs of your Bezoars, is to put the Stone into the Water for three or four Hours (having firſt taken the exact Weight of it), then taking it out, obſerve if the Surface of it be whole, and even as before, not divided by Cracks and Chinks; as alſo, at the ſame time, take the Weight of it again pretty nicely, and if it weighs ever ſo ſmall a matter more than it did at the firſt Trial, you may build upon it that it is not good. In this way of proceeding, I have ſeen ſeveral Bezoars at *Bantam* (that have promis'd very fair to the Eye) diſſolve into a perfect Chalk, and diſcover nothing but traſhy matter in the inſide. The places that afford them are *Patane*, *Bemermaſſin*, *Macaſſar*, and *Soocadanna*; but thoſe that come from this laſt place, do oftner impoſe upon us, and prove naught, than thoſe that are yielded by any of the other places.

Amber.

Amber, if you reſpect the Colour, is of various ſorts, as Black, White, Brown, and Grey, of which the Black is uſually the baſeſt; and the Grey, or at leaſt the Aſh-colour mix'd with White, is the beſt and pureſt. 'Tis a Characteriſtick of this fine and clean ſort, that being put into the Water, it does not ſink but floats upon the Surface; and tho' this may alſo poſſibly agree to ſome Amber that is abuſed and ſophiſticated; yet 'tis certain, that all that is good and pure muſt ſwim; and if it does otherwiſe, it may be pronounc'd baſe and adulterate.

The Characters of the chief Towns of Trade in the Eaſt-Indies, *the Commodities they afford, and deſire from Foreign Parts.*

Bantam.

BAntam, upon the Iſle of *Java Major*, is a Town of very great Reſort, and equal Trade, for divers ſorts of Commodities. The genuine Products of the place it ſelf, are chiefly Cotton-wool, and Pepper; but the great numbers of Foreign Ships that come hither, bring other Materials for Trade beſides.

The Meaſures.

Their Harveſt for Pepper is in the Month of *October*, and the Quantities gathered in at a time, may be ſome 32000 Sacks (or Timbangs as they call them). Now two Timbangs is a Peecul, three Peeculs is a ſmall Bahar, and four and a half a great Bahar, which makes 445 Cattees and half; ſo that the Sack contains 49 Cattees and a half, and every Cattee amounts to 21 Rials and a half *Engliſh*. The *Javans* not being perfect in the uſe of the Beam, moſt commonly deal by the Coolack, which contains ſeven Cattees and a quarter, which is one Cattee and a quarter more than the Beam allows, and indeed there ought to be no difference; but the Weighers at *Bantam* being always *Chineſe*, they manage the matter ſo as to favour their Country-men when they ſee good, and will fit them with a bigger or a ſmaller meaſure, according as they are gratified and pleas'd.

Deceits in Weight and Meaſure at Bantam.

Coyn of Bantam.

The King has no Coyn of his own, but what comes from *China*, which is call'd Caſhes, and is melted out of the Droſs of Lead; they are round thin Pieces, made with Holes for a String to go through them, in which manner they are deliver'd up and down in Payments. A String with a thouſand of theſe Caſhes upon it, is call'd a Pecoo, which is of divers Values, according as Caſhes riſe or fall. They make their Accounts thus: Ten Pecooes is one Laxſan, ten Laxſans a Cattee, ten Cattees a Uta, ten Uta's a Bahar.

Deceits in Payment.

By the Law of the Country there ought to be a full thouſand Caſhes upon a String; and if the number falls ſhort, the Perſon that makes Payment is to allow accordingly; and the *Javan* Strings are indeed, for the moſt part pretty honeſt and juſt; but the *Chineſe* are horribly deficient, and if you don't look to them very well, they'll cheat you of 150, or 200 Caſhes ſometimes in a Pecoo. Always upon the going away of the Ships and Juncks the Caſhes fall, and you may get thirty four or thirty five Pecoos for a Rial, which before the next Year comes about, you may put off again at more than one third profit; but then the great danger in this caſe of engroſſing is Fire, which as 'tis a very common Calamity at *Bantam*, ſo 'twill make bad work where it comes amongſt the Leaden Coyn of this place.

Profit to be made by engroſſing the Caſhes.

The Weights

The Weight in uſe here for weighing Bezoars, Gold, and Civet, is call'd a Tail, which makes 2 ¼ Rials of Eight, or two Ounces *Engliſh*: This is the *Javan* Tail; but the *Malayan* is 1 ½ Ounces *Engliſh*, and the *Chineſe* 1 ¼ Ounces *Engliſh*: So that the *Chineſe* Tail is ⅝ of the *Javan* exactly.

Commodities vendible at *Bantam.*

The Commodities which find the beſt Sale and Acceptance here, are theſe following of our own and other Countries:

Iron, long and thin Bars, at ſix Rials *per* Peecul.

Lead in ſmall Pigs, at 5 ½ Rials *per* Peecul.

Powder fine, round, corn'd, at 25 Rials *per* Barrel.

Engliſh Trade

Pieces ſquare and ſanguin'd, of ſix Foot long, ten Rials *per* Piece.

Pieces ſquare and damask'd all over, of 6 ½ Foot, fifteen Rials.

Broad Cloth of 10 *l.* the Cloth, of a *Venice* Red, three Rials *per* Gaſs, which is ¼ of a Yard.

The beſt Opium, eight Rials *per* Cattee.

Amber in great Beads, 6 Rials *per* Tail *Maleyan.*

Coral, in large Branches, five and ſix Rials, by the ſame Weight as the Amber.

But above all things, Rials of Eight are the beſt Commodity you can bring hither.

China Trade.

This is moſtly the *Engliſh* Trade; but then in the Months of *February* and *March,* there comes conſtantly three or four Junks very richly laden from *China,* with all theſe ſorts of valuable Commodities, *viz.*

Your Raw Silk of *Lamking,* which is the beſt, and goes at 190 Rials *per* Peecul.

Raw Silk of *Lauton,* which is coarſer than the former, at 80 Rials.

Taffata in Boults, holding 112 Yards in the Piece, at 46 Rials the Corge, which is 20 Pieces.

Velvets of all Colours, 13 Yards, at 12 Rials.

Damasks of all Colours, 12 Yards at 6 Rials.

White Sattins, 12 Yards, 8 Rials.

Burgogues, 10 Yards long, at 45 Rials *per* Corge.

Sleeve Silk, the beſt made Colours, 3 Rials *per* Cattee.

Musk, the beſt, at 22.

Sewing Gold, the beſt, 15 Knots, every Knot 30 Strings, at 1 Rial.

Velvet Hangings, embroider'd with Gold, 18 Rials.

Sattins embroider'd, 14 Rials.

White Curtain-Stuffs, 9 Yards the piece, at 50 Rials *per* Corge.

White Damask flat, 9 Yards the Piece, at 4 Rials.

White Sugar very dry, at 3 ½ Rials *per* Peecul.

Sugar-Candy very dry, at 5.

Porceline Baſons, very fine and broad, 2 Rials a piece.

Callicoe-Cloth, coarſe, white and brown, 15 Rials *per* Corge.

Benjamin, very white and good, at 30 and 35 Rials *per* Peecul.

Lignum Aloes, at 80.

Alom, as good as our *Engliſh,* at 2 ½.

Coromandel Trade.

All your *Coromandel* Cloths are topping Commodities here; but the moſt vendible ſorts are the Gobarees, the Pintadoes, the fine Tappies of St. *Thomas,* the Ballacho's, *Java* Girdles, Callicoe Lawns, Book Callicoes, and White Callicoes, made up in Rolls.

The Meaſure that takes place in theſe Commodities is the Haſta, which is about half a Yard, or as much as from the Elbow to the extremity of the Middle-finger: And ſome of theſe Cloths are more, and others leſs in length, tho' none above 34 Haſta's; and in general, all ſorts of *Malayan* Cloths are ordinarily 8 Haſta's long: And to conclude this Head, all kinds of Cotton Cloth which are broad, and hold out a good length, are in very good eſteem at *Bantam.*

Cuſtom and Impoſt, *&c.*

The Cuſtoms taken at *Bantam* are of ſeveral ſorts; the King's Cuſtom call'd *Chukey,* is eight Bags upon the Hundred, rating Pepper at 4 Rials of Eight *per* Sack, what Price ſoever it bears.

Then there is that call'd *Billabilian,* which is thus: If any Ship come into the Road laden, the King is to be immediately acquainted with the Sorts, Quantities, and Prices of the Commodities in her, before any part can be landed; upon which he ſends his Officers to the Ship, and takes of all the ſorts what he likes, perhaps at half your Price, or it may be ſomething better, according as you can agree. So if you lade Pepper according to the Law of this Duty, you pay for every 6000 Sacks, 666 Rials, or elſe are obliged to be the King's Chapman for as many thouſand Sacks, at one half, or three fourths of a Rial more than the Current Price of the Town.

The *Dutch* indeed go a more compendious way to work, and to avoid the trouble of the Duty, agree with the King ſo much in the groſs, for the Lading of a Ship, which is generally about ſeven or eight hundred Rials. And 'tis to be noted, that tho' you have ever ſo prudently provided before-hand Lading to diſpatch your Ships, yet you ſhall not be excus'd from this ſort of Duty; for if you pretend to diſpute, or refuſe it, they'll ſtop the Lading of your Ship.

The *Rooba,* at *Bantam,* is a Duty for Anchorage, and 'tis 500 Rials of Eight upon 6000 Sacks. The Sabandars Duty is 250 Rials upon 6000 Sacks. And the Weighers Duty is 1 Rial upon 100; and the ſame of the Weighers belonging to the Cuſtom-Houſe.

Jortan.

The Town of *Jortan,* upon the ſame Iſland, pretends moſtly to Victuals, Cotton-wool, and ſpun Yarn. There is alſo ſome little matter of Spice, Pepper, by the Juncks of *Jambi* that come hither, and ſome Mace and Nutmegs by thoſe of this Town that go to the Iſle of *Banda.*

Macaſſar.

Macaſſar, at the *Celebes,* affords great ſtore of Bezoar-ſtones, Rice, and other Proviſions, with a ſmall quantity of Spice, by means of a Correſpondence with *Banda.*

Balee Iſle.

Balee, an Iſland to the Eaſtward of *Mackaſſar,* in 8 ½ Degr. South Lat. yields plenty of Rice, Cotton Yarn, coarſe White Cloth, a good Commodity at *Bantam:* Thoſe that this place requires, are the ſmalleſt ſort of Blew and White Beads, Iron, and coarſe Porceline.

Timor.

Timor is a very large Iſland, lying to the Eaſtward of *Balee;* 'tis famous for the Production of the White Saunders, the greateſt Logs of which are eſteem'd the beſt, and are worth at *Bantam,* twenty Rials of Eight *per* Peecul, at the coming in of the Junks: It yields alſo great plenty of Wax, which is made up in large Cakes, and goes at *Bantam* for eighteen, and ſo to thirty Rials *per* Peecul, as the time ſerves; there's a great deal of deceit, very often, in this Commodity; and to be ſure that you are not cheated, the beſt way is to break it, and ſee whether it looks agreeably within.

The Trade there.

The Wares to be carried hither, are Chopping-knives, *China* Frying-pans, *China* Bells, ſmall Bugles, Porcelines, colour'd Taffatees, but no Blacks, Pieces of Silver beaten flat and thin, and of the breadth of one's Hand. There may be good Profit made of the Trade to this Iſland; for the *Chineſe* have given four for one, to ſome of our *Engliſh* that ventur'd with them thither.

Banda.

Banda Iſles are celebrated for their Mace and Nutmegs, with the Oyls of both thoſe Spices. The Harveſt comes three times a Year upon theſe Iſlands, *viz. July, October,* and *February;* but the greateſt gathering in is in *July,* which is call'd here the *Monſon Arepotee.*

The Trade there.

Some report, theſe Iſlands were once in Subjection to the King of *Ternate;* but whatever they once were, now they are a ſort of a Common-wealth; yet is there one Supreme Officer, whom they call a Sabandar, that appears at the Head of the State, and has the Trouble of Managing, but not the full Power of Diſpoſing of any Publick Affair, without the good Liking, and intervening Approbation of the People.

Their way of Dealing is by Bahar and Cattee: The ſmall Bahar is ten Cattees of Mace, and a hundred of Nutmegs; and the great Bahar a hundred of Mace, and a thouſand of Nutmegs. And the Cattee here is 5 Pound 13 Ounces *Engliſh;* the Prices variable.

The Commodities requeſted here, are *Coromandel* Cloth, Cloth of *Cambaya,* and all ſorts of the *Malayen* (or *Cherra Malaya,* as they call it), Broad Cloth, Stammel, Callicoes black and red, *China* Boxes, Baſons without Brims, light colour Damasks, Taffatees, Velvets, Gold Chains, Plate Cups gilt, Head-pieces damask'd, Guns, Sword-blades, but not ſuch as are back'd to the Point. There's a great deal of Profit in bringing Gold Coyn hither; for you ſhall have that for the Value of 70 Rials in Gold Coyn, that will coſt you 90, if you pay in Rials: And 'tis not to be forgotten, that Rice good and fair, is as vendible a Commodity as moſt at this place.

* See the Trade of, and at the *Molucca's,* ſtated in Capt. *Saris's* Voyage, *ch.* 1. of this 4th Book, and ſo is here omitted. *Siam,* the Trade there.

* *Siam,* (in 14 ½ North Lat.) the Capital City of a mighty Empire, is poſſeſs'd of no ſmall advantage to encourage a Trade. You have at this place ſome of the beſt *Benjamin* perhaps in the World, and in great plenty; and the glorious Gems of *Pegu* ſhine here likewiſe: There's a vaſt quantity of Silver in Bullion, that's brought hither from *Japan;* but Rials of Eight are more in requeſt, and will bring in Bullion ¼ of a Rial Profit. Their Tayle is 2 ¼ Rials of Eight.

All your broad *Stammel* Cloth, Iron-works, and fair Looking-Glaſſes, are things that take exceedingly here; and all ſorts of *China* Commodities, are much cheaper than at *Bantam.*

The Juncks from *Guzurat* come to *Siam* in the Months of *June* and *July,* touching firſt at the *Maldive* Iſles, and then at *Tenaſſere,* from whence the Merchants may go over Land to *Siam* in twenty Days ſpace.

Borneo.

Borneo, the principal City of the Iſle of that name, is rich in Gold and Bezoar Stones; abounds in Wax, Retans, Cayulacca, and Sanguis Draconis; and no leſs Trade for all theſe things at *Bennermaſſin,* a Town upon the ſame Iſland.

The Commodities deſired here, are much the ſame with thoſe for the Iſles of *Banda:* Bezoar Stones are likewiſe ſold here by the Tayle, as they are at *Bantam*; but the Tayle is different from that, it being 1 ⅓ Ounce *Engliſh*; and the Stones go at five or ſix Rials the Tayle.

Soocadanna, and its Diamond Trade.

But the great place of Note upon this Iſland is *Soocadanna* (in 1 ½ Degr. South Lat.) and ever will be ſo, while it has the Reputation of yielding the beſt and nobleſt Diamonds in the World. All the Trading part of Mankind being fond of this precious Commodity, the place conſequently never wants a crowd of Ships, Praws and Junks, that come to Trade for them. The Riches of the Country in this kind are inexhauſtible, and *Soocadanna* is never unprovided of Diamonds for them that viſit her upon that Account: But yet the greateſt quantities are met with in *January* and *April*, and tho' they are at no time ſcarce, yet then they are more than ordinarily plentiful, and the place is in the height of it's charming Luſtre. And the Reaſon why they have more in thoſe Months is, becauſe the Rains which fall with an exceſſive violence in *July* and *October*, and ſome of the latter Months, are then well gone off, and their Effects upon the Rivers abated too; they are ſunk by this time to their uſual depth, and the ſtreams became more ſlow and plocid, ſo that the Divers may venture upon their Work, without fear of being carried away and loſt. For all theſe Diamonds are gotten as Pearl are by Diving; and the River moſt celebrated for the ſearch and diſcovery of them is the River *Lane*; ſuch a one as which, any Prince that had it in his Dominions, would not have very much cauſe to complain, if it yielded the Country no Fiſh.

Commodities in requeſt here are *Malacca* Pintadoes, Coromandel Cloths, Callico Lawns, light colour'd *China* Silks, Sewing Gold, Slane Silk, Stammelly and broad Cloth, Bugles of all ſorts.

Concerning which 'tis to be noted, that the blew Bugles made at *Bantam* in form of a Tun, and of the bigneſs of a Bean, and which you give there at the rate of a Rial of Eight for 400, are worth a Maſs the 100 at *Soocadanna*, the Maſs being three fourths of a Rial of Eight. The Advantage of trading with Gold is conſiderable too here, for you ſhall have a Stone for one Rial in Gold, which you ſhall not have for one Rial and half, or one Rial and three fourths in Silver.

When a Ship is bound for this place the beſt way is to go firſt to *Bemermaſſen*, and there barter what Commodities ſhe has (proper for this Iſland) for Gold, which may be had for three Cattees Caſhes the Malacca Tayle, which is nine Rials of Eight: and then bring it to *Soocadanna* it may be put away for Diamonds and four Cattees Caſhes the Tayle, which is one Rial and ſeven eights in weight, ſo that you ſhall gain three fourths of a Rial upon a Tayle. But the Principal Gain muſt be in the Diamonds, which are of four ſeveral Waters, White, Green, Yellow, and a Colour betwixt both, or mixt of Green and Yellow; of all theſe the White Water Diamonds are the beſt.

Weights at *Soocadanna*.

The Weights in uſe here are the Maſs, the Coopang, the Booſuck, and the Pead; four Coopangs make one Maſs, two Booſuck make one Coopang, and one Pead and half is a Booſucks, by which proportion of theſe Weights to one another, and the above mentioned value of a Maſs in Rials, the value of any of theſe may be eaſily expreſs'd in Rials likewiſe. The Tayle at this place is ſixteen Maſs, and one fourth of the Tayle they call a Pahaw, by which they generally weigh not only Diamonds, but Gold too.

China Trade at *Lankin* and *Canton*

The Towns upon the Coaſt of *China* that make a great Figure in Trade are *Lankin*, *Canton* and *Hocchu*. Your raw Silks of *Lankin* are worth there 80 Rials *per* Peecul, the *Hocchu* Taffata, 30 Rials *per* Corge, the *Canton* Damask 50 Rials *per* Corge. Sewing Silk 100 Rials *per* Peecul, Embroidered Hangings the beſt ten Rials of Eight a piece; Sewing Gold is ſold by the Bundle, each containing ten Papers, and every Paper five Knots, and the beſt has 36 Threads in a Knot; this goes at two Rials *per* Paper; Sattens the beſt at one Rial the piece, great Baſons, three for a Rial, White Sugar the beſt at half Rial *per* Peecul, Porceline of the ſmall ſorts, the beſt one, Rial *per* Cattee, Pearl-boxes, the beſt five Rials a Piece, Velvets of nine Yards long five Rials of Eight a Piece, Sleeve Silk the beſt 150 Rials *per* Peecul, Musk ſeventeen Rials *per* Cattee, Caſhes ſixty Peecoes for a Rial, broad Cloth, which is three fourths of a Yard, worth ſeven Rials, Looking-Glaſſes very large ten Rials a piece, Tin fifteen Rials *per* Peecul, Wax the ſame, Musket Barrels twenty Rials a piece, Japan Sables eight Rials a piece, Elephants Teeth the beſt and greateſt, 200 Rials *per* Peecul, the ſmall half of that, White Saunders the beſt in great Logs, worth forty. The Cuſtom of Pepper inwards is a Tayle upon a Peecul, but outwards there's no Cuſtom at all; and they look very narrowly that no Ammunition of any ſort be carried out of the Country.

China Trade to the *Manilles*.

In *March* the Juncks bound for the *Manilles* ſet out from *Chauchu*, and return in *June*: Their lading outwards is raw and wrought Silks, far better than thoſe they carry for *Bantam*; but they come home laden only with Rials of Eight, perhaps forty of them in a Year, and ſo ſlightly guarded, that a Ship-boat may take them without any trouble. This Voyage from *China* to the *Manilles*, is about ten days ſail.

Japan Trade.

As for the Noble Iſland of *Japan*, there is hardly any ſort of Commodity but what is vendible there ſomewhere or other; and the Trade there being of a later date, and much leſs known than at other places before mention'd, it may not be amiſs to add this particular Account of it.

The ſorts of Coin current here, are principally Maſſes and Canderins, the Canderin being one tenth of the Maſs; and 'tis by theſe that the Prices of Commodities are moſt ordinarily Meaſur'd.

Your Broad Cloths of all ſorts, *viz.* Black, Yellow, Red, &c, which coſt in *Holland* eight or nine Gilders the *Flemiſh* Ell, is worth here, three, or four, and ſo to five hundred: Where note that Cloth of a high Wool is in no requeſt, but ſuch as is low ſhorn; ſo alſo your fine Bays of the aforeſaid Colours, but not according to the *Portugueze* wear, but thoſe that are well Cotton'd.

Then *India* Goods of all ſorts are in eſteem, together with Damaſks, Silks, Sattens, Velvets, Taffata's, and your Silk Grograms, Turkey Grograms, and Chamblets, Sayes, Raſhes, Bourats ſingle and double.

All *Holland* Cloths from fifteen to twenty Stivers, and not above, Diapers and Damaſks; which the better branch'd and flower'd the more acceptable.

Then Pictures, Carpets, Painted and Gilded Leather of all ſorts, eſpecially with ſmall and fine Flowers, are very much valued; only as to Pictures, the larger they are the better, but they are not ſo much for Faces; as Landſkip, repreſentations of War, amorous Intrigues, ſome remarkable Story or comical Fancy, as the Painter's Invention guides him.

Then all the ſerviceable Metals, Copper in Plates, Lead in Sheets and Barrs, Tin in Loggs, Iron, Steel and Quick-ſilver are very good Commodities.

For Drugs, *China* Roots, *Collomback* Wood, Saunders, Sapon or Red-Wood, Amber, Camphire, Roach Allom, Elephants Teeth, Rhinocero's and Harts-horn; to which add Honey, *Spaniſh* Soap, Sugar Candy, Pepper, Nutmegs, Salt, all ſorts of Leather, and Wax-Candles.

Then hardly any thing that ſerves for Houſhold Uſe or Ornament comes amiſs in *Japan*, no ſort of Inſtrument or Utenſil, but what will find ſome Cuſtomer or other that will have a mind to it: In ſhort 'tis a place of ſo general a Vent, that I believe 'twill be hard to find out a Commodity of any ſignificancy that will not take there.

Note here that the *Chineſe* will commonly truck for your Silver, and give you Gold of 23 Carrats, from fifteen to twenty the Ounce Silver; but ſometimes there comes too much and other times too little.

Commodities to be bought in *Japan*.

The Commodities *Japan* affords, are Hemp very good, 10 Cattees (which is 120 pound *Holland*) worth from ſixty five to ſeventy.

Eye Colours for dying Blew near as good as *Indico*, made up in round Cakes and pack'd 100 Cakes in a Fardel, worth from 50 to 60 *per* Fardel.

Dying for a while, enclining to Red, made in Fardels or Balls of fifty Gautins Malio's worth from five to eight.

Rice very white and good, worth 8 ½ *per* Tare; and of a worſe ſort worth 7 ½ *per* Bale.

At *Eddo*, *Succaio*, *Oſaca*, and *Meaco* is the beſt Furniture for all ſorts of Colours, and for Gilding too.

Brimſtone coſts here ſeven *per* Peecul.

Salt-Peter one and a half.

Cotton-Wool ten.

Theſe are the Commodities of moſt note which this Iſland yields, of all which kinds tho' it produces thoſe that are good; yet the greateſt excellency it pretends to, ſeems to lie in the Materials for Gilding and Colouring, wherein perhaps it has not many places that can pretend to Rival it.

An Account of ſome remarkable Occurrences, and divers things relating to the State of the Engliſh *Trade in* Japan, *taken out of the Letters of two* Engliſh-men, *a long time reſident there, Mr.* Cocks *and Mr.* Sayer.

These Letters being ſome of them long and tedious, and beſides intermixt with abundance of very vulgar, frivolous, and unprofitable Matters, we ſhall not impoſe upon the Reader the ungrateful Task of going over them in their full length, but endeavouring at once both to ſhorten his Labour and make his Entertainment better, by preſenting him with a faithful and as conciſe an Account as may be, of the moſt material Things, ſeparated from the other Impertinences.

An Account of a Letter of Mr. Cocks, *Dated from* Firando *in* Japan, December *the* 10*th* A. D. 1614. *Sent to Captain* Saris.

Wars between *Ogoſha-ſam*, and *Fidaia-ſam*.

AS to the Affairs of *Japan*, the Writer of this Letter gives us an Account that they were at that time in a very diſmal and unquiet Condition; a Civil War being ready to commence, that threaten'd very great Calamities to the whole Country.

The Prince's name was *Fidaia-ſam*, Son of *Tico-ſam* the Old Emperour.

We have heard before that the rightful Heir of this mighty Empire was ſhut up in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Oſaca*, where 'twas deſign'd he ſhould live in perpetual Ignorance of himſelf, and his juſt Title to the Crown; or at leaſt if he ſhould by any means come to the knowledge of his true Quality, ſhould by that cloſe Confinement be depriv'd of all Opportunities of giving any diſturbance to the preſent Poſſeſſour But the uſurping Emperor's Plot (it ſeems) did not take the deſired Effect; the young Prince ſome way or other came to know himſelf, and accordingly took up Arms to aſſert and maintain his Right. He converted his Priſon into a ſtrong Garriſon, and inſtead of other Keepers, got quickly about him an Army of 100000 Men, bold, reſolute, hardy Souldiers, moſt of them Outlaws, Exiles, and Male-Contents, which flock'd in to him from all parts of the Empire, and will ſpend their Blood to ſet him in the Throne. Beſides this Force of Men he had laid in as good a ſtrength of Proviſion, having furniſh'd the Invincible Caſtle of *Oſaca* with Victuals for three Years. This was the alarm which *Ogoſhe-ſam* ever dreaded the hearing of: Nothing could look with a more threatning, malignant Aſpect upon his State and Power, than a black Cloud gathering about the Caſtle of *Oſaca*. However to maintain his own Pretenſions, he was march'd in Perſon with an Army of 300000 Men towards the Prince, and ſome little bickerings had paſs'd between parties of both Armies at the time of the writing of this.

But now the whole Empire expected the reſult of a pitch'd Battle, in which that controverſy ſhould be ſolemnly decided, which of theſe two Pretenders ſhould finally wear the Crown Imperial of *Japan*. The one is reſolved to purſue his Right, and the other as much to maintain Preſent Poſſeſſion, which being the caſe, the Diſpute between them is like to be very violent, and as ſtubbornly maintain'd on both ſides. 'Twas not long before this that the Emperor declar'd himſelf a publick Enemy to the Chriſtians, giving order for the baniſhing all Jeſuits, Friars, Nuns, and their adherents out of *Japan*, pulling down their Churches and Monaſteries, and to make ſure work with them, not only ordering their Baniſhment, but actually ſhipping them away himſelf, ſome for *China*, and others for the *Manillia's*.

A ſtrange Tuffon at Eddo.

And in a ſhort ſpace after this Perſecution a very great Confuſion happen'd at *Eddo* (one of the largeſt Cities of the Empire) occaſion'd by a moſt dreadful Tuffon which raged there. The City was almoſt demoliſh'd by it, a great part of the Buildings being broke down, and the Sea beating in at the ſame time threatn'd to ſwallow up all the reſt; ſo that the Inhabitants were forc'd to quit the place, and run up into the Mountains for ſhelter. The *Pagan* and the Chriſtian *Japoneſe* are very contrary to one another in their Opinions and Aſſertions concerning the cauſe of this horrible Commotion. The latter ſay 'tis a Judgment of God upon the Nation for the Affronts offer'd to the Chriſtian Religion; particularly for the Emperour's Baniſhing it, with all the Pious Jeſuits that preach'd it, away from his Court at *Eddo*, as he lately did; ſo that the Circumſtance of the Calamity with reſpect to the place, clearly (as they ſay) expounds the Cauſe of it. On the other ſide the *Pagans* ſay 'tis Witchcraft, and that the Jeſuits upon their Baniſhment fell a conjuring, and rais'd that Storm to plague the Country in revenge.

At the time of Captain *Saris*'s being in *Japan*, 'twas thought that if any other *Engliſh* Ship came into thoſe Ports, the Goods might immediately be ſold off, without the formality of making and carrying a freſh Preſent to the Emperour; but 'twas afterwards found to be otherwiſe, and every Ship that came in, was under a neceſſity of doing it, paying its Cuſtom that way. More than this they could have no Liberty, ſo much as to ſet out a Junk, without the Emperours Licence were annually procured; for 'twas made death for any *Japoneſe* Mariner to ſtir out of the Country without leave; only their own Ships might go in and out freely, whenever they had occaſion.

Attempt for a China Trade.

A good Project was ſet a foot for beginning a Trade upon the Coaſt of *China*, at a Town near *Languin*, to which place a Ship might ſail from *Firando* with a good Wind in three or four Days time. This was firſt propos'd and undertaken by ſome conſiderable *Chineſe* then in *Japan*, who labour'd very hard in the matter, and made no queſtion of accompliſhing it ſo far that three *Engliſh* Ships ſhould have a Vent for their Commodities every Year at that place. The Endeavours of the *Engliſh* Factory (ſetled at *Firando*) towards a Trade from *Tuſhma* into *Corea* prov'd ineffectual, very little to any Purpoſe being to be done there.

No Trade at *Corea*.

There was no vent for any Commodities but Pepper only, and not much of that; then the Weight is much bigger than that of *Japan*, tho' ſold at ſomething a better rate. By all Circumſtances it ſeems to appear, that the *Coreans* are not at all diſpos'd to a Correſpondence with them of *Tuſhma*, ſince they'll allow them but to come into one little Town, and forbid them to go without the Walls of that upon pain of Death, ever ſo little a way up into the Country; and that the King of *Tuſhma* is no Subject to the Emperour of *Japan*, ſo that there was no Danger of this latter Prince's getting any footing amongſt them by the opening of a Correſpondence with the former. Yet the *Coreans* are poſſeſſed with ſuch Jealouſies and Fears of the *Japoneſe*, that they'll not indulge any of their Neighbourhood in any manner of Liberties by which it may be poſſible to faſten any hold upon them. And the Truth on't is, they are not fearful and miſtruſtful without a cauſe, if at leaſt former Attempts upon their Liberty may be a Reaſon why an Adverſary that made them, ſhould be diſtruſted for the future.

Tico-ſam invaded *China*.

Now this was the Caſe; for *Tico-ſam* the Emperour before this did actually make an Irruption into *Corea*, intending to have carried on his Conqueſt to the very Gates of *Peking*, and ſurpriz'd the *Chineſe* Emperor in his Palace; but he was in the midſt of that Career of Fortune prevented by a *Corean* Noble-man, who to ſerve his Prince and Country in that extremity gave the Conquerour his Death in a Cup of Poiſon, dying himſelf with him at the ſame time. By this means the *Japoneſe* loſt all that they had gotten in *Corea*, and left *China* to the after Conqueſt of the *Tartars*, which was very like at this time to have fallen to their own ſhare. Now 'tis very probable that this is the Reaſon of the horrid and inveterate Prejudices theſe two People do entertain one againſt the other; the *Japoneſe* were the Invaders of the *Coreans*, and the *Coreans* robb'd the *Japoneſe* of a glorious and fortunate Prince.

But yet that Prince how dear ſoever he was to the *Japoneſe*, he was an Invader of the Juſt Rights and Liberties of the *Coreans*, and they had no Reaſon tamely to give way to a Foreign Power, that pretended to enſlave and trample upon them, if they could find any means either by Force or Policy to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of it. However 'tis certain that the *Japoneſe* do mortally hate the *Coreans*, and can never be poſſeſſed with Sentiments of Tenderneſs and Friendſhip for them as long as the World ſtands, unleſs the humour of the Nation ſtrangely alters. They cannot with any Patience bear the ſight of a *Corean*, and thoſe People they take for ſuch cannot walk the Streets without a whole rabble at their Heels, houting and pelting them with Dirt and Stones. Thus 'twas with Captain *Saris* in ſeveral Towns in *Japan*, where the People did not know what the *Engliſh* were; there was hardly any paſſing along, the Mob was ſo very rude and clamorous, nay, the very Children had it in their Mouths as well as the reſt, *Corè, Corè, Cocorè, Warè*, you *Coreans* with falſe Hearts! The *Japoneſe* are the civileſt and moſt well bred People in the World, only they cannot poſſibly be civil to a *Corean*, or any Man they think to be ſo.

The Bogs ſailing Waggons and Commodities of *Corea*.

'Tis ſaid that there are very large Cities in this Province of *Corea*, and alſo towards the Sea a great many Bogs impaſſable by Horſe or Foot, almoſt ſo that they uſe the ſailing Waggons, which are furniſh'd with Wheels as other Waggons are, but much broader and flatter, that they may not cut deep into the Mire, and have alſo Sails like a Ship, by which contrivance obſerving their proper Winds, they paſs all thoſe Bogs eaſily.

The Country affords Damaſks, attens, Taffata's, and other Silks as *China* does; but they carry moſt of their Goods up and down in thoſe Sailing-Waggons.

The Contents of another Letter, written by the ſame Perſon, from Firando, *bearing Date the ſame Tear and Month as in the laſt. To Sir* Thomas Wilſon.

The growing Power of the *Dutch*.

ACcording to the reports of this Letter, the *Hollanders* made a very conſiderable Figure, and as great a ſtir with their Shipping and Sea-forces at this time in the Eaſtern World. They had quite cow'd the *Spaniards* in the *Molucca's*, broken the Heart of their Trade and Power there, encroached ſo far upon them, that the next ſtep was like to be a compleat ejection of them, and conqueſt of thoſe Iſlands to themſelves. They had made ſuch Preparations to accompliſh this Deſign, that the *Spaniards* were forc'd to ſend an Embaſſadour to the Emperor of *Japan*, to ask leave to take up all the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* in his Dominions, for the Service and Defence of the *Molucca's* and *Philippine* Iſlands, which they expected the *Dutch* would very ſhortly attempt too: The Emperor refus'd to grant this Requeſt, urging, that his was a free Country and none ſhould be forc'd or preſs'd out of it againſt their Wills, tho' all that had a mind to go might uſe their Liberty. The *Portugueze* alſo ſtood in ſuch fear of them at the ſame time, that they paſs'd the Seas up and down under the moſt terrible Apprehenſions imaginable of being ſurpriz'd by the *Dutch*. But 'tis not only *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* that they are ſuch a Plague to, but the *Chineſe* themſelves, who are not their Rivals in any Points of Conqueſt and Dominion as the other are, nor cannot be ſo much in matters of Trade; they rifle their Ships and make a vaſt ſpoil of them, which Conduct of theirs ſeems to be very unaccountable, and muſt certainly prejudice them in their future Pretentions to a *China* Trade (if ever they make any) without good Satisfaction. And no doubt but they'll treat the *Japoneſe* after the ſame manner if there comes to be a rupture between them, which is not improbable, ſince the Emperor not long ago refus'd to accept the Preſent they ſent him, or to ſpeak to the Meſſengers that brought it, and that carriage is no prognoſtick of a very good underſtanding between them for the future. The Emperor carried it much after the ſame rate likewiſe to a *Portugueze* Miniſter, that came upon the ſame Errand a ſhort time after.

Reports of the *Engliſh* in *China*.

The Character of the *Engliſh* Nation was ſo good in *China*, that the hopes of the Trade there were much confirm'd. 'Twas particularly a very great recommendation of them to the Favour of that Prince and People that they had been ſuch a Scourge to the *Spaniards*, whoſe Ambition, Cruelty and ill Manners had render'd them odious in ſo many parts of the World. This the *Chineſe* Merchants ſay has been a very entertaining ſubject of Diſcourſe at the Court of *China*, and that the Emperour himſelf and the *Mandarins* have heard it with a great deal of pleaſure.

The only impediment that appears is the ill management of the *Dutch*, whom they look upon to be our Neighbours and Allies; they rob their Ships, and 'tis poſſible that we may pay for't with the loſs of our Trade. The *Chineſe* ſeem to be very inquiſitive whether the King of *England* won't reſtrain the *Dutch* from doing them thoſe Injuries; and as deſirous that we bring along with us no *Padre's* as they call them (that is Jeſuits) the very Name of which Men they abhor, and ſay that when they came formerly amongſt them, they quite wearied them out with continual craving and begging one thing or other of them.

Diſaſters of the *Engliſh* at *Cauchin* in *China*.

We have an Account here alſo of the ill ſucceſs of ſome of our Merchants, who were ſent to *Cauchin-China* to deliver a Preſent to the Prince of that Country, and carry on a Trade there. The Preſent was kindly accepted, and the *Engliſh* were entertained with all the ſeeming Courteſy in the World; which the *Dutch* ſeeing they would needs put in for a ſhare too, as they did, and to appearance were made very welcome. But in ſhort, quickly after the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* chief Merchants with their Interpreters and Attendance were ſurpriz'd and all kill'd; and this the *Chineſe* and *Japoneſe* affirm to be the King of *Cauchin-China*'s Revenge, becauſe the *Dutch* not long before had burnt one of his Towns, putting Man, Woman and Child to the Sword: And the Reaſon why they did this, was, becauſe ſome of their Factors had fallen Sacrifices to popular rage and fury there at *Quinham*; but then they kindled the Flame upon themſelves that devoured them; they cheated and abus'd the People with falſe Money, and ſo provok'd them to that Out-rage; ſo that the Cauſe of all theſe Miſchiefs trac'd up to it's true Original, does at laſt appear to be their own lewd and diſhoneſt Practices.

The Contents of another Letter, by the ſame Perſon, bearing Date from Firando, February *the 15th*, A. D. 1617.

THe *Hollanders* (as this Letter informs us) perſiſting in their Deſign of making all the Encroachments poſſible upon the *Spaniards*, ſail'd away with a good Fleet from the *Molucca's* to the *Philippines*, in order to fight and drive them out from thence. The *Spaniards* ſeeing the *Dutch* ſo ſtrong, politickly kept themſelves within their Ports, chuſing rather to bear the Inſults and bold Defiances of their Adverſaries, than expoſe themſelves to a fatal over-throw. The *Dutch* upon this very imprudently divided their Fleet, ſending away a part to go and rob the *Chineſe* Ships; which they did too (as the *Chineſe* declar'd) all under the Name of *Engliſh-men*: But in the mean time the *Spaniards* came out and fell upon the other part of the Fleet, ſinking two good Ships beſides their Admiral, and the reſt hardly eſcaping. But they in their Succeſs being guilty of the ſame imprudent Conduct with the *Dutch* before, that is, to divide their Strength in purſuit of the *Dutch*, were alſo over-match'd by ſome *French* Ships that came in upon them, which coſt them the loſs of their Vice-Admiral.

This Action was in *A.D.* 1616.

Dutch and *Spaniards* fight.

The Emperor rejects the Vice-roy of *New-Spain's* Preſents.

The Vice-roy of *New-Spain* ſent two Friars in the quality of Embaſſadours to the Emperour, with good Preſents too, by this means to inſinuate themſelves into his Favour and Protection in that Country again, but the Emperor would neither receive their Preſents, nor vouchſafe them that brought them the Honour of his Preſence; but ſent them Word that they ſhould be gone out of his Dominions, for he had ſome time ago baniſh'd all Men of their Coat, and he continued ſtill in the ſame Opinion.

†This Letter intimates too the reſult of the Grand Diſpute between the Emperour and the Prince *Fidaia-ſam*, upon the Important Subject of the Crown. Might (it ſeems) overcame Right in this Matter, and the Prince's cauſe did not ſucceed according to the Juſtice and Merit of it. The Blood of 400000 *Japoneſe* has been ſpilt in the quarrel on both ſides, but it ſeems now to be fully ended, and the Prince is either killed or retired into ſome very ſecure ſhelter

† We take the main Account of the Battel out of another Letter which having nothing elſe valuable in it, is for that Reaſon wholly omitted, tho' the preſent Letter gives a hint of it too.

Shelter. However, our Affairs cannot ſuffer, but may rather be in a better Condition by his loſing the Victory, than by his giving of it; for 'tis reported, that he had promis'd the Jeſuits to ſettle them in full Liberty in *Japan*, if he prov'd Conquerour; and then 'tis paſt doubt, that we had been all expell'd from thence. 'Tis poſſible, that this Promiſe was a Bribe to the Jeſuits, to pray for his good Succeſs in that Battle; but the Fathers either forgot the Buſineſs, or elſe did not employ the right Saint to ſollicit and manage that Affair above.

The Contents of another Letter by the ſame Perſon, bearing Date from Firando, *March* 10. *A. D.* 1619.

THE Perſecution in this Country, which before proceeded no further than Baniſhment, and loſs of Civil and Religious Liberties, has ſince (as this Letter tells us) run up to all the Severities of Corporal Puniſhment. The Chriſtians ſuffer'd as many ſorts of Deaths and Torments, as thoſe in the Primitive Perſecutions; and ſuch was their Conſtancy, that their Adverſaries were ſooner weary of inflicting Puniſhments, than they of enduring the Effects of their Rage. Very few, if any at all, renounc'd their Profeſſion: The moſt hideous Forms in which Death appear'd (by the Contrivance of their Adverſaries) wou'd not ſcare them, nor all the Terrors of a ſolemn Execution, overpower that Strength of Mind with which they ſeem'd to go through their Sufferings.

They made their very Children Martyrs with them, and carried them in their Arms to the Stake; chuſing rather to reſign them to the Flames, than leave them to the Bonzees to be educated in the Pagan Religion. All the Churches which the laſt Storm left ſtanding, this had entirely blown down and demoliſh'd, and Heathen Pagods were erected upon their Ruines.

Horrid Perſecutions in *Japan*.

The Dead were perſecuted too, as well as the Living; the Graves torn open, and the Bodies and Bones there incloſ'd, thrown out into ſome baſer Receptacle. So that now if Chriſtianity ever flouriſhes again in *Japan*, it muſt be upon a Second Plantation, the Firſt Stock ſeeming at this time to be compleatly pull'd up by the Roots. There were other Troubles and Stirs, beſides theſe in *Japan* at this time; another dangerous Rebellion was riſing at *Fruſhma*; but the Prince of that place, happening to be at that time in the Court, the Emperour commanded him, either to write to his Subjects to lay down their Arms, or immediately to rip up his own Belly: He choſe rather to do the former, and ſo the Tumult was at an end. But he was turn'd out of that Government, and ſent into a Corner in the Northern part of *Japan*, and the great Caſtle of *Fruſhma* (bigger by Report than the City of *Rocheſter*) levell'd with the Ground: All the Stones being carried away to *Oſaca*, to rebuild that Noble Piece, which the laſt Emperor, *Ogoſhe-ſam*, deſtroy'd, after his routing the Army of the Prince *Fidaia*. For it muſt be noted (tho' our Author does not expreſly tell us of it), that the Emperor ſpoken of in this Letter, was not *Ogoſhe-ſam*, but ſome other his Succeſſor, of whom we have no other Account, than theſe Actions of his give us.

'Tis ſaid alſo, that the Prince *Fidaia* was gotten ſafe out of the great Battle, and lay *Incognito* ſomewhere about *Meaco*: But this our Author hardly credits, it having been often reported ſo before.

Unreaſonable Inſolence of the *Dutch*.

Laſtly, He gives us an Account of the horrid and barbarous Deportment of the *Dutch* towards the *Engliſh*, then reſiding in *Firando*. Without any manner of Provocation they openly proclaim'd War againſt them, declar'd they wou'd burn their Ships and Effects, and deſtroy their Perſons where-ever they cou'd meet them; and this they did ſolemnly by Sound of Trumpet, both aſhore, and aboard all their Ships. And to be as good as their word, they broke into the *Engliſh* Houſe with all their Force, and had actually ſacrificed every Perſon there, if the *Japoneſe* had not come in and fought vigorouſly in their defence; for the odds was vaſtly great, and one *Engliſh-man* had at leaſt a hundred *Dutch* to deal with.

All this, and much more of this kind, they did; but for what Reaſon it cannot be imagin'd, unleſs becauſe they wou'd be Maſters every-where, and have the whole World to themſelves.

One paſſage only, which ſhews their Modeſty in thoſe parts of the World, is not to be forgotten, and the rather, becauſe 'twas in the Preſence of the Great Emperor of *Japan* himſelf, and all his Court.

Our Author being there to do his Duty to the Emperor, upon the coming in of the *Engliſh* Ships, found in the Preſence a certain boaſting *Dutch-man*, that told the Emperor ſtrange Stories of his own Country, and extoll'd his King of *Holland* to the Skies, as the greateſt and moſt potent Prince in all that part of the World; together with a vaſt deal of ſuch Stuff as that. But he who underſtood the *Japan* Language, tho' the *Dutch-man* thought he had not, told him before the Emperor, He need not have told His Majeſty ſo loud and broad a Lye as that, ſince all the World knew, they had no King in *Holland*, but only a Stadt-holder; who did not ſo much govern the People, as the People govern'd him. And whereas he had the Forehead to ſay, That his King, as he call'd him, held all other Princes of Chriſtendom in Subjection; 'twas well known the King of *England* had been his Country's Protector, or they had never been in a Condition to come and make a Noiſe abroad in the World. The *Dutch-man* was, it ſeems, pretty much confounded to loſe his King ſo all of a ſudden; but there was no help for it; and the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, that were there at the ſame time, well knew the Truth of what was ſaid. Upon the whole, our Author adds, that the Company were extreamly diverted with this paſſage; and that there was old Laughing, eſpecially amongſt the *Europeans*, to ſee the *Dutch-man* ſo bewilder'd to find out his King, which they very well knew he cou'd never do.

CHAP. XXV.

The Tenth Voyage by the East-India *Company, with the Two good Ships, the* Dragon *and* Hoſiander, *(accompanied with the* James *and* Solomon, *for other Voyages.) Taken out of the Journals of the Captain, Maſter, and others employ'd in the ſame Voyage,* Tho. Beſt *chief Commander herein.*

February, A. D. 1611.

Juan de Nova.

July, A. D. 1612.

WE have few Remarks of Note to offer upon that part of our Voyage, as far as the Iſle *Juan de Nova*, from whence therefore we ſhall begin our Account. Some Doubts have been ſtarted by modern Sailors, about the right placing of this Iſland in the Plats, which many have miſs'd in their ſailing this way, or perhaps not found where they expected it, according to the Direction of thoſe Charts they went by. And 'tis very probable, that ſome Charts may give a very different Account of it from what others may do; however, this we can alledge, that the Iſland which goes by the Name of *Juan de Nova*, was ſituated both for Latitude and Longitude, upon the Globe, much in the ſame manner that the Plats we follow'd had fix'd it: And its Latitude we determine upon a nice Obſervation to be 17 Degr. to the South of the Line, and Long. 19 Degr. 40 Min. from the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Sign of coming near *Juan de Nova*.

The multitudes of Sea Fowl you ſee, is a certain ſign of your approaching to this Iſland, and this may be truſted to univerſally: They are ſome of them black, and others white, which latter have alſo their Wings painted with black Spots.

We cou'd perceive no danger here, only a ſmall Breach at the S.S.E. end of it, about a Mile's diſtance; and there's no fear (being bound this way) of haling in ſight of it, but there is rather danger of falling in with the Southern Current, by haling over for the Main; and therefore to avoid that Inconvenience, let it be a ſtanding Rule, not to hale much to the Weſtward of this Iſland of *Juan d: Nova*, ſince you may go in ſight without any real ground of fear, and ſo miſs the Current.

Mal-Ilha one of the Iſles *Comoro.* *Auguſt.*

Our Courſe from hence was to *Mal-Ilha*, which is one of the Iſles *Comoro*, the next to *Comoro* it ſelf, and diſtant from it about twelve or fourteen Leagues to the S. E. The Latitude here is 12 Degr. 30 Min. Long. 23 Degr. 2 Min. Variation, 15 Degr. 20 Min. This Iſland is very properly call'd *Mal-Ilha*, or *Mala Inſula*, for it's certainly one of the moſt dangerous places a Ship can come to. At the North-end of it you have a Rocky Sea for a matter of eight or nine Mile, quite along from the main Iſland, to another that lies on the Northern ſide; ſo going along the Weſtern-ſide, you have another great Ledge of Rocks that continues till you have brought the high Iſland (at the Northern end of *Mal-Ilha*) S. E. of you, and then it ends; and then you may ſteer in with the Land, keeping the Iſland fair aboard, or directly put into the Bay, where you have good Anchoring.

A dangerous place.

The Town a good place.

But 'tis better to go to the Town which lies a Mile Weſtward of the Bay, and affords ſome of the beſt Conveniences for refreſhing, that are to be had in all theſe parts: The People are Good-natur'd, and they can furniſh you with as good Beeves, Goats, Hens, Limons, and Coco's, as need be wiſh'd for; there's very good Water to be had too, and the Air has the Character of being exceeding healthy and proper, to recover ſick and weakly Conſtitutions. The beſt way to come to it, is to ſail along upon the S. E. ſide of the Iſland, but have nothing to do, if poſſible, on the Northern-ſide, where you have ſo many, and ſo threatning Dangers on every part of you; remembring alſo to keep off the Shoal that lies to the Eaſtward, in coming from the long Ledge of Rocks, and is about five or ſix Mile from the Iſland it ſelf, and no Ground between them at forty or fifty Fathom, that we cou'd diſcover.

September. Come to *Surat.*

We ſail'd from hence to the Coaſt of *India*, and came to an Anchor at the Bar of *Surat*. The People expreſs'd a great deal of Satisfaction at our Arrival, and a very promiſing appearance there was of good Trade and kind Uſage amongſt them; the Governour of *Surat* ſending his Certificate aboard for our aſſurance in that point. However, to go upon the ſureſt Grounds that cou'd be, we concluded to ſend a Diſpatch to *Agra*, to know directly from the *Great Mogul* himſelf, whether we ſhou'd be permitted to have a Free Trade, and to ſettle a Factory in his Country, which otherwiſe we wou'd immediately depart. And the Reſult of it was this; that in a very little time the Governour of *Amadavar* came to us with full Power to treat upon that Subject, and to enter into ſolemn Articles with us, which were to be ratified with the Seal of the *Great Mogul*, in forty Days after, or elſe to be null and void.

October.

By this Agreement we had the Privilege of ſettling Factories, and trading in any City within the Compaſs of the *Mogul*'s Dominions; an Account of which is here ſubjoyn'd, as it was concluded between us and the Governours of *Amadavar* and *Surat*, in *Swally* Road.

The ARTICLES Agreed upon, and Sealed by the Governour of *Amadavar*, and the Governour of *Surat*, and four principal Merchants, and to be Confirmed by the Seal and Firme of the *Great Mogul*, within Forty Days after the former Sealing, or elſe to be void; for the Settling of Trade and Factories in the Cities of *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Amadavar*, *Goga*, or in any other part or parts of this Country, within the *Great Mogul*'s Dominions. Witneſſed under our Hands and Seals, the One and twentieth of *October*, 1612.

The Articles of Agreement for Trade.

1. IMprimis, *That all which concerneth Sir* Henry Middleton *be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us: That they ſhall never make ſeizure, ſtoppage, nor ſtay of our Goods, Wares, and Merchandices, to ſatisfie for the ſame.*

2. *That they ſhall procure from their King, the* Great Mogul, *at their proper Coſt, his Grant and Confirmation of all the Articles of Agreement under the Great Seal of his Land, and ſhall deliver the ſame unto us for our Security and Certainty of perpetual Amity, Commerce and Dealing with them, within Forty Days after the Sealing hereof.*

3. *That it ſhall be lawful for the King of* England *to keep and continue his Embaſſador at the Court of the* Great Mogul, *during the time of the ſaid Peace and Commerce, there to compound and end all ſuch great and weighty Queſtions, as may any way tend to the Breach of the ſaid Peace.*

4. *That at all times upon the Arrival of our Ships in the Road of* Swally, *there ſhall be Proclamation in the City of* Surat *three ſeveral Days together, That it ſhall be free for the Country People of all ſorts to come down to the Water-ſide, there to have free Trade, Dealing, and Commerce with us.*

5. *That all* Engliſh *Commodities ſhall pay Cuſtom, according to the Value or Price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the Cuſtom-Houſe, after the Rate of Three and an half the Hundred.*

6. *That all Petty and Pedlarly Ware be free of Cuſtom, provided that it exceed not in value Ten Rials of Eight.*

7. *That we ſhall have ten Manu for our Manuda, carried from the Waters-ſide to* Surat; *and after the ſame Rate back again: And for Carts we are to repair to the* Moccadam *of* Swally, *to ſend for* Surat, *and at* Surat, *to repair to the Broker for Carts down again.*

8. *That if any of our Men die in thoſe Parts, that then neither the King, nor Governour, nor Under-Officer ſhall make Title or Challenge to any thing that to the Dead belonged, nor demand Fees, nor any kind of Taxes, nor Cuſtoms.*

9. *That if all our Men die here in theſe parts, between the times of the coming of our Ships, that then by ſome Officer thereto appointed, juſt and true Inventory, Notice and Knowledge be taken, of all ſuch Moneys, Goods, Jewels, Proviſions, Apparel, and what elſe to our Nation belongeth: And the ſame ſhall ſafely preſerve and keep, and deliver to the General, Captain, or Merchants of the firſt Ships that ſhall hereafter arrive: And to receive a Diſcharge from the General, Captain, or Merchants, to whom ſuch Goods and Moneys ſhall be deliver'd.*

10. *That they ſecure our Men and Goods upon the Land, redeeming all ſuch both Goods and Men, as ſhall happen to be taken upon the Land by the* Portugals; *and ſhall deliver both Men and Goods again to us free of all Charges, or the Value of our Goods and Men inſtantly.*

11. *That as in all Kingdoms there are ſome Rebels and diſobedient Subjects; ſo in our Nation there may be ſome Pyrates and Sea-Rovers, which may happen to come into theſe parts, and here may rob and ſteal: If any ſuch ſhall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Factory here, be liable or anſwerable for ſuch Goods ſo taken, but will aid them with our beſt means that are ſo grieved, by Juſtice to our King, for redreſs and reſtitution unto them.*

12. *That all ſuch Proviſions of Victuals as ſhall be ſpent during the time that our Ships ſhall remain here in the Roads of* Surat *and* Swally, *ſhall be free of Cuſtom: Provided it do not amount unto above a thouſand Dollers in Money.*

13. *That in all Queſtions of Wrongs and Injuries that ſhall be offered unto us, and to our Nation, that we do receive from the Judges, and thoſe that be in Authority, preſent and ſpeedy Juſtice, according to the Quality of our Complaints and Wrongs done us, and that by Delays we be not put off, and wearied, either by Time or Charges.*

The Buſineſs brought to this Iſſue, the Preſents for the *Mogul* were laid out in a readineſs to be deliver'd, as ſoon as the Writings had paſt his Seal.

November. The vaſt Trade of the *Portugueze.*

At this time there ſail'd within ſight of us, a Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigats, to the number of 240 Sail, all Merchants, and bound for *Cambaya*: And ſuch a Fleet as this, goes every Year for that place; from whence they bring the greateſt part of the Lading, which the Carracks and Galleons carry away for *Portugal*: And from hence 'tis plain, that the Concerns of the *Portugueze* in theſe parts of the World, turns to no little Account to them.

But now we were alarm'd with the News of another Fleet of them, that was coming to give us a Welcome into the *Eaſt-Indies*; for tho' the *Great Mogul* had granted us Liberty of Trade, yet the *Portugueze* were reſolv'd it ſhou'd not be ſo, and therefore came with four great Galleons, and twenty ſix Frigats from *Goa*, to drive us away out of thoſe Seas. The Action between us was not finiſh'd all in one Day, or at one ſingle Trial, but made 3 or 4 ſeveral diſtinct Fights one Day after another. In the firſt Bruſh was concern'd no more than the Admiral Ships of both ſides: Our *Dragon* going on to meet their Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, wou'd not be provok'd to ſhoot till ſhe was got betwixt them both, but then ſhe ſaluted each of them with a Broadſide, and a Volley of Small-ſhot, ſo heartily, that they immediately took their Leaves of her, and the Fight, for that Day.

The *Portugueze* Fleet comes to fight the *Engliſh.*

The next Day, after ſome Hours fight, the *Dragon* having play'd with her Great and Small-ſhot very fierce and hot, upon three of the Galleons, forc'd them a-ground upon the Sands, a-thwart the Bar of *Surat*; and there the *Hoſiander* perfectly danced the Hay about them, while they kept all out of ſight, and did not dare to ſhew a Man upon Deck.

The ſame Day after the Galleons were recover'd by the help of the Frigats, the Fight was renewed again betwixt us, but no conſiderable damage done on either ſide.

December.

But the fourth and laſt Trial, (which was after ten Days Refreſhment) was that which ended the Diſpute, and gave the *Portugueze*, as well as the whole Country beſides, a ſufficient proof, that it was not ſo very eaſie (as they had made it by their Noiſe and Bragging) to force two *Engliſh* Ships to a diſgraceful Flight.

This Fight was well managed, and ſtubbornly maintain'd on their parts as well as ours; but (Providence favouring our Cauſe) the happy Concluſion of it was, that the *Portugueze* not able to hold it any longer, cut their Cables, and fled away from us with all the ſpeed and confuſion in the World: And 'twas the more remarkable, in that there was at that time, a whole Army drawn up upon the Shore, that were Spectators of the Action, and very joyful Witneſſes of our Victory. The *Indian* General that commanded that Army then upon the Sea-Coaſt (employ'd in the reducing of a certain Caſtle there by), gave an Account of this Action afterwards to the *Mogul* himſelf, who was not a little amaz'd at it, conſidering the Reputation the *Portugueze* had all over that Country, to be invincible at Sea.

The Loſſes on both ſides.

The *Portugueze* own themſelves to have loſt 160 Men in this Fight, but the Country reports very near 500: We had not ſix Men in all killed and wounded; our greateſt loſs was Powder and Shot, there being ſpent ſixty Barrels of Powder, Six hundred and eighty Great Shot, and Three thouſand Small Shot; tho' we hope to ſome good purpoſe, as well for the increaſe of our Nation's Reputation, as the chaſtiſing the Inſolence of ſo proud and daring an Adverſary.

January. The *Mogul's Firman* is brought.

Having waited here at *Surat* ſome time, the *Mogul's* Ratification of the Articles came; which was deliver'd to us by the Governour in a very ſolemn manner, and accompanied with many Profeſſions of that Princes Good Will to our King and Country.

This Affair now brought to its deſired end, we proceeded in our Voyage to *Sumatra*; and obſerve in that Courſe, that all the way from *Daman* to *Goa*, the Shore is very fair, good Shoaling, not without ſixteen or ſeventeen, nor within ten Fathom, and ſure Anchoring all along the Coaſt: Likewiſe from *Goa* to *Cochin*, we never had above 20 Fathom, at 4 or 5 Leagues from the Land, and at 2 or 3 Leagues diſtance we had 10 and 12 Fathom.

From the Latitude of 11 Degr. 30 Min. as far as *Cochin*, you have very low Land by the Sea-ſide, but very high all along up in the Country; and as a Mark it may be obſerv'd, that four or five Leagues ſhort of *Cochin*, you have a very high piece of Land, mounting up like a Table in the Country before you; and to the Northward of that a Ridge of long Hills or Mountains.

February. The Road of *Beringar.*

About ſome twenty ſix Leagues ſhort of Cape *Comori*, is a little Town call'd *Beringar*, at which we anchor'd and refreſh'd. And it is certainly a moſt agreeable place for that purpoſe, there being a good plenty and variety of Proviſions, a good Road and good Water, and the People of a free, harmleſs, and courteous Diſpoſition, ready to entertain and trade with Strangers, and (which makes them much the better) very great Enemies to the *Portugueze*. From this place to Cape *Comori*, the People are Chriſtians all along the Sea-Coaſt, and have a Friar conſtantly reſident amongſt them.

Note.

A Ship may ſail along this Coaſt of *Malabar*, even to the Cape, without fear of danger, obſerving only a Point of Care and good Conduct, about a Neck of Land ſome eight Leagues diſtance from the Cape. You ſee there this Point of Land, from which the Coaſt trents away E. S. E. with the Cape *Comori*; and here 'tis that you are to be cautious, and avoid that Point as much as may be, becauſe of two great Rocks that lie under Water about four Mile from it: Your danger is to come within 22 or 24 Fathom; but if you keep in 28, or thereabouts, you go clear of them. But then you muſt be ſure not to go beyond the Limits of 35 or 40 Fathom, becauſe of the Current that ſets off South with the *Maldive* Iſlands; and which taking, you may bring your Ship into conſiderable danger, by forcing her in amongſt thoſe Cluſters of Iſlands. You ſhall know whereabouts this danger from the Rocks lies more exactly by this; that thwart the forementioned point of Land, are plac'd two very large Rocks, a good heighth above Water, and then a League off directly from the Eaſtermoſt of theſe two extant Rocks, are the other two ſunken ones, the fatal Miſchiefs we warn you of.

Cape *Comori*.

Cape *Comori* it ſelf is very low Land; but the Country about is remarkable enough by high Crags and Rocks: The Latitude of the Cape is 7 Degr. 50 Min. Longitude, 57 Degr. 20 Min. from the Cape of *Good Hope*: Variat. 14 Degr. 30 Min. W.

March. *Ceylon* Iſle.

As we Coaſted along the Iſle of *Ceylon*, we ſent ſome of our Company aſhore; but the People there wou'd have nothing to do with us, nor ſuffer us to have any manner of Proviſions, alledging that our Nation had wrong'd them, and formerly taken one of their Boats. We were beholding to the *Dutch* for this kind uſage, for they took the Boat, and very probably told the Natives they were *Engliſh-men*; as we know they have often done. We determine Lat. of *Colombo* upon the ſame Iſland, to be 6 Degr. 30 Min. or near upon; and that of *Tenadare* (which lies E. S. E. from *Punta de Galle*, ſome ten or twelve Leagues) to be 5 Degr. 30 Min.

Linſchoten's Obſervations of the Sands about this Coaſt, ſeem true; we ſaw one of them that lies two Leagues from the Land, over-againſt which is a great high Rock like a Tower, by the help of which Mark it may be avoided.

April. A. D. 1613. Come to *Achen.*

From hence we ſail'd away directly for *Achen*, where the greateſt of our Concerns lay, and the moſt important Buſineſs (we had now remaining in the *Indies*) was to be tranſacted. The Cuſtom here is for every Ship to preſent the King immediately upon the landing of her Men, in requital of which, an Entertainment of Meats is always ſent back by the King. The ſame Ceremonies paſt on both ſides at our Arrival; and after this Introduction, we were ſent for to make our ſolemn appearance at Court. The Letters and Preſents of Foreign Princes, (eſpecially ſuch as he pays the higheſt Reſpect to) are brought to the King of *Achen* with a great deal of Pomp; they are carried in Golden Baſons, upon an Elephant richly furniſh'd, as His Majeſty's of *England* now was, and as it had been done before.

See Sir *James Lancaſter's* Voyage.

The Contents of the Letter we brought, were highly pleaſing to this Prince, and he readily promis'd to do all things to procure the Satisfaction of our King and Country; and particularly to ratifie all the Articles of the Treaty agreed on formerly between his Predeceſſor, and Sir *James Lancaſter*, ſent to that Court by Queen *Elizabeth*. He is one of the beſt accompliſh'd Princes that Country perhaps has had; the King and the Gentleman do equally diſcover themſelves in his Perſon and Carriage, and while he ſhews you all the Greatneſs and Majeſty of the one, he does no leſs charm you with the Civility and Good Breeding of the other. And he is no leſs a Soldier in his Martial Aſpect and brave Spirit, than he is either of the former; and it appears by his Victories and Succeſſes, that the Qualifications of a good General do as well belong to him, as thoſe of a fine Prince.

Sports at the King of *Achen's* Court.

He was mighty free to ſhew us all the Sports and Diverſions of his Court, and wou'd hardly take any publick Pleaſure, but what our General muſt ſhare with him in. Thus we were very often invited to ſee his Elephants fight, ſometimes his Rams, and at other times his Buffles; which encounter'd one another with an extraordinary fierceneſs, and 'twas work enough for ſixty or eighty Men ſometimes to part them, when they were hotly engaged, and that not without great Ropes faſtned on to their Hinder-Legs, to pull them aſunder neither.

The King of *Achen's* Banquet in the Pond.

'Twas one of his beloved Diverſions too, to go a Swimming, for which he has a delicate Pond, at five or ſix Miles diſtance from his Court, into which none but himſelf, and the Lords, or other Great Perſons and Favourites (which he invites) do go. Hither he carried our General; and after ſome time ſpent in the Sports and Exerciſes of the Water, he gave him a Noble Banquet; which was all brought into the Pond, ſerv'd up, and eaten there upon the ſpot; neither wou'd the King let any of the Company ſtir out of the Water, till all was clear'd, tho' there was a matter of Five hundred Diſhes, and a proportionable quantity of Rack, and other ſtrong Liquors. He always call'd the General by the Name of *Orancaia Puto* (that is, the *White Lord*), and granted him free Acceſs to his Preſence at all times, without the Ceremony of waiting for his Creeſe; which is ordinarily ſent forth by the Hands of ſome Great Miniſter, to introduce all thoſe that come before the King.

He earneſtly deſired the General, to recommend him to the King of *England*, and tell him, He wou'd be very glad to have a Couple of fair Women out of his Country; for then (ſays he) if I get a Son by one of them, I'll make him King of *Priaman*, and all that Country from whence you fetch your Pepper; and ſo you ſhan't need to come to me, but may go to your own *Engliſh* King for theſe Commodities.

The Letter he ſent to our King was very finely ſet off with Painting, and curiouſly written in the Character of that Country; the Stile of it lofty and ſwelling, ſtuff'd with high Titles, and ſplendid Characters of his own Riches and Greatneſs; according to the manner of theſe Eaſtern Princes, who ever fill up half almoſt of their Letters, and Publick Writings, with pompous Enumerations of this kind.

The Copy of it is here added, as well to ſhew a ſignal Example of the Oſtentation, and Vain-glory, which appears to be ſo natural to theſe Parts of the World, as to diſcover the Acceptance and Welcome of our Nation at that time in this Country, and the proſpect of a happy Commerce between both.

The Letter is thus Engliſhed:

The King of *Achen's* Letter. *July.*

PEducka Sirie Sultan, *King of Kings, Renowned for his Wars, and ſole King of* Sumatra, *and a King more famous than his Predeceſſors, feared in his Kingdom, and honoured of all bordering Nations; in whom there is the true Image of a King, in whom Reigns the true Method of Government, formed as it were of the moſt pure Metal, and adorned with the moſt fineſt Colours; whoſe Seat is high, and moſt complete, like to a Chryſtal River, pure and clear as the Chryſtal Glaſs; from whom floweth the pure Stream of Bounty and Juſtice; whoſe Preſence is as the fineſt Gold, King of* Priaman, *and of the Mountain of Gold,* viz. Solida, *and Lord of nine ſorts of Stones, King of two* Sombrieroes *of beaten Gold, having for his Seats Mats of Gold; his Furniture for his Horſes and Armour for himſelf, being likewiſe of pure Gold. His Elephant with Teeth of Gold, and all Proviſions thereunto belonging: His Launces half Gold, half Silver, his ſmall Shot of the ſame; a Saddle alſo for another Elephant of the ſame Metal: A Tent of Silver, and all his Seals half Gold half Silver. His Veſſels for Bathing of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (whereas his Predeceſſors had all theſe half Gold half Silver), his Services complete of Gold and Silver. A King, under whom there are many Kings, having taken the King of* Arrow: *All the Country of* Priaman, Tecoo, Barouſe, *being ſubdued by him, is now under his Command: Seventy Elephants, and much Proviſions carried by Sea, to make his Wars at* Arrow, *where God gave me more Victory than any of my Predeceſſors.*

This Great King ſendeth this Letter of Salutation to James, *King of* Great Britain, *viz.* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *to ſignifie the great Content he hath received by his Highneſs's Letter, delivered by the Hands of* Arancaia Pulo, Thomas Beſt, *His Majeſty's Embaſſador, at the Receipt whereof, his Eyes were ſurprized with a Celeſtial Brightneſs, and his Spirits raviſhed with a Divine Joy: The opening thereof rendred a Savour more fragrant than the moſt odoriferous Flowers, or ſweeteſt Perfumes in the World. For which cauſe, I the Great King of* Sumatra, *do profeſs my ſelf to be of one Heart, of one Mind, and of one Fleſh, with the moſt potent Prince* James *King of* England; *and do earneſtly deſire, that the League begun, may be continued to all Poſterities. And herein I take my greateſt Felicity, there being nothing in the World more pleaſant or joyful to me. And for a Teſtimony of my Deſire, that the League and Amity begun may be continued betwixt us, I have returned this Letter unto your Majeſty, making alſo my Prayers unto the Great* GOD, *for the continuance of the ſame. And it ſhall be my greateſt Honour to receive Memorial from ſo great a Potentate, and ſo remote a Nation. And for a Pledge of my Love and Honour, and Continuance of our League, I ſend your Majeſty a Creeſe wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beaten Gold, with a Ring of Stones, an Aſſagaya of Swaſs, half Copper half Gold, eight Purſlan Diſhes ſmall and great, of Camphire one Piece of Sowring-ſtuff, three Pieces of Callicoe-Lawn: Which your Majeſty accepting as from a Brother, I ſhall reſt ſatisfied, and much honoured. And ſo with my Prayers to the Great* GOD, *Creator of Heaven and Earth, for your Majeſty's long Life, with Victory over your Enemies, and Proſperity in your Land.*

Given at our Palace of *Achen*, the 1022 Year of *Mahomet*, by the Account of the *Moors*.

Having laid now this happy Foundation for a Trade, in the procurement of the King's Grant for that purpoſe; we went away from *Achen* towards the other Trading Places of this Iſland, in order to the building and proceeding thereupon. We had free Liberty to go to *Teco*, *Priaman*, *Paſſaman*, or any where; having the King of *Achen*'s Letter along with us, no place dar'd deny us Trade and good Entertainment.

Go to *Teco*, *Priaman*, &c. *October.*

Our firſt Courſe accordingly was to *Teco*, from whence the *Hoſiander* was diſpatch'd to *Priaman*, and another Company to *Paſſaman*, upon the ſame Deſign: But this laſt place prov'd ſo very unhealthful to us, that we were quickly forc'd to come away, and quit our Pretenſions to a Factory there. The Air has ſo much malignity in it, and the Water ſo very bad too, that 'twere better for our Nation to blot the Name of *Paſſaman* out of the Liſt of her Trading Places, than for a little advantage (which may as well be gotten other where), to expoſe ſo many Lives, which might do good Service in a more benign Climate.

Dragon goes to *Bantam*.

The *Dragon* traded at *Tecoo* for 120 Tun of Pepper; from whence ſhe went for *Bantam*, while the *Hoſiander* ſtaid there to make Sale of the *Surat* Commodities.

Sails home. *A. D.* 1614.

At *Bantam* the ſame Ship traded for 17000 Bags of Pepper, at 13 Dollars *per* Bahar; and having finiſh'd her Concerns, ſail'd directly from thence for *England*, coming into the *Thames* the ſame Day ſix Months, that ſhe ſet Sail out of *Bantam* Road.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Twelfth Voyage ſet out by the Eaſt-India *Company, with the good Ship the* Expedition, *under the Command of Capt.* Chriſtopher Newport, *Written by Mr.* Walter Payton.

[This is ſubjoyn'd in the next place after the former, becauſe the Eleventh is wholly omitted, as not offering the Reader any thing much worth his Notice.]

January. *A. D.* 1612.

WE ſet Sail from *Graveſend* in the beginning of *January*, having aboard us Sir *Robert Shirley*, the *Perſian* Embaſſador, and Sir *Thomas Powell* then going into *Perſia*, with their ſeveral Retinues; all which were to land upon the Coaſt of that Country, and ſo purſue our Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

July. *A. D.* 1613.

Moyela Iſle. See Captain *Saris's* Account of this Iſland and People.

Having viſited the ſeveral uſual Places of Refreſhment in this Voyage, along the Coaſt of *Africk*, and the Iſle St. *Lawrence*, we ſail'd from this laſt directly to the Iſle of *Moyela*, which is commonly reckon'd one of the *Comora* Iſlands, a place of good Entertainment, and the People very civil and courteous to us. They ſeem'd to expreſs a very great Averſion for the *Portugueze*; and pretended, that they wou'd infallibly cut the Throats of all that Nation that came thither; and tho' I don't doubt but the Deportment of the *Portugueze* may be rude and bad enough to deſerve ſuch a Treatment as that, yet I believe at this time, the People had not altogether ſo much Choler and Indignation againſt them as they pretended; but rather did it becauſe they knew we hated them, and thought we ſhou'd be eaſier in our Dealings with them, to find them ſuch inveterate Enemies to our Enemies. For at the ſame time, to the beſt of my Obſervation, they traded with the *Portugueze* up and down, tho' they did it very ſlily, and in the dark; and 'tis very probable, that ſo violent an Enmity as they pretended, wou'd have rooted out all Inclinations to Traffick, and common Correſpondence with them. But they are *Moors*; and that not only in Complexion, but Religion too; and a Grain of Diſſimulation is to be allow'd them at leaſt, upon each of thoſe two Accounts.

Some of the better ſort of them ſpeak the *Portugueze* very well (which by the way is a good proof, that they are no Strangers to one another); and 'twas by the aſſiſtance of this, that we had any Converſe with them; for their own Tongue is a kind of a corrupted *Moriſco*, difficult to learn, eſpecially not to be any thing tolerably attain'd in ſo ſhort a time as we ſtaid there: Yet I took notice of theſe following Words, which may be of uſe to thoſe that go thither, to call for common Proviſions, when a Man does not either underſtand the *Portugueze* himſelf, or elſe is concern'd with the ordinary People, that are ignorant of it too.

Some common things in the *Moyela* Tongue.

A Bullock, they call *Gumbey*; a Goat, *Buz*; a Hen, *Coquo*; Oranges, *Tudah*; Limons, *Demon*; Water, *Mage*; Coco-Nuts, *Sojavoye*; Plantans, *Figo*; Pines, *Queneme*; Paper, *Cartaſſa*; Needles, *Siuzano*; Bracelets, *Arembo*; the King, *Soutan*: Which ſeems to be only the corruption of the Word *Sultan*, the common Term for a Prince all over the *Mahometan* World.

Others of them alſo ſeem to be broken *Latin*, and *Arabick* Words; as *Cartaſſa*, from the *Latin*, *Charta*; and *Mage*, from the *Arabick*, *Moia*. And 'tis probable, that the whole Tongue, at preſent, is nothing but a Medley of *Arabick* and *Portugueze*, (with a ſhare of their own barbarous *Moriſco*, or whatever it be) ſince their Religion has concern'd them with the former of thoſe Languages, and their Trade in the World with the latter.

So they did of Capt. *Saris*.

'Tis Cuſtomary for them at this Iſland, to deſire the *Europeans* that come to Viſit them, to leave behind them a Letter of Commendations of their Entertainment there; this Favour they requeſted of us; and we obliged them in granting it; adding only ſome neceſſary Cautions to thoſe that might come after us, not to expoſe themſelves to any ſort of danger, by an over-great Confidence in the *Moyelians*.

Iſles *Curia Muria*.

Horrible Fogs *Auguſt*.

Doffar.

Reſcit.

We deſign'd to have ſail'd from hence to *Zoccotora*; but having miſs'd that Iſland, we went on for the Iſles of *Curia Muria*, in 18 Degr. North Lat. lying over-againſt the Waſte of *Arabia Felix*. Through this whole Courſe, the Air was ſo horribly thick and dark with Fogs, that we had not the leaſt Glimpſe of Sun or Stars, and cou'd not ſee half a Mile before us upon the Water. We had no way poſſible to help our ſelves in this diſtreſs, but by the Lead, and Obſervations of the changing Colour of the Water, and ſometimes the Weeds and Graſs that floated upon the Surface of it; by this means we made a ſhift to gueſs our way towards the Land, which at laſt prov'd to be near the City of *Doffar*, in *Arabia Felix*. The Weather clearing up too, we diſcover'd a good Road to Anchor in, which was at *Reſcit*, a little Town not far from *Doffar*. The *Arabs* of theſe places were exceeding kind and friendly to us, giving us all the Entertainment and uſeful Inſtructions, about the Country, that we cou'd deſire. The Governour of *Doffar* came down, and carried on the Civility, bringing all the Varieties of Proviſion along with him that the Country wou'd afford; he expreſs'd much Joy that he had ſuch an Opportunity to teſtifie his Reſpects to us, and gave us full Liberty to go aſhore any where in the Country within the Bounds of his Juriſdiction.

Cape *Reſoit*, that takes its Name from the place adjoyning, is in 16 Degr. 38 Min. North Lat. there's good Anchorage there, and freedom from all Winds, except from E. to the S. by E.

Here alſo we were deſired to leave a Teſtimony of our courteous Entertainment, for the Reputation of the Country, and the Encouragement of other Ships that might come thither; which reaſonable Requeſt we willingly complied with.

September.

From hence we went Coaſting along the *Arabian* Shore towards *Perſia*, hoping to find ſome ſafe and convenient place thereabouts, for the landing of the Embaſſadors.

Mazira Iſle.

Cape *Raſalgat*

We obſerv'd in this Courſe the Iſle *Mazira*, lying cloſe to *Arabia*, to be in 23 Degr. 30 Min. North Lat. and the Variation 20 Degr. 10 Min. The Eaſtermoſt part of *Arabia Felix*, call'd Cape *Raſalgat*, in Lat. 22 Degr. 34 Min. Variation 19 Degr. 20 Min.

Being got into the Gulf, we had quickly ſight of the Coaſt of *Perſia*, having at that time 25 Degr. 10 Min. Lat. and Variation, 18 Degr. 30 Min.

Country of the *Baluches*.

Coming near the Shore, a Company was ſent out to make ſome Diſcoveries of the Country; by whom we receiv'd Information, that the Country before us was call'd *Getche Macquerene*, and the People *Baluches*, under the Government of a King that was Tributary to the *Perſian*, and had his chief Reſidence at the Port of *Guador*. The Natives told them alſo, That their King wou'd ſee the Lord Embaſſador ſafely conducted to the King of *Perſia*'s Court at *Spahawn*; but adviſ'd us for that purpoſe to ſail on to *Guador*, which was beſides the beſt and moſt convenient place for the landing of our *Perſian* Company. This Account was ſo harmoniouſly given by all the People about upon that Coaſt, that we reſolv'd to proceed directly to *Guador*; tho' we cou'd procure no Pilot amongſt them, and were not well acquainted with that Coaſt our ſelves.

Teradas, great Boats.

Sailing on thitherwards in the beſt manner we cou'd, we got ſight of two great *Teradas*, or *Baluche* Boats, which were ſailing along the Shore to *Ormus*; to theſe we ſent out our Skiff, with no other deſign than only to get a Pilot out of one of them, by fair means, if poſſible; but if not, by force.

Rudeneſs of the *Baluches*.

The *Baluches* wou'd not let the Skiff come near them, nor return any Civil Anſwer to the common Salutations of the Sea; and when our Men fired a Piece at random, with a deſign to fright them into a little more compliance, they return'd it with another direct Shot at the Skiff, and a whole Shower of Arrows in to the bargain. Upon this the Skiff was forc'd to return, and the Boat was diſpatch'd to manage the Point with the *Teradas*; which ſhe did ſo effectually, that one of them was driven a-ground, the moſt part of her Men deſperately flinging themſelves into the Sea: The other had had the ſame Fate too, if the Boat had not ſav'd her, and brought her off. The Maſter of this *Terada* (his Life and Fortune being in our power) we eaſily perſwaded, upon reaſonable Terms, to be our Pilot to *Guador*; we obliging the *Terada* at the ſame time to go along with us thither, that ſo the News of our being in theſe Parts, might not be ſpread about the Gulf, and alarm the *Portugueze*; who might poſſibly, (had they been rouz'd) have come with a Force, that might have given us a fatal diſturbance.

The *Portugueze* abſolute Command of the Seas.

'Tis to be noted, that the *Portugueze* do hold all the Country hereabout in ſtrange Subjection, and not a Ship or a *Terada* dares ſail without their Licence: Nay, more than that, they have it fix'd in their Paſſes, what places they ſhall go to, what Commodities they carry, how long the Paſs ſhall continue in force, and all theſe things are regiſtred in their Offices at the Caſtle of *Muſcat*: This we diſcover'd by the peruſal of a *Portugueze* Paſs, which this *Terada* that we took carried along with her. All this while our Apprehenſions of the Place and People (we were going amongſt) continued the ſame that they were upon the former repeated Teſtimonies of the Natives; for our Pilot, and all the *Baluches* aboard us, ſpoke exactly the ſame Language with them, and had they all laid their Heads together in one Plot, they cou'd not have been more nicely in one Tale than they were.

Come to *Guador*.

With our firſt Thoughts and Hopes therefore we arriv'd at *Guador*; and here the Governour told us (by a Meſſenger) the ſame Story as before, together with ſo much Welcome and Careſs in to the Bargain, that we were now paſt all doubt of being come to the right place that was to ſerve our purpoſe.

But to lay the finer Varniſh over their Deſigns, he ſent to Complement the Lord Embaſſador in a very ſolemn manner, promis'd him a Guard to *Spahawn*; order'd ſeveral Preſents and Proviſions to be brought aboard; and all this he declar'd, the King his Maſter was very glad to do, as well out of reſpect to the Embaſſador, as to expreſs his Loyal Regard to the King of *Perſia* his Sovereign.

All theſe things looking with ſo good an Aſpect, the Embaſſador was ſo far influenc'd by them (being inſtigated too by an earneſt deſire to make what haſte he cou'd to the *Perſian* Court), that he forthwith ſent the beſt part of his Treaſure and Carriage aſhore with the *Baluche*-Boats that came for that purpoſe.

The Treachery of the *Baluches*.

The whole Cargoe was beſtowed in a Tent, particularly erected for the Reception of it, and ſecured there by ſome of his Lordſhip's Retinue, till he came himſelf in Perſon, which he intended to do the ſame Day.

It happen'd that while the Goods were carrying into the Tent, ſome of the *Baluches* ask'd the Embaſſador's Servants, Whether there was all or no? To which, when 'twas replied, That there was no more behind but Jewels, which wou'd come with the Embaſſador himſelf: Some of the Villains made Anſwer to their Fellows ſtanding by, That 'twas no matter, for there was enough already for Plunder for the Soldiers.

This was over-heard, and underſtood by a *Perſian* of the Retinue; and 'twas the firſt Step of the Plot diſcover'd: But immediately after that, it was reveal'd in its full length, and all its Particulars, to the ſame *Perſian*, by one, who it ſeems, had more Honeſty and Good Nature than the Barbarians he lived amongſt. Their Deſign was to have ſacrific'd the Embaſſador, and all the Company, except the Chirurgeons, Muſicians, and thoſe that wou'd have been uſeful to them; and after that, with a Fleet of *Teradas* to have fallen upon the Ship; and having gotten that into their Power to have diſpos'd of us in like manner. 'Twas a mighty happy Providence that our Skiff was at this very time a filling of Water by the ſhoar, ſo that our *Perſian* taking the Advantage of that help, quickly came and prevented our farther Danger by putting a full ſtop to our Motions; and it was as luckily tim'd as it could well be, for the Embaſſadour was juſt then a ſetting out, attended with all the beſt appearance the Ship could make. Thus our Lives were ſav'd, but his Lordſhips Goods were in the Hands of theſe vile People, and our next concern was for the redeeming of them.

Their Plot to right themſelves upon the *Baluches*,

In order to this we therefore ſent Word to the perfidious Vice-roy, that the Embaſſadour by reaſon of an illneſs, had defer'd his coming to the next Day, but deſired that then two or three Boats might be ſent for him and his Company, together with ſome of the Principal of the *Baluches*, and this in reſpect to his quality as the King of *Perſia*'s Embaſſadour. This propoſal was very readily agreed to; and promiſe made that the Embaſſadour's juſt deſire herein ſhould be punctually ſatisfied. But beſides this by the politick management of ſome of our Men, we got ſome of the moſt valuable things out of the Embaſſadour's Trunks aſhoar that ſame Night, without the leaſt diſcovery or ſuſpicion, which might well be performed, ſince a part of his own retinue had the overſight of them till he landed himſelf.

And more than that, another of the richeſt Cheſts was brought off clear by as good a Stratagem; the Servants pretending a preſent Occaſion their Lord had for ſomething contain'd in it, and in the room of it leaving another (for all that the Baluches knew fill'd with Gold and Jewels) but indeed with Stones, Billets and Rubbiſh; which all paſs'd well enough, and the Plotters ſmelt nothing of a Plot upon themſelves. The next Morning the Boats came according to the appointment; and the conſiderable Men of the Baluches were no ſooner aboard, but they deſired to ſee the Gun-room, which fell out very well too, for that was the Pound into which we had a mind to draw them. In ſhort having them faſt ſhut up here, we preſently ſiez'd all their Weapons, and then charg'd them with all the Particulars of their barbarous Deſign upon us, which they denied with all the forhead and obdurateneſs in the World, ſtanding ſtoutly in it that they deſign'd us no miſchief. However expecting another manner of Satisfaction than that, we diſpatch'd ſome of the meaner ſort of them with a Meſſage to the Vice-roy to this effect; that if he did not return all that belong'd to us both Goods and Men within the ſpace of two Hours, we would cut all thoſe Baluches in pieces that we had aboard the Ship; and this ſharp Meſſage produc'd the deſired Effect out of Hand; it ſcar'd him into a Surrender of his intended Prey, and forc'd him to be juſt whether he would or no. And thus by the Influences of a kind Providence upon our own good Conduct and Management, we eſcap'd the Effects of as villanous a piece of Treachery as perhaps was ever contriv'd. But this was no new thing it ſeems amongſt the Baluches, neither were we the firſt that they had practis'd thus upon; for as the honeſt Diſcoverer of this Plot (who alſo totally left them, and came away to us) told us they had drawn three Ships at this rate into their ſnares, ſince he had been amongſt them, and what miſchief they had done before of that kind, themſelves only know. And then they had impos'd upon us as much in pretending a Subjection to the King of *Perſia*, as they had in all the reſt of the fine Stories they told us; for they were at that time in actual Rebellion, had openly denied that Tribute which the Generations before them had all quietly paid, and ſuch was their Spleen againſt the King of *Perſia* that they had made it death for any Body but to name him amongſt them. And the Truth of all this had this demonſtration in Fact to clear it up; that the King of *Perſia* had then levied a mighty Army, which he deſign'd ſpeedily to employ in the enterpriſe of reducing thoſe Rebels to their former Obedience.

And the ſucceſs of it.

I have now done with thoſe baſe People, only taking notice of *Guador* the Capital City of their Province *Maquerona*. It is a convenient Port enough, and affords good Anchorage; it ſtands in about 25 Degrees North Latitude, and the varying is there ſeventeen Degrees fifteen Minutes.

They ſail forwards to India.

River *Sinde*, or the *Indus*.

Our expectations of landing the Embaſſadour here being fruſtrated, we ſail'd on towards *India*, and came to an Anchor near the City of *Diul*, in the Mouth of the River *Sinde*, in 24 Degrees 38 Minutes North Latitude, and our varying at the ſame place 16 Degrees 45 Min. Here is Lordſhip landed at laſt; the Governour entertaining him with all the Reſpect befitting his Character, and promiſing his beſt Aſſiſtance in furthering his Journey thro' that Country into *Perſia*. And having now diſcharged that truſt of ſetting him ſafe aſhoar, we were to attend the Affairs of Trade; which if it might be procured at that place, we had Commodities ready to vend there, but if not we would only refreſh and depart. This we deſired the Embaſſadour to repreſent to the Governour as the Sum of our Pretentions in coming to that place; which was accordingly done at the firſt ſolemn interview betwixt them. But 'twas impoſſible for this place to prove kind and favourable to us ſince the *Portugueze* had an Intereſt there; the Governour in all appearance would have been friendly to us, but their Malice blaſted all the Endeavours of his Kindneſs, and nipp'd our moſt promiſing Hopes in the end. The Embaſſabour zealouſly urging our Buſineſs was as warmly oppos'd by the *Portugueze* Miniſters; very high Words paſs'd between them, and they did not ſpare to tell him in plain Terms that he was a Pirate. This they ſaid upon an Information from *Ormus* that we had arreſted the *Baluchian Terada* in thoſe parts, tho' 'twas without any other Damage done than what thoſe ill People deſperately plunged themſelves into. And to Compliment the Embaſſadour a little further than this yet, they made a cheat of him too, as well as a Pirate; nay one of the worſt of cheats; for when he produc'd the King of *Spain*'s Paſs under his own Hand and Seal; they diſown'd it as a Counterfeit, and made no ſcruple to charge him with downright forgery. Theſe Abuſes were too foul to be endur'd with Patience by any Man that was innocent, much more by a Man that had Honour as well as Innocence to protect him from ſlander; and therefore as he eaſily juſtified himſelf, ſo he told ſo much of the Hiſtory and Circumſtances of the *Portugueze* Nation, as was ſufficient to leſſen that Opinion of their Grandeur which ſo many foreign Countries who knew no better had entertain'd.

Conteſt between Sir *Robert Shirley* and the *Portugueza*.

October. *Portugueza* endeavour to undermine them.

The Governour to carry it as ſteady as might be between both contending parties, tho' he ſeverely rebuked the *Portugueze* for their inſolent Carriage towards the Embaſſadour; yet would come to no final Reſolution about the Point of our Trade, till he had had a Conference with ſome of our Merchants upon that Subject. In the mean time the *Portugueze* labour'd by all imaginable ways to prevent our Encouragement and Settlement at *Diul*, ſometimes promiſing and ſometimes threatning the Governour to leave the place, and Trade there no more; and then again by abuſing and railing at the *Engliſh* in all the dirty and ſcandalous Terms that could be, to prejudice the People, and make them think we were as arrant Thieves and Raſcals as they repreſented us to be. On the other hand the Governour to teſtify his Reſpect to the *Engliſh* Nation, had us conducted to his Caſtle (where the Conference was to be) with the greateſt Solemnity and Splendour that could be; and whatever the *Portugueze* had done to diſgrace us, the People (as we paſs'd along) expreſs'd by many Signs that they had conceived no bad Opinion of us. But in ſhort the Reſult of the Debate was this, That we could not have any Trade at *Diul* this Voyage. He freely own'd the Intrigues of the *Portugueze* againſt us, and declar'd at the ſame time he would be glad to be rid of them, if he could introduce a Trade more Beneficial to the place in the room of theirs. But this was the Caſe, the *Portugueze* Trade was worth to them every Year 10000 pounds Sterling; and we had at this time brought ſo few Commodities, that the Profits coming from us would not amount to near the former Sum; and therefore for this Year at leaſt they muſt ſuffer conſiderably in their Revenues, if the *Portugueze* ſhould deſert the place as they had vowed they would. Beſides he urged that he did really farm the Cuſtoms of that Port of the *Mogul* his Maſter, being bound for the annual payment of ſo much Money into the Treaſury at *Agra*, whether his place yielded it or no; ſo that all the Deficiencies muſt either be made good out of his own Pocket, or he muſt take the Conſequences of it in his Prince's diſpleaſure, which might poſſibly be his undoing. But notwithſtanding he promis'd that we ſhould be admitted to a Free-Trade the next return of our Ships upon theſe two Conditions, that we came ſo provided that our Trade might make amends for the loſs of the *Portugueze*, and then that we gave him an Aſſurance that we would commit no act of hoſtility upon the Perſons, Ships or Goods of any belonging to the *Great Mogul*. This Treaty was confirm'd by Writings interchangeably deliver'd on both ſides, in which the Governour and we ſolemnly bound each other to make good the Articles before ſpecified.

The conditional Treaty.

The Commodities.

The Commodities required for that place were theſe: Broad-Cloths of all light Colours, Elephants Teeth, Iron, Tin, Lead, Steel and Spices. Thoſe which we ſhould deal for there, were Indicoes, Calicoes, Pintadoes, all ſorts of *Guzurat* and *Cambaya* Goods, and ſeveral kinds of Drugs.

This

The Commodities. *November.* Go for *Priaman* and *Tecu.*

This was all the Buſineſs we could now pretend to do at *Diul*, which therefore being done, we ſet ſail from thence for *Sumatra*. At *Priaman* we beat the Price of Pepper from twenty two to ſeventeen Rials *per* Bahar; but we bought no more than two Bahars, the unjuſt Governour pretending to make it the Condition of our Trade, that we ſhould preſent and gratifie almoſt all the Officers and Merchants round the Cuſtom-houſe. But being invited to *Tecoo* by one of our own Ships then there, with the Promiſe too of as much Pepper as we would care to lade, we went thither fill'd with Expectations of ſome very mighty doings But truly we found them troubled with the ſame Diſtemper as thoſe of *Priaman*, covetous, greedy, and gaping after Preſents, horribly exacting for Anchorage, and hoiſting up the price of their Pepper from 12 and 13 to twenty Rials *per* Bahar. Beſides, ſo intolerably trickiſh and abuſeful in their Delays too, that a Ship muſt be expos'd to great Inconveniencies to wait upon them and attend their leaſure.

We had no way to cure them of thoſe Diſtempers, but by weighing Anchor, and pretending to be gone; and then they could come after us faſt enough, and bring the Pepper aboard too in to the Bargain, whereas before we could not get any aſhoar.

December. Come to *Bantam.*

The Praws came ſo thick about us, and pour'd it in ſo faſt upon us, that we were held cloſely to it for four Days to weigh what they brought. We took to the quantity of 200 Bahars at eighteen Rials *per* Bahar, and two Rials Cuſtom for the Governour upon every Bahar.

January. Sail home for *England.* *July*, 1614.

We proceeded from hence to *Bantam*, where we provided the reſt of our Lading, and from thence ſet ſail for *England*; having all our Company we brought out not only alive, but in a good ſtate of Health too, which was never interrupted by any Sickneſs among us, till we croſs'd the Line the ſecond time in our Voyage from *Bantam*, and then the Scurvy broke out in the Ship: But we had quickly the Remedy of the comfortable ſight of our own Native Country.

CHAP. XXVII

An Account of the Second Voyage ſet forth by the United Stocks of the Eaſt-India Company. Taken chiefly out of the Journals of Captain Nicholas Downton. chief Commander herein, and Capt. Thomas Elkington, his Succeſſour in that Poſt.

Note, that now the Order of reckoning of the Voyages is alter'd; thoſe that are remaining being not ſet forth by particular Ships, Stocks or Factories, but by a Joint-ſtock, in which the whole Company was concerned. So that we call this the ſecond Voyage upon the Joint-ſtock. *March, A.D.* 1614. *July, A. D.* 1616. See Captain *Downton's* former Voyage in the *Pepper-Corn.* Difference between the varying now and formerly. See the varying of *Soldania*, in Mr. *Davis's* Direction for *Eaſt-India* Voyages. *Coree* marches off.

OUR Fleet conſiſted of theſe following good Ships, the *New-Years Gift*, Admiral, of 650 Tun, the *Hector*, Vice-admiral of 500, the *Merchants Hope* of 300, the *Soolmon* of 200, all very well furniſh'd and provided for the Exigencies of ſuch a Voyage.

In our paſſage to the Bay of *Soldania*, I obſerved ſome ſurpriſing differences between the varying now, and what it was ſome Years ago, when I ſail'd this way in the *Pepper-Corn*, which inclin'd me (when we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Soldania*) to order ſome further Obſervations to be made upon that matter. And accordingly we found upon trial one Degree 45 Minutes varying Weſterly, whereas for the moſt part by former Accounts, the varying at this place has been reckon'd Eaſterly. The Reaſon of this may lie in the dark, but the Matter of Fact is in as clear a Light as juſt obſervation can ſet it. We loſt here the Company of *Coree* the *Soldanian*; who having been tranſported into *England*, had lived there a pining diſcontented Life, and could never be eaſie till he was brought back again to the beaſtly Company of the *Soldanians*. All the good uſage of the *Engliſh*, all the Toys and Trifles given to pleaſe him; Sports, Company, good Victuals and Apparel, ſignified nothing to this Brute out of his own dirty Element. Nothing could make him a ſufficient amends for the loſs of thoſe agreeable Pleaſures and Diverſions which his Native Soil afforded him. To run about the Woods with the reſt of that wild and brutiſh Herd, to dance and roul in the Mud, and eat raw Guts and Garbage: To be dreſs'd in Sheep-ſkins, according to his Country mode, and rubb'd all over with Graſs and Cow-dung: Theſe Enjoyments the poor Creature droop'd and quite languiſh'd after, and could not poſſibly hold out any longer in that State of cruel ſeparation from them.

To eaſe him therefore of his Burthens he was brought back hither again, where we had his company for a little while, but then he pack'd up all his things, and went up into the Country, promiſing to be with us again, tho' we never ſaw him after that time. So 'tis poſſible that either he was ſo powerfully engaged by the Pleaſures of his happy ſtate then renew'd upon him, that he was not able to break looſe from them ſo long as while he viſited us; or elſe that the *Soldenians* knock'd him o'th Head, as one that they ſuſpected to have loſt the purity of the manners and breeding of his own Country, by a debauching Acquaintance with another.

Auguſt. Go to St. *Auguſtine* Bay.

When we came to St. *Auguſtine's* Bay, all the People unanimouſly quitted their Habitations, and run away from us with as much haſt as if we had come with a deſign to murder them. However at laſt they recover'd ſo much ſpirit as to come and ſhew themſelves, and by degrees were bold enough to come and venture upon a little Trade with us, we having no farther deſign upon them, than that came to, in order to the procuring ſome Neceſſaries for our refreſhment.

September. To *Zocotora.*

We ſail'd from hence to the Iſland of *Zocotora*, where the King receiv'd us in a very civil manner. He inform'd us of the Stirs and Tumults in the *Eaſt-Indies* at this time; how the *Great Mogul* and the Kings of *Decan*, &c. had join'd their Powers together to root the *Portugueze* out of the Country, who had lately robb'd one of their Ships with three Millions of Treaſure. The News of Captain *Beſt's*, Victory over them too, was ſpread all about theſe parts, to the no little Advantage and Encreaſe of the *Engliſh* Nation's eſteem amongſt them. I dealt with the King for 2722 pounds of Aloes; and having taken the ſmall Refreſhment *Zocotora* could afford us, we purſued our Voyage to the *Indies*. When we came hither we found the Affairs of this Country in no little diſorder as the King of *Zocotora* had inform'd us; the *Mogul's* Forces had actually laid ſiege to *Damon* and *Diu*, two Cities held by the *Portugueze* in thoſe parts, and Preparations were making for other Attempts againſt them. Only the *Mogul* having beſtowed the command of his Army upon *Mocrebchan*, it look'd as if the War would not be carried on with ſo much warmth and vigour; that corrupt Miniſter being a favourer of the *Portugueze*, and one of their moſt uſeful tools for carrying on their Deſigns formerly at Court. He was alſo at this time Governour of *Surat*, and all the Country adjoining, which fell out very ill for us; he being as much the profeſſed Enemy of our Nation as he was the under-hand Friend of th *Portugueze*. Theſe croſs Circumſtances on every Hand, made our Affairs not a little troubleſome and intricate; the ſincere Friendſhip of *Mocrel-chan* was hardly to be hoped for, and his pretended Kindneſs was as little to be eſteem'd and truſted to, and yet nothing could be done without him, his Authority in all thoſe parts being ſo conſiderable. However ſome Attempts were to be made, and all fair Endeavours to be us'd, to ſweeten his ill Temper if poſſible, and make him our Friend, at leaſt not an Adverſary to our Intereſt and Trade.

Come to *Surat.* Wars in India. *October.*

Conference between Captain *Downton* and the *Indian* Commiſſionert.

In order to the accompliſhing of this, I went aſhoar to confer with a great Man ſent down by him for that purpoſe; but knowing that the Humour of this Country is ſuch, that they'll hear no Diſcourſe of this kind that is not well prefac'd with Gifts and Preſents, I made that neceſſary Introduction with a good Preſent both for himſelf and *Mocrel-chan*. When we came to the Point, I made my Demands for the enlargement of ſeveral Privileges, and the leſſening of our Cuſtom; and particularly that we might be allow'd a Market at *Barcch*, for the Convenience of our People; and that according to the Tenor of the *Mogol's* Firman before given. But none of all theſe Demands, as far as I could find, were likely to be ſatisfied;

as for the leſſening of our Cuſtom, that could not be done, becauſe the King had farm'd it out to a certain Officer that gave ſo much *per Annum* for it, who to be ſure would never yield to the diminiſhing of his own profits. As for the Market (he replied) we might have that for ſome particular ſorts of Proviſion, but not for Beefs and Kine (which was that which we only wanted it for) becauſe the *Bannians* who in their Principles are againſt the ſhedding the Blood of any Animal, had bargain'd with the King for ſo much a Year, that the Lives of all thoſe Creatures might be ſpar'd. Now this was manifeſtly to croſs and thwart us under a pretence of yielding and being kind to us; for tho' the *Bannians* are fooliſh and ſuperſtitious enough to do as much as that comes to, yet why ſhould not they be as tender of the Lives of Sheep and Goats, as of Oxen and Bullocks, and why did they pay the price of the Lives of juſt thoſe very Animals that moſt ſuited our Neceſſities, and not of the reſt that we did not care for? Beſides, I never knew that we were under any ſuch reſtraint in *India* before; and 'twas odd that the Superſtitious Humour of the *Bannians* ſhould work ſo violently juſt at that time, and at that particular place too, where the Conveniencies of our Affairs principally required a Market. But the great thing that lay upon Hand, was for us to aſſiſt them in their War againſt the *Portugueze*; if we would ſtrike in with them here, any favour ſhould be done us, and we ſhould find *Mocreb-chan* as kind as we could deſire.

Some of the *Engliſh* Merchants go to *Mocrebchan*.

In ſhort, this Perſon had either no Power or no Will to grant us any thing; and therefore there was but one Card more to be played, and that was to ſend ſome of my Company (with due Inſtructions) along with him to *Mocreb-chan* himſelf, that we might hear his Sence and Determinations concerning us immediately from his own Mouth. At this Conference the ſame Demands were made on both ſides as before; on ours as to the matter of Trade, and on theirs as to the Buſineſs of engaging in their quarrel againſt the *Portugueze*. This Point *Mocreb-chan* inſiſted upon with ſo much eagerneſs and concern, that all our Succeſs turn'd upon this hinge, and no other Conſideration appear'd to be of any moment in the determination of our Affairs.

Portugal was at that time ſubject to *Spain*; the Grand Revolt not being till about *A. D.* 1640.

Our Deputies according to their Inſtructions, told him that there being Peace at that time between us and the King of *Spain*, for us without any juſt provocation to fall upon the *Portugueze* (Subjects to that Crown) would be to act unjuſtly, and violate the Articles of that League which was eſtabliſh'd betwixt the two Countries. That in caſe the *Portugueze* came and bid us defiance, or offer'd any Violence or Affront that would juſtifie the taking up Arms againſt them, he ſhould find us not backward to expreſs our juſt Reſentments, and treat them as they deſerv'd. But in the mean time we could not with any Face of Juſtice or Reaſon, have the leaſt concern in any act of hoſtility; much leſs could we openly draw a Sword againſt them in Compliment to the *Indians*, who had done ſo.

Mocrebchan won't grant the *Engliſh* Demands, becauſe they won't fall out with the *Portugueze*.

Being therefore thus reſolved to be Friends to Juſtice, we muſt unavoidably loſe the Friendſhip of *Mocreb-chan*; for he diſmiſs'd our Men with this ſhort Anſwer, That ſince we would do nothing for him, he would do nothing for us. Not that there was any manner of Reaſon to believe that this Man was tranſported with ſo wonderful a Zeal for his Prince's Honour and Intereſt, as to be thus angry with us becauſe we would not be of his Prince's ſide; for he had no ſuch mortal hatred to the *Portugueze*, neither was he ever ſo fond of his Maſters Glory. But the Buſineſs was, that whatever Kindneſs he might have for the *Portugueze*, he had a greater for himſelf and his own Honour, and if by our Aſſiſtance he could have got ſome Victory over them, and ſo made a further ſtep into his Prince's Favour and Good Opinion, he would gladly have done it, and what cared he then for the Anger or Reproaches of the *Portugueze*? His Buſineſs was to do himſelf a good turn, and a Man of ſuch a treacherous ambitious Temper, would not ſtick at overturning *Portugueze*, or *Engliſh*, or any elſe that lay in his way, when his own Intereſt was to be ſerv'd by the ruin of others. However upon our refuſing to join in this Action, *Mocrebchan* was very greatly our Enemy, and ſet himſelf to do us all the diſcourteſies he could; he vilified the Preſents ſent by his Majeſty to the *Mogul*; he reſtrain'd our Trade, and abus'd our Merchants himſelf with ill Language, and his Guard (who durſt not do it without his Order or Connivance) by open violence. The Jeſuits too, who never fail'd to do us all good Offices of that kind, did all that could be to encreaſe his Jealouſies, that we would join with the *Portugueze* againſt him.

November.

For tho' they never uſe to ſet any value upon the Friendſhip of the *Engliſh* Nation, yet at this Juncture, to do us a Miſchief, they would pretend to it; and therefore they told *Mocrebchan* that the Vice-roy of *Goa* had ſent Word, that unleſs he made Peace with him, he and the *Engliſh*, his Friends and Allies would both fall upon him. This was a wicked Artifice, and the higheſt Expreſſion of Enmity that could be, in that Circumſtance to claim ſuch an Intereſt in our Friendſhip and Alliance. But after all theſe croſs and contrary Events notwithſtanding, the Scene changed at laſt in Favour of us: For the *Mogul*'s Firmans came empowering us to Trade, and ſo all things ran in the right Channel. Now were his Majeſties Preſents order'd to be forthwith diſpatch'd to *Agra*; the Merchants were entertain'd in honourable ſort, and preſented by *Mocrebchan*; all paſt miſ-underſtandings ſeem'd to be forgotten, and nothing remain'd but ſweetneſs and careſs. He ſent his Preſents to me a-Ship-board, and quickly after paid the other part of the Complement by his Son, who came to deſire an interview aſhoar. This friendly Correſpondence between us and the Country was renew'd in a happy time for them, conſidering the ſtorm that now threaten'd to beat upon them, and from the fury of which they had no other Protectours but our ſelves. For now certain Advices came that the *Portugueze* Vice-roy was coming from *Goa*, with all the Force of that Nation, to purſue the War begun; and 'twas certain that they had actually done great damage at *Goga*, having burnt the Town and ſeveral Villages about it, beſides ten great Ships and 120 ſmall Veſſels. 'Twas expreſly ſaid too, that the Armado was ſet out upon our account as much as the *Indians*, and that they came to drive us away as well as to chaſtiſe the others; for 'tis not at all unlikely, that the Jeſuits that told *Mocreb-chan* we were Friends to the *Portugueze*, ſent the *Portugueze* Word that we were Friends to (and would ſtand by) *Mocrebchan*. That Miſchief that was done at *Goga*, was done by a Squadron of Frigats, that came out before the main Fleet; there was about twenty two of them in all, and after that Action they came and Anchor'd in ſight of us in the Rivers Mouth. Here they did all the little villanies they could, chaſing up and down the *Indian* Boats, and firing ſome few Houſes that lay ſcattering upon the River, all which time we lay ſtill and made no Pretences to gainſay them. Some little bickering happen'd between one of our Ships and them, upon the occaſion of a Granado of the *Portugueze*; but we came to no Action, we not thinking it prudent to weaken our ſelves by ſpending upon a part, that muſt quickly be forc'd to fight the whole Fleet together.

The *Mogul's* Firmans come.

December.

The *Portugueze* Fleet coming towards *Surat.*

January. The *Portugueze* Fleet comes all up.

The reſt of the Frigats came in quickly after, and they were ſoon follow'd by the Vice-roy himſelf, with all the more formidable part of their Sea-Force. Their ſtrength conſiſted of ſix Galleons, three Ships, two Gallies, and ſixty Frigats, a very unequal match for our four Ships. But beſides the Advantage of their vaſt number, they had ſeveral others every whit as conſiderable; for out of that great Fleet the Vice-roy could ſupply his fighting Ships with Men as faſt as any were kill'd or diſabled; but 'twas impoſſible for us to do ſo, we having no more than what the neceſſary Offices of our Ships required; beſides in the *Portugueze* Fleet, there was a diſtinction between Souldiers and Mariners; they had Slaves and Inferiour Fellows to do all the burdenſome ſervile Work, the Souldiers being kept freſh and in good Heart; but with us the Souldiers and the Sailors were the ſame Perſons, Men half tired and ſpent with heaving at Capſtain, getting up Anchors, ſetting of Sails, and various other toilſome Works, which may be well ſuppos'd to unfit Men for ſo hot action as they were to be engag'd in. The *Portugueze* Fleet was no ſooner come to an Anchor in the Road, but *Mocrebchan* (terrified with the Proſpect of ſuch a Power) ſent Meſſengers to the Vice-roy to treat of a peace; and the better to perſwade him to it, urg'd him (amongſt other arguments) with that of Gifts and Preſents. This was what the Vice-roy wanted; but ſeeing the fear and deſpicable cowardice of *Mocrebchan*, he ſtood off with all the ſeeming ſtifneſs and averſion that could be; braving and inſulting ſo much the more, as he perceiv'd the other diſpos'd to cring and court him to a Peace. And *Mocrebchan* was e'en willing upon any Terms to compound and make up the matter with the Vice-roy, ſo black were his Apprehenſions of the Conſequences of this War: For he and all the Country abſolutely deſpair'd of our being able to do any thing in their defence againſt ſo mighty an Adverſary; they believ'd it would be but ſport and play to that vaſt Fleet to ſink and take ours, or do any thing to them that they had a mind to do. On the other hand, the Preſumption of the Vice-roy was as great as their deſpair, and that was one Reaſon why he rejected *Mocrebchan*'s Propoſals; be-

Mocrebchan wou'd make peace with the Vice-roy.

cauſe after he had conquer'd us, which he made no doubt of, ſhe ſhou'd appear ſo much the more formidable to the *Indians*, and force them to a Submiſſion upon more advantageous Terms.

The Fight begins.

As for our ſelves, having taken all due Meaſures for our Defence and Security in this difficult and diſadvantageous Conflict; with the concurrent Approbation of all our Captains and Maſters, as the beſt Courſe to be taken, I commanded one of my Ships, the *Hope*, at low Water, to move towards the Adverſary, to prepare them for ſome Attempt, and ſtood after her with the other three Ships, upon the coming on of the Flood. The *Portugueze* preſently thinking that we had been all contriving to run away, made out as the Stream wou'd permit them to ſtop our Motions, and the *Hope* being foremoſt, they immediately attack'd her with three of their great Ships, the two Gallies, and the beſt part of the Frigats; the Galleons alſo making after as faſt as they cou'd for the Sands. By that time we came up to her defence, the Enemy had boarded her with a good number of Men; but they quickly found themſelves in a great Streight, how and where to diſpoſe of themſelves; for they cou'd neither ſtay in the *Hope*, nor get back again to their own Ships, for our great and ſmall Shot which we threw pretty plentifully in upon them. As the beſt courſe they could take therefore in this extremity, they very fairly leaped overboard, truſting to their own Ships to fiſh them up as they cou'd, tho' a great number of them were drown'd, and a much greater (at leaſt the more conſiderable part of them for quality) loſt their Lives in the encounter aboard the *Hope*.

Having thus fail'd of taking the *Hope* this way, they reſolv'd, if poſſible, to ſet her a-fire, and to accompliſh it, they ſet ſome of their own into a light Flame; but theſe flaming Ships which were intended to be let looſe upon ours, drove quite from us, and run a-ground upon the Sands, where they continued burning till the next Flood quench'd them.

We had five Men kill'd, and ſome few wounded, and the Tackling of ſome of our Ships prejudic'd, which was the Sum of all the Loſs we ſuſtain'd by that Day's Action.

And tho' the *Portugueze* were as ready to leave off fighting as we, yet had it not been for the Injuries the *Hope* had receiv'd in the firſt Onſet, I had not diſcharged them ſo, nor let the Vice-Roy have retired, before I had exchanged a Gun or two with himſelf.

The Country was not a little revived, to ſee the Diſpute ſo ſucceſsfully managed againſt the *Portugueze*: Thus far *Mocrebchan* was by this time indifferently well recover'd of his Fright; and now began to Bounce as the Vice-Roy did before; declaring he had no mind to make Peace with them; and he never wou'd agree upon any Terms with them, but what ſhould be equally advantageous to us, and to themſelves. He ſent us in Proviſions too for our own Neceſſities; and Timber, what we wanted, for any Reparations of our Ships; and nothing in the World cou'd be more obliging to him than this Fight was; in the Honour of which he hop'd to have ſhare, tho' he had none in the Danger and hard Service of it.

The Jeſuits attempt to poyſon them.

In the mean time the Jeſuits took as much pains to provide our Deſtruction at Land, as their Friends the *Portugueze* had to ruine us at Sea; and ſince no other way was practicable at preſent, they attempted it by Poiſon; an Art which much Practice and Experience has rendred them very skilful in. The Governour of *Surat* was deſired by them to undertake the Active Part of the Work; but the Invention and Contrivance they wou'd furniſh him with; and that was to poiſon the Well, from whence we had all our Water. But he a Man of juſt and honourable Principles, deteſting in his Heart ſo baſe a Villany, rejected the Propoſal with Indignation, and forthwith came and told us of the Deſign. And that we might live ſecure, and know by an infallible Sign, whether the Jeſuits had ſecretly poiſon'd the Water or no; he told us, he had put ſome Tortoiſes into the Well; which by dying wou'd demonſtrate the abuſe of the Water.

The Portugueza loſs.

The *Portugueze* all this while lay ſtill as to any Attempt upon us; but the World was very buſie at the ſame time, in talking of them, and their Loſſes ſuſtain'd in the late Encounter. For the News came from *Damen*, that they had ſent 350 Men to be buried there; and by a modeſt Computation, we can't allow leſs than a hundred more kill'd and burnt in the Ships, beſides them that were drown'd.

They treat for Peace but ineffectually.

The *Perſians* at this time too were engag'd againſt them at *Ormus*; and at *Malacca* they had their Hands full with other Adverſaries: Upon all which Accounts they were now pretty well inclin'd to Peace, and 'twas high time, when the King of *Perſia*, the *Mogul*, and the *Engliſh*, were all in Arms againſt them together.

The Jeſuits eagerly follow'd the Buſineſs of making them and the *Mogul* Friends again, and wrought ſo far as to bring Matters to a Treaty; but the Pride and unjuſt Demands of the *Portugueze* ruin'd all: For whereas they had done prodigious Damages, they were ſo far from yielding to make any Satisfaction, that they demanded a vaſt Sum of Money from the *Mogul*: The Sence of which was, that they had been at ſome Charge to waſte and ſpoil his Country, and they wou'd be paid what they were out of Pocket upon that Account. So that now they ſtood upon the ſame Terms with one another as before, and the Vice-Roy accordingly ſent for more Supplies for carrying on of the War.

To ſpeak the truth, that Sum of Money ſo inſolently demanded by the *Portugueze*, if 'twas due any where, 'twas moſt juſtly due to us: For all the Streſs and Burthen of the War, lay upon our Shoulders; the *Indians* quarrell'd with them, but we were to fight; they had nothing to do but to guard the Shores, and look on, while we prodigally ſpent our Blood for the Service and Defence of the Country.

Perpetual Liberty of Trade, is certainly the leaſt Debt the *Mogul* owes the *Engliſh* Nation; and 'tis not immodeſt to ſay, that we have (as far as this comes to) purchas'd a Title to his Country, by being the undoubted Protectors of it.

It needs no proof, that the *Mogul*'s Force at Sea is very contemptible, eſpecially if compar'd with that of *Portugal*, a Nation of ſuch great Ability that way: And it is as eaſie to be conceiv'd, what wou'd have been the Conſequences of the *Portugueze* coming down upon them at *Surat*, without meeting an adverſe Power to bid them Defiance by the way.

Great Robbing in *India*. *February*. Commodities brought aboard.

Some of our Company, who had been diſpatch'd to ſeveral parts of the Country, upon the Concerns of Trade, had bought up conſiderable Quantities of Indico, as well as other Commodities. They found it very dangerous travelling, and were hardly able to paſs along ſafe, even with a good Guard, becauſe of the Resboots, or Gentile *Indians*, that were robbing every-where upon the Road. But notwithſtanding thoſe Thieves at Land, and the *Portugueze* watching us upon the Water, we got our Commodities ſafe aboard; which were (beſides Indico) black, white, and blew Baſtus, Candikens, Crecany, and Cotton-yarn.

Fire-ſhips come.

But the freſh Supplies ſent for by the Vice-Roy, were come at this time, and the Affairs of Trade muſt again be adjourn'd, and give place to thoſe of War. Theſe Supplies (as it afterwards appear'd), were more, and rather Fire-ſhips, than Fighting ones; and the *Portugueſe* deſpairing of worſting us any other way, had brought up theſe Machines, fill'd with all ſorts of combuſtible matter, to burn and blow us out of the Road. They plainly diſcover'd, that they were too ſenſible of the ill Conſequences of the paſt Engagement, to be forward to enter upon another, in a fair and open manner. For now they wou'd put up an Affront, and tamely bear to be inſulted and provok'd to fight; and I very often diſcharg'd one of my biggeſt Guns, directed to the very Prow of the Vice-Roy, to try his Temper; but he wou'd not ſtir.

The Portugueze plainly afraid to fight.

All their hopes of Succeſs againſt us, depending upon the happy management of the Fireſhips, they played that part with all the Policy in the World; giving us falſe Alarms, and drawing our Expectations of an Aſſault from them towards one particular Quarter, that ſo while we uſed our chief Care in guarding that way, they might drive their flaming Ships in upon us the contrary way. But they taught us by theſe Tricks how to defend ourſelves; and not making the Thruſt home where they pretended to offer it, we were caution'd to guard a leſs ſuſpected part.

They attempt to fire the *Engliſh* Ships.

And it was to very good purpoſe that we follow'd their Directions; for accordingly in the dark Night, the Machines having crept round about us, came driving along with the Tide directly upon us; which our Watch (beſtow'd that way) diſcovering at a reaſonable diſtance, we had timely Warning to prepare our ſelves for. They blew up as they paſs'd by us, and diſcharg'd a vaſt quantity of Murthering-ſtuff; but (God be prais'd) did no harm to any of our Ships.

They attempted us by the ſame Method two ſeveral times afterwards; but the Succeſs was ſtill the ſame; Diſappointment on their Parts, and happy Deliverance from the Danger on ours. Thus we were hitherto triumphant, both over the Power and Policy of that injurious People.

The Vice-Roy ſues for Peace, and is denied.

The Vice-Roy now (weary as well of the Shame, as the Diſadvantage of ſo many Baffles) began to think with ſome Concern how to diſengage himſelf; and ſo great was the abatement of his Stomach, by theſe Diſappointments, that he prov'd humble enough to make Motions for Peace.

This was a very ſurprizing Change; he that a few Days before, in the ſence and feeling of his own Strength, had promis'd himſelf ſo many glorious Victories, pretended to impoſe Laws upon the whole Country, and to be the ſole Diſpoſer of the Fate of it, was now the Country's humble Servant, and willing to be at Peace with her almoſt upon her own Terms.

But *Mocrebchan* (ſenſible of his Compliance) now took his turn to bounce and inſult, and acted juſt the ſame part that the Vice-Roy had before towards himſelf. In ſhort, he ſent him poſitive word, That he wou'd make no Peace with him: As alſo, that ſince he was not able with all his Fleet, to drive four *Engliſh* Merchant-men out of the Road, he wou'd be reckon'd a much leſs formidable Enemy by the Country for the future.

The Vice-Roy goes away.

The Vice-Roy was fain to take this Anſwer, ſince he cou'd get no better; and ſo leaving ſome of his Frigats to attend hereabouts, he ſet Sail with the reſt of the Fleet for *Goa*, carrying along with them the Glory of their Great Actions perform'd at *Surat*.

We had now no other Occaſions to detain us here, but only to fit up our Ships (that wanted it), into a Condition for the proſecution of our Voyage to other parts. But the *Indians*, who look'd upon us as the Guard and Strength of their Country in this Juncture, wou'd not be brought to conſent we ſhou'd go very ſuddenly, leaſt the *Portugueze* having gotten more Forces together, ſhou'd as ſoon come about upon them again. We yielded therefore to their Importunity, in agreeing to ſtay ſome few Days longer, as well to oblige them, as to provide for our own neceſſary Occaſions.

Mocrebhan comes to ſee the General.

In this time I had a ſolemn Interview with *Mocrebchan*, who came to make his Prince's, and Country's Acknowledgment of the Benefit they had receiv'd by us. I went aſhore to the Tent ſet up for our Entertainment, where this great Favourite of his Prince was ready to receive me, with all the Expreſſions of his Reſpect and Good Will that cou'd be imagin'd. And to return his Civility, I made him the Complement of an Invitation a Shipboard, which he as readily accepted; ſeeing all the Particulars of our Fleet with a great deal of Satisfaction. He beſtowed ſome Money amongſt the Sea-men, in Token of our Victory over the *Portugueze*; preſented me with his own Sword, which is the Cuſtom of that Country, with reſpect to Officers that have ſignaliz'd themſelves in any conſiderable Action: But we were no way in Debt, either to the Publick or himſelf, eſpecially conſidering that we were not behind-hand with him in Preſents; nor receiv'd any thing, but what we did as good, if not more than buy.

They go away. *March.* Another Fleet of Frigats comes to *Surat*, with Galleons, &c.

All Ceremonies of this kind being at an end, and the Viſits of the Great Men paid, we ſet Sail from *Surat*; but we were but juſt gone out of the Road, when we deſcried a conſiderable Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigats making towards the Town. To ſhew our Good Will, as alſo to encourage our Friends in the Town, we ſhot at ſome of them, tho' we were at too great a diſtance to do them any miſchief.

They follow the *Engliſh*.

They had behind ſeveral Galleons and Gallies, which made the greateſt part of their Strength, and coming up, put towards the Shore; but having diſcover'd us, immediately began to ſtand after us; tho' they made ſo little haſte, as plainly ſhew'd they had no mind to overtake us. I very well knew, that they durſt not attempt to land at *Surat*, till they were ſure we were too far off to come to prevent or diſturb them in that Deſign; but yet neither wou'd the Seaſon, or our other Affairs, allow us to lie there and watch their Motions, and wait till they began the Enterprize they intended, whatever it was. Our Care therefore was to endeavour to draw them after us, not only for the advantage of more Sea-room, if it came to a Battle, but alſo to gain ſo much time for the refreſhing our feeble and tired Men. And this Plot ſucceeded according to our deſires; for as we ſail'd on, the *Portugueze* came after us, at their ſtately rate; ſtill keeping in motion, but coming on ſo heavily, that to attend them any longer had been an Injury to our ſelves.

The *Portugueze* retire.

To bring the Matter therefore to an iſſue one way or other, we concluded (if they wou'd come a little nearer to us), to charge them without any farther Ceremony, and for the greater Terror of the reſt, to begin with the Vice-Roy himſelf, plying him with the Ordnance of all the Ships at once. And accordingly we making a little halt, which the *Portugueze* interpreted to be a ſtaying for them till they came, and ſo a kind of Defiance or Contempt of their Power, they immediately turn'd about, and ſail'd towards the Shore, deſiſting from any further purſuit of ſuch an untoward Game as we proved to be.

They went on towards *Goa*, and were obliged to do ſo, becauſe of the ill Winter Weather now quickly to be expected; ſo that *Surat* was ſecure for this Year, and we ſee their Danger paſt before we our ſelves were, as it were gone out of Call.

Go for *Bantam*. The Green Iſland.

Having our Hands clear of them, we proſecuted our Voyage towards *Bantam*; in which Courſe we diſpatch'd the *Hope* for *England*; and having doubled the Cape *Comorin*, came to an Anchor with the reſt of the Fleet, under a pleaſant Iſland to the North of the Salt Hill. Ships may ride very well there in twelve Fathom, within a Stone's-caſt of the Shoar; and 'twou'd be a very good place for refreſhing, if it had but the advantage of good Water, which it wants. Otherwiſe there are Hogs and Coco's enough to be had; but no good Water any nearer than the Iſland that lies beyond the burning one.

Come to *Bantam*. *June*, *A. D.* 1615.

At *Bantam* we weigh'd Mace, and took in Silk to lade the *Solomon* for *Maſulipatan*, which was ſent thither with a conſiderable number of Merchants.

We had Advice here of the violent Proceedings of the *Dutch*, againſt ſome of our Factors at *Macaſſar*; and that they threatned to come with a Force to turn the King of *Bantam* out of his Kingdom, and place another in his room.

* 'Twas as much as ever we cou'd do, to live in any tolerable Peace with them here too, they being ſo very ready to quarrel with us; and rather than fail, as prone to make and contrive Occaſions for Contention.

*** Here the brave Capt. *Dounton* died, and ſo his Accounts of things being interrupted, we take the remaining ſhort Notes out of the imperfect Memorials of his Succeſſor Captain *Elkington*, &c. Come home. *October*, *A. D.* 1616.**

A Noble *Indian* came hither from *Puloway*, to make ſome Propoſals to us about Trading with that and the other Iſlands of *Banda*. He declar'd in an Aſſembly of our Merchants, That thoſe Places were ſo oppreſs'd with the horrid Inſolence and Tyranny of the *Dutch*, that they were all very well diſpos'd to an unanimous Attempt for their Expulſion, at leaſt, they wou'd endeavour to force them to be more quiet and civil than they were. That if we wou'd ſtand by them, and furniſh them with Ammunition for the carrying on ſuch a Deſign, they wou'd turn over all the Spice-Trade of thoſe Iſlands into our hands. But we cou'd enter into no ſolemn Agreement with them of this nature, till we had farther Orders from *England*, tho' in the mean time we promis'd what Aſſiſtance we cou'd, as alſo to ſend a Ship to know their Propoſals at large, and what Security they cou'd give us for the performance of what they engaged to do, with reſpect to the putting us in poſſeſſion of that Trade.

This was the Sum of our Tranſactions at *Bantam*, from whence we ſail'd directly for *England*, being entertain'd with no remarkable Occurrents by the way.

AN APPENDIX to CHAP. XXVII.

Containing ſome Accounts of a Journey from India, *into* Perſia, *made by two* Engliſh-men, *belonging to Capt.* Dounton*'s Company.*

WE ſhall not follow theſe Travellers into every particular Inn, or Village upon the Road, nor ſtop with them in all their ſeveral Reſting-places; we ſhall only obſerve to fall in with them, where they have any thing worth Obſervation to ſhew us upon the Way, that the Reader may not be a Traveller in a worſe Sence, and grow weary before he comes to the end of his Journey.

***March.* *A. D.* 1614. A pleaſant Journey from *Agra* to *Labor*.**

Having determin'd to paſs into *Perſia* by the way of *Candahar*, as being of all the moſt frequented, and beſt for the Company of Merchants and Caravans; they ſet out from *Agra*, and proceeded to *Labor*; from which place the Road is well beaten to *Candahar*. There can hardly be (according to their Relation) any pleaſanter Travelling in the World, almoſt, than between theſe two

Cities. The Country all about is the richeſt and moſt fruitful of *India*, and 'tis as well manur'd and improv'd by the Care of the Husbandman. At every five or ſix Coſe end, you have a fine Seray, or Publick Houſe for the Entertainment of Travellers, which are very neat Structures all of them, and yield as good Accommodations within, as they make a handſome appearance on the outſide; ſpecial Care being taken for that purpoſe by the King, and thoſe Great Nobles who were the Builders of them, that nothing ſhou'd be wanting in the Contrivance or Furniture of them, that might ſerve the Conveniencies of thoſe that were to uſe them. Beſides, you have Rows of Mulberry-Trees planted all along on both ſides the way, throughout the whole 600 Mile, from *Agra* to *Labor*; which is ſuch a Walk, as hardly any, 'tis preſum'd, Country, can ſhew the like.

The Rules of Travelling there.

Upon this Account, if a Man does not travel in the ſcorching Heat of the Summer, he may take a great deal of pleaſure in paſſing this Road; and it is as ſafe as it is delightful, if one don't make any Night-Journeys, but be ſure to put up in the Serayes in good time, and ſo go out with Day-light again the next Morning. For if a Man does not obſerve theſe regular Hours, 'tis ten to one but he is ſnapp'd by Thieves, which are always the Plague of this Country, and of this Road too, in no ſmall degree; and therefore in all the Serayes they obſerve that Rule not to open the Gates to any Man before Day-break, and then all the whole Company ſets out together.

The good Order in the Serayes.

In all the Serayes upon this Road, the Old Saying ſtrictly obtains in practice; *Firſt come, firſt ſerv'd:* When a Man comes in, and takes up ſuch a Lodging, 'tis in vain for any other that comes after him, to have a mind to the ſame Apartment; if he can by fair means procure the firſt to exchange with him, well and good; otherwiſe he muſt take his Lot; for by the Laws of the place no Man can be thruſt out of his Lodging, when he has once fix'd upon it.

Trade from *Labor* into *Perſia*.

At *Labor* (which is the Centre of the whole Trade of the Country), they tell us that all the *Indian* Merchants meet together, turning a great part of their Moneys into Goods, and ſo joyn themſelves into Caravans, in order to paſs the Mountains of *Candahar*, and ſo into *Perſia*. And according to the common Accounts, there paſſes no leſs than Twelve or Fourteen thouſand Camels loaden in a Seaſon along this way, 'tis now ſo much frequented; whereas formerly there did not uſe to be above Three thouſand, all the reſt going by the way of *Ormus*.

But the Merchants are put to very great Expences in this Journey betwixt *Labor* and *Spahawn* in *Perſia*; for they reckon that every Camel's Lading ſtands them in near 130 Rupies, by that time they get thither. For what by the Badneſs of the Way, and the Extremities of Weather, (beſides other Dangers) they commonly ſpend ſix Months, if not ſeven between thoſe two places. By this way alſo is *Perſia* furniſh'd with Pepper, and other Spices, over Land, from *Maſulipatan*.

But none made more of the Trade of this famous City, than the *Portugueze* did, (as long as they had the Wit to keep Friends with the *Great Mogul*:) For all the Merchandize they dealt for with the Foreigners, or *Indians*, at *Labor*, was here embark'd upon the ſpot, and ſo (down the *Ravee*, into the *Indus*) away for *Perſia*, *Ormus*, and thoſe parts; and then all the Merchants that paſs'd that way betwixt *India* and *Perſie*, paid them Freight. But beſides this, they drove a vaſt Trade along this River for Spices, which they bought in other parts of the *Indies*, and ſo bringing by Water up hither, furniſh'd all theſe parts of *India* with that Commodity. They had better have abated ſomething of their proud and inſolent Demands upon the *Mogul*; or taken care ſome way or other to have ſatisfied and pleas'd him again, and ſo have kept this profitable Trade in their hands: Friendſhip, and all theſe Advantages together, wou'd have been far more eligible, than to loſe and be turn'd out of all, and be beaten beſides into the Bargain.

Vaſt Trade of the *Portugueze* formerly.

But other People have no Reaſon to be angry with them for throwing themſelves out of this Buſineſs; and tho' they may be call'd Fools for their Pains, yet no Man can owe them any Ill-Will upon that ſcore. Into this mighty Figure and Reputation is *Labor* now grown, for Trade and Correſpondence: Which is the more ſurprizing too, in that 'tis ſo little a while (in compariſon), that it has been riſing up to ſuch a degree of Greatneſs. In the time of the *Potane* Kings, it was but a trifling Village, and never made any conſiderable appearance, till the preſent *Mogul*'s Grandfather ſet himſelf to the enlarging and adorning of it. So that 'tis true of both the Grand Metropolis's of *India* at this Day, that they owe the Riſe of their Glory to this Family: For as *Labor* grew up under the Nurſery of the Grandfather, ſo did *Agra* under * that of the Father of the preſent Monarch. From hence they paſs'd on to *Multan*, a great and an ancient City, ſeated pretty near the River *Indus*, and pretending to ſome Trade for Linen Cloth. When the *Potane* Kings maintain'd their Ground in *India*, this place was in a very flouriſhing Eſtate, whilſt *Agra* and *Labor* lay both in the greateſt obſcurity: But now ſhe has little to pretend to, theſe upſtart Rivals have robb'd her of her Trade and Glory, and left her nothing great to lay claim to, but the advantage of her Venerable Antiquity. The place is ſo poor, that Caravans are obliged to ſtay hereabouts eight or ten Days, whether they have Buſineſs or no, that they may do it a kindneſs, by ſpending ſome of their Money; neither will the Governour let them paſs on, till they have reſted themſelves here for as much time as that comes to.

May.

Multan.

In their paſſage between this place and the Mountains, or Streights of *Candahar*, they were very often diſtreſs'd for want of Suſtenance for themſelves and their Beaſts; the Country about them being barren, and the Water many times very brackiſh and unpleaſant. The Captains of the Mogul's Forts and Garriſons, in many places impoſing and exacting upon them, demanding ſo much Duty upon every Camel's Head, where nothing at all was due, either in Juſtice, or by the Rules of Cuſtom, but all was clear Gain to themſelves, and went into their own Pockets. Nay, they go farther than this too, in their Abuſes of Travellers ſometimes; for whereas the Mogul maintains them there to be a Guard againſt Thieves, they often prove the Thieves themſelves; but ever (whether they rob or no) are as great Villains as any of thoſe they are ſet there to keep in order.

Mountains of *Candahar*.

Theſe Mountains of *Candahar* are extreamly ſteep and rocky, troubleſome, and bad for travelling. The Streights themſelves are ſo narrow, and fenc'd in with horrid Crags ſo on every ſide, that a ſmall Company poſſeſs'd of them, might maintain their Ground againſt a numerous Army. But the difficulty and danger of Travelling here, is vaſtly increas'd by the Circumſtance of the ill People that lie up and down all about theſe Mountains.

July.

The *Potanes*.

Theſe are the *Potanes*, or as ſome call them the *Agwans*, a fierce and barbarous People, ſomething whiter than the *Indians*, horribly thieviſh and treacherous, and by their natural ſtrength and roughneſs, pretty well qualified for all the hard Services of that Thieviſh Life they live. 'Tis very probable, that they are ſome of the Remainders of the old *Indians*, who have either by a conſtant Succeſſion ever maintain'd themſelves in the enjoyment of theſe Territories, or elſe by ſome Inundation of a Foreign Power, were driven out of the other parts of that Country, and retired for ſhelter into theſe Mountains, where they lie ſecure and quiet.

Formerly they were far more troubleſome than they are now, and uſed to cut off whole Caravans at once, lying continually in Ambuſcades for that purpoſe; but the taſting of the Sweetneſs and Profit of Trade, has made them a little more civil; and partly too, the Awe they ſtand in of the Great Mogul at preſent, tho' it ſeems impoſſible he ſhou'd ever make an abſolute Conqueſt of them, whatever Reſtraints his Forces may lay them under. But they are not yet acquainted with ſo much Honeſty and Humanity, as to forbear injuring thoſe that happen to fall into their Power, when they can do it without running themſelves into any danger thereby. If they meet any ſtraggling Traveller, they won't fail to make a Prey of him, carrying him up into the Mountains, where he is ſold for a Slave, and condemn'd to all the Miſeries and Hardſhips of a Life of perpetual Drudgery.

This Guard of Mountains paſs'd, our Travellers came to the City of *Candahar* it ſelf. Here the Great Mogul keeps a conſtant Garriſon of Twelve or Fifteen thouſand Horſe, becauſe of the near Neighbourhood of the *Perſians*; and this place alſo is one of the main Keys of his Country. It has the Defence of a Wall only on the S. and the E. Quarters, it needing nothing of that nature on the W. ſide, becauſe of the mighty Rocks which environ it there, and defend it to much better purpoſe, than any Work of Art cou'd poſſibly do. It is no place of great Trade of it ſelf, as for any Commodities afforded by it, or the Country about it; but being the certain, and ſtated Rendezvous of all the *Indian*, *Perſian*, and *Turkey* Merchants, it may challenge any City in that part of the Eaſt, for great Dealings and Concerns. Upon this ſcore Proviſions are dear there, tho' they are very plentiful at the ſame time; there is ſuch a vaſt Reſort of People, (who muſt of neceſſity all be Traders for the Belly) that 'tis impoſſible but Eatables muſt go off at good Rates, as all other Commodities do, where the Number of Buyers is ſo very conſiderable. And by this means too the place is vaſtly grown in bigneſs, and takes up a much larger Compaſs of Ground than formerly it did; People muſt have Lodgings, as well as Meat and

Candahar.

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* See Mr. *Finch*'s Journey thro' *India*, in the Deſcription of *Fettipore*.

The Wars brought *Candahar* into ſuch requeſt.

Badneſs of of ſome parts of *Perſia.*

Drink, and therefore to make room for all their Company, they have enlarg'd it ſo with Buildings of late Years, that the Suburbs do now vaſtly ſurpaſs the Dimenſions of the City it ſelf. The good Fortune of *Candahar* in all theſe Reſpects is owing to the turning the ſtream of the Trade into theſe parts, which before uſed to run chiefly by the way of *Ormus*. That old Channel was ſtopt up, and all intercourſe cut off between *India* and *Perſia* that way, by reaſon of the Wars between the *Perſians* and the *Portugueze*. So that the Merchants if they would Trade into that Country muſt take *Candahar* way of neceſſity, tho' round about as to a great part of the *Mogul*'s Dominions, for it would be a far ſhorter cut to croſs the River *Indus* about *Tatta* and thoſe parts, and ſo ſtrike directly into *Perſia*; but 'tis impracticable by reaſon of the wild and barren ſtate of all that tract of Land that lies between the *Indus* and the borders of *Perſia*. 'Tis bad enough a great way into *Perſia* it ſelf, betwixt *Candahar* and *Spahawn*, it being hard to ſee any Green thing ſometimes in two or three Days travel; but 'tis much worſe down along the Banks of the *Indus*; and the Deſerts of *Arabia* are not more troubleſome perhaps than ſome Patches in that Country. This Account our Travellers do give us as to ſeveral parts of *Perſia* that lay in their way; a ſcorch'd ſandy Soil, no delightful ſhade or ſhelter of Trees, ſoft graſſy Walks or Fields, as 'tis in ſome of the happier parts of the ſame Country. And beſides this, the ſame calamity of the want of good Water afflicted them often here as it did in *India*: it was either brackiſh, muddy, or downright ſtinking, that both Man and Beaſt were puniſh'd to drink it. Neither were the King of *Perſia*'s Officers (except in ſome very few places) much more conſcientious than the *Mogul*'s as to the point of impoſing Duties upon Paſſengers; every now and then, here as well as there, a Camels Head was to be paid for, ſo that at this rate, before a Man gets to his Journeys end, he may pay over and over the Price of the Beaſt he makes uſe of.

Tatta.

Tatta was the firſt place of note they came to in *Perſia*; a Town defended with a ſubſtantial Wall of Sun-dried Bricks, which are uſed about moſt of their Caſtles and other Buildings thereabouts. This place has the Bleſſing of a good Soil, and wholſome Water; the latter is ſo precious a thing with them, that where they have it, it is wonderful to ſee with what Art and Induſtry they manage it for the Advantage of their improveable Grounds; what Trenches they cut, and neat Devices they have for the deriving of Water to a good ſpot of Ground that wants it. All Merchants that go into *Perſia* are obliged to ſtay here till the King's Treaſurer has weighed all their Packs, and valued them as he thinks fit, taking three *per Cent*. Cuſtom.

When they are going from hence into *Perſia*, they are uſed with a great deal of Favour and Indulgence, for fear they ſhould make complaints at Court, which would be very fatal to thoſe Officers, the King having given a ſtrict Charge for the good uſage of Merchants, and threatned the contrary with moſt rigorous Penalties. But then when they go into *India*, they are very ſevere and exact upon them; for then they fear no telling of Tales, and have hardly any other Reſtraints to influence them, than what Juſtice, Conſcience and Good Nature might be ſuppos'd to lay, which a Man would be pretty hard put to it to find any thing of amongſt theſe out-lying Officers.

Merchants ſearched at *Tatta.*

They'll allow no Man to tranſport Horſes or Slaves out of the Country, and as for Gold or any Silver Coin but juſt the King of *Perſia's*, 'tis death for him that attempts to carry any thing of it abroad; and therefore here the Merchants are ſtripped even to the very Skin, the ſcrutiny is ſo nice and ſevere upon this account.

Salt-deſert.

Between this and *Spahawn* they paſs'd thro' that barren and deſolate ſpot commonly call'd the *Salt-deſert*, which is a matter of four Days Journey. All the *Caravan* ſtop before they enter upon this, and refreſh ſome Days on purpoſe to prepare them the better for the horrid Fatigues of that Country: But after all their Care and Proviſion, 'tis very often that they miſcarry in it, and ſome Carcaſes or other are left in thoſe Sands to be back'd into Mummy by the violent heat of the Sun.

September.

Our two *Engliſh* Men now go directly to *Spahawn* to do Buſineſs with Sir *Robert Shirley*, for the *Eaſt-India* Company, by whom they were employ'd. And they come in good time, for that Perſon was then ſetting out for *Spain*; going thither in the quality of the King of *Perſia*'s Embaſſadour. The deſign of his Miſſion to that Court, was, to confer about Methods for the more ſpeedy and effectual overturning the Intereſt of the *Portugueze* in theſe Parts, and bringing in the *Spaniards* in their room. As for their Buſineſs with Sir *Robert Shirley* from the *Eaſt-India* Company, tho' there had been ſome miſunderſtandings between him and them, yet he concluded (as he was an *Engliſh* Man) to do the Intereſt and Trade of his Country all the faithful Service he could, and therefore procured all the Firmans to be made that they deſir'd, and gave them into the Hands of theſe Meſſengers, ſeal'd with the King of *Perſia*'s Broad Seal. That which concern'd the Privilege of the *Engliſh* Nation in common for Trading in any part of the King of *Perſia*'s Dominions, ran thus, as tranſlated out of the Language of that Country.

The Copy of the King of *Perſia*'s Firman, Tranſlated out of the *Perſian.*

Firman or Command given unto all our Subjects, from the greateſt, unto what Degree ſoever, unto the Souf-baſha *or* Conſtable *of our Country, to kindly receive and entertain the* Engliſh *Franks or Nation, at what time any of their Ships or Shipping ſhall arrive at* Iaſques, *or any other of the Ports in our Kingdom; to conduct them and their Merchandize to what place or places they themſelves deſire; and that you ſhall ſee them ſafely defended about our Coaſts, from any other Frank or Franks whatſoever.*

Thus I Will and Command you ſo to do, as you will anſwer to the contrary. Given at our Royal City, the twelfth of this Moon Ramaſſan *(October) in the Year of Our* Tareag 1024. A. D. 1615.

Frank, a name given in the Eaſt to all Weſtern Chriſtians, ſince the Expedition into the Holy Land; the *French* being chief therein, and a *French* Councel at *Claremont* cauſe thereof.

Commodities and Moneys of *Perſia.*

There were three of theſe Firmans given out by the King of *Perſia*'s Vizier; one of which was ſent to the Governour of *Jaſques*, a Second carried into *India* for the Benefit of the Merchants there; and the Third brought over into *England* to the Company.

As to the Trade of *Perſia* they give us this ſhort Account of it. Their chief Commodities are Carpets of all ſorts, Gold, Silver, Silk, Cotton, and theſe mix'd together; raw Silk, of which it yields (according to the King's Books) 7700 Batmans yearly.

The Province of *Coraſan* produces good ſtore of Rhubarb and Worm-ſeed. The *Perſian* Coins are, of Silver the Abacee, the Mahomedee, the Shaſhee, and the Biſtee; of which the Mahomedee is one half the Abacee; and the Shaſhee one half the Mahomedee; and the Biſtee two fifths of the Shaſhee; and in the value of a Rial of Eight, they reckon the Shaſhee to be one thirteenth of a Rial of Eight: As for their Copper Coins they are much the ſame with the *Tanga's* and *Piſo's* of *India*. The Weights differ conſiderably in different places.

At *Tauris* the two Mahans make but one of *Spahawn* Weight, and ſo 'tis likewiſe as to the *Batman*. The Meaſure of Silks is generally the ſame with the Pike of *Aleppo*, which is about 27 Inches.

Sir *Robert Shirley* being here, brought upon the Stage in *Perſia*, whereas he was left before in *India* at *Diul* in order to his *Perſian* Journey, *'twill not be out of the way to ſhew the Dangers he paſs'd in coming hither, by the barbarous Practices of the *Portugueze*: Sir *Robert Shirley* was a proper Object for their Malice and Revenge to work upon on a double account, both as he was an *Engliſh* Man, and the King of *Perſia*'s Embaſſadour, with whom they were then at variance. Theſe wicked People influencing the Governour of *Diul* ſo far, that he began for their ſakes to neglect him, he being weary of that ill uſage, and alſo of a Life of continual fear and hazard by the *Portugueze* at that place, deſired leave to go for *Tatta*, which the Governour refuſing to permit, he took Courage and went without his permiſſion. But being purſued and overtaken by a Troop of Souldiers ſent out to bring them all back again to *Diul*, they were worſe handled than before, Sir *Robert* himſelf being actually impriſon'd and narrowly ſcaping with his Life ſeveral times, the *Portugueze* were ſo mad a plotting to deſtroy him. However, not long after the Governour (not able to anſwer the leaſt part of what he had done to his Maſter) better bethought himſelf, and gave him his Diſpatch for *Tatta*, where he was entertain'd according to his quality, and from whence he proceeded to *Agra* as well to make his Complaints as to do emergent Buſineſs at that Court. The *Mogul* promis'd him Satisfaction, and immediately ſent for the Governour to Court to anſwer the Crimes laid to his Charge, and there's no doubt but his ill Behaviour coſt him his Head.

* See Mr. P tons Journal before.

Sir *Robert Shirley* abus'd by the *Portugueze.*

From hence Sir *Robert*, having been very generouſly treated by the *Mogul*, went away to *Perſia*, to his own Maſter.

CHAP.

Chap. XXVIII.

The Second Voyage into the Eaſt-Indies *perform'd by Captain* Peyton, *with the* Expedition. *Together with the* Dragon, Lion, *and* Pepper-Corn, *under the Command of Captain* Keeling, *Taken out of Captain* Peyton's *large Journal and the Obſervations of ſome others.*

Jan. A. D. 1615 Note, Sir *Thomas Rowe* Lord Embaſſadour from His Majeſty of *England* to the *Great Mogul*, went over with this Fleet; but what particularly concerns him is to be brought in afterwards in his own account of his Embaſſy.

THE Buſineſs of this Voyage, tho' it lay in ſeveral parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*, yet in the firſt place our Courſe was to be directed for *Surat*, where Sir *Thomas Row* his Majeſties Embaſſadour was to be ſet down. Beſides all the *Engliſh* Company that went upon this Occaſion, we had ſeveral Foreigners aboard us, *Japoneſe*, *Guzurats*, *Indians*, which had been formerly brought over, and were now going back to their reſpective Countries. And to make the variety ſtill the more conſiderable, over and above this medley of other Nations, we had a load of the choice Drugs of our own Country; which the Law having ſwept out of doors at home, were to be diſpos'd of up and down in foreign parts at diſcretion. Theſe were a pack of Thieves and other lewd Malefactors, which Juſtice had ſome time before condemn'd to the Gallows; but the *Eaſt-India* Company interceded with His Majeſty for their Pardons, that they might be ſent over in theſe Ships to make Diſcoveries in thoſe places where they ſhould be left. But we had not loſt ſight of the *Engliſh* ſhoar before theſe Newgate Birds were ſome of them upon the Wing, and had very near flown quite away from us, and notwithſtanding all our care to prevent it, one of them did break out of his Cage, and took his ramble with ſome other of the Ship-company, which were Birds of as good a Feather as himſelf, and therefore all decently join'd in the ſame Flock together.

March. Wrong ſituation of Iſle *Forteventura* and Cape *Bajadore.*

Having proceeded in our Voyage as far as the *Canary-Iſlands*, we had there an opportunity to take notice of, and rectifie a Miſtake concerning the Situation of one Iſland belonging to that cluſter. It is that which is commonly call'd *Forteventura* Iſland, which our Experience tells us, is plac'd no leſs than a whole Degree more Northerly than it ought to be; the ſame errour we diſcover'd too with reference to Cape *Bajadore*, and theſe Miſtakes of our Plats run us into no little Danger.

A. D. 1615. *June* *Coree's* reform amongſt the *Soldanians.*

When we came to the Bay of *Soldania*, we found much better Temper and Carriage in the Natives towards us, than ever us'd formerly to be. They had loſt in great meaſure that Shineſs and thoſe frightful Apprehenſions of us, that made it many times ſo hard to bring them to any thing of a Trade. They ſeem'd to put a ſort of a Confidence in us, and were free and forward to converſe after their barbarous way; and out of a reſpect to us took care not to affront us by thieving and pilfering as they us'd to do. Nay, which was a very ſtrange thing, ſome of them had ſo good an Opinion of us, as to be willing to leave their own Native Country, and go for *England* in our Ships when we came back. All theſe wonderful Alterations we attributed to the Inſtructions which *Coree* (their Country-man) had given them; for he himſelf was yet alive amongſt them, and came down with ſome of the reſt to make us a viſit; and having been ſo kindly treated in *England*, as an Expreſſion of his Gratitude he carried ſome of our Men up into the Country to ſee his Houſe, and Wife, and Children, at one of their Towns, which conſiſts of about 100 Houſes, about five Miles from the Bay. Here *Coree* kept (exceeding Charity) all his Particulars that he brought with him out of *England*; here was his Copper Armour and the reſt of his Furniture, which all put together made him the fineſt fellow in the whole Country. And 'twas upon this Account, that ſome of the reſt were ſo willing to go with us into our Country; there was more Copper ſuits to be had in *England*, and *Coree* had ſped ſo well that they wanted to try their Fortunes in ſo good a place. Theſe People alſo by ſeeing more of the World are grown much wiſer in the matters of Trade, as to what concerns their own Advantage. Time was when Iron-hoops and Nails would have ſerv'd the turn, but the humour alter'd from that to Copper; now they are come from Copper to Braſs, and they ſay they muſt have pieces of a Foot ſquare or more; nay, they have inſiſted upon Baſons, Skillets, Scummers and ſuch like Utenſils for a Houſe in exchange for their Cattel, and ſome of our Nation have lately dealt with them upon theſe Terms. But this being moſtly ſince *Coree's* return home amongſt them, we believe he has help'd to enlighten their underſtandings in theſe matters, and ſhown them how little we value in *England* thoſe things which they ſet ſo high a rate upon.

Criminals ſet aſhoar at *Soldania.*

We left here a ſet of our condemn'd Men, turning them looſe into the Country, and tho' to bring Thieves to *Soldania*, is but carrying Coals to *New-Caſtle*, or Rats and Mice into a Houſe that ſwarm'd with Vermin before, yet for that Reaſon this appear'd to be the fitteſt place for them. Let a reſolute Villain be thrown amongſt the *Javans*, a cunning Cheat amongſt the *Chineſe*, and an impudent Thief amongſt the *Soldanians*, and the Men are diſpos'd of as they ſhould be; and 'tis better thus many times than to place them in better Company, for a pack of Knaves of the ſame faculty may help to keep one another Honeſt; at leaſt (as to the preſent Caſe) our Men and the *Soldanians* could not well debauch one another. When they were aſhoar they form'd themſelves into a Society, and choſe a Captain to command them; ſo giving them each a Weapon for their defence, we left them to their future Fortunes.

Other errors of the Plats.

Between the Bay of *Soldania* and the Iſland St. *Lawrence*, we had a farther Proof of the erroneouſneſs of *Daniels* Plats. For inſtance, the Land to the Weſt of Cape *de Arecife* (which lies to the Eaſt of the Cape of *Good-Hope*) is placed 27 Minutes more Northerly than it ſhould be; and ſo when according to the meaſures of thoſe Plats we ſhould have ſeen the Land of St. *Lawrence*, we found an error which amounted at leaſt to as much as 70 Leagues.

July. See Capt. *Peyton's* firſt Voyage. *Davis* in his firſt Voyage reckons five of theſe *Comori* Iſlands.

We came to an Anchor next at *Moyela*, one of the Iſles of *Comori*, a place of late pretty much viſited by our *Engliſh* Ships. Theſe Iſlands are four in number, *Moyela*, *Angazelia*, *Juanny*, and *Magotta*, and they all lie almoſt Eaſt and Weſt of one another in a parallel, except *Angazelia*, which juts out a little to the North. There's none of them all but affords very good refreſhing, tho' *Magotta* has the beſt character upon that Account from all the *Arabians* that inhabit thereabouts; and next to *Magotta*, the Iſland of *Juanny* has the Reputation for the beſt. *Angazetia* is extreamly high Land, and moderately fruitful too as far as ſome of the common Neceſſaries of Life do go, but beyond Kine and Goats, Cocoes, Oranges and Limons it has very little to pretend to.

The Government of theſe Iſlands.

As for the Government of thoſe Iſlands at the time of our being there, *Angazelia*, had no leſs than ten petty Sultans in it, *Moyela* had three, and in *Juanny* rul'd an old Sultaneſs that was as it were the Soveraign of them all, and to whom all the reſt repair'd for Juſtice both in civil and criminal Cauſes. The Sultan that govern'd in that quarter of *Moyela*, where we anchor'd, kept all his Subjects in ſuch extream awe, that no Man dared ſell us ſo much as a Coco-nut till ſolemn leave was granted by him. To open a Trade, therefore we were obliged to ſend ſome Men aſhoar in order to the procuring of it. Theſe being landed, were receiv'd and entertain'd by a certain Governour under the Sultan, whom they found ſitting upon a Mat of Straw, wrapt in a Mantle of red and blew Linen, beſides which he was all bare, only a ſorry chequer'd Cap upon his Head. A ſmall Preſent made him, eaſily procur'd his Good Will and Conſent to the Peoples trading with us, which he preſently ſignified to them by Meſſengers diſpatch'd for that purpoſe. While he entertain'd our Company with Cocoes, he himſelf ſat chewing Beetle and burnt Oyſter Shells mixt with the Kernels of the Arecca-Nuts: Theſe Nuts are hot and biting in the Mouth draw away a conſiderable deal of Rheum, ſtrengthen and fix the Teeth, and 'tis all the Phyſick they uſe in theſe parts.

Their Reception by the Governour.

They'll make a Man that is not us'd to them light and giddy headed at the firſt eating, and by degrees will change the Teeth from their natural white, into a ruſty black, which is one of the effects of them that the Moyelians principally admire them for, ſince Teeth of that hew are reckon'd a part of very great Beauty amongſt them.

Fambone.

The Town whither our Men went to this Governour was call'd *Fambone*, lying about ſome four Leagues to the Eaſt ſide of our Road; the People made very much of them, and gave them (after the Governour's Treat was over) an Entertainment at one of the principal Mens Houſes.

Cuſtoms in Eating &c.

In the firſt place Water was brought to every Man in a Coco-ſhell to waſh his Hands in, and for a Towel a parcel of the Rinds of the Coco. Then they brought in boil'd Rice cover'd over with roaſted Plantans, pieces of Hens and Goats broil'd; their Bread was made of Cuſcus beaten and mixt with Honey, and ſo fried; and for Drink they had Palmeto-Wine and Coco Milk. They don't ſit croſs Legg'd down upon the Floor at their Meals as the *Mahometans* and all Eaſtern People generally do, but in a more decent manner upon Benches, all round the Table, which ſtands high upon Treſſels.

Houſes.

Their Houſes are far from being rich or ſtately, yet they are kept very ſweet and clean, and there's as much neatneſs in all their Furniture and Houſhold-ſtuff, tho' nothing at all for ornament and fine ſhow. They are built with Lime and Stone, ſmall and low roof'd, Plaiſter'd in the inſide with Mortar, and without fenc'd round with Canes; at top they have only Rafters of Wood cover'd over with Leaves. They have their little Gardens adjoining to them too, which are paled in with Canes, but hardly afford any thing elſe beſides Tobacco and Plantan-Trees.

Doman.

The place where the Sultan commonly reſides is *Doman*, the chief Town of that part of the Iſland, and diſtant about three Miles from *Fambone* the Governour's Town. We had no opportunity of ſeeing this place, tho' the Lord's Embaſſadour ſent ſome on purpoſe to viſit the Sultan; but he happening at that time to be at *Fambone*, the Journey to *Doman* was prevented. He gave theſe Perſons a courteous Reception, and made them Dine with him very familiarly; as for any thing elſe he appear'd nothing greater or ſtatelier than the Governour, and was not to be known by any other mark than that of the profound Reſpect which all the reſt paid him He aſſumes the honourable Title of *Xeriffe*, and calls himſelf one of *Mahomets* Kins-men; a thing that a World of the *Mahometans* do pretend to, that are no more a kin to *Mahomet* than they are to *Moſes*, and are of a far honeſter race than they would make the World believe they are by that Pretention.

The *Sultans.*

In ſhort theſe Sultans of *Moyela* are very mean ſorry Fellows, if one may gueſs by one of them that came to the Lord Embaſſadour; a poor bare footed Rogue, that could not pretend to any higher Trade than for a matter of four or five Rials of Eight, and when he could not get his Bargain, fell to begging of Shooes and Stockings. This was one of the High Blood of the Prophet, a Kinſman of *Mahomet*, Brother to the *Xeriff*, Subſultan of *Moyella*, and no body knows what beſides; a Man would rather have taken him for ſome raſcally Derviſe or begging Saint that was going a Pilgrimage bare Foot to *Mecca*, and wanted a pair of Shooes to help him over the rugged way.

Jealouſies of their Women and Churches.

The People of this Country are very fearful of letting their Women be ſeen, and as Jealous too leaſt any Chriſtians ſhould ſee their Moſquets or any of the Rights of their *Mahometan* Devotion. One of our Men did but go into a Village ſo far as to be ſpied by one of their Prieſts, who immediately fell a ſcreaming, and made ſuch a Noiſe as if a Troop of Ruffians had been come to knock them all on the Head; all the Women were ſhut up cloſe within Doors, and the People were in the greateſt tumult imaginable, threatning the Man if he came near their Church that they would certainly kill him. Now a Man might ſafely ſee all the Riches of their Moſquets, without being tempted to Sacrilege, as well as the beſt Charms of their Women, without any provocations to unchaſt Deſires; but ſuch is their ridiculous Fancy of a mighty Sanctity amongſt themſelves, and as great an Impurity in the Chriſtians that they will not permit any thing of this Liberty.

Informations given by a *Mooriſh* Pilot

A certain *Mooriſh* Pilot at this place gave us ſome Informations, which 'twould be very well worth while to enquire into the Truth of. He affirmed that on the South ſide of St. *Lawrence* there was good ſtore of Ambergrice, and Cocoes of the Sea; that the chief part of his own Country (which lay in two Degrees ten Minutes North Latitude upon the Coaſt of *Africk*) would give us a good lading with Marfil, Amber and Tinta Roxa. That in many places along the Coaſt of *Africk* towards *Mozambique*, *Magadoxa*, &c. we might Trade for Gold and Silver, and particularly that of the latter, they had a great deal of Gold mix'd with Sand and Earth about the Country, which the Inhabitants made very light of. He gave alſo ſome account of the Countries names between *Magadoxa* and *Preſter John's* Dominions, and by his own Chart rectified ours in ſome Reſpects, as to the diſtance between *Zocotora* and the Main, and raſing quite out ſome Iſlands which were laid to the South ſide of *Moyela*, there being in reality none ſuch at all.

Tides and Currents.

The *Magadoxians* have propagated a Notion that the Current ſets at this place fifteen Days Eaſtward, and fifteen Days Weſtward, and fifteen Days lies ſtill and ſets no way. But this is very idle Diſcourſe for Sea-men; the Current does here ſet moſt certainly and conſtantly to the South Weſt, that is the ſtated courſe of it. Now before the full of the Moon it had ſuch power on the Ebb and the Flood, that we never woond at all, but at the full Moon and Spring Tides we rode upon the Flood againſt the Current, the Current running under, and the Tide above, and the Ebb winding back with the Current. So that this ſtrange pretended alteration of the ſetting of the Current, is indeed nothing elſe but the influence of the Tide, which at thoſe times high'd to a matter of ſixteen Foot Water, and was powerful enough to overcome the Current; and there's no miracle nor myſtery in this, that the Courſe of the Water ſhould be different when the Tide prevails over the Current from what 'twas when the Current was ſtrong enough to maſter the Tide. And that this is the true account of the matter is plain, becauſe the Spring being paſt, the Current return'd and took it's regular courſe again, as we found when we were at a diſtance clear of all the Eddies of the Iſlands. For tho' 'tis true, that when we weighed from hence, we were ſet the firſt Day Eaſtward and the next Weſtward; yet the Reaſon of that was evidently from the Eddies of *Juanny* one Day, and *Angazelia* the other, and being out of the reach of them, it for the future influenc'd us only to the Weſtward.

Varying and Longitude, &c.

The varying at *Moyela* is ſixteen Degrees forty Min. and we make it to lie under the very ſame Meridian with Cape St. *Auguſtine*; and from hence conclude that the Iſles of St. *Lawrence* ought to be laid to the Eaſt 39 or 40 Leagues, and ſo all the Coaſt of the Main (being broader than the Land in the Chart) ought to be ſet in proportion to the Eaſt; for tho' the Longitudes be ever ſo falſe in themſelves, yet they are true in their Proportions to one another.

Auguſt. Winds

We ſail'd away from theſe Iſlands for that of *Zocotora*. In this Courſe we had very great trouble with buſtling impetuous Winds about *Abbadelcuria*; all the while the Moon was below the Horizon (being then in the ſecond Degree increaſing) they tore and raged after a moſt horrible manner, but when ſhe riſe they were quiet and ſtill; ſo ſoveraign a Lady is ſhe of the Weather in thoſe parts, and ſo much depends upon her Influence and Preſence. And therefore let thoſe that have occaſion to Anchor hereabouts in the Night time be careful to avoid ſtanding over the rocky Ground, where the Winds will certainly force them from their Anchors; but chuſe to ride where ſome defence may be afforded by Land againſt the violence of the Winds beating from the Hills. But the beſt way will be to touch at Cape *Guardafui*, and ſo ſail from thence to *Abbadelcuria* the next Morning by break of Day, and when come thither to Anchor upon the Weſt ſide of it in ſeven or eight Fathom under the low land; or if they can get no Anchorage to keep to the South ſide in the Night, leaſt the Winds and the Northerly Current put them too much to Leeward before Day light. The Winds don't keep ſteadily to a point notwithſtanding the Monſon, but ſometimes blow South by Weſt, and S. S. W. but very ſeldom to the Eaſt of the South.

Direction about ſailing to *Zocotora.*

Deliſha Road.

We came to an Anchor firſt in *Tamerin*, and then in *Deliſha* Road, which very well deſerves that name for the delightfulneſs and peaceableneſs of it. Between the Water and the ragged Mountains of *Tamerin*, you may bring the two little Hommocks (that lie on the low point without the Land to the Eaſt ſide) S. E. and the low Land (that was Eaſt by North of you in *Tamerin* Road) North Weſt by Weſt, and ſo ride very conveniently in ten Fathom within three fourths of a Mile of the ſhoar. Your Latitude here is thirteen Degrees five Minutes, varying eighteen Degrees twenty Minutes. The Ground white Sand, but rocky, ſo that 'twill be needful for the Sea-man to coatch or booy his Cables. The King of *Zocotora* gave us a very civil Reception as he does to all that are like to prove good Cuſtomers, and will lay out their Money with him.

The Town and King's Palace.

We bought ſome quantity of Aloes of him, which being very new, or by reaſon of the Sun's heat was perfectly liquid; he made us give after the rate of thirty Rials of Eight *per* Kintal (each Kintal containing by our Beam 103 pound and a half) for which reaſon we bought the leſs.

* Other Accounts of this Iſle ſee before in Sir *Henry Middleton's* and Captain *Saris's* Voyages. Theſe Obſervations were then made by none of them.

* One of our Company who was aſhoar had the opportunity of making ſome Obſervations, which may (not unprofitably) be here annexed. The Kings Town of *Tamerin* that makes a very fair ſhew in the Road, makes a much leſs handſome appearance to a Spectator that's got into the midſt of it. 'Tis built of Lime and Stone whited over, has ſomething of ornament from Battlements, and Pinacles that look well at a diſtance, but within ſide one finds it but a poor ſorry Town. The King's Palace was ſuch too as an ordinary Gentleman in *England* might poſſibly make a ſhift with; and whatever his upper Rooms were, his lower ones were moſt of them Ware-houſes, and Ward-robes; in which latter beſides ſome change of Cloths, there were kept the Books of their Law, Religion, and Hiſtory of the Lives of their Saints. And as for the others the Ware-houſes, one muſt excuſe the finding ſuch apartments as theſe in the Palace; for His Majeſty is a Merchant, and lives by his Trade as other Honeſt Men of that Profeſſion do. Every Evening at Sun-ſet the People fall to their Devotions with their Faces turned towards the Weſt, and in this poſture the King comes and throws Water upon all their Heads; but this had not need to be in any great quantity, leaſt the cold Water ſhould ſtrike a damp to the Zeal of thoſe Religious Perſons, and put out the Fire of their Devotion. And by one Paſſage that occur'd aſhoar, it appears that their Minds are not ſo intenſly fix'd in their Religious Exerciſes, but a little matter may be ſufficient to divert them; for this *Engliſh* Man of our Company having obtained the Favour to be preſent in the Moſquet at the time of Divine Service, and happening to pull out his Watch there; the Prieſt having ſpied that fine thing, was ſo taken with the ſight, that he had not patience to hold on in his Work any longer, but preſently left off ſerving of God to come and ſtare upon the Watch.

A very zealous Prieſt.

The Kingdom of *Tartach* in *Arabia Fœlix*, which is under this Prince's Father, lies all along the Coaſt from fifteen to eighteen Degrees, and Northward advances to the Mountains. The *Turks* have Tribute all over *Arabia*. but only from this King of *Tartach*, who lives in peace with them, and makes no other acknowledgment than this, to aſſiſt the *Turks* upon any occaſion with 5000 Men, who are alſo to be paid by the *Turks* themſelves.

September. Come to *Surat.*

Our little affairs at *Zocotora* being ended we ſail'd away for *India*, and came to an Anchor in *Swally* Road. Here we landed and the Lord Embaſſadour with all the State and Ceremony befitting his quality, and he was as well receiv'd by the Grandees of *Surat*. But one baſe Cuſtom of theirs occaſion'd ſome diſpute and difference at firſt, and that was their examining and ſearching the Pockets of thoſe that came aſhoar. The Embaſſadour's Character indeed exempted him from any thing of that nature; but then they pretended to practiſe it upon his retinue, which tho' he openly proteſted againſt ſtanding upon the Privilege of an Embaſſadour, yet could procure no farther favour than only to have ſome few of the chief excuſed too. As for the inferiour ſort they were very narrowly ſearch'd every Man of them, both Pockets and other places, according to the rude Faſhion of the Country, where a Man muſt pay for a Rial of Eight in his Purſe, or a good Knife in his Pocket, and not only ſo, but if he happens to have any rarity about him, ten to one but the Governour, under the pretence of buying it, takes it quite away,

Baſe Cuſtom at *Surat.*

Coins at *Surat.*

The current Coin of *Surat* is Rials of Eight, of which the old with the plain Croſs are beſt eſteem'd, and worth about five Mamudies a piece, the new with Flower-de-luces at the ends of the Croſs go at 4 ½ if they be not light. The Mamudie is a courſe Silver Coin, containing thirty of their Copper Pice, each Pice being twelve Drams. The *Engliſh* Shilling if it be weight will yield Thirty three Pices and one half. Their Larines are much about the value of the Mamudies, but the Rupies are of ſeveral ſorts, ſome worth half a Rial of Eight, others leſs, which if a Man does not mind well he may be very eaſily cheated.

The chief Trade is managed by the *Banians*, who muſt be as well look'd to as the Money, for they are very ſubtle cheating Fellows, whether they act the parts of Buyers or Sellers. The Weights of every City almoſt do differ from one another, ſo that to give an account of theſe, muſt be to give a compleat Hiſtory of *India* in this Reſpect. The Trade at *Surat* takes in all manner of *Engliſh*, *China* and *Guzurat* Merchandize, Pictures, Toys, Drugs and all kind of Spices.

Go for *Callecut.* *March*

After a conſiderable ſtay here at *Surat*, we ſail'd away for the *Malabar* Coaſt, and came to an Anchor in the Road of *Callecut*. The King's Deputy was very quickly diſpatch'd to bid us welcome in his Maſters Name, and to repreſent the earneſt Deſire he had to have a Conference with us upon the matters of Trade. That Prince was then at *Crangalor*, beſieging a Caſtle of the *Portugueze*, with whom he was at War, which was one of the beſt encouragements that could be given to our Hope of a Happy Settlement in his Country; for as we deſire no better proſpect in a Foreign Country where we pretend to Trade, than to ſee it clear of the *Portugueze*, ſo there is nothing that they take for a worſe omen of the decay of their Intereſt any where, than to ſee us come and ſit down amongſt them.

The Great *Samorin* of *Callecut's* Offers to the *Engliſh.* Note that it was Capt. *Keeling* Commander of the *Dragon* that went aſhoar to make the Agreement with the *Great Samorin.*

The King of *Callecut* deſiring our Company at *Crangalor*, we went thither to him; and here what favourable Grants, what Immunities and Privileges could be thought of that ſhould not immediately be vouchſafed and confirmed to us? An *Engliſh* Factory muſt be eſtabliſh'd in his Country; and to invite us to it (beſides all the Common Expreſſions of Good Will to our Nation, he offer'd us a very good Houſe rent-free, and a total exemption from all Cuſtom, Tax, or Duty whatſoever, for all Goods both imported and exported out of his Dominions. And whereas at that time we were not able to leave any quantities of Merchandize for the Furniture and Support of a Factory, having been already at *Surat* and now going to other parts; this Objection was removed by his Declaration, that 'twas no matter for a preſent ſupply of Goods; but only that we laid the Foundation of the Factory by leaving ſome of our Company there, which would be a Pledge to him of our return the next Year with better Proviſions to perfect the Work that was now begun. He aſſur'd us likewiſe that we might every Year have at leaſt one Ship lading of Pepper there, and the certain vent of all our Commodities.

Factory at *Crangalor.*

Upon theſe Conſiderations therefore it was determin'd, that a Factory ſhould be erected at *Crangalor*, and accordingly what Men and Goods we could allow for that purpoſe were forthwith ſet aſhoar. The ſubſtance of this Agreement between the King of *Callecut* and us was drawn up in a Writing, and tranſmitted to us by him, with this Promiſe over and above, That if he recover'd the Fort of *Crangalor* from the *Portugueze*, it ſhould be put into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. We make the Latitude at *Callecut* 11 Degrees 10 Minutes North, and the varying fifteen Degrees forty Minutes.

In our paſſage from hence towards Cape *Comorin*, we had the luck to take two or three *Portugueze* Prizes; their principal lading was Grain, Sugar, Drugs and Bengala Stuffs; had we treated them according to their deſerts we had burnt their Ships, and taken every penny-worth of their lading away, tho' to ſet them an example of Courteſy and Good Nature, we ſhew'd them more Favour than they could have expected, or would have ſhewn us in the like caſe.

Note for *Brinnion.*

It is proper for a Ship bound this way to ride at *Brinnion* till the end of *March*, and not double the Cape *Comorin*, becauſe of the Calms, and the Current ſetting South to the *Maldives*; but then at that time the Eaſterly Monſon ends. This *Brinnion* is about ſixteen Leagues from the Cape, the Courſe ſetting South Eaſt by South, a bold and free Coaſt; it is a Town ſeated in a little round Bay, and to be known by a long white Breach to the North, and to the South all high Land, and in the ſame part a great red cliff near the Sea. The Latitude here is eight Degrees thirty Minutes, and varying fifteen Degrees.

May A. D. 1616 Come to *Sumatra.*

Having doubled the Cape *Comorin* our Ships parted Company, the *Dragon* and the *Pepper-Corn* going directly for *Sumatra*, and we in the *Expedition* firſt for *Bantam*. But our ſtay at that place now was but ſhort, and Buſineſs quickly obliged us to follow our Company to *Sumatra*. We had ſome Trade at *Tecoo* and *Priaman* for Pepper, but the other Ships had furniſh'd themſelves with the ſame Commodity at *Achen*, tho' 'twas all tranſported thither from theſe places. This Pepper Trade is brought to *Achen* by the King's particular Order, and for his own particular Advantage too; for he forces the People of *Tecoo*, &c. to bring their Spice to him, and ſo puts off his *Surat* Commodities in truck for it, at what Rates he pleaſes; and ſo many times he ſends his Merchandice to thoſe places, and ſells them off upon the ſpot, and then to be ſure there's no buying nor ſelling for any other, till all his Cargo is gone off.

Theſe places laſt mentioned on the Iſland, are celebrated only for a plentiful production of Pepper; but there are others which beſides that Commodity yields others far more valuable.

Jambi.

Jambi which lies on the Eaſt-ſide, affords a large Grain'd Pepper, like that of *Priaman*, a place not acknowledging the King of *Achen*'s Sovereignty, as do thoſe which lie on the Weſtern ſide.

Paſſaman.

Paſſaman, beſides the beſt Pepper upon the Iſland, produces the fineſt Gold, and in the greateſt plenty; but the Temper of the Climate is ſo very bad, that all the Riches of its Mines, can't make amends for it.

Baruſe.

Baruſe, (to the North of *Paſſaman*) yields good ſtore of Benjamin; and Cotta-tinga, the ſame Noble Commodity with *Paſſaman*; and all thoſe places are under the King of *Achen*'s Command: That is, they are really a part of his Dominion, and they'll receive his Orders with the utmoſt Submiſſion, and ſhew of external Reverence; but they'll obey them as they think fit, at leaſt as far as they can have their own Wills, without an open Contradiction of his.

Ill People at *Tecoo*.

And this we found by Experience; for when our other Ships came hither to *Tecoo* and *Priaman*, bringing the King of *Achen*'s Letters along with them, they made an old ſtir with kiſſing the Letter, and laying it upon their Heads, to ſhew their Reſpect to it; but hardly any thing of the Contents of it wou'd the Heathens perform. And they are ſometimes ſo wicked and unruly too, that we ſhall have a hundred Criſes drawn upon us, if we refuſe to let them have their Wills, in taking our Goods upon Truſt, or at their own Rates; not to mention their Frauds and Cheats, by falſe Weights, Miſ-reckonings, down-right Thieving, and all the Methods of that kind, that can be purſued by an Ill-minded People.

But theſe Diſorders may be eaſily rectified by a Complaint to the Court of *Achen*, and the *Tecoans* had beſt have a care their Villanies don't make a Noiſe in the Ears of that ſevere Prince; who if he knew of their Proceedings, wou'd make nothing to cut off the Legs of a hundred of them, and this a gentle Puniſhment too. And in order to keep them the better in awe, he does obſerve that point of Policy, to plant his *Acheneſe* Officers up and down amongſt them; but they are either too often as bad as the reſt, or elſe are corrupted by Bribes into a Negligence of their Duty, and Connivance at the Crimes of thoſe they ſhou'd reform; ſo that there's little Redreſs, many times, to be had, by an Appeal to them.

The *Thomas*'s Agreement at *Achen* for a Factory.

The *Thomas*, another *Engliſh* Ship, had, as well as we, enough to do with theſe rude People at *Tecco*: And tho' they had gotten the King of *Achen*'s Letters to bear upon, yet they found it pretty hard work to bring the inſolent *Tecoans* to comply with the Contents of it. That Ship had agreed with the King of *Achen* for a Factory there, paying Cuſtom as other Nations did (which was Seven in the Hundred); which put the *Dutch* into a very great ferment.

And as for our other Ships, the *Dragon* and *Pepper-Corn*, tho' they had fix'd Matters with the King for a Trade at *Tecoe*, yet the time of that Trade was limited but to two Years, after which the Merchants were to repair to *Achen* it ſelf, which the King was reſolv'd to make the main Seat of Buſineſs.

K. of *Achen*'s falling out with the *Dutch*.

At preſent we ſeem to have the better hand of the Trade upon this Iſland: The *Dutch* had their ſhare here too, but they have diſguſted the King of *Achen*, and made him in ſome meaſure their Enemy. One way by which they affronted him, was, their demanding an Officer of theirs, who was entertain'd in his Service, and commanded ſome part of his Fleet of Gallies that were deſigned for *Malacca*. But then they refus'd him a Ship, which by an old Contract he affirm'd was due to him: And this heightned the Difference ſo far, that he forbid them coming aſhore; upon which Account the *Dutch* were forc'd to comply and reſign the Ship according to the Agreement.

And it may be this Miſunderſtanding might have worn off, if by a freſh Contempt of the Laws of his Country they had not renew'd it, and ſtirr'd his Choler a third time.

'Tis a ſtated Law at this place, that none muſt come aſhore till the King has ſent them his Chop, which gives them Licenſe ſo to do. Now the *Dutch* Reſident here at *Achen*, imagining or pretending to a much greater ſhare of the King's Favour, than it ſeems he had, made bold to bring a General of his own Country aſhore, without that Token of his Welcome, and the King's Leave; which being known, the King ſent for the Reſident to Court, and had him well toſs'd by an Elephant (as a Puniſhment for his Preſumption), tho' the Fright was more than the real Damage: For thoſe Creatures are taught how to manage an Execution ſo, as to give the Offender ſuch a portion of Puniſhment, more or leſs, as 'tis deſign'd they ſhou'd. The *Dutch-men* told the King, This was leſs than his Crime deſerv'd; and 'twas a very Mild and Fatherly Correction that he had given him: But yet, in ſhort, he pack'd up, and ſtole away from the place (out of the reach of the Elephants), being reſolv'd to have no more of the King of *Achen*'s Fatherly Correction, nor be toſs'd into his Duty by thoſe ſurly Executioners again.

Several of the reſt follow'd his Example, and march'd off too (tho' they were taken and brought back); but however, the King took this ſo ill, that ſince they did go out themſelves, he ſeconded them ſo far, as to ſhut the Door upon them, and to put us in poſſeſſion of their Houſe.

September.

All Buſineſs diſpatch'd at *Sumatra*, we left that Iſland, and went for *Bantam* once more. Here the Pepper-Trade was very brisk, and the Prices run conſiderably high, occaſion'd partly by the number of *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Ships trading for that Commodity at that time. But the main Reaſon was the great Noiſe made by the *Dutch*, of vaſt Sums of Money brought over this Year by them; they pretended to have 1600000 Rials of Eight ready Money, lying by them, which tho' probably a meer Boaſt, and made with a Deſign to out-brave us) yet ſo far animated the covetous *Chineſe*, and *Javans*, that they preſently hoiſted up the Price of their Commodities, and reſolved to make their own advantage by it.

The prejudice Factories receive in Foreign Parts by the Intemperance of thoſe that manage them.

The ill Condition we found a great part of our Men in belonging to the Factory of this place, renders it neceſſary to make ſome little Reflection upon the moſt probable Cauſe, as well of many Illneſſes here, as in ſeveral other parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. 'Tis true, no place is, or can be perfectly free from Diſtempers; nor no Conſtitution ſo ſound and happy, as not to lie open to an Invaſion of this kind.

In many places where we Trade, the Air is malignant and infectious; our Water tainted with ſome hurtful or diſagreeable Quality; the Proviſions we are forc'd to take up with, many times, not ſo nicely ſuted to the Temper and Diſpoſition of our Bodies, which are uſed to other Methods in our own Native Climates. But tho' all this be true, and each of theſe Doors is wide enough to let in a fatal Diſtemper, yet none does it ſo certainly and effectually as that of Intemperance. A Man may poſſibly preſerve his Body in good Temper in a bad Air, an unhealthy Soil, and with diſagreeable Food; provided he will live ſoberly and regularly, and does not debauch his Health.

Now this is the common Crime of our *Europeans* abroad, in theſe Eaſtern Countries; they let looſe the Reins to a licentious Appetite of Drinking, and are never well but when they are pouring down all the ſtrong and fiery Liquors, which the Caſe-harden'd *Indians* themſelves are us'd to. The Arack Houſes are continually crowded with them, where they ſit Guzzling whole Days and Nights together, making a Sea of that ſcalding Fluid in their Bellies, which proves more fatal to a great many of them, than that of Salt Water, from which they come.

* This is the great Drink at *Bantam* and *Sumatra*; a thing of that violent heat and ſtrength, that 'tis a wonder how Nature does to overcome it: And certainly, if a Man's inſide were made of dry combuſtible Matter, it would go near to ſet him of a light Fire. Now for People to come where the raging Heat of the Climate commands all the Temperance and good Management in the World; to ſit down in the middle of the Torrid Zone, and ſcald their inſides with burning Spirits, while the Sun is roaſting them without; this is almoſt as likely a way to die, as to leap into a flaming Pile, or a boiling Furnace, and a Man may expect it one way as well as the other. Men ought not to live here, as they might live, were they ſtarving in the Froſts and Cold of *Greenland*, or *Nova Zembla*; nor drink that while they are melting in *India*, that wou'd be ſufficient to keep them from freezing under the North Pole.

And yet after all the Lives that are thus ſacrificed to Riot and Intemperance, thoſe leud Courſes muſt not bear the Blame of it; the Fault is in the Air, or the Diet, or the Voyage it ſelf; 'tis any thing kills them, but their own Extravagance and Unrulineſs, and no Man will charge his Death upon the harmleſs Arack. 'Twere to be wiſh'd, that our Sea-men and Factors abroad, wou'd more ſtrictly obſerve the Rules of Morality, and Sober Living, in this reſpect; and not render themſelves incapable of filling up their Stations, and doing Publick Buſineſs, by an Indulgence in thoſe Liberties; which are at once a Reproach to Human Nature in general, a Damage to Themſelves, a Diſſervice to their Country, and an Affront to their Sacred Religion.

November.

From *Bantam* we were bound home for *England*: And conſidering the time of Year that we went this Courſe, we offer it as good Advice to all Ships coming towards the Cape at this Seaſon, not to take up at an Anchor ſhort

of

* 'Tis commonly diſtill'd from Rice, which is ſteep'd in a Liquor taken from the Coco-Tree. This is the Arack: But the Aracape is another of their ſtrong Liquors, as bad, if not worſe than the former.

Directions in Sailing from *Java* to *England.*

of *Soldania* Road at leaſt, but rather to put in at *Penguin* Iſland, and Anchor there till the Wind ſerve them. In the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, the S.S.E. Winds are very furious there, from the New Moon to the Full, this is to be allowed; yet notwithſtanding we eſteem it dangerous to neglect this place, in hope of St. *Helena*, the finding of which is very uncertain, and thick miſty Weather, and ſmall Aſſiſtance afforded either by Sun or Moon, being likely enough to blunder the moſt skilful Sailor (perhaps to the loſs of Men and Ships), at this Seaſon of the Year.

In our paſſage between the Bay of *Soldania* and *England*, we ſaw great Quantities of the Sea-weed call'd *Saregoſſa* *, which lay in long Ridges at ſome diſtance from one another as the Wind drive, with which they continually alter'd and ſhifted. It has a Leaf like Sampier, but not ſo thick, and a yellow Berry very ſmall: We found it ſcattering about from 22 Degr. 3 Min. North Lat. to 32 Degr.

* See the Voyage made by the *Pearl*, where 'tis deſcrib'd as having a white Berry; which therefore probably was another ſort.

We finiſh'd this Voyage, coming to an Achor in the *Downs* in *May*, *A. D.* 1617.

* CHAP. XXIX.

Some further Account of the Proceedings of the Factory at Crangalor, *in the King of* Calecut's *Country. Taken out of the Memorials of Mr* Roger Haves, *Reſident at that place.*

* Theſe Tranſactions here mention'd were after Capt. *Peyton*, and the reſt, were gone.

IN the foregoing Voyage we have ſeen the *Engliſh* ſettling themſelves in a new Dwelling in the Eaſtern Continent, and a potent Prince (hitherto a Stranger to them), giving them a kind Welcome at their Arrival. Our Nation had made her Succeſsful Viſits to all the Potentates and States almoſt round the *Indies*, but ſhe had never yet made any conſiderable Attempt at the Friendſhip and Correſpondence of the Great *Samorin* of *Calecut*.

That Prince, how worthy ſoever he might be of this Notice, yet was hitherto hardly capable of being a Friend to the *Engliſh*, becauſe of his intimate Correſpondence with the *Portugueze*, their moſt irreconcilable Adverſaries. But that Band of Union being broke, and the *Portugueze* inſtead of Favourites now proclaim'd his Enemies; the Prince is prepar'd for a new Alliance, and the *Engliſh* are invited to take their places. And beſides the preſent Diſtreſs of the War with the *Portugueze*, and the Deſire of routing them entirely out of his Dominions (in which the Valour and Strength of the *Engliſh* might be of conſiderable uſe to him), there might probably be a more valuable Cauſe inclining the *Samorin* to this Friendly Carriage towards them. For the Noble Captain *Dounton*, the laſt Voyage he made into the *Indies*, (when the Vice-Roy of *Goa* was ſo fairly and throughly beaten by him) had made ſome Applications on the behalf of his Country, by the means of a *Mallabar* Captain, to the King of *Calecut*. He had deſired him to move to his Prince, that a favourable Entertainment might be given to our Merchants that ſhou'd come into his Ports: And this, together with the encreaſing Fame of the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts, upon that ſignal Victory over the whole Power of *Portugal*, might diſpoſe the Prince to yield to thoſe Motions. And ſince that brave Perſon did not live to ſee the Fruit of his commendable Endeavours for the Good of his Country, the Praiſe and Honour of it muſt ſerve to adorn his Name and Memory, which will be far leſs mortal than he himſelf was.

Capt. *Dounton* had prepar'd the way to our Settlement, in the K. of *Calecut's* Dominions.

The ARTICLES of Agreement between the *Samorin*, and Capt. *Keeling*, were expreſs'd in theſe Terms, and compriz'd under theſe following Heads.

Agreement between the K. of *Calecut* & the *Engliſh*.

UNderecon Cheete, *the Great* Samorine, *&c. To* James *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, *&c. Whereas your Servant and Subject*, William Keeling, *Eſq; arrived in my Kingdom in the Month of* March, Anno 1615. *with three* Engliſh *Ships at the Port of* Cranganor, *in Latitude ten Degrees fifteen Minutes, and at my earneſt Sollicitation came aſhore to ſee me: There was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the* Engliſh *Nation, as followeth:*

Mar 4. 1615: Cranganor Caſtle and Iland promis'd to the *Engliſh*.

As I have been ever an Enemy to the Portugals, *ſo do I purpoſe to continue for ever: I do hereby faithfully promiſe to be, and continue a Friend to the* Engliſh, *and my Succeſſors after me: To endeavour the taking in of the Fort of* Cranganor, *and to poſſeſs the* Engliſh *thereof, as their own, with the Iſland thereof, which is in length on the Sea-Coaſt nine Miles, and in breadth three:*

Provided, That I purpoſe to build therein a Houſe for ſome of my own People, to the number of One hundred Perſons.

I will alſo endeavour, with the Aid of the Engliſh, *hereafter to take in the Fort and Town of* Cochin, *belonging formerly to my Crown and Kingdom, and then to deliver it into the poſſeſſion of the* Engliſh, *as their own proper Lands and Poſſeſſions: Provided, that the Charge of the Surprize be equally born, the one half by my ſelf, the other by the* Engliſh *Nation: And the Benefit of the Spoils thereof, in whatſoever quality, the one half to belong me, the other half to the* Engliſh *Nation.*

Cochin promiſed, and covenanted, to be given to the *Engliſh*.

The Samorine *to have no Right, Title, or Intereſt, in the aforeſaid Town, Precincts, or Appurtenances of* Cochin *at all.*

And the Samorine *doth alſo Covenant for himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, that the whole Trade of the* Engliſh, *in whatſoever Commodities brought in, or carried out, ſhall pay, yield, or allow no manner of Cuſtom, Impoſition, Tax, Toll, or any other Duty of whatſoever quality.*

And to theſe Covenants, which the ſhortneſs of time did not permit to amplifie; I the Samorine *have religiouſly ſworn by the great God I ſerve, to perform accordingly; and that not only for my ſelf, but for my Succeſſors after me: And in Witneſs hereof, have laid my Hand upon this Writing.*

And the ſaid William Keeling *doth promiſe, to acquaint the King's Majeſty with the Premiſſes, and to endeavour his Majeſty's Undertaking thereof accordingly.*

As for the Proceedings of the Factory (as far as appears by theſe imperfect Memorials) they were not ſo ſucceſsful as one wou'd have imagin'd they might have been. Where the Fault lay is hard to determine, eſpecially amongſt ſo ſly and ſubtle a People, and ſo perfect Diſſemblers as the *Indians* generally are. The King carried it fairly to them, and the People ſeem'd fond of their Company, and yet ſome ſecret Obſtacles prevented the growth and increaſe of Trade. 'Twas ſome time before they cou'd procure a Licence to carry their Goods to *Calecut*; however, that was permitted after many Delays, and the Factors went away to make a Trial of their Fortune at that place.

April, A. D. 1615

At their firſt coming thither, they were forc'd to take up in the Publick Cuſtom-Houſe for a Seaſon, till a more convenient place was made ready for the Reception of them, and their Merchandice; and if the Welcomes of the People wou'd have done the Buſineſs they came for, they had undoubtedly made a very profitable Work of it. But tho' to have to do with good temper'd People be a great advantage, yet to be under the Command of an ill temper'd Governour, is a Diſadvantage that in many reſpects overballances the contrary Advantage, and makes it of little uſe and ſignificancy.

Now this was the misfortune of the *Engliſh* there, the Governour was a perfidious diſſembling Fellow, a Friend only in appearance to them, but a real Well-wiſher to the *Portugueze*. He did as much as he dared, or cou'd (without an open Affront to his Prince), obſtruct the Deſigns of their Trade and Settlement in the Country; and wou'd, had it been poſſible, have totally diſpoſſeſs'd the *Engliſh*, and reſtor'd the *Portugueze* to their ancient Seat and Privileges there again.

Their Sufferings by the Governour of *Calecut*.

Our Factors being a little ſettled at *Calecut*, wou'd fain have given Notice to their Friends and Correſpondents at *Surat*, of their new Eſtabliſhment here; but the treacherous Governour wou'd not permit it, till all the Goods were ſold off, that thoſe at *Surat* (as he pretended) might be the better encouraged to come thither too. And when by his procurement a part of the Goods were ſold off to the Merchants of *Calecut*, they were ſo diſpos'd of, that they had as good almoſt have kept them ſtill in their hands; for the Cuſtomers he help'd them to, were ſuch as brought no ready Money; and tho' ſpeedy Payment was promis'd, yet by their many Delays, and ſhuffling Tricks, the Debt appear'd to be little better than deſperate.

July.

However, after this beginning of the Trade, he cou'd not defend himſelf any longer from their Importunities about ſending to *Surat*; which was accordingly done, tho' the Attempt was attended with a very great misfortune: For the Meſſenger diſpatch'd thitherwards, came back again with a Story, That he was beſet by the way with Thieves, ſoundly beaten, and robb'd of all his Money and Letters: The Circumſtances of which were ſuch, as afforded ſhrew'd Suſpicions, that the Fellow was robb'd with his own Conſent, and for his own particular part loſt nothing but his Honeſty. The Governour too hung down the Head upon the Report, and diſcover'd ſome plain Symptoms of a guilty Concern in this matter.

Cheating Merchants.

Now all this while the Merchants of *Calecut* and *Naſſapore*, were buſie a buying, but it was all upon the Stock of Credit; the Trade went on, but no Money came in. And whether the Governour and the Debtors had agreed together to ſhare the Profits of the Cheat betwixt them, or no, yet 'tis certain, that they did by Bribes procure him to get the Payment deferr'd, and put off from one time to another: So that if he was not a Knave of as great a magnitude as that comes to, yet he came as near the Proportions of ſuch a one as he well could.

The *Samorin* himſelf, all the while, carried it with the ſame ſteddy Hand of Favour and Reſpect to them, and no convincing Circumſtance appears, that renders his Fidelity ſuſpected, or reflects any part of the Blame of the Miſmanagement upon him: And if he was falſe, he was ſo with a wonderful deal of Art and Policy, and his Treachery was ſo fine, that (if it could be a pardonable Crime) it wou'd deſerve it upon that ſcore.

The Method they took to get their Money.

But the Governour and the Merchants were bare-fac'd, in compariſon; theſe latter cou'd find no Money to pay their Debts, but they cou'd for Bribes and Preſents to the Governour, in order to the ſecuring his Protection and Countenance in their ill Deſigns. Some Courſe there- muſt be taken, to force their Right out of the hands . theſe People, or they muſt reſolve to be ſtill put upon, in like manner, by every Knave of the Country; or elſe if not that, they muſt quite throw up their Buſineſs, and bid Adieu to all Trade at *Calecut*.

Now nothing cou'd give them a more happy advantage in this matter (had the beſt Fancy been ſet a Work to contrive one), than the fooliſh and ſuperſtitious Humour of the *Mallabars* *. From what monſtrous Principle of Impertinence their Cuſtom proceeded, is neither much material, nor very clear; but a Cuſtom they had, of obſerving a total Abſtinence from all manner of Food, and Waſhing, and every thing of that kind, as long as the *Engliſh* were within their Doors.

* This was a Bars length beyond the Folly of the Bramens, for they won't eat the Meat of other Peoples Dreſſing, but theſe won't eat their own, and at their own Houſes.

Theſe People indeed ought to have conceal'd, or diſſembled this Cuſtom, if they had reſolv'd not to pay what they ow'd; or elſe they ſhou'd have fortified themſelves in their Houſes, and kept their Creditors out of Doors: For Famine is as ſevere a Puniſhment, as any the Sword of a Magiſtrate can inflict; and 'tis as bad every whit to be ſtarv'd within Doors, as to be hang'd without. And tho' they were in no great danger of the latter, yet our Factors were forc'd to threaten them with the former, and that by getting into their Houſes, and declaring their Reſolution to ſtay till the Debts were diſcharged.

Here the *Mallabars* had three things left to their Choice, each of which was attended with its difficulty; either to pay their Debts, to deny their avowed Principles of eating with Strangers in their Houſes, or elſe to ſtarve with all their Proviſions about them: The firſt was offering Violence to Temper; the ſecond to Cuſtom, and perhaps to Religion; the third to the Laws of Nature, and Self-preſervation. In ſhort, they choſe the firſt of the three; Self-love prevail'd, and they agreed to pay their Debts; tho' they were not honeſt in ſo doing; no more than a Thief is honeſt, that reſigns the Prey that will be forc'd from him; or a Rebel is loyal, that gives up a Fort, which Famine, and all the Plagues of War, will let him hold no longer.

December.

This is the ſecond deſperate Debt that the ſtarving Method has help'd to recover. See Floris's Voyage for the other inſtance of it.

By this Policy they pick'd up a conſiderable part of their Debts, tho' it came in ſeveral Driblets, a little parcel from this Man, and as much from another; ſtill cloying them with their Company, till they cou'd hold out no longer, and then fifty or a hundred Fanos wou'd come out to procure their Releaſe, and ſend the *Engliſh* going. From whence it ſeems likely, that the *Mallabars* did not ſuſpect that the *Engliſh* were acquainted with that Cuſtom of theirs, which gave them ſuch an advantage upon them; for elſe they wou'd have guarded their Doors, and kept them out; had they been ſure the others came with a deſign to make ſuch uſe of it as they did.

But it muſt be own'd, that beſides their own Endeavours to recover the Money due to them, the *Samorin* himſelf took ſome care of the Affair, and employ'd ſome of his Nairo's to gather up their Debts for them; but theſe Villains, tho' they did no Buſineſs, wou'd come and demand a Reward; nay, go to the Debtors Houſes, and ſqueeze Money out of them to put in their own Pockets, and never be concern'd about bringing away any for thoſe that entruſted them. There was indeed at this time, hardly any Law, or Government, in the Country; and therefore no Juſtice, nor honeſt Dealing.

January. Attempts made by the Portugueze.

The *Portugueze*, about this time, came into *Calecut* Harbour, with a Fleet of thirty four Sail: There were only three *Mallabar* Frigats that lay there to entertain them; but they did it ſo well, that the *Portugueze* went off with a great deal of diſgrace. Some of them that were forc'd aſhore, were treated with the utmoſt Severity, hang'd up two Days by the Heels, and then toſs'd into the Dens of the wild Beaſts.

The Loyal Governour of the place had, as it ſeem'd, prepar'd very kindly for the *Portugueze*'s more eaſie Admiſſion there; for he was gone from his Charge, moſt of the great Guns were lock'd up, and they had not Powder and Shot for them that were in the way, for above two Diſcharges.

February. March.

The *Samorin* buſie in his Wars, ſent Letters to our Factors, wiſhing, that when the *Engliſh* Ships came, they would come to him at *Panean*; and to make them at *Calecut* eaſie in the mean time, bid them not be troubled about the Money that was due to them, for he would ſee them paid, tho' his Jewels were ſold to effect it.

Here the Account breaks off, and our Factors are not ſo kind as to proceed to tell us, whether the King of Calecut *was as good as his Word or no.*

Some Obſervations of Capt. Peyton's, *concerning the* Engliſh *and* Portugueze *Trade, Factories, and Acquiſitions, in the* Eaſt-Indies.

Factories ſettled by the *Eaſt-India* Company.

HE tells us, That when this laſt Voyage into *India* was made, the Company had Factories ſettled at theſe following places: At *Bantam, Jacatra, Surat, Amadavar, Agra, Azmere, Bramport, Calecut, Maſulipatan, Patania, Siam, Benjarmaſſe, Soccadania, Macaſſar, Achen, Jambi, Tecoo, Japan, Banda, Firando* in *Japan*.

As for the *Portugueze*, they have ſpread their Intereſt and Buſineſs into a far larger Compaſs than the *Engliſh* have, and take up much more room in the Eaſtern Parts than they; and beſides have this advantage, that they are abſolute Lords and Maſters in many places; they ſtand upon a Foundation of Dominion and Property, whereas the *Engliſh* are only Traders, and whatever they do in the Weſtern, claim no Dominion in the Eaſtern World. But this may appear no very great wonder, if two things be conſider'd: Firſt, That the *Portugueze* were earlier in their Viſits to theſe Parts than we; they began before us, and having had a longer time to Work, 'tis not ſtrange that they have done more Buſineſs.

But then they have other Ways and Methods to purſue the Enlargement of their Intereſt by, than the *Engliſh* Nation ever thought fit to practiſe, or ſubmit too. All is Fiſh that comes to Net with them, and right or wrong they ſeize any thing that lies within their reach.

And then 'tis a fine compendious way to get the poſſeſſion of a Country, to have a Bull from the Pope; and ſo enter to Rights upon the Privilege of Religion. 'Tis a mighty advantage to be the Sons of a Church, that has the Keys of the Nations hanging at her Girdle, and profeſſes a Power to draw the Lines of Inheritance and Dominion all the World over. Such Helps as theſe (together with Force to make them effectual) may very well conduce to the propagating of an Intereſt, and the good Settlement of a People abroad in the World.

Portugueze Trade and Poſſeſſions in the Eaſt.

And if we conſider Capt. *Peyton's* Account, that follows, we ſhall find the *Portugueze* have thriven very conſiderably upon it. To begin from the Coaſt of *Africk*, and ſo on Eaſterly.

On the Coaſt of *Africa*.

They have a Trade upon the River *Quame*, in 21 Degr. 50 Min. South Lat. for Gold, Ambergreeſe, Elephants Teeth, and Slaves.

At *Mozambique* for the ſame.

At *Mombaza* for the ſame, in truck for *Guzurat* Commodities.

At *Magadoxa* for the ſame, and ſeveral ſorts of Drugs.

From all theſe places they drive a Trade to *Cambaya*, the *Red Sea*, and divers other parts, curiouſly obſerving the Monſons, which blow Weſtward in *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, and part of *September*; and Eaſtward all the reſt of the Year; the ſmall ſpace intercepted between both, being either quite calm, or an uncertain mixture of many ſorts of Weather.

About the *Perſian* Gulf.

At *Ormus* they make a profitable Buſineſs on't. From hence they trade into *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and *India*; they draw great Quantities of Pearl from *Balſora* hither, and with them, and other *Perſian* Commodities, they ſend out a Ship or two yearly for *Diul*, upon the Coaſt of *India*, which they reach in the end of *Auguſt*, or beginning of *September*: This is as it were their Mint or Treaſury too, from whence they pour out vaſt Quantities of Coyn (Rials of Eight), into other places where they trade: In ſhort, next to *Goa*, 'tis certainly the beſt Poſt they are poſſeſs'd of in all the Eaſt.

At *Musket* they have a ſtrong Fort and Caſtle, tho' no great Trade; they are not ſo much Merchants, as proud domineering Maſters at this place: For here they keep all in the moſt ſervile Awe and Subjection about them, and give out their Paſſes and Licenſes for the going up and down of other Ships.

Upon the *Mogul's* Country.

At *Diul*, near the Mouth of the River *Indus*, and at *Diu*, in *Guzurat*, where they have a very ſtrong Caſtle.

Damon is entirely inhabited by them; and here they are fortified in a ſubſtantial Caſtle, and have, by Report, a Territory containing a hundred Villages taken in within their Lordſhip.

Serra de Bazion, which lies a little South from *Damon*, and borders upon the *Decanees*, this they are poſſeſs'd of; and between this place and *Chaul*, they have three Ports, *Gazien*, *Banda*, and *Maia*.

Upon the Coaſt of *Decan*.

Chaul is a large City, with a Caſtle, where they are well ſeated.

Dabul has a Factory, but not any Fort.

Goa is their *Indian* Metropolis, the Seat of the Vice-Roy, and all the Gallantry of the Nation, and the general Rendezvous of all their Forces, both for Land and Sea Service. This place has a large ſhare of Trade too: In ſhort, here are the ſtrongeſt Sinews that ſupport and hold together the parts of their Eaſtern Empire, which were they cut, the mighty Body wou'd quickly fall and drop all to pieces.

Onor has a ſmall Fort; *Barcelor* a Caſtle; and here they trade for Pepper, Ginger, and ſeveral ſorts of Drugs.

Mangalor and *Cananor*, both ſtrengthned with Caſtles, and affording the ſame Trade as the former.

Upon the *Malabar* Coaſt.

They are quite thruſt out from *Calecut*; and the *Samerine* is trying to do the like at *Crangalor*, where they have a Fort notwithſtanding.

Cochin is a place of conſiderable advantage to them; the City it ſelf is ſtrong, and the Caſtle like it; it enjoys a ſweet Air, and has a pleaſant Situation by the Sea-ſide, with a very convenient River for Ships to ride in.

Coulan, *Quilaon*, *Tuccatra*, all of them defended with good Caſtles, and moſtly fill'd up by the *Portugueze*, either Laiety or Clergy: For St. *Laurence*, a Village belonging to one of them, is entirely a Neſt of Friars and Jeſuits.

We follow them next off from the Continent, but ſhall quickly ſtep thither back again.

Upon the Iſle of *Ceylon*.

Maner, betwixt Cape *Comorin*, and *Punto de Galla*, is a Town wholly theirs: So alſo is *Colombo*, and ſeveral other places upon that Iſland. They are working themſelves in apace here; and if they hold on as they begin, the King of *Ceylon* will, in time, come to call him of *Portugal* Sovereign. Here they have a warm Trade for Cinamon and Drugs.

We now turn the Corner of Cape *Comorin*, and go up the other ſide of the Continent.

At *Nagapatan* they have a Factory; but *Maliapore*, (or St. *Thomas*) a Walled City is their own.

Upon the *Coromandel* Coaſt.

Up towards the *Ganges*, they have ſeveral ſmall Reſidencies, good Factories in ſome places, and every-where ſome Advantages or other, that make it worth their while to ſettle there.

In the Kingdom of *Bengala* they are poſſeſs'd of a good Town.

In *Pegu* they have a Factory; and ſo likewiſe in *Arracan*, and upon the River of *Martaban*.

At *Junſulao* they have a great Factory, from whence they lade vaſt Quantities of Tin for the *Malabar* Coaſt.

Upon the Continent on t'other ſide the *Ganges*.

At *Malacca* they are Maſters of City and Caſtle, which are both very ſtrong; and in being ſo, they are Maſters of the beſt part of the Trade of all thoſe adjoyning Countries: For *Malacca* has very few Cities (if any) that can pretend to Rival her all thereabouts, for the Sovereignty of Trade. But here the King of *Achen* is endeavouring to root them out; who if he ſucceeds, puts a Period to all the *Portugal* Greatneſs on this ſide the *Ganges*.

Coaſt of *China* and *Japan*.

At *Macao*, an Iſland on the Coaſt of *China*, they have a City with a Caſtle, and, as the Report goes, a very great Trade with the *Chineſe* there.

In *Japan* they have no Fort nor Caſtle, but only a Factory, that Prince being ſo wiſe as to keep them off at Arms length, and not ſuffer them to take any manner of hold upon him.

And this is the Draught our Captain has given us of the *Portugueze* Acquiſitions in the Eaſtern World.

Chap. XXX.

* *An Account of Sir* Tho. Roe's *Embaſſy to the Court of the* Great Mogul: *Taking in all the Particulars of thoſe Tranſactions, with other things remarkable that happen'd during his Abode there. Collected from his own Journal.*

* Note, All that relates to Geographical or Nautical Obſervations in this Journal, is inſerted already into that of Capt. *Peyton's*, with whom the Embaſſador went over. *September*, *A. D.* 1615. The Embaſſador ſets out for the Court.

Being come aſhoar at *Surat*, and having repos'd there ſome little time, after my long and tedious Voyage, I began my Journey towards the Court of the *Great Mogul*.

The Country that lies between *Surat* and *Bramport*, as far as it fell within the reach of my Obſervation, is for the moſt part poor and barren; the Towns and Villages built of Mud, and other baſe Materials, and hardly a convenient Houſe upon the Road for a Traveller to lodge in. There appear'd very little of the Pomp and Pleaſure of *India*, or of its Riches and Fruitfulneſs, this way that I went, tho' other Roads might poſſibly diſcover more. At a certain Village call'd *Batherport*, two Mile ſhort of *Bramport*, is their great Store-houſe of Ordnance; I ſaw abundance of Braſs Pieces there, of the *Indian*-make, which ſeems to be very irregular, thoſe Guns being for the moſt part as much too ſhort, as the Bore of them (in proportion) is too wide.

November, Comes to *Bramport*. His mean Accommodations there

Between this and *Bramport*, I was met by the Cutwall (or Marſhal) with a good Attendance, and ſo conducted to the Lodging prepar'd for me. But my Apartment was ſo mean and ſcandalous, that I choſe rather to lodge in my Tent, than take up with it; it conſiſted of four little Diviſions, not ſo much like Chambers as Ovens, being exactly of that form, and a very ſmall matter bigger. This ſorry Treatment obliged me to ſend the Cutwall word, That I would depart the Town out of hand, ſince I was entertain'd no better: But he deſir'd me to ſubmit to it, at leaſt for that one Night, and expreſſed ſo much unwillingneſs that I ſhould go away in a diſcontent, that I yielded to ſtay there.

But there was a more powerful Reaſon to induce my ſtay, than all the Cutwall's Perſwaſions, and that was a kind of neceſſity I lay under of making a Viſit to Sultan *Peruſe* (the King's Second Son), who reſided at *Bramport*, at that time. Here he lives almoſt in the ſame Royal Pomp that his Father does; a vaſt Crowd of Nobles, and a mighty Army is ever about him; and *Can Canna*, the Generaliſſimo of the *Mogul*'s Forces, manages all Affairs under him.

Goes to Viſit the Prince, and the manner of his Reception.

I could not avoid waiting upon this Great Perſon, ſince to have paſt him by, would have been interpreted a very heinous Contempt of his Dignity, and an Affront to the King as well as himſelf. Beſides, he was pleas'd to deſire a Viſit; and tho' that is but a civiller way of deſiring a Preſent in theſe Countries, where no Prince is ever addreſs'd without Complements of this nature; yet his Invitation added ſtrength to the Obligation I lay under upon other Accounts. So I went to his Palace, taking with me ſuch a Preſent as I thought might be grateful to him. I was receiv'd by the Cutwall at the Gate of the outward Court, in which were a hundred Gentlemen on Horſeback, arm'd, and making a Lane, through which I was to paſs. The Prince himſelf ſate mounted up in a round Gallery, in the inner Court, with a Royal Canopy erected over him, and as rich Carpets ſpread before him. As I drew near him, an Officer came and told me, I muſt pull off my Hat, and touch the Ground with my bare Head; but that ſort of Ceremony, tho' it might become his own Courtiers and Domeſticks well enough, yet I (who was none of that number) upon the Privilege of my Character made bold to refuſe it. But coming within the Rails, to the Steps of his Throne, I did him there that Reverence that I judged agreeable; in return to which he bowed his Body.

All the Grandees ſtood on both ſides of him, in the moſt humble poſture imaginable, with their Hands folded before them, as if they had been tied: And upon the Aſcent was plac'd his Secretary, whoſe Buſineſs there, was to give him, in the conciſeſt Terms, an Account of what was ſpoken or diſcours'd.

The Crowd of the Nobles and Attendants was ſo great, that I was willing to have gone up the Steps, and ſtood ſomething nearer him; but the Prince told me, That could not be granted; and even the Great Turk himſelf, if he were there, ſhou'd not be allowed to do it. Then I deſired the Liberty of a Chair; but that cou'd not be admitted neither; for his Highneſs aſſured me, That no Man, of how great Quality or Character ſoever, did ever ſit in that place, but himſelf only: Yet as a more than ordinary Favour, I was permitted to eaſe my ſelf, by leaning upon one of the Pillars that ſupported his Canopy. Upon the whole, I muſt ſay, the Prince carried it to me in a manner ſufficiently courteous and obliging.

Engliſh Factory at *Bramport*.

The State and Pride of theſe *Indian* Princes is intolerable, and they will hardly upon any account whatſoever, abate the leaſt Punctilio of Ceremony and Reſpect; but I believe I had as many, or more Conceſſions made me, than any of my Character, and the Prince condeſcended to lower Terms in treating with me, than the ſtrict and nice Rules he uſually obſerves, do allow of. He did the main Buſineſs I waited on him for, at the firſt Word, without the leaſt ſcruple or heſitation; the ſettling of a Factory there in *Bramport*. He gave order for the Firman to be preſently drawn up; which was to Authorize the Merchants both to come, and to reſide there.

The Preſents I made him, he took very kindly; and I had now gotten ſo much of his Favour, that I was invited to a free and familiar Converſation with him, in a more retired place. At that Publick Audience, and before ſo great an Appearance, he was obliged to conſult his Greatneſs, and carry it with more ſtate and diſtance; but he would withdraw into another Room, where all that ſtiffneſs ſhould be laid aſide, and I ſhould have the Liberty (as he told me) of coming up to him.

But an odd Accident deprived me of this Honour: For a part of my Preſent to him, being a Caſe of Bottles fill'd with rich Cordial Waters, the Prince (who was going into the withdrawing Room) ſupp'd ſo liberally of his Bottles by the way, that he became wholly unfit for Company at that time. 'Twas a ſudden turn, and the Strong-Waters were preſently got up into his Highneſs's Head; but there they were, and that to ſuch purpoſe, that he was forc'd to ſend an Officer to excuſe his not calling for me now, and to deſire my Company ſome other time.

Having finiſh'd all that required my ſtay and preſence at *Bramport*, I proceeded in my Journey towards the Court. By the way travelling through the Country of * *Raja Ranna*, I had a proſpect of the Ruines of the ancient and famous City of *Gurchito*. As the Prince himſelf is generally reckon'd the true Succeſſor of *Porus*, whom *Alexander* the Great conquer'd, ſo this City is eſteem'd to have been one of *Porus*'s Royal Seats; tho' the Old *Delly* that lies more Northward, is believ'd to have been the Capital City of the ancient *Indian* Empire. Amongſt the Ruines of *Gurchito*, are to be ſeen the tatter'd Carkaſſes of at leaſt a hundred Temples, all built of fair carved Stone, a vaſt number of Houſes, Towers, Arches, and Pillars; of all which, devouring Time and Wars have only left ſo much, as is ſufficient to make a Spectator gueſs what the place was formerly, and to lead him into ſome pleaſant Thoughts of the Glory and State of old *Porus*'s Kingdom.

* See Mr. *Finch's* Relation of his Travels thrô *India*, where the Caſtle is mention'd, tho' no Account of the City there.

Indeed, the Moguls themſelves do contribute as much to the defacing and ſpoiling theſe Noble Remains of Antiquity as Age it ſelf, and other Accidents have done. They take care to have all the Inhabitants entirely remov'd from them, and ſtrictly forbid all manner of Reparation, and careful Endeavours of Builders, or any others, to preſerve the decaying Strength and Beauty of thoſe Buildings. The Reaſon of which is very hard to be imagin'd, unleſs it be, that they would have nothing appear great in the whole Empire, but what they themſelves are the Authors and Founders of; and are willing the World ſhould believe *India* had no degrees of Splendor and Beauty to pretend to, but what it has derived from their Family, ſince they became the Maſters of it. Tho' if this be their Deſign, they are like to come ſhort of it, unleſs they can bury vaſt Rocks and Mountains (with the Ruines of Cities and Caſtles upon them) under ground; unleſs they can ſink thoſe mighty Pillars (whoſe Foundations are ſo ſtrong and deep below) quite down to the Center, or let them plunge into the great *Abyſſe*. For as long as any of theſe things are above ground, all People that have Eyes, will ſee what the old *India* was, and by ſeeing thoſe remaining Monuments of it, will be perſwaded that whatſoever this *Tartar* Family may have done towards the adorning of her, they have robb'd her of better Ornaments than they have given her; and with all the Advantages of their new and more modiſh Buildings, have left her far beneath the pitch of her own primitive Magnificence.

Embaſſadour arrives at *Aſmere*, and his Entertainment by the *Mogul*. *January.*

From hence I proceeded in my Journey for *Aſmere*, where the Court was at that time; and having reſted ſome time in the Lodgings provided for me, went to have my firſt Audience. The Ceremonies of this were ſo like that of my waiting upon the Prince, the *Mogul* himſelf ſitting in the ſame manner, and his Nobles and Attendants in the ſame poſtures about him, that it does not need any particular Deſcription. It is ſufficient to ſay that there is a lively repreſentation of a Theater when this Monarch ſits in State upon all publick Occaſions. Himſelf and his great Men ſtanding orderly about him upon the Aſcents of his Gallery (raiſ'd to a conſiderable height) appear like the Actors on a Stage, whilſt all the wondering croud below in the Pit are employing the utmoſt ſtrength of Eyes and Ears, to ſee and hear what paſſes above. When I came into the preſence, and had made my ſeveral Reverences to him, he was pleas'd to prevent my dull Interpreter and begin himſelf, bidding me heartily welcome; welcome to him who was the Friend and Brother of my Maſter the King of *England*. He curiouſly viewed his Majeſties Letters, my own Commiſſion as Embaſſadour, and the Preſents I brought him in my King's Name. And becauſe I had been ill a conſiderable part of the Journey, very kindly offer'd me the Care and Aſſiſtance of his own Phyſicians, and gave me a very great charge to look nicely to the preſervation of my Health while I was in his Country; for which purpoſe he adviſ'd me to keep my Lodgings till I had perfectly recover'd my ſtrength; and if in the mean time I wanted any thing neceſſary to my eaſe and refreſhment, to ſend freely to him, whom I ſhould always find ready to grant my Deſires. If the Obſervations of the *Europeans* there preſent were juſt and impartial, I was receiv'd by him with more Expreſſions of Grace and Good Will than any Embaſſadour had been before. I had the Liberty granted of uſing the Cuſtoms of my own Country, and was not oblig'd to that very ſervile adoration, that kneeling and knocking of the Ground with the Head, that the *Turk* and *Perſian* Embaſſadours can never be admitted into his Preſence without. 'Twas allow'd me to pay my reſpects to him in the ſame manner that I did to my own Prince, and provided I obſerved thoſe Ceremonies exactly, he would not impoſe thoſe of his own Court and Country upon me.

One particular of his Majeſties Preſent to this Prince being a fine Coach (a thing wholly new, and conſequently to be preſumed pleaſing to him) he was ſo taken with it, that he got the ſame Night into it, and made ſome of my Men draw him about the Court. And his *Engliſh* Coach-man has a rare place on't, and will in all probability quickly get a very great Eſtate, ſince, beſides a noble Salary which is allowed him, he ſeldom drives the *Mogul* any where, but he has a Preſent to the value of five or ten Pounds.

The Embaſſadour goes to ſee Sultan *Caroon*, and procures his orders for *Surat*.

The King's third Son Sultan *Caroon* having the Supreme Command of all things at *Surat*, the place of our principal Reſidence and Trade, I was for that Reaſon (as well as his Relation to the King) oblig'd to make him a formal viſit. He is the King's favourite Son, and a moſt violent Enemy to all Chriſtians; on which Account (fearing ſome affront) I firſt ſent word of my deſign of coming to wait on him when he was pleas'd to receive my Viſit. But the Prince prov'd much more courteous and complaiſant than the Character of his Temper allow'd me to expect; he return'd me a promiſe of good Entertainment, and was far genteeler and civiler than he had promis'd to be. I deliver'd him a Preſent (not as from his Majeſty, who was not then acquainted with his Title as Lord of *Surat*, a thing lately confer'd upon him) but as the Reſpect of our *Engliſh* Merchants, who did by me commend themſelves to his Favour and Protection. And as he receiv'd all in very good part, ſo he promis'd the full and effectual Redreſs of all Grievances at *Surat*, and to give any Security that could be deſired for the Quiet and Defence of our Factory there. This was as much as could be crav'd at his Hands, and having obtained this, I left him with no ſmall Satisfaction at my Happy Succeſs. And 'twas not long after before I had occaſion to addreſs the King himſelf (a ſecond time) about theſe Affairs.

His ſecond Audience of the King, and Firmans gotten for the *Engliſh* at *Amadanar*.

Our *Engliſh* ſeated at *Amadanar* had been horribly injur'd by the Governour there both in their Perſons and Goods; having been impriſon'd, fin'd, and ſtrangely exacted upon every way. Theſe corrupt Officers had got a trick of demanding new Cuſtoms at every Town as our Goods paſs'd along to the Port, contrary to all the meaſures of Juſtice and the eſtabliſh'd Rules of Trade. But this Burden was taken off effectually at my firſt Complaint; I think the Raſcals eſcaped with their Lives, but they were ſtrictly commanded to do Juſtice, and make reſtitution to a Farthing of all that they had ſo illegally extorted from the Merchants. And to make all this as ſure as might be, there were two Firmans drawn up, in which was granted a compleat Releaſe from all thoſe new Cuſtoms, all Money or Goods taken upon that account order'd to be reſtor'd, and a Confirmation of all the Favours and Privileges formerly vouchſafed to our Merchants and Factors. But 'tis to be obſerv'd I never went to Court but I carried ſome Preſent or other, for the King always expects it, and that from every Body that comes about Buſineſs; be it ever ſo ſmall he accepts it, even as low as the value of a ſingle Rupie, and from many People it does not come to much more; ſo that conſidering this, it ſeems to be rather a piece of ſtate, than any thing of the effect of an Avaritious Temper. 'Tis hard to ſuppoſe a Monarch as rich as all this noble part of the World can make him, that is able to pave his way with Gold and Precious Stones, and build him Houſes almoſt with the ſame coſtly Materials; 'tis hard to imagine him ſo ſordidly Covetous, as to demand a Rupie of an Inferiour or a Poor Subject, meerly for the lucre of the Money. And yet unleſs a Man complies with this Cuſtom there's nothing to be done, and his Cauſe tho' ever ſo juſt muſt be uſhered in with ſome acknowledgment of this nature, or never come before the King, for which Reaſon it may more probably be a Deſign of Policy than any baſe Intent to ſqueeze his Subjects, and rake away their Money from them, eſpecially the poor ones, who obſerve the ſame Law in their proportion with the reſt.

The *Mogul*'s reſpect to Sir *Thomas Roe*. *March.*

What I preſented his Majeſty withal upon theſe Occaſions, had generally the good Fortune to be very well liked, tho often of no great value; and the King took as much care to make thoſe that were about him ſenſible of it, by ſeveral Methods in which he expreſs'd his kind Reſentments. He commonly made me ſtand nearer to him, and in a more elevated place than the reſt of the Courtiers; and for this I needed not to wait his own Motion, or the Ceremony of asking leave, but come directly to the place appointed for me, doing all the ſtated Reverences by the way. Thus great and particular was his Reſpect to my Soveraign Lord and Maſter, whom he had no other way to Compliment ſo immediately and directly, as by his Civilities to my ſelf who had the Honour to repreſent his Perſon there. But yet all this while the main deſign of my Embaſſy was not accompliſh'd, nor in any good degree of forwardneſs. The King himſelf was kind, but his Courtiers and Miniſters of State were ſome of them envious, ill natur'd, and Men of intriegue. There was wanting yet a more Solemn, Formal and Authentick Confirmation of the Agreement, than that by common Firmans, which were granted upon every trifling occaſion, and till this was done, my Endeavours at this Court came ſhort of their moſt deſired Succeſs. And ſome formidable Enemies ſtood in my way while I attempted the gaining of this. The Prince (*Sultan Caroon*) was not my Cordial Friend, notwithſtanding all the Careſs that had paſs'd betwixt us, and the Civil Offices he had lately done me. Whether 'twas his hatred to the Chriſtian Name in General, or any particular averſion for the *Engliſh* Nation or my ſelf, I am not certain, but an Obſtacle he was in my way, and a conſiderable, tho' a ſly and ſecret one.

His Difficulties and Enemies at Court, with a remarkable Paſſage.

But there was another whoſe Power was more to be dreaded than his, tho'he was the Kings Son and his Darling too; this was *Aſaph Can*, the Brother of *Normahel*, the *Mogul*'s moſt beloved Wife. This Woman was ſo much Miſtreſs of his Heart, that ſhe rul'd both him and the great Empire even as ſhe pleas'd her ſelf: She could command what Lives or Fortunes ſhe would, places of Truſt, Honour, and Preferments were at her diſpoſe. To procure her Favour was the ſureſt way for a Man to riſe to any heighth of Dignity or Glory that he deſired; for her Good-Will once gotten, the King's was certain and infallible, he being a perfect ſlave to her, and not able to deny her any thing that ſhe ask'd. This Brother of hers was raiſ'd by her, from a baſe and ſordid Condition, *Notumque furens quid Fœmina poſſit,*

The Embaſſadour goes to the King to complain.

to the ſublimeſt Poſts in the Empire, made (of an ordinary mean Fellow) a Prince, and the greateſt of Princes about the King, and which is more his Friend and moſt intimate Counſeller. Whatever Deſigns this Man had to carry on, 'twas only needful for him to engage his Siſter on his ſide; her Charms could make his way into the Kings Heart and Secrets, and diſpoſe the yielding Monarch to a Compliance, tho' Reaſon and Intereſt ſeem'd to ſtand in the way. And as theſe Perſons that are thus ſuddenly lifted up upon the Wings of Fortune to ſo vaſt a height above their own natural level, are moſt apt to forget themſelves, and take upon them to controul and govern others, ſo was this *Aſaph Can*; he preſum'd ſtrongly upon his great Alliance, ſet up for a Controuler in the Court, and pretended to have his Hand in the diſpoſing and ordering all Affairs that paſs'd. But it does not always happen that theſe People have their Wills, and carry all irreſiſtably before them: A managed Prince ſometimes comes to himſelf and takes the Reins into his own Hands, in ſpite of all the Arts and Tricks of his crafty Governours. The *Mogul* did ſo in the Buſineſs I am now going to relate; *Aſaph Can* could not keep him in order, and *Normahles* Charms were then out of ſight. I had all along truſted this Man with my Affairs, he being ſo near to, and ſo great about the King, and being wholly ignorant of his Good Temper and Virtues, I thought I might do it ſecurely. But by degrees I found I was left in the dark, my Buſineſs was delay'd and put off, and nothing but good Words and fair Promiſes came. For which Reaſon I reſolved to go to the King, and enlighten my ſelf by a plain and free Diſcourſe with him, which Honour was always permitted me without reſtraint, and the Favourite himſelf could not deprive me of it. When I came I was admitted my ſelf, but my Interpreter was excluded by the Intriegue of *Aſaph Can*, who fear'd he would interpret more than ſtood with his Intereſt for the King to underſtand. But this Plot did not take; and the King himſelf was the Confuſion of it, by beginning to enter into a Diſcourſe with me; for I was not able to anſwer any of his Queſtions, and by a Friend thereby ſignified as much to his Majeſty, adding alſo that my Interpreter was, for I knew not what Reaſons, denied the Liberty of coming in. Upon this he being call'd in, I commanded him to tell the King I deſired to ſpeak to him, which he willingly granted; but preſently the oppoſite Faction began to croud ſo cloſe about the Throne that all ſight and hearing was taken away, and one of them was ſo civil as to pull my Interpreter away by force. But I made him ſpeak ſo loud to the King that all their malicious Endeavours could not prevent his hearing, and commanding way to be made for me to my accuſtomed place within the Rails. Thus I ſtood on one ſide of my Interpreter while *Aſaph Can* planted himſelf on the other, on purpoſe to over-awe him, or bribe him into Silence, or a wrong and defective Story of the Matters he was to repreſent: This was evident by his Motions of winking and jogging, which I diſcern'd well enough, tho' the buſie Miniſter perhaps thought I had not. In a word I deliver'd my full mind to the King, and deſir'd to be at ſome certainty about the reſult of all my Endeavours and Attendance at his Court. Our Nation (I told him) could not ſettle ſecurely in his Country upon the Foundation laid at preſent, and unleſs ſomething ſurer and firmer were done, that might infallibly prevent all Diſorders for the future, our Endeavours to keep up a Trade there would be to no purpoſe. I added that I forbore filling his Majeſties Ears with Complaints (how juſtly ſoever I might do it) ſince I hoped his Royal Orders given out for that purpoſe would take away all cauſe of uneaſineſs and diſturbance for the time to come.

The *Mogul* in a rage with his Son.

This laſt hint touch'd the guilty *Aſaph Can* to the Quick, and made him attempt to pull the Interpreter away; he knew himſelf concern'd too nearly to be quiet and patient while ſo tender a point as this was diſcuſſed. But however all his ſigns and intimations to the Interpreter to hold his Tongue would not do; it was out and too far gone to be recall'd; the King took the alarm in a violent rage, demanded who 'twas that had preſumed to do us any Wrong. He ſpoke with ſo much terrible fury and eagerneſs that I was willing to have let the Buſineſs drop, ſince I did not know what might be the effect of ſuch a ſtorm. I replied therefore that I would not trouble his Majeſty with what was paſt, but apply my ſelf for Juſtice to his Son, whoſe Favour and Protection I doubted not to obtain. But he (whoſe Paſſion had almoſt taken away the free and regular uſe of his Sences) hearing the mention of his Sons Name, and believing I had accus'd him as one of the Plotters againſt our Liberties, began to exclaim in a more fierce manner *Mio Filio, Mio Filio*, and preſently order'd him to make his appearance and anſwer for himſelf. Now all the Company was in a conſternation; *Aſpah Can* ſtood by pale and trembling, and the beſt Courtiers in the Preſence did little better. When the Prince came the King reprov'd him in ſmart and bitter Terms, and would hardly give him leave to ſpeak in his own Defence. But as his Heat went off, I made him ſenſible of the miſtake; that the Prince was not accus'd nor his Name mention'd upon any ſuch diſhonourable account. And as the Prince had offer'd me a Firman before, ſo I did him the Juſtice to acknowledge it to his Father, tho' at the ſame time 'twas ſuch a one as the Conditions of it render'd wholly inſignificant; which alſo I was oblig'd to tell for my own defence from blame and cenſure. The matter carried on thus far, brought us into a very hot diſpute; *Aſaph* and *Mocrebchan* (now both come to again, and able to ſpeak after the late Fright) took the Prince's part, run down the *Engliſh*, argued for the *Portugueze*, and labour'd to prevent my Buſineſs from coming to a Head. The *Jeſuits* and all the *Portugueze* Faction put in, and all at once endeavour'd to gain the King from me. But as my contempt of thoſe Men was too great to allow me to undertake any particular diſpute with them; ſo my main care was to keep the King on my ſide, and poſſeſs him with an opinion of the Juſtice and Reaſonableneſs of what I propos'd. And in this point I ſucceeded ſo well, that all the reſt were ſilenc'd, and I had free Scope and Liberty granted me to make my Propoſals; the Sum of which was this, that for the more perfect ſecuring of Trade, Peace and all Offices of Friendſhip between the Subjects of the *Great Mogul* and the King of *England*, his Majeſty would pleaſe to order three Firmans to be drawn up, one of which ſhould be ſign'd by himſelf, the other by the Prince, and a third by my ſelf in the Name of my King.

The Embaſſadour gains his point in the Diſpute.

In order to this all my Demands were to be preſented in Writing, to be perus'd by the King and his Council; which if they were approv'd of, the Firmans were to be made according to the Tenour of them with all diſpatch; if not, there was a compleat Anſwer given, and we knew what we had to depend upon. Thus this Buſineſs ended favourably in ſpite of all that would have confounded and perplexed it; the King and the Prince both engaged themſelves to Seal, if they found my Terms fair and reaſonable, and I did the like on the behalf of my Royal Maſter; and now the Aſſembly broke up. I can't omit taking notice of the King's mighty care and concern about the Preſents that his Majeſty of *England* would ſend him upon this ſtrict and ſolemn renewal of the League betwixt them. Methoughts it look'd a little mean and odd in ſo great a Monarch to trouble himſelf about ſuch trifling things; but the Cuſtom has obtain'd, and do it they will in ſpite of all their greatneſs that commands the contrary. To ſend him Gold or Jewels, or any rarities of that kind, which his own Country afforded in ſuch Plenty, and ſupplied the reſt of the World withal, this I told him would be to no purpoſe; but whatever things our Country yielded that were rare and excellent, and were ſtrangers to his, with all ſuch things he might be ſure our King would take care to gratify his Majeſties Fancy. And to do him Juſtice he was not ſolicitous at all about any of thoſe rich things mentioned, but was very earneſt to have a breed of *Engliſh* Horſes; and if I would procure him a Preſent of thoſe Creatures, it would be the greateſt Pleaſure I could do him. Now the difficulty of tranſportation was conſiderable upon the account of the length of the Voyage, and 'twas ten to one whether the Horſes came alive to *India* or no, at leaſt in any tolerable caſe, and fit for the uſe of ſo great a Prince; but all thoſe Objections were nothing to him, whoſe Fancy was ſtrongly ſet this way; the Horſes muſt be ſent for, and if they came lean and poor, he ſaid he would take care to fat them again.

April. The Prince argues with the King againſt the *Engliſh*. *A. D.* 1616.

After this I found by ſome Intelligence that the Prince applied himſelf with great diligence to the work of ruining our Affairs at Court. He pretended to demonſtrate to the King that we were a Burden and a Detriment to the Country in compariſon with the *Portugueze*; that their Buſineſs amounted to vaſtly more than ours, and beſides brought his Majeſty Pearls and Jewels, whereas we never preſented him but with Pedlary Ware, Knives Swords and Cloth, and other Toys of little value. I concluded by this that the effects of the late Diſpute were highly diſobliging to him, and he took himſelf to be affronted by what I had done, tho' 'twas moſt evident that 'twas all a miſtake on the King's part, and there was no deſign in the leaſt of expoſing him to his Fathers diſpleaſure at that time. This *Aſaph Can* was ſenſible of, and confeſs'd to me afterwards that both the Prince and himſelf had all imaginable Reaſon to aſſert and juſtify my ſincere Intentions in that matter; but they both know how to diſſemble, and I found by their Actions that they believ'd me guilty, tho' by Words they declar'd me Innocent.

June.

But now there was ſome proſpect of the Removal of this Adverſary of our Nation (the Prince I mean) away from the King's Ear and Councils; tho' perhaps our Circumſtances would have been little mended by it upon other accounts; for tho' he was out of the way of doing miſchief at Court, yet he was in the way of doing it ſomewhere elſe, and would be abſolute and above controul wherever he was; and as no Complaints would ſignifie any thing againſt him while he was exerting his Power and Soveraignty any way to our prejudice; ſo it would be impoſſible ever to procure any Satisfaction for Wrongs he ſhould do at that diſtance.

The Buſineſs deſign'd for him was the command of the Army employ'd in the *Decan* Wars, in which he was to ſucceed his elder Brother Sultan *Peruiſe*, who was now to be recall'd from that Poſt. The King had conſulted the *Bramens* and the Religious Men in this Affair, more than his Council and the Military Officers that were capable of giving him better Advice.

Sultan *Caroon* not loved by the Souldiers.

It was directly, contrary to all their Sence and Notions, that Sultan *Caroon* ſhould have the Supreme Command devolved upon him; for all the Souldiers hated him for his barbarous tyrannical Humour, and the Generals themſelves refus'd to ſtay, and declar'd they would lay down their Arms if he came amongſt them. But the Council of the Holy Men prevail'd, and the Prince muſt go tho' all the Army runs away at his arrival; 'tis probable that thoſe Wiſe Men had ſhewn the King ſome lucky Preſages of Victory and Succeſs under his management, either the Sacrifices had yielded happy Tokens to theſe curious Obſervers of them, or they had found it out in the Scheme of his Nativity. 'Twas thought by all that Sultan *Peruiſe* would reſent his coming ſo high an affront that he would ſet himſelf to revenge it; and that if the two Brothers happened to meet, there would be ſome Blood ſhed on both ſides before they parted again.

The King indifferent which of his Sons gets the better.

July.

But the King made but a Jeſt of all this; let them fight it out (ſays he) and end the quarrel between themſelves as well as they can, he that gets the Victory, and proves himſelf the beſt Man of the two, ſhall carry on the War againſt the *Decanees*, and the other ſhall come home.

But this may be of worſe conſequence to his State than he ſeems now to be aware of, and ſhould his Sons (ſo violently enrag'd againſt each other as they are) involve the Country in a Civil War, the old Prince may have time enough to repent his eaſineſs and indiſcretion, and may wiſh his Affair had been more prudently conducted.

The *Engliſh* ſecur'd at *Baroch*, by the means of *Mahobet Can*.

Our Buſineſs at *Barech* had about this time a favourable turn given to it, by the kind and diſcreet management of *Mahobet Can*, a Perſon of the higheſt rank in the Empire. He is a Man beloved of his Prince, greatly truſted by him, and ſeems one of the main ſtays and props of his Government. His good Qualities deſerve all the Honours and Preferments that have been heap'd upon him, and 'tis hard to find in all this Court where the King's Favours could have been more worthily plac'd than here. The Prince Sultan *Caroon* has no Kindneſs for him; but as that's one Argument of his being an honeſt and good natur'd Man; ſo on the other ſide he neither fears nor cares for Prince, and that's as good a Proof of his Courage and Reſolution. This Perſon made (at my firſt requeſt) our Firman for *Barech* as effectual as could be deſir'd. The *Engliſh* therein had a Houſe granted them juſt by the Governour's, by which means they were fix'd more out of the way of violence and treacherous uſage, and nearer their Remedy in caſe of any Diſorder. But there were all poſſible Precautions againſt any thing of that nature likewiſe, and ſevere Penalties to be inflicted upon thoſe that ſhould offer any Diſturbance by Sea or Land. All the Cuſtoms were freely remitted; and they might buy, ſell or tranſport any Commodities at pleaſure, without the leaſt moleſtation from any Man. Theſe Privileges the Prince would never have granted, but now they were procur'd without his Favour, and ſo would (under the Protection of this great Man) be continued without the ſame. For the King who knew and lov'd his Loyalty and other Vertues, rewarded his Merit with a large and almoſt an abſolute Power in the Country, to do and diſpoſe things as he ſaw fit; ſo that he continuing our Friend (and there's no likelyhood of his loſing the *Mogul's* Favour) our Trade may thrive conſiderably, and we may be far more eaſie than ever.

Baroch will now be a ſafe retreat to us from the Injuries and Oppreſſions of the Prince, and by his remiſſion of the Cuſtoms at leaſt 1500 pound *per An.* will be ſaved, beſides all the loſſes conſequent upon ſearches into our Goods and other cheating methods practis'd by the common Officers; and laſtly, our Trade and Privileges will not now ſtand upon ſo uncertain and precarious a Foundation as they muſt while we depend ſolely upon the Prince, where upon every change of Humour, or Bribe, or Story of a fawning corrupt Courtier, our Intereſt was ſhaken, and a building erected with no little coſt and pains, every moment in danger of tumbling to the Ground.

By the way this Perſon made one diſcovery to me, which ſerves as well to evince the Integrity and Generoſity of his own temper, as to ſhew the avarice and ill management of the Officers in all the trading Towns. The *Great Mogul* himſelf demands nor takes no Cuſtoms, neither is there any that way that comes into his Treaſury. 'Tis the Governours do all this for their own private Advantage, they impoſe what Duties they pleaſe, and rigorouſly exact (what they think fit to demand) of all Foreigners they have to do with. And if the miſchief ſtopt here and went no farther it were yet ſomething tollerable; but are there is no bounds ot their Extortion and Covetouſneſs, ſo there is no end of their racking and preying upon Strangers; they ask what they will, and take what they ask, and 'tis well if they don't take more in to the Bargain. And in all theſe caſes 'tis hard for a Man to come by a Remedy, nay, 'tis many times more chargeable and troubleſome than the Diſeaſe it ſelf; it muſt be only (if it be at all) by making ones own complaint in Perſon to the King, for there's no truſting any of the great Men about him to manage the Cauſe, or deliver the Sence of it to him, ſince 'tis infallibly certain that they'll never let him underſtand the Truth of it. They always obſerve theſe two Rules in diſcourſing of any matters of this nature to the King; either to ſpeak what pleaſes themſelves, and makes for the Intereſt of their own Faction, or elſe what they know will be agreeable to him and ſutes his Fancy and Humour, be it true or falſe. How unhappy (in this Reſpect) is the Condition of a mighty Monarch, who (while the World bows before him, and Crowns and Scepters are laid at his Feet) is himſelf the moſt govern'd thing of all, and has his Mind and Sences under the management of others. The intriguing Courtiers that ſurround him keep guard upon his Underſtanding; meaſure out all his Knowledge to him, and ſhape and mould the Objects of it into what form they think beſt. Truth and Falſhood both appear in the Colours they are pleas'd to dreſs them up in; and the Proſpect of all Objects about him is preſented by their Glaſſes, which make the Appearance ſuch as ſerves their turn. The eaſie Prince (given up to his Pleaſures) examines nothing, but takes all upon truſt; all Cares and Troubles are excluded from his Happy Retirements; he gluts himſelf with the Joys of his own Palace, and lives trick'd and impos'd upon by the flattering Courtiers all his Days.

To finiſh all the Buſineſs I had to do in *India*, I wanted but ſuch another Diſpatch for other places, as I had now for *Baroch*, by the Civility of *Mahobet Can*.

August.

But beſides this Perſon, the King had the happineſs of another very Great and Loyal Subject, as well as we our ſelves of a good and obliging Friend; and truly both theſe were ſo ſcarce in *India* at my being there (I mean Men of real Honour and Generoſity, upright and diſintereſted in their Actions, ſuch as dared to be truly zealous for their Prince, and juſt and kind to Strangers) that all we find of them may without any great trouble be mention'd.

The Civility of the Vice-roy of *Patan* to the Embaſſadour.

This was the Vice-roy of *Patan*; he gave me a large account of the State of the Court and Kingdom; the Intereſts, Characters, and Pretentions of the ſeveral Grandees that were concern'd in the Government. He did not ſpare the Vices of the Courtiers, but made keen Reflections upon them all; giving me all the Cautions in the World about ſtanding upon my guard, and ſeeing and hearing with my own Eyes and Ears (as far as was poſſible) while I ſtaid in this Court. He ſpoke with great Reverence and Piety of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, commending his Laws and Doctrine, and expreſſing a high value for both. I found no Man in *India* capable of giving ſo agreeable an Entertainment as he, in pleaſant and profitable Diſcourſe; for he perfectly well knew the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country, the Humours and Tempers of all People; and had gone through the Reigns of three Princes with glory, having been Favourite to every one of them. He had very often invited me to his Houſe, and at laſt his more than ordinary importunities brought me to ſee him; and there I may ſay I had large Proofs how Noble, Hoſpitable and Courteous a Perſon my Hoſt was. I could not defend my ſelf from a liberal Preſent that he would needs make me, and the rather becauſe 'twas the Product of his own Government, in which a great deal of it is made. It was a parcel of the pureſt Loaf-Sugar, each of which Loaves weigh'd about 50 *l.* and the whole Cargo conſiſted of a hundred ſuch.

A greedy covetous Perſon might have made ſome Profit of the Converſation of this Generous, Open-hearted Man; Decency wou'd not allow my Acceptance of what elſe he wou'd have given me; but he reſolv'd to be reveng'd another way, and ſend a fit Perſon into *England* to Complement, and carry his Reſpects to my King. The place where he receiv'd and entertain'd me, was not his own Houſe (which he did not think pompous enough for the occaſion), but one of the King's Mohols, which he had borrowed for that purpoſe, as he might by his Great Intereſt with his Prince, any Palace in the Kingdom. I had not his Company at Dinner, any farther than juſt to eat Bread and Salt together, in Token of a firm Union and Friendſhip. He and his Great Men ſat at one Carpet, and I and my Company at another; for we being Chriſtians, and they *Mahometans*, their Religious Cuſtoms oblige them to this ſort of ſeparation.

This Perſon, beſides his Government of *Patan* (where he was Vice-Roy) was Lord of four Cities in *Bengala*; and for all together, he gave the King eleven Leckies of Rupies, all the Profits elſe being entirely his own, in the Diſpoſal of which he had an Abſolute Royal Authority, as indeed in moſt Caſes all over his Government. Beſides this, he had a Penſion of a thouſand Rupies a Day, and ſome ſmaller Governments and Places up and down in the Country: All which, how great ſoever it may ſeem, he aſſur'd me, that there were a great number that had double his Revenues, and above twenty that had the ſame.

* All things of this kind, and others relating to the Hiſtory of the Country, will be found in the next *Chapter*

But as to all theſe * things he had given a very full and exact Account of them in the Hiſtory of the Country during the late Reigns, compos'd by himſelf, and containing moſtly Matters of his own Obſervation and Experience.

Amongſt other things that paſs'd, he aſſur'd me, the King had a great kindneſs for me; and as a Mark of his particular Favour, had order'd *Aſaph Can* to ſend me his Picture, which I ſhould wear for his ſake. This Picture I receiv'd at my next going to Court, from the King's own hand as it were; for as ſoon as I came in ſight, he preſently call'd for't, and reach'd it out to *Aſaph Can* to deliver it me. And becauſe 'tis the Cuſtom at the receiving any of theſe Preſents, for the Party to kneel down and knock the Ground with his Head, (from which ſort of Reverences I had obtain'd Leave at firſt to be excus'd) he order'd that Miniſter not to demand any thing of that nature from me; which yet his ill Nature would have done, and ſome of the other Courtiers call'd aloud upon me to perform the accuſtom'd Ceremonies; but the King himſelf interpos'd, and ſaid poſitively, they ſhould not be urged upon me. The Gift was not worth above 30 *l.* in all, and yet 'twas five times better than what he commonly gives to his Nobles, when he would make any of them ſenſible of his greateſt Eſteem and Good Will. Theirs are commonly little Medals of Gold faſtned on to a Chain of four or five Inches long, and if they will have any Garniture for it of Pearls, or Jewels, they muſt adorn it at their own Charges.

The Embaſſador honour'd with the *Mogul's* Picture.

That beſtowed on me was ſet in a Gold Frame, had a Chain of the ſame to come about my Neck, and was beautified with ſome ſmall Pearl.

Painting is an Art in which this Prince is mightily delighted; he loves to ſee a curious Piece, and will diſcourſe of it with Skill and Judgment. And 'tis certain, that his own Country can, and does, furniſh him with Entertainments of this kind, and ſuch as a curious Fancy may be well enough pleas'd with.

Good Painters in *India*.

I could not have thought, that *India* had produc'd Artiſts ſo skilful and ingenious, as I have ſeen by ſome Pieces which His Majeſty ſhew'd me. A Picture which I preſented him, and was very confident no Workman in that Country could have tolerably imitated, was done with ſo much Art and Exactneſs, that I was puzzel'd to diſtinguiſh my own Original from thoſe Copies which were taken from it. The *Mogul* was mightily pleas'd with this, and boaſted of his Mens Skill to a high degree; he reckon'd it a kind of a Victory, and in a pleaſant way triumph'd over me accordingly. A great deal of Jeſt, and diverting Rallery, paſs'd upon this occaſion; but the Concluſion of it was, that I was to pay the Painter for his Work; and the King muſt needs know too what I intended to give him: Which matter was well enough made up betwixt us, and the Prince and the Painter both pleas'd.

So ſtrongly did his Fancy work this way, that not long after he ſent for me in great haſte to Court, and that out of my Bed too, tho' the Buſineſs was nothing but to ſhew him a Picture which ſome Body had told him, I had by me, and was worth his ſight: I roſe and carried it, and found him at that time of Night, ſitting in a very formal manner upon a little Throne, and ſo dreſs'd with Diamonds and Rubies, that there was no looking at him for the Luſtre of his Jewels. But the Beauty of my Picture ſhock'd him worſe than all his Glory cou'd have done the moſt vulgar Spectator. He ask'd, Whether ever ſo Divine a Creature lived, and that Copy had any Original in Nature to anſwer to it, or was only the meer Product of the Painter's Imagination? When I aſſured him, the living Original was well known to me, and vaſtly ſuperiour to the Picture in all Points of Perfection, his Admiration was proportionally heightned; and he then deſired that I would beſtow that wonderful Piece upon him, which he would look upon (he ſaid) as the moſt valuable Jewel he was Maſter of. A particular Obligation made me at firſt excuſe the parting with it, which I did in ſuch a manner as no way diſguſted him; but he continuing to preſs me, I freely reſigned it to him, as a Token of the profound Reſpect I had for His Majeſty, in parting with a thing ſo very dear and valuable to me. But the Prince (who ſeem'd rather to have done this to try me, than out of any real deſign to get the Picture) heartily accepted of my intended kindneſs, and refus'd to take it from me; only ſaid, His Painters ſhould take Copies of it, which his Queens ſhould wear, in Memory of ſo excellent a Beauty as the Original was.

September.

The ſucceeding Day being his Birth-Day, himſelf, and all his Nobles, were very merry upon it: I was invited to the Ceremony too; and drinking his Health in a Noble Cup of Gold, ſet with Emraulds, Turquoiſes, and Rubies, he intreated me, when I had drunk the Wine, to accept of the Cup as his Preſent.

Solemnities of the *Mogul's* Birth-Day.

There were ſeveral Chargers of Rubies, and Almonds made in Gold and Silver, which were brought in, and thrown amongſt the Nobles, and them that ſtood about him. The King had Sport enough to ſee them ſcramble for them, which they did with a great deal of earneſtneſs; but as there were ſeveral in the Company that thought fit to forbear, and not tumble on the Ground for thoſe Toys, ſo I ſtood amongſt that number, and contented my ſelf with beholding the Sport. His Majeſty appear'd in all the height of Pomp and Richneſs of Dreſs that Day, and his Elephants were ſet out in all their moſt glorious Furniture too: They all paſs'd before him in great Order, and bowed very handſomely to him as they march'd along; which (all things conſider'd) I thought one of the fineſt and moſt agreeable Sights that Day afforded.

The falſe Dealing of *Aſaph Can.*

At this time (having an opportunity) I moved *Aſaph Can* for the Diſpatch of our Privileges, which had been ſo long promis'd, and ſo unconſcionably delayed; telling him, If he wou'd not ſtir in the matter, I would immediately apply my ſelf to the King. He was very unwilling I ſhould do this; and aſſured me, I needed not trouble my ſelf ſo far, for the King had given Orders about it already; and it had been actually done and ſent to me, but that theſe Solemnities of his Birth-Day had taken them off from Buſineſs.

But theſe fair Words were only intended to keep me quiet, and prevent my carrying the Matter before the King again: This Miniſter never deſigned my Buſineſs ſhould be done by the King's immediate Orders, but reſolved to make me depend wholly upon the Prince, which he knew I was very backward (and with good Reaſon) to do. For after all this pretence, he had the Confidence to ſend me word, That he would procure nothing at all from the King, that any way concern'd that Prince's Government, as our *Surat* Affairs did; but that I ought to expect all from the Prince's Good Nature, whoſe Authority was great enough to grant Firmans ſufficient for our purpoſe.

The Embaſſador applies to the Prince.

In this Perplexity I reſolved, for once, to try the Prince, and endeavour as much as could be to procure his Favour by a ſeeming entire Dependance upon him. And as an Introduction to the Concluſion of my Grand Affair, I propos'd to perfect a ſubordinate one, that related to our preſent uſe at *Surat*, for the Fleet that was now expected. I ſent in to his Secretary ſome certain Clauſes, which I deſired might be put into the Firman that was to be drawn up upon this occaſion; and quickly after went to wait upon his Highneſs, and to ſee the Succeſs of my Buſineſs. The Prince order'd his Secretary to give me the Firman, which upon peruſing I found ſhort and defective, ſeveral important things being left out, at leaſt very much alter'd and diſguis'd in the Expreſſion: Upon which Account I ſent it back again, with a Reſolution forthwith to depart the Country, and of prohibiting the landing any of our *Engliſh* Goods. But the Secretary very earneſtly perſwaded me to the contrary, and deſired me but to gratifie the Prince's Humour a little in that one point of depending upon him, and craving the amendment of all at his hands; and I ſhould certainly find him at laſt a far better Friend than I expected. Beſides, he expounded the Firman in ſuch a manner to me, that it appear'd quite another thing; with his Conſtruction it bore my Sence very well, and when handſomely tranſlated (and as he ſaid, according to their true meaning) ſpoke the Language I deſir'd.

The Prince's Firman received. *October.*

I depended the more upon his Repreſentation of it, becauſe he had univerſally the Character of an honeſt and diſintereſted Man, and (to my own knowledge) no Lover of Bribes; which is a very rare and high degree of Vertue in this Court. I took the Firman therefore, and was at preſent well ſatisfied to have gained this Point.

The Buſineſs of the *Decan* Wars hung yet in ſuſpence, and this mighty Monarch's Arms did not proſper in that Country. Sultan *Peruiſe* was now come from his Charge, and advancing near the Court, hoped to have had the Favour of kiſſing his Father's Hands: This the Old Prince had granted, had it not been for *Normahal*, who was employed undoubtedly by Sultan *Caroon*, and that Faction, to divert the King from ſhewing this Kindneſs to his Elder Brother.

An Inſtance of the arbitrary Power, and abſolute Government of a Woman.

The Charms of that Woman (which could work him into any ſort of Compliance), prevail'd with him at this time, to deny his Preſence to a Son that deſerv'd it; and to command him to a far diſtant Poſt.

Like ſome abject Slave, that could procure nothing but by humble Entreaties, ſo did this great Prince on his bended Knees beg the Liberty of ſeeing his Son; but the imperious Woman wou'd not grant his Requeſt; ſhe proudly check'd the Motions of his yearning Bowels, and commanded him in ſpite of Nature, to ſend his Son away.

Now Sultan *Caroon*'s way to the Wars of *Decan* was plain and open before him; and he propos'd to himſelf to obtain a great deal of Glory by it. But the Great General in thoſe parts, *viz. Chan Canna*, was ſo much againſt it, that he ſent the King a Letter to forbear ſending that Prince to command there; and rather (if one of his Sons muſt be in play) to order his youngeſt to undertake that Poſt.

The Cauſe of the ill Succeſs of the Wars in *Decan*.

Now the King had as much mind to have *Chan Canna* away from the *Decan* Wars, as that General had to keep Sultan *Caroon* out. For in plain Terms, he was ſuſpected of a treacherous Correſpondence with the Enemy; and 'twas confidently aſſerted, that he had a Penſion from the King of *Decan*: No wonder then that the War ſucceeded no better, and that the vaſt Armies of the *Mogul* had not yet beaten the *Decanees* out of the Field; but on the contrary, were continually inſulted by them. The King was partly ſenſible of this, and therefore commanded him to come to Court: But he was ſo politick and civil to himſelf, as to deſire his Majeſty's Excuſe; he had no mind to be poyſon'd, or have his Head cut off; and going to Court in his Circumſtances, had very probably been going to Execution.

Upon this the King reſolv'd to ſend his Son Sultan *Caroon*, and to countenance his Reception, determin'd to follow himſelf with another great Army. But the ſubtle *Chan Canna*, that ſaw this Storm a coming, and knew where the force of it would light, endeavour'd by an Artifice to divert it, and ſo prevent the Danger that threatned him. He perſwaded the *Decanees* (who were entirely at his Service), to ſend Embaſſadors to the *Mogul*, to deſire a Peace, or at leaſt a Ceſſation of Arms for ſome time. But this Trick would not take; and the Embaſſadors (tho' they offer'd very advantageous Terms) cou'd not bring their Buſineſs to bear. For the *Mogul* turn'd them over for an Anſwer to his haughty ambitious Son, with whom alone he had left the Power of Peace and War: And the Prince abſolutely rejected their Propoſals, telling them, He would enter into no Treaty till he had appear'd in the Field, at the Head of his Armies.

The *Mogul*'s Eldeſt Son moſt acceptable to the Country.

All the Country dreaded the Effects of this Prince's violent aſpiring Temper; the King himſelf could not but ſee it too, and yet hardly dared to controul him. His two elder Sons were diſcontented, as well at the Father's Eaſineſs and Indulgence, as at the factious uſurping Practices of this Son; and all Men expected that the Feuds and Animoſities between theſe Brothers, would involve the Country in the greateſt Confuſion, whenever the Old Prince went off the Stage. The Wiſer Part very well foreſaw, that the beſt way to prevent theſe Calamities, would be to ſecure and eſtabliſh his Eldeſt Sons Title to the Crown, before he left it himſelf. For this Prince was ſo much the Darling and Deſire of all the People in general, (and it ſeems juſtly ſo for his admirable Vertues) that in caſe any of his Brothers ſhou'd endeavour to diſturb him, or ſtand in Competition with him, his Intereſt in the Hearts of the People was ſo good and great everywhere, that no oppoſite Faction would be able to ſtand before him.

This Noble Prince (Sultan *Curſeroon*) was at this time, and had been a good while, under his Father's Diſpleaſure) at leaſt under the external appearances of it; for 'twas thought the *Mogul* loved him deeply in his Heart, tho' he fancied the Brightneſs of his Vertues, and Illuſtrious Actions, did render his own Glory leſs conſpicuous, and therefore condemn'd him to a Life of Solitude and Confinement.

But 'tis certain the People did not adore and love him more, than Sultan *Caroon*, and all that Party, hated, maligned him, and contrived his Ruine: But before I mention the Deſigns and Intrigues carried on by them againſt this Prince, I muſt digreſs a little into the firſt part of his Story, and thoſe Circumſtances in his Grandfather's Reign, that made way for ſome of theſe Scenes that appear'd in *India* at my being there.

The Story of Sultan *Curſeroon*, and his Father, this *Mogul*.

When *Ecbar Sha*, the Father of the preſent *Mogul*, was buſily employed in the *Decan* Wars, this Son of his took that opportunity to attempt the Dethroning of his Father, and fixing the Crown Imperial upon his own Head. The Old Prince, upon the News, quickly brought his Victorious Army from conquering Foreign Adverſaries, to chaſtiſe this domeſtick and more dangerous Enemy, that was now ready to ſeize the Caſtle of *Agra*, and make himſelf Maſter of all his Treaſures. Being come pretty near him, he ſent him word, That he ſhould take his choice, either immediately to lay down his Arms, and throw himſelf upon his Mercy; or elſe prepare for a Battel, and leave Matters to be determin'd by the Chance of War. The Prince accepted the former of theſe Propoſals, thinking it ſafer to truſt his Father's Mercy, than to ſtand a Trial with his well-known Valour, and therefore without any more adoe, humbled himſelf at his Feet; and ſo (after ſome Diſgraces, and a ſhort Impriſonment) was reſtor'd again, at the Importunities of his Mother and Siſters. But 'tis to be noted, that while he was thus up in Arms againſt his Father, the Old King, to puniſh him for his Rebellion, diſinherited him, and proclaim'd Sultan *Curſeroon*, his Eldeſt Grandſon, Heir Apparent of his Empire. 'Twas but a few Months after all theſe Tumults were quieted, that *Ecbar Sha* paid the appointed Debt to Nature, and by Dying gave Life to new and worſe Troubles than thoſe he had ſo lately compos'd. For then his * Son (the preſent King) not at all regarding his Father's former Act againſt him, reſolved to be his Heir, and by main force thruſt himſelf into the Throne; poſſeſſing himſelf at the ſame time of all the Royal Treaſures, and the Strong-places of the Kingdom.

On the other hand, Sultan *Curſeroon* preſuming upon the Title conferr'd on him by his Grandfather, took up Arms to maintain his Right; and flying to *Labor*, gather'd an Army there, and was proclaim'd King. His Father very quickly ſerved him as before he had been ſerved himſelf; ſent a Power after him to reduce him to his Duty, which the Valiant Prince as ſoon gave Battel to, and entirely routed. But freſh Armies ſtill pouring in upon him, and his Father himſelf marching towards him with another very great one, the Prince's Men were quite tir'd out, and were able to hold the Field no longer.

The unfortunate Prince himſelf fled away with a few Horſe towards *Cabul*, and ſo for *Tartary*; which if he had reach'd, his Father would have been put to ſome trouble to have recover'd him again. But in his Way being to paſs a River, his Over-eagerneſs to get out of the reach of his Enemies that purſued him, made him ſo liberal in his Promiſes of Rewards to the Water-man, that he was ſuſpected and diſcover'd: His Gold betray'd him, and told that he was the Prince. The Water-man having ſmelt out who he was, in the middle of the Channel, leap'd out of the Boat, and ſwimming to the oppoſite ſide, went and inform'd the Governour of the adjoyning Town what a Paſſenger he had in his Boat. This was very grateful News to that baſe Officer, who hop'd to raiſe his own Fortunes by the Ruines of the Prince; and to do his Father the moſt endearing Service poſſible, by bringing back his Fugitive Son (and the Diſturber of his Peace) a Priſoner to him. So he came down to the Water-ſide with a Troop of Horſe, and there ſaluted the Prince with all the Humility in the World, complemented him with the Title of King, and invited him to Repoſe at his Houſe: But after all, the Villain having him in his Power, lock'd him up, and put a ſtrong Guard upon him, and then ſent Tydings to the King of the Noble Action he had perform'd.

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* Some call him by the Name of *Selim*, others by that of *Gihangier*.

The Prince from hence was carried bound and chain'd upon an Elephant to his Father, who treated him with leſs of the Mildneſs belonging to that Character, than the Scorn and Revenge of an angry inſulting Conquerour. All his Soldiers and Adherents, that encouraged or ſupported this Riſing of his, were executed with an exemplary Severity. As for the Prince himſelf, the Report went, that his Eyes were put out in the place, where the laſt Battel was fought; but the truth of the matter was, that he was blindfolded with a Napkin, which his Father ſet his own Seal upon, and ſo ſent him away Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Agra*.

This was the Original of the Controverſie between the *Great Mogul* and his Son; this the Cauſe of his preſent Diſcountenance, and conſequently (conſidering how he was loved) of the Diſcontent and Sorrow of the whole Country.

But his envious Brother, Sultan *Caroon*, with his Faction, thought the King had dealt too mildly with him, in condemning him only to a bare Impriſonment; and therefore (looking upon him as the Grand Obſtacle in the way of their ambitious Deſigns) reſtleſly purſued and plotted his Deſtruction.

The Plots carried on againſt Sultan *Curſeroon*.

He was at preſent the King's Priſoner; but they vigorouſly endeavour'd to make him theirs; and what they wou'd have done with him, could they have got him into their hands, is eaſily to be imagined. They knew they could not proſper, if Sultan *Curſeroon* (the Glory of the Nation, the Delight of the Nobility and the Soldiers) lived; his Life would be a continual Check to their wicked Practices and Deſigns, and in time might prove the Puniſhment of them too), and therefore he muſt die; he muſt be diſpatch'd out of the way, that they may do their Work without fear or diſturbance.

Aſaph Can, and *Normahal*, were both deep in this Plot, and there was ſome Reaſon for't too; for beſides the near relation of Ill Nature and Vicious Qualities, in which Sultan *Caroon* and *Aſaph Can*, were ſtrictly united to one another; there was a Bond of Affinity between them, the Prince having married his Daughter. So that his Intereſt and Ambition, which both prompted him, to take all poſſible Meaſures for the fixing of his Son-in-Law upon the Throne of *India*, did conſequently engage him againſt the Life of the brave Sultan *Curſeroon*: As for *Normahal*, the Reaſon of her Concern is evident; 'tis enough to ſay, that ſhe was *Aſaph Can*'s Siſter, and an Enemy to Vertue and Goodneſs.

Aſaph Can, &c. addreſs the King for the keeping of his Eldeſt Son.

Theſe pious Plotters having perfected their whole Deſign amongſt themſelves, began to attempt the King for the Delivery of Sultan *Curſeroon* to their keeping. And firſt of all *Normahal* (his Witch) comes upon him with her Enchantments; ſhe uſes all the Arts of a Woman to ſoften him to her Will; ſhe ſighs and melts into Tears before him, caſts a dying languiſhing Look upon him, and ſeems to be overwhelmed with Grief and Sorrow. She fears His Majeſty's Life and Perſon are expos'd; that Sultan *Curſeroon*, tho' a Priſoner, has not loſt all his aſpiring Thoughts, nor learn'd from his Afflictions, that Leſſon of Duty and Loyal Regard to a Father, that ſhe cou'd wiſh: And this puts her into an exceſſive Paſſion, ſhe can't enjoy her ſelf with all the Glory of her State, nor command an eaſie Thought, while His Majeſty (who is dearer than all to her) appears to be in any danger.

The King eaſily underſtood the Drift and Deſign of all this; but yet ſince ſhe did not expreſs her ſelf plainly, he was contented to be thought ignorant of her meaning at that time; had it come to a downright Requeſt, perhaps his Conſtancy had been ſhaken.

This Attempt not ſucceeding, *Aſaph Can*, and his Father, (a Man ſo like him in Temper and Qualities, that one might ſafely have ſworn him a Chip of that precious Block) theſe undertook to make the next. And they went another way to work: Theſe Gentlemen were poſſeſſed with Sentiments of extream kindneſs and tenderneſs for Sultan *Curſeroon*; they ſtudied his Honour and Safety, and therefore told the King, 'Twould be far more agreeable for him to be put into the hands of a Brother that loved him, where he might live like himſelf, than to be left in the Cuſtody of an ordinary Jailor, or to have an inferiour Guard ſet upon him. For Sultan *Caroon* to be his Keeper (who to be ſure wou'd uſe him well) this wou'd make his Impriſonment eaſie to him; whereas his preſent baſer Confinement, did but fill him with black melancholy Thoughts, and cheriſh Principles of Diſcontent and Revenge.

The King happen'd to be very drunk at this time, and was ſo far from thinking, that he could hardly ſpeak; and ſo between ſleeping and waking he gave his Conſent to what they deſired; which for all he knew at that time, might have been the cutting off his own Head: But they knew his Condition at that time, and their Buſineſs requir'd Drunkenneſs or Diſtraction for the doing of it. But however having the Shadow of an Authority for their Proceedings, away they went with a ſtrong Guard to demand the Prince of his preſent Keeper; a certain Raja, a Resboot, to whom the King had committed him. But he like an honeſt and courageous Man, refus'd to deliver him into their hands; he urged, the King had given him the Charge of his Son, and he would die in the Defence of his Truſt, before any other Perſon but the King ſhould take him away again. This Reſolution and Faithfulneſs of his was highly commended by the King afterwards; and he charged him to hold it on, and take no Notice of any other Commands that ſhould pretend to contradict his firſt Orders.

The Prince's Keeper refuſes to ſurrender him.

But notwithſtanding this Baulk, the other Party proſecuted their Deſign with freſh Vigour, and ſtrong Importunities. They told the King ſo many fine Stories, and urged him with ſo many Arguments, (which the eaſie Prince never was at the pains to examine the ſtrength of) that at laſt he gave effectual Orders for the Reſignation of him: The brave Raja, his Keeper, with his Soldiers, were diſcharged, and the Guard of that Cut-throat Faction took poſſeſſion of him.

He is reſign'd to them, and all the Country provok'd at it.

This put the Court into an Univerſal Mourning and Murmuring too, at the Folly and Dotage of the King, the Ladies of the Seraglio were all in Tears, and the Prince's Siſters ſwore they wou'd keep him Company in Death, for that they reckon'd wou'd quickly be his Fate. The King ſent to pacifie theſe diſcontented Ladies, and thought *Normahal* the fitteſt for that work; but they curs'd and threatned her, and refuſed with all the Indignation in the World, to ſee a Perſon, whom they knew to have been ſo deep in the Plot againſt Sultan *Curſeroon*. 'Tis not eaſie to imagine the Confuſions and Stirs that were conſequent upon this Event; the Stories that were told, the Reports rais'd and ſpread about, eſpecially amongſt the common People, who as they are always full of Noiſe and Tumult, and put into a Ferment by the leaſt Breath of Wind that blows upon them, ſo they were now remarkably ſo, and no ſtormy Sea was ever more unruly.

A *Perſian* Embaſſador.

But to divert them a little in this Juncture, there comes a *Perſian* Embaſſador to Court, with a moſt glorious and ſplendid Equipage, and as rich Preſents for the King; ſome ſaid he came to mediate a Peace for the *Decanees*, the Conqueſt of whom would be a conſiderable Enlargement of the *Mogul*'s Power and Dominion, and conſequently render him a more formidable Neighbour to the *Perſian* King. But many believe 'tis for a Supply of Money for carrying on the War againſt the *Turk*; and 'tis not the firſt time the *Perſian* has borrowed here; the inexhauſtible Treaſures of *Agra*, &c. have been often ſet open to him, and afforded him large and liberal Recruits. This is the more probable, conſidering the humble and ſubmiſſive Carriage of this Embaſſador, and that extremity of cringing flattering Reſpect he pays to the *Great Mogul*; to the Diſhonour of his Character, the Offence of his Nation in this Court, and to be ſure (without having private particular Inſtructions) to the affronting of his Maſter. He proſtrates himſelf upon the Ground, as before a Deity, knocks the Earth with his Head, as if he would beat his way in; and is even Religiouſly Devout in all his Poſtures and Ceremonies that relate to the King. Yet the King carries it with a great deal of State and Diſtance towards him; he only made a ſmall Motion with his Body, at the Reception of the King of *Perſia*'s Letter, and ſaid no more, but, *How does my Brother?* He allows him but an inferiour place in his Preſence, a World of Nobles and Officers ſtanding above him, tho' the *Perſian* takes it all without diſpute or murmuring; in that he carries it like a Man that knows his Prince's Occaſions and Neceſſities, and the *Great Mogul* uſes him like a Borrower.

November. Sultan *Caroon* goes to the Wars.

Sultan *Caroon*, about this time, began to ſet forwards towards the Army: Before his going he had promis'd me in the King's Preſence, and that of a great Aſſembly of Courtiers too, That all my *Surat* Buſineſs ſhould be done, and Content given me to the full.

But this kindneſs was not ſo much the effect of any Good Will in himſelf, as of the Power of the new Preſents that were coming; for our *Engliſh* Ships were got into *Swally* Road, and the Prince was in hopes of being ſhortly gratified.

There were the King's Orders too (as well as the Prince's Engagement), That all the Goods and Preſents that were to be brought from *Surat* hither, ſhould not be opened nor examined by the way, but paſs undiſturbed to my hands; as alſo, no Cuſtom or Duty to be exacted for any of them: The Demonſtration of the Prince's Honour and Truth in the performance of all which, will be added in its place.

There

The King's Progreſs.

There had been a Talk a good while, that the King and Court would remove and go a Progreſs ; and now that troubleſome time came on. The Tents were pitch'd abroad for their Reception, the Elephants, Horſes, and all ſorts of Carriages ready in ſuch abundance, that one would have fancied it almoſt the remove of a whole Nation.

The King it ſeems loves to take his Pleaſure this way ; not to confine himſelf to any one certain place of abode, but to fix his Court here and there, as he pleaſes, rambling up and down, and enjoying the Delights of his Country.

All Foreign Miniſters, and Embaſſadors of Princes, are obliged to bear him Company, beſides Trades-men and Artificers of all ſorts. The King loves to march with a vaſt multitude after him ; and if they are not diſpoſed to follow, he orders the * *Leskar*, where they were laſt, to be burnt, and ſo fires them out of their Tents.

* This movable Court is call'd the *Leskar*.

'Tis indeed a noble and a delightful Figure that the *Leskar* makes, when 'tis all fix'd in order ; when it has the advantage of a pleaſant Situation, and the Spectator of a free and open Proſpect. I thought it a greater Rarity than any City in *India*, I had the opportunity of ſeeing ; for beſides that, 'tis of a larger Compaſs than perhaps moſt Cities are (except thoſe of the very firſt Rank and Character), 'tis alſo erected and finiſh'd in ſo very ſmall a time, by the multitude of Hands that are at work, that it looks like a kind of Creation, and mightily encreaſes the pleaſure of contemplating it. To ſee a vaſt empty Plain, that ſhews nothing but the ordinary wild Appearances of Nature, in a few Hours transform'd into a regular, uniform, beautiful City ; to ſee it divided into Streets, adorn'd and cover'd over with the ſplendid Pavilions of Princes and Courtiers, and all this Glory riſe up in a few Moments, and dazzle the Eyes of a Spectator of a ſudden ; this excites a more delightful wonder, than to have ſeen the ſame thing advancing leiſurely and by degrees to that perfection.

Deſcription of the *Leskar*, and the Conveniences of it.

And I took notice, that this particular *Leskar* was begun, ſet up, and finiſh'd, in four Hours ſpace, tho' 'twas done with very great order and exactneſs, and was full twenty *Engliſh* Miles in Circuit, and ſome ways near ſix Mile long. All the Shops, and other Apartments of Tradesmen were ſo diſtinguiſh'd by Rule, that every Man, all over the *Leskar*, knew where to go readily for the ſupply of his Wants. Every Artificer, and every Man of Quality, knows his Ground, what Compaſs, of which ſide, and how far from the King he muſt pitch his Tent. The Royal Pavilion is erected in the Centre of all, and no Man raiſes his nearer to it, than the diſtance of a Musket-ſhot, every way round about.

The King, in theſe Progreſſes, relaxes his Thoughts and Cares of Publick Buſineſs, in great meaſure : In the *Leskar* he beſtows many of thoſe Hours upon Sports and Diverſions, that are ſpent in State-Affairs when he is in his Palace. Here he hunts and hawks, and ſwims about in his Barges upon the fine Rivers and Ponds that lie in his way, inſtead of paſſing Judgment upon Criminals, and hearing the Diſputes of his wrangling factious Noblemen. In ſhort, tho' in *Agra* or *Labor*, he may appear with more of the rich Pomp and Magnificence of a King ; yet here he enjoys more of the Pleaſure of his Greatneſs, and ſits far more eaſie than upon his ſublime Imperial Throne.

An odd Cuſtom.

The *Perſian* Embaſſador, and my ſelf, were put to no ſmall Trouble and Charge, to accommodate our ſelves with Conveniences for keeping Company in this March. For the *Leskar* at *Aſmere* (from whence the Remove was) was fired by the King's Order, and in the Hurry Carriages were ſo ſcarce and difficult to be got, that we were left behind for ſome Days, in all the Diſtreſs that a ruinous (and almoſt emptied) place cou'd be ſuppos'd to be the occaſion of to us. The *Perſian* ſcolded and brawl'd moſt bitterly to be left ſo ; but there was no Remedy but Patience ; nay, he fought and beat about him like a Madman ; but all would not do ; every Body was buſily employ'd to provide for themſelves, and we that were Embaſſadors muſt do ſo too, or elſe reſolve to ſtay behind : However, we made ſhift to ſet out at laſt, and in a few Days overtook the King, who march'd but ſlowly on.

December.

One thing happen'd at the King's ſetting out, that procur'd wonder to all Men ; tho' it gave as much Pleaſure to all the true Lovers of the King and their Country, as it did Vexation and Diſappointment to the wicked deſigning Faction of the Court. This was the taking Sultan *Curſeroon* out of the hands of his cruel Jailor.

Sultan *Curſeroon* fetch'd out of Priſon by the King his Father.

The King, when he came by the Houſe where he was Priſoner, order'd his Coach to ſtop at the Door, and ſent for the Prince down ; and then commanded him to aſcend one of the Royal Elephants, and ride along by him. The Joy of the People was rais'd to the higheſt pitch, and the King procur'd himſelf a great deal of Praiſe, and many good Wiſhes and Prayers by this Action.

'Twas indeed high time to fetch him away, if he lov'd him, and deſired the continuance of his, for the Wretches about him were endeavouring to put their Plots againſt it in execution.

'Tis ſaid, that ſome Ruffians belonging to Sultan *Caroon*, his Brother, had attempted to get into his Apartment to murther him ; but the faithful Porter refus'd them entrance, and ſtood upon his Guard. The Queen-Mother went and gave Information of this to the King ; which 'tis probable did alarm him, and put him upon taking this Courſe to ſave the Life of his moſt valuable (and I think moſt beloved) Son.

But there was another paſſage Introductory to this Delivery, which gave the King a very fit occaſion to manifeſt at once his own Authority, as well as Fatherly Affection to Sultan *Curſeroon*. *Aſaph Can* had been lately to ſee this Prince his Priſoner ; but carried it very rudely to him, preſſing boiſterouſly into his Preſence, and doing no manner of Reverence as was decent and due to the Eldeſt Son of his Sovereign. Some ſay, that he attempted to pick a Quarrel with him, and knowing the Prince's brave and generous Courage, that ſcorn'd to put up an Indignity, endeavour'd to provoke him to draw ; either with a Deſign to call in his Ruffians to revenge it, or elſe to have a Story to tell the King, that his Son was wholly ungovernable, and drew his Sword to kill his Keepers, and ſo make his eſcape. But the Prince by his Patience and Prudence ſpoil'd the Deſign ; he deſpis'd that ſordid inſolent Perſon, and kept his Sword in his Scabbard, only he got a Friend to acquaint the King with the Saucineſs of *Aſaph Can*.

The Great *Mogul* enquires about his Son, and rattles *Aſaph Can* ſoundly.

The next time the King ſaw this honeſt Man, (and 'twas before the whole Court too) he ask'd him, When he viſited his Charge laſt ? What he ſaid to him ? And what Reſpect he ſhewed him, when he approach'd him ? Theſe ſtartling Queſtions confounded the guilty Man, and put him quite out of Countenance : He found the King was made acquainted with his Carriage, and therefore was forc'd to confeſs the main of the Story, only varniſhing it a little with a plauſible Lye or two, to make it as eaſie as might be on his own ſide. But the King told him for his Comfort, He wou'd make him know Sultan *Curſeroon* to be (as his moſt beloved Son and intended Heir), ſo alſo his Lord and Prince ; and tho' what was paſt ſhould be forgiven, yet if ever he was guilty of any Irreverence for the future, he would make his Son trample him under his Feet.

This was a plain Diſcovery of the King's Mind, whatever his former Actions had ſignified to the World ; and 'twas as manifeſt a proof that all his paſt Severities to this excellent Son, were a kind of Violence to himſelf, and the meer effect of the over-ruling Charms of his imperious *Normahal*.

The Court went on in their Progreſs, and travell'd over Woods and Mountains, and rough imperious Ways, that made the Journey far more a Toil and a Burden than a Pleaſure, which it appear'd at firſt to be deſigned for. Abundance of Horſes and Camels periſh'd, Coaches, Carts, and Tents, were torn and ſpoil'd, and the whole *Leskar* was put into confuſion. The King's Women were ſadly fatigued with the Difficulties of the way, and like to be left in the Woods a great many of them, the Beaſts that ſerv'd them being quite debilitated for want of Meat and Water in thoſe barren places.

But to qualifie this, it muſt be granted that ſome parts of the way we paſs'd were ſurprizingly pleaſant and charming ; and the lovely Groves, Fountains, Wells, and Ponds, that lay about us, made it a Journey through Paradiſe.

We came to one very pleaſant Town call'd *Caleada*, ſeated upon the River *Sepra*, and anciently the Seat of the old Kings of *Mandoa*. One of theſe Kings formerly uſed to take a deal of pleaſure in ſitting a Drinking by this River-ſide ; and it happen'd that when he was drunk one time, he tumbled into the Water, and being not at all able to help himſelf in that Condition, he very fairly ſunk down to the bottom. But a certain courageous Slave of his, and a notable Diver, loth to ſee his Sovereign thus become a Banquet to the Fiſhes, threw himſelf in, and dived after him, and brought him up again. When the King was come to himſelf, and this remarkable piece of Service the Slave had done him was related to him ; for a Reward, he commanded both his Hands to be cut off, telling him, 'Twas his juſt deſert, for preſuming (a ſordid Slave as he was) to touch the Sacred Body of his Sovereign.

Not long after the King (who could not take a fair warning) was at his old Trade of drinking at the Water-ſide again, and had then only his Wife with him : And having the ſame Fortune as before, to be very drunk, and fall in; the good Woman truly e'en let him dive for't, and never attempted to pull him out, tho' ſhe cou'd have done it without the leaſt difficulty or trouble: And when ſhe was ask'd the Reaſon, Why ſhe wou'd not ſave him? ſhe told them, She had no mind to loſe her Fingers: She remembred the laſt Bout, when the Slave had his Hands cut off, for doing the ſame thing, and ſhe did not know but the ſame reward might to fall her ſhare too, and therefore was unwilling to put it to the Venture. 'Tis probable the Good Wife went upon this Principle, that the Loſs ought rather to be avoided, that could never be repaired again: Now tho' ſhe might eaſily get another Husband, yet ſhe could never be ſupplied with another pair of Hands.

Ill News from *Decan.*

'Twas diſcover'd by that time we had been abroad ſome Days, that this Progreſs was not undertaken meerly for a Diverſion as it uſed to be, but that the King intended to move ſome part of the way towards Sultan *Caroon*'s Camp, the more to frighten the *Decanees* with the Noiſe of his coming, as alſo to keep his own unquiet Army the better in order.

February. The Prince ſtops the Preſents.

This was the effect of the Counſel of *Normahal* and *Aſaph Can*, who perſwaded him his going out would certainly be attended with theſe good Conſequences. But it happen'd all wrong; for News came that the *Decanees* were reſolved to fight, and lay ready upon the Borders with a very ſtrong Army to entertain his whenever they ſhould think fit to move that way; alſo, that Sultan *Caroon* was advanc'd but a little ſpace with his Forces, and notwithſtanding all his bouncing at Court, was terribly afraid both of the *Decanees* and of *Chanchanna*, which were ſorry deſpicable Enemies to him before. Upon this Account the ſame Counſellors now adviſed the King not to proceed with his firſt Deſign, but to direct his Courſe to *Agra*, and turn the Progreſs into a Hunting Match: The *Decans* they thought would not make His Majeſty good ſport at this time, at leaſt not ſo good and diverting as the Wild Beaſts of the Foreſt would.

But worſe News than this (to me) came quickly after; which was, that the Prince contrary to his Fathers Command, and all his own ſolemn Engagements, had ſtopt and intercepted all the Preſents and Goods that were to come to Court. This was meerly to ſatisfie his own Covetous Deſire of chuſing firſt, and getting the beſt things into his own Hands; which (beſides the Affront offer'd by it to the King of *England*, my Maſter, to have the Tokens of his Reſpect and Good Will, thus rudely ſiez'd and forc'd away;) was alſo a great piece of ill breeding to his own Father in pretending to ſerve himſelf firſt, and not leaving his Betters the Liberty of Choice. However after he had made ſure of them, he writes a Letter to the King to tell him what he had done; that is, he minc'd the Matter, and told a Story of ſome Goods he had ſtop'd, out of a Deſire to ſatisfy his curioſity in buying ſome Toys that he fancied; but he ſaid not a Word of the Preſents (the principal part of the Cargo) either out of ſhame, or fear, or ill deſign. I could not think of paſſing by this very uncivil Treatment without Complaints to the King, and thoſe loud ones too. In times paſt I had by all the fair and ſoft Methods, imaginable attempted to win the Prince's Favour, and never was able effectually to oblige him; but now 'twas neceſſary to put an end to that Courtſhip, and neglect his Friendſhip for the future. I muſt appeal to the King for Juſtice againſt him, and conſequently (in all probability) loſe him for ever; and ſince 'twas certain that I muſt loſe him, I thought it better to do it for ſomething, and with ſome noiſe and ſtir too, than either to be diſhonourably ſilent, or in a faint and fearful manner to proſecute ſuch an Affair.

The Embaſſadour goes to the King and complains.

I went to the King with a fix'd Reſolution to complain of the Prince's Action; when he, who gueſſed what my Buſineſs was, began and prevented me telling me (in ſhort) he had heard how his Son had intercepted the Goods and Preſents, but he would order it ſo that nothing ſhould be opened or ſearched by him; and beſides, forthwith would ſend his Royal Command to him for the Diſcharge and Surrender of them into the Hands of our own People. This was done the ſame Night, and 'twas all the Satisfaction for the Injury I could then procure; for the King quickly after fell to drinking, and (when he was pretty far gone) to talking of Religion; tho', by the way, neither of the three Prophets he talked of would have allowed him the Liberty he then took, and his Drunkenneſs was condemn'd by the Laws, both of *Moſes*, *Mahomet*, and *Jeſus Chriſt*. But this Prince when he was in that Condition was generally very full of Pious Diſcourſe; he would tumble into a Diſpute of Religion, and hold it out till mid-night; and then farewell to all Buſineſs for that time (tho' ever ſo weighty and neceſſary to be debated) for when once he was got into that Vein, there was no turning of him out; nothing to be done till the Wine and the Devout Fit had both left him. Sometimes his Humours would be comical and ludicrous, he would act a Merry Andrews part more than any thing elſe, and do things fitter for a Player than a King: The Wine would make him exert a thouſand ſeveral Paſſions, according to the Images which his heated Fancy preſented in that Commotion; ſometimes 'twas all Blood and Revenge, at other times Mirth and Jolity, Charity and Compaſſion, Grief and Sadneſs, now laugh, and then cry like a Child, and then drown his Care and Sorrow in another Cup, and ſo on, with a nauſeous Gallimaufry of Paſſions and Diſcourſes till the beſt part of the Night was ſpent. I was often obliged to ſee and hear more of this than was grateful; if my Buſineſs made me attend him, his importunity would keep me there; for he is vaſtly fond of Company in thoſe Humours, and there is no deliverance from him, till kind ſleep comes and cloſes up his Eyes.

The *Mogul's* Humours in his Liquor.

The King ſerves himſelf out of the Cargo.

After ſome time the Cargo was brought up from *Surat*, and the King (tho' he had reprov'd his Son for ſo doing) was pleas'd to take it immediately into his own Hands. Such was his Curioſity and Fond Deſire to ſee the Preſents my King had ſent him, yet he cou'd not ſtay to let me have the opening and ſorting of them, and to bring them to him in a little order. So he took his choice of ſome things that pleas'd him extreamly well, and then ſent for me to tell me what he had done, which he did with a World of Excuſes, begging my Pardon, and offering to refund whatſoever I demanded. But as I was far from any Deſign of being ſo exact and ſcrupulous as that came to, ſo I only ſignified to him that I thought it a little hard to be debarr'd of the Liberty of making my own Prince's Preſents; that as they were intended for his Majeſty, ſo it was very free for him to keep them, and I had no other Demand to make, but only for the Reſtoration of ſome of the Merchants Goods, (which being amongſt) were taken with the reſt. This he readily promis'd to do, and gave immediate order about making ſatisfaction to me in that Particular; and over and above this in the General, he gave me the Word of a King, that I ſhould have punctual Juſtice done me in all points whatſoever: My whole Affair happily concluded, and my ſelf return'd back to the King my Maſter with Honour and Satisfaction..

March, A.D. 1617. The *Mogul's* deſire of *Engliſh* Maſtiffs, &c.

Theſe were charming Promiſes, and I wanted but to ſee them well performed, which the King made me believe ſhould be without all doubt; he only requir'd a certain Promiſe on my part, the Performance of which he told me would be as pleaſing to him, as the other would be to me. This was to procure him ſome of our *Engliſh Maſtiffs*, and the tall *Iriſh Grey-Hounds*, which he ſeem'd moſt paſſionately to deſire; and farther, to get him ſome of our *Engliſh* Embroideries, for ſeveral things the Patterns of which he would ſend me in. The latter part I could undertake to promiſe, but the former relating to the Dogs was very uncertain, and no Man could warrant their Lives for ſo long a Voyage; but I told him: they ſhould be ſent, and if they died by the way, their Skins and Bones ſhould be preſerved for him (ſince he deſir'd it) and this ſhould be my diſcharge with his Majeſty; which he willingly agreed to. After all this favour and familiarity it may appear ſomething ſtrange that the *Great Mogul* ſhould ſo eaſily (as he did) entertain any ill ſuſpicious Thoughts of me and my Nation. 'Tis true, a Prince can't have his Eyes too open upon his own Affairs, nor be too nice and curious in looking about him, that the many Forreigners he admits into his Country don't make any hurtful Encroachments upon him. But as I am ſure the *Engliſh* had ever been very free from any Deſigns of this nature, ſo I was the more ſurpriz'd at his Jealouſie, in that this Prince himſelf had often ſpoke a good Word for us, and been our Nations Patron and Defender (as it were) againſt the ſlanderous Charges and malicious Suggeſtions of our Enemies at Court. And to do him Juſtice I believe had been ſo ſtill, even in this caſe alſo, had it not been for the violent Perſwaſions of the Prince Sultan *Caroon*, and ſome Colour for his Suſpicion, which the Folly and imprudent Conduct of our own People gave him.

There had been ſome kind of ſquabble amongſt them at *Surat* (the riſe and cauſe of which is not very clear) and to pacify this Tumult, our Ships landed Two hundred of their Muſqueteers, and commanded them to march towards the Town. Some of the Mariners (perhaps Drunk, or it may be only in a meer Bravado, thinking no harm, nor having no deſign) cried out that the *Engliſh* were going to take *Surat*; a very likely ſtory, that 200 Men ſhould be ſo mad as to attempt a fortified Town that was able preſently to furniſh out a thouſand Horſe, and as many Shot, and beſides had the guard of a River,

The imprudence of the *Engliſh* in landing a Body of Men.

River, which muſt be paſſed, and that a handful of Men might with eaſe defend themſelves againſt a numerous Army. But however it gave an alarm, and a great many were ſuch Fools as to believe the *Engliſh* had a real deſign upon the place. Eſpecially this being the Prince's Government, and he ſo particular a hater of our Nation as he was; 'twas hotly urged againſt us by him and his party, and the Affront aggravated to the King, with all the cunning ſpite and rancour in the World. Beſides there was a flying Report at the ſame time that we had taken *Goa*, and that a vaſt Fleet was preparing in *England*; all which concurring, did almoſt effectually perſwade the good eaſie Prince that we had ſome ill Deſign upon him. Yet he diſcovered nothing of his Mind in plain Terms to me; notwithſtanding which, I found my ſelf under the ſame preſſing Obligation to take all Opportunities to remove thoſe groundleſs Jealouſies, and to bring him to the ſame favourable Thoughts that he uſed (or at leaſt pretended) to have for us.

Perſian Embaſſadour goes away in diſcontent.

But in all theſe Circumſtances of Trouble, I fared much better than the *Perſian* Embaſſadour, who after all his Pompous Entrance, his coſtly Preſents, his baſe and ſervile Courtſhip, went off in Diſgrace and Diſcontent. He could not fadge in his Buſineſs, nor work this Court into any humour of ſatisfying his Maſters Deſires. Never did any Prince and the Embaſſadour of another manage it ſo to each other at parting, as the *Great Mogul* and this *Perſian* did. There was perfect huckſtering between them, and they were reſolved on both ſides, as not to be beholding to each other, ſo alſo that neither ſide ſhould get a Penny by the other. The *Mogul* had all the King of *Perſia*'s Preſents appraiſed, and paid down the Embaſſadour the Money for them, and at the ſame time ſent him in a Bill of Fare, which he made to be bated out of the Sum. He reckoned him even for Plumbs and Musk-Melons, and made him pay for his common Liquor; there was an *Item* for Pins and Plantains too, but an Elephant and a Hawk or two riſe up very high. And for many of theſe Commodities the *Perſian* had far better have gone to Market and ſerv'd himſelf as he ſaw fit, than have taken them at the King's Rates, and ſtood to the mercy of a Court Reckoning. For as the King gave too low for what he had of the *Perſian*, ſo he made the *Perſian* pay ſauce for what he had from him; but there was a Pet between them, the *Perſian* was grown touchy and peeviſh at his ill uſage, and the King was reſolved to plague him for't. So away he went in a mighty huff (as he very well might) without the formality of an Audience of leave one may be ſure; indeed without taking leave of any Body, or ſo much as excuſing that Omiſſion; only he ſent to compliment me, and aſſured me he would make ſatisfaction for not coming himſelf, by double Civilities to my Countrymen in *Perſia*. A great deal of time paſs'd away after this to little purpoſe or profit; I attended the Court, but by the means of one intrieguing Perſon or other could do little or no Buſineſs.

The Pride and Security of this Court, that dared thus affront ſo great a Monarch as the King of *Perſia*.

Auguſt.

Happy Days now began to ſhine upon Sultan *Curſeroon* and his compleat Reſtoration was quickly expected: 'Twill be happy for this Country and all Chriſtians that Trade hither if he comes to wear the imperial Crown; for as his other Vertues will make him an indulgent Father to the one, ſo his large Charity and very favourable Opinion of Chriſtianity will render him a kind Friend and Protectour of the other. His unnatural Brother had lately been ploting againſt his Life; but 'twas ſeaſonably diſcover'd, and the barbarous Prince ſent for up to Court; not that the King intended to puniſh him, for he dares not, ſince he is *Normahal*'s Favourite; but he'll call him away from the Army where he is hated of all Men, and does more harm than good. An Enemy will never be heartily beaten by a diſcontented Army, nor an Army be otherwiſe than ſo, under a General they abhor.

September.

When the King's Birth-day came on, the ſolemnity of his weighing in a pair of Scales was performed, according to the old and annual Cuſtom. The Baſons of Nuts and Almonds and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits made in Silver were thrown among the Nobles too; but when his Majeſty ſaw I did not ſcramble like the reſt, he reach'd out a Baſon full himſelf and pour'd into my Cloak; all put together did not amount to five Pound, but the Nobles did not leave me forty Shillings worth, for they preſently fell a ſnatching, and got the better part of what I had away.

There is a prodigious ſhew of Riches, Liberality, and Charity to the Poor that Day; but (at laſt) what is flung away is very inconſiderable.

The next time I went to Court I made a motion to the King about our Debts: I preſented the Merchants humble Petition to him, which he caus'd to be read aloud with the Names of the Debtors, Sureties and the ſeveral Sums that were owing. Upon this ſome Difficulty aroſe, for ſome were Dead, others Strangers, and others Inſolvent; and therefore the King told me that the Merchants Accompts appear'd to him to be very arbitrary and ill ſtated; and as they had ſet down Debts at their own pleaſure, without giving him any demonſtration of their Honeſty and Juſtice, by bringing a Bill of their lading before-hand, ſo there was no Reaſon (in caſe of Death or Inſufficiency) why the Money ſhould be expected from him. However for this once (he ſaid) he would ſtand by us, and order the Money to be paid; but for the future if the *Engliſh* truſted his Servants with their Goods without acquainting him, they ſhould ſtand by the loſs themſelves. Otherwiſe when their Commodities came to Court, let them firſt of all bring him of all, and then he would ſerve himſelf, and diſpoſe of the reſt to others that ſhould take them off; and then if any of thoſe Perſons fail'd, he would ſee we ſhould not be loſers. And this is the Method that the *Perſian* Merchants take, as I have ſeen ſeveral inſtances of it at this Court. The reſult of the Buſineſs was, that the King call'd in a certain Courtier, and commanded him to ſummon all the Debtors together, and by fair or fool means oblige them to pay.

The Embaſſadour moves for the Debts.

October.

But this ill deſigning Perſon, partly by tedious delays and partly by his (at laſt) poſitive refuſing to do Juſtice, provoked me again to apply my ſelf to the King. Before I did this, I had received tidings of the arrival of ſome freſh Ships at the Bar of *Surat*, which gave me an encouragement to be bold at Court, ſince News of that nature is always very acceptable to the King; ſo I carried an Abſtract of the Lading along with me (according to the late Order) and began to ſollicit my Affair; and finding the King in a good patient gentle Humour, pull'd out my Petition that craved the Payment of the Debts. The King did not mind it when I held it out; and 'twas happy for thoſe tardy Miniſters that he did not, for that ſawcy neglect of his Orders would have produced a terrible ſtorm. That Perſon who was order'd to inſpect the payment of the Debts, came in an agony up to *Aſaph Can*, and begged him to hinder me from complaining; he ſaw his Danger, and found himſelf at the very brink of the Pit, and one jog more had puſh'd him in; and upon their faithful Promiſe of doing the Buſineſs, immediately I agreed to carry matters no farther at that time; but this put them into ſuch a Fright, that they preſently ſet about it, and ſiez'd ſome of the Debtors the ſame Night. Amongſt the ſeveral particulars of Goods coming up, I had ſome Ropes of very fine Pearl, beſides a ſingle one very large and rich; but of theſe I ſaid not a Word in publick, intending to oblige ſome Friend in private with a good pennyworth in them, and ſo make them ſerve for the more effectual promoting my Deſigns. The King indeed asked for Jewels, and I told him they were dear Commodities in *England*; but as *Aſaph Can* preſſed earneſtly to know what rarities I had, I gave him a private ſign, which he very eaſily underſtood, and ſo diverted him from that Diſcourſe.

Orders taken about Payments.

The Embaſſadours Method of gaining *Aſaph Can* and all that party.

Upon the King's riſing we withdrew together, and ſettled all the Particulars of the Bill of Lading, tranſlating the Abſtract into *Perſian*, and making it ready to be preſented to the King. But (as the principal part of my Deſign) I told him how it was in my power to oblige him with thoſe choice rarities of Pearl, which I had yet entirely conceal'd, even from the Prince and King themſelves, and ſhould come into no Hands but his own, provided I ſhould be ſecure of his utmoſt Aſſiſtance in the diſpatch of my Buſineſs. 'Tis a wonder to ſee how any Charms of this nature work upon People of greedy covetous Minds; how they will command all their Paſſions and Principles, and transform them into the moſt different Creatures in the World. By this one Propoſal of the Pearl, I had gotten as large an Intereſt in *Aſaph Can* as I could deſire; all his Enmity and ill Deſigns were vaniſh'd in a moment, and he was changed into the moſt diligent and zealous Friend imaginable. There was no piece of that Service he would ſtick at performing for us; he would procure me a perfect Reconciliation with the Prince, the powerful *Normahal* ſhould be our Nations Friend too, and ſuch a method be eſtabliſh'd for the ſafety and ſucceſs of all our Affairs, as ſhould leave me no farther occaſion of trouble and complaint. Such is the Power of Gain, and the ſtrange force of an eager Appetite that way, when a Man indulges and ſuffers it to govern him.

This Perſon upon a ſordid Hope of buying ſome Toys to Advantage (and perhaps of ſome other collateral Profit) was my Humble Servant, even to flattery, and to the betraying the Secrets of the Prince his Son-in-Law. However by this means I was ſure of him, and he had in a manner made him mine for ever; he could not betray me before he had the Pearl for fear of miſſing it, nor afterwards for fear of betraying himſelf, ſo that I reckoned I had made a purchaſe of him. And together with him I bought the Friendſhip of all the reſt of that party; his The oppoſite party turn'd about. Father and *Normahal* came like Paper and Packthread in to the Bargain as it were, for he himſelf was the main purchaſe. They all ſolicited my Affair, and pleaded with the King on my behalf, and if the Prince laid any rub in their way, they made bold to oppoſe him, and that with ſome heat too.

There was a mighty change now in the Face of our *November.* Affairs at Court; *Aſaph Can* our Agent, and *Normahal* the Protectreſs of our Merchants paſſage to Court. The Prince too was turned about by the influence and perſwaſion of *Aſaph Can*; he look'd after our Debts with great care and concern, granted a Firman very effectual in all points for our preſent eaſe at *Surat*, and over and *December.* above (at my motion) promiſed one for *Bengala*, a thing which he would never before hear of. When the Preſents came the King and the Prince had their ſeveral ſhares to their ſatisfaction; *Normahal* was gratified too for her protection, and *Aſaph Can* was raviſh'd with the Pearl. *January.* The Merchants that came to Court were civilly entertained by the King, and effectual Orders were taken for paying of all the *Surat* Debts; the Prince commanded it to be cut off from his Manſibders Wages, and at the ſame time ſtrictly charged all his new Officers to uſe us as Friends.

I had nothing now to do, but to attend the delivery of my Firmans to me, which were order'd to be drawn up in the moſt ample and particular manner by the Secretaries, who had received the Kings and Princes Inſtructions for that purpoſe.

Here Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Account breaks off, and his Journal does not bring us to the leaſt reſult of thoſe matters. We don't know how he parted from thence, and how cloſely and ſincerely his new gain'd Friends adhered to his Intereſt But 'tis next to certain that all ended happily, and according to his Deſires, ſince the Stile of the *Great Mogul*'s Letter to our King (which was brought by him) ſeems to promiſe all that Favour, which he had been ſoliciting with the toil and vexation of ſo many Months at that Court.

The King's Letters ſent to *Selim Shag*, the *Great Mogol*, in the Year 1614. by Sir *Thomas Roe.*

JAMES, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, &c.*

To the high and mighty Monarch the Great Mogol, *King of the Oriental* Indies, *of* Candahar, *of* Chiſmer *and* Corazon, *&c. Greeting.*

We having notice of your great Favour towards Us and Our Subjects, by Your Great Firman *to all Your Captains of Rivers, and Officers of Your Cuſtoms, for the entertainment of Our loving Subjects the* Engliſh *Nation with all kind Reſpect, at what time ſoever they ſhall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or moleſtation, &c. As by the Articles concluded by* Suc Suff *Governour of the* Guzerats, *in Your Name, with Our loving Subject Captain* Thomas Beſt *appeareth: Have thought it meet to ſend unto You Our Embaſſadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treat of ſuch Matters as are fit to be conſidered of, concerning that good and friendly Correſpondence, which is ſo lately begun between Us; and which will without doubt redound to the Honour and Utility of both Nations. In which Conſideration, and for the furthering of ſuch laudable Commerce, We have made choice of Sir* Thomas Roe *Knight, one of the principal Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom we have given Commiſſion under Our Great Seal of* England, *together with Directions and Inſtructions further to treat of ſuch Matters as may be for the continuance and increaſe of the Utility and Profit of each others Subjects: to whom We pray You to give Favour and Credit in whatſoever He ſhall move or propound towards the eſtabliſhing and enlarging of the ſame. And for Confirmation of Our Good Inclination and Well-wiſhing towards You, We pray You to accept in good part the Preſent, which Our ſaid Embaſſadour will deliver unto You, and ſo do commit you to the merciful Protection of Almighty God.*

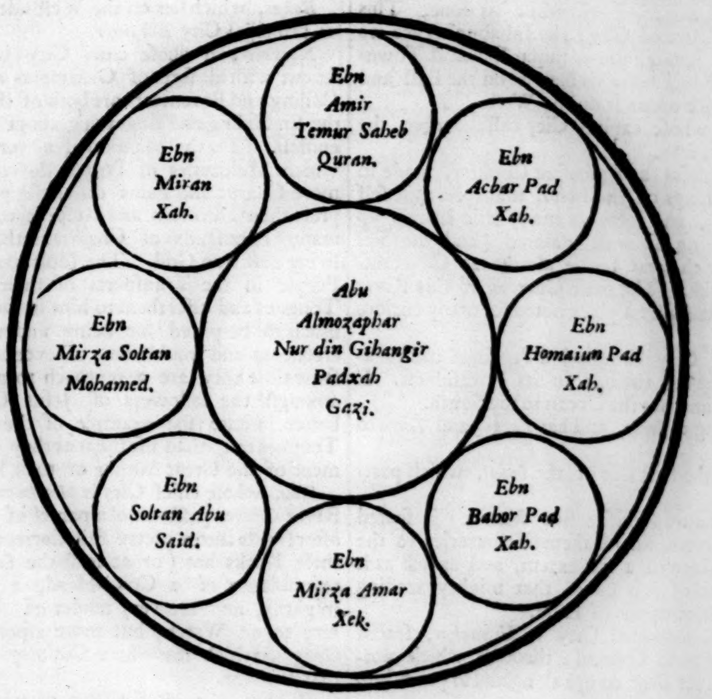
A Copy of the Grand *Mogol's* Letter to the King.

UNto a King rightly deſcended from his Anceſtors, bred in Military Affairs, and cloathed with Honour and Juſtice, A Commander worthy of all command, ſtrong and conſtant in Religion, which the great Prophet Chriſt did teach, King JAMES, whoſe Love hath bred ſuch impreſſion in my Thoughts, as ſhall never be forgotten, but as the ſmell of Amber, or as a Garden of fragrant Flowers, whoſe Beauty and Odour is ſtill increaſing, ſo be aſſured my Love ſhall grow and increaſe with yours.

YOur Letter which you ſent me in the behalf of your Merchants, I have received, whereby I reſt ſatisfied in Your tender Love towards me; and deſire You not to take it ill, for not having writ unto You heretofore; for this my preſent Letter, I ſend to renew Our Loves, and herewith do certify You, that I have ſent forth my Firmaunds *thruogh all my Countries to this effect, That if any* Engliſh *Ships or Merchants ſhall arrive in any of my Ports, my People ſhall permit and ſuffer them to do what they will, freely, in their Merchandizing Cauſes, aiding and aſſiſting them in all Occaſions of Injuries that ſhall be offered them, and that the leaſt cauſe of Diſcourteſie be not done unto them; as alſo, that they be as free and freer than my own People. And as now and formerly I have received from You divers Tokens of Your Love; ſo I deſire your Mindfulneſs of me by ſome Novelties from Your Country, as an Argument of Friendſhip between Us; for ſuch is the Cuſtom of Princes here.*

As for your Merchants, I have given expreſs Orders through all my Country, to ſuffer them to ſell, buy, tranſport, and carry awvy at their pleaſures, without the let or hindrance of any Perſon whatſoever, all ſuch Goods and Merchandize, or other things, as they ſhall deſire to buy, and let this my Letter as fully ſatisfie You in the deſired Peace and Love, as if my own Son had been the Meſſenger to ratifie the ſame. And if any in my Country not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of Religion, ſhould endeavour or be an Inſtrument to break this league of Friendſhip; I would ſend my Son Sultan Caroon, *a Souldier approved in the Wars, to cut him off, that no Obſtacle may hinder the continuance and increaſing of Our Affections.*

The Deſcription of the Great Mogul's *Seal.*



This Seal contains his Genealogie from *Tamerlane,* as he is pleas'd to reckon it himſelf. 'Twas made only of Silver, and ſent along with the Letter (unſealed) to the King; for the *Mogul* was in a diſtreſs when he had writ his Letter, whereabouts he ſhould ſet his Seal; if under he ſhould diſparage himſelf, if over he might affront the King; as the ſureſt way therefore, he reſolved to fix it neither under nor over, but to ſend it to the King of *England,* to clap it where he thought beſt himſelf.

The middle and largeſt Circle contains his own Name, and all the ſurrounding ones are thoſe of his Eight Anceſtours, in a direct deſcent from *Tamerlane,* who is in the uppermoſt of all.

CHAP. XXXI.

An Account of the Mogul's *Country, and the moſt uſeful and remarkable Things relating to it. Extracted from Sir* Thomas Row's, *Mr.* Terry's *(his Chaplains) and the Obſervations of ſome others who lived there.*

We will begin with the Diviſion and Dimenſions of this mighty Empire; ſee what parts it conſiſts of, and the Boundaries that are ſet to it's greatneſs. In which Diſcourſe we muſt take notice that the Account here given is ſuch as agreed to the ſtate of the Country at that time, that our Authors liv'd and convers'd in it. We know it is not the ſame now that 'twas then; the *Great Mogul* is Lord of more Ground, and has enlarg'd his Territories ſince that time. But we don't here meddle with any of thoſe Modern Acquiſitions, but draw the Lines of the Empire as it was in that more Ancient State.

The Diviſion of the Country and its Provinces.

This premiſ'd; we are told that it contains Thirty ſeven large Provinces; one may call them Kingdoms, for anciently they were ſo, each glorying in a particular Monarch of its own. Each large enough too, to ſatisfie the Deſires of a Prince not extraordinarily ambitious of Sovereignty; a Prince of that happy conſtitution of Mind (that ſome we read of have been bleſſed with) to be contented with the ſhare which Nature and Providence have allowed him, and live free from all thoſe unjuſt and intemperate Paſſions which render ſo many Princes the Plagues and Torments of their Neighbours.

The Names of theſe Provinces (as well as the other particulars relating to them) were taken out of the *Great Moguls* own Records, and not from the uncertain Reports of any of the People; ſo that one may depend upon having a juſt and true Account in this caſe.

We ſhall go over them in the order they deliver'd them to us.

Candahar, a fair Province that lies North Weſt from *Agra;* bordering upon *Perſia,* to which it once belonged. The chief City bears the ſame name, and is very well known to the Merchants. *Candahar.*

Cabul, the Name both of the chief City and Province. It borders upon *Tartary,* and is the moſt Northern part of the *Mogul*'s Dominions. The River *Nilob* has it's Origin here, from whence running Southerly it diſcharges it ſelf into the *Indus.* *Cabul.*

Multan, that lies Southerly from *Cabul* and *Candahar,* and to the Weſt joins upon *Perſia.* 'Tis famed for excellent Bows and Arrows, and all the other Provinces of *India* do allow it the preheminence in this Art. The Bows are made of Horn, and the Arrows of ſmall Canes or Reeds; both very neatly contrived and ſet off with rich Paint or Varniſh. *Multan.*

Hajacan,

jacan.

Hajacar, the Country of the *Baluches*, a People of good Courage and a very martial Diſpoſition. They do both look like Men and dare fight like Men; they are not as a great many ſorts of People in the *Mogul*'s Dominions, that have the Spirit of a Mouſe lodged in a brave Heroick Body; great hulking Fellows (big enough almoſt to ſwallow a common Adverſary) that will be kick'd or thraſh'd and ſtand ſtill while 'tis done. This Province has no celebrated City; the Inhabitants are it's greateſt Glory, and enough too without ſplendid Towns and Caſtles. The River *Indus* waſhes it on the Eaſt and *Lar* a *Perſian* Province meets it on the Weſt.

Buckar.

Buckar, through whoſe capital City call'd *Suckar*, the noble *Indus* makes its way.

Tatta.

Tatta, a very fruitful and pleaſant Country. made ſo partly by the branchings of the *Indus*, that ſpreads it ſelf into various Circlets, and forms as many little Iſlands up and down which being ſo well watered (and the Soil happy too) are as rich and fertile almoſt as Covetouſneſs it ſelf could wiſh. The main Current of this River meets with the Sea at *Sindee* a place noted for many curious Handicrafts.

Soret.

Soret, (the chief City *Janagar*) a Province comparatively ſmall, but makes amends in its Fruitfulneſs. It lies upon *Guzurat*, and has the Ocean to the South.

Jeſſulmure.

Jeſſulmure, joining to *Soret*, and has *Buckar* and *Tatta* to the Weſt of it.

Attack.

Attack, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the *Indus*, which parts it from *Hajacar*.

Peniab.

Peniab (which name ſignifies five Waters) is ſeated amongſt ſo many Rivers, all of them Tributaries to the *Indus*. It is a Province of a vaſt extent, and as rich as it is large; the Capital of it is *Lahor*, that mighty trading City and Northern Metropolis of *India*.

Chiſhmere.

Chiſhmere, whoſe principal City is *Siranakar*, ſeated upon very Mountainous Ground; through which notwithſtanding the River *Bhat* creeps along, and ſo pours into the Sea.

Banchiſh.

Banchiſh (the Chief City *Biſhur*) it lies Eaſt, and ſomething Southerly from *Chiſhmere*, and is ſeparated from it by the *Indus*.

Jangapore.

Jangapore, it ſtretches along upon the River *Kaul*, one of the five that water the Province of *Peniab*.

Jenba.

Jenba, it lies to the Eaſt of *Peniab*.

Delly.

Delly, is the central Province of this great Empire, and ſhews a City of the ſame name, which yet in ſpite of all its Ruines and the Injuries of time will force the admiration of a Spectator. The old *Indian* Princes lie interr'd here a vaſt number of them, and ſo are moſt of the preſent Emperour's Family. The Ceremony of the Coronation is ſtill performed here, and muſt be ſo by the Laws of the Country; the *Mogul* may wear his Crown where he pleaſes, but here it muſt be firſt ſet on. Mr *Coryat* found a ſtately Marble Pillar at this place, with an old and almoſt defaced Greek Inſcription upon it; which he believes to have been erected by *Alexander* in memory of his Victory over *Porus*, who gave the Conqueror hereabouts ſo briſk a Reception, and plied him ſo cloſe, as made him ſay, *tandem par animo meo Juveni periculum*, he had at laſt met with a Danger big enough for him.

Quintus Curtius.

(And we know that *India* afforded him another Danger too (before he left it) that was not only great enough, but very like to have proved too great for him: Witneſs that Town of the *Malli* where he ſo narrowly ſcaped the laſt effects of the juſt fury of the Beſieged; when he had thrown himſelf off from the Wall amongſt them, and ſupported himſelf againſt the Trunk of a Tree, till his *Macedonians* (in the very nick of time) came in to preſerve him). The River *Gemini* riſes at this place, and afterwards paſſing thro' *Agra* runs into the *Ganges*.

Bando.

Bando, it borders the Province of *Agra* to the Weſt.

Malua.

Malua, a very fruitful Province, whoſe chief City is *Rantipore*.

Chitor.
See Sir Tho. Row's Account.

Chitor, a very ancient and great Kingdom, its chief City (of the ſame name) now involved in the miſerable fate of many other great and ſtately places that have paſt their time of flouriſhing.

Guzurat.

Guzurat, a very goodly, large and rich Kingdom; its Capital City is *Amadanas*, tho' *Cambaya*, *Brodera*, *Baroch*, and *Surat* (not much ſhort of the former) do all ſtand in the ſame Territory. It has ſeveral fine Rivers, as that of *Cambaya* (falſly ſuppoſed by ſome to be the *Indus*) the *Narbedah* which paſſes by *Baroch*, and the *Taplee* by *Surat*.

Chandis.

Chandis, whoſe chief City is *Brampore*, a large and populous place.

Berar.

Berar, the chief City *Shaphore*; theſe two laſt are the Southern bounds of the Empire.

Narvar.

Narvar, the chief City *Gebud*, watered by a River that much enriches it, and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Ganges*.

Gwaliar.

Gwaliar, in the Capital City of which, the *Mogul* has a vaſt Treaſure of Gold and Silver, and a ſtrong Caſtle for the keeping of conſiderable Priſoners.

Agra.

Agra, the Province and City are both pretty well known.

Sanbat.

Sanbat, parted by the River *Gemini* from the Province of *Narvar*.

Bakar.

Bakar, which lies on the Weſt ſide of the *Ganges*, and its principal City *Bikaneer*.

Nagracot.

Nagracot, in whoſe chief City is a Temple as richly ſet out with all ſorts of Ornaments as any in *India*; the Ceiling and Pavements are both of the pureſt Silver, and the Emboſſing and Engraving about the whole is almoſt endleſs. 'Tis the Manſion of a very celebrated Idol to which Multitudes of People do reſort; with ſo much more Charge and Pains do theſe poor blind *Indians* expreſs their Devotion and Reſpect to a dead Image, than many Thouſands of Chriſtians think fit to do to the living and true God. The Idols name is *Matta*, and the People in the Tranſports of their Zeal, cut out their Tongues and offer them to him in ſacrifice; they are very much to be pitied for being under the Bondage of ſo erroneous and troubleſome a Devotion as this is; but at the ſame time they are a reproach to multitudes that ſtand amongſt the followers of Jeſus Chriſt, who had far better imitate the example of the *Indians*, and cut their Tongues out, than uſe them as they do to the diſparagement of the Great Author of their Religion.

Siba.

Siba, whoſe chief City is *Hardward*, where the famous River *Ganges* paſſes thro' a parcel of Rocks, and quickly after ſwells into a pretty full Current. The Principal of theſe Rocks has (or at leaſt the *Indians* fancy ſo) the reſemblance of a Cows-Head, a Creature they love mightily, and are very tender of. They aſcribe a Divinity to all Waters, but more eſpecially to that of the *Ganges*, which the whole Country therefore viſits upon that account.

Kakares.

Kakares, the chief Cities of which are *Dekalee* and *Purhola*. 'Tis a large Province but very Mountainous ſeparated from *Tartary* by part of *Caucaſus*; and is one of the Northern boundaries of the Empire.

Gor.

Gor, a very uneven hilly Country; the River *Serſilly* (that communicates with the *Ganges*) has its Head in it.

Pitan.

Pitan, watered by the River *Canda*, which falls into the *Ganges* in the Confines of it.

Kanduana.

Kanduana, whoſe chief City is *Karbakatenka*; the River *Serſilly* parts it from *Pitan*. This Province and *Gor* are the North Eaſt Limits of this *Monarchy*.

Patna.

Patna, which is bounded by the *Ganges* on the Weſt, and the *Serſilly* on the Eaſt; it is a very rich and fertile Province.

Jeſuat.

Jeſuat, whoſe chief City is *Rajapore*; it lies Eaſt of *Patna*.

Mevat.

Mevat, the chief City *Narnel*; a rough mountainous Country.

Udeſſa.

Udeſſa, the principal City *Jekanat*; it is the moſt remote Eaſtern part of the Empire.

Bengala.

And laſtly *Bengala*, which well deſerves the Title of a Kingdom, for the large extent of it. It contains two great Provinces, *Purb* and *Patan*, the one lying on the Eaſt and the other on the Weſt of *Ganges*. 'Tis bounded to the South by the Gulph of the ſame name, into which the *Ganges* (parted into four great Streams) pours out its Water, after it has run more than 1500 Miles out right in the *Mogul*'s Territories. The chief Cities are *Regamahal* and *Dakaka*; there are abundance of fine Ports and Havens in this Country, and 'tis bleſſed with all the moſt profitable and uſeful Bounties of Nature.

Dimenſions of the whole.

And now for the Dimenſions of the whole in one piece, 'tis reckon'd by our Travellers to be from N. W. to S. W. above Two thouſand *Engliſh* Miles, from N. E. to S. W. about One thouſand five hundred Miles, and from North to South, about One thouſand four hundred. A fine ſpot of Ground for one Man to be Maſter of; and yet as great as 'tis, not big enough to ſatisfie the craving Deſires of its Monarch. This part of *India* is not ſufficient for him, but he muſt have *Decan*, *Malabar*, and *Coromandel* too; and that ſuppoſed, he would be as mad for *China* on the one ſide and *Perſia* on the other; then *Turky* would lie in his way, and *Europe* be a tempting bait to him, and then he would never ſleep quietly for thinking upon *Africa* and *America*. What are the bounds of Covetouſneſs and Ambition? and where is it that enflamed Appetite quenches its own Fires, and begins to grow cool and temperate? Certainly 'tis not within the Limits of this World: Had an ambitious Prince the whole Earth at his command, he would (like *Alexander*) repine and grumble that there was not more ſuch within his reach; and undoubtedly were there a Contrivance for the conveying an Army thro' the Air, the conqueſt of the Moon would be next attempted, and then woe be to *Mars* and *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the Planets.

The temper of the Country, the nature of the Soil, and all its Products.

What the Temper of the Air in this Country is, may be eaſily gueſſed from its ſituation in ſome meaſure; one may expect violent heats in a Poſition ſo near the Sun's way, and thoſe that live in *India* don't find their Expectations of this nature fruſtrated.

Their Rains are neither ſo common nor ſo uncertain as they are in many parts of the World; a Man can hardly be wet with a Shower except at one particular ſeaſon of the Year, and then he may every Day (more or leſs) for three Months together. Theſe general Rains begin about the time that the Sun comes to the Northern Tropick, and ſo continue till his return back to the line. They are uſually uſhered in with fearful ſtorms of Thunder and Lightning, and as theſe are the beginning ſo they are alſo the concluſion of the rainy Seaſon. The reſt of the Year a refreſhing Dew (that falls very plentifully) ſerves inſtead of Rain; this does a little cool and comfort the Earth, yet by that time the nine Months are filled up, the Ground grows horribly dry and parch'd, and all the Greens languiſh for a Shower. There is at that time ſomething of the dead and barren proſpect of the Deſert *Arabia*; heaps of Duſt and Sand, and torrified Plants and Animals; but when the Rains come on there's preſently a wonderful alteration, every thing revives and ſhoots up, and the Fields appear in their genuine Summer Colours.

Ploughing and Sowing.

They Till their Ground with Oxen and Foot-ploughs; their Seed time is in *May* and the beginning of *June*, and their Harveſt in *November* and *December* (the moſt temperate Months of the Year). And tho' the Ground has been hardning ſo long as it has by the mighty heat, yet they can work it without difficulty when they come to Plough; for the Mould is fat and rich, and its own goodneſs diſpoſes it to yield to the Plough, tho' there has been no Rain to ſoften and prepare it. There's very little incloſ'd Land in this Country, except ſometimes juſt by Towns or Villages, otherwiſe it lies all open.

Hay and Corn.

They cut their Graſs as they have occaſion for it, either green or wither'd; but they don't Mow it and make Hay as we do in *England*. The Corn is extreamly rank, and grows as thick and cloſe as ever the Land can bear it; and one may paſs ſeveral hundreds of Acres together without ſeeing the leaſt ſpot that's thin and poor. Their ſorts are Wheat, Barley, and Rice, with ſome others we don't know the names of; the Wheat is plumper and whiter than ours, and makes a fine well reliſh'd Bread; and that which the common People make of another ſort of courſer Grain is both toothſome and wholſome, and very hearty.

With their Bread they have excellent good Butter too, tho' not of the conſiſtence of ours, but more fluid like an Oil, for the heat of the Climate will never allow them to bring their Cream to any other Temper.

Plants, and Fruits, and Trees.

All the uſeful Garden Roots and Plants are common in this Country, as Carrots, Potatoes, Onions, Garlick, and ſeveral ſorts of Sallet Herbs. Ginger grows almoſt every where about, and Sugar Canes are no rarity at all; they ſow Tobacco in vaſt plenty, and ſmoak it as much. But their way of taking it is ſomething odd and ſtrange, tho' perhaps they don't fire their Mouths by it ſo much as we do; for they take a little narrow necked Pot (that has an open round top, and a Spout coming out of the Belly on't) and fill it with Water up to the lower part of the Spout; then they lay their Tobacco looſe in the top of the Pot, and upon it a Coal of Fire, and ſo with a Reed or Cane of an Ell long (which is inſerted into the Spout) they draw the Smoak into their Mouths. They ſay it is much more cool and wholſome to do it thus, than as the *Europeans* do, ſince all the Smoak falls upon the ſurface of the Water before it paſſes into the Cane. The Tobacco of this Country is thought to be as good (in the Plant) as any in the World, but they han't the Art of dreſſing and ordering it (to make it rich and ſtrong) as they have in the *Weſt-Indies*. The greateſt defect as to Vegetables ſeems to be in Flowers, which for a great part are but like ſo many painted Weeds; they pleaſe the Eye with fine Colours, but give the Smell little or no entertainment at all. The Roſes and ſome few kinds more are fragrant; one of the principal of which is a white Flower like the *Spaniſh Jeſſamin*, a thing of a moſt grateful and pleaſing Scent, and affords them that fine Oyl, with which they are continually perfuming themſelves, and makes very ſweet Company. Beſides theſe for a Perfume they have Lign-Aloes, and that neither ſcarce nor of the meaneſt ſort.

As for Fruits the Country ſhews a very great variety; Dates, Figs, Grapes, Prunello's, Almonds, Pomegranates, Pomecitrons, Oranges and Limons; but theſe latter are not ſo good here as in other places. Here are Coco's too, and that excellent Plumb called the Mirabolan, the uſe and goodneſs of which we very well know in *England*. The Plantans grow in cluſters (many times) they are long and like a ſlender Cucumber, very Yellow when ripe, and taſte like a *Norwich* Pear, but much better.

The Muſkmelons and Water-melons are ſo well ripen'd and digeſted a Fruit in this warm Climate, that they may be freely eaten without fear of any of thoſe hurtful effects that may follow a plentiful uſe of them in a colder Country. The Pulp of the Fruit is ſpongy and tender, of a Colour mixt with Red and White, and contains in the inner part of it a very pleaſant cooling Liquor. The *Mango* Trees are as large and ſtately as our Wallnut-trees, and the Fruit in ſhape and colour like our Apricocks, but much bigger; they roul them about in their Hands for a while when they are ripe, and then ſuck out the inſide, which by that time is become like the Pap of a roaſted Apple, and highly grateful to the pallet.

But the *Annana's* are eſteem'd the choiceſt of all their Fruits, and have (tho' a very delicious) yet ſo compounded a taſte with them, that a Man while he eats them may imagine he is eating ſeveral fine things together; they ſay it reſembles a mixture of Strawberries, Claret, Roſe-water and Sugar.

Beſides theſe there's the * Tamarind Tree (which is known well enough) and the Tree that yields the Liquor call'd the Toddie, which is from thence call'd the Toddie-tree. This Tree has a very ſoft ſpongie Parenchyma; it grows ſtraight and tall and without Boughs to the very top, but there ſpreads out into tender Branches, in ſhape like thoſe that ſhoot out at the Root of our large rank Artichoaks, but much bigger and longer. 'Tis not ſo big about but it may be eaſily claſp'd in a Man's Arms, and tho' it has no Boughs to give any aſſiſtance to a Climber, yet the Country People will mount it with an incredible eaſe and celerity; but this they do by the Advantage that the roughneſs and cruſtineſs of the Bark gives them, which proves ſome ſmall ſtay to their Feet. They make an Inciſion in the top Branches, and receive the Liquor that diſtils in Gourds ſet under for that purpoſe: This without any farther preparation, is the Toddie ſo much talked of and uſed in this Country, and upon which they fix ſo many good Characters. In ſhort, 'tis a fine Wine, and a good Medicine; if it be drunk freſh from the Tree in the Morning 'tis a very pleaſing inoffenſive Liquor; but if kept till the heat of the Day, the Sun alters it wonderfully; robs it of its fine taſte, does not exhale the Spirit of it, and leave it flat and vapid, but actuates the Spirits it has, and renders them much more violent and intoxicating. The Seamen love it beſt in this condition, becauſe it makes them quickly drunk; but all that don't drink for that purpoſe take it in the Morning, and then 'tis as ſmooth as new White-Wine, but much more fine and clear.

* There's ſome account of the *Tamarind* Trees in Mr. *Davis's* and Captain *Downton's* firſt Voyages.

The Vertues of it are, to provoke Urine, and give relief in the Stone; that is, it lenifies and in ſome meaſure aſſwages the Pain; but thoſe that have tried it, don't tell us of any farther influence of it, in removing the Cauſe or preventing the growth of the Miſchief for the future.

For the *Indico*, ſee Mr. *Finch's* Relation. *Lib.* 3. There's ſomething of the Cotton in Mr. *Candiſh's* Voyage, *Lib.* 1. But this is more full and compleat.

The Plant from whence the Indico is made grows very plentifully about in many parts of the Country; and the Cotton Trees are no leſs common. They ſow vaſt quantities of Ground with the Seed of it, and make very great profit. The Plant grows up like a ſmall Roſe-Buſh, and bears a yellow Bloſſom; when theſe are fallen off, the Cods appear, and grow to the bigneſs of a Mans Thumb, the Matter within which is at firſt Yellow, moiſt and ſoft. As they ripen and grow bigger, they burſt, and the included Matter then appears like Wool, and is fit for gathering. Amongſt that Wool they find the Seeds ſafely wrapt up; but there's no need of ſowing preſently and going to raiſe a ſet of freſh Trees, for the old ones will hold on bearing their Wool for three or four Years together.

The Spreading Tree.

There is one Tree more that deſerves to be mentioned, tho' we cannot procure the Name of it, but that it may not wholly go without one, one may call it the Spreading-Tree. Out of the great Arms of it ſhoot forth various little Sprigs, which growing downwards reach the Ground at laſt, and there root themſelves firmly, proving a very ſtrong ſupport to thoſe mighty Boughs that ſent them out. Thus the Tree ſpreads it ſelf round into a vaſt Compaſs, and forms a kind of a Pavilion, capable of entertaining ſeveral hundreds of Men under the ſhade and ſhelter of it.

This is a very good Convenience for Travellers, and 'tis the better in that 'tis always ready, and in a good condition to afford them a Protection from the heat at any time, ſince the Trees in theſe parts are hardly ever ſtrip'd of their green Furniture all the Year round. And by report there's need enough of ſuch Retreats as theſe are from the Sun's violence in *India*, even at that ſeaſon of the Year, when many other places would be glad to feel him a little more. For they tell us that the Sun's Meridian ſtrength and heat in the coldeſt Day there, is as troubleſome as that of the hotteſt Day in *England*; except at the times when the great Rains fall, when the Air is conſequently in a good meaſure clear'd of the hot ſulphurous Vapours, and loaded with others of a contrary nature. A ſoft gentle Wind, reflects from the parch'd Earth, with a heat that raiſes bliſters upon the Faces of People not uſed to the Climate; 'tis like the Breath of a burning Furnace; and were not thoſe ſcorching Whiffs tempered with certain cool Breezes that blow ſometimes, Foreigners that have always breathed the freſh Air of other Countries, could never long hold out breathing this. Our Travellers tell us, that for a Man to go out in the heat of the Day, is to run the hazzard of being ſtewed almoſt, and that they are fain to wear their Cloaths as thin and ſlight as 'tis conſiſtent with decency to do. Yet are there very ſudden precipitate alterations of the Weather from one extream to another, even in the moſt calm and temperate Months: And when at Noon a Man is ready to melt, and a fine Shirt upon his Back is a burden, the mid-night following the Ice is about his Tent, and he would be glad of a good Rugg to cover him. In either of theſe Reſpects, a thick fence of Trees is a good Convenience for a Traveller abroad in a wide and an open Country. And Nature has admirably well conſulted this in the raiſing ſuch a Tree as this lately deſcribed; 'tis as good as building ſo many Inns upon the Road; nay, in ſome reſpects better, ſince theſe will entertain more Paſſengers, and a Man's at no charge nor trouble for a Lodging.

To conclude this Account of the vegetables, we may obſerve that very few or ſcarce any of thoſe Trees that are ſo common with us in *England*, are ſeen in this Country; yet have they very ſtrong and ſufficient Timber-trees fit for any uſes we can pretend to put ours to.

The Accounts of Drugs and Minerals is but ſhort, tho' no doubt this rare Country is able to entertain an inquiſitive and curious Perſon, with varieties enough of this kind.

Several fine ſcented Gums there are, and together with them good ſtore of Gum Lac, of which they make their hard Wax.

There's a great deal of *Caſſia* likewiſe growing in Canes and Bezoar Stones, which they take out of the Maws of a ſort of Goats. When they obſerve thoſe Creatures to grow very lean (which is a Diagnoſtick of the growth of that Stone in their Ventricles) they preſently kill them, and take out the precious Cauſe of that Conſnmption. Theſe Goats are moſt numerous upon the Mountains of *Lar* in the *Perſian* Territories.

Of the living Creatures. But there is a much leſs diverſity in reſpect of the Animals (tho' *India* has rarities to ſhew us too) for here one may ſee vaſt numbers of thoſe Creatures that our own Country preſents us with every Day.

Beaſts. Their Beefs have a great bunch that grows betwixt their Shoulders, and their Fleſh is much whiter than that of ours.

The Sheep differ from ours more by their great bob Tails they have than any thing elſe; their Wool is ordinary and courſe, but their Fleſh far from being ſo.

Cows, Goats, Sheep, &c. Goats and all ſorts of Deer are very common amongſt them; the Deer are no where incloſ'd in Parks, but enjoy their full Liberty as other Creatures do, and are every Man's Game that can take them.

The Buffalo has ſomething ſingular in it, and 'tis a ſtranger to our parts. 'Tis a large Beaſt, and has a very thick, ſmooth Skin, wholly without Hair; it gives a very good Milk, but the Fleſh of it (tho' it ſomething reſembles Beef) yet is neither ſo pleaſant nor ſo wholſome.

Antelopes, Elks, &c. Here are Elks and Antilopes too, which are very ſtrong and fierce Creatures.

Monkeys, Apes and Baboons are almoſt as common as Dogs and Cats with us; they live moſtly about in the Woods, where they are a terrible plague to the little Birds that build in the Trees, by deſtroying all their Neſts and young Ones that lie within their reach. But the Birds are generally hard enough for them; for they build their Neſts in the very utmoſt Twigs of the Boughs, which are ſtrong enough to ſupport things ſo very ſmall and light, but are too fine and tender for any Monkey to pretend to tread them.

For carrying of Burthens and other ſlaviſh Work, they uſe Aſſes, Mules, Camels and Dromedaries, which are all Natives of this Country. Cammels, Dromedaries, &c.

The Dromedary (with his long Legs) rids Ground apace, and travels a vaſt way in a Day: They are hardy, ſtrong, patient of Labour, hunger and thirſt, extreamly ſwift and briſk in their Motion; and therefore very proper for a quick March, or to give an unexpected aſſault to ſome remote place, which would be beyond the ſtrength of any Horſe to reach in ſuch a determin'd time. *Ecbar Sha* made a remarkable uſe of them in his Wars in *Guzurat*, and 'twas owing to the ſwiftneſs of his Dromedaries, that he made ſo quick a Diſpatch in the conqueſt of that Country. For marching in nine Days (with them) from *Agra* to *Amadavar*, he was upon the Backs of the *Guzurats* before they imagin'd he had been ſet out, which Surprize ſo confounded them, that they loſt the Battle and their Liberty, and the Country from that time became a Province of the *Indian-Mogul* Empire.

The Camel deſerves the Title of the moſt abſolute Slave of any Beaſt in the World, for he is fond of his Burthen; he cries and moans at Night (when 'tis taken off) in a very doleful manner, and ſeems to be as much pleaſed in the Morning when 'tis laid on again. (There's hardly any Creature like him throughout all nature, unleſs it be a Man of lewd vicious habits, that ſits with as much eaſe under the heavieſt Oppreſſions, and counts an attempt to free him an injury).

The Horſe is a Creature here in great eſteem, and therefore reſerved for the nobleſt Services. They are only for War, or Pleaſure, or meer Pomp and State; they live as eaſily as any of their kind in the World, and the Horſes of ſome Countries are no better than Peaſantry to them. They are brave generous Creatures, high metled, curiouſly made, and as well managed by the Natives. For their Colours, ſome are Raven black, many white and finely dappled, a great number pied and ſpotted all over, and others of more bright and gaudy Colours. But if Nature has not given them a Colour to their Riders fancy, they'll make it what they have a mind to by the helps of Art; they'll tinge and colour the Legs, Belly and Breaſt of them, ſo that a Horſe looks as if he came out of a Diers Vatt. Their Hair is very ſhort and ſoft, and lies ſmooth and ſleek upon them, and they are ſo well kept that they ſhine again. Their main Provender is a ſort of Grain they call Donna, round, and ſomewhat bigger than our *Engliſh* Tares; they boil it and mingle it with courſe Sugar and Butter, and ſo make it up into Balls, which they thruſt into their Mouths. This is downright craming of Horſes, and managing them as we do Turkies; 'tis a wonder they don't ſhut them up in Coops too, and let them lodge as well as feed like Poultry. And the truth on't is, they don't tie down their Horſes Heads with Haulters (as we do) when they ſtand in the Stable, but give them their Liberty, or at moſt faſten a Rope on to their hinder Feet, and we know Poultry are often tied by the Legs. But after all it muſt be ſaid that Horſes are no where better allow'd and more dainty look'd to than here; for every individual Horſe has his Man to dreſs and wait upon him; which is better attendance than many an honeſt Man can pretend to, who has neither Horſe nor Man to be his Servant. Horſes.

But the Quadrupeds of moſt fame and wonder in this Country are the Rhinocerots and the Elephants. The former are not very common, and therefore more admired. They are very large ſquare Beaſts, much bigger than any *Engliſh* Ox of the largeſt ſize. Their Skin (which is thick, tough and without Hair) lies in great folds like Armour upon their Necks, Breaſts, and Backs. They have ſhort but very ſtrong Horns (planted upon firm Bones) that lie over their Noſtrils, and are recurve, growing upwards towards the top of their Heads. Each Rhinoceros is fortified with one of thoſe Horns, which renders them ſo terrible, that moſt of your other Creatures void them as much as they can. They make certain Cups of theſe Horns, which are reported to communicate a Medicinal Vertue to the Liquor that ſtands ſome time in them. Rhinoceros.

The Elephant requires a larger ſtory, as a Creature much better known, and in far greater uſe; but being become now ſo familiar and well known to the World as 'tis, the particular Deſcription of it may be omitted, to make the more room for other Obſervations concerning it. Their ſtature is reckon'd to be from nine or ten to fourteen or fifteen Foot in height, and with all this mighty bulk they can't be imagin'd to move very faſt; they do at beſt rather walk than pace, but make amends for their Elephant.

ſlowneſs, in their ſure and true going, for they never fall nor ſtumble.

The Females go twelve Months with their Young: 'Tis thirty Years before they come to their full growth, and they live the uſual Age of a Man.

They are the moſt governable and eaſily managed Creatures in the World; as a mighty Ship is turn'd about by the force of a ſmall Helm, ſo are theſe vaſt Frames determin'd in their Motions by a mean and deſpicable power. The Governour uſes only a ſmall Rod of Steel made ſharp and crooked at the end like a Hook; upon the leaſt twitch or pull, with which the Creature diſpoſes himſelf to Obedience. A Boy of twelve Years old may do this Office, and rule the biggeſt Elephant in *India*, provided it be not in their Madding-time; that is, when the Males grow hot with deſire of the Females.

This Fit laſts for ſome Days, and then they come to good Temper again; but while 'tis upon them, they play the Devil at that rate, that two or three Troops of Horſe is little enough to keep one of them in order. They ſtrike any thing that comes in their way, but their Keepers; and what they ſtrike they beat to Pummice, or cruſh the Bones of, be it Man, Horſe, Aſs, or Camel. They drive all the Town before them, when they break looſe in their mad Fit; the People run helter ſkelter, and tumble over one another, to avoid the Tread of the angry Monſter: And 'tis better to do ſo, tho' a Man gets a broken Head or Shin by it, than to be kick'd to Death by an Elephant. The only way they have to ſtop them in their Career, is, to fire a Train of Gunpowder about their Ears; this puts them into a Fright, and when they ſee the Flaſh, they'll ſtand ſtill and tremble.

All the while this Heat is upon them, they ſweat prodigiouſly, and ſtink at that rate, that a Pig-ſty is a Perfume to it; They ſay, 'tis like the rank and filthy Scent of a Boar that's a fatting, but as much worſe than that, as the Boar is leſs than the Elephant. To prevent all Miſchiefs that may be done by them in their Fury, as ſoon as ever they begin to grow diſorderly, they are fetter'd with ſtrong Chains to the Bodies of great Trees; but ſometimes the Frenzy is too ſtrong for the Iron, and the Beaſt, in ſpite of all, takes his Ramble.

But to go on with their good and commendable Qualities: There's hardly any Creature ſo much admired for his Sence, ſo docible, (and if the application of that term to a Beaſt may be allowed) ſo underſtanding as the Elephant is: All the Stories reported of them, are, perhaps, no more to be believ'd, than thoſe that are told of Foxes and Monkeys, which ſome People have made as wiſe as the moſt accompliſh'd Politicians of the Country. But there are ſome Paſſages remarkable, and odd enough (taken from the Obſervation of our Authors, and the certain and conſtant Reports of credible Perſons in the Country) that are ſufficient to juſtifie that Character of ſtrange Sence and Apprehenſion, which is commonly fix'd upon this Creature. Thus they tell us, that an Elephant will deport and manage himſelf towards another Perſon, according to the private Inſtructions given him by his Keeper. If he order him to fright a Man, the Elephant will march up to him with a ſeeming Fury, as if he meant to tread him in pieces, and when he is at him, do him no harm at all. If he be bid abuſe or affront a Man, he'll take Water up in his Trunk, and ſpout it out upon him, or Dirt perhaps, and daſh it in his Face. So alſo they are extreamly ſenſible of any Kindneſs done them, and nicely remember the Perſons that have at any time obliged them, by making much of them, or giving them Victuals.

Relations of Elephants.

At *Aſmere* (where the *Great Mogol* then reſided), there was one of his Elephants that uſed to be frequently lead through the Market, and commonly as he paſſed along, a certain Herb-woman that had a Stall there, uſed to give him a Bunch of green Herbs: It happen'd one time, that this Elephant being in his Heats, broke looſe from his Keepers, and took his way through the Market; all the People endeavouring to ſecure themſelves from him, by flying and hiding as well as they could. Amongſt the reſt this Herb-woman ran away too, and being in a great Hurry and Fright, left her young Child behind her upon the Stall. The Elephant was not ſo mad, but he ſtopp'd at the place where he uſed to have his Bunch of Herbs, and ſeeing the Child lie there, he takes it tenderly up in his Trunk, and goes and lays it down (without the leaſt harm in the World) upon a Stall of a neighbouring Houſe: When he had done this ſober Action, and thus expreſs'd his Gratitude to his Benefactor, away he went in his mad Courſe as before.

And if at any time they are miſus'd, and receive Injuries, they are as implacably prejudiced againſt thoſe Perſons that have affronted them, and ſure to revenge it, if ever they have a fair opportunity. One of them did in this formal manner, lay, and execute a Plot to be revenged of his Governour that had abus'd him.

Being upon a Journey, it ſeems, the Man was laid down to ſleep, but was poſted ſo out of the Elephant's reach, that he could not ſtrike him either with his Trunk or Teeth. However, having ſome green Canes by him, he takes one of them, and having ſplit it with his Trunk a conſiderable way, he reaches out that end of it that was ſplit, and twiſting the Man's Hair pretty ſecurely in it, by that means he dragg'd him down to him: What he did with him, is eaſie to be imagin'd, the Elephant did not play that Trick for nothing. And 'tis a very common thing for theſe Creatures to be taught and managed ſo, as to take up young Children in their Trunks, toſs and ſwing them about, and then ſet them down again, with as much Care and Tenderneſs as their Mothers could have done. The *Great Mogol* once made his own Son, a young Prince of ſeven Years old, be thus toſs'd about by one of his managed Elephants, and after the little Prince, the Children of ſeveral of his Nobles that were there preſent, and none receiv'd the leaſt Injury imaginable. From all which Inſtances (tho' a great many more may be collected up and down), a Man will ſee Reaſon enough to fall out with a *Carteſian*, with whom all theſe Creatures are ſo many Pieces of meer Clockwork, and their Actions the Effects purely of Wheel and Spring, as 'tis in common artificial Machines.

Such a Story is evidently too vain and frivolous to deſerve a ſerious Refutation; however, as long as there are any Animals alive, it will not want innumerable ones, and the *Carteſians*, by converſing with Nature, and obſerving the Actions of Animals, may eaſily convert themſelves to more reaſonable Opinions, and together with Wheel and Spring, learn to acknowledge alſo the Influence and Preſence of a more noble and ſteddy Principle in the Government and Determination of theſe Creatures Motions.

The Elephants having ſuch mighty Carkaſſes, are not to be maintain'd with a little, eſpecially if they are well kept (as all the *Mogol's* are), 'tis very chargeable: There's none of them that are called the Royal Elephants, of which there is Three hundred, but eat him 70 Roupies a piece (a Day) in Grain, Butter, and Sugar; but they can't ſpend upon a Maſter that's better able to afford it. Take them out of their mad Fits, and they are not found to have Vigour and Courage proportional to their huge Bulk. An *Engliſh* Maſtiff boldly aſſaulted one of them, faſtned upon his Trunk, and the Elephant having ſwung him up and down a great while, at laſt threw him to a conſiderable diſtance from him, and was very glad to be rid of him ſo: This was one of the Dogs that was preſented to the *Great Mogol* by the *Engliſh* Merchants; and when this Story was told him, he was exceedingly pleas'd at it; the Dogs were entertain'd, and lived at a mighty rate, they were carried up and down with him in Palankees, had each of them four Men to attend them, and to fan away the Flies; and the *Mogol* had a Pair of Silver Tongs made on purpoſe, that he might feed them with his own hand.

To conclude the Account of this Animal, it is confidently affirmed of them by all their Keepers, that they will never uſe their Females in the preſence of any Spectator, and that in all thoſe Natural Actions they are ſo reſerved and cloſe, that they will not endure any to be near them, while they are about them: A ſtrange Inſtance of Modeſty in a Brute, and as remarkable as any of their Qualities that are known to us.

Lyons, Tygers, &c.

As for other Animals, our Accounts are not ſo particular: There are Lions and Tygers, Wolves, and Jackals, ſome of which do often ramble about in the Night-time viſiting the Tents of Travellers, and ſtealing away their Sheep and Goats: Nay, in Towns that are near great Woods, they'll come into the very Yards of the Houſes, leap a Wall, and carry off their Prey cleverly along with them.

More than this, they very commonly hunt under Ground for Prey as well as above it, the Dead can't reſt in their Graves for them, but (unleſs they are buried very deep) they'll remove them into another Sepulchre, their own hungry Bellies.

The Rats, in ſome old Towns, are very troubleſome, and in their proportion as ravenous as the Lions. Our *Engliſh-men* complain, that ſome of them were bitten as they lay in their Beds; that the Rats would fall a nibbling their Toes, or the Tips of their Ears, or ſometimes the Tops of their Noſes, or any part that lay expoſed to them. In the mean time, to be ſure, they could not ſleep very ſound, while all this Miſchief was a doing; for otherwiſe 'twould make a Man ſtare pretty ſufficiently to wake in the Morning, and miſs two or three Toes, or find his

Ears gone, when he was ſure all was ſafe and well at his going to Bed.

Inſects, &c.

The other Troublers of their Repoſe are the Flies, the Muſquetoons, and the Chinches, ſome of which by Day, and the others by Night, do exerciſe the Patience of Men, whoſe Lot is caſt in this Country. The former are a ſort of Gnats, and the latter are like Tikes, and are the worſe Plague of the two by far; for they bite while they are alive, and ſtink naſtily when they are dead; ſo that a Man had better endure the Torment of their biting, than have the Poyſon of their foul ſtench.

The Scorpions are the moſt dangerous and terrible of all, and they creep into their Houſes very much, when the rainy Seaſons come on. The little Inſtrument they do the Miſchief with is very ſharp, hard, and crooked, like the Talon of a Hawk, they don't thruſt it in and out of their Bodies, as ſome other Creatures do their Stings, but it always appears in their Tails ready mounted, to give the fatal prick. The Remedy they uſe, is an Oyl of Scorpions; or if they can catch the Scorpion it ſelf that gave the Wound, they bruiſe it, and apply it to the part: This, if preſently done, ſeldome fails of giving Relief.

The Lizards run very commonly about their Houſes too, but theſe are very harmleſs Creatures, and may be allowed for Domeſticks well enough.

Thus we have taken a ſhort View of Nature in *India*; we ſhall now paſs to Matters of Civil and Political Conſideration.

The Trade, &c. For which ſee Capt. *Saris's* Account of the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies* and others up & down.

And firſt as for the Trade of the Country, we ſhall have no need to inſiſt long upon that, the Voyages of this Book will give a very ſufficient Account of it. We may ſee by them, what the Merchants have done, what Commodities they have carried thither, and brought back from thence. In general, 'tis enough to ſay, that the moſt ſtaple Commodities of the Empire, are Indico and Cotton-Wool. They draw all their Spices from the ſame places that we fetch ours, from *Java*, *Sumatra*, the *Banda* and *Molucca* Iſles: For *Indoſtan*, as rich as 'tis, wants good ſtore of Clove, Nutmeg, and Cinamon-Trees. A little Silk they have amongſt them, which their own Country produces, but the greateſt Quantities are brought from *Perſia* and *Georgia*, which are capable of furniſhing the whole World with that Commodity.

Their beſt outward Trade is to *Moha* in the *Red Sea*, whither a Ship of an extraordinary great Burden goes from *Surat* once a Year conſtantly. The main Commodities vented there, are Cotton-Wool, and Cotton-Cloth, white and ſtain'd; and their Returns are moſt commonly all (or the moſt part) in Money, Gold, and Silver, to the Value of 200000 *l.* at a time.

The Coyn. See Captain *Peyton's* Second Voyage.

Their common Coyn is Roupies, and Mamoodies, both of Silver, but different in their Values; the former being between Two Shillings and Two Shillings and Six-pence, and the latter about Twelve-pence; but both of them are made in Halves, and ſome few in Quarters; ſo that Three-pence is the leaſt Piece of Silver current in the Country, and very few of them to be ſeen. The Silver Coyn is made either round or ſquare, but all ſo thick, that it never breaks or wears out; 'tis beſides very fine and pure too, having nothing of Allay: Upon this account, even in the *Spaniſh* Money it ſelf (which is the pureſt of all *Europe*), there is ſome loſs.

They have ſome Gold Coyn too, and that extraordinarily good, and Pieces of very great value; but theſe very ſeldom come abroad. All Foreign Coyn and Bullion, when it comes into theſe parts, is preſently melted down and refined, and being new coyn'd, has the *Mogol's* Stamp (which is his Name and Titles, in *Perſian* Characters) ſet upon it. All People are very welcome, that will bring their Bullion or Money in hither, and carry away their Merchandice for it; but 'tis a Crime not eaſily forgiven, to tranſport any Quantity of Money from hence.

Markets, or Bazars.

In all the great Towns they keep two Markets every Day; the firſt in the Morning a little before Sun-riſing, and for about an Hour after: And the ſecond, when the Sun is as low in the Evening. 'Twould be impoſſible for ſuch Crowds of People as frequent theſe Markets, to come together without ſweltering, and almoſt ſtifling one another in the Heat of the Day: And therefore they take the Cool of the Morning and Evening to do Buſineſs in, and paſs the ſcorching Hours of the Day in their Houſes, or ſome ſhady Retreats in their Gardens, where they ſleep and enjoy the Pleaſures that Nature has afforded them.

The People, &c. Their Colour, Dreſs, &c.

The Natives of this Country, are, for the generality, a handſome and well-made People. Their Complexion is Olive, or a ſad Tawny; and tho' this be not beautiful in *Europe*, yet 'tis in *India*, where Nature has made it their Colour. They don't envy the *Europeans* their white and fair Skins, nor think thoſe People ſo charming that look like Alabaſter, in compariſon to themſelves: For they ſay, all Leprous People are white, 'tis the Colour of that foul Diſtemper, and they don't care for't upon that ſcore.

There are very few crooked deform'd People amongſt them; hardly ſuch a thing as a Hunch-back to be ſeen all over *India*, a Man of undue Size, or irregular Proportions.

Their Hair is very black, but ſtreight, and not at all like that of the *Africans*: The *Mahometans* wear no Hair upon their Chins, but that on their upper Lips they ſuffer to grow as long as 'twill. And to preſerve the Colour of it, they uſe very much Black Lead Combs, which do their Buſineſs effectually, 'till Old Age begins to thruſt out Grey Hairs; Hairs that in ſpite of all the Black Lead Combs, will ſhew their Colour, and tell them 'tis in vain to uſe thoſe Arts any longer. Then they quit the uſe of the Razor, and let all the Hair of their Faces grow to its full length: But thoſe that do this, are either very Old Men, or ſome of the Prieſts, that fancy a Sacredneſs in a long Beard, and think they ſpeak with more Authority to the People, when they blow their Words out through a Thicket of overgrown Hairs. The *Mahometan Indians* too ſhave all the Hair off from their Heads, one Lock only excepted, which is left upon the Crown; and that is for the Prophet to take hold of at the Day of Judgment, and drag them up to Paradiſe by. The Heathen part (call'd Hindoes) not expecting to be pull'd up in that manner, leave no Lock at all upon the Crown, nor no where elſe, but ſhave all off: So that where-ever their Paradiſe lies, and however they get to it, they think to be fetch'd in a civiller way than that the *Mahometans* talk of.

Shaving being ſo conſtant and frequent a Practice amongſt them, there are conſequently a great number of Barbers, who make their Buſineſs and Province ſomething larger than our *European* Barbers do. In ſhort, they trim a Man from Head to Foot, pare off all his Superfluities; not only his Hair, but his Nails upon Fingers and Toes, and cut his Corns too. They carry a Steel Speculum always about with them, which is as large as a Trencher, and ſomething gibbous, and being well poliſh'd, ſerves almoſt as well as a common Looking-Glaſs; only 'tis certain, that the Convexity of it ſomething deforms the Image, and may poſſibly ſhew a Man an uglier Face than he really has. When they meet a Man that they think needs trimming, they don't ask him, Whether he will pleaſe to be ſhaved or no? But without any more adoe, whip their Glaſſes out of their Pockets, and ſhew him his Face: This they think is a better way to perſwade a Man to come into their Hands, than to make a Leg, and ask to be ſet a-work.

Their Habits, both Men and Women.

The Dreſs and Habit of this Country is uniform and invariable; they always keep to the ſame Mode; the higheſt Lord, and the pooreſt Peaſant, have their Cloaths made the ſame way. The former perhaps appears in his rich Silks or Embroideries, and the latter in ſome coarſe Stuff; but as for the Faſhion, the Lord and the Country-man are both upon a Level, and the one is as Genteel as the other.

Their Garb is a Coat that ſits cloſe and tight to their Bodies, and reaches to (or below) their Knees: Under this they have another ſhorter, and laſtly a ſort of Breeches like the *Iriſh* Trouſes, that come down to their Ankles, and ruffle upon the Small of the Leg. The Grandees make their braveſt Apparel of Silks, Taffata's, or Cloths of Gold and Silver; but moſt commonly fine white Callico Lawn is the wear. Their Head-Covering is ſome fine Cloth (perhaps as their Quality is, embroider'd or flouriſh'd with Silk, Gold, or Silver) wreath'd ſeveral times about, the Ends of which are ſometimes fringed, and diſpoſed ſo as to hang in ſight. About their Waſtes they wear a Girdle that comes twice about, of the ſame Stuff, and adorn'd with a Fringe. Our *Engliſh* Scarlet Broad Cloth is a thing they mightily admire, and abundance of the Great Men make it their upper Garment; but the heat and thickneſs of it will not allow it to be worn in the hot Country but in the cooleſt Weather, and that in the cooleſt part of the Day too.

As for the Womens Dreſs, 'tis not ſo eaſie to give an exact Account of that, ſince (unleſs they are either lewd or poor) they are not ſeen abroad, and no Stranger has the Privilege of ſeeing them at home.

Since the Females of Quality then (whoſe Dreſs is to be ſuppos'd the Perfection of the Country in that kind) are thus retired and out of the way; we muſt turn our Eyes to the Vulgar, and ſee in what manner their Cloaths are hung on, and what they are. And here 'tis ſaid of them, that they dreſs almoſt like the Men; they wear Coats, and it ſeems Breeches too, which moſt Women would be glad to do as well as they. But the *Indian* Women wear them in the literal Sence univerſally, and abundance of them do it in the Metaphorical to ſome purpoſe; but this it ſeems is a Court Faſhion, and the *Great Mogul*'s beloved *Normahal* ſets them an example. Over their Heads they caſt a Callico Veil, which covers their other Garments, and will hardly ſuffer their Breeches to be ſeen. They bore their Ears not only in the flaps, but all round about, for the conveniency of hanging a multitude of Pendants in them; their Noſtrils are pierced too to receive a Ring or two that muſt be hung there; and upon their Wriſts and the ſmall of their Legs they wear others fitted to thoſe parts: All theſe Ornaments are of Gold, Silver, Braſs or Iron, according to their Ability.

Their Temper and Qualities, &c.

But to go from the outward to the inward Dreſs, the Temper and Qualities of their Minds. They are a People of a ſtrong and quick Apprehenſion, ready Wits, and very great Fancy and Ingenuity in all manner of fine Works.

This, their delicate ſtain'd Cloths, their Silks, their Cotton Carpets of ſo many mingled Colours; in ſhort, all their flower'd Works in Silk, Gold and Silver, are plentiful Evidences of. Then they make all ſorts of Cabinets, Boxes, Standiſhes, Trunks, &c, with that exquiſite Skill and Fancy, that they deſerve to be reckon'd amongſt the Maſter Work-men of the World in all theſe Reſpects.

Their Ingenuity, and rare Works.

They'll inlay (with Elephants Tooth, Mother of Pearl, Ebony, Tortoiſe-ſhell, or Wire) any thing that is capable of being wrought upon; they work abundance of Cups out of Agate, Cornelian and other fine Stones; poliſh and cut all manner of Jewels, and underſtand the value of them as well when they have done. They know how to buy and ſell all thoſe nice ticklish Commodities, and he that gets the better of them in a Bargain muſt be a very cunning Man indeed. Then in all the Arts of Colouring, Limning, Varniſhing, Dying, they are Seconds to no People whatſoever. Faces they do admirably well; and will draw any thing immediately, either from the Life or another Copy; however 'tis all done to the Life, and he that ſees their Pictures, will eaſily know the Originals.

Civility to Strangers.

With all this Wit and Towardlineſs, there goes along (at leaſt as to the major part) a good ſhare of obliging Humour and carriage.

They are civil and courteous enough to Strangers; and thoſe that won't wrong and affront them, may ſit as ſecure and eaſie there, as under their own Vines and Fig-trees. 'Tis true there are ſome of another kidney to be met with ſometimes, troops of Thieves that go robbing and ſpoiling up and down, and obſerve no Law but that of enriching themſelves by the plunder of others; but we are now diſcourſing of the People, not of the Vermin of the Country; into the Catalogue of which all ſuch Creatures are to be brought as are hurtful and injurious to Mankind. Take the People that you converſe with almoſt any where in the Empire, and you'll find them (very few excepted) ſuch as won't diſturb your repoſe if you don't firſt diſturb theirs. Many of them are very patient, gentle, and good natur'd too, and will take Affronts tho' they won't give them.

An Inſtance of Patience.

There was a remarkable Inſtance of this in a very great Man, (no leſs than the Governour of *Surat*'s Brother) and one that had Power enough to have puniſh'd, if he had been revengefully diſpos'd. This great Perſon was riding in State thro' the Street at *Surat*, when up comes to him an *Engliſh* Cook, that belong'd to Sir *Thomas Row*, ſtaggering drunk, and forc'd to reſt upon his own Sword to preſerve himſelf from tumbling. His firſt Salutation was, Now you Heathen Dog! to which, when the Noble-man only replied, *Caca-ta, Caca-ta*, What ſayeſt thou? The Cook endeavour'd to tell him by his Sword (ſince he was too drunk to talk much himſelf) making a ſound blow at him. One would have thought the Retinue of this great Perſon, ſhould have dreſt the inſolent Cook at ſuch a rate, as would have ſpoil'd his making Sauces and dreſſing Dinners for the time to come. However he was only ſiez'd and confin'd, till word was ſent to the Embaſſadour; and tho' the Honourable Perſon freely reſigned him to the utmoſt Puniſhment they thought fit to inflict upon him, yet he was preſently ſent home again, without any farther harm done him. Now the Queſtion is, Which was the Heathen Dog of theſe two? the reviling drunken *Engliſh* Man, or the ſober temperate *Indian*, that govern'd his own Paſſions under ſo unreaſonable an Abuſe?

Submiſſion to their Superiours.

'Tis a farther juſt Commendation of theſe People, that they are generally poſſeſs'd with Principles of a moſt profound Reſpect and Veneration for their Superiours. They adore their Prince, and keep his Laws with a moſt Religious Zeal and Conſtancy. All inferiour Magiſtrates have the like Reſpect in proportion amongſt them; and even in the ſmalleſt Government (private Families) the Word of the Maſter is a Law, which is obeyed by all his Servants without diſpute or grumbling.

Cowardlineſs.

But after all is ſaid, they are (for the greateſt part) a timorous, cowardly and mean ſpirited People. They had rather by half eat than quarrel, and quarrel than fight; and they will ſometimes give one another ſuch ſcurvy Language (as would not go off without Blood amongſt People of more Mettle) and yet neither ſtrike a ſtroke nor offer to draw all the while. 'Tis common with them to ſtand ſcolding in their Armour, and with all their Weapons about them; and if one has Courage to take another by the Throat and collar him, he's a mighty Souldier for this, and the Spectators preſently cry out *Sha-Abbas*; by this they mean, 'tis a Noble Action, and as well done as *Sha-Abbas* himſelf could have done it; that famous *Perſian* King, whoſe Valour is the Matter of a Proverb in this Country. And the *Great Mogul* himſelf uſed to ſay, that one *Portugueze* would beat three of his *Indians*, and one *Engliſh* Man three *Portugueze*; ſo that according to the Prince's computation, the *Engliſh* Valour is to the *Indian* as nine to one. But this is not to be taken as univerſally true, and without all exception, throughout the whole Empire. For within the Bounds of it are the *Baloches*, which are *Mahometans*, the *Patans* in *Bengala*, and the *Resboots*, a Sect of the *Pagan Indians*, which are Men of Noble Spirits and Reſolution, and will look any Adverſary or Danger in the Face. Theſe are made uſe of as Guards and Convoys upon all Occaſions, in which Offices they are wonderfully diligent and faithful, and will die upon the ſpot before they'll deſert their Charge. They ſerve at very low and reaſonable rates, demanding no more than five Shillings a Month for a Man; and if you pay them theſe Wages duly and punctually, if you have occaſion for any of their Lives, and can't be ſecur'd by other means, they'll freely part with them in your Service. And beſides, they are generally of ſuch juſt Principles too, that if they have their Pay before-hand, and ſhould happen to be afterwards warn'd to provide themſelves other Maſters; they will ſerve out their appointed time, and you cannot get them to leave you, before they have performed their Bargain. But then you muſt be ſure to keep touch with them, and pay them their Hire, preciſely at a Day, for otherwiſe they'll give you warning to provide your ſelves with other Servants.

The Valour, Truſtineſs, &c.

A pleaſant Story of a *Reſboot*.

Thus it happen'd to ſome of Sir *Thomas Row*'s Company, upon a Journey to Court; their Money was gone, and a certain *Resboot* that attended them left them upon the Road, becauſe he ſaw their Stock was juſt out, and it would not laſt to pay him punctually upon his Day. But however before he went away, he goes to take his leave of the Camel, that was his peculiar Charge, and made a Speech to him to this purpoſe, That he had tended and led him thus long, and been a very kind and faithful Governour to him (as he knew very well) but now his Maſters Money fail'd, and he muſt be gone; but he prayed God to bleſs him for the remaining part of the Journey, and ſend him ſome other Governour to look after him that might be as careful and good to him as he had been. Had the Camel had the Gift of Underſtanding and Speech, there's no doubt but he would have ſaid *Amen* to this Prayer, being ſo much for his good; but however the *Indian*, when he had concluded it, went off, and would not ſtay with them, tho' they were to have a freſh Return of Money in two Days.

Their Scrupulous Care in preſerving the Lives of Animals.

Another thing very obſervable in the Temper and Humour of this People is, their ſtrange tenderneſs of the Lives of all ſorts of Animals; and it may be, 'tis the beſt way to excuſe their cowardlineſs to account for't from hence, that 'tis a Principle amongſt them not to ſhed Blood. 'Tis true this Humour does not ſpread in the extremity of it all round the Country, but lies moſtly among the *Hindoes* or Heathen part, of which there are various Sects and Subdiviſions; yet they are all in general tenderer of their living Creatures here, than in moſt places beſides.

But the ſcrupulous Sect of them is nice and ſcrupulous indeed. They can't bear to ſee a Flie ſo much as haunted and perſecuted by another Perſon; but for their own parts, they'll let them crawl into their Mouths rather than kill them. They may bite and ſting them, but they'll not be provoked to be their Murderers. So far from that, that they'll pay Redemption Money for them, and buy the Lives of theſe vexatious Animals, at any time when they are in danger.

The *Engliſh* Boys have got many a Penny in Ranſoms for Flies, and Tikes, and Muſquetoons; for the Hindoes go upon a moſt merciful Principle, and know that if they were Flies themſelves, they ſhould not be willing to be ſqueez'd to death between the cruel Fingers of the Boys. (Tho' by the way, if a Man would give a looſe to his humour he might quickly ſpend an Eſtate at it, and ſtarve and beggar his own Family, by ſaving the Lives of Inſects, that will plague him when he has done) Oh! how would the Emperor *Domitian* (that celebrated Fly-catcher) have been loved by theſe People? or had the *Romans* been as tender-hearted as the *Indians* are, what good Earnings might he have made on't, by ſaving many Thouſands of innocent Lives, that have been barbarouſly ſacrificed in his Cloſet? But then 'tis not only theſe little fluttering Animals that the *Hindoes* are ſo kind to, but all others tho' ever ſo noxious and offenſive; they are mild and gentle to the very worſt upon the Face of the Earth, and won't deſtroy a Creature that may poſſibly, either poiſon or devour them. But if they are harmleſs and inoffenſive ones, they do all that can be for their Eaſe and Comfort; and therefore 'tis confidently reported, that the *Banyans* do build Hoſpitals for them, where they place all their feeble, lame, diſeaſed Animals, and uſe means to recover them to Health and Strength again. And 'tis pity thoſe Rerſons that reported this, had not gone a little a farther, and told us too, what Salary the *Banyans* allow to the Governour, and Phyſician in ordinary, to one of thoſe beaſtly Hoſpitals. This would have been ſomething particular; but ſince it is denied us, we'll leave the matter as it is; the Founders of thoſe Buildings and the Doctors too, to the Thanks of the miſerable Patients that are lodged there.

Their Religion, &c.

We will now conſider the State of Religion in the Country.

It has been obſcurely hinted before upon another Occaſion, that the Inhabitants are of two ſorts, *Mahometans* and pure *Pagans*.

The former are by far the leſs number, but they are the more conſiderable Perſons; for this is the Court Religion, and not only the Prince himſelf, but almoſt all the Grandees throughout the Country are of it, at leaſt thoſe that are in places of the higheſt Dignity and Truſt.

As for the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, it came into the Country with this race of Emperours. In *Tamerlane's* time, and ſo all along till the Conqueſt, the Religion was entirely *Pagan*, and there were as many ſorts of Deities in vogue, as there were petty Princes that had their ſhares in this huge Empire. Not but that the ſame Superſtitions continue ſtill in being amongſt the *Resboots*, and the various Sects of the *Hindoes*; but at that time there was nothing elſe, 'twas all pure *Paganiſm*; there was no party amongſt them that profeſs'd the Knowledge and Worſhip of one Supreme Being (without the corruption of Images and Inferiour Deities) as the *Mahometans* do. 'Tis needleſs to go to deſcribing their Religion at large; 'tis enough to ſay that they are *Mahometans*, and that they believe and practiſe as others of that way do. The main difference is, that they are not ſuch ſtiff, rigid *Mahometans* as ſome others in the World are: Any Perſon has the liberty not only to profeſs his own Religion, but alſo to maintain it by Argument againſt theirs. This would coſt a Man his life amongſt the *Turks*, *Moors*, or *Arabs*, who will ſooner by half ſtab a Chriſtian than enter into a Diſpute with him. But the *Indians* are more cool and free in their Tempers and Principles; they will maintain the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, but at the ſame time they'll give another Man leave to defend that of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Story of *Tom. Coryat*.

Tom Coryat had once a pretty warm Diſpute with one of the *Molla's*, or Prieſts; and the Queſtion that lay betwixt them was, which of the two was the Muſſulman, that is, the True Believer. And after a great many Words ſpent on both ſides, our Country-man *Coryat* ended the Diſpute with this witty diſtinction; that he himſelf was the Orthodox-Muſſulman, and the Prieſt was the Pſeudodox-Muſſulman; that is, he was the True True Believer, and the other was the Falſe True Believer; a finer and ſubtiler diſtinction than ever was coin'd in any *Mahometan* School in *India*. The ſame Perſon did at another time as remarkably diſcover his Zeal for Chriſtianity, as now he did his happy Talent in deciding Controverſies; but what Prudence he demonſtrated by it all the World may judge. For as the *Molla's* were one Day (according to the Cuſtom) calling the People to their Devotion from the high Turrets of the Moſques, bawling out *La Alla illa Alla Muhammed Reſululla*; *Coryat* gets up upon the top of ſome very high Houſe juſt over againſt them, and ſcreams out (in a Tongue that they very well underſtood) *La Alla illa Alla Hazaret Eeſa Reſululla*, There is no God but one God, and the Lord Jeſus is the Prophet of God; beſides this, he told them *Mahomet* was an Impoſtor, and all their Religion a meer lye and a cheat, and abundance more to the ſame purpoſe, which the Zeal of this Orthodox-Muſſulman then dictated to him. Now, had this mad trick been plaid in any other part of *Aſia*, he had died with all the torments that could have been invented; but the milder *Indians* paſſed it by, and beſides *Coryat* had the happineſs to be thought mad by ſome of them, and upon all theſe Accounts they let him alone.

The *Moguls* no ſtench *Mahometans*.

But then beſides, the Princes of this Country (tho' they have been *Mahometans*) have yet perhaps ſome of them, been the looſeſt and moſt careleſs in their Principles of any of that Sect that ever were in the World. They have not ſcrupled to oppoſe and contradict *Mahomet* himſelf, to pretend to ſtand in competition with him, for the Honour of the Prophetſhip, and inveſt themſelves with the ſame Character. Thus *Ecbar Sha* finding himſelf as great a Prince as *Mahomet*, ſet up for as good a Prophet too, and made himſelf the Head of a party. And his Son *Selim Sha* propagated his Fathers Hereſie with vigour, nay, carried it higher than ever he did; for whereas he pretended but to ſtand upon a Level with *Mahomet*, the other rais'd himſelf above him; the Father was a good, but the Son would needs be a better Prophet, and thereupon he made a new Law according to his own fancy, containing the Doctrines of *Moſes*, *Jeſus*, *Mahomet*, and the *Bramins* jumbled all together. And he had his Diſciples too (at leaſt ſome that to flatter him called themſelves ſo) and was very glad at any time when any Company about him would run a diviſion againſt *Mahomet*, tho' 'twas ever obſerv'd, that he never either ſpoke himſelf or countenanc'd in any other, an indecent Word of our Bleſſed Saviour.

'Tis more obſervable ſtill (and a greater Argument of their coolneſs in the *Mahometan* Religion) that the two Princes lately mention'd have given conſiderable Encouragements to Chriſtianity. Not ſo much out of Love to that, as to Novelty, to pleaſe their own Fancies, and ſhew their Authority.

Jeſuits fetch'd into *India*.

The famous Jeſuit *Xavierius* was fetch'd from *Goa* to *Agra*, in *A. D.* 1596. on purpoſe to argue the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, before *Ecbar* (then Reigning) and the *Mahometan Mollas*. That Jeſuit ſpoke the *Perſian* and *Indoſtan* Tongues perfectly well (which was a wonderful Advantage to him) and as much a Papiſt as he was, he managed that point like a Chriſtian, and to the Honour of the Author of his Religion. The *Molla's* were able to make no Exceptions againſt that noble Scheme of the Chriſtian Religion, which *Xavierius* preſented them with. He demonſtrated the perfect reaſonableneſs of it, from the Perfections of God, and the Nature and lapſed Condition of Man; making it out in the firſt place by clear and undeniable Proofs, that the Human Nature could not poſſibly have come out of the Creators finiſhing Hand, with all thoſe ſtains and blemiſhes that are now ſo conſpicuous in it; from whence the Father inferr'd Man's degeneration from his primitive Integrity, and the neceſſity (conſequently) of a Redemption. Then he demonſtrated from all the Characters both of the Perſon, Doctrine, and Miracles of Jeſus, that as he was the great Meſſenger of God, and qualified to be the Redeemer of Mankind; ſo the World never ſaw any beſides himſelf that could, without the higheſt Blaſphemy, pretend to be ſo. In ſhort that Prince not only heard *Xavierious* patiently from one end of his Argument to the other, but kept him at his Court (to preach the ſame Doctrine to him) for a Year and a half.

But at laſt he gave him leave to return to *Goe*, and told him he would ſend for him ſome other time, to hear him reaſon again upon thoſe matters; but that time never came, and the Prince here put a ſtop to his Enquiries into the Chriſtian Religion. The good Father however had this Honour, to have born a Teſtimony to the Name of Jeſus, before the greateſt King upon the Earth.

One thing by the way is remarkable enough in this *Ecbar Sha*, whether before or after his acquaintance with *Xavierius* is not certain. And that is, that when 'twas told at the Court, that the *Portugueze* had hanged the *Alcoran* about an Aſſes Neck, and ſo whipp'd him about the Streets of *Ormus* in contempt of the *Mahometans*; and the old Empreſs his Mother came in a great rage, and demanded of him that our Bible might be treated in like manner at *Agra*; the Prince replied, No, tho' the *Portugueze* had done very ill in what they had done, yet Religion muſt not ſuffer for their Crime, and the Bible being an innocent Book, was not to be diſgraced becauſe the *Alcoran* had been ſo.

Liberties granted to the *Jeſuits* in *India*.

Sha Selim his Son and Succeſſour, has not leſs countenanc'd Chriſtianity than he did, (but all things conſider'd) a great deal more. For ſeveral Jeſuits having ſetled there, he gave them free leave to make as many Converts as they could, declaring at the ſame time that no Man ſhould loſe his Favour by becoming a Chriſtian. The truth on't is, he does not greatly care what Religion his Subjects are, ſo they are true and loyal to him; but then Chriſtianity ſetting ſo ſtrong a guard upon the Honour and Rights of Princes as it does, 'tis no wonder that a Prince that knew any thing of its tenderneſs in all thoſe points, ſhould be willing to have his Subjects made Chriſtians. And 'tis known of this Prince that he has prais'd and rewarded the Conſtancy of thoſe in their Chriſtian Profeſſion, whom neither Threatnings nor Promiſes could remove from it, when he made uſe of thoſe methods for trials ſake. But if he found any Man play tricks with that or any other Religion, uſe it to ſerve a turn, or as a ſhooing Horn to any ſecular Intereſt, he would certainly puniſh him if he were within his reach. He hated Hypocriſie in his Subjects, and could not endure to ſee any of them half Fiſh and half Fleſh, tho' he himſelf was reducible to no predicament; being neither *Chriſtian*, *Mahometan*, nor *Heathen*, but a *quid Compoſitum* of them all; if any thing was Maſter in him above the reſt, it was the Atheiſt. Yet would this Prince ſometimes as ſtrenuouſly defend the Chriſtian Religion by Argument in publick, as the moſt zealous Prince in Chriſtendom could have done; as he did particularly when Father *Corſi* (a *Florentine* Jeſuit, and a Man of better Principles than the moſt of his Order then in *India*) was ſo hard put upon by Sultan *Caroon* in his preſence.

The Jeſuits Chapel it ſeems having been accidentally fired, and all the Furniture conſumed, a certain wooden Crucifix only happen'd to ſcape the rage of the Flame. The King (who uſed this Perſon very familiarly) ſent for him (or he went himſelf) to Court, where he told the ſtory of the Preſervation of his Crucifix. Now tho' this had been buzz'd about for a great Miracle, yet the Jeſuit had more Senſe than to uſe ſuch a poor thing as an Argument to prove his Religion by; for he ingenuouſly told Sir *Thomas Row* by what means the thing came to be preſerved, and it ſeems there muſt have been a Miracle almoſt to have deſtroyed it. However Sultan *Caroon* (a violent hater of all Chriſtians) took up the matter and fell a bantering the Jeſuit upon't, and told him that he and all the Company would be Baptized, if he would throw his Crucifix into a Fire there before the King's Face, and yield to be burnt himſelf if the Fire did not conſume it. But when the Jeſuit refuſed this unreaſonable Trial, the Prince laſh'd at his Religion ſeverely, and ſpoke horrid irreverent things of the Author of it; and then 'twas that the King took him up, and argued from our Saviours Miracles, that he was the greateſt of Prophets that ever appear'd in the World, and expos'd the *Mahometan* Saints (in compariſon with him) as a Company of dreaming, inſipid, empty Pretenders.

Their Religious Rites, and ſeveral ſorts of Religious Perſons.

Now after this is obſerved concerning the *Indian Mahometans*, the general Latitude and Eaſineſs of their Principles, which is their main diſtinguiſhing Character, their Rites and Ceremonies may be learnt from the reſt of the *Mahometan* World. They perform Pilgrimages, undergo bodily Labours and Severities, Pray five times a Day, waſh before they begin their Devotion, and are Circumcized.

Their Sabbath is on our Friday; their Ramadam or Lent commences the firſt New Noon in *September*, and holds the whole Moon out; the laſt Day of which they ſpend in Morning for their deceaſed Friends, and ſet up great Lights all about their Houſes, upon the expiring of which, the Ceremony ends, and they fall to their Entertainments.

They have alſo their Derviſes and Recluſes, that retire from the World, and give themſelves to a Life of Contemplation and Prayer; theſe chuſe the top of ſome high Hill, ſome ſnug place in a Wood, or natural Grotto for their Reſidence; and here they live like *Nebuchadnezzar*, with overgrown Hair and Nails, and feed like him too upon the wild Products of the Earth.

Their Mendicants, or begging Saints take a little more care of themſelves; for they live in the out skirts of the great Towns and Cities, where they are within the reach of better Entertainment; theſe ſleep all Night in the aſhes of thoſe Fires they make by Day, and take a Pride (for it can't be a pleaſure) in having their naked Bodies appear all over beſmear'd with them. They often take ſome ſtrange intoxicating thing or other, which makes them talk wildly, and like diſtracted Men; and then the common People croud about them and ſay, they are inſpired and have the Gift of Prophecy: Mad-Men it ſeems are Prophets in *India*, as on the other hand, Prophets are no better than Mad-Men in *Europe*. The *Mandees* (as they call them) ſlaſh and cut themſelves like the Prieſts of *Baal*; they make horrible Wounds and Gaps in their Bodies, to provoke the Compaſſion and Charity, or Wonder and Admiration of the common People; but they ſhould ſerve them as *Plato* adviſ'd about *Diogenes*, ſtanding up to the Ears in cold Water, let them alone and take no notice of them, and they'll quickly learn to forbear thoſe Severities themſelves.

Their Pilgrims and Votaries torment themſelves (little leſs than the former) with their tedious Journeys, ſcorching their naked Feet in the Sand; they are all cover'd with blew Mantles, which is their Mourning Colour in thoſe parts, and the never-failing badge of a Pilgrim; they travel a vaſt number of Miles in thoſe horrid burning ways, to viſit the Sepulchres of their famous Saints; and when they come thither they are as wiſe as they were before, but they think themſelves wiſer, and the vulgar are ſuch fools as to think ſo too.

Their M[illegible]riages.

In the matters of *Marriage*, they take all the Liberty and Latitude that the Diſciples of *Mahomet* in other parts of the World do. The Prophet by his Law permits them to have four Wives, and other Women as many as their Eſtates and Circumſtances in the World will allow of. And they moſt of them go to the utmoſt Bounds of the Law, take their four Wives, tho' they are not able to keep one.

An *Indian* Servant of Sir *Thomas Row*'s would needs go out one Day to be Married (forſooth) and yet he had three Wives at the ſame time(with a good ſtock of Children)and but five Shillings a Month to maintain them all. This is drawing Bills upon God Almighty, without any Warrant or Encouragement to believe they ſhall ever be paid.

Their Marriage Rites are perform'd with much ſolemnity amongſt them, and when they are over, they make as great a ſhew in the Streets; the Man with his Friends mount a-Horſe-back, and the Woman with hers go into Coaches, and the Proceſſion is led on with Drums and Wind-Muſick.

Their Children are ſaid to be bred up very hardily in their tendereſt infancy; and the Mothers to have as eaſie times on't, being deliver'd one Day, and abroad the next taking the Air.

The Fire of Jealouſie burns as furiouſly here, as in any part of the *Mahometan* World; and a Father or a Brother is hardly permitted to ſee his own Fleſh and blood, except in the Company of her Husband. Thoſe that have moſt Wives and Women, are commonly the moſt Jealous.(So the Miſer that has the moſt and fulleſt Bags by him is the moſt ſordid and covetous). Married Women that diſhonour their Husbands Beds, and unmarried ones too that loſe their Chaſtity, are condemn'd to the ſevereſt Puniſhments; and rather than they ſhall go without it, their own neareſt Relations will be their Executioners, and do the bloody Work themſelves. Notwithſtanding this, there are loſe Women enough to be found; they are publickly to be rated, and have leave given them to keep lewd Houſes as many as can. But before they begin to practiſe, their Names are enroll'd in a Liſt, that it may be known who belongs to the modeſt chaſte Society, and who does not. Some of the finer and more poliſh'd of theſe publick Women, are often brought before the *Great Mogul*, to divert him with their Amorous Songs and Leſſons upon ſome Muſical Inſtrument, which is moſt commonly a Timbrel.

The *Hindoes* obſerve ſome Rules in their Marriages, very different from thoſe of the *Mahometans*. They marry every one into his own Tribe, Trade and Profeſſion, and preſerve all their ſeveral Sects unmixt, by forbidding thoſe promiſcuous Alliances that the others permit without any ſcruple. Thus the Son of a *Bramen* marries a *Bramens* Daughter, a Merchant looks for a Wife amongſt thoſe of his own buſineſs, and a Plough-man's Daughter for a Husband amongſt them that Till the Ground. They content themſelves each Man with his ſingle Wife, and think the *Mahometans* very extravagant for having four; and then their Wives live much better with them too, for they have liberty to go abroad when and where they pleaſe, they ſee other Faces beſides their Husbands, and ſomething more of the World than a Chamber. But 'tis very odd, that their Marriages commence ſo very early as they do, and that they join Children together at ſix or ſeven Years old, which alſo conſumate their Marriage at fourteen or fifteen. Tho' 'tis probable the main Reaſon of this is, their Law of Marrying into their own Tribe; for by this means they have leſs variety of choice, and ſo are bound to ſnap a good Match when 'tis offer'd them. In their Marriage Shows they uſe no Coaches, but both Bride and Bridegroom ride on Horſe-back; and very often each of the Couple is ſo young, that ſome are appointed to walk by their

Horſes

lence and injuſtice for any to pretend to debar them of it. Horſes ſides to keep them from tumbling down. Their Cloaths are ſtuck all over ſo very cloſe with the choice Flowers of the Country, that there's hardly any thing elſe to be ſeen, and it makes them both look like a couple of Noſegays ſtuck upright upon the Horſes back.

Their Funerals.

Theſe are the main Differences of their Marriages: Now as to their Funerals there is ſtill as much more.

The *Mahometans* firſt waſh and purifie their dead Bodies, and then decently interr them in Sepulchres. They bury none at all in their Moſques (for that's a prophanation of them) but in certain places devoted to that uſe, near ſome Tank or Pond, ſome fine Spring or Fountain, where they have Monuments erected in their life times, with a great deal of Art and Coſt. The Truth on't is, theſe are ſome of their moſt Noble and Pompous Buildings that they have amongſt them; they are ſome of them ſquare, ſome ſix ſome eight corner'd, delicately vaulted, ſometimes ſupported by rows of Pillars, and encompaſs'd with Doors on every ſide. Near them they build little Moſques for Divine Service, and all round about they plant Fruit (and other pleaſant) Trees. The moſt famous of this kind, is that which was begun by *Ecbar Sha*, and finiſhed by his Son *Sha Selim*, who afterwards was laid there himſelf. It is three fourths of a Mile ſquare, and has a Spire in the midſt that has ſeven diſtinct Taperings, each of which runs a conſiderable height, and in the top of all is the immediate Receptacle of the Body.

Ecbar's Sepulchre.

There's a ſtately Palace that ſtands cloſe by it; the Gardens of which (walled with Marble) run up towards the Sepulchre, and both together take in the compaſs of three Miles. In ſhort all the *Engliſh* Men that have ſeen it, ſay 'tis a truly Royal and Auguſt Building; it ſtands at *Secandra* a Village three Miles from *Agra*.

Cuſtom at the Prince's Funerals.

Now we are ſpeaking of the Prince's his Grave, 'tis not out of the way to take notice of an odd Solemnity that proceeds at his Funeral. The Dead Prince being laid in State in his Monument, the Prince that ſucceeds him, with all the Nobility in a full body come thither. Then are there all manner of Proviſions brought, the fineſt Meats and richeſt Liquors, and the Company entertain themſelves with both to the higheſt degree. The living Prince ſits at his Table, enriching his own Carkaſs, and preparing a Noble Banquet for the Worms; in the place where at the ſame time they are feaſting upon the (once as much pamper'd) Carcaſe of his Predeceſſor. In the Sepulchres of their Holy Men (of which there are abundance in *India*) there are Lamps continually burning, and certain Devout Perſons appointed to maintain thoſe Lights, and are allowed good Penſions for that purpoſe.

As for the *Hindoes*, they commit none of their dead Bodies to the Ground, but all to the Flames, and throw their Aſhes into a River, if they have that convenience near them. Some ſmall Portions of them indeed are preſerv'd by the neareſt Relations in Memory of the deceaſed; but the main part is diſpos'd of to the Water, by the reſt that aſſiſt at the Ceremony.

Women burnt with their Husbands.

This burning of the dead Bodies was the Ancient Cuſtom of *India*, as well as of other Nations; but the burning of living ones too at the ſame time ſeems to be more peculiar to this Country. This is an Immutable Cuſtom amongſt the *Hindoes*; the Women accompany the dead Bodies of their Husbands not only to the Funeral Pile, but aſcend it together with the Corps, and conſume in the ſame Flames. It is indeed their own free choice ſo to do; if they don't go of their own accord there's no body will drag them to the Fire and compel them to burn; but then there's Shame and Diſgrace that attends them (eſpecially if they have liv'd long with their Husbands) their Widowhood is a reproach, and their very neareſt Friends contemn and neglect them. They cut their Hair, and live retired from all Converſation, being to all the reſt about them as ſo many ſtrange Creatures dropt down from another Planet. For the moſt part therefore they chuſe rather to burn than to live in ſuch Circumſtances; and by this means they think they die with a Reputation of the higheſt Modeſty and Love, when they eſteem the Torments of ſo cruel a Death more eaſie and tolerable, than the pain of living without their Husbands. And a great many of them do it moſt certainly out of an exceſs of Love and pure wearineſs of Life; tho' 'tis probable enough, that there are others who would live could they have another Husband, and not die but to void ſhame. But there's no ſecond Husband allowed here; and ſome perhaps may think burning a leſs Miſery and Puniſhment than living without one. But however, anciently the *Indian* Women did value this Liberty at ſo high a rate, and eſteem it ſo much their Rite and Privilege, that they look'd upon it as violence and injuſtice for any to pretend to debar them of it. And whether they have in theſe modern times maintain'd it with ſo much Severity in their own Principles as of old, is uncertain; but this is ſure that *Sha Selim* began to make ſome Innovations upon them, and put in for a ſhare in the diſpoſal of their Lives as well as themſelves. In his time none went to the Fire at *Agra* (or any thing near where he was) but what came and petition'd him for't; juſt as if they had craved ſome very great Favour at his Hands. And that Prince would uſe all the Arts of Perſwaſion imaginable to move them to preſerve their own Lives, and be contented to ſtay a little longer in the World, tho' generally 'twas all in vain; the inexcuſable Creatures would reject all the tempting offers he made them, and ſtubbornly maintain'd their Reſolution to die. In this caſe when nothing will do, he gives them leave to diſpoſe of themſelves as they think fit; and ſo away they go to the Pile with all the briskneſs and gaity of a Bride, to the joyful celebration of her Nuptials.

Their Diet and Cookery.

We have now ſeen ſeveral of their Religious Rites and Ceremonies, with the moſt obſervable of their Cuſtoms that fall under that Denomination: Let us proceed to look into their Domeſtick and Civil Affairs, and ſee what Rules they obſerve in thoſe matters.

And firſt of all for their Diet; here the Difference of Opinions makes a Difference in Cookery amongſt them, and their Religion is to be known by their Eating. The *Mahometans* are very ſparing as to any thing of Fleſh, they ſeldom make a Meal of it; but they never touch any part of a Swine, for the *Alcoran* has pronounced it an abomination. A ſmall matter of Kid, or Veniſon, or Hens they will venture upon; this they ſtew with Onions, Spices, Herbs, and Roots, and make a very palatable Diſh of it. But their main ſtanding food is Rice, which they dreſs with green Ginger, Pepper, and Butter, and feed as heartily on it as we upon our beſt and moſt nice Diſhes. Beſides this at their great Entertainments, they bring in all ſorts of Jellies, Sallads, Preſerves, Candies, Raiſins of the Sun, Almonds, and Prunella's; and for ſomething of more ſubſtance than any of theſe, the Fleſh of Hens mix'd with Almonds, and the Flower of Rice, all beat very well together, and then ſweetned and perfum'd with Sugar-candy, Roſe-water, and Ambergrice.

Their Bread likewiſe are Cakes of the fineſt Wheat-flower, done up with Almonds and Sugar-candy, ſometimes ſcented and ſometimes not.

They drink little beſides Water at their Tables, whatever they do in their Retirements.

The *Hindoes* feed differently, according to their various Sects.

The *Banyans* will eat nothing of Animal food; and therefore confine themſelves altogether to vegetable Proviſions and things made of them. Others of them again will eat Fiſh, but nothing elſe that has Life.

Some of the *Resboots* contradict them all, and eat Swines fleſh heartily; others perhaps won't eat juſt that, but the fleſh of ſome other Animal they like better. But in general, all the *Hindoes* abſtain from Beef; that Animal is ſacred with them, and they pay the *Great Mogul* ſo much a Year for their Redemption out of the hands of the Butchers and other People that would kill them.

To conclude, as they are (of all ſorts) moſt commonly ſober and temperate in the uſe of their Tables, and obſerve the due meaſures of eating and drinking; ſo they always bring the Scruples of their Religion along with them, and as loyal as they are, would not obey their own Prince if he commanded them to eat any forbidden Food.

Their way of Saluting each other.

Theſe People in their Salutations never uncover their Heads as the *Europeans* do; they bow their Bodies, and lay their Right-hand on their Breaſt as they paſs along, beſtowing abundance of good Wiſhes upon the Perſon they ſalute. Many of the Eaſtern People think our pulling off Hats to one another a moſt abſurd and ridiculous way of Complimenting; the *Turks* when they would curſe their Enemies effectually, wiſh their Souls after death as little Reſt as a Chriſtians Hat has, becauſe that never ſtands ſtill (they ſay) but is continually pulling off and putting on. But whatever Notion the Turks have of their Paradiſe, certainly either extream is inconſiſtent with the felicity of it; a dull torpid Reſt is as bad as perpetual Motion; and to lie as ſtill as a *Turks* Turbant, would not be leſs tireſome than to move as much as a Chriſtians Hat.

When the common inferiour People ſalute thoſe of quality, they lay their Right-hand upon the Ground, and then upon their Heads; ſometimes they fall down on their Knees and bow their Heads very low; but this degree of very Humble Reverence, is only to thoſe of the higheſt Dignity. When intimate Friends careſs one another (or at leaſt when they would any of them expreſs the ſincereſt mutual Reſpect) they take one another by the Beard, or (where there is none to be taken) the Chin, and cry *Bobba*, or *Bii*; that is, Father or Brother, according as their Age is. And this (like many other of their Cuſtoms), appears to be very ancient, and of a long ſtanding in the World: The Jews did formerly ſalute in this manner, and Sacred Writ gives us ſome Inſtances of it. Theſe are the Geſtures in uſe amongſt them; their common Forms of Speech are various. The moſt ordinary and frequent is the *Sallam*; *Sallam Allecum*, and *Allecum Sallam*; which is the Reply to the former, and both is as much as, *I wiſh you well*. Sometimes as they paſs along it is, *I wiſh you the Prayers of the Poor*; or, *May one Good after another come to you every Day*: But the Complements of inferiour People to thoſe they have a dependance upon, is, *I eat your Bread and your Salt*; or, *I am your Creature, and at your diſpoſe*.

Their Buildings.

We will now take a View of their Houſes and Buildings. In general, their common Buildings are not extreamly fine and beautiful; they don't affect to make ſuch a Show with ſtately Houſes, as the *Italians*, and other *Europeans* do. 'Tis true, there are Publick Edifices in *India*, as glorious perhaps as any of the kind in the World; but a good part of their Towns and Cities, are but meanly built, and as poorly adorn'd. And one Reaſon why they are no more ſolicitous about fine Houſes, may be, becauſe they live out of them one part of the Year, and take up in Tents and Pavilions, erected here and there in the open Fields, for the Pleaſures of Hunting, and taking the cool Air. The moſt of their private Houſes don't mount above two Story high, and are built with flat Roofs and Terraces, upon which they ſit airing themſelves Morning and Evening, when the Sun (below their Horizon) gives them an opportunity of ſo doing.

In their upper Rooms too, they have abundance of Doors all about them, and Lights made in the Walls, which are always free and open to let in the Air upon them.

As for Glaſs-Windows, there's no ſuch thing known amongſt them; neither have they any Chimneys in their Houſes, becauſe they have little or no uſe for Fire; they don't need it to warm them, for the Sun does that ſufficiently; and there is ſo little a part of their ordinary Fare that needs Fire to dreſs it, that 'tis not worth while to make a Chimney for't; and therefore, if at any time they have an occaſion, they make a ſmall Fire without Doors, againſt ſome Stone-Wall, or Bank of Earth, as far from their Habitations as they can with convenience.

Their Materials for Building, are Timber, Brick, and Stone; ſometimes (as in the Vaults and Arches of their Moſques and Sepulchres), with Marble of divers kinds and colours, and here the Work is coſtly and ſtately too. In many places they plant great ſtore of Trees about their Houſes, which keep them cool and ſhady, tho' it ſpoils the Proſpect where the Buildings are any thing neat and worth a ſeeing: Thus at *Amadavar* (a large and populous City, and built all of Brick), the Trees ſtand ſo thick and cloſe, that a Man wou'd rather think he were entring a Wood than a City. And then in all trading Towns and Cities joyning on to the Houſes are certain Sheds or Stalls, where they make a ſhow of their Commodities, and ſell at thoſe parts of the Day that they are not at the publick Market.

Thus much for the outſide; but before we go quite away, we may take a ſhort View of Things within Doors. And this indeed can be but ſhort; becauſe there is generally but a ſmall matter to be look'd upon. Their Rooms are not adorn'd with fine Hangings, furniſh'd with Chairs, Stools, Beds, and Couches; they paint their Walls neatly, and that ſerves inſtead of Tapeſtry, and ſpread rich Carpets upon the Floor, which is both Bed, Table, Chair, and Stool to them. Some of them perhaps will lie upon a hard Quilt, or elſe a low thing (they call a Cott) like a Bedſtead, and bottom'd with Cotton-Cloth; a great many of which are made to be mov'd up and down with Ropes, that their Servants may rock them to ſleep in them. But where-ever they lie, they lie without Pillow or Bolſter, ſtretch'd out at full length, and level with the Horizon; without any thing of Covering too, but a thin Callico Veil ſpread all over them, ſo that they look like ſo many dead Corps laid out ready for the Funeral Rites. The moſt remarkable of their Publick Buildings for Civil Uſe and Service, are the Serraies for the Entertainment of Paſſengers, and the Tanks or Ponds. Theſe Tanks are cut out in ſome very low places, to take in a good parcel of Water at the time the Rains fall, for the Service of the neighbouring populous places, when the dry Seaſon comes upon them. They are ſome of them very large and deep, a Mile and more in compaſs, ſurrounded with good Stone-Walls, furniſh'd with Steps to go down into them, and well paved at the bottom. They are cleans'd every Year before the Rains begin, and then they are fill'd for all the ſucceeding part of the Year, and the People out of theſe may have a Supply till the Rains come about again. In their Gardens likewiſe they have very uſually Tanks of a leſſer ſize for the Pleaſures of Bathing and Swimming, and theſe are fed with Water convey'd through certain Canals, from Wells that are in ſome of the more elevated Ground of their Gardens. And here indeed is the heighth of all the Pleaſure that belongs to them; here they have delicate Fruits, fine Shades, ſweet cool Water, airy Walks and Bowers, and a charming Proſpect of wild Nature (and Art together) that is far beyond all the Pomp and Splendour of a Palace.

Their Sports and Recreations.

And tho' here one might well imagine them to have Diverſion enough, yet they find other Recreations beſides thoſe their ſweet Gardens afford them: Hunting and Hawking are very common Sports amongſt them, having (beſides other wilder Game) Hares and Deer enough for the one, and plenty of Partridge, Ducks, Quails, Pigeons, (and moſt ſorts of Fowl), for the other of thoſe Paſtimes. 'Tis obſerv'd of the Hunting-Dogs of this Country (which are of a make like our Greyhounds, but much leſs), that they never open when they are in purſuit of any Game.

They have alſo Leopards, that they breed up for Sport, and ride abroad with for that purpoſe; theſe are wonderful nimble Creatures, and will leap a prodigious way, in which manner 'tis that they always ſeize their Prey; they don't run, but jump upon the Animal they have in chaſe; and if they once do that, they make a ſure Priſoner on't, be it what it will, and there's no jumping away again out of their Clutches.

Another of their Recreations is the taking of Wild-Fowl that uſe the Water. They take one of thoſe Fowl dead, and go into the Water with it, and hold it upright, as if 'twere alive and ſwimming; but they themſelves lie all under Water, and have nothing but juſt their Head in ſight: Then they make a Noiſe exactly like the Natural Tone of that Fowl, which brings the reſt in a great Flock about them, and ſo they catch them by the Legs, and pull them down under Water, by which means they are made tame enough.

At other times they divert themſelves with riding their fine managed Elephants and Horſes; with ſhooting with their Guns, Bows and Arrows, and this they do with great Skill and Dexterity; they are ſomething long a taking their Aim, but they ſhoot true, and ſeldom miſs the Mark.

Some People of Quality, and others that are for more State and Show in their Diverſions, go about airing themſelves in their Coaches and Palankees. The Palankees are made almoſt like a Couch or Pallat-Bed, ſheltred with a fine Canopy, and long enough for a Man to lie at full ſtretch in them; and in this poſture do the Grandees place themſelves in them, and ſo are carried about upon Mens Shoulders. Their Coaches have only two Wheels, the top and back of them is cover'd, but the forepart and ſides always open; unleſs they carry Women, in which caſe they are made up very cloſe. They will hold four People without Crowding; but two may lie in Quilts at full length in them (as they often do in their Journeys), For the drawing of them along, they uſe only the Service of Oxen (one Pair to a Coach), and theſe have their Horns neatly tipp'd with Silver, and a Collar of large Bells of the ſame Metal about their Necks. Their Harneſs is only a ſmall Cord that goes through the Partition of their Noſtrils, and ſo up between their Horns into the Coachman's Hand, who by this means guides them as eaſily and ſurely as with the ſtrongeſt Reins of Leather. Theſe Oxen being admirably well fed (as they always are) well ſhod too, will carry them twenty Mile in a little time: They are train'd up to the Work, and by continual Uſe and Exerciſe 'tis as natural to them as to our Horſes.

What ſort of Soldiers theſe People (the moſt part of them) make, we have hinted before; but we have not yet ſeen how they are accoutred: Now they are admirably well provided for the War, tho' not at all fit for't, their Furniture is incomparably beyond their Courage. To ſee what a terrible Figure they make a Horſeback with ſuch a Load of Weapons as they carry, would incline a Perſon (unacquainted with them), to think their very Aſpect would get them a Victory. But their Character at beſt, is but to make a furious Onſet, and then retire as haſtily: To advance briskly, and ſtand one Shock, and then if their Enemies don't run, to put an end to the Diſpute by running themſelves.

Their Weapons.

They have all ſorts of Weapons that can almoſt be thought of, but had they fewer, 'twould be more than they uſe; they are like their Womens Noſe-Jewels and Pendants, hung on for Ornament and Show more than

Service. To the complete dreſſing of a Soldier, there goes a Bow and Quiver of Arrows, a Sword and Buckler, a ſhort Launce, a Faulchion, Fire-Arms, and what not?

For Martial Muſick they have Kettle-Drums, and a ſort of Wind-Muſick, that makes a moſt harſh frightful Noiſe; which if it would but ſcare away their Enemies, would be a conſiderable help to them.

Their greateſt Strength and Security lies in their Elephants: For theſe, with the Guns upon their Backs, do as much Execution as all the Soldiers beſides. The War-Elephants carry each of them one of theſe Guns faſtned in a ſtrong Frame of Wood, in which alſo is form'd a place for the Gunner; who ſits faſt enough there), till ſome unlucky Shot from the Enemy comes, and beats Elephant, Caſtle, and Gunner, all down together. Theſe Pieces are about five Foot long, and throw a Bullet about the bigneſs of a Tennis-Ball.

Their ſtrength of Soldiery.

As for the vaſt Numbers of Men this Country is able to ſet out in an Army, it may be eaſily imagin'd from the large Dimenſions of it; he that conſiders how many ſpacious Provinces the *Great Mogul* is Maſter of, will quickly conclude that he is capable of making a formidable appearance in the Field. And yet his great Numbers would ſignifie little, had he not better Soldiers in Pay than the greateſt part of his own Natural Subjects are; but he is ſo wiſe as to take in *Perſians* and *Tartars*, ſome of the beſt Horſemen in the World, and that will charge through any thing that lies in their way. Theſe do all the hot Service in his Wars, and could he have enough of them, his Neighbour-Princes would ſtand in more awe of him than they do. But he holds none of the beſt Correſpondences with thoſe two mighty Countries that border upon him (*Perſia* and *Tartary*) they are both very jealous of his growing Power and Greatneſs, and therefore in Policy will not contribute to the increaſe of it.

The *Perſian* ſometimes courts him (when he wants Money), and eſpecially when he is engaged in a War with the Turk; then he careſſes the *Great Mogul*, to make ſure of his Neutrality (at leaſt), if not of his Aſſiſtance; for 'twould be a dangerous thing to live between two ſuch potent Enemies as they are, and be diſtreſſed by both of them together.

As for the *Tartars*, they neither court nor value him, but ſtand upon their Guard, and keep their Country to themſelves; they neither converſe with him, nor ſend Embaſſadors to him, tho' he calls himſelf, the Succeſſor of *Tamerlane*, the mighty Founder of their Empire: Perhaps they don't think him ſo (tho' his Family was originally *Tartarian*), and won't give that Title, where they believe their Emperors high Blood is not to be found. But now upon theſe Accounts, his Supplies of Soldiers from *Perſia* and *Tartary*, cannot be very large; they muſt be moſtly a ſort of Deſerters, ſuch as come away by ſtealth from their own Native Countrys, and upon the allurement of Noble Pay: Their reſpective Princes (the jealous *Tartars* at leaſt for certain), would never ſend their own brave Troops to increaſe the ſtrength of a mighty Neighbour, that is already but too formidable to them.

The Language, Learning, &c.

The Genuine Language of this Country, (*viz.* the *Indoſtan*) has ſome affinity with the *Perſian* and *Arabick*; but is reckoned by ſome the ſmoother and ſofter Tongue, and far more eaſie to be pronounc'd. 'Tis very ſignificant and comprehenſive, and gives the Speaker the advantage of expreſſing his Mind in a little time, and a few words. The Alphabet is very different from either of the foremention'd Languages; and they write as we do, from the Left Hand to the Right. As good a Tongue as it is, the King, and the whole Court, ſpeak the *Perſian*; but the *Arabick* is the Learned and Sacred Language amongſt them, upon the account of the *Alcoran* written therein. As for *Latin* and *Greek* they know nothing of them, and next to nothing of all the old Writers ſo much celebrated in theſe Parts of the World.

Something they have heard of *Ariſtotle* and *Avicen*, and the Learned Men amongſt them pretend to ſome Acquaintance with their Writings. *Avicen* 'tis ſaid was born at *Samarchand* (the Birth-place of the Great *Tamerlane*), and ſo in compariſon was their near Neighbour: As for *Ariſtotle*, tho' he was Tutor to the Conquerour of the Country, yet he hardly brought his Maſters Books along with him hither: So that their Acquaintance with thoſe Authors (*Ariſtotle* eſpecially), was a conſequent upon the mighty ſpreading of the *Arabick* Tongue abroad in the World, when ſo great a part of it became *Mahometan*, and that Language was receiv'd together with the Religion. Learning we know flouriſh'd conſiderably under divers of *Mahomet's* Succeſſors, and abundance of the *Arabians* open'd the way for thoſe parts of the World to converſe with the old *Greek* Philoſophers and Mathematicians, and bringing their Writings into their own Language, and beſtowing large Comments upon them. *Ariſtotle* (as well as *Euclid*, *Ptolemy*, and others) had this Honour done him by the *Arabians*, to be made to ſpeak *Arabick*, the Univerſal Language of the *Mahometan* World; when the Reputation of his own Native *Greek* was ſunk, and could have carried him but a little way. Thus 'twas that he came into theſe parts; tho' the *Indian* Doctors know but little of him, and han't taken the Pains to write quite ſo many Folio's of Comments upon him, as the Popiſh Schoolmen have done.

Neither has Phyſick got much more ground in the Country than Philoſophy: There are very few that apply themſelves to that Study, becauſe the People generally think a Doctor worſe than a Diſtemper; counting the former certain Death, whereas the latter by it ſelf gives them a chance for their Lives. In all the formidable Diſeaſes that rage there (Peſtilence, Calentures, burning Fevers, &c.) very few make any uſe of a Phyſician, but perhaps preſcribe ſome ſlight thing themſelves, and leave the reſt to the Conduct of Nature. Their beſt and moſt conſtant Phyſick is to faſt luſtily, and ſtarve away the Diſtemper; if this (and ſometimes breathing a Vein) won't do, they give up the Caſe as incurable, and expect their Fate.

But they have abundantly more Skill and Knowledge in Judicial Aſtrology; that Noble Science, that ſtands upon ſuch ſure and certain Principles, and is all over Demonſtration: In which, both parts of a Contradiction may appear equally clear and probable, and when one Man predicts an Event, another may turn his Prediction upſide down, ſay it all backwards, and yet ſpeak as much Truth and Sence as the former. There is a good Stock of Profeſſors of this profound ſort of Learning amongſt the *Indians*; Men that will preach Scientifically upon Weather, Fortunes, and Conſtitutions, and ſettle the Point of the Dominion of the Planets over all the Parts of the Body, as confidently as if God Almighty had written their Names there.

Theſe have the Fortune to be in more Repute there, than they are generally in the Chriſtian World; for the *Great Mogul* will undertake no Buſineſs of Conſequence, till the College of Aſtrologers has been ſet to Conjuring upon't.

Thus the Grand Seignior too, in the weighty Matters of Faith and Religion, conſults the Venerable Mufti, and makes him give his Opinion; but if his Verdict does not ſuit the Prince's Humour, upon Second Thoughts, he can bring in a contrary one, and juſtifie it to be true by the Alcoran: And if the *Mogul* were but poſitive, he might rule the Judgment of his Aſtrologers, as well as the *Turk* the Conſcience of his Mufti. The Planets, no doubt, with good Scolding and Huffing, would be as tame and manageable things as the Alcoran. However, to do the Celeſtial Science juſtice, it muſt be own'd there are ſome Theorems belonging to't, that are moſt certainly true; nay, ſuch as carry their own Light and Evidence along with them: For inſtance, 'tis clear and certain, that all Cuckolds are under the Dominion of *Aries* or *Taurus*; 'tis no matter which of them, for the Signature of the Horns is an undeniable demonſtration.

And *Mercury* has as evident a Title to the Fortune-tellers, and Aſtrologers; becauſe Men born under that Planet, are always very honeſt, and never Cheat nor tell Lies.

But to proceed in the Account of the Sciences in *India*; beſides theſe Horoſcopers, and preſaging People, they have another ſort amongſt them, that are very near a-kin to them, and theſe are the Legerdemain-Men, Hocus Pocus's, and Mountebanks; they are all to be thrown into the ſame Family with the former, ſince they are all equally Jugglers. Theſe Fellows will teach Snakes and Vipers to dance to the Tunes they play, and get Money by ſhewing that ſport to the People. You ſhall ſee them ſet three or four broad Wicker-Baskets down upon the Ground, with nothing at all in the World in them, (at leaſt if your own Eyes are to be credited after a Search), and preſently cloſe them up before your Face, and then pulling off the Covers of them, ſhew them full of Turtle-Doves, or ſome other living Creatures, that one would think too big to be ever conceal'd by any ſlight whatſoever. Then they'll whirl thoſe Baskets round (cover'd as they are) and the Doves are gone out of ſight; but how or which way, none but the Hocus Pocus himſelf can tell.

And we are now come to the top of the Learning of this Country, having reach'd Aſtrology, and Legerdemain; we muſt deſcend therefore from theſe Heights to Matters of a leſs ſublime Nature and Conſideration.

The Inhabitants, as they are divided in their Principles and Religion, ſo from thence ſprings a Difference in their

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Their Account of Time, *&c.*

Computation of Time. The *Mahometans* (according to the eſtabliſh'd Practice of their Sect) begin their Year with the Tenth of *March*, when the Aſtrologers tell them the *Sun* enters *Aries*. The *Hindoes* (proceeding upon toher Reaſons) reckon their Year, from the firſt Day of the ſame Month; ſo that there is ten Days difference in counting betwixt them.

The *Mahometans* again divide their Year into thirteen Moons, and 'tis according to this Diviſion that they date Letters, Payments, and all Accounts belonging to Trade. But as for the Hindoes, they ſeem rather to make twelve Months of the Year than thirteen Moons, except perhaps that they may upon occaſion alter their Computation when they deal with the *Mahometans* that uſe another Stile. But neither Hindoes, nor *Mahometans*, have any Clocks or Sun-Dials amongſt them, to give them a true and regular Account how the Time paſſes. Indeed, as for Sun-Dials, 'tis no ſuch great wonder, ſince there's no Aſtronomy in the whole Country, nor none that cultivate any of thoſe Sciences: But that ſo ingenious a People as the *Indians* are, ſo full of neat and fine Devices in other Matters, ſhould have nothing like a Clock, is ſomething ſtrange. They divide the Day into Four, and the Night into as many parts, and each of theſe Quarters they ſubdivide into Eight parts more; and for the Meaſure of theſe Parts of Time, they uſe the moſt ancient Device of a parcel of Water dropping out of one Veſſel into another; and then a Man ſtands always by to fill the Veſſel as often as 'tis emptied, and to ſtrike with a Hammer upon a Braſs or Copper-pan, to let them know the number of the Pores or Grees that have paſs'd, that is, the Fourth or Eighth Parts before-mention'd. What a Bungle of an Invention is this, inſtead of a Clock? And what a wonder is it, that a People that have Fancy enough to think of ſo many pretty things as they have ſhewn the World, ſhould never by a better Contrivance remove this Scandal to their Ingenuity.

Policy and Government of the Country.

The Conſtitution of the Government in this Country, is much the ſame that 'tis in all the Eaſtern Nations; abſolute and arbitrary; and the Repoſitory of their Laws the ſame, the Breaſt of the Ruling Monarch. There are certain Cuſtoms, which Antiquity, and the General Practice of the Country, have in a manner given the Force and Authority of Laws to; but the Prince's Power ſets him above them all, and they are liable to the ſame Alterations that his Will and Humour is. There's nothing of a ſolemn written Law, or ſtated Platform of Government to be found; every Prince that mounts the Throne with a *Sic volo, ſic jubeo*, tells what Laws ſhall be during his Reign. And the long Sword the Monarchs of this Country wear, will juſtifie them in this way of proceeding; 'tis in vain for any Man to be uneaſie or diſcontented, or pretend to diſpute the Reaſonableneſs of the Prince's Will, when the Prince carries ſuch a powerful compelling Reaſon by his ſide, that will preſently cut down all the Rebellious Logick of his Subjects.

For the ordinary Adminiſtration of Juſtice, there are two ſorts of Judges appointed; the one for Civil, and the other for Criminal Caſes; and theſe never intermeddle with the proper Affairs of each other's Provinces, nor mix or exchange Works.

The *Mogul's* adminiſtring Juſtice in Perſon.

But the Prince very frequently ſets his own Hand to this Affair, and acts the part of a Judge himſelf: For this purpoſe, at a ſet-time every Day, he repairs to the Great Council-Hall, or ſome Place where he ſhews himſelf in publick to the People; and places himſelf in his Throne, all his Nobles ſtanding in Ranks about him, according to their reſpective Degrees. And here he hears Cauſes, determines Controverſies, does Juſtice, and orders Diſpatches of Publick Buſineſs. His meaneſt Subjects have free and eaſie Acceſs to him; they are patiently heard whatever Complaints they have to make; and as ſurely righted in any Caſe of Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, tho' the Criminal be the greateſt Man in the Empire. And it muſt be own'd, that the Government in this reſpect is highly commendable, for its exceeding Mildneſs and Eaſineſs, towards all ſorts of griev'd and burden'd Perſons.

If a Man finds himſelf oppreſs'd, he has no more to do, but to go away to his Prince, and demand Juſtice. Here's no need of courting Miniſters of State, of ſneaking and cringing to this and the other Great Man; nor of feeing and bribing corrupt Officers to bring on a Cauſe, and procure a Man his Right. There's no need of a Golden Key to open the Doors of Courts, and the Mouths of Advocates: Juſtice has ſet, and keeps every Door wide open, that all the Wrong'd and Injured may go in; an empty Purſe is not refus'd nor ſhut out, nor Poverty Browbeaten and deſpis'd. The Plaintiff, whatever he be, may introduce himſelf to the King's Speech and Preſence, by giving the appointed Notice of his Buſineſs. He need but go and pull a Rope, and ſet the Golden Bells a chiming, which as ſoon as ever the King hears, the Perſon that gave the Alarm is ſent for in; and his Caſe is no ſooner told than conſider'd, nor conſider'd and weigh'd than Right is done, and the Burden taken off. A Cauſe does not hang in ſuſpence here for five or ſix Months together, nor is it toſs'd about from one Court to another, while the hungry Managers are doing their own Buſineſs, thriving upon the Effects of it. If a Man's Cauſe be but juſt, he is ſure to come to a ſudden and ſpeedy end of his Trouble.

And in Capital Caſes Juſtice ſurprizes the Offender as ſoon, and is as quick in proceeding to Execution, as it is on the other ſide, in aſſerting and ſecuring the Rights of the Oppreſſed.

Very few Malefactors lie a Night in Priſon, but none lie more; if a Man be brought before his Judge in the Morning, he is infallibly clear'd or executed before Night: As ſoon as the Fact is proved, the Puniſhment is inflicted; if Stripes or Whipping, 'tis done upon the ſpot; but if Death, he is lead away to the Bazar, and ſuffers immediately. Now this round and quick Juſtice helps to keep the People wonderfully in awe, and they are not ſo forward to commit thoſe very heinous Crimes, the Stains of which they know they muſt preſently waſh away with their Blood.

Their Executions.

Murder and Theft are always puniſh'd with Death, and what ſort of Death too the Judge pleaſes: Sometimes 'tis Hanging, Beheading, Impaling, to be torn by Lions, or cruſh'd by Elephants, or ſtung to Death by venomous Creatures.

This latter Death the *Great Mogul* condemn'd a certain Parricide to, and had Execution done in his own Preſence, when Sir *Tho. Row* was at his Court. The wretched Creature was ſtripp'd ſtark naked, and the Mountebank having provok'd one of his huge Snakes, applied it to his Thigh, about which it preſently twiſted it ſelf, and faſtning upon his Groin, bit him there, the Blood immediately following; another was fix'd upon the outſide of his other Thigh, and bit him there likewiſe, after which two Wounds he kept upon his Legs for near a Quarter of an Hour, and then drop'd, tho' the Snakes were taken from him before he fell. His whole Body ſwell'd extreamly, and while his Sence continued, he cried out of a Fire that raged in every part; but by that time half an Hour more was expired, he himſelf did ſo, and had his Flame quench'd by cold Death.

In all Caſes of Suits, Debts, Contracts, and other Diſputes of Right between Man and Man, the obnoxious Party is arreſted by the Judges Officers, and brought to the Bar together with his Sureties, (if there be any in the Caſe) and there he is under a neceſſity of giving ſpeedy and ſufficient Satisfaction: The Priſon, and a heavy Load of Irons is his Fate if he does not, and ſometimes inſolvent Debtors, with their whole Families, are ſold for Slaves to pay the Creditors.

Policies uſed by the *Great Mogul* in his Government.

'Tis a piece of Policy conſtantly practiſed by the Monarchs of this Country, to remove and ſhift their Governours pretty often from one place to another. Very few ſtay in one place longer than a Year, tho' they have all the Qualifications that can be to recommend them, and diſcharge their Truſt ever ſo acceptably. This is to prevent their growing great and popular, and the Diſturbances that might poſſibly ariſe, from the Peoples exceſſive doating upon, and fondneſs for their Governours: Tho' the greateſt part of them behave themſelves ſo, that the Prince need not break his Reſt, nor fear a Rebellion for their ſakes.

Cuſtom of receiving the Noblemen that have been abroad.

When they are any of them diſpatch'd to Governments abroad, 'tis a Cuſtom with them not to cut their Hair till they come to Court again; and therefore upon their return, the King as ſoon as he ſees them, bids them cut their Hair. And thoſe that have been in places of Great Truſt and Conſequence, which they have diſcharged with Honour and Integrity, are receiv'd at Court with a vaſt deal of Ceremony, and the World is made to know at that time, how highly they are in their Sovereign's Favour. The whole Court is ſummon'd together upon the occaſion: The Prince in his Throne, and the reſt of the Nobles in their reſpective ſtations, are ready to bid him Welcome. Then comes the happy Favourite, led in by ſome of the greateſt Officers of the Empire; and having proſtrated himſelf once at the outward Rails, he repeats the ſame Reverence twice more, in his approach to the King. Being near, he is commanded to come up the ſeven Steps of the Throne, within the reach of his Prince's Embraces, who then takes him in his Arms, and hugs him with a charming familiarity before the whole Aſſembly. After this Careſs is over, and ſome words perhaps ſpoken in his Commendation; he goes down again, and takes his appointed place among the reſt of the Grandees.

On the other hand, if a Man has been tardy in the diſcharge of his Office, and comes to Court in Diſgrace, eſpecially if any very popular Crimes are laid to his charge; his Eyes are entertain'd with Frowns and ſcornful Looks, and his Ears fill'd with the Noiſe and Clamor of the People calling out for Juſtice againſt him as he paſſes along. He comes into his Prince's Preſence, to hear the Reproaches which his Crime deſerves, and ſtays there no longer than till a definitive Sentence (whatever it be) is paſs'd upon him. And 'tis well for thoſe that either manage their Buſineſs ſo as not to let things come to this paſs, or elſe by the Intereſt of a ſtrong Party at Court, can divert the Prince from a too ſevere Inſpection into their Conduct: For as the Government is horribly rigorous in all Caſes of Untruſtineſs and Diſregard to the Prince's Intereſt (which are the greateſt Crimes here, as well as in other places), ſo it often proceeds without any thing of clear proof of Matter of Fact, and takes away a Man's Life upon a meer ſuſpicion or conjecture.

The Dependance of all upon the Prince.

All the Subjects of this Empire depend immediately upon the Prince for what they poſſeſs and enjoy. There's no ſuch thing as Land of Inheritance, Property, and Succeſſion to an Eſtate; every Man is a Tenant at Will, and holds all upon the precarious uncertain Title of Humour and Pleaſure.

When a Noble-man, Vice-Roy, or Tributary dies, 'tis very common for all his Treaſure and Goods to be ſeiz'd; and if the King pleaſes to allow any part to the Son, or neareſt Relations, 'tis a Favour; otherwiſe it goes into his own Coffers, and he himſelf is the Heir. This is always the way of dealing with Penſioners, and all that receive Court-Pay; the King lends them Money for their Life-time, and pays himſelf when they die, Intereſt and Principal together. Nay, many times, a Man outlives his Fortune and good Circumſtances in the World; for if he be faulty and negligent, or grows popular and ſuſpected, his Eſtate to be ſure goes for't, and he ſaves his Head, by the loſs of his Lands.

A good Maſs of Wealth too, or a fat profitable Living is a dangerous thing under theſe arbitrary Princes; 'tis ten to one, if ſome Fault ben't diſcover'd in the Conduct of ſuch a Perſon; ſome occaſion ſtarted for his remove, or pretence found to purge him a little of his Superfluities. Rich Lands and Livings do often go away thus out of the Hands of thoſe that are plac'd in them, when the King finds they thrive there; for what's good for the Subjects, is good for the Prince, and what makes them rich, won't make him poor.

If any Man has a Jewel of conſiderable ſize, beauty, or fineneſs, he is obliged upon pain of Death to give Notice at Court, that the King may have the refuſal of it. And there is hardly any valuable Stone in the whole Country, but what by means of this ſevere Law, comes into his hands. He keeps Guard every-where, and has Spies upon all Mens Trade and Dealings, ſo that 'tis next to impoſſible any thing ſhou'd ſcape him. But then he is as abſolute in his Bargains, as he is in every thing elſe, and gives juſt what he thinks fit; and that is moſt commonly about a third part of the intrinſick value.

Now this being the State of Affairs in the Country, the Prince thus arbitrary and rigorous in the exerciſe of a boundleſs Prerogative, theſe two things do unavoidably follow upon it. Firſt of all, a deal of baſe ſervile Flattery in his Subjects; they admire his worſt and fouleſt Actions, praiſe his ſillieſt and moſt impertinent Speeches; he can neither do nor ſay any thing, but what they'll trace out the Footſteps of ſome excellent Vertue in. Another Conſequence is, That all they that are in good profitable places, do live as faſt as ever they can, while they are in them. They ſpend freely, and enjoy themſelves to the utmoſt height of their Incomes; they know the Prince takes all at laſt, and therefore endeavour to leave him as little as they can. As much as they flatter and adore him, they won't live meanly and ſordidly for his ſake: For to what purpoſe would it be to rake and ſcrape, to ſave ſo many Servants Wages, or bate ſo many Diſhes of Meat at their Tables, and all to make up a bigger Purſe for him? They had better by far take their Shares (as they do, without mincing the matter), and ſo reſign the reſt when they can hold it no longer. To hoard and lay up for a Family has ſome Comfort in't; but to do it for a covetous Prince, that will perhaps ſtarve thoſe that are left behind, is a very dull and heartleſs Work.

The Nobility and their Titles.

The Nobility in this Country have their ſeveral diſtinguiſhing Titles of Honour, as in other places. The moſt ſublime of all (compatible with the Condition of a Subject), is that of Sultan; but this belongs only to the King's Sons: As his Daughters have the Titles of Sultana's. The next to this is Nabob, which may be as much as Duke. Then Channa and Chan, a Lord. To which we may add other Titles of Honour, as that of Mirza for a General, Omra for a Captain, or ſome inferiour Commander, and the like. But the main thing by which the Great Men in this Country are diſtinguiſh'd, is the Number of Horſe which they have under their Command. The higheſt number of all is 12000, and there are but four in the whole Empire that have ſo many. Others have leſs and leſs, in proportion to their Quality, Merits, or the King's Favour; the leaſt and loweſt of all, is he that commands twenty Horſe, who perhaps is no more than an Omra, or ſome common Gentleman. Now theſe Perſons are all comprehended under the general Title of Manſibdars, that is, Men of Lordſhips, or Livings, becauſe they have all of them certain Livings aſſigned them; out of the Revenues of which they are obliged to maintain and furniſh out (upon occaſion) their ſeveral Quota's of Horſe. And by this means an Army of 200000 Horſe is got together in a trice, and that without any great matter of hurry and trouble; for every Commander knows what proportion is expected from him; and not only ſo, but alſo where to go and raiſe his Men, who are maintain'd out of his Lordſhip, and ready at an Hour's warning.

The Manſibdars.

This Policy is much the ſame with that of the Turks in their Timariots, who out of certain Lands allotted to them, maintain every one ſo many Horſe (as theſe *Indian* Manſibdars do). And theſe Men live nobly out of their Lordſhips, eſpecially thoſe whoſe Numbers of Horſe riſe high, and their Lands conſequently large in proportion; ſome of them of 6 or 8000 Horſe, are ſaid to make it worth no leſs than 70 or 80000 *l. per Annum*; and thoſe that are higher have above 100000; upon which account we need not ſcruple ſaying, that the *Indian* Manſibdars of the firſt Rank, are the richeſt Subjects in the whole World.

But by what was obſerv'd before, the Money in this Country does not lie ſtill; there's a conſtant and never-failing Circulation of theſe Golden Streams, they run from the Country to the Manſibdars, and from them directly away, into the vaſt Ocean of the *Mogul*'s Treaſuries.

And now after all this Diſcourſe of the Country, and the People; before we leave it, we muſt take a ſhort View of the Prince and his Court, and the Cuſtoms peculiar thereto.

The *Mogul* himſelf, and his Riches.

That this Monarch is to be rank'd amongſt the very greateſt of the Univerſe, will be granted without difficulty, if we conſider how much Ground he is Lord of, and the vaſt Riches that Nature, Fortune, Policy, and Trade, do all pour in upon him. The Dimenſions of his Country are conſider'd already; and ſome of thoſe Fountains of his Wealth touch'd upon too. We have ſeen how the Policy of his Government contributes to his growth in this reſpect, ſince that makes him Maſter of all the Treaſures of his richeſt Subjects. Trade alſo brings him in the Coin and Commodities of Foreign Nations, and all Moneys that come in here, are buried here, being never ſuffer'd to be carried out again. Succeſs and Fortune in his Wars, have ſtill enlarg'd his Treaſures together with his Territories; his Victorious Arms carrying all before them in *Decan*, and the adjoyning Countries, bring him in all the Riches of thoſe parts; and 'tis very well known, that no part of the World is more extravagantly rich in the richeſt of Jewels, as well as of Metals (Diamonds and Gold), than that Portion of the *Indian* Continent. And what Nature contributes, is not leſs than any of the former. No Country perhaps in the World is more nobly endowed than his; there's no where a more fertile luxuriant Soil, a happier State and Conſtitution of the Earth, than in the moſt conſiderable parts of his Dominions. And beſides that Fruitfulneſs of it that more immediately ſerves the Conveniencies of Human Life; there are few (if any) that go beyond it, in all thoſe Productions that anſwer the ends of Pomp and Ornament. The Funds of Gold and Silver that lie under Ground, are almoſt innumerable and inexhauſtible: And Jewels are Natives of this Country too, as well as of thoſe that the Fortune of War has made tributary to it.

But to deſcend a little more to particulars, and that from the Accounts of his Revenues, and other Riches that are regiſtred in the Caſtle of *Agra*. The Income of his Crown-Lands is reckon'd to amount to 50 Crous of Roupies *per Annum*. Now every Crou is 100 Lecks, and every Leck is 100000 Roupies; and taking the loweſt value of a Roupie at 2 *s.* of our Money, this comes to a Sum that will enable a Man to live pretty comfortably in the World, and keep a tolerably genteel and handſome Table.

But then the Treaſures in Jewels and Money that lie dead by him, are no leſs ſurpriſing than the former: He has ſeven fair Caſtles that are peculiarly deſigned to be the Receptacles of them; and what theſe contain is hardly known exactly to any but himſelf, and the Guardians of them.

So many Crous of all ſorts of Gold and Silver Coin, ſo many * Batmans of Diamonds, Emeraulds, Rubies and Pearl; the Jewels of the leſs valuable kinds, lying by in heaps without number or meaſure. Then his Pearls and Jewels that are in Chains and Ropes, Cups form'd out of ſolid pieces of Precious Stone, Diſhes, Baſons, Beakers of maſſie Gold; in ſhort all ſorts of Furniture for a Palace, for Horſes for Elephants, and for Men; either all entire, or as far as the nature of the thing will admit, of the pureſt Gold, and bedeck'd with the fineſt Gems of *India* and other parts. To reckon up all the Varieties of his coſtly things, and the Sum of that vaſt Maſs of Wealth he is poſſeſſed of, a Man had need viſit the ſeven Caſtles, and be in fee with the Keepers for a ſight of all.

* Note the Batman is 55 pound of our Weight.

The *Mogul's* Attendance.

This Prince's Attendance is very large and ſtately, and every way proportionable to the reſt of his Greatneſs.

When he goes a Progreſs there is a 100000 Souldiers for a Guard; then all the Slaves and Servants of the Grandees, his own inferiour Officers and Waiters, with the mighty train of Attendants on his Women (which always compoſe a part of the *Leskar*) all put together make up very near 200000. The Guard that is immediately about his Perſon, are a ſort of Horſe-men call'd Haddies, to the number of about five or ſix thouſand; beſides which, the meaneſt of his Houſhold Servants, thoſe that are in the Gardens, Kitchin, Stables, and Armorie, are reckon'd 36000; and they have their Monthly Pay out of the Treaſury from three to ten Rupies a piece.

His living Creatures that are kept about him.

After all (as a part of the Court too) we ought not to forget the other Animals that belong to it, which are kept there partly for Uſe and Service, and partly for Sport and Pleaſure.

There are ſome thouſands of ſinging Birds, that are maintain'd for the ſake of their Muſick; and as many that are for Game and Prey.

Of Beaſts wild and tame, there are Deer, Buffalos, Dogs, Ounces, Camels, Dromedaries, Elephants, Lions, &c. But the moſt remarkable of all are his Elephants, of which he keeps ſeveral Thouſands, but 300 of them particularly are ſtil'd the Royal Elephants; they are call'd ſo becauſe the King rides upon them, but their Splendid Furniture and Noble Feeding would give them that Title without the other Reaſon. Now from this Account 'tis manifeſt that the *Great Mogul's* daily expences cannot be ſmall and inconſiderable. Here is a large and numerous Family; and ſo many Bellies of Beaſts and Men will not be filled with a little. And therefore if his Domeſtick Accounts be fairly ſtated, and the Officers don't cheat him in their long Bills, he ſpends every Day within the Limits of his Court (taking in the Seraglio of the Women too) the Sum of 80000 Rupies.

His Diviſion of the Day.

This Great Prince divides his Day into ſeveral parts, to each of which he allots its peculiar Buſineſs and Employment. As ſoon as the Day breaks he riſes to the Devotion; Religion is his Breakfaſt, whatever impure Meals he makes afterwards. After this he goes forth to receive the Salamets and Good Morrows of the People, that croud about his Lodgings in vaſt multitudes; which Ceremony ended he retires into a Dormitory, and repoſes himſelf till his dining time comes. His time after Dinner is divided between his Women and his publick Sports, the one or both of which entertains him till three or four of the Clock; at which time he begins to think of doing Buſineſs, and obeying the Call of Affairs of State. But 'tis a part of his daily work too to ſurvey his Wealth, and tumble over all his rich things. His whole mighty Stock is divided into 360 parts, each of which are viewed by him in their order, and ſo that parcel which he ſees to Day, he ſees not again till this time Twelve-Month. *Selim Sha* was ſo exact at this, and by often reviewing had gotten ſo perfect a Knowledge of all his Moveables, that the leaſt trifle could not be wanting, but he would preſently find out the Loſs.

He once miſs'd a little *China* Cup (amongſt all the thouſands of that ſort of Utenſils that he had by him) and finding 'twas broke, he call'd for the Noble-man that had the Charge on't, and having drubb'd him to death almoſt, ſent him away into *China* to look another. And not only ſo, but commanded him never to preſume to ſee his Face, till he had found out the fellow on't, wherever he went for't, and whatever it coſt him. Here was a Man baniſh'd from Court, depriv'd of his Prince's Favour, very near crippled, and engaged in fourteen or fifteen Months travel, and all for a *China* Cup; a plain Proof enough how little theſe haughty Monarches value the Happineſs, Life or Limbs of a Man, in compariſon with any thing that pleaſes their own unreaſonable Humour. After publick Buſineſs, the *Mogul* fills up his Day, partly with Devotion, and partly with Sports and Entertainments. He Prays, and Drinks, ſees his Elephants fight, looks over his Beaſts wild and tame, and makes up the number himſelf. He pours in good Liquors, and chaws Opium till the World runs round with him apace, and then he ſays and does a multitude of fine things, which are all recorded by the Scribes that ſit about him. Theſe Pen-men put down every thing that is acted or ſpoken by him, drunk or ſober; all his Viſits to his Women, and even thoſe to the Neceſſary —— are ſet down; a noble piece of Chronology, a very ſweet and cleanly Hiſtory! But ſuch is the Cuſtom of the Country, and theſe *Indian* Monarchs will have their Lives exactly written; and 'tis pity but they ſhould, ſince they are ſo fond of it; tho' the ſucceeding Princes will hardly want the Examples of thoſe that went before them, to inſtigate them to the practice of ſeveral of thoſe things that are recorded.

Feaſts obſerved with the greateſt Solemnity at Court.

There are two Feaſts eſpecially, which this Prince and Court obſerve with very great Solemnity; the one at the coming in of the New Year, which laſts about 18 Days, thro' all which time the Court appears in its utmoſt Splendour and Glory.

That of the New-Year.

In ſome ſpacious open place there's a Tent pitched, which with the Screens that are rais'd about it, takes up at leaſt two Acres in Compaſs. How wonderful this Tent is both inſide and outſide for Beauty and Riches, 'tis in vain to pretend to deſcribe; 'tis enough to ſay 'tis furniſhed that Day for the extraordinary Entertainment of the *Great Mogul*. Round about this (and the Appurtenances of it) are pitch'd the Tents of the Grandees, which take up five or ſix Acres more, and altogether caſt ſuch a dazling luſtre, that a Man would almoſt expect to find celeſtial Inhabitants in Manſions ſo Bright and Glorious, tho' one quarter of an Hours ſtay in their Company, would make him that thought ſo, ſenſible of his Miſtake. Here the King roves about from one Tent to another, guided only by Appetite, Luſt, and Pleaſure; he finds in every one of them Sumptuous Feaſting, and Noble Preſents, which every Noble-man makes him upon this Occaſion. And tho' 'tis true that all his Gifts are praiſed and valued, that he may know in what proportion to return to the Makers of them; yet his Appraiſers, who know his Avaritious Humour, ſet all at half Rates, ſo that inſtead of rewarding like a King, he ſqueezes by this means a vaſt deal of Wealth out of his Nobility.

That of his Birth-day.

The ſecond ſolemn Feaſt is that of his Birth-day, which comes about four Months after the former, and is obſerved with as much State and Pomp. But this is a more chargeable time to the Nobles than the former; for now their Preſents are doubled, being made to the King and his Mother too, and then they have no recompence neither. The Royal Purſe is faſt tied up, and the Soil they caſt their Seed into ſwallows up all, and returns no crop. But the Prince is charitable to the Poor at this time, and this is a cheaper Vertue than Liberality; 'tis eaſier to give an Alms to a Beggar, than a truly Royal Largeſs to a Man of Figure and quality. Now his Charity to the Poor is thus meaſur'd out by the help of the Balance. There's a very large pair of Golden Scales provided, in one of which he ſits himſelf, and the other is fill'd with Gold, Silver, ſome precious Stones, but more Corn and Grain than Jewels by far. This is all heap'd in till his Body is exactly Ballanc'd, and then the Sum is divided amongſt the Poor. Now perhaps here is ſometimes the value of 10 or 12000 pound; but then his Preſents from the Nobility amount to ten times as much; ſo that to ſpeak the Truth, it is not ſo much his Charity as theirs, 'tis the Nobility and not the Prince that are at the Charge of filling the Pockets of the Poor that Day. However 'tis plain, that a Prince of a luſty, thriving habit of Body, is a conſiderable Bleſſing to the Poor of this Country. 'Tis no matter what his Head is, or any thing elſe that's in't; Brains weigh but light, and fine Politicks will do little good in a Scale; 'tis a large Belly, and huge maſſie Bones well cloathed with Fleſh that are the beſt qualifications of a Prince, for theſe Charity-People. How much they are concerned to pray for his Health, is eaſie to imagine, and what a prejudice a Conſumption would be to them, as well as Danger to himſelf. This Prince is ſure of his Poor Subjects Good Wiſhes in this Reſpect, which is better than the caſe of ſome others in the World, who are ſo little loved as to have none upon any Account.

'Tis needleſs to enter into any particular Diſcourſe of the many ſtately Titles the *Mogul* aſſumes to himſelf, and the great Names he calls himſelf by. 'Tis enough to ſay that the beſt part of the Habitable World is his, in his own imagination. And therefore he has no good Opinion of, nor no kindneſs for the Geography of the Weſtern World, that gives him no more compaſs upon the Globe. He ſeem'd to be mightily diſappointed at the proſpect of his own Country, which Sir *Thomas Row* ſhewed him in *Mercator*'s Maps; he found it too narrow abundantly to anſwer his own great Idea of it, and therefore gave back the Book again (tho' 'twas preſented him) as a Man affronted at the rudeneſs of the Geographer, that had allowed him ſo little room. He told the Embaſſadour he did not underſtand that Book, and therefore ſince he did, and valued it too, he would not rob him of ſuch a Jewel; but the main thing was, that the World was not made according to his fancy. The *Chineſe* will have their Country in the very middle of the Globe, and the *Mogul* will have his all over it; and ſo to compliment theſe People, we muſt make a new ſort of a World, which will be as abſolutely imaginary as that in the Moon. But this Prince moſt of all Prides himſelf in the Title of *Tamerlanes* Succeſſour, upon the ſcore of whoſe Conqueſts, he calls himſelf ſometimes (as the *Tartars* do *Tamerlane*) the Lord of the *Lorners*, and Conquerour of the Univerſe. And upon this account it was, that when the *Great Turk*'s Embaſſadour had an Audience of Leave, ask'd him what Meſſage he ſhould carry to his Maſter: Tell him (ſays the *Mogul*) that he is my Slave, for my Anceſtor *Tamerlane* carried his in Chains. There was Pride and Rudeneſs enough in this Anſwer; but had the *Turk* been a little nearer him with 100000 *Janizaries*, he muſt have given civiller and ſofter Language. *Selymus* the firſt, at the head of thoſe brave Troops, that beat the *Egyptian Mamalukes*, would not have taken ſuch a Meſſage from him; we know he carried an Army into *Perſia*, and upon ſuch an Affront, 'tis probable, might have viſited *India* too; which had he done, there's no doubt but that old ſtain upon the Honour of the *Ottoman* Houſe would have been wip'd off, and *Tamerlanes* Fortune reverſed.

But as for this Princes deriving his Pedigree from *Tamerlane*, it appears to be a dark and doubtful thing; he has not made it out clearly to the World, and the Ill Underſtanding between the *Tartars* and him, is no great ſign of ſuch a Relation.

CHAP. XXXII.

The fifth Voyage ſet out upon the Joint-Stock of the Faſt-India *Company, with the following Ships; the* James Royal *of 1000 Tun, the* Anne Royal *of 900, the* New-Years Gift *of 800, the* Bull *of 400, the* Bee *of 150* Martin Pring *Chief Commander: Taken out of his and ſome of the Maſters Journals.*

March, A.D. 1616.
April, A.D. 1617.
Tornadoes.

WE ſet ſail all together out of the *Downs* being (if Wind and Weather gave leave) to keep Company as far as the Coaſt of *India*. In this Courſe having made the Lat. of 6 Degr. or thereabouts, the ruffling Tornadoes began to exerciſe us; and we were e'en ready to paſs the Line, and ſtep out into the other Hemiſphere, before we got out of the reach of thoſe furious Blaſts; in 30 Min. N. L. they were quiet, and we heard no more of them. But the Fogs and dark Weather ſome time after did us that miſchief which all the terrible Winds had not done, in loſing us the Company of our *Admiral* and *Vice-Admiral*, and obliging us to go on towards *India* by our ſelves.

Water very white.

'Twas no ſmall matter of Wonder to us in the way to ſee the Sea all about us appear pale and white, without any viſible cauſe of ſuch an Alteration; one might have imagin'd the *Alvues* at that time, a vaſt great Cheeſe-vat, and the Ship to have been ſailing in Whey inſtead of Salt-Water, it carried ſuch a milky appearance along with it. The Air and Skie at the ſame time look'd white and hazy, without doubt the effect of the Reflections from the Surface of the Water ſo diſpos'd and colour'd.

Auguſt.

We had paſs'd the *Comora* Iſlands before we were entertain'd with this Phenomenon, and the ſame Day that we ſaw this at Night, we made at noon 4 Degr. 44 Min. S. Lat. and as near as we could reckon 53 Degr. 5 Min. Lon. which is all we can ſay towards the Deſcription of that part of the Globe where it happened, we being then out in the open Sea. It continued thus the ſpace of the Evening and the whole Night, and we could find no ground nor bottom where we had this change of Water. We obſerved too that it held on and continued with a Current that then affected us, and as we went out of that colour'd Water, we went out of the Power of the Current too; the Current therefore was ſome way or other (probably) concerned in it, but how or which way, is not of ſo eaſie a Determination.

September.

The Monſon that now waſted and ſpent apace, would not allow us to call at *Socotora*, which therefore we paſs'd and made the beſt haſt we could to *Surat*. Yet we found time to do our ſelves a Kindneſs by the way, and a piece of Service to the *Great Mogol*; the former in taking a *Portugueze* Prize laden with Elephants Teeth, and the latter by ſaving a Noble Ship belonging to the Queen *Mother* of *India*, from two Men of War of our own Nation that purſued her. She had a rich lading of Silver (at leaſt 29 Tun, ſome ſay vaſtly more) which we ſecur'd her in the poſſeſſion of, by putting an end to the Chaſe, and bringing her (together with both her Purſuers) ſafe into *Swally* Road.

All the Ships meet again in *Swally* Road.
October.

We had not been here long before our *Admiral* and *Vice-Admiral* came in too, ſo that now all Fears were vaniſh'd on both ſides.

A good quantity of Coral of our own briuging, and Elephants Teeth out of the *Portugueze* Prize were quickly landed and ſent up to *Surat*, in order to begin the Trade. And now there came to an Anchor at the Bar 20 Sail of Frigats from *Goa*, being ſent by the Vice-roy to range the Coaſt, and make ſome Diſcoveries of us, and ſo to go on for *Cambeya*, to waſt the *Caſalle*.

November.

They did not offer to make the leaſt attempt upon us, ſo that we proceeded in the landing of our Commodities, Coral, Elephants Teeth, Cloth, Tin, Wine, and Strong Waters, together with the whole Cargo of Preſents.

January.
The *Bee's* Voyage to *Jaſques.*

This Month our Ship the *Bee* was diſpatch'd for *Jaſques*, upon the Coaſt of *Perſia*; ſhe carried ſome Merchants along with her, who were there to be landed with their Wares, and ſo go up into the Country as far as *Moguſtan*. A way had been opened into this Country before, and the Country had procur'd the King of *Perſia*'s Firmans for liberty of Trade at that place or any other in his Dominions.

When ſhe came back from *Jaſques*, ſhe gave us this Account of her Voyage. That the Governour gave them a very kind Welcome, and carried it in all points conformably to the purport and tenour of his Maſters Firman. That the Merchants had a very free and quiet Paſſage wherever they went, and proſpect of making ſo good Buſineſs of it in time at *Moguſtan*, that they believ'd it would turn to as much Account there as in any place in *India* it ſelf.

Water was extreamly ſcarce about *Jaſques*; they had none but what the Clouds ſupplied them with, and thoſe Supplies came down but very ſeldom neither.

January is the time in which they lay in a ſtock for the whole ſucceeding Year; then they fill all their Ciſterns and Cellars, and are as buſie with their Water, as ſome are with their Wine at the time of vintage. In that Month it rains conſtantly for a Week or more without intermiſſion, and perhaps a little in *December*, but their main dependance is on the *January* Showers, in which they have their ſtated Allowance, and that meaſure of this Grand Neceſſity of Life, which a Wiſe Providence ſees convenient for them. But having it thus but once a

Year, they are forc'd to drink it with all the Advantages of its foulneſs, rank taſte, and ſometimes Worms bred in it, which after ſo long keeping is not ſtrange, tho' undoubtedly very diſagreeable, eſpecially to thoſe who have been us'd to better Liquors in other places and are forc'd to take up with that at *Jaſques*. 'Twas ſo bad in all theſe Reſpects, that our Men were forc'd to take ſome courſe to purifie it before they could drink it, and yet 'tis a good Commodity in the Country, and goes off for four Shillings a Tun. *Jaſques* has a fair Bay belonging to it; there runs no ſtream, but it flows a Fathom with the Spring, and at other times three or four Foot. They obſerved a little Fiſher Town adjoining, to be in 25 Degr. 35 Min. N. L. and 10 Degr. 40 Min. Lon. from the Cape of *Diu*, and the var. to be 19 Degr. 20 Min. from N. to Weſt. This is the Sum of the Account the *Bee* gave us at her return from the *Jaſques* Voyage.

March.
* This Voyage comes afterwards by it ſelf.
April, A. D. 1611.
Set ſail from *Swally*.
Light Skirmiſh with the *Portugueze* Fleet.

She being come back, the *Ann* * *Royal* our Vice-Admiral was ſent away for the *Red-Sea*, and we all ſet out from *Swally* Road for *Bantam* and other parts. By the way we came in ſight of the *Portugueze Molucca* Fleet, being 27 Sail, Merchant-Men and Men of War, and Gallies of *Goa*. We exchanged a few Guns with one another; but they quickly grew weary and got away from us beyond our purſuit, and to make the more haſt in doing ſo, they were obliged in part to unlade ſome of their Veſſels, and throw Cheſts, Boxes, and other heavy things over board.

As we coaſted along by *Calecut*, the *Samorin* ſent off a Boat to deſire a Conference, but we were gone too far out of reach to attend him at that time.

We came to an Anchor in *Brinnion* Bay, a place of good Refreſhment for Hens, Cocoes, Goats, Fiſh, and excellent freſh Water, which comes clear and pure out of a Rock.

People of *Brinnion*.
Some of the Ships went away for *Sumatra*, while the General went for *Bantam*, to which place they came afterwards, and followed him from thence to *Jacatra*, and ſo came to *Bantam* with him again.

But the Inhabitants are as bad as their Proviſions are good, a perfidious, impoſing, unfaithful People, who ſeem to value no Promiſes nor Contracts, nor will be held by any Bonds if they have an opportunity and force enough to break them. This we had ſufficient Proof of in their dealing with us; for at our coming we had made the Governour a conſiderable Preſent, beſides 70 Rials of Eight in dry Money for liberty of Watering, which he very fairly promis'd and ſeem'd as well pleas'd. But truly being ſecure of his pay, and reſolved if poſſible to mend himſelf ſtill, he came down with a Force of ſeven or eight hundred Men to drive us away from the Spring, demanding more Money, without which we ſhould have no Water. But as it happened we had guarded the Spring pretty well, and were in a Condition to maintain the work we were about, againſt the violence of this rude and unjuſt Governour; and this was done partly for fear of any perfidious Practices of the *Indians* in poiſoning or otherways abuſing the Water, tricks that a Man is always to be aware of in theſe Eaſtern Countries.

June.
Protectour of *Bantam*'s injuſtice.

When we came to *Bantam*, we found an unhappy Difference ariſen between one of our *Engliſh* Captains and the great *Pangran* or Protector of the Kingdom. The Right of the Cauſe certainly lay on the Captain's ſide, and the *Pangran* was unjuſt and partial in pretending to quarrel upon thoſe Terms that he did. The Buſineſs was, that the *Chineſe* being pretty deeply in debt to our Men, the Captain had arreſted one of their Junks, in order to bring them to make payment, which ſort of violent Courſes a Man cannot ſometimes avoid taking with ſuch ſhufling People as they are, unleſs he reſolves to ſubmit to all their Knaveries. But this Method of proceeding was highly diſpleaſing to the *Pangran*, and provoked him to that degree, that he ſeem'd utterly uncapable of being perſwaded and argued into a better Temper, refuſing to hear what was to be reaſonably alledged in juſtification of the Fact; and tho' we labour'd all that could be to compoſe the Matter, and made a formal offer of redelivering the Junk upon condition of doing us juſtice (which at firſt he alſo paſs'd his Word to perform) yet he flew off afterwards, and as if fond of an Opportunity of quarreling, would hear nothing in order to the putting an end to it.

September.
Agreement with the King of *Jacatra*.

We left theſe Matters in the ſame ill poſture at *Bantam* that we found them, and ſet ſail from thence towards *Jacatra*. The King of this place being pretty well diſpoſed to favour our Buſineſs, we agreed with him to this effect. That we would pay him 700 Rials of Eight *per Ann.* for the liberty of a free Importation and Exportation of all manner of Commodities, and 1500 down for a piece of Ground to build a publick Houſe for our Factory upon.

By Letters come to us here from the *Moluccas*, we had notice of the hard uſage of our *Engliſh* in thoſe Iſlands by the *Dutch*; they would ſcarce allow them Proviſions to keep Life and Soul together, and upon every Report of the coming of any of our Ships, they were preſently laid in Irons.

October.

But we had not long after the comfortable Tidings of the ſudden coming of a Remedy to cure thoſe Diſorders in a Fleet of ſix good *Engliſh* Ships, under the Command of Sir *Tho. Dale*.

November.
The *Sun* (Admiral) loſt.
December.

Our Buſineſs diſpatch'd at *Jacatra*, we went back again to *Bantam*. Having ſpent ſome little time here, the expected Fleet came from *England*, which together with ours and ſome others that were here at the ſame time, made in all to the number of thirteen brave Sail. And inſtead of that it had been fourteen, had not the brave *Sun*, the Admiral of this new-come Fleet miſcarried by the way. She was wreck'd at the Iſland *Engano*, a good part of her Company drown'd, and others murder'd aſhoar by the barbarous Inhabitants of that Iſland, and the reſt brought in a very miſerable condition to the Fleet. It being certain that the *Dutch* and we were ſhortly to decide our Quarrel by a Fight, we had amongſt other Preparations made for it, that neceſſary one of a Day of Faſting and Prayer, ſtrictly obſerved thro' the whole Fleet; and for a prelude to the ſucceeding Action, we quickly after took a conſiderable Ship of theirs. But the *Dutch* lying with their Fleet now about *Jacatra*, it was reſolved in a Council of War, that a part of ours ſhould forthwith ſail thither in order to the beating them away. Accordingly we went on with eleven ſail, and came to an Anchor by *Hector* Iſland, the *Dutch* Ships being at the ſame time within ſight in the Bay of *Jacatra*. And tho' we were now ſo near one another, yet we could not order matters ſo as to bring it to a Battle immediately; the *Dutch* by their ſhifting and winding about, plainly diſcovering they had no great mind to engage, and we were fain in a manner to purſue them, before we could obtain the end we came for.

Horrible confuſion, when the *Sun* and *Moon* fell together by the ears.

However at laſt we came up with them, and the Admiral began the Fight with theirs, our *Moon* and their *Sun*, the reſt coming on in their order: The Fight continued for 3 Hours, in which time we ſpent 1200 great Shot upon them, and ſo left them for that Night. And in ſhort they order'd their buſineſs ſo, that we left them for altogether; for they made all the Sail they could before us, and we had only the Honour of purſuing them thro' the Bay of *Jacatra*, which we did to the Eaſt points of it. Here we all came to Anchor; and now they had recourſe to the fatal policy of a Fireſhip, having been able to do no good with their great Guns; they ſet one of thoſe Flaming Machines a driving towards us, but we happily avoided the Miſchief, having warning enough to get out of her way. So alſo did thoſe that ſent her get out of ours; and tho' we ſet a Spie upon them to obſerve their Motions, yet we did not think it at this time neceſſary to follow them any farther. Now the Reaſon that urged us to this ſo ſpeedy an attempt upon the *Dutch*, was an unpardonable outrage of theirs committed at *Jacatra* juſt before.

Inſolence of the *Dutch* at *Jacatra*.

'Tis evident that conſidering the Injuries we had received from them, we were not the Aggreſſours, or guilty of any unjuſt Action in taking that Ship of theirs a little before the Fight. But yet as if they had never given us any manner of Provocation to proceed in that manner with them, to revenge the Loſs of that Ship, they immediately ſiez'd two of our Merchants at *Jacatra*, and laid them in Chains in a place expos'd to publick view. And not contented to have carried the Affront thus high, they proceeded to heighten it yet farther, adding ſeveral other Violences of a far more miſchievous nature than that. They plaid their great Guns upon our building, ſet fire to it, and burnt it to the Ground. They fired into the Town, making a horrid havock in the *Javan* quarter, but the *Chineſe* quarter they beat quite down, and left it an abſolute heap of ruins. They kill'd abundance of People, but eſpecially of the *Javans*; and 'tis very likely that they deſign'd the King himſelf ſhould fare no better than the reſt, for they fired into his Palace, and that's no ſign that they meant him well. Upon this extravagant Provocation, that Prince rouz'd up himſelf to chaſtiſe them in the beſt manner he could; and 'twas high time to do it, for the next ſhot elſe might perhaps have made him uncapable of doing it for ever. He played his Ordnance upon that Fort, and had ſeveral skirmiſhes with them; but after all, tho' a briſk Man, and good Souldier for an *Indian*, yet was not able (with his Furniture at leaſt) to manage ſo tough and ſtubborn an Adverſary as the *Dutch*. He therefore ſent Meſſengers to *Bantam* to deſire our aſſiſtance, in taming the Pride and Strength of that Adverſary, that had not ſpar'd to inſult him in his very Palace, and almoſt beat down his Capital City about his Ears. 'Twas upon this account that we hurried away to *Jacatra*, and call'd upon the *Dutch* to prepare for a Battle ſo ſoon; that Prince was our Friend and Allie, and beſides our own particular Wrongs, the Injuries he had ſuſtain'd were great enough to engage us to puniſh thoſe that had done them.

January. Meaſures taken for carrying on the War againſt the *Dutch* at *Jacatra.*

After this, Sir *Tho. Dale* went aſhoar to ſee the King of *Jacatra*, and to confer about the farther proſecution of the War againſt them. The King was very deſirous to have them quite beat out from thence, and to ſee their Fort demoliſh'd; which if we would contribute our Aſſiſtance towards, he would make us all the Allowances for the Advantages of our Trade in his Country that we could reaſonably Deſire. So it was concluded that ſome Ammunition ſhould be landed out of the Fleet for this purpoſe, and that Sir *Tho. Dale* the Admiral ſhould be there in the Road with eight Sail, to countenance the Buſineſs as there was occaſion. As for our ſelves it was determin'd that we ſhould go away for the *Streights* of *Sunda*, with ſix Ships to endeavour to catch the *Dutch* Fleet there. But there was no Game to be found at that time, ſo that after a little beating up and down to no purpoſe, we put into *Bantam* Road. Here we had news that (in the time of our abſence) the *Dutch* had made a Propoſal for the Surrender of their Fort at *Jacatra*. Their proud Stomach was ſo far come down, that they were willing to quit the place upon condition of a quiet departure with bag ahd baggage, and the conveniency of a Ship to carry them to the Coaſt of *Coromandel*.

Capt. *Pring* goes for the Streights of *Sunda*; and then to *Bantam*. *February.*

But this Agreement was rendered ineffectual in great meaſure by the baſe dealing of the *Pangran* of *Bantam*; he loved neither the *Dutch* nor Us, and as little car'd that any thing ſhould be done towards the compoſing Matters betwixt us.

The baſe dealing of the Pangran of *Bantam.*

He had a mind too to get the Caſtle of *Jacatra* deliver'd into his own hands, and ſent to the *Dutch* privately to make a Surrender of it to him, together with their Ammunition, Money, and Goods; but he was much miſtaken in his Men, and the *Dutch* were not ſo eaſie either to be commanded or wheedled out of their Pretentions. But upon the Account of this and ſome other Ill Proceedings of his, we thought it neceſſary to make him ſenſible that we looked upon our ſelves highly affronted by him, and therefore made all our Factors and Merchants, with all their Effects to remove from the Town and come aboard the Fleet. While this was a doing the *Pangran* (as if the moſt juſt and harmleſs Man in the World) ſent to know the Reaſon of ſo ſudden a Remove, profeſſing he had given us no cauſe to leave the Country in that manner; but tho' this was manifeſt falſhood and diſſimulation all over, yet that he might have no ſhadow of an Excuſe or Pretence left him for not doing us juſtice, we drew up a Remonſtrance, containing all the Particulars of Wrongs and Grievances the *Engliſh* laid to his Charge, and ſent it to him for his farther conſideration. News being brought hither that four *Dutch* Ships were come to an Anchor in the Mouth of the *Streights* of *Sunda*, I ſail'd out of this Road with four of the Fleet under my Command, to give them a meeting there. We quickly obtain'd a ſight of them, and made towards them with a Speed that ſpoke for us; we were not a little glad to have found them. And they to affront us the more effectually, and let us underſtand how deſpicable we were in their Eyes, careleſly plied to and again with their top Sails half Maſt down, as if they were there in expectation of us, and waited till we came. We were no ſooner within ſhot, but their Admiral came up and bid us welcome with a whole broad ſide; and it will pretty eaſily appear that we were no tat all behind hand with them in Civilities of that nature, ſince they run away within two Hours time, and left us the open Sea to our ſelves. And which made it much the more pleaſant, the Admiral (that came on with all the Triumph and inſolent Bravado of a *Spaniard*) was the firſt that turn'd tail, and gave the example of cowardice to all the reſt of the Fleet. We purſued them till Night; but tho' they fought worſe, yet they ſail'd better (at leaſt ſwifter) than we, having beſides the Advantages of their far nimbler Ships, a good degree of Fear and Fright to hurrie them along; and there's nothing in the whole World that flies faſter than Fear, nor does any Man make more haſt than he that runs away from a ſound beating. But as it often happens, that an eager and over haſty flight from one Miſchief, is an unlucky running into another, ſo it had very near been the caſe of theſe *Dutch* Ships; Sir *Tho. Dale* not long after got within ſight of them, and if a Tempeſt had not interpos'd, they had been forc'd to another-guiſe Trial than the former was.

Capt. *Pring* goes after the *Dutch* a ſecond time. *March.*

Fight with the *Dutch* near *Palambam* Point, on the Coaſt of *Sumatra.*

April. A.D. 1619.

After this Action we returned to *Bantam*, and our whole Power of Shipping (that was hereabouts) once more came all together at this place. The Buſineſs to be conſulted was, about putting in execution the Orders of the *Eaſt-India* Company, for appropriating the *Chineſe* Goods to their own uſe in conſideration of the Debts they owed. And it came to this unanimous Reſolution, that unleſs the young King of *Bantam* would throw that Ill Miniſter the *Pangran* out of his place, the Commiſſion ſhould forthwith be executed; but in caſe of that Compliance the *Chineſe* ſhould have their Junks reſtored, and be forborn ſomething longer. The Matter brought to this head, we began to think of doing buſineſs in other parts; and ſet ſail in the firſt place for the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. Being near this Coaſt, our Ships were hardly able to come up to one another, by reaſon of the ſtrong W. S. W. Winds, and the Currents continually ſetting to the E.N.E. The Beach alſo was ſo lofty on the ſhoar, that there was no venturing towards it with any of our Boats.

May. Go for *Coromandel.*

June.

At laſt we conſider'd of a certain Bay upon this Coaſt in about 17 Degr. and about five Leagues to the Eaſt ſide of *Naſſapore*, where there was very commodious riding for a Weſterly Monſon, which was the only thing we now deſired, ſeeing there was no hope of recovering *Maſſulipatan*, the Winds and Tides being both againſt us. Holding on our Courſe thitherwards, having made (by Judgment) about nine Leagues, we found the Land to lie away N. & N. & by W. which gave ſome hopes of a good Road.

By this point of Land there comes out a great River, the Stream of which has rais'd a conſiderable Riſe or Shoal off the ſharp of the point, extending it ſelf half a Mile into the Sea, which makes the ſmoother road about the point, for you may bring the ſaid Shoal, S. S. W. and ride in ſix Fathom and a half, ozie Ground two Mile off the Land that's neareſt you.

Cape *Comfort.*

July.

Vingeron.

About two Leagues to the North ſide from this Point (which for diſtinctions ſake we call Cape *Comfort*) iſſues out another branch of the former River, which makes the head land it ſelf an Iſland, and off the Mouth of this River lies a long ridge of Sand, which is quite dry at low Water. The next point of Land to the North ſide of Cape *Comfort* is diſtant about three Leagues and a third from it, and to the Eaſt ſide of this laſt point you have another Sandy Shoal: As for the var. about the Cape, we make it to be 12 Degr. little more or leſs. While we lay here up and down upon the Coaſt, we had ſome Communication with the Country, getting good ſtore of Proviſions aboard, as Sheep, Hens, and Goats, of which latter we had near 300. The chief Town towards the Sea in this part was *Vingeron*, which I went to ſee, leaving the Fleet for ſome Days: I went by Barge to the Town of *Coranga*, and thence up the River for *Vingeron*, at both which places I met with an Entertainment no way to be complained of. The Governour of *Vingeron* received me with all his *Indian* Muſick, liked my Viſit very well, but the Preſent I brought him much better; ſo well, that after I was gone a-Ship-board again, he would needs come and pay me Viſit, which I knew was nothing but to Fiſh for another Preſent.

August. Death of Sir *Tho. Dale.*

Here we had news of the Death of Sir *Thomas Dale*, our late worthy Admiral; he was got before us with a part of the Fleet to *Maſſulipatan*, and died at that place: and how good News ſoever this would be to the *Dutch*, whoſe inſolence he had already chaſtized in part, it was very uncomfortable to us, who had reaſon to expect ſome farther humbling of them from the Valour and Conduct of ſo able a Commander.

September.

Come to *Maſſulipatan.*

It may be worth the while to obſerve that of the River of *Naſſapore*, we found the Current to ſet S. S. E. by Day, and N. N. E. by Night; we rode then about three Leagues S. S.W. from the Bar of *Naſſapore*, and had at the ſame time near 20 Fathom Water. When we came to *Maſſulipatan*, we found that part of the Fleet there which Sir *Tho. Dale* had brought; and now that and this joining together, thought fit to call me to ſucceed him in his late Charge of the ſupreme Command of the United Fleets. Here ſeveral Merchants that were to reſide in the Country, were ſet aſhoar, and fixed in their reſpective places; the State of the Companies Affairs was alſo at large conſidered and examined, and proper meaſures agreed on for promoting them to the beſt Advantage.

December. *January.*

* We ſet ſail from hence for the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, and near that Iſland had the luck to meet with a conſiderable Addition to our Strength, which was three *Engliſh* Ships more, which there came up to us. But they inform'd us at the ſame time that our Forces in theſe parts were much leſs than we imagin'd, and that by the loſs of five Ships of ours lately taken by the *Dutch* upon this Coaſt, and two more thought to be in very great Danger, if not actually loſt, they having ſent out a ſtrong Fleet to ſurprize them. This News was ſtartling; and ſo many Ships being already become a Prey to them, the remainder

was

* The Admiral diſcourſes here of the Shoals and Sands about *Ticoo* and the other parts of the Coaſt of *Sumatra* on that ſide, b you have a material things of th kind in th General D rections fo *Eaſt India* Voyages, Mr. Davis *Vade Mecum.*

was to be more warily preſerved ; and our Strength at preſent under a declenſion not (but upon very valuable Conſiderations) to be any way farther expoſed.

February. March. Trade for Rice and Oil.

Our Dealings upon the Iſland at this time, were chiefly for Oyl, and Rice, and Coco's: We took in 12 Hogſheads of Oyl at one time, and more of the ſame Commodity at another, together with 12 or 1300 Sacks of moſt excellent Rice, 16000 Cocoes, beſides Goats and other Proviſions. This came all from *Priaman, Pedang*, and *Cattaringe*.

From *Sumatra* we held our Courſe for *Bantam*, hearing by the way that there was 15 Sail of *Dutch* beſtowed between that place and *Jacatra*. 'Twas uncertain whether they would attack us or no, but 'twas certain that as matters now ſtood, we intended not to fight, unleſs a very urgent Neceſſity compell'd us to it. But going on with theſe Reſolutions towards *Bantam*, we met with a Ship of our own juſt come from *England* (a Meſſenger of very happy Tidings) that put an end to all Cares and Proviſions about matters of that kind, by aſſuring us that a Peace was concluded betwixt us and them. And before we could get to *Bantam*, 'twas demonſtrated to us by the *Dutch* themſelves; we light of their whole Fleet coming from *Jacatra* to meet us, and give us the Joy of the new made Peace.

April, A. D. 1620.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets ſalute each other with their Ordnance.

This was a wonderful alteration in a very little time ; we uſed to meet for other purpoſes than this of Careſſing and Complementing one another. Now the Great Guns were diſcharged upon a more civil and pleaſing account than lately they were, and tho' we made as much Noiſe and Smoke on both ſides as they, yet the Salutation was far more friendly and agreeable. Thus we ſail'd together with no little Triumph into *Bantam* Road, and all the *Indians* that ſaw us perſecuting each other to the laſt extremity, were now the admiring Witneſſes of our happy Reconciliation.

The Pangran at *Bantam* enraged at the Peace.

But nothing could be a greater Mortification to the Ill-natur'd Protector, than this Union was ; his Choler was ſo ſtirr'd at it, that he could neither hear the Relation of it with any degree of Temper, nor return a Civil Anſwer to thoſe that made it : What with his Rudeneſs, and what with his Paſſion, he paſs'd it off without any farther notice, than only a raving Queſtion, Why would the *Engliſh* be Friends with the *Dutch ?* He would ſay nothing in anſwer to our deſires of making a fair and amicable concluſion of the Matters in diſpute betwixt us ; and had he ever had any juſt and generous Principles, the Heights of his preſent Tranſport would have prevented the exerting of them.

If he were capable of any true Love to his Country, or could be ſo far a Man of Honour, as a fear or jealouſie of its welfare amounted to, one would fancy he ſuſpected ſome Plot upon his Country, from the united Counſels and Intereſts of the *Dutch* and us ; that now we would fall upon *Bantam* to rights, and having no Wars between our ſelves, would employ our Forces in making new Conqueſts.

'Tis true, this might be an uneaſie Thought ; for he might be ſure in that Caſe he ſhould loſe his Protectorſhip ; and if we came to be Maſters of *Bantam*, we ſhould not ſuffer ſuch a Knave as he to ſit at the Helm, and manage the Affairs of the Country.

But as for our ſelves, tho' we had no deſign that any way tended to the publick or his own private prejudice, yet we could have wiſh'd the King of *Bantam* a better Miniſter of State, and have been glad, if he would have exerted his own Royal Authority, in laying aſide a Perſon ſo unfit for Publick Truſt as he was. But there was no Remedy at preſent, the *Pangran* continued in the ſame ſurly diſcontented Humour ; and the laſt time we ſent to treat about the Buſineſs, he denied the Meſſengers the Liberty of coming aſhore.

I was obliged once more to leave theſe Affairs in the ſame perplexed and unſettled poſture that I found them in, being now bound for *Japan :* I took this * Voyage with two Ships only, ſome others being to take a turn thither afterwards, which were now engaged another way.

As for the Obſervations relating to Sea-Affairs in this Courſe, the Mariners may take theſe few Memorials along with them.

Of all that whole Row of Iſlands that extends it ſelf Weſtward from the Bay of *Jacatra*, the moſt Weſtermoſt is *Pulo Antikero*, diſtant from *Pulo Tunda* 8 Leagues, to the N. N. E. ½ E. The Depth between the two Iſlands is from 16 to 26, and ſo falling again from 26 to 12 Fathom, Ozy Ground. *Pulo Kero* lies from *Antikero* 6 Leagues to the N. N. E. neareſt. All along from *Pulo Peniang*, to *Pulo Antikero*, the Current ſets us to the Weſtward pretty ſtrongly ; after that we had an eaſie, tho' an odd ſort of a Current too, that did run almoſt upon all Points of the Compaſs every 24 Hours.

By an Obſervation of the Sun's Meridian Altitude, we made the Ship to be in 4 Degr. 45 Min. S. L. when we had *Pulo Kero* 9 Leagues from us, bearing S. ½ W. and by another at Night upon the Croſiers, we made 4 Degr. 40 Min. S. L. when the ſame place was by eſtimation S. by W. from us 13 Leagues. The S. E. end, or point of the Iſle *Banca*, bearing N. by E. ½ E. at 2 ½ Leagues diſtance, we made the Ship in 3 Degr. 8 Min. S. L. by an Obſervation of the Sun, from whence the Latitudes of thoſe places may be determined. Between this Point of *Banca*, and the Iſle of *Borneo*, the Sea is full of Iſlands, and it appearing a deſperate Attempt to venture at a paſſage between thoſe Iſlands and the aforeſaid Point of *Banca*, becauſe of the Shoalings we had met with, we endeavour'd to paſs by the Streights of *Banca* ; but here the matter was little mended, and we found the Shoalding as dangerous, if not more than before.

Places between *Bantam* and *Patane*.

The greater Iſland of *Linga* *, we place near the Equator in 1 Degr. S. or thereabouts, and *Pulo Tingaron* in 4 Degr. 50 Min. N. L.

The Iſles *Pulo Rowdon*, are at leaſt thirteen or fourteen in number, great and ſmall ; they are high Land, and a fair Depth from one end to the other on all the Eaſtern ſide ; and as we are inform'd, there's a very good Channel between them and the Main.

Off from the Point call'd the *Gurnets-Head*, the Land runs away W. N. W. and W. by N. to the very entrance of the Road of *Patane*, and is low Land all along, and loweſt of all at the Point of the Road, and you have a fair Depth too till you come thither, but there you muſt give a good birth, becauſe of a Shoal that lies half way over to the Weſtern Shore : Therefore you muſt not borrow too near it, till you have the Shoaling of the Weſtern Shore, and there you ſhall find the ſofteſt Ground. From *Pulo Tingaron* to *Patane*, you have very high Land up in the Country, and as low all along by the Water's ſide, with a ſandy Strand, at leaſt twenty Leagues to the Southward of the Point of *Patane*, and how much farther we know not ; but this we are ſure of by Experience. At *Patane* we had excellent good Refreſhment, and were ſingularly obliged to the kindneſs of the *Dutch* at that place, in furniſhing us with part of our Neceſſaries, in order to a more quick diſpatch : We had been forc'd to wait longer, if their Courteſie had not freed us from that Inconvenience. We were obliged to buy at this place Oyl and Dammar for the trimming of our Ships (which we intended to do at *Japan*), thoſe Materials being very dear there.

Places between *Patane* and the Coaſt of *China*, &c.

As you go from *Patane* to the Head of *Cambodia*, you have a Rock that lies dangerouſly in that paſſage, and juſt ſhews it ſelf above Water : To know whereabout it is, you may obſerve that the high Land over *Gurnets-Head*, bearing S. S. W. ½ W. 13 Leagues off, and the low Point of *Patane* Road about 18, then the Rock will bear N. N. E. ½ E. a League off, and as for the Latitude of it, we make it to ſtand in about 7 Degr. 20 Min. N. Along from *Patane* Road you have (after you have made ſeven or eight Fathom) the Depth regularly increaſing by two ſtill, as far as 24 Fathom, till you are in ſight of the Rock, and about two Leagues from it 25 Fathom Ozy.

The Iſle *Pulo Hube* is thus to be known ; at firſt you ſee a riſing of the Land with one round Hill, then as you come nearer you ſee another ſhoulder of high Land riſing in Hammocks, but not above two thirds as high as the Hill, yet all one continued piece with it ; then you have a proſpect of a ſmaller round Iſland about the height of the Hammocky Land, and which lies cloſe aboard the greater Iſle. This leſſer Iſle has to the Eaſtward of it a long Rock like the Hull of a Gally.

By obſervation *Pulo Condor* lies in 8 Degr. 42 Min. N. Lat. and all along (at leaſt for the moſt part) from *Patane*, till we were in ſight of this Iſland, we had the Wind at S. S. W. and from *Pulo Condor*, till we were within kenn of the Coaſt of *Cambodia*, we had a Current ſetting E. by N.

The Latitude of Cape *Ceſſier* upon that Coaſt, may be determin'd by this Obſervation, that when at Noon we made 10 Degr. 42 Min. N. L. the Cape did at the ſame time bear W. N. W. ½ W. about ſix Leagues from us. So by a like Obſervation the Latitude of Cape *Varelle* is fix'd ; for when we made 13 Degr. 13 Min. N. L. at Noon, this Cape bore W. S. W. 8 Leagues off. The *Chineſe* call it Cape *Jentam*, which in their Language ſignifies a Chimny, becauſe it has a ſharp Hammock riſing up upon the top of a Hill, much like a Chimney upon a Houſe. The Latitude of the Iſle *Aynam* may be ſettled in like manner, by comparing theſe Obſervations of the Courſe for two

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* The Account of this Voyage is a bare Journal of the Ships Motions, Soundings, Anchorings, and the like, without any thing of uſe or curioſity, but what is briefly here put together, as is contain'd in Mr. *Davis's* Directions for the *East-India* Voyages.

* One of the Iſlands of *Linga* is placed in *Davis's* Rules, juſt under the Equator.

ſeveral Days, viz. This Day Iſle *Aynam* bears N. W. by N. twelve Leagues by the next Day at Noon, we have gone N. E. by E. 22 Leagues, and here we find our Lat. 18 Degr. ', from whence the Latitude of *Aynam* may be inferr'd.

Between this Iſland and that call'd the *Morocco Saddle*, a Current ſetting to the Northward moſtly affected us. We give the latter Iſland the Name of the *Morocco Saddle*, upon the account of a certain deep Swamp upon the top of it, which in ſome meaſure juſtifies the Compariſon: It lies in 21 Degr. 45 Min. N. L. and has various Iſlands about it, almoſt at every Point of the Compaſs.

Places towards the Coaſt of *China* and *Japan*.

The *Scorpion's Heart* lies in 22 Degr. 35 Min. N. L. little more or leſs; and that of the high Land of *Logoſſe* may be determin'd by this Obſervation, that when we made by the Sun's Altitude, 23 Degr. 6 Min. N. L. the high Land of *Logoſſe* at the ſame time bore N. W. by N. 11 Leagues diſtance. So alſo that of the Northern Point of the Iſle *Formoſa*, which bore E. S. E. ten Leagues off, when we made the Ship in 25 Degr. 40 Min. N. L. From hence to the Coaſt of *Japan*, the Current was almoſt continually E. N. E. or moſt certainly ſome Point between the N. and the E.

I ſhall offer the Sailors no more now of theſe Obſervations, but one upon the Coaſt of *Japan* it ſelf, helping to ſettle the Latitudes of the great Sound of *Langaſaque*, and of the S. E. part of the Iſle *Goto*; namely, that when the former bore E. nine Leagues, and the latter W. by N. ten Leagues, and at the ſame time we made the Ship in 32 Degr. 40 Min. N. L.

July.

We had not been long in the Port of *Firando*, before ſeveral others of our *Engliſh* Ships came in thither likewiſe. We had the ſame kind Welcome that others of our Nation had met with here before; and the King of *Crats* Iſland came aboard the *James Royal*, mightily admiring and rejoycing to ſee an *Engliſh* Ship of that ſtate and bigneſs; and asking, Whether that were one of our Frigats? By all which we ſuſpected, that ſome People at that place that bore us no Good Will, had given a very pitiful Account of our Shipping, and made them believe we were Maſters of none beyond the ſize of Frigats. Here the *Dutch* and we joyn'd together in all our Conſultations for the common Intereſt and Advantage of both, and being now as it were one People, Deputies were choſen, two of each ſide, to manage the Affairs at Court, and carry the Preſents to the Emperor. We ſeem'd alſo to be equal Sharers in the Reſpect and Favour of the King of *Firando*, who inviting both Parties to a Solemn Entertainment, made the firſt Diſh of each Courſe be preſented to the *Dutch* and us.

Union of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in *Japan*.

Auguſt.

* See the Letters from *Japan*, and Capt. *Saris's* Voyage, for an Account of theſe Tuffons.

* The horrible Tuffons, which are frequent hereabouts, did our Fleet ſome damage; one Ship was ſunk down to rights, and others endanger'd, tho' happily brought off afterwards. The Effects of theſe tempeſtuous Blaſts are oftentimes as fatal, as the coming of them is ſudden and ſurprizing; when they are violent to extremity, they bear down all before them, and 'tis in vain to attempt the delivering of a Ship, or any thing from their Fury.

December.

Our Deputies (return'd from Court) gave us an Account of the good Succeſs of their Undertaking: The Emperor was kind and favourable, and their Buſineſs came to its deſired iſſue. To ſee this, was all that we now waited for, and therefore our Ships being here careen'd, and fitted for the Sea, we ſet Sail again for *Bantam*; in which paſſage we ſhall preſent the Sailor with one Obſervation only, and that is of the Iſles of *Pulo Tayro*, between the Iſles of *Banca* and *Borneo*. This is a Cluſter of ſeven or eight Iſlands and Rocks mix'd together, the longeſt Tract of them runs N. N. W. and S. S. E. the Northermoſt of all being every way the largeſt and moſt conſiderable.

From this Northermoſt Iſland to *Pulo Pan*, the Courſe lies N. W. ½ W. nine Leagues, and all about it good Depths. The Southermoſt of the ſame Iſlands, we conclude we may place in 1 Degr. 16 Min. S. L. For when we made the Ship in that very Latitude, that Iſland then bore due E. of us.

January. Come to *Bantam*, and go away to *Jacatra*.

When we came to *Bantam*, we found a *French* Ship there, to whom the Pangran had granted Trade; and the matter had been ſo agreed between this *French-man*, the *Dutch*, and our *Engliſh*, to preſerve Peace and Quietneſs on all ſides, that they were to ſhare the Pepper in Thirds amongſt them. But our Lading being ready for us at *Jacatra*, we went thither to take it in after a very ſhort ſtay here.

Our Ships that had been employ'd about thoſe parts, while we were at *Japan*, gave a very bad Character of *Cracatow*, for a ſickly infectious place, which partly kill'd, partly ſpoil'd and diſabled the beſt part of all the Men that went thither. The *Royal James* was laden here with Pepper, Silk, and Cloves; ſome Quantities of Benjamin we had too aboard her, but the main of the Cargo was the aforeſaid Commodities.

Sail for *England*.

This Diſpatch made, we were now bound for *England*, carrying along with us a far more valuable thing than all our Lading amounted to, the Satisfaction and Advantage of a happy Peace, with an Adverſary who had been not a little troubleſome to us in thoſe Parts of the World. 'Twas in our power to let our Country know, when we came home, that the *Dutch* had been civil and friendly to us abroad.

Come home, *September*, *A. D.* 1621.

APPENDIX to CHAP. XXXIII.

Containing the Reſult of the Voyage made to Moha, *in the* Red Sea, *by the* Anne Royal, *a Ship belonging to Admiral* Pring's *Fleet, under the Command of Capt.* Andrew Shilling. *Extracted out of Mr.* Hoynes's *Journal*.

March, *A. D.* 1617.

IN the former Voyage we ſaw this Ship taking leave of the reſt of her Company, and ſailing alone towards the *Red Sea*; 'tis requiſite now that we make ſome enquiry after her, and ſee how ſhe fares in that part of the World amongſt the *Turks* and *Arabs*, who had formerly been ſo very rude to ſome of her Country. She had, it ſeems, a ſafe and conſiderably quick Voyage, between the Coaſt of *India*, and the *Arabian*, making it not more than four Weeks between *Swally* Road, and that of *Moba* upon the *Red Sea*.

April, *A. D.* 1618. Arrive at *Moba*.

The Jealouſie of a Revenge upon Sir *H. Middleton's* Account, ſtill poſſeſs'd the Turks, and they fear'd this Ship to be a Man of War.

When they were come in here, and had fix'd themſelves at an Anchor, immediately a Boat was ſent out from the Governour to demand their Country, Deſigns, and Pretenſions there; which Demands when they had ſatisfied, they gave the Town the uſual Salutation with ſome Pieces of Ordnance. The Governour took this in ſo good part, that he diſpatch'd a Perſon of better Figure to bid them Welcome in his Name, and at the ſame time a liberal Preſent of Fleſh and Fruits; but ſtill deſired more complete Satisfaction as to their Buſineſs and Intent in coming thither, as alſo to ſee ſome of them aſhore. Our *Engliſh* (as they had Reaſon for't) were no leſs jealous and tender of their Safety, than the Turks of the Quiet and Security of their Town; and therefore ſent the Governour word, That tho' they came purely upon a Deſign of Trade, yet they ſhould not expoſe themſelves aſhore, without ſufficient Pledges for their Security.

This the Governour quickly agreed to ſatisfie them in, and accordingly, with another Preſent, ſent two Perſons of good Quality to remain as Hoſtages a Shipboard, and promiſe of good Entertainment to them that came aſhore.

The Merchants go aſhore.

The two chief Merchants, with their Interpreters, landed preſently, and were receiv'd by a vaſt Crowd of People and Officers that waited for their Arrival; the former only to gaze upon them, and the latter to perform the Ceremony of bidding them Welcome. The Aga was likewiſe ready to receive them in his Palace, and appear'd in no ſmall State as to his Dreſs, Attendance, and all the Particulars of his Furniture, and, by their Relation, carried it with much good Breeding, Civility, and Heartineſs, towards them; but a Turk is a myſterious Creature, and the Aga for all his Complements is not to be pronounc'd an honeſt Man, till we have the Merchants

Experi-

* Sir *Tho. Row*, who gave thoſe Orders, and was principally the Cauſe of this third Attempt on a Trade at *Moha*.

The Aga's kind uſage of them

Experience to prove him to be ſo. In the whole Story of their Buſineſs and Deſign in coming into thoſe parts, nothing was ſo obliging to him, as their aſſuring him, they had Orders from the *Engliſh* * Embaſſador in *India*, to ſcour all thoſe Seas, and protect the Ports of the Country (and the *Indian* Ships that traded thither) from the Inſolencies of Pirates of what Nation ſoever : And that they had lately done a piece of Juſtice of this kind, upon two Ships of their own Country, which were going to plunder a rich Ship of *India* ; the truth of which the *Guzurat* Merchants would ſhortly confirm to him, who had not been able to come this Year, if they had not had the Promiſe of an *Engliſh* Guard at their return. This made the Aga ſay to his Company, The *Engliſh* were a Civil and Friendly Nation : That they ſhould live perfectly ſecure and eaſie in this Country, and enjoy all the Liberties they had at others of the Grand Seignior's Ports, and have the laſt degree of Aſſurance for all this, in his own, and the Baſſa's Firman.

But he was deſirous to know of the Merchants, Why they were ſo ſhy and fearful of him at firſt, and would not come aſhore without Pledges left in their room ? In reply to which, when they mention'd the former Violences offer'd to Sir *H. Middleton* and his Company, he told them, That Aga was indeed a very ill Man, and had been diſgrac'd according to his deſerts ; but now they ſhould be aſſur'd of another ſort of Entertainment ; for which he gave them the moſt ſolemn Oath a Turk can take, by the Beard and Whiskers of the Prophet. And farther, that none might be ignorant of the Friendly Treatment deſigned for the *Engliſh* at that place, he would have their Liberties openly proclaim'd before the whole Town ; by which Method all excuſe and pretence for any Act of Diſcourteſie or Injuſtice, ſhould be wholly taken away. Our Merchants deliver'd him the Captain's Preſent (which he took very kindly, and with many Thanks), and ſo went away from him to the Scrivano's Houſe. This Perſon was almoſt as great a Man in *Moha*, as the Aga himſelf, both upon the account of the Port and State he liv'd in, the Figure of Authority he bore there, and the main ſtroke he had in the management of all Publick Buſineſs. 'Twas neceſſary upon all theſe Accounts to ſecure his Countenance and Friendſhip in carrying on their Deſigns ; for tho' there was no danger of his open contradicting the Aga's Orders, yet a ſecret Grudge or Diſtaſte in ſuch a Perſon, might have done a miſchief ; and 'tis the beſt way, not to let any Great Man have cauſe to think himſelf neglected or deſpiſed.

The Scrivano ſides with the *Engliſh* too.

The Scrivano quickly promis'd to undertake the Protection of their Affair, and eſpous'd their Intereſt with the ſame Zeal and Heartineſs the Aga did ; which was a great Point gain'd ; for while he held their Friend, they were ſure to hold the Aga faſt, this latter being entirely guided in all his Counſels by the former. Now all was clear and open before them, and the next Buſineſs was to provide a convenient Houſe in the Town for the Reception of their Goods, and their own ſettled Abode. They were under no Apprehenſions of Fear, as to any rude Uſage or Aſſault in walking the Streets ; for beſides, that the People appear'd civil and courteous , and their ſerene Countenances expreſs'd a well-pleaſedneſs with them, they had the mighty Protection of the Aga's Oath, and the Sacred Hairs of *Mahomet* to appeal to in that caſe.

* See ſomething of it as to other Particulars in Sir *H. Mid.* Voyage.

Deſcription of the Town.

As for the * Town it ſelf, they tell us, they have ſcarce met with any comparable to it, for the cleanlineſs, neatneſs, and decent management of it. There's no ſuch thing as Dirt or Filth to be ſeen in any of the Streets ; every thing of that kind being thrown into a certain common Receptacle which is conſtantly ſcoured by the Sea, and proves no offence to the Town. Every Man's Door is ſwept and water'd Morning and Evening, the Ground lies perfectly ſmooth and level, ſo that the Streets appear rather like ſo many Bowling-Alleys, than places that are expos'd to the daily tramplings of Men and Horſes. The Houſes are all flat-roofed, built moſtly of Brick and Stone , and handſomely cover'd over with Plaiſter of Paris ; they are not generally above two Story high, but that defect is made up by good Terraces at top, where they have pleaſant Summer-Houſes built of Mats and Canes. In theſe they paſs away the Night, and the firſt Quarter of the Day ; here they have the freſh Air, and a lovely cooling Breeze from the Sea, with which when they are well fann'd, they are prepar'd to go through the ſcorching heat of the remaining part of the Day.

This ſeems to be the greateſt Burden, Foreigners (uſed to milder Climates) have to bear at this place ; 'tis ſo extravagantly hot, that 'tis hard to endure the lighteſt Cloathing ; yea, even a Shirt upon one's Back, after the cool Breathings of the Morning are over, and the Sun has recover'd any conſiderable height.

The Trade of this Town is very conſiderable, and ſo is the number of Trades-men and Merchants, that inhabit or frequent it ; the Shops are neatly built, and well contriv'd, and in every one of them you have an Epitomy of the Decency and good Order of the Town. There's a fair Market well furniſhed and ſupplied out of the Country ; and for their plenty of Proviſion, 'tis ſufficient to ſay, that *Moha* is ſeated in the *Happy Arabia*.

Their Strength at this place is not great, and they rely more upon their Soldiers, than they do upon their Ordnance, or any ſort of Fortification. There's commonly 200 quarter'd in the Town, and a Body of 500 more that lies a little upin the Country, within call, upon any occaſion.

The Aga to go away from *Moha*.

Our Merchants having thus ſeen the Town, went to take their Leaves of the Aga and Scrivano, before they went aboard again. And as it happen'd, this was a taking leave in another ſence than they intended, or thought of ; for this Aga was in a few Days to remove from that Government, and quit his place to another, who was as ſoon expected. However, he aſſur'd them, they ſhould find his Succeſſor in all things as kind and careful of their Intereſts as he was, to whoſe Favour and Good Management, he would bequeath them and their Affairs, and doubted not but they would confeſs the change was for the better.

Scrivano feaſts aboard the Ship.

This was the firſt ſtep of the Negotiation, which was happily and ſucceſsfully made ; and they being return'd the Turkiſh Pledges were diſcharg'd in honourable ſort. Theſe Perſons lik'd their Entertainment ſo well, that others were willing to come and make the Experiment, that could not pretend they were ſent for Pledges ; the Scrivano himſelf did not ſcruple to put himſelf into their hands, thinking too well of the *Engliſh* to be afraid of any Treachery from them. He brought part of the Materials for a good Feaſt along with him, but left all the Scruples of his Religion behind him ; he indulged his Genius to the height, confounded all his Prophets Diſtinctions of allow'd and forbidden things, and laid the Alcoran a ſoaking in Sack and Strong-waters.

While they rode at Anchor about this place, they tell us of a violent Storm of Thunder and Wind off from the Shore, that brought Clouds of Duſt and Sand a Shipboard upon them, tho' they were then better than a League from the Land.

The Merchants wait upon the new Aga.

The new Aga was quickly come to enter upon his Government at *Moha*, our *Engliſh* Ship paying him the Civility of her Guns at his arrival : This he took extreamly well, and ſent for the Merchants aſhore out of hand, returning the ſame Pledges that were before. Here they had all the ſame Complements over again, that his Predeceſſor had made them, the ſame ſolemn Aſſurances of Peace and Friendſhip, and quiet Trade ; and now the Honour of *Mahomet*'s Beard was pawn'd a ſecond time for the performance of the Covenants. But of how valuable a Conſideration ſoever this might be amongſt the Turks, our *Engliſh-men* thought it a very poor Security, and therefore they were ſo free as to deſire ſomething elſe beſides his Oath ; their Buſineſs muſt ſtand upon a ſurer Foundation than that, ſince they had not that Opinion of his Prophet, and his Beard, that he had himſelf, tho' they did not preſume to tell the Aga ſo much. However they inſiſted upon a Security that might give a complete Satiſfaction both to themſelves and their Country ; and this he as freely promiſed, telling them they ſhould have his own, and the Baſſa's Firman. This was all that could be deſired, and the Merchants let him know, they were fully contented.

The Turks Account of the Outrages offer'd to Sir *H. Mid.*

The Aga's good Humour bringing on a very free and familiar Diſcourſe, and amongſt other things, Sir *H. Middleton*'s Name being mention'd, they took the liberty to ask the Aga, the Reaſon of thoſe Proceedings , and what pretence the Turks had for ſo unparallel'd a piece of Treachery as was then committed. He replied to this, That the Viſier Baſſa that then govern'd the Country, was by his own cruel and bloody Nature, diſpos'd enough to ſuch Actions as thoſe, but that he had hardly perhaps gone ſo far as he did, if the Turks and *Arabs* by their Complaints of the *Engliſh*, had not added Spurs to his furious Temper, and puſh'd him on : For they reported, That our Men were guilty of all the lewd, indecorous Actions that could poſſibly be thought of, and violated the Orders and Laws of the Place (as well as thoſe of good Manners) in ſo extravagant a degree, that the People could bear with them no longer. That in their Debauches they would quarrel and fight with the Inhabitants ; force themſelves into their Houſes, and purſue their Women before their Faces ; affront their Religion (as they eſteem it), profane their Churches, by going and piſſing againſt the Walls and Gates of them. This was the Charge brought in againſt them, which if true, the *Engliſh* may bluſh while Infidels accuſe them of ſuch Crimes. One wou'd think ſuch Men were weary of their Lives, and wanted to be knock'd on the Head ; or at leaſt that they had loſt their Underſtanding together with their Modeſty.

What People are ſo jealous of their Women as the Turks ? And who are ſo tender in all thoſe Points as they ? How ſevere and ſharp a Revenge have they many times taken, for the ſmalleſt appearance of Familiarity ; for a Word, for a Glance, for a Sign, or even without any real occaſion, when their own invincible Jealouſie has prompted them to it ? And could it be imagin'd, that they wou'd be quiet and idle Spectators of ſuch Actions as theſe ? That they would endure Strangers to force themſelves into the Apartments of their Women, when they would as ſoon ſee them dead, as ſee them in any Company beſides their own ? Patience in ſuch a Caſe is not to be expected any where, except in a Country of tame, eaſie, contented Cuckolds ; much leſs is it to be expected from a Turk, that is, a Man made up of Choler, Jealouſie, and Hatred to the Chriſtian Name.

And ſo for piſſing againſt their Church-Walls, and Doors : It had been perhaps a leſs Provocation, to have ſet Fire to them in another Sence, or planted a Battery of great Guns, and beat them down to the Ground ; for this might have been the deſtruction of them, but would not have polluted or defil'd them, as the other Courſe did in the Turks Opinions. And 'tis no matter how abſurd and fooliſh thoſe Opinions are in themſelves, for if they are once firmly perſwaded in their Minds that 'tis ſo, there ought to be as much Caution us'd, as if they were ever ſo well grounded and juſtifiable ; beſides, 'tis a very great breach of Good Manners, and the Common Rights and Privileges of Mankind, to aſſault the Religion of any People, or expoſe any thing to ſcorn and contempt, that they eſteem ſacred, tho' at the ſame time their Judgments may need better Information.

Upon what Accounts 'tis likely the Turks Accuſations might be falſe.

But after all this, 'tis to be hoped, that our *Engliſh-men* might be belyed by the *Turks* and *Arabs* in great meaſure ; and that tho' ſome part of the Charge might be true, ſome of the moſt odious Particulars of it might be falſe. For (not to mention the Care and good Government of Sir *H. Middleton*) why were not theſe Crimes objected at firſt ? Why was not Sir *H. Middleton* told when he was brought in Chains before the Aga, that 'twas for the lewd Actions of his Company, that he and they were ſo ſeverely handled ? The Aga and the Baſſa had need of all the pretences in the World, to give a colour to that barbarous Action, and make it appear juſt, or at leaſt plauſible : And was it poſſible they could have a fairer and fuller Charge than this ? Or that they ſhould neglect it, and not reproach the *Engliſh* with theſe Villanies ? It looks as if the Charge was not then made, but had been patch'd up afterwards to ſerve a turn ; they were then in a hurry, and had not time for a formal Proceſs ; but after the Execution was over, they had leiſure to find out the Crimes, and draw up an Indictment accordingly. And 'tis a ſign, that there was more of the Injuſtice and Treachery of the Turks in it than they are willing to own, ſince that wicked Baſſa was quickly after ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, to anſwer thoſe Proceedings to the Emperor ; and 'tis certain, that it coſt him (at leaſt) his Place and Preferments, and that he was condemn'd to a Life of diſgrace and obſcurity. However, ſince our Merchants themſelves do not ſcruple to own, the *Engliſh* were guilty of ſome Diſorders there ; thoſe diſmal Conſequences, together with what has been alledg'd, may ſerve to deter all that go into thoſe parts, from any ſuch irregular Practices amongſt the revengeful Turks and Arabs.

This Aga the ſame that abus'd Sir *H. Mid.*

By the way, 'twas a pretty odd Circumſtance, that the Merchants ſhould be all this while diſcourſing with that very Man that had before captivated Sir *H. Middleton*, and treated their Country-men like Dogs ; that the new Aga ſhould be the old Knave that had done all that miſchief. Yet 'twas really ſo, as they found afterwards ; 'twas the ſame Man, tho' the Scrivano ſolemnly denied it, and being a ſtrange Face to them, they could not have known him, if the Aga's own honeſt Confeſſion had not aſſur'd them on't afterwards. He that was then as rough and fierce as any Beaſt of Prey, was now as mild and as gentle as a Lamb ; his ſtern Carriage was all laid aſide, and ſome Correction ('tis probable) had taught him better Manners and Deportment. He had the good Fortune to come off upon eaſier Terms than his old Maſter the Baſſa ; but that's the advantage of the little Villains, they can pretend to be employ'd and ſet a-work, and ſo ſlip their own Necks out of the Collar, while the Great Ones go to pot.

Their Agreement with the Scrivano.

But to the more important Concerns of their Trade and Buſineſs : The Agreement made with the Scrivano for Cuſtom, was Three in the Hundred for all Goods, both imported and exported, which was pretended much more favourable than what was commonly allow'd ; and then for Gold and Silver, and all Money in general, to pay none.

And now the Firmans were drawn up with all the diſpatch imaginable, and in a General Aſſembly of the Merchants of the Town, the Aga himſelf publiſh'd the Liberties granted to the *Engliſh*.

The Copies of theſe Firmans are here ſubjoyn'd as they were taken out of the Original *Arabick*.

A Faithful and perfect Firman, given by the Grace of God, to the worthy Captain of the Engliſh, Andrew Shilling, *to the Merchants, and to all ſuch as are come with him at this preſent ; and to all the Nation of the* Engliſh, *which ſhall come to this Port hereafter : For their good Uſage, and friendly Entertainment by the Grace of God, and by the Faith we have in our Holy Prophet* Mahomet ; *with the Licence of our Great Lord and King, to whom the Great God of the World give long Life : By the Fidelity, Truth, and Authority of the great Vizier of* Sinan, Mahomet Baſſa ; *whom the great God give ſtrength and Power in his Kingdom : And by the faithfulneſs, and true meaning, and command of me* Raiab Aga, *now Governour of the Town of* Mocha ; *to be given to the Great Nation of the* Engliſh, *with all faithfulneſs.*

Mahomet *Baſſa.*
Raiab *Aga.*

I The Governour Raiab Aga, *do give Liberty and Licence to the* Engliſh *Nation, to come hither to this Port, to receive Friendly Entertainment, to bring aſhoar their Goods, to buy and ſell with all freedom ; to carry ſuch Goods as they buy aboard, without lett or hinderance : And have made Contract with them, that for all Goods they land, they ſhall pay Three by the Hundred, not in ready Money, but in Goods ; and for what they carry away aboard, ſo it be Merchandice, and not Proviſion for their Ship, as Victuals, or ſuch like, that they ſhall pay ready Money at Three by the Hundred likewiſe, neither more nor leſs, but as it is contracted by our Agreement. That no Inhabitants of this Town, nor People of the Country, neither* Turk *nor* Arab, *ſhall injure them ; but they ſhall have their Liberty to their Contents. And that this my Firman and Contract is given them with a good Heart, and true meaning to ſee it performed, I witneſs the Truth before the moſt high God, and our Holy Prophet.*

Signed with my *Chop*, the Fourteenth * Day of *May*,
in the Year of our Prophet *Mahomet* 1027.

* Either the difference is from their different Computation or that the Seal was deferred to this Day.

The Baſſa of *Sinan*'s Firman.

IN the Name of GOD. *This Letter written with the Word of Truth of the moſt high* GOD : *To all Nations, Governours, and Officers, over the People under my Government :* GOD *keep you all.*

Know ye, That we have given our faithful Firman unto the Hands of Seignior Andrew Shilling, *Captain of the* Engliſh, Joſeph Salbank, *his Companion ; and to their Friend,* Edward Heynes, *Merchant ; which are come to the Port of* Mocha, *for them to go and come with their Ships to the ſaid Port, and there to buy and ſell all manner of Merchandice freely, and with all content. And we do further give them by virtue of this our Firman in the Faith of the Great* GOD, *and our holy Prophet* Mahomet ; *in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom* GOD *preſerve ; and in the Faith of Our Self, Governour of the Province and City of* Sinan ; *free Licence for to ſell and buy there, here, and in all other of our Ports, and Towns of Trade within our Government, as freely and quietly, without injury, let, or moleſtation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of* Mocha, *or any other, of what Nation ſoever. And do conſent and agree with them, to pay for Cuſtom of ſuch Goods as they bring, Three by the Hundred, and for what they buy and carry forth, Three by the Hundred likewiſe. And do promiſe and ſwear, in the true way of an Oath, to keep our Word with them in this Agreement ; and give you all hereby to know, that they ſhall pay neither more nor leſs. And further, That they ſhall receive neither injury, hurt, nor danger, nor any diſcontent given them, either to their Perſons or Goods, but they and their Nation ſhall have, as from their firſt Ship that came to this Kingdom, now this, ſo ever to the laſt Ship, that ſhall arrive hereafter, the like Friendly Entertainment, and Good Uſage, as we have commanded to be given them at this preſent. And that this is my faithful meaning, this our Firman which comes to your Hands ſhall be a Witneſs of the Truth.*

Written and Signed with my Royal *Chop*, from our
Court of *Sinan*, this Eighteenth Day of *July*, in the
Year of our Prophet *Mahomet* 1027.

The

The Copy of the Governour of *Moha*'s Firman, given to Mr. *Salbank*, for good Uſage in his way to *Sinan*, is this.

IN the Name of the Great GOD. *This Letter of Commandment in the Name of our great Lord (whom* G O D *keep) to all People, Governours of Towns and Cities. Know ye, that it is our Will and Commandment, That when the Bearer hereof,* Joſeph Salbank, *or any of his People, or any of the Nation of the* Engliſh, *come to your Places of Government, you uſe them, him, and all whomſoever, friendly, and with all Courteſies: That you make them pay for Victuals, or other Neceſſaries, no more than ordinary; but rather make Proviſion for them, and aſſiſt them. And for what Goods they ſhall carry away, or bring up into the City of* Sinan, *you ſhall take no Duties of them, as is the Cuſtom to other Men, but let them paſs free, doing them neither wrong nor injury. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Command ſhall come, which I have given into his hand, I command you all, in the Name of the* Baſſa, *(whom* G O D *bleſs) to ſee this performed with all diligence.*

Given at *Mocha*, the Twentieth of *June*, A. 1027. of our Prophet *Mahomet*.

Mr. *Salbank* went to *Sinan*, for the Baſſa's Firman.

This latter Firman, as appears by the Contents of it, was given to Mr. *Salbank*, for his Security in his Journey to *Sinan*; his Buſineſs thither, was to receive from the Baſſa's own Hand, that Firman of his which was inſerted before, and to make ſome convincing Trial of the mighty Favour and Kindneſs which the Aga pretended he had for the *Engliſh*. And it ſeems all his Entertainment, both upon the Road, and at *Sinan* too, did very well correſpond with the Aga's Pretenſions. At his entrance into any Town of note, he was always met by a Party of Soldiers that came out to be his Guard to the Governours of thoſe places, by whom he was receiv'd with all imaginable Courteſie.

His Reception at *Sinan* was ſomething more pompous, a brave Troop of Horſe being diſpatch'd to meet him about a Mile out of Town, and a Houſe very richly furniſh'd, made ready for his Entertainment. He was firſt of all careſs'd by the principal Xeriff, and the Baſſa's Treaſurer, and after two Days reſt, had Audience of the Baſſa himſelf.

Good Sale of *Engliſh* Cloth likely about *Sinan*.

According to his Report our *Engliſh* Cloth would prove a good Commodity at *Sinan*, and the adjoyning Country. One Reaſon for which is, the ſevere Cold of the Climate, which pinches the Inhabitants for eight or nine Months; the Summer is hardly a Summer hereabouts, and under the warmeſt Rays of the Sun (he ſays) a Man might very well have endured a Furr-Gown.

But beſides this, there is a large Court at *Sinan*, and no leſs than 40 or 50000 gallant Turks belonging to it; to which add the ſeveral Armies that lie up and down in the Country, either employ'd in reducing the petty *Arab* Kings, or elſe in guarding the Turkiſh Pretenſions from their Incurſions. Theſe do all wear either high-priz'd *Venetian* Cloths, or quilted Cotton Coats, and *Indian* Pintadoes for want of good Cloth; and no doubt but our *Engliſh* ones would anſwer all the purpoſes of the *Venetian* and the *Indian*, and be very agreeable to thoſe Soldiers in their Marches through the Weather, and cold Nights Lodgings in the open Field.

In that time that this *Engliſh* Ship lay at *Moha*, the Grand Seignior, Sultan *Achmet* died, ſeveral Ceremonies being perform'd upon that occaſion in the Grand Moſque of that place: But the new Sultan was pleas'd to confirm both the Baſſa and Aga in their reſpective Places and Offices for ſeven Years longer; ſo that the *Engliſh* Trade in thoſe parts, as it had its beginning, was alſo to have its growth and progreſs under the Influences of their Government.

Upon the whole, the Turks continued fair, juſt, and civil to the laſt; they made good to a Punctilio whatever they pretended to, and did in ſome meaſure attone for former Abuſes, by the Honeſty and Obligingneſs of their preſent Deportment; tho' at the ſame time 'tis poſſible fear might have ſome ſtroke in the matter too; for the *Engliſh* were able to command and force their own Trade, and ſpoil the Turks when they pleas'd: And 'twas matter of fact, that ſome Ships had paſs'd by *Moha*, and went to *Gudda*, the Port of *Mecca*, for fear of falling into the hands of ſo much dreaded an Adverſary, and the *Mallabars* would not come in neither, but ſtay'd at *Aden*, till the *Engliſh* had given them their Paſs for Security, and good Uſage.

But the Effects were very agreeable, let the Cauſe be what it will; and if the Turks can't be juſt and true out of Conſcience, and love to Vertue, let them be ſo out of fear of power and puniſhment. They loſe the Honour of acting from a Noble Principle; but other People need not loſe the Profits of a Commerce with them upon that account.

Our Ship having done this conſiderable Service for her Country in the *Red Sea*, ſail'd away from *Moha* for the Coaſt of *India* again.

CHAP. XXXIV.

An Account of all the Proceedings between the Engliſh *and the* Dutch, *with reference to the* Banda *Affairs: Together with the ſeveral Grounds of the Pretenſions of both Parties, and the Controverſies happening thereupon. Taken out of the Journals and Letters written upon that Subject, by Mr.* Spurway, *Mr.* Courthop, *Mr.* Hayes, *and ſome others.*

AT the very beginning of this Account, we find the Relaters got out into the Eaſt-Indies; *We have no Information of the Adventures of the firſt part of the Voyage thither, but only the Events that happen'd there, without any manner of introductory Circumſtances. As we therefore find them at this diſtance, we muſt begin where they do, and take the Story in that form and length that they deliver it to us in.*

December, A.D. 1616. Go to *Macaſſar*.

HAving diſpatch'd all Affairs at *Bantam*, we remov'd from thence to *Macaſſar* (with our two Ships the *Swan* and the *Defence*) where we expected to take in 100 Quoynes of Rice. The King of this place was, and had been a long time a moſt inveterate Enemy to the *Dutch*; he would not allow any one of them ſo much as to land upon his Country, and thoſe that fell into his hands at any time were ſure never to get out again. The reaſon of this Hatred was the ſeveral Wrongs which the People of the Iſland had receiv'd from them; they had ſeiz'd and captivated ſome of the Natives, and amongſt the reſt the King of *Macaſſar*'s Sabandar, a Man of great Note and Figure in the Country; for which Affronts he vowed a ſevere Revenge, whenever he had an opportunity to take it. And ſeveral others of the petty Kings of the *Celebes* joyn'd with him in this Deſign, as having been Fellow-Sufferers and Partners with him in the Injury; they all threatned the *Dutch*, and it was their wiſeſt Courſe to keep out of the way. But notwithſtanding this, they muſt venture and try their Fortune at *Macaſſar*, and that in an abrupt intruding way too; when their Circumſtances required a great deal of application and fair means to be us'd to introduce them with any ſafety amongſt that People again.

Kings of the Iſland Enemies to the Dutch.

A

December.

A large Ship of theirs comes to an Anchor, and ſends her Skiff well mann'd aſhore, the Company of which came directly up to our Houſe. The *Macaſſars* were preſently gather'd about them, and would have hack'd them without any farther Ceremony, had not we calm'd the Fury of that Mobb for a little time, and got the Men ſecur'd under an *Engliſh* Guard, till we went to give Notice to the King. This we did, that he might not be jealous of us, and ſuſpect any treacherous concern of ours with the *Hollanders* in this Attempt.

The *Engliſh* ſave the Lives of the *Dutch*.

The King of *Macaſſar*, and ſome of his Confederates, came down immediately with 2000 Men; and here the *Dutch* had infallibly been executed after the moſt rigorous manner, if we had not ſtood their Friends, and interceeded for their deliverance. The King, at our intreaty, gave them their Lives and Liberty to return to their Ship; but 'twas partly becauſe he deſpis'd ſo poor and trifling a Revenge, and intended to diſcharge a heavier Blow (when he did ſtrike the *Dutch*, than that came to.

But this warning, it ſeems, was not ſufficient to perſwade them to keep out of danger; for the next Day they were at the ſame work again, coming on with their Boat to the Shore, tho' they ſaw an Army of enraged Enemies ready to oppoſe them. The King having now loſt all his Patience, to ſee himſelf thus affronted again, ſent out ſome of his *Macaſſars* in their Praws to intercept them, who did their Buſineſs effectually, got between them and their Ship, boarded them, and cut off every Man of them.

We were at this time commanded to keep cloſe within Doors; by which we plainly found, that there was ſome Jealouſie of a Correſpondence between us and the *Dutch* in this Deſign. And what they ſhould make this unaccountable Attempt for, unleſs to render us ſuſpected amongſt the *Macaſſars*, and ſo overthrow our Intereſt there, is not eaſie to imagine.

We ſet ſail from hence for *Poolaroon*, and had part of the way the Company of this *Dutch* Ship; we were forc'd to relieve them at Sea with our Proviſions, as well as we had done at Land with our Intereſt; and for the reward of all, they reported of us, that we were the cauſe of their Mens being kill'd at *Macaſſar*.

Come to *Poolaroon*.

* See Capt. *Elkington's* Relation, in Capt. *Downton's* laſt Voyage, *Lib.* 4.

Our great Buſineſs at *Poolaroon*, was, to treat with the Inhabitants, about the ſurrender of that, and the other Iſlands, into the hands of His Majeſty of *England*. * This was what the *Bandaneſe* themſelves had voluntarily offer'd; they were never put upon't by the *Engliſh*, but 'twas entirely their own motion: But ſince they had long courted us to it, we came now to make a formal Acceptance of their Offer, if we found them ſtill in the ſame mind.

All the Orankayes of the Iſlands being met together to conſult upon this Affair; that we might proceed the more ſafely and regularly, we firſt of all demanded, Whether ever they had made any Contract with the *Dutch*, or given them any Ground for Pretenſions to thoſe Iſlands? To this they replied, That there never had been any ſuch thing; that the *Dutch* were their mortal Enemies, never had been, nor never ſhould be their choſen Maſters.

Banda Iſles deliver'd up to the *Engliſh*.

We then put the Queſtion, Whether they did unanimouſly, willingly, and without all deceit, and ſecret reſerves, ſurrender thoſe Iſlands to the uſe of the King's Majeſty of *England*, would ſtand by the Reſignation, and maintain what they had done? To this they anſwer'd in the affirmative, with one Conſent, declaring they deſir'd nothing more, than to be reckon'd a part of the *Engliſh* Empire.

So the Buſineſs was concluded, the Writings drawn, and ſolemnly deliver'd into our hands; and in Token of their Subjection, a Turf of Earth, and a Nutmeg-Tree preſented at the ſame time; which Ceremony alſo was to be yearly renew'd.

We on our parts were obliged to furniſh them with Rice, Cloth, and other Commodities, to aſſiſt them with our Shipping upon occaſion, and treat all their Enemies as our own.

The Copies of the ſeveral Surrenders are here ſubjoyn'd, as they were tranſlated out of the Original *Malayan* into *Engliſh*, by ſome of our own Country-men.

The Contents of the Surrender of the Iſlands of *Pooloway*, and *Poolaroon*, in *Banda*, to His Majeſty.

This was tranſlated by *Robert Hayes*, the Second ſent out of the *Indies* ſo tranſlated, the third by *Robert Hayes*.

THis Writing is for the Agreement between all the Orankayes of Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon *alſo, and the* Engliſh, *in manner as followeth: That whereas in the time that* Pooloway *was not yet ſurprized by the* Hollanders, *the People of* Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon, *had ſurrendred the two foreſaid Iſlands unto the King of* England, *and had given ground to* Richard Hunt, *Merchant there, with all ſetting up the King of* England *his Flag upon the Caſtle of* Pooloway, *and ſhooting off three Pieces of Ordnance in Token of the Covenant of the Men of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *between the* Engliſh *and them, when they did ſurrender the two foreſaid Iſlands to the King of* England, *and had given ground to the* Engliſh, *being done before the ſurprize of* Pooloway, *eight Days: And after that, it was taken by the* Hollanders. *And whereas at that time, there were but two* Engliſh-men *upon* Pooloway, *of weak defence, who being not able to do the Country any good, went away to* Poolaroon, *together with the Men of* Pooloway, *in one ſmall Praw, who had brought away with them Earth and Writings for the eſtabliſhing of Covenants betwixt them and the Men of* Poolaroon: *Therefore now the two foreſaid Iſlands are in the hands of the King of* England *only, according to our ſurrender. But whereas at this time through the Aſſaults of the* Hollanders, Pooloway *is fallen into their hands and poſſeſſion, if it ſhall pleaſe His Majeſty to recover it unto himſelf again, he ſhall do therein nought but Juſtice, becauſe the Inhabitants thereof have abſolutely ſurrendred it unto him: And if his Majeſty's pleaſure be to the contrary, let it be as ſhall ſeem beſt in his Highneſs Judgment. But this is ſure, that we the Men of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *have ſurrendred the two foreſaid Iſlands unto His Majeſty's Power, and cannot go from, or revolt our Word again even to the laſt day, and having linked our ſelves with the* Engliſh *in one Bond to live and die together. Furthermore, all the Men of* Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon, *do covenant, to ſend every Year to the King of* England, *a Branch of Nutmegs, in Token of their Deſigns, deſiring that this Offer of all the Orankayes of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *being once offered out of their true Love unto the King of* England, *be not had in oblivion or rejected.*

And whereas King James, *by the Grace of God is King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *is alſo now by the Mercy of God King of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon. *Moreover, we do all of us make an Agreement, that the Commodities in the two foreſaid Iſlands, namely, Mace and Nutmegs, we cannot, nor will ſell to any other Nation, but only to the King of* England *his Subjects, according to the true meaning of our Covenants, and ſurrendring of the two aforeſaid Iſlands to His Majeſty, with all that is (in) them to be ſolely at his diſpoſing, which is and ſhall be the Reaſon that we cannot trade with any others. And whereas all the Orankayas of the two foreſaid Iſlands have made this Agreement, let it be credited that it was not made in madneſs, or looſely, as the breathing of the Wind, but becauſe it was concluded upon in their Hearts, they cannot revolt or ſwerve from the ſame again. Moreover, all we together do deſire of His Majeſty, that ſuch things as are not fitting in our Religion, as unreverent Uſage of Women, maintaining of Swine in our Country, forceable taking away of Mens Goods, miſuſing of our Men, or any ſuch-like that are excepted againſt in our Laws, that they be not put in practice, being out of our Uſe and Cuſtom, that they may not prove a Blemiſh unto our Religion, and that we may receive no occaſion to deal unkindly with the* Engliſh. *Furthermore, if any* Engliſh-man *will become of our Religion, we will accept of him upon Counſel: Or if any of our People will become a Chriſtian, he ſhall be ſo likewiſe upon like Counſel, deſiring this Promiſe that ſuch things be not done in ſuch manner as may breed diſcontent betwixt us and the* Engliſh, *which we do very earneſtly deſire of His Majeſty. Finally, at this time all the Orankayes of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *do again make a Covenant with* Nathaniel Courthop, *Captain of the two Ships riding here,* Sophon Cozocke, *and* Thomas Spurway, *giving Ground, and ſurrendring the two foreſaid Iſlands unto the King of* England, *being already partly in the hands of* Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke, *and* Thomas Spurway, *and that not only now, but as being done long ſince, when Captain* Caſtleton *went from* Pooloway *with four Ships, all the Orankayes of the two foreſaid Iſlands, having agreed with* Richard Hunt, *Merchant of* Pooloway, *withal, having ſet the King of* England *his Flag upon the Caſtle of* Pooloway, *and ſhot off two Pieces of Ordnance, in Token of the Covenant between the Orankayes of* Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon, *and the* Engliſh: *And as it hath been done heretofore, ſo at this time we do renew it with* Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke, *and* Thomas Spurway.

Emmon Pooloway.
Sahandar Pooloway.
Sabandar Wrat.
Sabandar Poolaroon.
Sabandar Lamecoe.
Nahoda Coa.
Hattib Ittam.
Hattib Pootee.
Sabandar Treat.
Emmon Lancecoe.
Sabandar Locon.

The Surrender of *Roſinging* and *Wayre* to his Majeſty.

THis Writing is for the Agreement between all the Orankayes *of the Country of* Wayre, *and of the Iſland of* Roſinging, *and the* Engliſh *Nation in manner as followeth,* viz. *That whereas, in the time that the Country of* Banda *was in trouble, by reaſon of their Enemies, ſo that they were no longer able to withſtand them, they therefore agreed with* Nathaniel Courthop, Sophonie Cozock, *and* Thomas Spurway; *thus much in effect, that is, that they do ſurrender the Country of* Wayre, *and the Iſland of* Roſinging, *unto the King of* England, *in reſpect that they are not able any more to ſtand for themſelves againſt their Enemies; that now the ſaid Country of* Wayre, *and the Iſland of* Roſinging *is only in the Power of the King of* England. *And whereas the Agreement is once made, we the aforeſaid* Orankayes *cannot in our Conſciences diſſolve it again, but that it ſhall laſt for ever, until the laſt Day of doom: And that the* Engliſh *ſhall be as the Men of the Country of* Wayre *in all Privileges. Furthermore, the Men of the aforeſaid Country of* Wayre, *and the Iſland of* Roſinging, *do promiſe and agree to ſend unto the King of* England *one branch of Nutmegs, as a Token of their foreſaid Agreement of all us the aforeſaid* Orankayes; *on condition that the ſaid Token of our Agreement be not out of memory nor diſſolved, nor we diſ-eſteemed. And we do wiſh that Almighty God would vouchſafe to give Proſperity to the King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *and now by the Grace and Mercy of God, the King of the Country of* Wayre, *and the Iſland of* Roſinging, *and that more, we will ſtoop to no other King or Potentate, but only unto His Majeſty; and after Him to all His Poſterity. Furthermore as concerning our Trade, we do all truly agree, not to ſell any of the Nuts or Mace, which the aforeſaid Countries do afford to any other but only to the King of* England, *his Subjects, becauſe we have wholly unto him ſurrendered the aforeſaid two Countries of* Wayre *and* Roſinging, *with all that therein is, or whatſoever it doth, or ſhall yield, it is the King of* England's *own; and this ſhall ſtand for a Reaſon that we cannot trade with any other Nation. Moreover, we intreat the King's Majeſty of* England *in earneſt manner, that ſuch things as are not befitting to our Religion, as unmannerly uſage of our Women, maintaining of Swine in our Country, beating and abuſing of our Men, or taking away of them perforce againſt their Wills, as if they were their own Slaves, or any other ſuch like Attempts, that are held unbeſeeming in our Laws (we ſay) that we do entreat his Highneſs that none of theſe or ſuch like be put in practiſe by his Subjects, becauſe they are things diſallowable in our Laws, and ſo being committed, will redound to the overthrow thereof; and we thereby might be forced to deal unkindly with the* Engliſh *therefore. Moreover, if any of the* Engliſh *hereafter ſhall have an Affection to be Circumciſed, and become as one of us, it ſhall be done upon ſufficient Counſel between the reſt of the* Engliſh *and Us, or if any of us will become a Chriſtian in that Cauſe, the like Counſel ſhall be held, and this ſhall not be done for any Miſdemeanour of the party willing ſo to turn; becauſe that may breed a Diſſenſion between the* Engliſh *and us. And whereas this Agreement was made in the Preſence, and by the Conſent of the King and* Sabandar *of* Wayre, *the* Sabandar *of* Roſinging, Emmon Hattib, *and all the reſt of the* Orankayes, *of the Countries of* Wayre, *and the Iſlands of* Roſinging: *This ſhall be for a Teſtimony that it is not done in madneſs, or in the manner of the breathing of Wind; but that it was alſo as well Thought in our Hearts, as ſpoken with our Mouths, and therefore we cannot, nor will go from it again, but that it ſhall ſo ſtand until the diſſolution of the World; Neither ſhall there any Doubts riſe in our Hearts of any other, but that we the Men of* Wayre *and* Roſinging, *are only the King's Majeſties of* England's *Subjects; and if any trouble hereafter do happen in the foreſaid Countries, we will be contented as well to die, as to live together with the* Engliſh, *becauſe we will be ſubject to one King, and this ſhall ſtand for a Reaſon, that any being in league with us, ſhall alſo be in league with the* Engliſh, & percontra, *he that is near the* Engliſh, *ſhall be near Us, becauſe we will by no means again divorce our ſelves one from the other. Finally, at the time this Agreement was made, all the* Orankayes *of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroone *were Witneſſes thereunto; all the* Orankayes *of* Pooloway *and* Roſinging *have unto the aforeſaid Premiſſes ſet their Hands.*

The King of *Wayre*.
The *Sabandar* of *Wayre*.
Emmon of *Wayre*.
The *Sabandar* of *Roſinging*.
Emmon of *Roſinging*.
Hattib of *Roſinging*.

The *Bandaneſe* and we now looked on each other as intimate Friends and fellow Subjects; our Religion and Cuſtoms did not agree together, but we had our Reſerves on both ſides in all theſe Reſpects, and could enjoy thoſe Liberties apart from each other, which we could not ſhare in common betwixt us.

Proviſion was made that we might be firmly united in our Civil Concerns, tho' our other Intereſts were not to be mixed together. This Buſineſs was farther ſolemnized with the Diſcharge of our Great Guns, and the ſetting up the *Engliſh* Colours in the Iſlands, and now they were made *Engliſh* as much as 'twas poſſible for them to be, without an Encroachment upon their Privileges. But we were like very ſpeedily to be put upon the Defence of our new Territories; the *Dutch* would not give their Conſent to this Bargain, and pretended to diſpute both the point of Title and Poſſeſſion too.

The *Dutch* prepare to diſturb them.

The firſt touch was only a Bravado in coming up to *Poolaroon*, and hanging out a bloody Streamer, telling us thereby what we muſt expect from them, and that bloody doings would follow upon our Settlement there. However having given us this warning we fell to fortifying the Iſland as well as we could, raiſing two Forts, which we called by the Names of our Ships then there, the *Swan* and the *Defence*. The *Swan* Fort ſtands advantageouſly, commands the Road at pleaſure to the Eaſtern ſide, where all the beſt riding is for the Weſterly Monſon. Shortly after this they came with three mighty Ships into the Road, and lay at an Anchor cloſe by ours; this obliged us to diſpatch a Meſſenger to them to know their Pretentions, and to offer them a little friendly Advice. 'Tis to be confeſs'd that our Commiſſion ordered us to ſend the *Dutch* word immediately upon the Surrender, that they might not pretend ignorance of our Right, and come there to moleſt us as they had formerly done; and this Letter lay by us ready written, but we knew not how to convey it, for neither the *Engliſh* nor *Bandaneſe* cared to go near them, for fear of being made Priſoners. But 'twas well enough as 'twas; and now they were come themſelves for't, we could eaſily put it into their Hands. The Letter was delivered to their Chief Commander, and the Copy of the Surrender ſhewn, and at the ſame time they were demanded whether ever the Iſland of *Poolaroon* was reſigned to them. They could not ſay that any ſuch Delivery was ever made nor deny the Evidence and Truth of this Surrender now made to us. We farther adviſed them to reſtore us the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Pooloway*, which was as much his Majeſties of *England*'s Right as any of the other Iſlands of *Banda*, now under his Command, and not leave the matter to be determined by a bloody War, according to the intent of their Colours. And laſtly, we told them their time was limited to ſix Glaſſes, and they muſt be gone out of the Road when they were run, or elſe the *Bandaneſe* would fire upon them; and indeed they would have done it at the very firſt ſight of the Ships if we had not made them forbear. They would fain have protracted the time, and ſtaid till next Day, but when that was denied, deſired till mid-night, but the Guns were ready mounted upon the Shoar, and the impatient *Bandaneſe* would not permit them to lie at Anchor long; they love them much at the ſame rate that the People of *Macaſſar* do, and were it in their Power, they would do them the ſame kindneſſes.

The *Engliſh* fortify. *January*.

Conference between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*.

We were ſince informed that they came with a deſign to betray us, or beat us out of the Road, and they had made the Attempt, but they ſaw our Strength aſhoar, the Forts well provided, and the Gunners ready to give fire upon the leaſt ſign from the Ships. It had been well for us if in this difficult Circumſtance we had taken a more nice care to preſerve our ſelves from Danger and Inconveniencies; but the raſhneſs and wilfulneſs of ſome amongſt us, was a very great prejudice to us, and tended mightily to the laying of us open to the Power of the *Dutch*.

The *Swan* loſt.

One of our Maſters wanting Water, would needs go over to *Wayre* upon *Lantore* ſide, there to ſupply himſelf; this was not only contrary to the Opinion of the reſt, but to the Minds of the *Bandaneſe* too, who fearing ſome Injury from the *Dutch*, offer'd rather to fetch the Water in their own Praws. But good Councel and kind Offers ſignified nothing; ſo they went and watered, and coming back again were taken by the *Dutch*; our *Swan* had not above 20 able Men in her, and the *Dutch* Ship at leaſt 160, freſh, ſtout Souldiers, juſt drawn out of the Caſtles of *Nero* and *Pooloway*. They carried her preſently away to *Nero*, with a vaſt deal of Inſolence, Triumph, and Boaſting; and had they ſunk a whole Fleet of *Engliſh*, they could not fairly have made more noiſe. They ſhewed the tattered Ship to the *Bandaneſe* as a Tro-

February. *Egregiam vero laudem ac Spolia ampla refertis!*

phee of their Victory, and bid them ſee by this how much mightier by Sea, their King of *Holland* was, than him of *England*. A very good Concluſion, and well drawn from the Premiſſes, becauſe 160 *Dutch* had beat 30 *Engliſh*, half of which were Cripples. St. *George* of *England* too might be a very good Champion for all this, and not turned a Child or a Coward (as the *Dutch* ſaid he was) tho' his Banners were not victorious at this time.

Upon the News of this Loſs, we preſently ſent over to *Nero* to demand the Reaſon of their taking the Ship, and detaining Men and Goods; but could get no other Anſwer from them, but that time ſhould bring it to light; yet to add to the Civility, they concluded with a threatning, to come and drive us from *Poolarcon* in a very little time. Many ſuch comfortable Meſſages as theſe they ſent us; and were continually letting off their Cannon at *Nero* and *Pooloway*, to ſtrike a terrour into us; but ſtill they did nothing, and we hoped for the benefit of the old Proverb, That threatned People live long. Yet ſince they were ſo free as to tell us their minds in this plain and open manner, and we had no reaſon but to take their Words, and conclude they ſpoke truth in the caſe; we ſet our ſelves to make all things as ready for their Entertainment as might be, whenever they ſhould think fit to make a Viſit at *Poolarocn*. There was a little Iſland lying cloſe by, that was of very great concern to well be ſecured and fortified by us. It was wholly deſtitute of Inhabitants, and no way fit to be made a dwelling place of, being all over-run with Trees and Buſhes; but 'twas of conſiderable uſe in time of War, and a Fort erected there would command the whole Road.

March. The *Engliſh* Fortify upon the little Iſland hard by *Poolaroon*, which is called *Ney-ſacky*.

The *Dutch* were ſenſible of this Advantage, and were dabling thereabouts in order to get the Iſland into their own hands; which had they done, we had as good have quitted *Poolaroon* to them too, for our Ships going in or out, muſt ſtill have been under the command of their Ordnance. With two or three good ſhot therefore we obliged them to deſiſt from that Attempt, and make way for us to come thither our ſelves; and we fortified the place ſo far, that we believed we ſhould be capable of giving them ſome Diſturbance if they pretended to make an Attack upon *Poolaroon*. But what good will all the Care and Prudent Foreſight in the World do, where Treachery is at work to undermine and render all ineffectual.

This was our Misfortune; our own Men prov'd Knaves and Villains to us, and did what in them lay to overwhelm us with an inevitable ruine.

We had loſt one Ship before, by the raſh and headſtrong management of her Maſter, and now we loſt the ſecond by a treacherous Combination of the Mariners.

The *Defence* loſt too.

Theſe Villains laid their Heads together, and either cut the Cables, or let the Ship drive; but however 'twas, they went away to *Nero*, and got under the Protection of the Caſtle. Some of them preſently landed, and went boaſting to the *Dutch* of the worthy Exploit they had done, and were e'en ready to go together by the Ears, about the Principal Share in the Honour of it; they could not agree who was the greateſt Rogue of the Company, and had been forwardeſt to betray the Intereſt of his Country.

Beſides, they were ſo impudent as to carry a Kan of Wine aſhoar to drink the *Hollanders* Health, and 'tis probable Confuſion to us at *Poolaroon* at the ſame time.

Their falſe Sea-men diſcover them.

The *Dutch* examined them ſtrictly, and there was no need of a Rack to make them confeſs the Secrets of our Affairs; they pour'd out all they knew without the leaſt regret, and laid us open as far as 'twas poſſible we ſhould be diſcover'd. This heightned the Pride and Inſolence of the *Dutch*, and made them ten times more noiſy than before; they threatned us bitterly, even when they ſaw our Strength, but their Inſults were intolerable now they knew our weakneſs, and in what part they could moſt ſenſibly injure us. But this was like to produce a worſe Effect in making the *Bandaneſe* grow jealous of us; this Action to them ſmelt of Treachery and Deſign, and they believed we were all in a Plot to bring their Mortal Enemies the *Dutch* in upon them.

Bandaneſe jealous of them.

'Twas a wonder they had not broke out into a General Mutinie, and while the Ferment of the Suſpicion work'd and inflamed them, given it vent by ſome ſudden and deſperate Riſing upon us. The fiery, revengeful Temper of the *Indians* ſeldom allows ſober Arguing, Deliberating, and Examining Matters in ſuch Caſes as theſe, where their Liberties are threatned. They are generally for making as quick Work as poſſible in their own Defence; let who's will ſtand to debate the point *pro* and *con*, if they ſee a Proceeding that has an ill Aſpect towards them; they'll put a ſtop to it as ſoon as may be, by involving all that have a hand in it in a certain Deſtruction.

We have reaſon to ſet this down amongſt the other Favours of Providence to us, and think it not a little happy to have eſcaped ſo diſmal a tumult as this might have rais'd. We made a ſhift to quiet the diſturbed Minds of the *Bandaneſe*, and convinced them that what they thought to be our Treachery, was meer misfortune, and a Loſs we bitterly reſented. Matters ſtanding thus between the *Dutch* and us, there were ſome Attempts and Motions made on both ſides towards the bringing them into a better poſture. And after ſeveral to no purpoſe, the method taken at laſt was, that we upon the receiving valuable Pledges from them, ſent over a Commiſſioner in a Gally of theirs to *Nero*, to diſcourſe the point there with their General. This appear'd the moſt probable way of ending the Difference if ever it would be ended, which yet we ſaw little hopes of by the Succeſs of this Conference. For the *Dutch* carried it extreamly ſtiff and high, and were no way diſpos'd to come to a friendly Concluſion; but upon ſuch terms as we eſteem'd baſe and diſhonourable, and muſt have abus'd our Truſt to have ſubmitted to. Our Ship, and Goods, and Men could not be reſtored but upon the Surrender of *Poolaroon* into their hands; that is in order to the recovering a ſmaller Right we muſt yield to do an unpardonable Wrong; we muſt be Traytors to our King and Country, violate ſolemn Leagues and Engagements, ſacrifice the Lives and Liberties of the *Bandaneſe*, and leave all at their Mercy, or elſe we muſt have no Peace nor Juſtice done us. A very fine Propoſal; 'twas hardly conſiſtent with Modeſty to make it, but it would have been much leſs conſiſtent with Honeſty to Embrace it. Should not we have been truſty, loyal Subjects thus to give away the Juſt Rights of our Prince? What thanks ſhould we have deſerved from the *Engliſh* Nation, and thoſe that had repos'd a Confidence in us, by betraying a Noble Trade, with all the Advantages of it, into the Hands of ſuch as were every where encroaching upon them? And could the *Bandaneſe* ever have forgiven us for deſerting them at this rate, when they had ſo entirely reſigned us the Command of their Country, and caſt themſelves upon the *Engliſh* Protection? What could be Ingratitude if this were grateful or baſe, and ungenerous if this Action could paſs? But then 'twas not to be imagined that any People would ever receive us after this infamous Surrender; and if we courted a Settlement any where, we might expect the *Indians* to reproach us with the Buſineſs of *Banda*, and tell us, We would ſtay with them, but till the *Dutch* came to frighten us away. Certainly they muſt think we were prodigiouſly fond of their Favour, or in ſome ſtrange need of it to bid thus high for't; to barter away Conſcience, Reputation, Loyalty and Gratitude all at once, only for that, without any other Conſideration or Advantage. But at the ſame time they laid ſome things to the Charge of the *Engliſh* that were as untrue as this Propoſal was unreaſonable. For Inſtance, that we had ſometimes worn their Colours in our Ships, and particularly that Sir *Henry Middleton* did ſo in the *Red-Sea*. But our Commiſſioner was very able to anſwer and refute this Charge, being all that time aboard that very Ship which they pretended to have thus abuſed them, and affirming that to his certain Knowledge no ſuch thing was done. Beſides, which is the leaſt Abuſe of the two, for *Engliſh* Men to wear the *Dutch* Colours, or for *Dutch* Men to wear the *Engliſh* Name, and go abroad in the World under that Notion? The Colours are eaſily taken down again, but the Name is not ſo eaſily forgotten, eſpecially if any ill thing be done to faſten the Remembrance of it.

April. *A. D.* 1617. Conference with the *Dutch* at *Nero*.

Their Accuſations and unjuſt Demands.

False Pretence of the King of *England's* Letters.

In the laſt place to juſtifie their Proceedings hitherto, they did not ſtick to aſſert that they had the King of *England*'s Letters that empower'd them to ſieze any *Engliſh* Ships they found to the Eaſt ſide of *Celebes*. And if this were ſo, their Action was juſt, and the Quarrel at an end; but they could not fairly expect that we ſhould take their words for it, giving us no Demonſtration of the Truth on't, by the ſight of the Letters. We could do no leſs than offer upon the Peruſal of thoſe Letters to ſit ſtill for the future, and make no farther Demands of Satisfaction from them; and they in juſtice could do no leſs than produce them too, that the Point in Diſpute might have received its full and final Determination thereby. But this they abſolutely refuſed to do, and we as abſolutely concluded 'twas becauſe they could not; for there were ſo many Reaſons of Advantage on their ſide for the doing of it, that 'tis a clear Caſe, and needs no farther degree of Evidence.

Now is not this putting out falſe Colours in a worſe Senſe than that they accuſed us of? What, pretend a Prince's Hand for an Excuſe to abuſe and cheat his Subjects? Make him an Enemy to his own Trading People abroad, and boaſt of his Authority to plunder them? This is a fine Compliment to a Prince, and deſerves to be in another way animadverted upon. We believe the *Dutch* Nation it ſelf would be far from allowing their People abroad in Inſolencies of this nature, and are totally ignorant of a world of their unjuſt and rude Dealings with us and the Natives of the Countries where they trade.

Well, here now was the reſult of the Conference; the Matter reſted juſt where it did at firſt; the *Dutch* and we were upon the ſame terms, and we had as good have let this Ceremony alone. The Truth on't is, as far as appears, they ſeem to ſit ſecure and eaſie enough in their own Minds let it go how 'twill; and if the Breach be not made up here, they make no doubt (as they pretend) of avoiding all the ill Conſequences of it by their powerful Intereſt in *England*.

Dutch pretend Friends in England.

They tell us they can make as good Friends at Court as the *Eaſt-India* Company, and with a Golden Engine will overturn all the ſtrongeſt Preparations that are made againſt them. They put a World of Confidence in the Power of their Rials of Eight; and queſtion not finding Men amongſt us, that can be baſe and ſordid enough to take their Fees, and be retained againſt the Cauſe and Intereſt of their own Country. This Noiſe muſt be made undoubtedly to damp and diſcourage our Reſolution of ſeeking the Redreſs of all theſe Grievances at home; but as this is too childiſh a Contrivance for them ever to think to ſtop our Mouths by; ſo we hope to find their other Pretences as vain and deceitful, and all *Engliſh* Men for ever invincible by their Money as well as by their Force.

In this poſture of Affairs we concluded a party of us ſhould go for *Bantam*, as well to adviſe about our future Proceedings, as to give an Account to our Preſident there of what was paſt, and to carry the Surrenders of the *Banda* Iſlands. Beſides our own Company, ſome of the Principal *Bandaneſe* went too, to perform the Ceremony of delivering the Earth, and Fruits of the ſaid Iſlands, in token of Subjection.

Like to be taken by the Dutch in going to Bantam.

We had a very hard matter to eſcape the *Dutch* in this Voyage, a great Ship of theirs purſued us eagerly, and had certainly fetched us up, had not we rowed extreamly hard, and took ſhelter at *Botun*. The King of that place ſtood our Friend in this Diſtreſs, provided ſecure Lodgings for our ſelves, and a private Stowage for our Goods, and laid us up as cloſe as we could deſire. We were hardly gotten into our Shelters, but the *Dutch* landed, and came to the King to enquire after us, and the more effectually to diſpoſe him to what they ſhould farther demand, made him a Preſent three times the value of what we had given juſt before. 'Tis to be noted that the *Dutch* were not certain what we were, for tho' they had given us a Leaſe for ſome time, yet they were never near enough to make a Diſcovery; beſides we had only a little *Bandan* Praw, and ſo could not be betrayed by our Colours. The King of *Botun* humour'd the Buſineſs well enough, carrying it to the *Dutch* as if he had taken in a parcel of diſtreſſed Strangers, People he knew little about, and could give no ſatisfactory Account of. But this ſlender Pretence would not do with the *Dutch*, and perhaps they had ſome Jealouſie who the Strangers were; however to aſſure themſelves, they reſolved to ſtay ſome Days and watch us, that ſo either coming in or going out they might ſieze the Prey. In ſhort they ſtayed ſo many Days, that we were quite weary of being pounded up ſo, and contrived how to trick them and give them the ſlip. We left the old Praw, we came in riding where ſhe did at firſt, and having got a new one ready on the backſide of the Iſland, the King's Servants conducted us with all our Baggage in ſafety aboard her; and how long the the *Dutch* ſtaid waiting upon the empty Praw we cannot tell.

King of Botun their Friend.

May. *Come to Bantam.* *June.*

At *Macaſſar* (where we put in by the way) we exchanged this new little Veſſel for one of our own Ships trading there, and took into her 180 Suckets of Mace, bought at the ſame place.

From hence we got to *Bantam*, without any farther Danger or Diſturbance. Here the old quarrel went on between the *Dutch* and Us. We did not looſe our Enemies, or leave them all behind us, by coming away from *Poolaroon*, but found a party here ready to entertain us. One Day it came to a downright Skirmiſh in the open Market; ſcolding and railing would not ſerve that time to give a ſufficient Vent to the Paſſion on both ſides; ill Language would draw no Blood, and therefore Swords and Clubs were call'd in to do it. By degrees the whole Poſſe of both Houſes were engaged, the Slaves came in amongſt the reſt, and fought as well as the Maſters. The reſult of it was, that we drove them before us to their own Houſe; we ſaw them ſafe within the Walls, which was as far as we could keep them Company. No great Miſchief was done on either ſide, tho' ſome Lives loſt on both; but they filled the Town with the noiſe of the horrible Execution they would do upon us, and they did their utmoſt to be as good as their word, lying in wait for us with their Fire-arms in all places of Secrecy and Advantage. Thus hot and violent was the fewd betwixt us, and ſo outragiouſly angry were they that we would not quit the Poſſeſſion of the *Banda* Iſlands to them. They might (had they acted reaſonably) have forborn the making ſuch a Demand; and conſider'd that we with more Juſtice and Conſcience could challenge them to ſurrender the Iſle of *Pooloway* to us, which is one of the *Banda* Society too. The King of *England*'s Right to that, is as indiſputable as to any of the reſt, if at leaſt 'twas in the power of the natural Poſſeſſours of the ſame, to confer that Right by a formal Reſignation, as no body doubts but 'twas. And 'tis moſt clear that they actually did ſo, by the plain and poſitive Mention of *Pooloway* in the Copy of the Surrender as well as of *Poolaroon*; that Paper largely aſſerts His Majeſty's Right, ſuppoſes the Foundation of a preceding Grant of the Iſland to him, and adds a new and freſh Acknowledgment of his juſt Title to it. Beſides 'tis matter of Fact as notorious as can be, that the Iſland was put into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, with all the Formalities of a ſtrict Surrender, and that they kept it till the injurious Force of the *Dutch* deprived them of it. The World knows well enough too how contumeliouſly they treated the *Engliſh* there; as if it had not been enough to have expelled them, without uſing them at the ſame time more like the Deſpicableſt of Beaſts than Men or Chriſtians. 'Twas very hard meaſure therefore, after all this injurious Treatment, to be hectored and threatned becauſe we would not tamely ſubmit to more Injuries; and 'twas a very good Argument why we ſhould ſurrender *Poolaroon*, that they had cheated our King of *Pooloway* before.

Dutch and Engliſh fight at Bantam.

Dutch prove their Title to Banda from their taking the King of Ternate's Son Priſoner.

But one ground of their Pretence to the Iſlands of *Banda* is diverting enough, and a very good Inſtance it affords of juſt and fair Reaſoning. They argue their Right from this, that the King of *Ternate*'s Son was once their Priſoner. Now to make the Conſequence of this Argument appear Juſt and Natural, clear and compulſive of the Aſſent of any diſintereſted Mans mind, we believe will take them up more time than the compleat Conqueſt of thoſe Iſlands would do. Eſpecially if we take in the whole of their Aſſertion, and bring the *Molucca's* into the Account; for they affirm that by this Action they procured a Title to all theſe Iſlands, both the *Molucca's* and the *Banda's* too. But was the King of *Ternate*'s Son a fair Priſoner of War, or pick'd up by chance and ſnapt as a Prize? Was he the Priſoner of a juſt and righteous War too, or inſtead of a juſt War, was it meer Violence and Depredation? For this Queſtion is to be put to a Chriſtian People, who may be expected to have ſome regard to Right and Wrong, to Juſt and Unjuſt in their Proceedings. But if all this were ſo, it does not preſently appear that they were *ipſo facto*, the rightful Sovereigns of the Country. The King's Son was made a Priſoner, but the Kingdom it ſelf had not loſt its Liberty; did they make an abſolute conqueſt of it? Did they wreſt the Power out of the Natives hand, and poſſeſs themſelves of it entirely? Did victorious Arms force the *Ternatees* to lie at their Mercy, and leave all at their diſpoſal? If not, 'tis hard to conceive how the Misfortune of the Prince, ſhould entail ſlavery and ſubjection upon the People. Beſides the Throne was not vacant, the Father was alive tho' the Son was a Priſoner; and 'twas in his Power to ſettle the point of the Succeſſion as he pleaſed, and find other Heirs to the Crown beſides the *Dutch*. Might not the *Engliſh* have pleaded as good a Title from the offer the King of *Ternate* made of his Country to Queen *Elizabeth* by Sir *Francis Drake*; and the King of *Tydore* have made the ſame Challenge too upon the Death of the Prince of *Ternate*, whom his Son killed in Battle? But then a Right to *Ternate* allowed upon an Hypotheſis, a Right to all the *Molucca's* wont handſomly nor fairly follow from thence; for *Tydore* is one of thoſe Iſlands, and a conſiderable one too, but no Subject to *Ternate*, but her Rival in Power and Empire; and if ſhe did once wear the Yoke of that Iſland, when it was in its flouriſhing ſtate, the *Dutch* muſt examine the Grounds and Cauſes of the Revolt, to be ſure that *Ternate* has yet a juſt Title to her Obedience, before they pretend any upon this Account.

See Sir *Francis Drake's Voyage*. *Lib.* 1. and Capt. *Saris's Lib.* 2.

But the Conſequence as to the *Banda's* lies yet infinitely more in the dark. The King of *Ternate* had nothing to do here, no more than the *Dutch* had to do there, upon their being poſſeſſed of the Royal Captive. Theſe Iſlands are near a-kin to the *Dutch* in their Civil Policy; they are all free States, up to the Ears in popular Notions and Principles, and can reliſh no Government but a Democracy. They have their Sabandars and Orankayes, or Governing Miniſters and Noble Men amongſt them, but all ſtands upon the Baſis of the Peoples Authority, who maintain the Liberties of their Conſtitution with all the Chaſtity imaginable, and are entirely their own Lords and Law-givers. Now indeed they call the King of *England* Sovereign, but they ſtiffly deny that the King of *Ternate* has any reaſon to expect or demand that Title from them; nay, he himſelf in the * enumeration of his Titles, never pretends to call himſelf King of the Iſlands of *Banda*. From all which put together 'tis apparent that the *Dutch* did but trifle in pretending a Right to theſe Iſlands, upon that Principle they then went upon. Upon the whole; the Trade of theſe Iſlands is very rich and inviting, and 'tis a matter of very great importance to have our Intereſt here well guarded and maintained. Could we get *Pooloway* into our hands, we ſhould have more ſweet and ſenſible Proofs of the goodneſs of this Spice Trade; thoſe that know it ſay 'tis a Paradiſe, and the *Dutch*, the preſent Poſſeſſours, affirm 'tis as good to them as *Scotland* is to our King. The Compariſon is a little ſawcy, tho' we know well enough that *Pooloway* has the bleſſing of Spice Trees, which *Scotland* has not. However if we can keep the others and enjoy them quietly, they'll furniſh Mace and Nutmegs not only ſufficient for *England*, but alſo to drive a Trade with to *Surat*, and other parts of the Indies. Our great Buſineſs in order hereunto, next to the maintaining a good Force, is to ſupply them well with Cloth and Rice, Salt, Pepper, and other Neceſſaries they want; they are ſo deſirous of theſe things, eſpecially Cloth and Rice, that had we had three times as much as we now brought, we ſhould have found vent for it all without the leaſt difficulty. The People of *Lantore* and *Roſinging*, and other places, come over to *Poolaroon* with their Mace and Nutmegs in great numbers, and bring it in ſo faſt, that there is no fear of a conſtant and certain Trade, if we do but furniſh them as faſt with thoſe other Commodities. As for the Rice we bring them, tho' *Macaſſar* is able to ſupply that, yet we muſt find ſome place that will do it at lower rates; and 'tis certain we can have what Rice we will from *Japan*, at half the price that we can at *Macaſſar*; the Voyage is longer 'tis true, but then the Advantage is conſiderable. Your *Macaſſar* Gold alſo, which goes at *Bantam* but for 2*s* 4*d* or 2*s* 6*d* the Maſs, goes at *Banda* as current as Rials of Eight, and at the ſame rate too.

* This will come after in another place.

Profitable Trade at the *Banda* Iſlands.

Together with the Encouragements of this good Trade, we had our Loſſes and Misfortunes another way: A Praw nobly laden with the Spice of this Country was caſt away in her Voyage to *Bantam*; ſhe had 3366 Cattees of Mace aboard her, which would have been worth as good as 500000 pound in *England*.

February.

The *Dutch* took two more of our * Ships too, and carried them into *Nero* Road, wearing our Colours under their Ship Sterns in a moſt diſgraceful manner. This Loſs was the greater upon the Account of the Lading they had, which would have fitted the *Bandaneſe* to the life; 200 Quoyn of Rice and upwards, 34 Bales of Cloth, beſides 600 Jars of Rack and other Proviſions. They were hampered with their Lading, and much overmatched in number; beſides, that the *Dutch* Ships were light and free, and every way ready for the Service of ſuch an Occaſion.

* The *Solomon* and the *Attendance.*
March.
A. D. 1618.

The *Bandaneſe* that were in this Action ſignalized themſelves at a very great rate; they were thorough hearty Enemies to the *Dutch*, and being ſo, fought with ſo good a will, that our Men ſay if they had been upon plain Ground, and to fight it out fairly with Swords, they make no queſtion but that the *Dutch* muſt have all yielded or died for't. Our poor Sea-men brought Priſoners to *Nero* had a miſerable uneaſie life of it there; but 'twas the Fate of ſome of them to be diſpoſed of in other places up and down, as *Amboyna* and the *Moluccas*, or wherever their rigorous Maſters were pleaſed to ſend them. Yet one of the *Dutch* Commanders expreſs'd a great deal of Humanity and Kindneſs to thoſe forlorn wretches, for which we did not fail to make him the due Acknowledgement of our moſt hearty thanks; the ſame Perſon alſo would be ſo civil as to ſtrike his Main-top-ſail as he paſſed by our Fort, upon *Neylackey* Iſland by *Poolaroon*.

Dutch aſſault *Lantore.*
April.
A. D. 1619.

The *Dutch* who had ſome time before been tampering with the People of *Lantore* to come in amongſt them by fair means, not ſucceeding that way had now recourſe to Arms in order to the forcing it. But the *Lantorees* (who had conſulted us before-hand about the point of their Defence) were not to be managed that way neither. The Enemy landed 500 Men upon them, but they ſtood ſo tightly to their Buſineſs, that the others were obliged to retire back again to their Ships. The next touch they had with them, the *Lantore* Men handled them to better Advantage ſtill: The *Dutch* muſt needs come and give the Iſlanders a Challenge, which they accepting of, mann'd out a couple of Praws and ſo went to it, two Praws to four; the event of which Skirmiſh was, that the *Lantorees* took one of their Praws, killed all the Men, and purſued the reſt home to *Pooloway*. Theſe little Succeſſes put them mightily in heart, and the *Dutch* were Adverſaries that grew every Day into more and more contempt with them. Theſe People, tho' belonging to the *Banda* Iſlands, and very well diſpoſed to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Power after the example of their Neighbours, had not yet made an actual Surrender. For as was hinted before each of theſe Iſlands, is a free independant State in point of Government, and tho' they unite in their common Intereſts, yet they all ſtand upon their particular Foundations.

June.

But now they propoſed to ſurrender too, and agreed that their Sabander ſhould be empower'd to come over to us and conclude the Buſineſs; but the Articles required ſome time to be weighed and debated on both ſides, before the finiſhing ſtroke could be given to this Affair. In the mean time things began to grow ſtrait with us at *Poolaroon*; we wanted Men, Money, and all things neceſſary to encourage our new Beginnings there, and give Heart and Spirit to the *Bandaneſe* in their dependance upon us. We were forced to put off Goods to procure common Proviſions for houſe keeping, and to take up Money at 50 *per Cent.* Intereſt. Our Friends at *Bantam* were guilty of an unpardonable Neglect of us in ſuch Circumſtances, to our very great Diſreputation, and the manifeſt hazzard of the whole *Engliſh* Intereſt in theſe places. They would ſend us encouraging Letters and bid us rub out another Year when Supplies would certainly come; but in the mean time theſe Good Words would not defend the Forts and fill the Souldiers Bellies; and as for the point of rubbing, we had rubbed ſo long till we had rubb'd off the Skin, and if we continued doing ſo much longer, ſhould rub to the bare Bone. 'Twas not ſo eaſie a matter as they might imagine to weather the point here, with the *Dutch* attacking us on the one ſide and the *Bandaneſe* beſieging us with unwearied Importunities for Supplies on the other; and by the way it muſt be ſaid, that if that People had not had a truly loyal Reſpect to our King and Country, they would never have born the Diſappointment ſo long, but have ſought out ſome other Protectours. The Affair of *Lantore* was now revived, and brought to its deſired Perfection. The People of that Iſland demanded Arms and Aſſiſtance of us, and upon the performance of that Condition, made a formal Surrender of the place to his Majeſty of *England*.

Engliſh at *Bantam* not careful of their Intereſt at *Poolaroon.*
April.

October.
A. D. 1620.
Capt. *Courthop* Principal at *Poolaroon*, was killed by the *Dutch* coming back from the receiving this Surrender.

The Copy of it is here ſubjoin'd as 'twas delivered to us by the Sabandar and *Orankayes* of that Iſland.

Tranſlation of the Surrender of Lantore, *Cont. in the Paper* N D.

In the Year of the Prophet *Mahomed* 1028, in the tenth Day of the Moon *Mabarran*, being *Saturday*, the Year is called *Aleph*. And in the Year of *Jeſus*, 1620, in the Month of *November* the 24th Day.

This is the Writing of the Agreement of the Sabandar of Lantore, *and the Captain of* Lantore, *and all the Orankayes within the Country of* Lantore, *with* Robert Hayes, *after the loſs of Captain* Courthop; *That we of* Lantore *do ſurrender the Land of* Lantore *unto the King's Majeſty of* England *with all that is therein: So that all the Nuts and Mace within the Country of* Lantore, *we promiſe to ſell to no other People, other than to the Subjects of the King's Majeſty of* England *only. Furthermore, we the Orankayes of* Lantore, *do promiſe every Year to ſend to the King's Majeſty of* England *a bough of a Nutmeg-tree, for the acknowledging the Homage of us the Men of* Lantore, *to the King's Majeſty of* England. *To the intent that this Agreement of Surrender betwixt Us be not forgotten, to the end of the World:*

And to the intent there be no difference or falling out betwixt us. Furthermore, we do crave of His Majeſty of England, *concerning ſuch things as do not agree with our Religion, that they may not be done in the Country of* Banda, *to the end that ſuch things being reſtrained, there be no offence given between the* Bandaneſes *and the* Engliſh-men: *As to enforce our Women, our Wives or Daughter, or to ſtrike any of us, or violently to take any thing from us, or to let Swine looſe in our Country, or any ſuch-like thing as doth not agree with our Religion. Theſe things we only except (becauſe thoſe things tend to the deſtroying of our Religion) to the intent there be no falling out betwixt the* Bandaneſes *and the* Engliſh, *unto the end of the World. And whereas it pleaſeth God, that* James *is King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *ſo now alſo he is King of the Country of* Banda: *So then the Country of* Banda *is in Subjection to no other King than to the King's Majeſty of* England *only in this World, excepting our Religion. For our Religion of* Iſlam *doth not agree with the Chriſtian Religion, neither doth the Chriſtian Religion agree with our Religion of* Iſlam; *and this is the purport of our Agreement. Further, if it ſhall happen any* Engliſh *to run to us, or any* Banda-man *to run to the* Engliſh, *it may not be tolerated without the conſent of the chief of the* Engliſh, *and us of* Banda; *becauſe ſuch things are contrary to our Religion, and tend only to falling out, and Brabbles betwixt the* Banda-men, *and the* Engliſh-men. *At this time we were together in Conſultation, all the Orankayes of* Lantore, *and the Orankayes of* Labetacke, *and the Orankayes of* Nero Pooloway, *and* Poolaroone, *and have put to our Hands, and this is the intent of this Writing.*

Sabandar Lantore.
Sabandar Ratoo.

November.

Dutch Packet taken.

After this, there happen'd an Accident that brought about the Redemption of ſome of our Men, that were then Slaves to the *Dutch*, and that in a manner lucky enough: 'Twas our Fortune to take a *Dutch* Intelligencer, that was going with her Packet of Advice between *Amboina* and *Banda*. By theſe Letters we underſtood (tho' we could not perfectly underſtand all, for want of their Language), that the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* Nations were well enough agreed at home, and that there was a likelihood of ſomething being done, in order to put an end to the Differences of all the contending Parties abroad. The uſe that we made of this Intelligence, was to let the *Dutch* know what Buſineſs was a-foot between our reſpective Countries, and therefore to caution them not to proceed in thoſe unjuſt and rigorous Courſes they had hitherto taken, leaſt the Noiſe of our Brawls and Squabbles here, put a ſtop to thoſe hopeful Beginnings of a Reconciliation at home. And this produc'd a ſeeming yielding to Peace and Friendly Correſpondence; they were mighty tractable upon't, for a little time, and agreed with us for the Redemption of ſome of the Priſoners. But alas, they could not hold their good Humour long, but quickly laid aſide the Maſk of pretended Friendſhip, which indeed ſeem'd to be put on only to deceive us the more effectually.

Dutch ſecretly practiſe with the *Lantore* Men. *December.*

They began firſt to practiſe with the *Lantorees* for Trade; but they were ſo honeſt as to give them a flat denial of any intercourſe with them upon that account, as alſo to acquaint us with the Endeavours of the *Hollanders*, to inſinuate themſelves in amongſt them. After this they came to violent Methods, and thought to ſcare them into a compliance; but the Men of *Lantore* made a brisk Defence, took no Blows but what they repaid with Intereſt, ſo that the *Dutch* hitherto got as little ground upon them by fighting, as they had before by wheedling. 'Twas very much their Buſineſs and Deſign to effect a Rupture between the *Bandaneſe* and us, at leaſt to poſſeſs their Minds with Suſpicions of our Fidelity towards them, as the readieſt way to make the deſired Breach. Thus they wou'd come ſometimes within the very reach of our Ordnance, as if they were ſatisfied we would not hurt them: And when they were at any time purſu'd by the *Banda* Praws, in their danger they would hang out a White Flag to us, as much as to ſay, the *Engliſh* will call you off, and deliver us out of your Hands.

But yet that Plot did not take, and the *Bandaneſe* miſtruſted us never the more for thoſe little Tricks of our Adverſaries. They had now plaid ſmall Game thus long, and had won nothing conſiderable upon us: But being fully reſolv'd not to part Stakes, nor make any other Concluſion of the Matter, than by ſweeping all entirely away; they at laſt made the Attempt, which prov'd the Ruine of us and our Intereſt in theſe Iſlands for ever.

A mighty Force of Men and Shipping were got together, and the better to colour the Deſign, the *Dutch* General ſent us word, That he was preparing for an Enterprize, that tended to the mutual Good of us both. This was a beginning that agreed very well with the latter end; a Lye was a good Introduction enough to Treachery and Injuſtice; and before People were plunder'd and forc'd out of their Right, 'twas a proper Method to abuſe them, and tell them a plauſible Story. He would have been glad too (he pretended) of our aſſiſtance in this worthy Deſign that was going on; but ſeeing we were low, and had no Forces to joyn with him, he would take all the trouble upon himſelf, and act alone.

Dutch prepare for the Conqueſt of the *Banda* Iſles.

Some Intelligence we had from *Amboina*, aſſur'd us, that theſe Preparations of the *Dutch* were ſome way or other levell'd at us; and that which way ſoever the Storm threatned to go, 'twould drive at laſt upon ſome of the Iſlands of *Banda*. Which we quickly found too true; tho' at the ſame time 'twas the very perfection of Villany to put on ſuch a Vizor for the doing of what they did, and 'tis a Queſtion, whether all the Rabble of Heatheniſh People in the World, can furniſh ſuch another Maſter-piece as this was.

February. They come to *Lantore.*

They began with *Lantore*, coming before the Iſland with a Fleet of ſixteen ſtrong Ships: They knew very well that this place was ſurrendred to the uſe of the King of *England*, and that we had actually ſettled a Factory there.

* Capt. *Hayes*, who ſucceeded Capt. *Courthop* in his Charge.

As ſoon as we at *Poolaroon* heard of the Force come up before *Lantore*, our * Captain ſent to the *Dutch* General, deſiring him in Civil Terms to forbear any Acts of Hoſtility at that place, becauſe 'twas well known to be the King of *England*'s Property. But he having read the Letter, and expreſs'd his contempt of it, and ſpent a little time in threatning and railing at the *Engliſh*; without any more adoe landed his Men, and fell upon the *Lantorees*. Their Power being ſo great, the Diſpute was quickly at an end; the Natives were abſolutely routed, retired to their Shelters in the Fields and Woods, and left the Iſland to the Command of the Conquerors. The *Dutch* ſack'd and fir'd the Town, plunder'd our Factory, took away all the Cloth, Money, and Spice there, belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company; 23400 *l.* Weight of Mace, and 120000 Weight of Nutmegs fell into their Hands. Our Factors there preſent were ſtripp'd, bound, beaten, tumbled over the Town-Wall, dragg'd along the Streets with Fetters about their Necks, and afterwards laid faſt in Chains. They were not ſo kind as to execute them outright, living being then a far greater Puniſhment than dying.

Lantore thus had its Fate, and that of all Fates the moſt dreaded by it; to fall into the Hands of the *Dutch*: Such was their rooted Averſion to them, that perhaps had they had their choice, they would as ſoon have accepted of an Earthquake, to ſwallow them up, as them that did. But we were all to go one after another, and *Poolaroon* was laid out for the next Morſel the hungry Adverſary would catch at.

March. They threaten *Poolaroon*,

We endeavour'd to prevent this, by freſh Applications to the *Dutch* General at *Nero*, having already heard, that our Doom was paſs'd, and Execution wou'd quickly follow, if our own voluntary Surrender of the place did not prevent it: But this we could never think of ſubmitting to; tho' we could not hold it out, yet to reſign had been baſe and criminal, but to be driven out by main Force, would be only our misfortune.

They come with a Fleet to *Poolaroon*.

The *Dutch* General ſeem'd to make ſtrange of any ſuch Deſign, as coming to beat us from *Poolaroon*; he had ſo much Modeſty and Shame as to ſcruple the owning it, and ſo little as to put it immediately in practice. For our Agent was hardly return'd, but the *Dutch* Fleet preſented it ſelf before the Iſland, and ſent their Summons to the People to ſurrender it.

The *Bandaneſe* were in a terrible Conſternation, and knew not what Courſe to take in this extremity: All the Plagues of War were threatned by the *Dutch*, on the one ſide; and yet they knew not how to burſt the Bonds that held them to us on the other. As for our parts, we were reduc'd to ſo low and bare a Condition, that we were no way capable of preventing their Ruine and our own; we had no tolerable Force to oppoſe the *Dutch* with, and Juſtice and Right cou'd not defend us from them. This the *Bandaneſe* ſaw perfectly well, and therefore eaſily concluded, that Matters were too far gone ever to be retriev'd; yet to amuſe the *Dutch* they told them, That they had made a ſolemn Surrender of the Iſlands to us and therefore being now out of their power to diſpoſe of, they muſt agree that Point with us as well as they could. But as this was but an excuſe to ſave themſelves from doing an unjuſt and an ungrateful Work, ſo the others took it as ſuch; and therefore peremptorily demanded the Surrender from them, nothing leſs than which ſhould be their Deliverance from the like Tragedies acted amongſt them, that were lately at *Lantore*. And this being the point, they concluded they had no way but to yield to the preſent neceſſity, and for once ſave their Perſons and Country from an otherwiſe unavoidable Ruine, by giving over-again to the *Dutch*, what they had given to us before.

Poolaroon reſign'd to them. *May*, *A. D.* 1621.

This was done, and the Articles of the new Agreement were much of the ſame nature with thoſe of the old, only this added (which we never impos'd upon them) that they ſhould pay Tenths to the Prince of the Country. Before this Conſummation of the Buſineſs, our Colours were pull'd down, and theirs ſet up in their room; our Ordnance thrown off from the Rock where they were planted, and all carried away by them. The *Bandaneſe* were all diſarm'd, and their Walls demoliſh'd, and every thing done that tended to the holding of them faſt down under thoſe ſervile Chains that were made ready for them. And they had Reaſon enough to make ſure of them in this manner, and keep their Hands cloſe tied, for their Spirits were ſufficiently exaſperated before, and this uſage to be ſure had not ſweetned them. What bold and ſevere Strokes of Revenge then would they make, if ever they had an opportunity by getting looſe again? If they would have cut the Throats of all the *Dutch-men* in the *Indies*, had they had them in their power, while they thought them but plotting upon their Liberties, what would they do for ſeizing their Country, enſlaving their Perſons, and ſwallowing up their Trade, and ſo many flaming Outrages of all ſorts as had been committed upon them? Eſpecially the *Lantorees* had a large Reckoning to make with them, if ever the time ſerv'd for that purpoſe: Here the *Dutch* made the fouleſt Work, and embrued their Hands in more Blood than any where. They cut 44 of the principal Orankayes in pieces, laid all the conſiderable Men in Irons, and ſeiz'd their Children for Hoſtages: And as if this was not enough for their Security, commanded all the other *Bandaneſe* that had given them any aſſiſtance, to be brought Priſoners, with their Wives and Children, aboard their Ships. But the poor People thinking by this, that they were either to be all murder'd, as their Orankayes had been, or elſe ſold away for Slaves into ſome Foreign Parts; they all agreed together, to fly from Deſtruction if they could, and ſo retired into the Mountains, and other wild Refuges, and there fortified themſelves as well as they were able. The *Dutch* for this fell upon them without Mercy, and cut off and took Priſoners to the number of 1200: Thoſe that were ſo unhappy as to miſs the ſtroke of the Sword, that had given a Deliverance to ſo many of their Fellows, were ſent away to *Jacatra*, and other places, to wear out a miſerable Life in Slavery.

Their Cruelties at *Lantore*

This was the direful Concluſion of the *Banda* Affair: All which Miſchief might have been prevented, and our own Honour and Intereſt preſerv'd, as well as the Lives and Liberties of the *Bandaneſe*, if timely Supplies had been tranſmitted to us: Such a degree of ſtupid negligence is wholly unaccountable, and hardly ever pardonable. And now we might bid *Poolaroon*, and the Spice-Trade Adieu, and go find another People to ſurrender their Iſland, and put us in poſſeſſion of their Mace and Nutmegs where we cou'd. And were it ſo, the *Dutch* who got this chiefly by means of the great care and diligence of our *Engliſh* Friends, might alſo by the ſame Method as eaſily get the next.

Engliſh take their leave of *Poolaroon*.

CHAP. XXXV.

An Account of a Voyage from Surat *to* Achen, Bantam, *and other Parts of the* Eaſt-Indies, *with the* Dragon *and the* Expedition. *Perform'd by* W. Hore, *and written by him in a Letter to the* Eaſt-India *Company*.

February, *A. D.* 1618. Go to *Dabul*.

IT having been before agreed on in a General Conſult, that we ſhould put in at *Dabul*, to try the Diſpoſitions of that People to a Trade with us; in purſuance of that Deſign, we came to an Anchor in the Road of that Town. The Governour quickly ſent out a Boat to learn who and what we were, upon the return of which with their Informations, two Perſons of Note were diſpatch'd to us with Orders to hear our Captain's Propoſals. Theſe Men ſtaid aboard as Pledges, and two of our Merchants upon that Security went aſhore to tranſact Matters there.

The chief Men of the Town expreſs'd a great deal of ſatisfaction at the arrival of our Ships, and as much deſire to have a Trade with us, which they pretended they had long waited for: And therefore propos'd that a Factory ſhould be immediately ſettled there, or at leaſt that the Ships ſhould ride in the Port, till the principal Governour (then abſent) had given his Reſolution in the Caſe, without which they could not abſolutely conclude.

Dabullers excuſe themſelves from preſent Trade

But notwithſtanding all theſe fine words, the *Dabullers* did not convince us by their actual forwardneſs to deal, that they were ſo ſtrongly inclin'd that way as they pretended. They promis'd to perform mighty things hereafter, but were not diſpos'd to do any thing at preſent; they wou'd ſome other time trade for Broad Cloth, Lead, and other *Engliſh* Commodities, but we could not perſwade them to take off any now.

We had a Ship in our Company that was able to have furniſh'd them, and came indeed on purpoſe to put off ſome of her Commodities to the *Dabullers*, but they would not help to lighten her Burthen at all, and ſo ſhe purſued her Voyage to the *Red Sea*, whither ſhe was at firſt bound. It was deſign'd at our coming hither, that the *Dabullers* ſhould no longer impoſe upon us with theſe empty pretences to trade, while they did nothing at all in purſuance of the Deſign of our coming to them, and therefore that now they ſhould be forc'd to do Buſineſs, and make it in ſome meaſure worth our while to attend them; but they bought their own quiet for this Year, by a good Sum of fair Promiſes to be better another, and ſo we let them alone at preſent, and ſent Advices to *Surat*, that the next Year's Fleet might deal with them accordingly.

Beſides, we had a Reckoning with them upon another ſcore, which was their abuſing one of our Factors that came thither to recover a Debt, and forceably taking the Debtor out of his hands; People at *Surat* very confidently told this Story of the *Dabullers*, but ſince they as confidently denied it, and we could not prove it, we carried the matter no higher than a bare Charge at this time.

Go to *Battachala*. *March*.

We ſail'd away from hence to *Battachala*, upon the ſame Coaſt below *Goa*. This was the Fruit of an Invitation too; and the *Mallabars* that gave it, pretended to do it in the Name of their King, and to be ſent by him for that purpoſe. There were two Frigats of that Country that came and put themſelves into our Service at *Swally* Road, and told us, That their King would be glad of our Trade for his Pepper; which was no inconſiderable Quantity, but would amount yearly to a good Lading for two of our beſt Ships. But when we came thither, we quickly found an Entertainment too cold to anſwer ſutably the warmth and earneſtneſs of the Invitation. The Commodity was but indifferent, the Price unconſcionable, and the King himſelf ſeem'd to have no great Mind to have us for Cuſtomers, but rather to keep it for the *Portugueze*. They held it up hard at 50 Rials of Eight *per* Candee, which is 500 *l.* Weight, and at the very loweſt would not let it come under 47. We thought we had been call'd to the buying ſome good Bargains, not to be banter'd at this rate in our Prices, and have the Money ſqueez'd out of our Pockets by ſuch Methods as thoſe were; but ſince 'twas ſo, that we muſt not only ſubmit to this Extortion if we traded, but take it as a Favour too, we reſolved to lie under no ſuch Obligations, and ſo left them to their deſired Cuſtomers the *Portugueze*.

High Price of Pepper.

We proceeded in our Voyage towards *Calecut*: Here was a Debt of ſome Years ſtanding to be recover'd, and a proſpect of buying Pepper at eaſier rates. But as it happen'd, the Samorine was at that time at *Panana*, ſome twelve Leagues to the South of *Calecut*, whither we went to him.

Come to Panana in the Samorine of *Calecut's* Country.

Our Captain went aſhore, with a good Guard of Shot, to deliver the King's Letter and Preſent; the Samorine acknowledged the Debt, but ſince we could not determine the exact Sum, it was agreed that Payment ſhould be deferr'd, till all the Accounts of that matter were more narrowly look'd over, and the Perſons there reſident had given in their Informations.

Samorine's Propoſals about Pepper.

As for preſent dealing with him, he offer'd to ſell his Pepper at 30 Rials of Eight *per* Candee, free of all Charges, and the Candee at that place was 502 *l.* Neat: This was accepted by the Captain, upon condition of ſome previous inſpection of the Commodity, by thoſe that were to be Judges of the Goodneſs of it; which Office was aſſigned to my ſelf, and one more. But the next Morning when we came, thinking to go about this Buſineſs with all the haſte imaginable, we were denied the ſight of the Pepper, and without expreſs Orders from the Samorine, there was nothing to be done. Upon which Baulk going away to Court to ſpeak with him himſelf, he was far more inquiſitive about the Captain's coming aſhore again (which was a thing foreign to the Buſineſs in hand), than careful to give us any juſt and reaſonable account of the meaning of theſe Proceedings. We aſſur'd him, that the Captain would not ſtir aſhore, till we had done our appointed Work of viewing the Pepper; that his Buſineſs would be only to conſummate the Bargain, and bring the Money, and conſequently depended upon our diſpatch. But all the Springs of Buſineſs were out of order in this Country at this time, and nothing would ſucceed, tho' ever ſo fairly attempted.

His unfair Dealing with them.

The Samorine would not give way to our meddling with the Spice, but ſent us back to wait at his Merchants Houſe, till he either came to us himſelf, or ſent farther Orders. Here he abus'd us with obliging us to an idle and fruitleſs attendance, neither ſending, nor coming, nor giving us any manner of Information what he intended to do.

This forc'd us to a ſecond Walk to the Court, to as little purpoſe as the former; for here he had his Tumblers and Morrice-Dancers about him, and minded their Tricks more than his own and our Concerns: In ſhort, he whil'd away the time by ſo many trifling ſhuffling Methods, that we boldly demanded of him at laſt, to put us out of this ſuſpence, and come to ſome certain Reſolution, that we might know what we had to truſt to. This Alarm awaken'd him, and we were deſired to move into a withdrawing Room, to hear his Reſolutions in private. Here he told us, he had ſeveral Points of important Buſineſs to diſcuſs with the Captain, if he would give his Preſence aſhore; but they were ſome of them of that nature as requir'd retirement, and muſt be manag'd apart from the Crowd; and therefore he had provided a fine Retreating-place, a little way up in the Country, where the Captain and he could enjoy themſelves, and do their Buſineſs without diſturbance.

A ſuſpicious Propoſal.

In anſwer to this, I told him flatly, That unleſs I might have the liberty to ſee the place firſt, I would not adviſe the Captain's landing: This he refus'd at firſt to permit, but upon ſecond thoughts afterwards granted, commanding one of his Slaves to ſhew it me. And the truth of it is, 'twas a place very fit for the execution of a treacherous Deſign; 'twas as good a Convenience for an Ambuſcade as could be; in a word, 'twas a very fine Trap.

But intending to prevent my Captain's being catch'd in it, at my return I expreſs'd my diſlike of the Situation of the place; as being lonely, and ſurrounded with Woods, and ſo diſcouraged as much as was adviſable the Deſign of meeting there.

The Samorine was very ſilent and dull upon the diſappointment, and having now play'd his beſt and higheſt Card, was at a ſtand in his Game: However, when he had made us retire again, he thought fit to diſſemble no longer, but told us all the Reaſons of the ſtop that had hitherto been upon our Buſineſs. He confeſs'd, that the Pepper he had promis'd us was not his own, but the Merchants; and that he could not let it go at the Price firſt propos'd: That at 40 Rials *per* Candee we ſhould have it, and not under; and if other Merchants would ſell under, he would give them leave ſo to do; if not, he would furniſh us himſelf at that rate. As for the Money we had owing at *Calecut*, he would ſee us paid, when we could certifie him poſitively how much, and for what 'twas due.

The Samorine falls back from his Propoſal about the Pepper.

This was a very pretty Story, and the prettier too, becauſe 'twas told in *Portugueze*, which the Samorine could never ſpeak, till now he had an abſolute neceſſity for't. And thus we got all out at laſt; and after a World of little ſhifts and windings this way and that way, the plain truth was told us (as he ſaid), which might have been done in as few words at firſt.

Having our Errand, we took leave and return'd to the Ship; but the Captain ſent him this Meſſage by one of his own Servants, That the *Engliſh* ſhould largely pay themſelves all their Scores out of his Ships, in what part of the World ſoever they met them. Here was the third Baulk upon our Trade this Seaſon; and hitherto we ſucceeded, as if all this Coaſt of *India* was in a League together to cheat and abuſe us.

The Captains Meſſage to the Samorine.

'Twas time now to repair to ſome other parts of the *Indies*, where our time would be beſtow'd to better purpoſe. Our Ships parted Company when we had doubled the Cape *Comorin*, and 'twas my Lot to ſail to *Tecoo*. And I will only ſay (ſince no Buſineſs of any ſignificancy was done), that I made three or four Voyages between that place and *Bantam*.

April, A. D. 1619. Their danger about the Shoals of *Tecoo*.

One of them had very near prov'd fatal to us; for a dreadful Storm in a very dark Night, forc'd us clever over the Shoals of *Tecoo*; a danger a Man would have trembled at in fair Weather, and at Noon-day. The Thunder and Lightning was extremely violent at the ſame time, and a flaſh ſtruck one of our Men perfectly dumb and lame; 'twas very ſlowly that his Speech return'd to him again, and that very imperfectly too; but the uſe of all his Limbs was gone; he complain'd of a dead numbneſs in every part, and had he been all over Paralytick, he could not have been more unſerviceable to himſelf than he was.

Dealing at *Tecoo*.

After ſome time ſpent, I had Notice that there was Buſineſs ready for us at *Tecoo*; that the *Dragon* had gotten a Lading of more than 1300 Bahars of Pepper, and 1500 more lay unbought at *Achen*. The Vice-King of *Tecoo* appear'd very willing to forward the Trade when we came, and promis'd as ſoon as he had ſeen his Sovereign the King of *Achen*'s Letters, and the Muſters of our Goods, that they ſhould begin to weigh. So the Letters being brought aſhore, Proclamation was made of our Licence to Trade, and Notice given to the Country about, who had now Liberty to bring in their Commodities. The Goods we landed were moſtly your *Surat* Wares, Cainkeens, blue Selas, *&c.* And the Price was concluded in proportion to their ſeveral Values, 50 Selas, 35 Cainkeens, 16 blue Byronns, 32 Red Selas, Baftas 8, 10, and 12 Pieces for a Bahar of Pepper; and this valued according to the Rates in ready Money, was as much as 20 Rials *per* Bahar. The Cuſtom was, not to be paid in kind, but at the rate of 14 in the 100 in Rials of Eight, for all Goods we landed. This was a hard Condition, and very imprudently yielded to by former Dealers here; but now it has prevail'd ſo long, that there's no hopes of bringing them to more reaſonable Terms.

July.

Treacherous denying of Bargains at *Tecoo*.

The Merchants now waited for the King to begin the Trade, according to the way of the Country; but truly, when it came to the point, he would not ſtand to the former Contract. He would not ſell himſelf under 40 Cainkeens, and 60 Blue Selas *per* Bahar; but he gave us leave to buy at the former Rates of others, if they would ſell ſo.

He had better have ſaid poſitively, that there ſhould be no Trade but upon his Terms, and publickly forbid the People to weigh; for tho' there would have been in this the ſame degree of Wrong and Injuſtice, yet the Diſſimulation (which ever aggravates the Knavery) had been away. His offer of giving the People the Liberty to Trade, before he began, was all a ſham and a trick; and 'twas as much as bidding and unbidding them at the ſame time: For he knew perfectly well, that no Man dar'd to weigh an Ounce of Pepper before him; no, tho' the Commodity wou'd have periſh'd in their hands, they dared not attempt the Sale, till his Example had given them an Authority to do it: To make that pretence therefore of turning us over to them, was to trifle and play upon us, and add an Affront to the former Act of Injuſtice. But we were under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to this Impoſition at this Juncture, having loſt a great deal of time already, and our Trade any where elſe uncertain.

Auguſt. Theft at *Tecoo*, and a ſtrange Proceſs for the diſcovering a Rogue.

The King himſelf having play'd us this foul play, 'twas no wonder that the People ſhould take the ſame liberty too, or a worſe, and this was our Caſe; all the difference was, that he cheated us with a little more Ceremony, and they in the coarſe and rude way of Thieves and Houſe-breakers.

'Tis true they did us no great damage, tho' they broke into one of our Warehouſes, and rummaged about; I mean, they carried off nothing of value, but they murder'd one of our Men that lay in the room. They made the Attempt three ſeveral times that Night, and 'twas as dreadful Weather perhaps as ever was ſeen: And why they ſhould chuſe ſuch a Night as that, is not eaſie to be conceiv'd, unleſs they thought the loud Cracks of Thunder would give them an opportunity to pick the Locks without danger of being heard. But to tell Stories of the thieviſh Tricks of the *Tecoans*, is to blazon a Character ſufficiently well known in the World already; I ſhall only therefore mention a Circumſtance conſequent upon this Diſturbance we had from them, becauſe there is ſomething in it pretty odd and ſingular.

We being all alarm'd and rais'd upon the Outcry of Murder in the Houſe, preſently ſent to call in the Waiters to our aſſiſtance; theſe were Men that were appointed to keep Guard every Night, at ſome little diſtance from the Houſe. But however it came about, there was none of them to be found at their Poſt at that time, nor there was no diſcovery to be made of any ſuſpicious Perſon in all the lurking Holes thereabout. The Noiſe of the Murder quickly came to the King's Ear, and brought him to us; he promis'd us Juſtice, and to do his utmoſt to find out the Villains that had thus injur'd us. But one of our Company propos'd, that the Waiters ſhould be nicely examin'd about this matter, ſince by their abſence from their accuſtom'd place of Duty, they had given ground for ſuſpicion, that they were either the Authors, or at leaſt Abettors of this Miſchief. This the King commanded to be done, and they were all made one after another to touch the dead Body; that being a Method ſome People are apt to preſume upon, for the diſcovery of a Murderer. (Why ſhould it not be as good for the diſcovery of other Villains too; and the ſtollen Goods leap away from the hand of the Thief, as well as a dead Body bleed at the touch of the Murderer?) Well! all theſe People ſtrok'd the Corps, and no Blood came; and could any thing demonſtrate their Innocence more convincingly than this? Was it not apparent that their Conſciences were clear and unſtain'd in the caſe, ſince a Miracle was not wrought to condemn them, and the ſtagnating Blood of the dead Man did not fly out in their Faces? But 'twas found at laſt, that all the Number had not paſs'd the Trial, and there was one ſtill behind that pretended to be very ſick a Bed, and was not able to come. This Fellow was ſent for, and fain to be brought upon Mens Shoulders; but all the Company condemn'd him for the Rogue as ſoon as he appear'd, there were ſo many Characters of Guilt in his Face. He was terribly confounded at touching the Corps, and all his Actions and Anſwers beſpoke him to be hared to the laſt degree. There was no Blood however came from the dead Body; but if the coming of ſomething elſe from the living Body had been a ſign of guilt, 'tis probable if they had look'd, they would have found him not very innocent and pure.

The King, and all the reſt, obſerving the Confuſion he was in, confidently perſwaded themſelves he was the Perſon they look'd for; and therefore, tho' he had ſcap'd this way, yet his Innocence ſhould be tried too by the Laws of the Country.

The Method is, for a Pot of Oyl to be ſet over the Fire, and when 'tis boiling hot, there's a Ball of Braſs thrown into it; here the ſuſpected Perſon is to come, and thruſting his naked Arm into this ſcalding Liquor, muſt fetch out the Ball; and if nothing of burn or ſcald appears upon his Skin, he is acquitted of the Fact laid to his charge; but if there be any Impreſſion made, they take it for granted he is guilty. A moſt irregular and barbarous way of proceeding to determine matter of fact; 'twould be as juſt and fair to throw a Man into a Den of hungry Lions, and pronounce him guilty or not guilty, according as they eat him up, or let him alone. But the Fellow was entirely willing to ſubmit himſelf to this ſort of Trial, and offer'd to put himſelf into the hands of the Executioner, if he did not come off clear. And in ſhort, he drew his Arm out of the Cauldron of boiling Oil, as unblemiſh'd, and perfectly free from injury as it would have been had he put it into cold Water: This we were all Witneſſes to, being all perfectly awake, and our Senſes, no way that we know of, impos'd upon. After the Experiment was over, all his Sickneſs and Lameneſs was over too, he was as briſk and luſty as the beſt of them; which ſudden change prov'd the former Illneſs counterfeit, and confirm'd all the Company in their evil Opinion of him.

They muſt trade now for ready Money.

This Affair being ended, the King made another Propoſal to us, about the farther proſecution of the Trade. The People were deſirous now of ready Money for their Pepper, and weary of Cloth; beſides the Junks from *Argir* were daily expected with great ſtore of that Commodity for himſelf (who always forces the People to take it off), and a little ready Money before-hand from us, would diſpoſe them to a brisker Trade with him. This was all Self-intereſt, and courting us to fall in with him in promoting that deſign; but there being a great deal of Pepper ſtill brought in, and our Trading-time but ſhort, and almoſt expir'd, we agreed with him at 22 Rials *per* Bahar. And to make us more eaſie and ſecure in our being here for the time to come, the King gave us liberty to do all that was needful in our own defence; to ſeize, impriſon, or fire upon thoſe that came to offer us any violence as we ſhould ſee fit.

October.

Our whole Story hitherto has been little elſe, but a continued Series of Croſſes, Diſappointments, Injuries, and Abuſes; and when one would have hop'd for a fairer Day, and ſome little reſpite from haunting Troubles and Misfortunes, they broke in with more violence upon us, and what was light perplexity before, was now downright Tragedy: For now at one ſtroke the *Dutch* made themſelves Maſters of four of our brave Ships, ſetting out of this Port of *Tecoo*: Some of them were ready laded to their hands too, but all ſo encumbred that they were not capable of fighting. * She that ſhould have been a Guard to the reſt, was far from being able to defend her ſelf, all her Decks were clogg'd, and her Guns ſtowed up with Lumber to that degree, that 'twas not poſſible to uſe them in the greateſt extremity. With thoſe few Ordnance that were clear, ſhe maintain'd the Fight for a little time, but 'twas impoſſible to hold out long with all that Burden and Unweildineſs, againſt ſix ſubſtantial Ships of the Enemy.

Dutch take four Ships from the *Engliſh*.

* This was the *Dragon*.

The other three ſeeing her Fate, yielded themſelves without exchanging a Gun; perhaps 'twould have been to no purpoſe to have fired, but to yield ſo tamely and quietly, was not according to the uſual manner of the *Engliſh*. Had the worthy * Captain (who loſt his Life by this Action) been better adviſ'd, and according even to his own firſt Reſolution, kept his great Ship clear for the Service of a Man of War, the *Dutch* perhaps had not had this Triumph, nor we endured the miſerable Conſequences of it. But we were abſolutely trepann'd, and cheated into their hands; they had taken in their Colours, by which we ſhould have diſcover'd them, and the Captain judging them to be Sir *Tho. Dale*'s Fleet, that was to be at *Tecoo* about this time, we were got in ſo near with them, that 'twas too late to think of drawing off again.

* Capt. *Bonner*

The cruel uſage of our Men by the *Dutch*.

The *Dutch* were ſo charitable to our Men (then their Priſoners) as to lay them in Irons upon the Gratings all Night long, and that in the moſt tempeſtuous Weather for Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, that had been known for a long time in thoſe parts, without any reſpect to ſick, weary, or wounded, the loſs of many of whoſe Lives teſtified the Barbarity of that Night's Entertainment. All that were left alive they turn'd aſhore the next Morning, with ſuch ſorry Rags upon their Backs as they were pleas'd to allow them; theſe were to the number of 300 Men, and had not the Infidels expreſs'd more Kindneſs and Bowels than thoſe Chriſtians had done, the whole Company had periſh'd in the laſt Extremities of Miſery. But the Compaſſion of the *Tecoans* towards us in this diſtreſs, does deſerve our Acknowledgment. The King conſtantly viſited the Captain, and brought him the beſt Dainties of the Court, till his incurable Wounds ſet him out of the reach of all earthly Succours: They kept a continual Market for Victuals at the Door of our Houſe, and ſold us all manner of Proviſions at much eaſier Rates than before: Beſides this, leaſt the *Dutch* ſhould land and attempt any thing upon us, we had a Guard of a thouſand Men well arm'd about us all the time their Ships ſtay'd there. So that we may ſay they have (at the loweſt value of this Action), aton'd for former Injuries; and left us without Demands upon them, if not their Debtors.

The kindneſs of the *Tecoans*.

Our ſhatter'd Company here were not long after happily diſpos'd of, and diſpers'd up and down in a little Fleet of *Engliſh* that came in hither.

November.

As for my own particular, I ſet ſail for *England* in one of our feeble crazy Ships, which if the Winds and Waves did not uſe very kindly and tenderly, would hardly allow us what Nature crav'd, but oblig'd us to endure much pain that way, till we reach'd the Bay of *Soldania*. Here we got in a ſupply of Fiſh; but loſt a part of our Men by an Outrage of the Natives; nothing of that kind having ever till now been attempted upon the *Engliſh*. They us'd to be very gentle and harmleſs in their Carriage to us; but ſomething or other had ſtirr'd their Choler, ſome ill People had done them an injury, and we unhappily came to bear their Revenge for't. From hence I had a proſperous Voyage to *England*; having had little of that nature before, in the whole Courſe of this Viſit to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Soldanians kill eight of their Men.

February. *A. D.* 1619

CHAP.

Chap. XXXV.

A Declaration put forth by the Dutch, *containing the Account they give of the Differences between the* Engliſh *and themſelves, and the Grounds of their Pretenſions to, as well as their Proceedings at the Iſlands of* Banda. *To which are added ſome brief Animadverſions upon it.*

IN the former Chapters we have heard our Merchants and Factors abroad making divers heavy Complaints of the *Dutch*. A terrible Out-cry there has been of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, of Treachery and Barbarity; in ſhort of ſo many Breaches of the Laws of Right Reaſon, Good Manners, and Chriſtian Charity, that the Buſineſs requires to be more diligently looked into. Now as our own People have told their Story at large, and repreſented the Matter as they thought fit and juſt, ſo we muſt hear what the other party has to ſay, and what account they give of things for their own Juſtification. 'Tis but fair and equal to allow them all the ſcope that can be to make their own Defence; and 'tis every whit as free for them to Anſwer an Accuſation, as 'tis for the others to bring it in againſt them. This is a Privilege that all Mankind have an indiſputable right to, and to deny it at any time (except in a Matter that carries its own Light and Evidence along with it) is to fix a Blot of Suſpicion upon the Charge, and render the Truth of it doubtful to all unbyaſſed, impartial People.

That this therefore may be done with as much advantage as can be deſired, we ſhall offer a Copy of their own Declaration, which fully expreſſes their mind in this Buſineſs, and was intended by them for a compleat Anſwer to all the material Particulars urged againſt them, with reference to the *Banda* Affairs.

It was Printed in *Dutch* at *Amſterdam*, *A. D.* 1622, and is faithfully tranſlated from the Original.

The *Dutch*'s Declaration, giving an Account of what paſs'd in the Iſlands of *Banda*, in the Year of our Lord, 1621.

The Dutch Declaration.

ALL *the Iſlands of* Banda, *from the tenth of* Auguſt 1609, *by a ſpecial Treaty and Agreement made with the Orankayes, or Magiſtrates of the foreſaid Iſlands, were put under the Protection of the high and mighty, the States General of the united Provinces, on condition to defend them from the* Portugal, *and other their Enemies, provided that they of the ſaid Iſlands, are bound to deliver unto the Fort called* Naſſau, *or unto the Committees of the ſaid Company, all their Fruits or Spices at a certain price, and ſo forth, as by the ſaid Treaty of Agreement more at large appeareth. Theſe Articles of Agreement, being for a time by them performed, were afterwards broken and violated, as well in keeping back, and with-holding the ſaid Fruits and Spices, which they were tied to deliver to the* Netherlands *Company; as alſo enforcing and robbing their Ware-houſes, and contrary to Solemn Treaty and Promiſe, murthering at ſundry times and places, divers of the principal Officers, Committees and Servants of the ſaid* Netherlands *Company, in taking away divers ſmall Ship Proviſion, their open invading of the Places and Countries, withſtood alſo lately under the Subjection of the High and Mighty the States General, and in conquering the Inhabitants thereof, whom with a ſtrong Hand they forced from being Chriſtians to become* Moors *again, or thoſe which withſtood or gain-ſaid them, they ſold as Slaves, and in committing all kind of perverſe Wickedneſs and Treachery: during which Paſſages and Doings, there was again certain Contracts on the aforeſaid Conditions agreed upon, with the ſaid* Bandaneſes, *as in* May, *in the Year* 1616, *by one of the* Netherlands *Commanders called* Lam, *and by their Governour General* Laurence Reall, *in the Year* 1617, *which indeed were ſhortly after broken and violated by the* Bandaneſes, *and that through the animating by the* Engliſh, *who did openly aid and aſſiſt the foreſaid Iſlands, and maintained them in warrage, the* Netherlands *Company with Victuals, and Munition, great Ordnance, Men and Ships, thereby to with-hold from us the Fruits and Spices, which the* Bandaneſes *were tied to deliver. In this wilfulneſs the* Bandaneſes *continued, till in* June, 1620. *Till that at* Jacatra *was publiſhed both amongſt the* Engliſh *and the* Netherlands *Fleet, then riding there in the Road, the Treaty concluded and agreed upon, between his moſt excellent Majeſty, the King of* Great Britain, *and the High and Mighty Lords the States General, for to reconcile upon certain Conditions, the* Engliſh *and* Netherlands Eaſt-India *Companies.*

The which Treaty, and by conference of handling concerning the Molucca's, Amboyna, *and* Banda, *all Diſputes and Differences between the* Engliſh *and the* Netherlands *Company, concerning the ſame, were to that time aboliſhed, and a general Force of Ships of War was ordained between them, for the Defence of both Companies in their Rights, and the commerce which they had obtained in the* Indies.

The Reduction of the wilful Bandaneſes *unto the* Netherlands *Camp, was hindred a Year or two (through the actual Proceedings which the* Engliſh *in* Banda *it ſelf, ſince the Year* 1616, *and afterwards in the Year* 1618, *about the Coaſt of* Java, *and whole* India *thro) by open hoſtility did attempt: whereby the aforeſaid* Bandaneſes *being encouraged and made bolder, did withdraw themſelves wholly from under the Subjection of the Caſtle of* Naſſaw, *doing unto us and ours all Wrong and Hoſtility, and with-holding from us their Fruits (to ſay) Nutmegs and Mace, which they did not only ſell unto the* Engliſh, *and to the* Indians, *but alſo to the* Portugals, *who are both their and our Enemies, with whom they ſeek to make nearer Alliance of Friendſhip, as already in the great Iſland named* Banda, *were come fifty or threeſcore* Portugals, *who by ſome more aſſiſtance, conſidering the natural force of the ſaid Iſland, would have been ſufficient to have deprived both the* Engliſh *and the* Netherlands *Company of the Rights therein, and the Fruits thereof, without hope hereafter to have any redreſs.*

In regard of thoſe Inconveniencies, after the Publication of the Contract that was made, the General of the Netherland *Company, in the Common-Council for defence, (conſiſting of* Engliſhmen *and* Netherlanders) *propounded the neceſſity of the taking of* Banda, *as alſo the redreſſing and aſſuring of thoſe Quarters, and of the Trade in* Amboyna *and* Molucca's, *to the which end, both the Companies according to the Contract were bound together, to uſe all the force and power that he could, for the Preſervation of the places, as much as concerned the Trade, for both the Companies. And it appeareth by the Act made by thoſe of the ſaid Council for Defence, bearing date the firſt of January,* 1621, ſtylo novo, *that the* Engliſh *Committees there declared, that the neceſſities of the Buſineſs was well known unto them; as alſo that they are very willing together with us, to do ſome common Exploit; but for that as then, they wanted both Power and Means of Men and Ships, that they could not for that time furniſh any thing towards the ſame: Whereupon the* Netherlands *Governour General declared, that with the particular Power of the* Netherland *Company, he would take the ſame in hand, and effect it in ſuch manner, as God ſhould be pleaſed to proſper his Proceedings.*

And to that end, upon the thirteenth of January, the Governour General went from Jacatra *to* Amboyna, *where he arrived upon the fourteenth of* February, *and from thence went to* Banda, [illegible] *Caſtle of* Naſſaw, *lying in the Iſland* Nero, *upon the ſeven and twentieth of* February, 1621. *In the mean time, one of the* Engliſh *Council for defence, that had been at* Jacatra *upon the firſt of* January, 1621, *and was Privy to the Contract made, lying then in* Amboyna, *when the Governour General went from thence to* Banda; *ſent Letters in our own Ships to the* Engliſhmen, *lying in the ſmall Iſland* Poolaroon, *and made known and diſcovered unto theſe of* Banda, *in what manner the General of the* Netherland *Company, intended to aſſail the great Iſland of* Banda: *and when the ſaid Governour General was come to the Fort of* Naſſaw *in* Banda, *he underſtood that the* Engliſhmen *in* Poolaroon, *had aided them of the Town of* Lantore *in the great Iſland of* Banda, *with four Pieces of great Ordnance; and that if they had had longer time, that the entrance of the General of the* Netherlands *Army into* Lantore *Haven, ſhould have been let and withſtood by a great Battery. As alſo that ſome*

Engliſhmen *in* Lantore, *aſſiſted thoſe of* Banda, *ours, and (according to the Contract) their Enemies, both with Counſel and Force, encouraging them with their Preſence, and notwithſtanding that the ſaid General required the ſaid* Engliſhmen *of* Lantore *to leave the Town, for the Cauſes and Reaſons aforeſaid, as alſo for that they themſelves, according to the Contract and Order made by the Council of Defence, before that time might not buy any Fruit in* Moluccas, Amboyna, *and* Banda, *as after the Publication of the Contract they may do, and that only together, and in common places with the* Netherlanders, *yet ſome few of them ſtayed ſtill with them of* Banda *our common Enemies. Notwithſtanding alſo that the Governour General proteſted, that he was not therein to be blamed, if by that means any hurt were done unto them, being among and with our common Enemies, from whom they ſhould and ought to have ſeparated themſelves.*

Firſt, the Governour General determin'd to aſſail the great Iſland of Banda *on the South ſide, (by ſome called* Lantore, *becauſe the Principal Town is ſo called) by Land in a place called* Luchny, *and to that end cauſed the Ship called the* Hart *to Anchor thereabouts, which lay not long there but it was ſhot at by an* Engliſh *piece of Ordnance, whereby our Men were forced to tow the ſaid Ship with a Galley from the ſhoar, and to leave two Anchors and two Cables behind them, or elſe it had been in great danger of ſinking or burning, our Men aſſuring us, that an* Engliſh *Gunner had ſhot at them, and that they perfectly deſcried and ſaw him, although the* Engliſhmen *ſeem to deny it.*

Whereby altering of their firſt Purpoſe, the General of the Netherlands *reſolved to land upon the inward part of the Iſland of* Banda, *there to encamp themſelves, and then to go up upon the Hills, and there to plant their Ordnance, and to that end upon the eighth of* March, 1621, *landed with ſeventeen Companies between* Comber *and* Ortatten, *they marched along the ſhoar ſide, within the reach of three Pieces of great* Ordnance *lent them by the* Engliſhmen, *and not long before planted there, whereby if they had marched forward many of our Men had been ſlain, and ſo we ſhould have found no place there to encamp our ſelves, but the Enemy from the Hills would have domineered over us, no Man knowing what counſel to give, whereby we might get up upon the Hills. The way whereon above 3 Years before we had been, being all entrenched, whereupon the General determined to enter again into his Ship with the whole Army, to take another courſe. They of* Banda *not once purſuing after us, but with flouting and mocking let us go, and ſo thinking thereby, that they had gotten the upper hand of us, moſt part of them brought their Wives and Children again into* Lantore. *After theſe two Enterprizes, partly hindred by the* Engliſh *Ordnance, were in that manner croſt, the General for a third Reſolution, determined to aſſail the great Iſland of* Banda *on both ſides, that is, on the inner ſide of the Land with ſix Companies, and on the South ſide with ten Companies. That they on the inner ſide ſhould land an Hour before the others ſhould land, by that means to draw the Enemy forth, and ſo to make place on the other ſide, while a Company of choſen Men ſhould land on the North ſide, to climb up upon the Hills, and others in other places of the Land ſhould alſo be in a readineſs, being three hundred and thirty Perſons, whereof one hundred and fifty were Muſqueteers, appointed for the manning and aſſuring of thirty Boats, which the ſaid Company would bring on the South ſide of the Iſland.*

This was effected upon the eleventh of March, *and accordingly ſix Companies by break of Day, went on Land between* Comber *and* Ortatten. *Captain* Voghel *with certain choſen Souldiers marching forward, who climbing up upon the Hills, found ſuch reſiſtance, that all their Pouder being ſpent, they were in great danger to be ſpoiled, but being well followed and ſeconded by the reſt, the Enemy was forced to retire : and while this skirmiſh continued, the other ten Companies landing out of the ſaid thirty Boats, went on ſhoar upon the South ſide of* Banda, *in a ſmall Bay, ſome with Ladders, and others without, climbing up upon the Cliffs ; and being gotten up, they marched to the back ſide of* Lantore, *without any reſiſtance, but only thoſe that ſet upon the firſt Troops, being ſome ten or twenty Muſqueteers, by whom one of our Men was ſlain, and four or five hurt, whereby* Lantore *was taken on the South ſide by the ſaid ten Companies, while the other five Companies skirmiſhed with thoſe of* Banda *upon the Hills, and as ſoon as* Lantore *was taken, thoſe of* Madiangi, Luchny, Ortatten, *and* Sammer, *preſently forſook their Towns in the ſaid Iſland. When they of* Banda *ſaw the aforeſaid thirty Boats, they thought we would have ſailed round about the Land, as we had done three times before, whereupon making no reckoning of our landing, they were ſuddenly ſurprized by break of day.*

As ſoon as Lantore *with the reſt of the places aforeſaid were won, the reſt of them of* Banda, *namely* Slamma, Comber, Owendender, Wayer, *and thoſe of the Iſlands of* Roſinging, *and* Poolaroon, *made compoſition with us, which we granted upon condition, that they ſhould break down their Forts and Walls, and give us their Shot, Pieces and Muskets, &c. Which by them being done, all of them together, according to their Contract and Promiſes, yielded to hold their Countries and Lands of the Lords the general States of the united* Netherland *Provinces, promiſing to do whatſoever they ſhould be commanded, and acknowledge the ſaid Lords the general States for their Soveraigns, notwithſtanding their former Oaths taken unto any others.*

Thoſe of Lantore *and others being firſt overcome and vanquiſhed, and that ſaved themſelves among others of* Banda, *alſo asked Pardon and ſought for Peace, which was granted unto them upon the condition aforeſaid, though they hardly held the ſame, and ſecretly ſought to begin a new Rebellion, and were commanded by the General to ſhew themſelves all together upon the Strand, that they might be appointed in ſome other convenient place to live as fellow Citizens freely together, without the loſs of their Goods which they then had. Whereunto ſome of them obeyed, but the greateſt part fled upon the high Mountains in the great Iſland of* Banda, *to whom alſo many other Towns reſorted, and ſlew a* Netherland *Merchant, one other, and a Boy, where they were encloſed and hindred from Victuals by our Men. By this means all the Towns and Places in* Banda *were won, and made ſure, only* Poolaroon, *which was not medled withal, becauſe they of* Banda *therein behaved themſelves peaceably, for the Aid, or rather the Service of thoſe of* Poolaroon. *The* Engliſhmen *planted nine Pieces of Ordnance upon a ſmall Iſland in* Poolaroon, *having intrenched the ſame: and when thoſe of* Poolaroon, *according to the Compoſition, were to yield up their Arms, and diſarm themſelves, as they willingly did ; yet our General did not once ſpeak of thoſe nine Pieces of Ordnance ſtanding in the ſaid ſmall Iſland, becauſe the* Engliſhmen *ſhould have no cauſe to make any queſtion, that our Men had done any thing againſt their Fort or Men.*

The Engliſh *Commander,* Humphry Fitz-Herbert, *with his Ship called the* Exchange, *lying before the Caſtle of* Amboina, *and having intelligence of the General of the* Netherlands *Victory in* Banda, *ſhot off fourteen Pieces of Ordnance for joy thereof.*

This that is formerly declared, is the true ſtate and proceedings of that, which hath been done now lately, and before in the Iſland of Banda, *wherein nothing hath been done, but that which (according to the Law of Nations, and the aforeſaid Contract, made, and promiſed to be holden, and without any wrong done to the Liberties of the* Engliſh *Company, agreed upon with the Company of the* Netherland *) might and ought to have been done.*

Animadverſions upon the ſame.

IN theſe Terms have the *Dutch* made their Defence; and ſumming it all up together briefly, it amounts to as much as pleading not Guilty. 'Tis a poſitive denial of the Truth of the Charge as far as it pretends any thing of Violence and Injuſtice; nay, they don't only deny and defend, but recriminate too. They reproach their Accuſers with their own Guilt and Miſdemeanours, and make thoſe that cried out for Juſtice, the far more unjuſt and capable Perſons themſelves. This is the old way of the World in all matters of Burthen and Accuſation ; very few have Goodneſs and Modeſty enough to plead guilty in a Caſe of an odious nature, tho' the Truth of the Charge be ever ſo freely voted in the inward Sence of their own Minds.

The common Practice is either with one bold ſtroke to deny and ſcratch all out ; or elſe by ſome handſome well-contrived Interpretations, to work matters about till they will bear a favourable Conſtruction, and all the odiouſneſs of them be expounded and interpreted quite away. And then 'tis a ſolemn Artifice too, to accuſe the Accuſers, to make Paſs for Paſs with them, and anſwer one Indictment with another. This is a mighty help where Innocence is wanting ; 'tis the only way to avoid blame and cenſure thus to puzzle the Cauſe, and involve it in ſuch confuſion, that no body may be able to judge who's in the right and who in the wrong. Men and Boys practiſe this method both alike, and ſo do whole Nations too : 'Twas not I but you, you began firſt, and if I did do this, yet what you did was ten times worſe, and ſo the Buſineſs goes round, and the Charge is toſſed about from one to another. There's bawling and accuſation on every ſide, but not guilt to be found of any ſide ; each party is in the right, tho' they flatly contradict one another; and no body tells a lye, tho' all inconſiſtent Methods pretend to the Truth.

We do not aſſert that 'tis thus in this particular caſe between the *Dutch* and Us ; but this at leaſt is certain, that according to the common rates of Integrity and Ingenuity in this World, ſuch dealing is to be expected, and by thoſe meaſures, if they were really guilty they would do ſo.

We ſhall only conſider ſome Paſſages in their Declaration, and without any thing of unfair Repreſentation or invidious Reflection ; ſhew how far they are conſiſtent with Reaſon and Truth, and Matter of Fact. They affirm, that the *Banda* Iſles were deliver'd over to them by a ſpecial Treaty and Agreement in *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1609. But the Queſtion is, which of the two muſt be believ'd in this caſe, the *Bandaneſe* themſelves, or the *Dutch*; they ſtiffly deny any ſuch ſurrender of their Iſlands to them, and reckon it a very great abuſe for the *Dutch* to ſay ſo. A Peace indeed there was made that Year, this they own, but not a word of the ſurrender; we charged them with it before we finiſh'd our Agreement with them, and they all ſtood in it, that there was no ſuch thing.

But ſuppoſe this were admitted for Matter of Fact, take it thus at large, and in this general Notion, and it won't ſignifie much towards the proving their juſt Title to theſe Iſlands. One Man is not preſently to be concluded a lawful and fair Poſſeſſor of another Man's Right upon this Conſideration barely, that the Owner reſign'd it to him. A Traveller delivers up his Money to a Thief upon the Road, that preſents a Piſtol to his Breaſt; but the Thief does not come honeſtly by it for all that, and has a far juſter Title to the Gallows than to the Man's Purſe. Or ſhould he by Threatnings and Ill Uſage compel the Traveller to come into Articles for the payment of ſo much Money to him another time, whether the latter would lie under any Obligation in point of Conſcience or no, to be as good as his Word; the former deſerves to be hang'd notwithſtanding the Agreement. And if one People intrude themſelves into the Country of another, and then by continual Moleſtations and Encroachments upon the Privileges of that People, prepare them to embrace any Propoſal that offers them Peace and a Quiet Life, they can't pretend to act fairly and juſtly in poſſeſſing themſelves of all thoſe Advantages that this Conſtraint upon the Natives Liberty gives them. They are uneaſie, and have no way to help themſelves, and to avoid farther Plagues and Troubles, perhaps reſign their Country to the more powerful Intruders: But does not this come up pretty near to the Caſe of the Highway-men? And are not there the ſame Characters of Wrong and Violence upon one Action as upon the other? Now 'tis impoſſible the *Dutch* ſhould ever deny this, that they came and took the Town of *Nero*, and built a Fort there to keep all the People in awe about them: But the Buſineſs is, did they come upon the Invitation of the *Bandaneſe*, and did they build their Fort with their Conſent? The World will hardly ever believe, that the *Bandaneſe* would give way to ſuch a manifeſt Invaſion of their Liberties, or have ſuffer'd (if there had been any way to prevent it) a Foreign Power to come in and clap a Bridle upon them, by the means of which they might be managed, and turn'd about at pleaſure. However, 'twill be expected, that they ſhew ſome Contract or Commiſſion to that purpoſe; for ſuch things as theſe, upon which the Fortune of a Country depends, are not generally tranſacted by Word of Mouth only, but with ſomething more of formality by interchanged Writings. 'Till this be done, they muſt excuſe us if we believe the making thoſe Fortifications to be directly contrary to the mind of the *Bandaneſe*, and in plain Terms, an unjuſtifiable Encroachment upon them.

Now if after they had thus planted themſelves by main Strength or Policy in the Country, they become the Oppreſſors of it; if they teeze and diſtreſs the Inhabitants till they are weary of their Lives, and ſo make a Surrender in their own defence, and becauſe they can hold out no longer; this gets them indeed the poſſeſſion, but the Sacred Rules of Juſtice and right Reaſon are violated. 'Tis granted, here is eleven Points of the Law, but the twelfth and chiefeſt of all is wanting; here's no good Title. And 'tis unqueſtionably certain, that the *Bandaneſe* were thus haraſs'd and perplex'd by the *Dutch*; for when their Fort was finiſh'd, they ſet out all their Forces, and took the Town of *Labetacca*, and quickly after attempted *Slamnia* in like manner, where they were repuls'd with conſiderable loſs.

But when all's ſaid and done, the State of the Caſe is otherwiſe; and the Iſles of *Banda* were not ſurrendred to them at all. 'Tis true, that they might think they would be ſo, and the *Bandaneſe* pretended to do it; but 'twas all a piece of Mockery, and a Deſign to draw them into a Snare, that they might have their full Revenge. For when the *Dutch* Admiral, and a large Train of other Commanders came to a Conference with them in the Woods upon that Subject, the enraged *Bandaneſe*, having them now ſafe in their Pound, fell upon them to rights, and cut them all to pieces. They never intended any other Agreement but this, nor no Surrender but that of the Lives of the *Dutch* to their Mercy. We'll eaſily allow it to be a horrid Inſtance of Treachery and Barbarity, but then they were provok'd to a high degree, and the Conſideration of their many Injuries and Oppreſſions, will in ſome meaſure alleviate and ſoften the matter on the ſide of the *Bandaneſe*. Here then the Buſineſs reſts; and if no more were ſaid, this is ſufficient to ſhew, that the *Dutch* have but trifled in their Declaration. Theſe Iſlands were never put into their hands, all the adjoyning Countries are Witneſſes, that the *Bandaneſe* cut the Cords of that pretended Agreement aſunder with their Swords, and by maſſacring all the chief of the *Dutch* Commanders, left indeed hardly any Body of Figure or Note to agree withal. Why then ſhould the World read ſuch Lines as the two firſt in their Declaration are, that affirm a ſolemn ſurrender? How far is this from that Ingenuity and Vertuous Simplicity, that may be expected from a People of ſo eminent a Character in the Chriſtian World?

What Puniſhment they owe the *Bandaneſe*, for the Outrage committed upon their Officers, is another point; but to ſay the Country was delivered up to them, is an Injury both to them, and all Mankind in general, becauſe 'tis impoſing a manifeſt Falſhood inſtead of a Truth upon their belief. But before we drop the Buſineſs, we would take the liberty to put a few Queſtions to them, and that upon the bottom of ſome free Conceſſions of their own in the Declaration.

Since the Articles of Agreement between the *Bandaneſe* and them, are not fairly produc'd as they ought to be, and as thoſe between the *Engliſh* and that People were, what Motives can the World have to believe any ſuch thing, when the Carriage of the Natives towards them is duly conſider'd? What Agreement, where nothing but War and Violence, and all the Effects of an implacable Hatred appears? The *Bandaneſe* were never eaſie nor quiet with them by their own acknowledgment, they were always either plotting, or practiſing ſome Hoſtilities or other. By all their Motions and Strugglings 'twas plain, that they labour'd under a Burthen that was horribly oppreſſive to them, and which they wanted but Force and Power to throw off. They were all the while like the Lion in the Net, tumbling and toſſing about for Liberty, fretting and raving at the Bonds that held them, which if they could have gnawn aſunder they would. Is there in all this any ſign of a voluntary Submiſſion, or a free Surrender? On the other hand, 'tis a ſign, and a ſhrewd one too, that the *Bandaneſe* were either over-awed and terrified into a Compliance with them; or elſe that the *Dutch* carried it extreamly ill amongſt them, to put them into this violent ferment. And to juſtifie this conſequence, they may pleaſe to conſider, that they behav'd themſelves quite at another rate to the *Engliſh*. There was no plotting and caballing to cut them off, no Incivility was ever offer'd, nor an *Engliſhman* ſo much as affronted upon the Iſlands. We had all their Spice without any thing of difficulty or diſpute, we planted our Ordnance there, built and fortified without controul. In ſhort, there never was the leaſt Feud or Diſcontent, and tho' our Religion were different, yet that Point was ſettled; and perhaps never did Chriſtians and Mahometans live more amicably together. Now ſince we came in upon a good Foundation, and liv'd at this eaſie rate with the Natives, 'tis highly probable, that if they had ſtood upon the ſame juſt and fair bottom with us, they would have had as good Entertainment. Such Violences as were offer'd them, would have naturally follow'd upon an Uſurpation of the Peoples Rights and Privileges; ſuppoſe ſuch foregoing Injuries as thoſe, and ſuch Inſtances of Revenge as thoſe, would be the genuine Conſequences of them, amongſt a People that had any ſhare of Spirit, and were not fond of their Chains. And ſince theſe things did actually come to paſs, we muſt believe that to be the Cauſe till a more juſt one is aſſign'd: However, if there were no Encroachment, there muſt be irregular Conduct in the Caſe, they violated the Laws of Juſtice and Good Manners amongſt them; or elſe, why ſhould they, more than we, be ſingled out for the Marks of all the Fury and flaming Indignation of that People? So that the Buſineſs ſtill bears much to the ſame Point as before; for if there was an Agreement, it was by their own Conceſſion violated over and over: But the very ſame People were juſt and punctual to the *Engliſh* for ſeveral Years together; never flinch'd from what they pretended to, never broke their Word, never cut and ſhuffled in any reſpect with us, wherefore we crave their pardon, if we conclude, that without ſufficient Provocation the *Bandaneſe* would never have been falſe and cruel to them.

And certainly, they ought to produce very good Teſtimonies of the Agreeableneſs and Regularity of their Converſation amongſt that People; for the Effects of their deadly Averſion to them are ſo apparent, that the World can't forbear reſolving upon't, that the cauſe of it muſt be ſome very ill treatment. If it proceeded meerly from a cruel Humour, from a baſe and barbarous Diſpoſition, let the truth be told, that they may have the infamy of it; if 'twas a juſt Revenge, let our Neighbours the *Dutch* candidly acknowledge their own Miſdoings: In ſhort, it muſt be from one of theſe two Principles, unleſs they run to Notions of Sympathy and Antipathy, and ſay that the *Bandaneſe* have an unaccountable Averſion to them, as ſome People have to Cats.

There are ſome other Conſiderations that will very greatly add to the force of this Reaſoning, if they are joyn'd with it, the Sence of which may be taken thus all together: That thoſe Agreements with the *Bandaneſe* were divers times violated, and as often renew'd, that they came off and on again, and things were reſtor'd to the ſame Condition as before, after ſeveral Interruptions and Confuſions. If we are talking here not of late Agreements for ordinary Trade, but the ſolemn Surrender of a Country, who has ſo much power over his Underſtanding, as to diſpoſe it to believe theſe things? What, would that People with all the Indignation and Diſdain imaginable, throw off an abhorr'd Yoke, and then tamely put it on again themſelves? Did they groan under it as ſuch an inſupportable Burden, and make ſo many violent Efforts to get free; and when they had their Liberty, would they proſtitute it again to a Power, which they all along reckon'd arbitrary and tyrannical? How many degrees beyond a common Madneſs muſt this be? They muſt certainly be bewitch'd, and there's no ſolving the Buſineſs without bringing in the Power of the Black Art to account for't.

As for the Buſineſs of Trade, 'tis poſſible they might do and undo the Bargain ſeveral times; tho' by the way we are clear in't, that the *Dutch* never had any more of that neither, than what they got by downright Compulſion. But that they ſhould reſign their Country, and for ſuch Reaſons (as they did) withdraw that Surrender, and then make a freſh one, and this two or three times over; is a thing that cramps the Underſtanding of a Man with ſo much difficulty and contradiction, that it muſt be paſs'd off without any farther Notice. Now upon the whole, which is the injur'd Party, and who has moſt Reaſon to complain? The *Engliſh* were in a fair and legal manner poſſeſs'd of theſe Iſlands, (if at leaſt the free and voluntary Surrender of the Inhabitants can make it ſo), and the *Dutch* by unjuſtifiable Fraud and Violence forc'd them out.

Had the Natives a Power to diſpoſe of their own Country in that manner or no? If they had, the Declaration ſhould have been ſuppreſs'd, becauſe upon this ſuppoſition 'tis a Publick Defence of a notorious Piece of Injuſtice: If they had not, then ſome antecedent Obligations to the *Dutch* muſt hinder them; but the Declaration it ſelf affirms, that all the Treaties were then broken off, and the *Bandaneſe* had quitted all Concerns with them for the ſpace of eleven Years. Was there any Obligation then without a Treaty, or any Act of Injuſtice where there was no Obligation? And had there ever been an Obligation (which the others deny with all the Solemnity in the World), it had been cancell'd to all intents and purpoſes by the Breaches made by the *Dutch* themſelves. For no People can be ſuppos'd to give themſelves up to another for eternal Slaves, to be us'd well or ill at diſcretion, and have all their Fortune and Happineſs depend entirely upon the capricious Humour of thoſe they let in amongſt them. Therefore if the *Bandaneſe* found themſelves griev'd, they might ſeek Relief and Protection ſomewhere elſe; and if the *Dutch* broke the Original Contract, they forfeited their Intereſt in that People, and left them at liberty to diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought fit.

There is one thing more touch'd in the Declaration, which is by no means to be totally omitted; our Reputation is nearly concern'd in't, and to paſs it off without Notice, might in ſome Peoples Judgments be eſteem'd a tacite acknowledgment of the truth of the Charge. They ſay we animated the *Bandaneſe* in their Oppoſition and ill Deſigns, and blew up the riſing Flame of Contention between the *Dutch* and them. That we aſſiſted them with our Counſels, Purſes, and Ammunition, and put them into a Condition to maintain a War for their undoing. This is a very untoward Character; tho' they well know, that they have not ſcrupled any thing of that kind to us many a time before this. There are ſo many ill Principles that go to the Conſtitution of an Incendiary, there's ſo much Vice, filthy Nature and Temper in it, that no Body can be too much concern'd to clear themſelves from ſuch an imputation. We are therefore obliged to ſay (and that with all imaginable aſſurance), that this is as true as 'twas, that the *Bandaneſe* ſurrendred their Country to them; as true as their Title to thoſe Iſlands was juſt and good, and that the King of *England* gave them a Commiſſion to ſeize all our Ships they found beyond the *Celebes*. The Charge ought to be particularly explain'd and made good, and not deliver'd thus at random, and in general terms.

When the *Bandaneſe* had deliver'd up their Iſlands into our hands, and made themſelves equally the Subjects of our King with our ſelves, we did moſt certainly take them into our Protection, and furniſh them with what was neceſſary both for their Support, Trade, and Defence, againſt all Powers that ſhould pretend to invade them. This was the Tenour of our Agreement with them: And would any People in the World have acted otherwiſe, or have forborn a neceſſary Care and Proviſion for thoſe that had entirely committed themſelves to their keeping? But does this Action deſerve to be branded with all thoſe odious Characters of Treachery, Conſpiracy, and Caballing againſt them? Is it the ſame thing to give the *Bandaneſe* the juſt Protection of *Engliſh* Subjects, and to ſet them upon the *Dutch* to cut their Throats? 'Tis true, they were their Enemies (and with good reaſon too): But what then? They were our Friends, and of the ſame Body with us, and we were not obliged to deſert and turn them off, becauſe the *Dutch* and they could not underſtand one another rightly.

But they have not taken the right end of the Argument, nor made the ſtrongeſt Thruſt, in urging this upon us. They ſhould not have blam'd us for aſſiſting the *Bandaneſe* after the Surrender, but for taking the Surrender it ſelf at their hands. If there be any wrong done to the *Dutch*, it was in our accepting that Donation of the Iſland which they pretend to have been their Right: We had been ſcandalouſly weak and fooliſh, if we had not ſtood by them after we had made an Agreement with them. And if the ſtreſs of the matter be brought to reſt here, the Controverſie will quickly be decided in all thoſe Minds that receive what we have offer'd for Matter of Fact, which it is as certainly as ever it was certain that the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* contended about the Iſles of *Banda*.

We have now done, and ſaid all that we think the Declaration deſerves to have ſaid to it: We ſhall only make one concluding ſtroke; which we muſt do to deal impartially by our ſelves and them. 'Tis to add the Relation of a certain Prieſt of *Poolaroon*, an Eye-witneſs to theſe Tranſactions, in which he gives, in a few Lines, his Sence of the Original of the Conteſts between the *Dutch* and the *Bandaneſe*. 'Twas given by him in the *Malayan* Tongue, and tranſlated from thence into ours, by Mr. *Hayes*, our laſt Captain at that Iſland, before the fatal Concluſion of our Affairs there. The Prieſt ſeems to ſpeak honeſtly and impartially on both ſides, and we hope the World will not ſuſpect any unfair dealing of ours in the Tranſlation of it.

The Relation of the Prieſt of *Poolaroon*, touching the Beginnings and Occaſions of Quarrels betwixt the *Dutch* and *Bandaneſes*, written in the *Malayan* Language with his own Hand, in a very fair *Arabick* Letter, and the Sence rendred to me in *Engliſh*, by Mr. *Rob. Hayes*.

This is the beginning of Contentions betwixt the Hollanders *and the* Bandaneſes. *Two* Hollanders *ran from them, and turned* Slammes *or* Mahometans, *and in the Prieſts Houſe at* Nero *were ſlain by three* Hollanders; *which in Revenge were ſlain by the Natives, who ſtaid not there, but in the Fury ſlew other three* Hollanders. *This was ill done of them, to add a double Revenge. Soon after the General of the* Hollanders *came thither with thirteen Ships, and demanded Satisfaction for the Slaughter of his Country-men. The* Bandaneſes *offered Diet (that is, the wonted Satisfaction there uſed for Man-ſlaughter, in Money), for thoſe laſt three. But the General anſwered, That he came not now to demand Satisfaction, but to make Peace and League with them, which was done. The next Year came another* Holland *General,* Peter Williamſon Verhuef, *with fifteen Ships into the Haven of* Nero, *and asked leave to ſet up a Fort at* Taniung Ratoo, *or* Ponit Ratoo, *which the* Bandaneſes *granted; but then he refuſed it, and demanded leave to erect a Fort in another place at* Taniung Minangis, *which they refuſed. But he coming before the Caſtle of* Nero, *with his Ship and Ordnance, terrified the Inhabitants, which fled away, and he poſſeſſed the Caſtle, and fortified there. Then did the* Bandaneſes *ſubtilly diſſemble Friendſhip, and ſlew the General, and fifteen Captains, with others, about one hundred Men in all.*

CHAP. XXXVI

A Voyage to Surat, *in* India, *and* Jaſques, *in the Gulph of* Perſia; *ſet forth by the Company, with four new Ships; the* London *of* 800 *Tun, the* Hart *of* 500, *the* Roebuck *of* 300, *the* Eagle *of* 280. * *Captain* Andrew Shilling, *Chief Commander. Taken out of the Journal of Mr.* Rich. Swann, *Maſter of the* Roebuck.

* The ſame Perſon that perform'd the laſt Voyage to *Moha*. See the Index.

February, *A. D.* 1619. May, *A. D.* 1620. WE ſet ſail from *Tilbury Hope*, with this new Fleet, and all the way from the *Downs* to 8 Degr. N. Lat. we might have carried a top-Gallant-Sail, but hereabouts the Tornadoes began to blow upon us.

In paſſing the Equinoctial the Winds and Current gave us ſome diſturbance, and obliged us to croſs it more to the Weſt ſide than we intended. 'Tis impoſſible upon this Element always to chuſe our own way; we are at the diſpoſe of the Winds, and can't help going where they command.

July. King *James* his Title proclaimed at *Soldania*. At the Bay of *Soldania*, beſides the uſual buſineſs of Refreſhment, we had a Work of another nature to do: We made here a ſolemn Publication of his Majeſty's Title to the Country, and erected his Mount in Token of it.

Having paſſed the Cape of *Good Hope* a little way, we were horribly labour'd with the meeting the N. W. and S. E. Oceans; the Sea run ſo upon heaps, and was ruffled at that rate, that our Ships were put to the utmoſt trial of their Strength, to work their way through. We cut the Line a ſecond time, and brought the North Pole about the Horizon again; and here from 1 Degr. to 5 Degr. 32 Min. we were every Day hindred 11 or 12 Min. by a Southern Current; and this oppoſition of the Current laſted for four or five Days together.

Octob. After we had made ſix Degr. N. Lat. we ſaw for a great while (and that every Day) great numbers of Butter-flies, and ſeveral ſorts of Land Fowl, as Caſtrels, Quails, Martins, but which was pretty odd, no ſort of Sea Fowl at all.

Come to *Dabul*. We went away firſt for the Coaſt of *Dabul*: Here we ſtaid till our Men ſufficiently well refreſh'd and recover'd; and our two Ships deſigned for *Jaſques* were compleatly ready for that Voyage.

November. When this was done, they went (as they were bound) for *Perſia*, and we with the other two (the *London* and the *Roebuck*) for *Swally* Road. We had not been long at this place, before we heard that the *Portugueze* had prepared for the Surpriſal of our Ships diſpatched for *Jaſques*; that they lay waiting for their coming, and would in all probability ſnap them, if ſome meaſures were not taken for their reſcue. Our only way was to go after them, and be their Deliverers our ſelves; for the Enemy might have been too hard for them with their great Galleons, and the *Hart* and *Eagle* (as ſwift as they were) not able to have made their eſcape from them.

Go for *Jaſques*. This was agreed and concluded on; and accordingly we ſet ſail from *Jaſques*, taking in our paſſage a *Portugueze* Prize laden with Dates and Raiſins, but principally with *Arabian* Horſes, which were tranſporting from *Muſcat* to *Chaul*.

December. As we proceeded farther upon this Deſign, we met our own Ships coming back to us in *India*, finding the ſtrength of the *Portugueſe* ſo conſiderable, that they dared not ſtand the brunt of an Encounter with them. But being now all met, we turned about again, imagining our united Force ſufficient to graple with theirs; and as they lay there to hinder and deſtroy our *Perſian* Trade, we were under an obligation to do our beſt to beat them away.

Fight with the *Portugueze*. When we came up with them, we found their Fleet conſiſted of four Galleons, two Galleots, and about ten Frigats more lay attending them with Supplies of Men and Ammunition at the Eaſtern end of *Jaſques* Road. After the two Fleets had once ſeen one another, the Action quickly begun; we knew on both ſides that we did not meet there for a bare Interview, and to gaze upon each others Ships. The Fight continued nine Hours without intermiſſion, and perhaps had gone on as many more, had not the dark Night interpoſed and parted us. We can't be poſitive what Injury their Fleet ſuſtain'd with loſs of Men, only this we know, their Vice-Admiral dropp'd, and about 40 Men out of their *Admiral*, that is, *Portugueze*, for they never reckon *Moors* and *Indians* into the number of their Men, nor account it any Loſs to loſe them by thouſands. Their Admiral was certainly raked thro' and thro' with all our broad-ſides, and how the unweildy thing did to hold up her Head in that crazy condition to which ſhe was reduc'd, is ſomething ſtrange; but the Frigats lay by and were ready to aſſiſt in a time of extremity.

Our own Loſſes were leſs than could reaſonably have been hoped for in work ſo hot and tight as this was, and for ſo long together too. Our Rigging was pretty much damaged, but the Ships brought away their Carkaſſes ſound and in good caſe. We had three or four Arms broke, and one Skull beat in pieces with a Cannon Shot, and a fragment of that Skull did almoſt as much miſchief as the Bullet it ſelf, by ſtriking out the Eye of another that ſtood near. But what was this to be the fruit of ſo long fighting, and how many batter'd Skulls and Carkaſſes would one rather have expected to have ſeen in that time?

Here was an Interval now of four or five Days, in which ſpace of time the *Portugueze* had many fair Opportunities to have made a ſecond Trial, but they had not yet quite forgot the firſt; the Winds blew fair and invited them to come down upon us; but they paſs'd off that Kindneſs, and deſired to be excuſed.

This ſpare time we thought fit to improve as diligently as we could, and ſince we were not to fight, began to do buſineſs.

They land their Goods at *Jaſques*. We made towards *Jaſques* Road, and landed the Companies Goods and Money there, which was the Prize that the *Portugueze* wanted and came for, and now to their mortification, ſtood by and ſaw ſafely deliver'd aſhoar. A few days after this, they had a Supply of Men and Ammunition from *Ormus*, and then were bold enough to advance towards us a ſecond time. But yet managed themſelves ſo with the advantage of the Wind, that they kept at a fair diſtance from us, and we with all our labouring could not (for a good while) bear up to them. Such ſudden contrary guſts of Wind would meet and drive us back when we attempted it, that ſome of our Blacks cried out the *Portugueze* had brought a Witch from *Ormus* to ſerve them with Wind; if 'twas ſo, the Charm expired by degrees, and the Wind would be commanded by that Gentleman no longer, for at laſt it ſerved our purpoſe, and brought us up to the Teeth of them. A ſecond Fight. Yet after we were engaged, it calm'd all of a ſudden, and ſo two of our Ships that lay neareſt the Enemy were forced to bear the heavieſt burthen of the Action for ſome time; but by the unparallell'd Diligence and Reſolution of our Men, the other two that lay behind were brought into play, and fairly delivered their whole broad-ſides upon the *Portugueze* Galleons. And certainly had the Succeſs in all points been anſwerable to the Noble Heat and Courage of our Men, no part of that Fleet had ever ſeen *Ormus* or any other Port any more. They managed the Buſineſs with wonderful Bravery and Reſolution, went extravagantly high in courting a compleat Victory; but the *Portugueze* out-did them in Skill and Artful Conduct, and gave large Proofs of their good Abilities in that Days Service.

The *Portugueze* flie for't. However it came to this iſſue, that they cut their Cables, and drove away with the Tide till they were out of our reach; their Skill was ſo great that they ſaw they muſt be ruined if they ſtaid there any longer, and therefore took that courſe for their Security. Nay, to make the greater haſt, their Frigats were employed to tow them along; and 'twas a pretty ſight to ſee thoſe huge Ships now drawn away all torn and mangled, with tatter'd

Sails and broken Maſts, and all their Rigging in ſuch a pickle, that a Day or two before were ſo finely trimmed with Flags and Pendants, and came flouriſhing on with their ſets of Muſick. 'Tis always the way of that People to come to a Sea-fight with us, with ſo much Preſumption and inſolent Security of Victory before-hand, and it ever fadges with them accordingly; for they know well enough they are always beaten, and never come on ſo proudly and ſcornfully, * but they go off again as poorly and diſgracefully. But they will be Conquerours one way or other, if not in reality after a Battle, yet in imagination before it begins; tho' this is ſomething an odd way of triumphing, and no People will be jealous of their Glory, nor envy them the Fame of ſuch Victories as theſe.

* Witneſs Capt. *Beſt*, Capt. *Dounton* and others for this.

Admiral *Shilling* dies of his Wounds, and is ſucceeded by Capt. *Blith*.

As for our ſelves this time, our Loſs was greater than theirs, tho' we fairly had the Victory. Not that they killed us more Men, or ſpoiled us more Ships than we did them, for as to all theſe things we came off at a very cheap and eaſie rate. But our worthy Admiral, who expos'd himſelf to all Dangers as much as any common Sailor did, received a Wound in this Fight, of which he afterwards died; as his Life was Brave and Honourable, ſo his Death was Pious and moſt Chriſtian like, which happening before we could get away from *Jaſques*, we were forc'd to celebrate his Funeral there upon the ſpot.

Having diſpatch'd all Affairs at *Jaſques*, we ſet ſail from thence for *Surat*, and as in our coming hither 'twas our fortune to take a *Portugueze* Prize, ſo we had the ſame Adventure in our returning back; ſhe was no rich Ship at all, nor had any thing of lading, but entirely deſign'd for the War, and to guard the *Portugueze* Merchants from the *Mallabars*, and being capable of doing us ſome conſiderable Service, we diſmiſſed her Company and detain'd her.

February.

March.

As ſoon as we came to *Surat*, we began to take in Goods apace. But here ſome Differences and Diſcontents ariſe, by the perverſeneſs and ill humour of the Governour of *Vlpare*. We could not procure a Supply of Proviſions for the Ships, nor Liberty for the free and unreſtrain'd paſſage of Carts, with Goods forth and back aſhore; by means of which no Cotton Wool could come down to us, till we were pretty far on with a Lading. Had we ſtood ſtill, and diſcover'd our ſelves fearful of attempting to redreſs theſe Grievances, the ill-minded Governour would have trampled yet farther upon us, and our Fleet might have been ſtarv'd, as well as our Trade hinder'd. And therefore at once to ſet all theſe things to rights, we ſent down a Ship to keep Guard upon a Junk belonging to the Mogul, and to prevent her taking in any more Lading, till we were ſatisfied, and had the uſual Liberties allow'd us. This produc'd the deſired effect, and the Governour of *Surat* taking the Cauſe into ſerious conſideration, revok'd theſe injurious Orders, and gave it under his Hand, That all our Wants ſhould be ſupplied, and the Burdens we complain'd of effectually removed.

They ſet a Guard upon the *Mogul's* Junk.

Decans rob the Caffila.

So we were obliged to reſolve upon the ſame Method with reference to the King of *Decan*. The Caffila that went to and from *Agra*, was robb'd by the *Decan* Army, and in order to the getting reſtitution made, 'twas determin'd, that the Ships of that Prince ſhould be arreſted where-ever we met them, and kept in ſafe Cuſtody, till he had done us Juſtice. And the truth on't is, there's no doing amongſt theſe People, without taking ſome ſuch Courſes with them ſometimes, when their Actions are very unjuſt and extravagant: For whereas by this they are kept in due awe, and taught to obſerve ſome Decorum in their Carriage for the future; ſo by a total neglect of their Inſolence, the Vice will grow and ſtrengthen it ſelf in them, and become ſo tyrannical and troubleſome at laſt, that there will be no dealing with them, but in the way of a ſcandalous Submiſſion, and baſe cringing to their Humour.

Fleet divided.

April, *A. D.* 1621.

July.

After this we took two Ships more from the *Portugueze*, one of which was conſiderable, and had a good Lading of Rice.

And now our Fleet parted Company, ſome going for *Achen* and *Bantam*; others (with more Company) for *Jaſques* and the *Red Sea*; the reſt of us (which were two Ships beſides the Admiral) ſet ſail for *England*, being alſo to put in upon the Coaſt of *Arabia* in our return. This we did at the Iſle of *Mazira*, where we ſtaid till the Fury of the Monſon was a little over; the Admiral in the mean time lying at *Soar*, a Town ſeven Leagues within Cape *Roſalgate*.

Mazira Bay

Mazira has a very curious Bay, where you have clean Ground, a faſt black ozy Sand, and may ride in what Depth you will, from five to twelve Fathom. You have a cold, hungry, healthful Air there, but a tumbling boiſterous Sea for your Ships; freſh Water enough to be had out of the Pits, but not eaſie to get aboard, except at the ſtated Landing place. Proviſions are ſcarce here, and there's nothing but a few Goats and Lambs to be had in truck for ſome of your Cannekeens.

Soar Road.

There's a vaſt deal of difference between the Road of *Soar*, and this of *Mazira*; for as this is cold and ſtormy, and the Temper of the Air ſuch, that a Man eats with an Appetite, ſo at *Soar* 'tis always calm and clear, the Air hot and ſultry, and whatever inclination it gives to liberal Drinking, it allows little or none to Eating.

From hence we ſail'd away for the Bay of *Soldania*, our ſtated place both for Refreſhment and Intelligence too: For here of courſe we hide Letters for one another, containing Accounts of our Voyages and Affairs; theſe, when they are written, we bury in ſome cunning places known and agreed upon amongſt our ſelves. Both theſe neceſſary Works we did at this place; which done, we ſet ſail for *England*, having an eaſie and ſafe Voyage on't, till we came to an Anchor in the *Downs*.

June.

A. D. 1622.

A ſhort Account of the Paſſages and Ways of Communication between Muſcovy *and* Perſia, *with ſome other things relating to the Trade of theſe Countries. Taken out of a Letter directed to the* Eaſt-India *Company, from Mr.* Hobbs, *one of their Factors in* Perſia.

Dated from *Mina*, *December* the 13th, *A. D.* 1620.

THis Perſon it ſeems made a Journey from the Capital City of the one of theſe great Empires to that of the other; from *Muſco* to *Spahawn*. And however it came about it took up full five Months, before he could accompliſh it; tho' he reckons the beginning of his Journey from *Teraſlane* in *Muſcovy*, and not from *Muſco* it ſelf. He ſays indeed that it may be done in much leſs time than this, perhaps in 11 or 12 Weeks with eaſe, if there be no conſiderable Lets in the way; but what thoſe Lets are, he does not particularly deſcribe, and therefore 'tis to no purpoſe to gueſs at them. But he mentions three ways of Communication between *Muſcovy* and *Perſia*, which may be worth the Merchants while to take notice of. The firſt is to ſet out from *Teraſlane*, and to come down to *Aſtracan*, at the Mouth of the *Volga*, from thence by Water into ſome part of *Turkie*, bordering upon the *Caſpian* Sea, where the *Grand Seignior*'s Convoy is to be gotten for as far as *Derbent* and *Shomakee*; from thence to go with the *Caffila* for *Ardenil* and *Casbin*, and ſo as they pleaſe afterwards to *Spahawn*. The next way is to take the firſt Paſſage that can be gotten at *Aſtracan*, and ſo croſs the *Caſpian* for *Leygoints*, which is a League from *Lagor*, and ſeven from *Reſht* a place remarkable for the Silk Trade: This he ſays may be done in 18 or 20 Days, and then from *Reſht* to *Spahawn*, will be but 16 Days Journey. He prefers this as the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt Paſſage, and the way too is always open from *Aſtracan* in the Months of *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*. But then here muſt be the lucky hit of a favourable Wind for paſſing the *Caſpian*; and beſides 'tis dull ſailing with theſe Veſſels of *Guilan*, with which he propoſes to perform it; for they uſe nothing of

Ways of paſſing from *Muſcovy* to *Perſia*.

a Compaſs, but direct their Courſe altogether by the Aſſiſtance of the *Luminaries*, and then in dark, cloudy weather, when they can't appear, What becomes of the Voyage? The third Method is a Project for the ſpeedieſt Conveyance of Letters, between *Muſco* and *Spahawn*. He ſays they muſt be brought by the *Czar*'s Poſt as far as *Aſtracan*, from whence they may go either by Land or Sea to *Spahawn*; if by the former, then to be diſpatched immediately to the Governour of *Shomakee*, and ſo be put up in his Male, if by the latter, then to go to *Guilan*, and ſo to *Reſht*, and be ſent away by the Governour of that place to the *Engliſh* at *Spahawn*.

Trade in thoſe parts.

After this we have ſome ſhort Accounts of matters of Trade. The great Buſineſs begins at *Aſtracan*, at the arrival of the Boats, which is in *June*; then the *Perſians* bring in their Dyed Silks, Dorogoes, Calicoes, and other *Perſian* Stuffs, which they ſell by retail, and the way of Barter.

The Commodities they return are Cloth, Sables, Martens, Red Hides, Horſe-Skins, old *Ruſſian* Money, which they buy at 44 and 46*d. per* Roble for exchange. And the ſame Commodities are tranſported by the *Ruſſians* too, tho' they make very little of it; and Mr. *Hobbs* affirms, that our Trade well followed in thoſe parts will entirely overthrow theirs.

In his Paſſage upon the *Volga*, he ſaw their way of taking the Sturgeons, with which that famous River abounds. They pail in the River from Bank to Bank, and ſo effectually ſtop up the Fiſhes way, that they can't avoid falling into their Weers.

Caviare and Iſinglaſs.

The Caviare is made of the Row of that Fiſh, laid in Salt for 14 or 15 Days; then they waſh all the Salt clean off, and put up the Rows (thus prepar'd) with the Fat of the ſame. The very fat Sturgeons have a yellow Row, which they put up as it is without any farther preparation; but this he ſays utterly ſpoils all the reſt it lies near, and much prejudices the Salt of the Caviare at the Markets. The Iſinglaſs is made of a certain String taken out of the Back of the Sturgeon.

Places for Silk.

As for the Great Places for the Silk Trade, he tells us they lie moſt of them near the *Caſpian* Sea. There's *Reſht*, *Peomin*, *Sheft*, and *Leygon*, in the Province of *Guilan*, the fartheſt of which is not more than eight Leagues from the Ports.

At theſe places the King of *Perſia*'s Silk is peculiarly made; but then beſides theſe, in *Mezendroan* is a Plantation for the ſame Commodity, which furniſhes a good Quantity annually. Upon the whole he urges how conveniently theſe places lie, for the eaſie tranſportation of Silk into *Muſcovy*. Here they may be ſhipp'd without any farther trouble upon the *Caſpian*, and ſo brought up the *Volga* as far as we pleaſe, if Liberty be but procured from the *Czar* for that purpoſe. And how much there is of facility and ſhortneſs in this way beyond the common method of carrying them three Miles Journey by Land before they reach the Port, there needs no Light to diſcover. Beſides that it is moſt certain that a great deal of Money, as well as Pains is ſaved by this Compendium, ſince the way that is the moſt tedious and troubleſome, is always, and muſt be, the moſt chargeable too.

Mr *Hobbs* for a Concluſion tells us, that our *Perſian* Trade (then in its Infancy) had ſeveral Enemies plotting againſt it to make it as ſhort liv'd as poſſible; the *Turks*, *Arabs*, *Armenians*, and *Portugueze*, the latter of which were as diligent to defame and blaſt the Reputation of the Nation, as to undermine its Trade. But theſe are no new nor ſtrange things; all ſorts of Enemies will hinder a Peoples thriving if they can, but very rude and ill bred ones will rail and rave in to the bargain.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An Account of ſome things Hiſtorical and Civil, relating to the great Empire of Japan, *taken out of ſome later Letters of Mr.* Richard Cock, Engliſh *Factor at* * Firando, *and Mr* Arthur Hatch *Miniſter, who alſo lived in the Country ſome time.*

* Mr *Cock*'s Letter bore date, *Decem.* 31. *A. D.* 1622. Mr. *Hatch*'s *Nov.* 25. *A. D* 1623.

IN ſome former Accounts of the Affairs of this Country, we had intelligence of the diſmal Stirs and Convulſions, Wars and Perſecutions with which it was oppreſſed. The genuine Heir of this vaſt Empire was ſtrugling for his Right, and the Uſurper (poſſeſs'd of the Throne) endeavouring with all his Power to overturn him.

* See Mr. *Cock*'s former Letters.

* How that diſpute ended between theſe two contending Parties, was there related; but the other and the latter parts of the Story of the Country (as far as it went while our *Engliſhmen* were there) are now to come in. *Ogſhoſamma* having the good Fortune to get the better of the Young Prince, and ſee him (tho' not ſecurely laid up in a Priſon under Ground, yet) driven to fly to ſome obſcure corners for ſhelter; returned with a great deal of Pomp and Triumph to *Surunga*. Here he bleſs'd his kind Deliverers, the Idols of Wood and Stone; which he believed to have given him this mighty Succeſs, becauſe he had been zealous in perſecuting the Chriſtians. But theſe Triumphs laſted not long, and the vain glorious Emperour (the ſucceeding Year) was conquered himſelf by a more powerful and inexorable Adverſary. *Ogſhe-ſamma* died; and of many Sons which he left behind him, choſe out perhaps the unworthieſt for his Succeſſour. His Eldeſt Son (a Prince of great Valour) was quite put by, by his Special Command; the main Reaſon of which was, that he had loſt his Noſe by the Foul-Diſeaſe.

* This was he that rais'd that direful Perſecution, an Account of which is given in Mr. *Cock*'s other Letters before.

A great Conſpiracy in *Japan*.

The * New Prince had not enjoy'd his Crown many Years, before he was diſturb'd by one of the horrideſt Conſpiracies that ever was form'd in that Country. No leſs than nine of the Vice-Kings, and thoſe the richeſt, and ſtrongeſt, and beſt Souldiers in the Empire, joyn'd their Strength and Counſels together to dethrone him; and managed their Buſineſs ſo cunningly too, that the Emperor could never diſcover the Plot, till he found it too ripe and well grown to bear the common Methods of Suppreſſion. The Party was too formidable, and the Men too great to be threatned and hector'd like a Company of ordinary Rebels; and they had ſo much force of their ſide too, that 'twas very doubtful whether they could be beaten into their Duty and Allegiance again or no. Upon this Account (they tell us) the Emperor *Shonga-Samma* was enclined rather to uſe gentle Methods, and 'twas thought he would ſooner compound with them, than endeavour to reduce them by force of Arms. All or moſt of theſe petty Kings were Men of vaſt Revenues, and if they had a mind to rebel, had Money enough to bear them out in't. The Head of them (who was alſo the Emperors Kins-man) was reckon'd worth 200 *Mangoca's* of Rice, *per Ann.* which one of our *Engliſh* Men computed at 1875000 pound Sterling; and ſeveral others of them not much leſs. [The *Mangoca* contains 10000 Goca's, each Goca is 100 Ganta's, and every Ganta about three Ale Pints *Engliſh* Meaſure.] Of theſe Petty or Vice-Kings, there are in all about 65 ſmall Princes if compar'd with the Great Emperor their Sovereign, but conſiderable enough if conſider'd with reſpect to the State and Royalty they themſelves live in.

The Eſtates of the *Japoneſe* Princes in Rice.

Way to prevent Treaſons and Rebellions.

'Tis a Policy always practiſed by the Emperours to keep either theſe Princes themſelves, or ſome of their neareſt Relations at Court. The deſign of this is, to have always a Security for their Fidelity and Obedience; for if they rebel, their Friends at Court are immediately commanded to cut their Bellies, which nothing can poſſibly prevent, but their return to their Duty, and Submiſſion to the Emperor's Mercy. Or if the Prince himſelf remain at Court, and his Vaſſals in the mean time (tho' without his Knowledge or Inſtigation) take up Arms, the Emperor bids him be his own Executioner, and will make him be ſo, unleſs he preſently write to his Mutineers and prevail with them to be quiet again. But many Examples have ſhewn, that this piece of Policy is not ſo effectual a Guard upon the Emperor's Quiet and Repoſe, as it might be imagin'd it would be; witneſs particularly that deſperate Conſpiracy juſt now mention'd.

Another Policy.

The Emperors do endeavour alſo by another Method to ſecure themſelves and their State in Peace, and that is, by drawing off as much as they can from the Power and Riches of theſe inferiour Princes. As they are many of them very rich, ſo their Sovereigns take all the Care they can, they don't grow too faſt. When their Fleeces are large and heavy, they deliver them from the Burden, and ſhear them well by Taxes and Tributes, and a multitude of Duties. They make them build Caſtles and Fortifications all which are to ſerve the Emperor, but their own muſt be neglected, and they are not ſuffer'd (at leaſt without a great deal of ſuſpicion) any way to fortifie themſelves. Then the Cuſtom of the Country is ſuch, that all the Princes, and Great Men muſt make very large and noble Preſents to the Emperor, and that frequently too; by which means one wou'd think their Coffers ſhould be pretty well drein'd, and they themſelves kept very low and ſhort of Money; unleſs extraordinary Frugality otherways (a Vertue the *Japoneſe* Nobility are little addicted to) prevented that inconvenience. Their Humour being brave and generous, they preſent their Prince at an extravagant rate, and even contend to outdoe one another in the Coſtlineſs and Magnificence of their Gifts. But 'tis all ſo much juſt thrown away, for there's nothing of return or requital on the Emperor's part; while they load him with Silver, Gold, and the moſt precious Commodities imaginable, he gives them perhaps a Kerrimoon, or Coat, which Mark of his Favour and Acceptance, is all their Reward. This is indeed the direct way to be very rich himſelf, and to make them very poor, both which it ſeems are equally the Emperor of *Japan*'s Deſign; tho' notwithſtanding all theſe Artifices, he cannot ſo eaſily accompliſh the latter neither.

The Nobility give rich Gifts to the Emperor.

The Riches of the Emperor.

'Tis ſaid of this Prince, that not only his Coffers, but much larger Receptacles than they, are fill'd with Gold and Silver; that he has whole Storehouſes cram'd with Coyn and Bullion, and amongſt the reſt ſome Balls of maſſy Gold, of that weight and magnitude, that fifteen or ſixteen Men are ſcarce able to bear one of them: Theſe were brought to Court from the famous Caſtle of *Ozaca*.

His Privy Council.

The Emperor's Privy Council conſiſts of no more than five Members, Men for their Wiſdom, Fidelity, Policy, and Vigilance, pick'd out of all Princes of the Empire, and are commonly as acute and dextrous in managing State-Affairs, as the beſt States-men in Chriſtendom can ſhew. No Cauſe comes before the Emperor, but what theſe approve of, for none either ſpeaks or preſents a Petition himſelf; the Buſineſs, whatever it be, is brought to and left with them, and it is wholly in their power either to promote it, or keep it for ever from the Emperor's knowledge.

Upon this account it ſeems, that this Prince's Affairs and State, ſtand upon a very ticklish uncertain bottom, and whatever other good Politicks the *Japoneſe* have, this Piece appears to be none of the beſt and wiſeſt: For all reſts upon the Foundation of the Honeſty and Prudence of five Men, who may eaſilier be ſuppos'd to be deceiv'd, or tainted with Diſloyal Principles, than 500, or 50: A Plot lies ſafer in the Breaſts of a ſmall number, than a great one; the Advice of many wiſe Men is preferrable to that of a few, and in the multitude of Counſellors there is certainly moſt ſafety. But it ſeems they think otherwiſe in *Japan*.

Large Caſtles.

The moſt ſtately Caſtles of this Country, (at leaſt thoſe known to our Travellers) are thoſe of *Ozaca*, *Surunga*, *Eddo*, *Crates*, and *Falcata*, of all which that of *Ozaca* is, or was the moſt conſiderable, both for its Largeneſs, Strength, Riches, and magnificent Buildings. Thoſe of *Crates* and *Falcata* are each two Miles in circumference, and both (as well as the reſt) well walled and moated, and furniſhed with a large Storehouſe of Rice. The principal Nobility of the Empire have Houſes within theſe Caſtle Walls, whither they retire, either at their own, or the Emperor's pleaſure.

A fine Wood.

At *Falcata* there is a Wood of Pines about three Mile ſquare, which is all Summer-long ſwept and kept ſo clean and neat, that you ſhall hardly ſee a Twig, Bough, or Leaf, any where under the Trees; and then all the Pines ſtand ſo cloſe together, that a Man may refreſh himſelf there in the hotteſt Weather at all Hours of the Day, without any offence from the Sun's Beams. In the Center of the Grove ſtands a ſtately Temple moſt richly adorn'd, with gilded Images, and Varieties of fine carved Works.

Printing and Alphabets.

The *Japoneſe* (beſides the Art of Writing), have that alſo of Printing amongſt them, and for how many Ages no Body can tell. They have ſeven ſeveral Alphabets, and in each of them 48 Letters, and yet with all theſe they can't truly write or pronounce many of our *European* Names. There are ſome Letters they cannot get the true pronunciation of, as *H*, *B*, *T*, and ſome others; as the *Chineſe* (they ſay) if their Lives lay on't, cannot truly pronounce *D*.

Cuſtom of altering their Names.

They have an odd Cuſtom amongſt them of altering their Names, in which they ſeem to differ from the Practice of all Nations of the World. Every Perſon has the Liberty of changing his Name three times, in Childhood, in Riper Years, and in Old Age: But ſome do it oftner, quit their old Names, and aſſume new ones as they ſee fit, in which caſe they generally Complement ſome petty King or Nobleman, with whom they are in Favour, by taking the ſame Name.

The *Japoneſe* obſerve no conſtant ſtated Sabbath, but ſeveral Feaſt-days, according to the Moon, as the 1ſt, the 15th, the 28th: On theſe Days they go to Church, viſit the Sepulchres of the Dead, and uſe abundance of apiſh ridiculous Ceremonies.

Solemn Days.

The 9th Day of the Moon, throughout the whole Year, they hold accurſed, and therefore they won't undertake or begin any Work of conſequence that Day. They obſerve a very ſtrict Faſt on that Day of the Month on which their Father or Mother died; and as much as they love, and as heartily as they eat Fleſh of other Days, they won't touch any ſort of Animal Food on that mournful Day.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Voyage perform'd by Mr. Ralph Fitch, *Merchant of* London, *to* Ormus, *and from thence through the whole* Eaſt-Indies. *Written by himſelf.*

A. D. 1583.

I Set ſail *A. D.* 1583, in the good Ship the *Tyger* of *London*, ſet forth at the principal Charges of the Worſhipful Sir *Edward Osborn*, Kt. and Mr. *Richard Stape*, Merchants and Citizens of the ſaid place, in Company with Mr. *John Newberry*, Merchant, and ſome other *Engliſh-men*.

Tripoly.

Aleppo.

Being come to *Tripoly*, in *Syria*, after ſome ſtay there, we took the way for *Aleppo*, which we went in ſeven Days, with the Caravan.

Birra.

From thence (having good Company) we travell'd to *Birra*, which is two Days and half's Journey with Camels; it is a little Town, but very well ſerv'd with all ſorts of Proviſion, and the River *Euphrates* runs juſt by the Walls of it. Here we bought a Boat, and agreed with ſome Watermen to carry us along the River, intending to go for *Babylon*. Theſe Boats are and can be but for one ſingle Voyage, becauſe the Stream runs ſo quick downwards, that there's no returning that way again. And therefore when we come to a little Town called *Felugia*, we always ſell our Boat, and for a very ſmall matter too; for that which coſts us 50 at *Birra*, we put off again for 7 or 8 at *Felugia*.

Felugia, where they ſell their Boats in the way to Babylon.

It is not ſafe to go with one Boat alone, but to have another (at leaſt) in Company for a Relief, in caſe of a Diſtreſs, that may happen: For if the Boat breaks (which is no difficult thing to ſuppoſe), the Paſſengers will find it a very hard matter to ſave themſelves and their Goods from the thieviſh *Arabians*, that are always waiting for

Prey

Watching againſt the *Arabs.*

Prey along the Banks of the River. And for the ſame Reaſon in the Night-time, when the Boats are made faſt, 'tis highly neceſſary to keep a ſtrict Watch, without which a Company is eaſily ſurpriz'd by thoſe diligent and wakeful Robbers. They come ſwimming about the Boats and fetch off the Goods with a deal of Art and Subtlety; to prevent which, there's nothing better than to be well furniſh'd with Guns (which they ſtand in great awe of) provided you keep awake to uſe them.

It is ſixteen Days Journey from *Birra* to *Felugia*, and as you paſs along the *Euphrates* thitherwards there are divers places where you pay Cuſtom to a certain Prince of the *Arabs*, that is Lord of a great Tract of Ground thereabout, and has divers Villages upon the River.

Babylon.

Felugia, where you unlade your Goods from *Birra*, is a little Village, from whence you go in a Day to *Babylon*. This is a Town of no very great Dimenſions, but of great Trade, and mighty populous; 'tis in the high Road to *Perſia*, *Turkey*, and *Arabia*; and from thence Caravans ſet out for theſe and ſeveral other places. There come good ſtore of Proviſions hither down the River *Tygris* from *Armenia*; they bring them upon Rafts made of Goat-skins, blown full of Wind, and ſo Boards laid over them, upon which their Goods are laid; then when they have unladed at *Babylon*, they open their Skins, and carry them home pack'd up upon Camels, to ſerve another time.

Its Supply of Proviſions.

A Bridge of Boats

Oppoſite to *Babylon* ſtands a very fair Village, from whence you paſs to the Town upon a long Bridge of Boats, which is held by a great Iron Chain faſtned on either ſide the River. When any Boats are to paſs up or down the River, they remove ſome of the Boats out of the Line, and ſo make a Gap for them, which they afterwards cloſe up again as before.

Tower of *Babel.*

The old Tower of *Babel* ſtood on this ſide the *Tygris* towards *Arabia*, about ſeven or eight Miles from the Town, upon a large and open Plain betwixt that River and *Euphrates*. The Interpretation of the Name is very viſible all about it, in the confus'd and ruinous heaps that appear there; it lies like a little Mountain, without form or ſhape; it was made of Bricks dried in the Sun, and certain Canes and Leaves of the Palm-Tree laid between the Bricks. There's nothing of any entrance or paſſage into it to be ſeen now, the falling Ruines having ſtopt up all that long agoe.

Boiling Pitch iſſuing out of the Earth.

Travelling along the *Euphrates*, about two Days Journey from *Babylon*, we came to a place call'd *Ait*, in a Field near which is a mighty Chaſm in the Earth, from whence there is a continued Eructation of Smoke and boiling Pitch, the Torrents of which run abroad into the neighbouring Plain to a conſiderable diſtance. The *Moors* call this the Mouth of Hell; but for all that, the Country People uſe the Pitch that boyls out of it, without any fear or ſcruple; they daub their Boats with it two or three Inches thick, and find it ſecures them admirably well from the Water.

Baſora.

When the *Tygris* is well repleniſh'd with Water, you may go from *Babylon* to *Baſora* in eight or nine Days, otherwiſe the paſſage will be longer. *Baſora* was formerly ſubject to the *Arabians*, but now to the *Turk*, tho' there are many of the *Baſorians* which all that Power cannot ſubdue, nor drive out of their Strong-holds in the Iſles of the *Euphrates*. They are a Thieviſh Vagabond ſort of People, having no fix'd and ſettled Dwellings, but roving up and down from one place to another, 'tis probable, where they have moſt opportunity to ſteal. They wear long blue Gowns; and their Wives have their Ears and Noſes full of Silver and Copper Rings, as others of this latter alſo about their Legs. The Town ſtands near the *Perſian* Gulf, and has the advantage of a great Trade of Spices and Drugs that come from *Ormus*. There's alſo great ſtore of Wheat, Rice, and Dates, growing thereabouts, with which they ſerve *Babylon*, *Ormus*, and all the parts of *India*.

The Veſſels that uſe to go from *Baſora* to *Ormus*, are many of them very ſlight and ill-made things, and leak Water abundantly. They are made of Boards faſtned together with a kind of Thread made of the Husk of the Coco, and certain Canes, or Straw-leaves ſowed upon the Seams of the Boards, which is the cauſe they let in the Water ſo.

In one of theſe ungainly Ships we ſail'd from *Baſora* to * *Ormus*, paſſing many Iſlands; and amongſt the reſt the Iſle *Baharem*, ſo much celebrated for the fine Orient Pearl.

* An Account of *Ormus*, as much as this Author gives of it, you have before in Mr. Salbank's Voyage.

The King of *Ormus* (at this time) was a *Moor*, choſen by the *Portugueze*, and altogether govern'd by them. The Women of this place are ſome of the moſt extravagant perhaps in the whole Eaſtern World, for the gaudineſs and multitude of their Ornaments. All parts of them almoſt, are beſet with Jewels, Rings, or Locks of Gold and Silver; their Noſes, Ears, Necks, Arms, and Legs; and beſides all (as if the other was not enough), a long Bar of Gold hanging on one ſide of their Noſes. Their Ears are ſo extended and widened, with the weight of the things they hang in them, that a Man may thruſt three of his Fingers into them. In ſhort, they are very valuable Creatures as they are dreſs'd, and half as much Vertue and Goodneſs as they have Gold and Silver about them wou'd make them very excellent indeed.

Made Priſoners by the *Portugueze.*

This place prov'd very unfortunate to us; for here quickly after our arrival we were ſeiz'd by the *Portugueze*, and ſent Priſoners for *Goa* to the Vice-Roy there. In this Voyage we paſs'd by *Diu*, *Daman*, *Chaul*, and other places on the Coaſt of *India* belonging to the *Portugueze*.

Trade at *Chaul.*

Chaul is as it were two Towns, one belonging to the *Portugueze*, the other to the *Moors*. That of the *Portugueze* is neareſt the Sea, commands the Bay, and is walled about: A little above that ſtands the *Moors* Town, govern'd by a King of their own. Here's vaſt Traffick for all ſorts of Spices, Silks, Drugs, Sandals, Elephants Teeth, *China*-Work, and Sugar made of the Nut * *Gagare*.

* The Coco.

The moſt Trade indeed for Corn and Rice in theſe parts, is at *Daman*, *Balaim*, and *Tana*; which three places are upon the Coaſt between *Diu* and *Chaul*; but 'tis to this latter that the greateſt number of Ships come from *Ormus*, the *Red Sea*, and all parts of *India*.

We came at laſt to * *Goa*, the place of our intended Miſery and Impriſonment. Here is the great Rendezvous of the *Portugueze* Nation, their beſt Strength both for Men and Ships, and the place where a Man may ſee a freſh Fleet of them every Year. They come for the moſt part in *September*, and having ſtaid forty or fifty Days, go then to *Cochin*, where they lade their Pepper for *Portugal*. The Town ſtands in the Dominions of an *Indian* Prince who lies up in the Country ſix or ſeven Days Journey, and his chief City is *Biſapour*.

* You have a Deſcription of the Town in Mr. Salbank's Voyage.

November. A. D. 1584.

At our arrival there, we were examin'd before the Juſtice, and becauſe they could prove nothing upon us, and were reſolv'd to make us guilty of ſome Crime or other, they made Spies of us, and ſo ſent us to Priſon. And in that Condition we continued for about a Month, when the favour was granted us of coming out, and being only Priſoners at large in the Town, upon the proviſion of good Sureties. Theſe a certain *Engliſh* Jeſuit was ſo kind as to look out for us, who being bound we came out, and paid them in our Money (the Sum of 2140 Duckets) to preſerve them harmleſs. But five Months being now ſpent, and the *Portugueze* able to prove nothing againſt us, we demanded our Liberty, and the Repayment of the Money from the Sureties. But theſe honeſt Men, inſtead of refunding, demanded more Money of us, when we addreſs'd the Vice-Roy, and moved to have Juſtice done us. In this Caſe, all our Comfort was a very ſharp and threatning Anſwer, That they had not done with us yet; they ſhould find out other things againſt us, and would ſift us after a ſeverer manner before 'twas long: That is, they would put us into the Inquiſition, where any thing may be found out againſt any Man, and all Men (eſpecially thoſe that have Money) are throughly ſifted indeed. Finding therefore this to be the Caſe, and being told, that we ſhou'd certainly have the Strappado in a little time, we reſolv'd to avoid all theſe Miſchiefs by running away. This Deſign we accordingly put in execution, and being got over the River, we proceeded in a very uncertain and dangerous ſort of Ramble, neither knowing the way our ſelves, nor daring to truſt any Guide to ſhew us.

They make their eſcape. *April*, A. D. 1585.

Bellargan.

The firſt Town we came to was *Bellargan*, where there's a great Market kept for Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, and other precious Stones.

Biſapour.

From hence we went to *Biſapour*, a very large Town, and as rich as large; the Houſes high, fair, and built of Stone. The Inhabitants are moſtly Idolaters, and their Idols (which are very numerous) ſtanding about in the Woods, of as many Forms and Shapes, as the Beaſts and Fowl that dwell there.

Golconda.

Golconda (which we viſited next) is a fine agreeable Town, the Houſes built of Brick and Timber; it has very good freſh Water, and will entertain you with Varieties of pleaſant Fruits. The Inhabitants, both Men and Women, wear only a Cloth bound about their middles, which as the Cuſtom of their Country makes decent, ſo the Heat of the Climate renders as convenient. This Country, *Biſapour*, and *Decan*, are the moſt famous for plenty of Diamonds of the Old Water. All along this Continent the Land is very good and fruitful.

Servidore.

From *Golconda* we went to *Servidore*, the King of which has the Title of *The King of Bread*; and the Fineneſs and Fertility of his Country will allow it him. The Houſes of the Town are all thatch'd and built of Lome, too mean by far for the Character of the Noble Region they ſtand in. The Inhabitants are a mixture of Moors and Gentiles, but the Religion of both is much the ſame.

Barrampore.

The next places we came at were *Bellapore*, and *Barrampore*. This latter Town is built much after the ſame manner with *Servidore* ; but both it and the Country about it are very populous.

In their Winter, which is in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, there's no paſſing the Streets but with Horſes, the Waters be ſo high.

They make here great ſtore of Cotton Cloth, and Painted Cloth of Cotton Wool, with which they ſupply other parts, and are themſelves as plentifully ſupplied by Nature with vaſt Quantities of Corn and Rice. Their Money is a thick round piece of Silver, of the Value of 20 *d.*

They marry Boys and Girls of ſix or eight Years old together, and make them conſummate the Marriage by lying together at ten. The Reaſon they give for this, is, becauſe if a Man happens to die, his Wife is obliged by the Cuſtom of the Country to burn her ſelf at his Funeral, and ſo both the Parents go away together : Now if they leave any young Children behind them, they reckon they are expos'd to all the Hazards and Difficulties of the World, having neither Father nor Mother to take care of them. But now by theſe Marriages they ſee their Children provided for in their own Life-time, here's a Father or a Mother-in-Law (if not both) provided againſt a time of neceſſity, ſo that if the Natural Parents die, there are ſome others left in their room and place to take care of the Children. Theſe young Brides and Bridegrooms are carried through the Streets on Horſeback very finely trimm'd, with Muſick and Dancing before them, to make up the Solemnity, after which they fall to Banquetting, and between that and Dancing, ſpend the reſt of the Night.

From hence we proſecuted our Journey into the Country of the Great Mogul, through the beſt part of which we paſs'd * ; and at *Fetipore* I parted with my *Engliſh* Company : Mr. *Newberry* being bound for *Labor*, and from thence for *Perſia* and *Conſtantinople* ; and Mr. *Leeds* the Jeweller being entred into the Service of the Great Mogul, who gave him a Houſe, Horſe, Slaves, and beſides a good Salary. Thus they diſpos'd of themſelves ; and I for my part went away for *Sattagam* in *Bengala*, in the Company of 180 Boats loaden with Salt, Opium, Lead, Carpets, and divers other Commodities, down the River *Jemini*, which runs into the *Ganges* at a certain place call'd *Prague*.

* We omit his Journal of his Travels through this Country, ſince it has nothing but what has been obſerv'd before.

Indian Mendicants.

The Country adjacent abounds with Partridge, Swans, Geeſe, Cranes, Turtle-Doves, Tigers, and a worſe ſort of Beaſts than they ; a parcel of idle Mendicants, lazy begging Fellows, that wou'd be reckon'd (and are eſteem'd) Religious Men, and get a good Living by the pious Fraud. To rivet this Notion into the Peoples Minds more firmly, under the pretext of Religious Mortification, they abandon all natural and neceſſary Care of their own Bodies. One of them which I ſaw, was an abſolute Monſter, and one might well have queſtion'd, whether he was of the Human Kind or no. He was quite naked, and affected to be ſo, his Beard was vaſtly long, and with the Hair of his Head he cover'd the obſcene parts. The Nails of ſome of his Fingers were full two Inches in length, and if he lived, muſt grow to be five times as long (for he would ſuffer nothing to be taken from him)and by that time, with thoſe Talons,he would be ableto diſpute his Living with the Tigres. He would not ſpeak a word to any that ask'd him, but he had them by him, that did both beg and anſwer Queſtions for him ; all that he did himſelf, was only to lay his Hand upon his Breaſt, and bow his Body a little. The common People have a mighty Veneration for theſe ſort of Men, which are Saints in their eſteem, as any thing indeed that plays the Buffoon, that looks ſourly and demurely, or rough and horrid, very eaſily gets that Character amongſt them : A barbarous Countenance, overgrown Nails, and long ſhaggy Hair, does better than a good Stock of Piety and Vertue.

But to leave them ; the Country along the *Ganges*, from *Prague*, is univerſally fruitful and populous, and has the Bleſſing of exceeding ſweet and pleaſant Water. The Inhabitants of theſe parts, for the moſt part, keep their Faces very cloſe ſhaven, but the Hair of their Heads very long, except ſome which be ſhaven all round the Crown, on which part alone the Hair is entirely preſerved.

Bannaras.

The next Town we came at was *Bannaras*, a large place, and of great Trade for Cotton Cloth, and Saſhes for the Moors. The Superſtition and Idolatry of the *Indians*, is here at the heighth ; here they have the greateſt Numbers and Varieties of Images, and the Ceremonies of the Bramens are the moſt nicely obſerv'd and practis'd : That is, not only juſt at this particular place, but this part of the Country along the Banks of the *Ganges*, which celebrated River is conſtantly viſited by multitudes of devout Pilgrims and Travellers. And this Town of *Bannaras*, for its ſhare, receives vaſt numbers of them, that come to waſh and pray, and perform their other accuſtom'd Rites in the River. They go into the Water very early in the Morning, by Break of Day, if not before. By the River's ſide there ſit ſeveral old Bramens at their Devotion, which give the People that paſs by them three or four Straws, which they take and hold between their Fingers when they waſh. Others of theſe Prieſts mark the devout People in the Foreheads ; for which piece of Service they have a Largeſs in Rice, Barley, or Money, given them when the others come out of the Water. When they are in, they waſh themſelves all over, and pray ; they lade up Water with both hands, and turn themſelves about and then drink, and this they repeat three times.

The Religious Ceremonies of the *Indians*, at the River Ganges.

After theſe Ceremonies in the Water, they go and make their Offerings to the Idols, at which time the old Prieſts mutter certain Prayers, which they believe to be a moſt effectual Conſecration of their Sacrifices. Some of them will waſh a place upon the Earth that is their full length, and then lie down and pray, with their Arms and Legs extended ; after which they riſe up and lie down, and kiſs the Ground ſeveral times ſucceſſively, and every time they do it, they make a Score on the Ground with their Finger, to know when their Meaſure is fill'd up.

Others of them perform moſt of their Religious Buſineſſes over certain Pots, to the number of fifteen, or ſixteen ſmall and great, in which they make ſome odd mixtures (what they know beſt)and ring a little Bell every time they put the things together. They make a Watry Circle about the Pots, and utter ſeveral Prayers over them ; and when all this is finiſhed, they go away to the Images, and lay their Offerings at their Feet like the reſt.

There's abundance of fair and handſome Houſes erected upon the Banks of the River, all of which are repleniſh'd with thoſe Images which theſe poor People pay their Devotion ſo ſuperſtitiouſly to. Amongſt the reſt there's a particular ſort of Image (which they call *Ada*) ſtanding up and down in ſeveral places, and a deform'd Figure it is, having four Hands with great ugly Claws. Before this (as well as the others), they pour out Water upon great carved Stones, and throw thereupon Rice, Wheat, Barly, and ſome other things.

Idol *Ada*.

They have moreover a great place built of Stone, made like a Well, with Steps to go down, the Water of which is very foul and putrid, and that by reaſon of the great Quantities of Herbs and Flowers, which all the Votaries that come thither caſt into it, and lie ſtinking and corrupting there. They reckon it a mighty Purification to waſh themſelves in this naſty Well; for they ſay, the Deity himſelf once waſh'd there, and made it holy. Upon this account there's always abundance of People crowding into it, and picking up the Sand that lies at the bottom of it, which they eſteem a very Sacred Thing too, and preſerve accordingly.

The great Well, whic they eſteem ſo ſacred.

But 'tis more unaccountably ridiculous ſtill, that theſe People ſhould treat their Idols (which they very well know to be but dead unactive Matter), as ſo many things ſenſible of Pain and Pleaſure ; which they do, by making ſome of the Attendants ſit by them in the hot Weather, to breath the cool Air upon them with a Fan. And theſe Men, when they ſee any Company coming towards them, ring a little Bell that hangs by them ; for which they are paid with the Eleemoſinary Gifts of the Pilgrims, and other Religious that viſit thoſe Houſes. But all that enter in, muſt firſt pull off their Shooes, ſuch an Opinion they have of the Sanctity of thoſe places where their Idols ſtand. They keep Lamps continually burning before them, which makes the Appearance more awful, and affords ſome help to the Imagination, if not the Devotion of the People that come thither.

The Bra

The Bramens of theſe parts do moſt of their Religious (and Domeſtick Buſineſſes too) naked ; they pray in the Water naked, dreſs their Food (which is only Vegetable), and eat it naked ; upon which account they well deſerve the Title that the Wiſe Men of this Country anciently had, and are *Gymnoſophiſts*, in the ſtricteſt and propereſt Sence of that Word. They take a Pride in marking themſelves with a certain Yellow Powder, which they rub about their Foreheads, Ears, and Throats ; and they go about the Streets with a Box of it in their Hands, with which they frequently mark other People they meet.

Their Women too do the ſame to themſelves, when they come down to the River to waſh, and perform the other accuſtomed Ceremonies. They come in pretty large Bodies together, and are very Merry and Jovial at this time; for as they come with a Song in their Mouths, ſo they go away with the ſame, and no body can charge them with a dull heavy hearted Devotion.

They allow Polygamy amongſt them, and every Man may have ſeven Wives; their Daughters alſo marry very young, and they look out for Husbands for them at ten Years of Age.

Their way of Salutation when they meet one another, is, to lift their Hands up to their Heads, and repeat the Word *Rame* twice or thrice.

Other Cuſtoms of the People.

The Funeral Rites are the ſame hereabouts that they are in other parts of *India*; the dead Bodies are burnt, and the Women ſacrifice themſelves upon the ſame Pile; if they refuſe to do it, their Heads are ſhaven, and no body minds them for ever afterwards.

Funerals and Marriages.

But the Ceremony **of their** Marriages is as fooliſh and idle as it could well **have** been made with Study and Contrivance. Indeed it affords a very lively and ſenſible Emblem of the Union between a Man and his Wife; for here they don't think it ſufficient to make them ſolemnly joyn Hands, but they tie * them together by their Cloaths. The Man, the Woman, and a *Bramen* Prieſt, a Cow and a Calf, go down together into the Water. Here the *Bramen* ſpreads a large Cloth upon the Cows Back, and then takes her by the end of the Tail, ſpeaking certain Words at the ſame time. The Man and the Woman lay their Hands there alſo by the Prieſts; and thus one Hand of each being engaged, with the other they take up Water in a Braſs Pot, and pour it out upon the Cows Tail, ſo that it runs thro' all their Hands. After this, the loving Couple are faſtned together by their Cloaths, and then they walk round about the Cow and the Calf, and ſo go out of the Water. When the Ceremony is ended, the *Bramen* has the Cow and the Calf for his Fee, and they give Alms to the Poor, that are always about them upon ſuch Occaſions. Neither do they forget Devotion any more than Charity; for they go and proſtrate themſelves before their Idols, kiſs the Ground ſeveral times, make their Offerings to them, with which the whole Scene concludes, and they go home to their Houſes.

* The *Mexicans* us'd this Ceremony of old too.

And their way of managing the Sick is not leſs odd than that of their marrying thoſe that are Well. If a Perſon be dangerouſly ill, they carry him and lay him before their Idols all night, which is the laſt Experiment they make for life. If they don't mend upon this, their Friends come and ſit by them and ſhed a few Tears upon the Occaſion, and then ſet them a ſailing upon the River in a little Raft made of Reeds. A good quick Method of curing Diſtempers to drown the Patient.

Habits and Dreſs.

The People in general go without Cloaths, and have no Covering but a Cloth about their middle. The Women have their Ears, Arms and Necks deck'd with Rings of Silver, Copper, Tin, and Ivory, with Amber and Agats; and as the *Bramens* Wives mark themſelves with Yellow, ſo theſe Affect to do it with ſtreaks of Red quite croſs the Forehead, and ſo up to the Crown. But in Winter the Men wear quilted Cotton Gowns, and quilted Caps, in the Faſhion of a Morter, with a ſlit to look out at, and ſo tyed down beneath their Ears.

Patenaw.

From *Bannares* I proceeded down the *Ganges* to *Patenaw*, a very long and a great Town, but the Houſes mean and ill built, made of Earth and covered with Straw, yet the Streets large and ſpacious. This Voyage was very pleaſant, for we paſs'd abundance of fine Towns, and had a fruitful Country all about us. I obſerved ſeveral mighty Rivers that enter the *Ganges*, ſome of them near as big as the *Ganges* it ſelf; which make it to be of ſuch a vaſt breadth, ſo broad, that in a time of great rain you cannot ſee from one ſide to the other. The Country is horribly peſter'd with Thieves, which like the *Arabs*, ſhift up and down for Spoil and fix no where.

Breadth of the *Ganges* in the Rains.

The Women are trick'd up with Ornaments of Silver and Copper, much like thoſe of *Bannaras*, and they can wear no Shooes they load their Toes with ſo many of thoſe Rings.

Gold found at *Patenaw*.

The Town of *Patenaw* has a good Trade for Cotton, Cotton Cloth, Sugar, Opium, and other Commodities, which they carry from hence to *India* and *Bengala*. But it has a greater name for the Gold they find there. They dig deep Pits in the Ground, and taking out ſome quantities of the Earth, they waſh it in Bowls, by which means they light upon the Gold: Theſe Pits are brick'd round about to keep the Earth from falling in and mixing with the Precious Duſt.

Tanda.

From *Patenaw* I proceeded to *Tanda*, in the Country of *Goureu*. Both this and *Patenaw* were formerly Kingdoms of themſelves, but have of late Years followed the Fortune of other Provinces of *India*, and bowed to the Scepter of the victorious *Mogul*, *Ecbar-Sha*. Here's mighty Trade alſo for Cotton and Cotton-Cloth. The Inhabitants are all Gentiles, and go naked, except a Cloth before.

The adjacent Country is well repleniſh'd with wild Fowl, and a little more than ſhould be, with wild Beaſts too, ſuch as Tigers, wild Buffles, &c. *Tanda* is ſituated a League from the *Ganges*, that is, from the preſent Current of that River; for formerly the River overflowing its Banks by means of great Rains, carried it ſelf conſiderably farther up into the Country, and laid ſeveral Villages under Water. But 'tis all dry and paſſable now where the *Ganges* uſed to run in former times, ſo that tho' *Tanda* were not removed from the River, yet the River has removed it ſelf farther from *Tanda*.

I made five Months of it in my paſſage from *Agra*, down the Rivers *Gemini* and *Ganges* to *Bengala*, but it may be done in much leſs time than that.

Couche.

Cacchegate.

From *Bengala* I travel'd into the Country of *Couche*, which lies 25 Days Journey North from *Tanda*, and not far from *Cauchin China*. The Port is called *Cacchegate*. The Country is all ſet with Bamboes, or Canes made ſharp at both ends, and ſo driven into the Earth; and they can let the Water in and drown it above knee deep, ſo that neither Horſe nor Man ſhall eaſily paſs. Their Cuſtom is alſo to poiſon all the Waters whenever they are engaged in any Wars.

Trade and Manners.

Their Trade lies chiefly in Musk, Silk, and Cotton Cloth; and their ſmall Current Money is * Almonds, which they eat almoſt as often as they receive. Nature has provided a Purſe for this ſort of Money, into which the ſlippery Fingers of no Thief or Pick-pocket can enter.

* In *Mexico* they uſed the Fruit *Cacao*, which is like an Almond for Money.

They have hereabouts all that Compaſſion and Tenderneſs for all ſorts of Animals, that we find in the *Mogul's* Country and other parts of *India*. They give Meat to the little crawling Ants; and tho' thoſe Wiſe and Induſtrious Creatures never fail to make Proviſion for themſelves, yet they think themſelves obliged to take care of them too, and add to their Stores. I returned back from hence to *Hugeli* in *Bengala*, a place in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, a League from *Sattagan*, and in 23 Degrees N. Lat. The *Portugueze* call it *Porto Piquena*, and not far from it to the S. W. is a Haven called *Porto Angeli*, ſeated in the Country of *Orixa*; to which comes every Year good ſtore of Ships out of *India*, and the adjacent Iſlands, and lade from thence great quantities of Rice, Cloth made of Cotton-Wooll, long Pepper, Sugar, Butter, and other Proviſions.

Hugeli.

Porto Angeli.

Orixa.

Orixa, is ſix Days Journey S. W. from *Sattagan* (which is a City of the *Moors*, a large and plentiful place) 'twas once a Kingdom of it ſelf, but in proceſs of time was conquered by the King of *Patan*, its Neighbour, and wreſted from him by the ſtrong Arm of *Ecbar Sha*. There's abundance of Rice here and Cotton Cloth, as alſo of another ſort of Cloth made of a Graſs, which they call Yerva, and is like a Silk; it makes a very good Cloth, and a great deal of it goes for *India* and other places.

In *Bengala* there is a great Market every day at one place or other, and they have a ſort of open Boats, they uſe to convey their Goods by water in, that are of a mighty burthen, and row with 24 or 26 Oars.

Eſteem of the River *Ganges*.

Such is the Opinion the People of this Country have of the admirable Vertue of the River *Ganges*, that tho' they have ever ſo good and pleaſant Water hard by them, they'll chooſe rather to go a great way to fetch that of *Ganges*. And if they have not enough to drink, they'll ſprinkle a little upon themſelves, and then all's well with them.

Tippara.

From *Sattagan* I travell'd by the Country of the King of *Tippara* or *Porto Grande*, with whom the *Mogores* (or *Mogen*) have almoſt continual Wars. Thoſe *Mogores* of *Arracan* are much Superiour in Force to the King of *Tippara*, ſo that *Porto Grande* is often in ſubjection to the King of *Arracan*.

Bottanter, a great Northern Region.

There is a Country about four Days Journey from *Couche* (before mentioned) called *Bottanter*, and the Chief City *Bottia*; it takes in a mighty compaſs of Ground, as much as will require three Months time to travel. There are vaſt high Mountains in it, and one of them particularly raiſes up its Head ſo high, that a Man may ſee it perfectly when he is ſix Days Journey from it. Upon theſe Mountains dwell a ſort of People that have Ears of a full ſpan in Length, which is much the ſame ſize with thoſe of the Inhabitants of *Couche*; and probably both from the ſame cauſe, namely, the Tricks the Parents play with them, to extend and draw them out when they are young, which is known to be the Practice in *Couche*. There is a great reſort of Merchants hither, from *China*, from *Muſcovy* and *Tartary*, who come to buy Musk, Silk, Agats, Pepper, and Saffron like that of *Perſia*. The Northern Merchants by their Dreſs and Habit, tell the World how cold a Climate 'tis they come from. They are all cloſe wrapt up in woolen Cloth, their Legs guarded with Hoſe and Boots, and warm Caps upon their Heads.

Reports of the Northern Merchants.

They report their Country affords excellent Horſes, tho' very ſmall, and Kine they have too in great abundance; ſome Men amongſt them keep 600 Horſes and Kine about them.

Their ſole Diet is Milk and Fleſh; their way of trading to buy and ſell by Scores upon the Ground. They cut the Tails of their Kine, and ſell them at very great Rates, becauſe they are a Commodity mightily in requeſt, and all the People eſteem them highly. The Hair of them is a Yard long, and the Rump above a ſpan; and the uſe they chiefly put them to is to hang them for Ornaments upon the Heads of their Elephants.

The Inhabitants are an active lively People, and mighty ſwift Runners. This Account thoſe Northern Merchants gave of the Countries from whence they came.

Bacola.

From *Porto Grande* (or *Chategan*) in *Bengala*, I came to *Bacola*, the King of which place was a good temper'd Hoſpitable Man, and wonderfully pleaſed with our European Invention of Guns, to ſhoot with, which was his principal Exerciſe and Delight. His Country is large and fruitful, yielding great ſtore of Rice, Silk and Cotton-Cloth. The Inhabitants have no Cloaths nor Covering, but a Cloth about their middles; but the Women here wear Silver and Copper Rings as plentifully almoſt as any where. *Bacola* is a Town handſome and ſtately enough, the Streets large and open, and the Houſes fair and very high built.

Serrepore.

My next Stage was to *Serrepore*, upon the Banks of the *Ganges*, a place famous for the Cotton Cloth made there. They are all hereabouts Rebels againſt the *Great Mogul*, or rather ſtand up in defence of their Juſt Liberties, which that Potent Adverſary endeavours to ſwallow up. They skulk up and down in the Iſlands of the *Ganges* (which are very numerous) and all the Forces of the *Mogul* can't beat them out from thoſe ſhelters.

Sinnergan.

About ſix Leagues from *Serrepore*, ſtands a Town called *Sinnergan*, which bears the Bell from all other places in *India*, for good and fine Cotton Cloth. For buildings, 'tis much inferiour to the former; low Houſes, covered with Straw, and Mats hung round the Walls, and before the Door to keep out the Tigers and Foxes.

The People dreſs like them at *Bacola*; they live altogether upon Milk, Rice, and Fruits, neither touching any Fleſh nor killing any Beaſt. Yet many of them are very rich; and the King of this place is a Sovereign to the reſt of the Kings round about him. All Chriſtians are very welcome to him, and meet with friendly Entertainment from him. This Country ſerves *Ceylon*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, and other parts with Rice and Cotton Cloth.

From *Serrepore* I ſet ſail down the *Ganges* for *Pegu*, which is 90 Leagues diſtant from *Bengala*.

November. A. D. 1586. Bar of Negrais.

After many Difficulties we entred the Bar of *Negran*, which is a very good one, and where you have four Fathom Water in the ſhalloweſt part; 'tis ten Days Voyage by the Rivers from this Bar to the City of *Pegu*.

Coſmin.

In the ſpace of three Days we came to *Coſmin*, a pretty Town, delightfully ſituated, and as well ſerved with all ſorts of Conveniencies. All the Houſes ſtand aloft upon Poſts or Frames of Wood, ſo that they mount up to them by the help of Ladders, and thoſe long ones too. The Reaſon of this is, the Country is ſo peſter'd with Tigers, they are ſo numerous and withal ſo very fierce and ravenous, that the Inhabitants are forced to elevate their Habitations thus, to keep themſelves out of the reach of thoſe Hungry Creatures. Had their Houſes the ordinary Situation, the Tigres (the only Viſiters they dread) would have an Opportunity of looking in too often upon them.

Abating this Inconvenience 'tis an agreeable place enough; 'tis very well ſerv'd with all Neceſſaries from the circumjacent Fertile Country, and abounds particularly in Fruits, as Coco's, Figs, Oranges, and ſeveral others beſides.

We go from *Coſmin* to *Pegu* in Paroes or Boats, in which the Water-men keep their whole Families; and as they get their living by the Water, ſo they moſtly ſpend their Lives upon it.

Medon.

Paſſing along the Rivers, we came to *Medon*, another pretty Town, and vaſtly ſtock'd with theſe Paroes. They keep their Markets here upon the Water, having their Goods aboard their Paroes; and to keep them from the ſcorching heat of the Sun, every Paroe is guarded with a large Tembrella or Sombrero, made of Coco and Fig Leaves.

Markets kept upon the Water.

Dela. Houſes for the Elephants.

The next Town we came to was *Dela*, which has a fair Port to the Sea, from whence go ſeveral Ships for *Malacca*, the *Red-Sea*, and other parts. Here are 18 or 20 very great and long Houſes, where they keep and tame abundance of Elephants for the King of *Pegu*; for they catch the wild Elephants in the Woods thereabouts.

Cirion.

From hence we proceeded to *Cirion*, which is a handſome Town, and has a good Port, whither abundance of Ships come from other parts of the *Indies* and the *Red-Sea*; and here 'tis that they ſtop and diſcharge, ſending up their Goods by Boat to *Pegu*.

Macao.

The next place we came to was *Macao*, where we left our Boats, and taking ſome Delingeges (which are a ſort of Carriages made of Cords and Cloth quilted, and carried between three or four Men) we came the ſame Day to *Pegu*. This is a very large, ſtrong and mighty City, and well deſerving its Character of an imperial one. 'Tis compaſſed about with firm Stone-walls, and Ditches too, that are both wide and deep. It's divided into two Cities, the Old and the New.

Pegu. The Deſcription of it.

Old-City.

In the Old are all the Merchants of ſtrange Countries, and many of them alſo that belong to this; and here it is that all the Trade is driven. It has very large Suburbs about it, but the Houſes are built of Bamboe Canes and cover'd with Straw; ſo that Fires are as miſchievous here as they are frequent, for 'tis very often that 4 or 500 of theſe are laid in Aſhes in a very little time. But there's this Convenience, that to every dwelling Houſe thus ſtately built, you have a good Brick Ware-houſe for your Merchandize, without which there would be no ſafe living at this place.

New-City.

In the New-City is the King and the Court with all the Nobility and Gentry. It's a very great and populous City of it ſelf, built ſquare, defended with handſome ſubſtantial Walls, and a Ditch that is not only full of Water, but has abundance of Crocodiles in it too; which may be a pretty good Guard; for an Adverſary that ſhould come to paſs this Ditch, would be in danger of being ſnapt by them. It has 20 Stone-Gates; 5 for every ſide of the Square; and (beſides theſe) abundance of Watch Towers upon the Walls, built of Wood, and very pompouſly gilt with Gold. The Streets are the faireſt that ever I ſaw any where, as ſtrait and even as a Line, and of ſuch a breadth, that 12 Men may very well ride a breaſt thro' them. The Houſes here are all of Timber and cover'd with Tiles, and before every Door is ſet a Palm Tree; ſo that 'tis a pleaſant Wood, and a ſtately City together; 'tis ſo cool and ſhady, that under the ſhelter of theſe Palms a Man may walk without any trouble from the Sun all the Day long. The Palace is in the midſt of this City, and 'tis wall'd and ditch'd about. The Buildings are all Wood, but every where gilt at a moſt extravagant rate; eſpecially the Front, which for Gilding and Carving exceeds all the reſt: And the Temple where the King goes to his Devotion, is more rich and ſplendid than this.

King of Pegu's Elephants.

Within the firſt Gate of the Palace is a very large Room, on both ſides of which are Houſes for the King's Elephants. It is ſaid that he has above 5000 of theſe Elephants that are for Martial Service, beſides a great number of others that are not taught to fight.

The White ones.

Amongſt all theſe he has four White ones, which are extraordinary Rarities, and there's no other Prince known to have them but himſelf; or if there were any of his Neighbours that had ſuch a Beaſt, he would make War upon them rather than not have it. Such is the eſteem that this Monarch has for an Elephant of this Colour, that he brings this in amongſt the reſt of his Titles; To be King of the White Elephants is as big and lofty a one with him as any other that he aſſumes. And becauſe no other Prince about him muſt wear this Glorious Title but himſelf, therefore none muſt keep a White Elephant tho' Nature gave it them; but muſt ſend it to him, or if not, his Armies muſt fetch it away.

When theſe Creatures are brought before the King, all the Merchants in the City are commanded to attend and come and ſee them; and at the ſame time are obliged to make a Preſent of half a Ducat a piece. This amounts to a good Sum; and the King gets Money by ſhewing his White Elephants.

Their Management.

To ſee how theſe Creatures live and are attended, and in what pomp they march along, would ſurprize a Man with the greateſt wonder. Their Houſes are ſplendidly gilt and ſo are the Silver Veſſels out of which they are fed. When they go to the River to be waſhed (which they do every Day conſtantly) there's ſix or eight Men to bear up a Canopy of Cloth of Gold or Silk over them, and as many or more that march with Drums and Muſical Inſtruments before them; and when they come out of the Water, their Feet are waſhed in great Silver Baſons by ſome Perſon of Quality, whoſe office it is to do them that piece of Service.

Black Elephants.

He has alſo ſeveral Black Elephants, but they are not near ſuch Favourites as the white ones are, tho' they are very large ſtately Beaſts, many of them nine Cubits high. About a Mile from *Pegu* in a great Grove or Wood, is the King's Houſe or Trap for taking the Wild Elephants. This they do chiefly by the help of ſome tame ones they carry with them for that purpoſe, commonly a Female, which the wild Males will very eaſily follow. The Hunts-men drive the Wild one near the Lodge, where he is to be impriſoned, and there in ſome ſtrait and narrow path he finds the Female; after they are met, they drive on the Female into the way that leads into the Lodge, the Door of which being open, ſhe enters, and the Male (fond of her Company) along with her. And then he is a ſure Priſoner; for upon their entrance, the Door immediately claps down, and all is faſt and cloſe about them. The Female they quickly after get out again, and leave the Male all alone in his Confinement, who they ſay takes it very hainouſly to be ſo tricked out of his Liberty, and afterwards robb'd of an agreeable Companion, with whom he was eaſie and quiet. But now upon this Loſs he makes pityful Moans, and changes his Grief at laſt into Rage and Fury; he runs himſelf for very madneſs againſt the Walls, and breaks his Teeth many time in the Encounter. Beſides this, they teaze and prick him with ſharp Canes, keep him three or four Days without Meat or Drink; after all which Mortifications, they at laſt bring him Victuals and a Female to pleaſe him, by which means he is perſwaded to be tame.

Manner of taking Wild Elephants.

This King's beſt Force conſiſts in his Elephants, tho' he is able to raiſe prodigious Armies of Men too. At my being there he mached againſt the King of *Siam* with a Body of 300000 Men, and 5000 Elephants. All theſe Creatures that are for the Wars have Caſtles of Wood upon their Backs, in which are placed certain Souldiers that fight with Guns, Bows and Arrows, Darts, and other Weapons.

The Power and State of the King of Pegu.

The King ſits abroad in open view twice every Day, partly for State, and partly to do Publick Juſtice. The Nobles ſit on each ſide him at a good diſtance, and without them ſtand the Guard which are very numerous. Thoſe that the King will honour with his Converſe come to him in this manner; they kneel down, heave their Hands up to their Heads, and put their Heads to the Ground three times, at their entrance, in the midd-way, and at their approach to his Majeſty. If he like them they ſit within three or four Paces of him, and he talks with them; but if not, they remove to a farther diſtance.

Receiving Petitions.

All Petitioners and thoſe that come to him for Juſtice, are wholly ſilent before him; they ſay nothing, but preſent him their Matters in writing. What they have to impart to him, is written with the point of an Iron upon the Leaves of ſome Tree, which are a full Ell in length, and two Inches broad, and doubled alſo.

No Man comes without a Preſent, which notwithſtanding is not always accepted. For if the King likes the Buſineſs, he takes the Gift; if not, he returns it together with his denial of the Sute.

Going abroad.

This Prince never goes abroad but with a very numerous Attendance both of Guards and Noble-men. Sometimes he rides in a Caſtle (upon an Elephant) which is vaſtly rich and ſplendid; ſometimes he is carried upon a great Frame, like a Horſe-litter, upon 16 or 18 Mens Shoulders. This Frame has a little Houſe upon it, covered over head, but open on the ſides, all over gilded and ſet with Rubies and Sapphires.

His Riches.

Such Coſt is nothing to ſo rich a Prince as he is, that has inexhauſtible Mines both of Gold and Silver, and Jewels too in his own Dominions. Rubies, Sapphires and Spinelles are Natives of his Country; and he can command what quantities of them he pleaſes, out of thoſe Treaſuries where bountiful Nature has hoarded them up for him.

Caplan is a place from whence theſe rare Stones are brought; it is ſix Days Journey from *Ava* in the Kingdom of *Pegu*. There are ſeveral high Hills out of which they dig them; but none are permitted to come to the Pits but juſt the Work-men themſelves.

• Juſt by the Palace there's a Building which is the receptacle of a moſt wonderful Treaſure, which this Prince does not mind much becauſe 'tis ſo near him. It ſtands open ('tho with a good Guard) for all Comers to ſee; being placed in a great Wall'd Court, which has two Gates, but thoſe never ſhut in the Day-time. The King of *Pegu* with all his Treaſures has a good round Family of his own to maintain; ſeveral hundreds of Women of Pleaſure, and between 80 and 100 Children begotten by himſelf upon them; but twice as many more would neither make him a poor Prince, nor them live beneath their true Character and Dignity.

The People and their Manners.

The People of this Country have a Fancy that ſets them mightily againſt wearing of Beards, they pluck the Hairs by the Roots from their Faces with little Pincers made for that purpoſe. Some of them will let a few Hairs grow together in one part of their Faces or other, and pull out all the reſt. They wonder at a Man that wears a Beard, and look on him as if they thought him either a very frightful or ridiculous Creature.

Wear no beards.

Blacken their Teeth.

And that Trick they have of colouring their Teeth Black is odd enough, and the reaſon why they do it not leſs Idle and Fooliſh. For Dogs Teeth they ſay are white, and that they may not reſemble them they'll make theirs black; but no doubt but ſome Dogs in their Country together with White Teeth have Black Hair, upon which account (to avoid the reſemblance) they ought to colour theirs White. Inſtead of this, they make ſome parts of their Bodies blacker by the help of Art, than Nature has made them; pricking the Skin, and laying on ſomething that gives it a deep and laſting Black. But it muſt be confeſs'd that this is a Mark peculiar to the King's Kindred or Country Men; the Prince himſelf is a *Brama*, and all the *Bramas* diſtinguiſh themſelves thus, and none but they.

Wear Balls in the Privy Parts.

The Cuſtom which the Men have of faſtning little Balls of Silver, Braſs or Lead into the Pudenda is not leſs ſtrange than any of the former. They make an Inciſion and ſo put them in, one on the one ſide and another on the other; tho' there are many of them that wear three of theſe Globes upon the Part. Married Men (as the Report goes in the Country) put in one every time they have a Child, till it comes to three, and then they ſtop and go no farther. The leaſt ſize of the Balls is as big as a ſmall Walnut, and the greateſt will match a little Hens Egg: The King and the Nobles wear them of Silver, finely gilt, and made ſo as to ring and make a noiſe; the poorer ſort have theirs of Lead, which give but little or no ſound at all. The King often beſtows ſome that he has worn himſelf upon his Noblemen, which is a very great favour, and they eſteem them mightily after he has uſed them. 'Tis no doubt a great deal of Pain and trouble they put themſelves to to do this; but they ſay they can heal the Wound that's made, and make all whole and well again in ſeven or eight Days time. This Cuſtom was introduc'd by way of Prevention and Remedy againſt unnatural Luſt; 'twas deſigned to be a Reſtraint upon the Male Sex from abuſing one another. They themſelves know beſt what Uſe and Service it is to them in that reſpect; but 'tis very well known that they can take the Balls out of the part and put them in again at pleaſure. However, all thoſe Countries it ſeems were formerly infamous to extremity for the Practice of this Abomination; the Women were almoſt wholly laid by, and conſequently every place by Degrees grew thin of People. As Death ſwept away the Old Generation, no care was taken for the riſing up of a New one, and ſo they dwindled away; till the miſchievous Effects of their Crime were ſo apparent, that for Civil and Political Reaſons they began to think of a Remedy.

There is a Law of an ancient Date amongſt them, that regulates the Womens Dreſs, and limits the quantity of Stuff they ſhall put into their Garments. And this Law has been ſo nigardly to them, that they have hardly ſo much as decency requires; their Cloaths are ſo ſtrait, that they ſhew one ſide bare above the Knee as they go along the Streets.

Way of deciding Law Sutes.

When the *Peguezę* have a Suit of Law amongſt them that's any thing doubtful and intricate, they bring it to an iſſue by this quick method of Deciſion. The contending Parties (with their Judges or Arbitrators on both ſides) go down to a River, and where they find a good depth of Water, they leap in and dive to the bottom. And thus the Buſineſs is determined; for he that holds it out the longeſt under Water, carries the day. Which method of ending long and difficult Cauſes, ſhould it be uſed and practiſed in other Countries; thoſe that manage them might e'en leap into the Water too, and ſtay there for good and all.

Trade and Merchandize.

As for the Trade of this Country; the other parts of *India* do furniſh but few Commodities comparatively that ſerve here. Thoſe that are moſt in requeſt are the Opium of *Cambeya*; the painted Cloth of St. *Tomme* or *Maſulipatan*, and the white Cloth of *Bengala*. They bring hither alſo yearly good ſtore of Cotton-Yarn, dyed red with the Root they call Saia, which gives a very durable Colour; this ſells very well, and goes off in great quantities amongſt the *Peguеſe*. The Ships from *Bengala* and the *Coromandel* Coaſt, come to *Coſmin* and the Bar of *Nigrais*. To *Martavan* a Sea Port in this ſome Kingdom, come Ships from *Malacca* laden with Sandal, Porcelane, and other *China* Wares, with Camphire from *Borneo*, and Pepper from *Sumatra*. To the Port of *Cirion* come the Ships from *Mecca* with Woolen Cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and ſuch like.

Brokers.

There are in *Pegu* a ſtated number of Brokers (eight in all) which are bound to ſell your Goods for you at the intrinſick Value, and you give them for their Pains two in the Hundred. They are bound alſo to make your Debts good to you, becauſe you ſell your Merchandcie upon their Words. If they don't pay you at their Day, you may take them home to your Houſe and keep them Priſoners; and after that, you may proceed (by the Allowance of the Law) to farther Extremities: You may take their Wives and Chilnren and bind them in the Sun (as ſo many Sacrifices) at your Door.

Products.

The proper Merchandice of *Pegu* (I mean its own natural Products) are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Sapphires, Spinelles, Musk, Benjamin, Frankincenſe, long Pepper, Tin, Lead, Copper, Lacca (of which they make hard Wax) Rice and Wine made of the ſame, and ſome Sugar. But of this latter Commodity there would be ſo much more than there is, if it were not that their Elephants conſumed ſuch a vaſt number of the Sugar Canes; but they devour abundance of them, and have not a more pleaſing agreeable Food to them than theſe are.

Money.

The Current Money in theſe parts is a ſort of Braſs which they call *Gauza*; as for Gold and Silver they are purely Commodities, and are ſometimes worth more and ſometimes leſs, as other Wares are. This Braſs Money goes by a Weight which they call Biza, and that amounts to ſomething leſs than half a Crown in our Money.

Temples and Idols.

The *Peguеſe* build mighty pompous Temples for their Idols; they ſpare no Coſt nor Labour, to make all the Edifices devoted to ſuch a Uſe, as Bright and Noble as they can.

Their Varella's or Temples are built round like a Sugar Loaf, ſome are as high as an ordinary Church, very broad beneath, many of them a quarter of a Mile in Compaſs. They beſtow their Gold at a moſt prodigal rate upon them, they being all of them gilded in the higher and more eminent parts; but many of them are done all over from top to bottom, ſo that there's nothing ſcarce but a Golden Face that appears. Then every ten or twelve Years they are new Gilt, becauſe in that ſpace of time the Rain and the Weather have pretty much impair'd the Beauty of them; for it is to be noted, that they ſtand expoſs'd, being all open abroad. Were it not for this conſtant Conſumption of it, Gold would be a very cheap thing in *Pegu*; but the Idols devour this, as the Elephants do the Sugar Canes; and between them both, they make both comparatively dear. The Images (which have theſe glorious Manſions for their reſidence) are not leſs ſumptuouſly deck'd and gilded than they; the Work-man beſtows his beſt Art and Skill to render them ſo much the more the Objects of their blind Worſhippers Devotion.

Rich Pagods.

Of the more private ſort of Temples (and which ſeem to be rather the King's Peculiar, or ſome Appendages to the Court) there are four that are extraordinary for the Images they contain.

In the firſt is the Effigies of a King at full length, all of maſſie Gold, with a Crown of the ſame upon his Head, richly ſet with Jewels; and about him ſtands four Children, all made of the ſame precious Metal.

In the Second, is the Effigies of a Man in Silver vaſtly great, and as high as an ordinary Houſe, which may be gueſſed (without meaſuring) from the proportion of his Foot, which is the full length of a Man; he is made ſitting, and has a rich Crown upon his Head like the former.

In the Third, you have one of Braſs, bigger and larger than the former, but Crown'd like them.

And in the Fourth, another of Braſs, but bigger than all the reſt, and crown'd as they were.

In another Court not far from this, ſtand four others of Copper, all Humane Forms and Marvellous Great; they were made in the place where they ſtand, for they are ſo bulky and ponderous, that they are not to be moved up and down. Theſe ſtand in four Houſes too, which are magnificently gilt, as they alſo are themſelves all, except their Heads.

* *Dogonne*, a great Temple for Pilgrims.

But the moſt celebrated publick Temple or Varella, is that which they call * *Dogonne*, about two Days Journey from the City of *Pegu*. 'Tis to this that the *Pegueze* perform their Grand Pilgrimage, and here they celebrate a Solemn Feaſt; at which time there is ſuch a vaſt crowd of People always going and coming, that there is hardly any paſſing for them by Water or Land. All the Characters of Beauty, Pomp and Coſtlineſs that a thing of this Nature may be ſuppoſed to have (in their way of Adorning) this has. Its ſituation is very high, and there are four ways that lead to it, which are all along ſet with Fruit Trees, ſo that a Man may walk two Mile an end in a lovely ſhade.

Preaching Place.

Hard by it is another ſtately Structure deſigned for the Tallipoies or Prieſts to Preach in. This Houſe is 55 Paces in length, has three great Walks in it, and 40 large gilt Pillars that ſtand between the Walks; it opens on all ſides with rows of ſmaller Pillars, which are likewiſe richly waſhed with Gold. As for the Building it ſelf, it's all over Gilt both within and without. Beſides this, there are ſeveral other Houſes for the Tallipoies to exerciſe their Gifts in, which are full of Images both of Men and Women, and thoſe not a little adorned and embelliſhed. Laſtly, there are other Houſes built round about for the Entertainment of the Pilgrims that come thither; theſe devout Men are not left to take up their Lodgings upon the bare Ground, but that their Religion may be eaſie (and not tireſome) they have comfortable Receptacles provided for them.

The Tallipoies.

There are abundance of theſe Tallipoies in *Pegu*, and by all that I can learn of them, they are mighty ſtrict, zealous and diligent Men in their Functions. They preach warmly againſt the Vices of the People, and great numbers go to them for Inſtructions in matters relating to their Superſtition. They are conſulted by the People generally in the Temples; the party repairs thither, and at the Door waſhes his Feet out of a Veſſel of Water, which ſtands there for that purpoſe; then he enters in, lifting up his Hands to his Head twice, firſt to the Prieſt and then to the Sun, and ſo he ſits down. The Tallipoies live altogether upon the Benefice and Charity of the People; they go about with a great Pot of Earth tyed croſs their Shoulders, and ſo viſit the good Houſes, and get Rice, Fiſh and Herbs, which is all their living. They don't beg nor ſo much as once open their Mouths to ask for any thing, but they make very broad ſigns, for they ſtand at the Door and ſhew their Pot, which the good natur'd People fill without any more ado. Nay many times when they are a Preaching, their kind Auditors come and carry them Preſents into the Pulpit; not that they interrupt themſelves in their Diſcourſe to take what the others give, but a certain Perſon does it for them, who ſits by them for that purpoſe. They ſay it becomes them, and 'tis their Duty to live this Eleemoſynarie Life, and they ought to content themſelves with it; in which Notion if they are not greatly miſtaken, 'tis certain the Religious in other parts of the World think them to be ſo.

Their Living.

Admiſſion into the Society.

They admit none to take Orders and be of the Society, till they are better than twenty Years of Age, the moſt part of which time they muſt have ſpent at School. When they would be initiated, they come before the Rowli or Principal Tallipoie (who is always one of the moſt learned amongſt them) and he tries their Abilities firſt of all by a ſolemn Diſpute in which he oppoſes, and after that by an Examination. Then he enquires of them whether they are contented to leave their Friends, to abandon the Company of Women, and take upon them the Habit of a Tallipoie (which is indeed ſo baſe and beggarly, that 'tis of it ſelf alone no little degree of Mortification for a Man to ſubmit to it) they wear only a thin brown cloth next their Skin, and upon their Shoulders another of Yellow, doubled many times, both which are faſtened to them with a broad Girdle; about their Necks hangs a Skin by a String, which is a ſort of a Portable Cuſhion to them, for they uſe only that to ſit upon; their Heads, Feet and right Arms are quite bare, and there's nothing elſe belongs to them but a Sombrero to ſcreen them from the Sun in Summer, and the Rain in Winter. To be ſo dreſſed and to be ſo maintain'd as the Tallipoies are, ſhould be (one would think) Exerciſe enough for ſelf-denial, without abandoning the other Comforts of Life; but they muſt endure all thoſe Severities, or keep out of the ſacred venerable Order; to come in to which, is an Honour that (to ſpeak the Truth) ſeems to be very dear bought.

But thoſe that can get the Victory over themſelves, and govern the Appetites of frail Nature ſo far as to throw off all the Enjoyments of the World at once; that have courage enough to anſwer the Rowli with a bold Affirmative, and tell him they are contented to do what he ask'd; theſe Perſons are received with the greateſt Triumph into the Society. They are firſt carried about the

Streets on Horſeback, with Drums and Pipes beating and ſounding before them, and at the ſame time are very handſomely dreſt; it being the laſt time they muſt ever be ſo, and this is to tell the World, that they are now going to put off all that external Pomp and Bravery.

A few Days after this they are carried upon a thing like a Horſe-litter, upon ten or twelve Mens Shoulders, with Pipes and Drums as before; but now all their Friends attend them too, and beſides they appear in the Habit of Tallipoies. Thus they are accompanied to their Cells, and left to a Life of Beggarly Devotion for the future.

Their Houſes and Feaſts.

The Tallipoies live for the moſt part out of the Cities and Towns, planting themſelves by the Highway-ſide, and amongſt the Woods and Thickets; their Houſes are little things erected upon ſix or eight Poſts, and they mount them with a Ladder of twelve or fourteen Rounds. I don't find that they are much for Society, but every one of them has his ſeparate Houſe, and dwells by himſelf. Theſe Prieſts regulate their ſeveral Feaſts by the Moon's Age, and when 'tis New Moon, they keep their greateſt and moſt ſolemn one. Then the People ſend Rice, and other things, to that Church to which they belong; and all the Tallipoies that belong to the ſame too, meet together, and eat the Good Things which the People ſend them in.

I can't but obſerve, that the Prieſts in other parts of *India*, mix much more Ceremony and Foppiſh Superſtition with their Religion than theſe in *Pegu*. Theſe don't ſeem to intend ſo much the amuſing of the People, and bringing their Faith and Underſtanding into ſuch abſolute Subjection to their Humour as many of the reſt do: They are a plain, poor, mortified ſort of Wretches; all their Spiritual Buſineſs is only to preach to the People, and their Temporal to get their own Livings.

Pleaſant Country.

Having been at *Pegu* ſome time, I departed from that pleaſant City to *Jamahey*, which is 25 Days Journey N. E. from *Pegu*, and ſtands in the Country of the *Langeianneis*, or (as we call them) the *Jangomeſe*. In this Journey I croſs'd ſeveral fruitful and very delightful Countries, water'd with fine Rivers, ſhaded with Woods, and thoſe repleniſh'd with wild Buffles and Elephants.

Jamahey.

Jamahey is a Town of very conſiderable bigneſs, the Houſes are all built of Stone, the Streets large and wide, and all very well peopled. The People here are quite uncover'd at both ends, Head and Feet are bare, but the middle Region has a Cloth about it. The Men are ſtrong and well made, and the Women fairer than thoſe of *Pegu*. In all this Country they have no Wheat; Rice is their principal Grain, of which they make a ſort of Cakes. Of all other Proviſions they have vaſt plenty; they are ſo full that they neglect the milking of their Buffles, a thing they do in all other places.

Merchandice.

Benjamin and Copper are the Commodities of the Country; but the *Chineſe* Merchants (great Numbers of whom come to *Jamahey*) bring Musk, Gold, Silver, and other Merchandice of their Country.

Cuſtoms about ſick People.

When theſe People are ſick, they make a Vow of an Offering of Meat, in caſe they recover; and ſome of the Tallipoies ſit by them every Night, and ſing to pleaſe and pacifie the angry Power that has hurt them. If the Sick recovers, all his Friends meet together, and divert themſelves with Feaſting, Dancing, and Muſick; while they are dancing and playing, they hoot and hollow as loud as they can, which they ſay drives away the Ill Thing that has done them miſchief; and if a filthy Noiſe would do it, perhaps that may.

Their Funerals.

If the Party dies, he is carried upon a great Tower-like Frame, with a Covering of Canes gilt; this is brought by fourteen or ſixteen Men (with a Proceſſion of Pipes and Drums, and all his Friends and Neighbours) to a place without the Town, and there the Body is burnt. From hence they return to the Houſe of the Deceaſed, and banquet there for two Days; they make a Feaſt always ſucceed a Funeral; judging it convenient after ſo low a depreſſion, to give their Spirits ſomething of an elevation, and carry off the black Thoughts of the Grave. At the end of this Two-Days Feaſt, the Widow, with all her Neighbours, go to the Place of Burning, and gather up thoſe Relicks of the Bones they can find; then they ſit down a while and ſhed ſome Tears over the Aſhes of the Deceas'd, and ſo e'en go home again, and put an end to Sorrow.

Women not burnt with their Huſbands.

This is better behalf than going to burn for Company with a dead Husband, and the Women hereabouts are ſo wiſe as to think ſo; they are not ambitious of that Glory that the other *Indians* of their Sex are, nor don't think it enough to pay them for the loſs of their dear Lives, to have it ſaid after they are gone, They were paſſionately fond of their Husbands, and aſcended the Funeral Pile with a Boon-Grace, and a Noble Courage. The utmoſt expreſſion of Grief and Mourning us'd by Relations for each other, is to ſhave their Heads; and this beſpeaks them to be Mourners indeed; for they value their Hair at a very great rate.

Having now finiſh'd my preſent Concerns in theſe Countries, I prepar'd for a Voyage into ſome other parts of the *Indies*: And firſt I went from *Pegu* to *Malacca*, paſſing in the way by the Iſle *Tani*, famous for Quantities of Tin that ſerve all *India*.

Malacca, and its Trade.

At *Malacca*, (when I was there) the *Portugueze* had a Caſtle hard by the Sea, but the Country all round the Town yielded no Subjection to them, but belong'd entirely to the *Maleyans*: Theſe are a proud haughty People, have no Covering but a Cloth about the Waſte, and a Roll of the ſame round their Heads. Hither come many Ships from *China*, the *Molucca's*, *Banda*, *Timor*, and the *Java's*, which bring Spices, Drugs, Diamonds, and other Stones.

The *Portugueze* Captain of *Malacca* makes good Profits of the Trade into ſeveral of theſe Iſlands, ſince no Ships go without his Licence; and that brings him in large Sums of Money every Year.

Portugueze Trade to *Japan* and *China*.

When the *Portugueze* go from *Macao* in *China* to *Japan*, they carry along with them White Silk, Gold, Musk, and Porcelanes, and they bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Carrack that goes thither yearly, and returns back with a Treaſure of 600000 Cruſadoes; and all this *Japoneſe* Silver, with one third part as much more, they as conſtantly lay out in *China* to their very great advantage, upon thoſe ſame, and other Commodities, which they tranſport from thence to *Japan*. The *Chineſe* are generally pretty jealous of them, and won't truſt them too far, tho' they correſpond and trade with them.

When they come to *Lauton*, in *China*, their time of ſtay there is limited to ſuch a number of Days, which expired, they muſt pack up and be gone. When they enter the Gate of the City, they muſt alſo enter their Names in a Book; and as they go out at Night, they muſt raze them out again; I ſay as they go out, for the *Chineſe* won't truſt them in Town all Night, but ſend them to their Boats. If any of them ſhould ſtay after their appointed time is out, they'll certainly make them ſtay a while longer againſt their Wills; and in that Caſe they don't ſend them to lodge in their Boats without the Walls, but let them lie within in a good ſtrong Priſon. Theſe Riſques do they run for the advantage of that Trade, notwithſtanding which they don't think fit to forſake it.

Amongſt the *Malaccans*, I obſerv'd, that a Man may keep as many Concubines as ever he will or is able to do, but he muſt have but one Woman to give the Name of Wife to.

Laban Iſle.

Laban is an Iſland among the *Java* Iſles from whence come the Diamonds of the New Water. They find them in the Rivers, for the King will not ſuffer them to dig the Rock.

Jamba. Diamonds.

Jamba is another of thoſe Iſlands too, which affords thoſe valuable Stones; and out of one of the Rivers the Prince of the place draws a conſtant Supply of Gold. It is a kind of a little Hill, or Maſs of Earth, which is richly impregnated with the Oar of that Metal; as they cut it away, ſo Nature fills it up again, and furniſhes a freſh ſtore. They ſay, it's viſible but once a Year, and that is when the Water is low, in or about the Month of *April*.

Bima Iſle.

In *Bima* (another of thoſe Iſlands amongſt the *Javans*) the Laws of Domeſtick Order obſerved every-where elſe, are quite inverted, and the Men and Women change Buſineſs and Condition. For here the latter ſlave and toil, and do all the hard Labour that rightfully belongs to the other Sex; while the former ſit ſtill at home, keep Houſe, and nurſe the Children, or when they pleaſe, go abroad, and take their pleaſure. But I don't find the Example to be contagious, or that any other of the *Indian* Women are ſuch eaſie Fools as thoſe of *Bima*.

April, *A. D.* 1588. *September*. *November*. *February*.

Having ſpent ſome time about theſe parts, I return'd from *Malacca* to *Martavan*, and ſo to *Pegu*, where I ſtaid the ſecond time) ſome five or ſix Months; and then went to *Coſmin*, where I embark'd for *Bengala*. This Voyage was both dangerous and tedious too, by reaſon of contrary Winds, and bad Weather, that we met with; but having happily ſurmounted all theſe Difficulties, we at laſt reach'd our deſired Port in that Country. Here I was obliged to ſtay for paſſage at leaſt three Months longer, which having procured, I ſhipp'd my ſelf for *Cochin*.

In this Voyage we ſuffer'd grievous Extremities for want of freſh Water; for we were abundance of us in Company, the Weather was very hot too, and we were often becalm'd. We were not reliev'd till we reach'd the

Iſle

March, A. D. 1589. Iſle of *Ceylon*, at which place we ſtaid ſome Days, till we had better furniſh'd our ſelves for the remaining part of our Voyage.

Ceylon Iſle. The Fruitfulneſs of this Iſland, renders it very fit to be made a Refreſhing-place, but the Wars between the Natives and the *Portugueze*, did at this time make Proviſions dear.

The King was endeavouring to ſtarve them in their Caſtle of *Colombo*; he had cut off all manner of Relief by Land, but not having a Fleet, could not prevent them of a Supply by Sea, which they got every Year from *Bengala*. He had an Army of 100000 Men, and a great Train of Elephants before *Colombo*; but his Soldiers naked as to any defenſive Arms; and for offenſive ones, beſides Darts and Arrows, they had Muskets, with which they ſhoot very well.

No Horſes. Small Elephants and People. They have no Horſes in all the Country, and their Elephants are of a much ſmaller Race than thoſe in *Pegu*; but yet the *Ceyloners* ſay, that theirs are the beſt in the World for Mettle and Courage, and that none of the huge monſtrous Elephants of other parts, dare encounter their little ones. The People themſelves too, both Men and Women, are generally of a very ſmall ſize; but I ſcarce think they are the beſt Soldiers in the World, and their Character for Mettle and Spirit hardly comes up to that of their Elephants.

The Country is very well known to have the Reputation of producing the beſt Cinamon, Rubies, Sapphires, and Spinelles, in the World; as for theſe Jewels the King won't let his Subjects dig for them, leſt his Enemies ſhould know of them, and ſo drive him out of his Country for the ſake of that Treaſure. But that Care and Caution is now to be ſure inſignificant, and comes too late (whatever good it might have done formerly), for the *Portugueze*, in coming to ſettle themſelves there, ſhew'd they apprehended there was ſomething elſe to be found at *Ceylon*, beſides Cockle-ſhells and Pebble-ſtones. Theſe People (at leaſt thoſe that live about the Coaſts) content themſelves with very mean and ſorry Houſes, made of the Branches of the Palm, and cover'd over with Leaves of the ſame. They are blacker than moſt of the *Indians*, and derive their Stock from the *Chingalayes*, which they ſay are the beſt of all the *Malabars*.

Broad Ears. To have a very broad flapping Ear, is a Mark of great Honour amongſt them; and ſome of them are therefore very honourable Perſons, having Ears (in proportion) more like Elephants than Men.

Their Habit and Dreſs is ſumm'd up in the one particular of a Cloth about their middles; the King himſelf wears no more, only a fine Cloth wreath'd about his Head, and which alſo ties up his long Hair.

Having made a ſhort ſtay here, we proceeded in our Voyage, and doubled the Cape *Comori*, between which, and the main Land of *Negapatan*, they fiſh for Pearls:
Pearl Fiſhery. They get good Quantities every Year, ſo as to ſerve the nearer parts of *India* pretty plentifully with them; but theſe Pearl have not that right Orient Luſtre that thoſe of *Baharem* have in the *Perſian* Gulf.

After Cape *Comori* we paſs'd by *Coulam*, which is a Fort of the *Portugueze*, from whence comes good ſtore of Pepper into *Portugal*; and here 'tis that they often lade one of their Carracks. Thus paſſing the Coaſt, we at laſt arrived at *Cochin*, where we found a great ſcarcity of
Cochin. Scarcity of Proviſions and Water. Proviſions; for here grows neither Rice, nor any other Corn, and what they have (the greateſt part at leaſt) comes from *Bengala*. They are as badly furniſhed for Water too, for the River that ſupplies them with good Water is at a conſiderable diſtance, and the reſt that lies near them is very bad: The want of this Neceſſary makes abundance of diſeaſed ſcabby People amongſt them, ſome of them are like Lepers, others have their Legs ſwollen as big as a Man's Waſte, and others ſo debilitated as not to be able to creep along.

The *Cochiners* differ much from the other *Malabars*, and are ſaid to be of the Race of the *Naires* of *Calecut*. They have their Heads mightily repleniſh'd with Hair, which they bind up with a String, and leave a Wadd of conſiderable bigneſs appearing without the Band. They are very tall ſtrong Men, good at ſhooting with a Long-Bow (which is their beſt Weapon), but unskilful in the Management of Fire-Arms: They have only a few Calivers amongſt them, and theſe they handle very badly.

Theſe People have as large Ears as thoſe of *Ceylon*, and they wear them always full of Rings ſet with Pearl, and valuable Stones: Their Habit and Complexion needs no diſtinct and peculiar Deſcription.

The King of this place has ſeveral Palaces and Houſes of Pleaſure, but they are none of them large and ſtately: He removes up and down with a ſmall Guard, from one of them to the other, and never ſtays in a place above five or ſix Days.

There's abundance of Pepper, and coarſe Cinamon, that grows in this Country, and no ſmall number of Coco-Trees, the Fruit of which ſerves the People for Proviſion, and the Leaves for Covering for their Houſe.

About twelve Leagues from *Cochin* begins the Territory of the King of *Calecut*, and runs up almoſt as far as *Goa*. The *Naires* which are Subjects of this Prince, and a ſort of *Malabars*, are ever at War with the *Portugueze*, tho' the King himſelf be always at Peace with them. They range all the Coaſt from *Ceylon* to *Goa*, going four or five Parowes together, in each of which are fifty or ſixty Men; they are very nimble dextrous Fellows in boarding a Veſſel, and make the Experiment very frequently upon *Portugueze* Ships and Boats. When they come to complain to the King of the Injury his *Malabars* have done them, he anſwers, That he did not ſend them out; but however true that be, his Majeſty can't ſay that he does not know of it, or connive at it, without telling a Lye. How the *Malabars* deal with the *Portugueze*.

For want of paſſage, I ſtaid in *Cochin* near eight Months, *November.* from whence (having obtain'd it) I went to *Goa*, and ſo to *Chaul*, which is 160 Leagues from *Cochin*; it being 100 from *Cochin* to *Goa*, and 60 more from *Goa* to *Chaul*. Here I made Proviſion for a Voyage into *Europe*, in the ſpace of 23 Days that I continued at this place.

I went from *Chaul* in a Ship bound for *Ormus*, at The Author travels homewards. which place I ſtaid 50 Days for a Paſſage to *Balſora*; from *Goa* to *Ormus* I reckon 400 Leagues.

Having reached *Balſora*, to get from thence to *Babylon* by Water was ſomething difficult, and our Boat was fain to be halled by Men with mighty ſtrong Ropes for the moſt part of the way up the River.

From *Babylon* I came by Land to *Moſul* (a near Neighbour to the old *Nineve*, now all in deſpicable Ruines) and ſeated hard by the River *Tigris*.

From hence to *Merdin* in *Armenia*; and ſo to *Orfa*, a very fair Town, and celebrated for a goodly Fountain it ſhews, which is full of Fiſh. The *Moors* of this place have abundance of Notions and Opinions about *Abraham* peculiar to themſelves; they ſay he lived here, and ſo being upon the ſame Spot, the Remembrance of that Patriarch is more freſh amongſt them, which leads them into many trivial Diſputes and Notions about him.

From this place I went to *Bir*, and paſs'd the *Euphrates* there, and ſo travelled to *Aleppo*, where I ſtayed ſome Months for Company, and then came to *Tripoli*. Here I had the Happineſs to meet with *Engliſh* Shipping, which Opportunity I greedily embrac'd to return to my Native Country, and did ſo at laſt, under the Conduct of a favourable Providence, after the many Difficulties of ſo tedious a Voyage. *April. A. D. 1591.*

Hitherto we have chiefly conſider'd the Performances of our own Nation in the Eaſtern Parts of the World: And if at any time we have taken a ſhort View of the Actions or Affairs of other People, it has been only by the way, as we have follow'd the Engliſh *in their Buſineſs and Concerns. Let ſo much as is paſt therefore ſuffice, for the Account of the Original, Progreſs, and Improvement of our* Indian Trade. *Let us ſtop here for a while; and leaving the* Engliſh Affairs *advanc'd to this degree of happy Thriving and Succeſs; divert to the Story of our Neighbours the* Dutch, *which deſerves to be known as well as ours. They have viſited the remoteſt Parts of the World as well as we, planted themſelves in ſeveral Foreign Countries, and gotten a mighty Trade into their Hands: Divers* Indian *Princes are their Confederates and Allies, and ſome are their Subjects too; the rich Treaſures of Spices are in their keeping and poſſeſſion; the Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace, of the* Molucca's *and* Banda's, *are a part of the Furniture of their* Indian Garden. *We will now therefore enquire into the Original of all this Greatneſs, and ſee by what Steps the* Dutch *advanc'd to ſuch a height of Power and Fame: The Structure is wonderful, and has ſurpriz'd the whole World with its Beauty and Magnificence; it may be worth the while to ſee how the happy Builders rais'd it, and made it ſo glorious as now it appears. In order to this, we ſhall begin with the very Beginnings of their* Indian Navigations; *bring them out of* Europe *perfect Strangers into thoſe Eaſtern Countries, and ſee by what means they procur'd their after intimate Acquaintance with them. And whatſoever is here related as Matter of Fact, is taken either out of their own Journals, or the Writings of ſome Hiſtorians that have handled their Affairs.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The firſt Voyage perform'd by the Dutch *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *with four Ships, the* Maurice, *the* Holland, *the* Amſterdam, *and a Pinnace;* Bernard Hejink, *chief Commander.*

* See the Hiſt. *Amſtelod. Joh. Iſac. Pont.* Lib. 2 Chap. 18 and 24. And *Diarium Nautic.* in *Ind. Orient. apud Joh. Janſon. Arnhemienſ.*

The Occaſion of the *Dutch's* firſt ſeeking an *Indian* Trade. See alſo for this Prefat. in 8. part. *Ind. Orient.*

THE *Dutch* * having thrown off the Yoke of *Spain* in the time of *Philip* the II, were for many Years after oppreſs'd with heavy Wars; their former Maſters endeavouring with their utmoſt Skill and Force, to reduce them to the ſame ſtate of Subjection again. Notwithſtanding this, their Ships in the mean time traded upon the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal* without reſtraint; the *Spaniards* made ſome profit of that Commerce, and ſo for a while did not ſcruple to permit it.

But at laſt that Liberty was taken away; the Counſel of *Spain* adviſed the King to humble them, by ſtopping their Ships, and cutting off their Trade in all places of his Dominions, which accordingly was practiſed with the utmoſt Severity; ſeveral of the Merchants being ſiez'd and clapt into the Gallies, and their Goods and Effects all confiſcated. Had the *Spaniards* known before-hand what would have been the Conſequence of theſe violent Proceedings againſt the *Dutch*, they would undoubtedly have let them alone; and out of ſpite to them, as well as Politick Regard to their own Intereſts, ſuffer'd them to trade freely upon their Coaſts. For had they been quiet and eaſie here, they had not (ſo ſoon at leaſt) thought of a foreign Trade; but being oppreſt and thrown out of all Buſineſs in *Europe*, they reſolved to find ſomething to do in remoter Countries. They were certainly as much in the Right of it, to take that courſe, as the *Spaniards* were in the Wrong to put them upon it. For the World was wide enough to afford choice of places for Traffick and Settlement; and if the *Spaniards* would not, there were other People perhaps that would bid them welcome to ſuch a Correſpondence. But what a plague did the *Spaniards* bring upon themſelves by ſending the *Dutch* to look abroad for Trade? How often have they maul'd the *Portugueze* and them, broke in upon their Plantations, ſwept away their Profits, and given all along a mortifying Check to their exorbitant Power and Greatneſs? They have fully paid all the ſcores in the *Indies*, that were contracted in *Europe*, and beſides added ſo much over and above, that the *Spaniards* perhaps had better have given them the other ten Provinces of the *Netherlands*, than ever have run ſo deeply into their Debt. But thus does it many times come to paſs, That proud Oppreſſours make way for their own Fall and Puniſhment, and while they are contriving to overturn the Fortunes of others, do but ſpoil their own, and give their Adverſaries greater Advantages againſt them.

City of *Amſterdam* begins.

The firſt that ſet up for the carrying on this Deſign of an *Indian* Correſpondence, was the City of *Amſterdam*; the States and Prince *Maurice* conſenting thereto; they furniſh'd out a Fleet of eight Ships, four of which were to go by the uſual way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the others to attempt the North paſſage.

* See for this the Tomes of E. I. *Caſpar Enſ. Gu. Artuſ. Meranus* in Lib. 8. of his Works.

As for the * Succeſs of thoſe that went upon the Diſcovery of the Northern Paſſage, we ſhall omit all Particulars of that kind in this place, being at preſent confined to their other Voyages.

* *April*, A. D. 1595.

Thoſe that went by the ſafer and commoner way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, were theſe four, The *Maurice*, the *Holland*, the *Amſterdam*, and the *Good Pinnace*. They had in all aboard them 249 Men; the whole Charge amounted to 290000 Florens, of which 100000 was in ready Money and Merchandice. Thus provided they ſet ſail from the *Teſſel**; and how or by what means ſoever they came to make ſo long a Voyage of it, whether by Trade and Buſineſs in the way, or the unavoidable reſtraints of bad weather; but it was more than a Year before they got up to the Coaſt of *India*. A great deal however is to be allowed upon the account of the newneſs of the Voyage to them; 'twas the firſt attempt, and they were not then ſo well acquainted (as now) with all the Difficulties and Dangers of the Paſſage. The Accounts don't tell us neither of any remarkable thing that occurr'd in the way; what Entertainment the Natives gave them at the Cape of *Good Hope* and at the Iſlands of St. *Laurence*, or what Obſervations they made upon thoſe or other Countries they refreſh'd at.

The *Indian* Diſcovery was their great Buſineſs, and they ſeemed to be ſo full of this, that all others were too little and trival to be minded, till this were brought to ſome Perfection.

* *May.* A. D. 1596. * *June.*

When they were come to * the Iſland of *Sumatra*, they made a ſhort ſtay there, and then went * on for the Streights of *Sunde*, where the *Portugueze* came from *Bantam* to give them a Viſit. There's no doubt in the World but they came upon an ill and treacherous Deſign, tho' they did nothing now that diſcover'd it, beſides this pretence of Kindneſs which they made. People of a ſurly, imperious, ſpiteful Temper, are always to be ſuſpected when they fawn and flatter; their Compliments forebode miſchief to them that receive them; they are unfortunate Tokens, and a wiſe Man when he ſees them will be immediately upon his guard. The *Dutch* had now a fair warning to look to themſelves if they were diſpoſed to take it, ſince the *Portugueze*, who were at that time Subjects to *Spain*, could not be imagined to come out of pure kindneſs to ſee them, who being lately broken off from that Crown, came now to undermine them in their *Indian* Trade, and beſides were curſed Hereticks in to the bargain. And 'twas not long before they were fully ſatisfied that the *Portugueze* were actually conſpiring their ruin, and came for nothing elſe but to make Obſervations in order to the more effectual accompliſhment of their Deſign. This Information they had from no leſs a Perſon than the Protectour or Vice-King of *Bantam*, a deceitful intriguing Man himſelf, and of ſufficient Judgment and Experience in Plots, to be able to give a good gueſs in any point of that nature. This Perſon came aboard one of their Ships, where Prince *Maurice's* Letters (which were written both in *Arabick* and *Portugueze*) were read to him. And it ſeems matters went ſo far that the *Dutch* and he came to ſome formal Agreement, and Writings were deliver'd on both ſides, with the ſolemn Confirmation of Oaths and Promiſes, which how far they were kept or violated, the after Circumſtances will diſcover. But yet that the particular account of the pernicious Deſigns of the *Portugueze* againſt them (which they had from the Vice-roy) may be the better underſtood, we muſt by the way enter a little into the Character of a certain Perſon, who was nearly concerned in the Buſineſs too. This was one *Raja Duina*, or *Cæſar* as the *Portugueze* called him; the Titular King of *Bantam*, and no more than ſo. His Father indeed was Lord of all the Country, governed and managed the Great Iſland of *Java* at his pleaſure; but this Son falling in with the *Portugueze*, and marrying a *Portugueze* Wife, the People of *Bantam* rejected him, and would not ſtoop to his Authority. Beſides this, he lived a good while at *Malacca* amongſt that People, and carried it all along with ſo much particular Favour and Good Will towards them, that the *Bandaneſe* concluded him to be tinctur'd with ſuch Principles, as would render him wholly unfit for their Government, and therefore put him by.

Portugueze plot their Deſtruction.

Agreement between the *Dutch* and the Protector of *Bantam*.

Cæſar or *Raja Duina* K. of *Bantam*.

July.

Yet for all this, he was treated like a King by a great many; and ſome of the petty Kings themſelves, that paid Homage to *Bantam*, would ſpeak to him with all thoſe Geſtures of Aoration and profound Humility, that are uſual in thoſe parts when they addreſs the Sovereign.

Now the Deſign was laid thus, that *Cæſar* ſhould invite all the Chief of the *Dutch* aſhoar to a Feaſt, and the *Portugueze* in the mean time with a good power of Men, ſhould ſieze the Ships, then left as it were without a Guard; and as for the dividing the Spoil betwixt them, they had agreed that *Cæſar* ſhould have all the valuable Plunder, and the *Portugueze* upon the Payment of 3000 Ducats, ſhould have the Ships put into their own hands. A handſome Contrivance enough; but the Difficulty was, to draw the *Dutch* aſhoar, and make them leave their Ships in a careleſs manner. If they did not leave them naked and expos'd, the Plot would have miſcarried and come to nothing; if they did ſo, they deſerved to be ruined; and meet with no pity in all the Misfortunes conſequent upon the Surprizal. But there's no need of arguing one way or another about the Plot, ſince (as we hinted) the *Dutch* had notice of it, and ſo ſpoil'd all the intended Sport.

The *Dutch* try to work upon *Cæſar.*

Now this *Cæſar* being ſo entirely a Tool for the *Portugueze* to work with, and a very ſerviceable one too in carrying on that which now lay upon hand; 'twas a piece of good Policy to gain this Perſon over to their Intereſt if poſſible; at leaſt to ſweeten him a little with ſome good Preſents, that if he could not be made their Friend, yet he might be leſs an Enemy than he was before. He had been once aboard their Ships and well entertain'd; but now they thought fit to add to that former Civility, a Preſent of Armour, with ſome other valuable things, which they ſent him.

The Humour of the *Javans* is ſordid enough to be or do any thing for a little profit; they are Friends not where Vertue and Juſtice, or Principles of true Honour do engage them to be ſo; but where the Charms of Gain do invite them, and their hungry covetous Deſires may be ſatisfied.

Cæſar was ready to give his treacherous Invitation to the *Dutch*, to trepan them into a fatal Snare; but when the Preſent came he was another Man, he was won over to a very good Opinion of them, and began to blame the unjuſt Proceedings of the *Portugueze.*

The Deceits of the Protector.

After this he went away to *Jacatra*, and left the *Dutch* to deal with the Protector at *Bantam.* And things were brought to this iſſue, that the *Dutch* had liberty to trade there, and a Publick Houſe was taken for a Repoſitory of all their Goods, with all other neceſſary Preparations, in order to the Settlement of a Factory. Yet after the Agreement made, did the falſe-hearted Protector turn and wind, and uſe all the Artifices imaginable to undoe the Buſineſs, and fruſtrate their Deſigns. He complain'd of *Cæſar*, but was in all probability by far the worſe Knave of the two himſelf; a Man that diſcovers the Plots of other Adverſaries, that he may plot himſelf with the leſs danger of ſuſpicion, is a double Villain. But he did not content himſelf with meer caballing againſt them, and laying ſecret Obſtacles and Rubs in their way, but ſhortly after iſſued out a Proclamation forbidding the People to trade with them. Nay, the *Dutch* were now told too by ſome that had more kindneſs for them, that all their Ships would be aſſaulted, and without they look'd very well to their Buſineſs, ſeiz'd and taken too. This News made them retire aboard as faſt as they could, to prevent the Danger that threatned; but they could not all get off clear, ſome of them being intercepted in their Retreat, and kept Priſoners there in Town. When they ſent to demand their Men, the Protector refus'd to deliver them; upon which they immediately begun to batter the Town, and took three of their Junks in part of ſatisfaction.

Wars between the *Dutch* and *Bantameſe.*

But their poor Countrymen that were Priſoners, were in extream danger of their Lives, whiles they lay thundering upon the Walls with their great Guns, and ſpoiling all about them. They were juſt upon the point of being hanged, having Ropes about their Necks for that purpoſe, and were all to be tuck'd up out of hand, if their Friends aboard did not lie ſtill with their Guns, and forbear any farther Aſſaults upon the Town. And upon this Conſideration the *Dutch* did deſiſt, and a ſort of Truce was made for ſome Days; but the Flame broke out again when that time was expired, and raged with more violence for the ſpace of a Month after. And now hanging was too good for the *Dutch* that were aſhore; they were appointed to ſome more cruel Fate; but what that ſhould be, was not eaſie for their enraged Enemies to agree upon amongſt themſelves. There were ſo many different Opinions about the Method and Manner of their Execution, every ones Invention being employ'd to make it as barbarous as could be; that by this means they got a Reprieve till another Peace was concluded.

Had the Paſſions of their Adverſaries been more cool and calm, they had all died for't, and the Peace had come too late; but their wild ungovern'd Fury tranſported them at that rate, that they could not command Thoughts great enough to anſwer the greatneſs of their Indignation, and ſo loſt their opportunity of expreſſing it. A very rare as well as an odd thing, for Mens Lives to be ſav'd thus by the exceſs of Cruelty in their Adverſaries; for buſie deſigning Rage, to do the Work of Mercy and Good Nature, and by the heights of Study and Contrivance, to diſappoint it ſelf. But thus 'twas, a ſeaſonable Peace interven'd again, and the Victims who liv'd only till the Bloody Ceremonies of the Sacrifice were adjuſted, eſcap'd once more their horrid Fate.

Uncertainty of Affairs at *Bantam.*

The *Portugueze* were very much nettled and diſturb'd at this Peace which the *Bantameſe* had made with the *Dutch*, and therefore they ſent a Diſpatch from *Malacca* to perſwade them to violate the late Agreement, and declare War againſt them a third time. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that the *Portugueſe* Agent offer'd 10000 Rials to have the *Dutch* deliver'd into his hands; or for the *Bantameſe* publickly to deny them Trade in their Country, which they would. The Offer was too tempting for thoſe baſe-minded People to be able to withſtand it, ſo they forbid the *Dutch* all manner of Dealing and Concerns amongſt them, and they in Revenge of this perfidious Breach of Covenants, fell to taking of their Junks, and ſo puniſh'd them that way.

But the *Portugueze*, it ſeems (however it came about) thought the *Bantameſe* had not plaid the Knave enough with the *Dutch*, for the Money they gave them; they had given a great Rate, and they expected the Villainy ſhould have been anſwerable. Theſe Men were mighty ſtrict and punctual in obſerving the Laws of Commutative Juſtice, when they were buying other Mens Lives and Properties, or treating about the Price of their Deſtruction. Here they would not bate a Farthing, but have their Bargain to the utmoſt rigour fulfilled, and in caſe of a failure make the *Bantameſe* worſe Villains for cheating them, than they were for ſetting them on to break all thoſe ſolemn Leagues and Covenants. They were ſo concern'd about the ill beſtowing of their Money, that they fell to downright Scolding with the Protector about it, and very hot Words paſs'd on both ſides; ſuch as intriguing Knaves, when they fall out about the pious Deſigns they are carrying on, uſe to give another. In ſhort, the *Portugueze* were reſolv'd to have Satisfaction, and ſince the *Bantameſe* would not give it, they took it themſelves, by ſeizing ſeveral of the *China* Junks that traded there.

Portugueze and *Bantam* fall out.

Protector's Revenge upon them.

But the Protector was even with them before 'twas long; for tho' he cunningly diſſembled his Paſſion and Deſign of Revenge, yet the Flame was preſerv'd in its utmoſt ſtrength in his own Breaſt, and broke out (as a fit Occaſion ſerv'd), ending in no leſs than the total Ruine of the *Portugueze* Intereſt in this place. He got a good Fleet together, and came upon the *Portugueze* Galleys before they were aware, killing all the Men, and dividing the Spoil of the Fleet amongſt his Soldiers.

The *Portugueze* now were forc'd to contain themſelves within the Bounds of *Malacca*, their laſt Retreat, and only Defence hereabouts; *Bantam* was rid of them, and they were like to domineer there no more.

The *Dutch* after theſe Events, went away to *Jacatra*, where they were receiv'd with great kindneſs, and had free permiſſion to furniſh themſelves with all ſorts of Neceſſaries they wanted.

Spice-Trade at *Tuban* and *Cydaia.*

From hence they ſail'd to *Tuban* and *Cydaia*, at which places they traded for Cloves and Nutmegs. Theſe People, if civil and kind at firſt, were yet afterwards ſoured by the *Bantameſe* and *Portugueze*; they aſſaulted the *Dutch* Ships, but to their own great prejudice, loſing near 200 of their Men.

Treachery of the People of *Cydaia* and *Madura.*

Things went much after the ſame manner at *Madura* too, whither they came next. The King of that place had leave to come aboard them, provided he came with a ſmall number of his Attendants; but he deſigning ſomething elſe beſides a Viſit, and bringing a little Army along with him, was kill'd in the Action, with moſt of his Men, and his young Son taken Priſoner.

At the City of *Balambuan*, they heard of the Admirals *Drake* and *Candiſh*, which had been there ſome Years before.

There were Wars at this time between the King of *Paſſaruan*, a *Mahometan*; and him of *Balambuan*, a *Pagan*; both theſe places being upon the ſame Iſle of *Java*; and *Balambuan* moſt remote in the Eaſtern Corner of the Iſle, as *Bantam* is in the Weſtern.

Baly Iſle.

Baly is a conſiderable Iſland, parted by a narrow Streight from the Eaſtern point of *Java*. The People altogether Heathens, and that Religion that is amongſt them, lies entirely in the Hands of the Bramens, in whoſe Diſcipline the King is always brought up, and is, as it were, one of their Order. And conſequently, according to the Principles of that Sect, they abſtain from all Animal Food; but they allow themſelves more Liberty in another Point than the *Javan* Bramens do, for they enjoy the Pleaſures of Matrimony, which the other do not. But then they are confin'd to one ſingle Marriage, by the Laws of their Society; and if the Wife dies, the Husband muſt be contented to live a mournful Widower all the reſt of his Days: He muſt take his Leave of Matrimony for ever, at leaſt he muſt have no more Wives in that Body; but after the Tranſmigration, 'tis poſſible he may come down again and marry in another, and that's as good. Nay, who knows, but the very ſame Couple may meet together again, and be Man and Wife, I know not how many times over; which if they ſhould, tho' the Souls be the

The Bramens of *Baly*

ſame,

Their Marriages and Holy-days.

ſame, yet the Bodies (they believe) are different, and ſo there's variety ſtill, and perhaps all that may be deſired. But the heavieſt part of the Burden lies upon the poor Woman; if they die firſt, their Husbands are condemn'd to live unmarried; but if their Husbands die firſt, they are condemn'd to burn, or be buried alive along with them: The latter ſeems to be the Fate of the Bramens Wives, and the former that of the Peoples in general: So that here's Reaſon enough for them on both ſides, to pray for one another's Lives; the Man perhaps may be fond of the Comforts of the married State, and ſo his Wife's Life is a great Bleſſing to him; and the Woman, 'tis probable, is willing to live and have her ſhare of them, and other Enjoyments too; and therefore muſt needs be a very tender and careful Nurſe to her Husband, and do all that lies in her power to pleaſe and cheriſh him, and make his Life eaſie to him, that he may weather out the Point as long as 'tis poſſible. She is obliged to attend the Work of ſpinning that Thread with all the Art and Nice Application ſhe can; to run it out to the utmoſt length, and draw it as fine as may be, without danger of breaking; for as long as this laſts, ſhe laſts; and when the Good Man goes, ſhe can't ſtay long behind him: And if ſhe does not die of her own accord for Grief, the Country will make her do't upon another account, for there's no long-liv'd Widows amongſt them, nor no Women ever ſuffer'd to tell their ſecond Husbands how kind and obliging their firſt uſed to be to them. As for their other Rites, we have little account of them: Only they ſay, that every Seventh Day is ſacred with them, and devoted to the ſolemn Exerciſes of their Religion, beſides which they obſerve ſeveral others as Feſtivals and Holy-Days, in the compaſs of the Year.

The King of this Iſland is repreſented as a very potent Prince, able to bring into the Field 300000 Foot, and 100000 Horſe; and very rich too, as it ſhou'd ſeem by this, that the Furniture of his Table was all ſolid Gold. He came to the Shore to ſee the *Dutch* Fleets, in a Chariot drawn with Buffals, himſelf being Driver too, holding the Whip and Reins in his own Hand. His Troops that attended him, were arm'd with Spears, Flame-form'd Criſes, Bows made of Canes with poyſon'd Arrows. They are People of a black dull Complexion, like the *Javans* their Neighbours, little concern'd about any thing of Trade; or if they are, they deal for nothing but Cotton Cloth. The Iſland is no more than twelve *German* Miles in compaſs, a Spot incredibly ſmall, conſidering the Report of the vaſt Armies it produces: But as little as 'tis, 'tis a very rich and fertile Soil, luxuriant in its Productions, and excellently well water'd.

The *Dutch* obſerv'd, that the *Banyans* who were here, wore a certain Stone of the bigneſs of an Egg about their Necks; 'tis perforated in one part, and out of the Hole hang down three Threads, which they ſay is an Emblem of the Supreme Divinity.

They began their Voyage out of theſe Parts, for *Europe* again, in *February, A. D.* 1596. and concluded it before the middle of *Auguſt, A. D.* 1597.

Thus was that Correſpondence between them and the *Eaſt-Indies* begun, which afterwards became ſo familiar and full of profit to them.

Chap. XL.

An Account of the Second Voyage made by the Dutch *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *with Eight Ships, the* Holland, *the* Zeland, *the* Frieſland, *the* Guelderland, *the* Utrecht, *the* Overyſſel, *the* Maurice, *the* Amſterdam: *Containing in all 560 Men.* James Neccius *Admiral, and* Wibrand Warwick *Vice-Admiral.*

THO' the Reſult of the former Voyage was little better than loſs of Men, Money, and Time; yet the *Dutch* not at all diſcouraged with their poor Succeſs, no ſooner ſaw the firſt Ships return, but they ſent out theſe to make a Second Trial. And here we have, as it were, the whole Republick, ſailing away at once to the *Eaſt-Indies.* Here's the Prince, and the Provinces, the Stadtholder, and the States themſelves; Prince *Maurice, Holland, Zeland,* and the reſt, all upon the march together. 'Tis as if they were going to make a new Settlement abroad, and deſign'd to have the *Low Countries* in *Aſia*, as well as in *Europe.* But we'll follow them, and ſee what they do.

May, A. D. 1598. Dutch Fleet parted at the Cape of *Good Hope.*

Having ſet Sail from the *Texel*, they kept Company together as far as the Cape of *Good Hope:* But there partly by foul Weather, and their own ill Conduct, they were parted. Some of them held their way to the Iſle St. *Mary*, and the reſt to the Iſle *De Cerne*, call'd by them *Maurice* Iſle, in Complement to the Prince of that Name. This Iſland they commend highly for its excellent Trees, Palms, and Ebony, black, red, and yellow; for its Air and Soil, the Animals it produces, as divers ſorts of Fowl, but eſpecially the Tortoiſes, which do here grow to ſuch a bigneſs as is almoſt incredible. They ſay, that they are, ſome of them, big enough to carry four Men upon their Backs, and that ten Men may ſit all together in the hollow of the Shell. 'Tis a wonder they did not make uſe of ſome of theſe fine Shells inſtead of Boats, to wait upon their Ships; for 'tis a far more compendious (as well as a leſs chargeable) way of making Boats and Skiffs, to kill a few Tortoiſes, and take off the Shells, than to go to building of them the common way.

Large Tortoiſes at *Maurice Iſle*, near St. *Laurence*. *Commier.*

Dutch agree for Trade at *Bantam.*

Thoſe Ships of the *Dutch* that went to the Iſle St. *Mary*, got firſt to *Bantam*, and having made their way by Preſents, to the young King and Protector, quickly procur'd a Grant for full Liberty of Trade. Whether 'twas the ſame Protector or no, that was before, is uncertain; however, the *Dutch* were now more kindly us'd, and the *Bantameſe* and they mighty Friends together.

By that time they had been here a Month, the other part of the Fleet came in too; but ſadly weather-beaten and diſtreſs'd, and ſeveral of their Company dead: And now ſo many Ships being come together upon the *Bantameſe*, the Price of Pepper was rais'd. The *Dutch* quickly procur'd four of their Ships to be laden with Pepper, which were forthwith diſpatch'd home: The reſt reſolved to viſit the *Molucca* Iſles; and *Neccius* being return'd to *Holland, Warwick* was Admiral in his room.

January.

The *Molucca* Fleet in their way, put in at *Tuban*, another Town of *Java*, and at the Iſle *Madure*, upon the ſame Coaſt Northward. That Iſland abounds in Rice, which is the moſt conſiderable of its Products; the People for the moſt part live upon Spoil and Robbery. This the *Dutch* found by their own ſad Experience; for having landed ſome Men here to enquire after Proviſions, they were ſeiz'd and captivated by theſe barbarous People, as were alſo thoſe whom they ſent to look after them. And tho' they had made them Priſoners in this unjuſt and violent way, yet they had the Impudence to ask a prodigious Sum for their Ranſome, ſo that the *Dutch* were forc'd to ſet a conſiderable Force of Men aſhore, to try to recover them by another Method.

Madure Iſle, and the Villany of that People to the *Dutch.*

February.

Their old Friends the *Portugueze* headed the *Indians*, and a hot Skirmiſh there was between them, but in the midſt of the Fight there happen'd a Storm to riſe, which obliged the *Dutch* to give over in ſome confuſion, and retreat towards their Ships to look after them.

This gave the Enemy an advantage to do them ſome miſchief, that otherwiſe perhaps they would not have done; ſo that they came off with a conſiderable loſs, and after all were forced to pay 2000 Rials of Eight in Money and Goods, for the Redemption of their Men.

Trade at *Amboina.*

From hence they ſail'd to *Amboina*, but becauſe there was not Trade ſufficient for all four Ships, therefore two of them went away to *Banda*. Thoſe at *Amboina* met with Cloves, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Coco's, Banana's, and Sugar-Canes there; and agreed for a kind of a Factory amongſt them. The Inhabitants were a poor ſimple ſort of People, very ignorant and unpoliſh'd in their Manners; their Weapons were only long Pikes, with a Hook at one end, their Boats made in the form of a Dragon, the Head at the Prow, and the Tail in the Stern, and adorn'd with ſeveral Streamers.

At *Banda.* *March, April,* &c. *A. D.* 1599.

As for thoſe at the *Banda* Iſles, they had the ſame Succeſs in their Affairs, as the others had at *Amboina*; they came to an Agreement for Trade, and took a Houſe for their Merchandize; and here they were pretty buſie in buying and ſelling for the ſpace of two or three Months. They found nothing of a King, or Kingly Power, any where in all theſe Iſlands; they were govern'd by their own * States, or Orankayes, who directed and preſided in all Matters of Publick Conſequence, and ſeem'd to have no further Power than that came to, to act in ſuch a manner for the Good of the Community.

* See *Iſac. Pontani Hiſt. Amſtelodam.* lib. 2 c. 15. And alſo, *Pars* 5. *Ind. Oriental. Reg. nullum agnoſcunt, ſed ſuis inſtitutis viventes ad ſeniorumCœtus, ubi conſultatione opus eſt, res referunt.* So ſays *Pontanus.*

The People are all *Mahometans*, and very devout and preciſe ones; full of Zeal and Strictneſs in their way, beginning no Buſineſs of any ſort whatſoever, till they have prayed for the Succeſs of it; in which reſpect they are a ſhame to a great part of the Chriſtian World, that have a much-leſs Sence of Religion than this amounts to. They were involved at this time (and had been a good while before) in bitter Contentions and Wars amongſt themſelves; *Labetack*, *Comber*, and *Wayre*, held together; on the other ſide, *Nera*, *Poolaway*, and *Poolaroon*, were all in a League. They were horridly ſet againſt one another, and fought with a ſtrange degree of eagerneſs and inveterate ſpleen; making a deal of loud Noiſe and Triumph, whenever they maſſacred one another, and got a parcel of Heads to ſhew of either ſide. And yet all theſe Bloody Doings was only for the cutting down a few Trees in the Territory of *Nera*, by the Men of *Labetack*; this was the Original of the Quarrel; a very great thing indeed, for ſix or ſeven Towns to fall together by the Ears about, and ſpoil and tear one another at ſuch a rate, as if the Furies had poſſeſs'd them all.

'Twas perhaps a ſmall Encroachment upon the Privileges of the People of *Nera*; but a Civil War was the ready way to lay them open to a Foreign Power, that would make greater Encroachments upon them all, than this came to. Had not the Mouſe and the Frog been buſie a fighting, they might have avoided the hungry Adverſary that waited to ſwallow them both up.

Theſe Iſlands are eſteem'd very healthy, and People live to a great Age in them; that of 130 Years is not uncommon amongſt them, and their Old Age is not over-run with Diſtempers neither.

Their Character for the production of Spices is very well known; and here the Work of dreſſing the Mace and the Nutmegs, always falls to the ſhare of the Women.

From hence the two *Dutch* Ships ſet Sail again for *Bantam*, and from thence for *Holland*. But the other two that were at *Amboina*, after two Months ſtay there, went to the *Molucca's*.

Two of the Ships go home. *July.* And the others to the *Molucca's.* *January.*

At *Ternate* they procur'd a Trade and Factory; that Prince was kind and favourable to them, and ready to yield to all their fair and reaſonable Propoſals. Theſe alſo having ſettled their Factory here, ſail'd (after the others) to *Bantam*, and from thence for *Holland*, having no Buſineſs now to detain them any longer in the *Indies*. Their Ships were all richly laden with Spice, and they had made a happy Voyage of it, and 'twas now time to go home and ſhew their Country (expecting their return) the Fruits of their profitable Labours abroad.

The two former Ships came ſafe into the *Texel* in *April*, *A. D.* 1600; and theſe latter ones followed them with the like Succeſs the ſame Year.

A. D. 1600.

CHAP. XLI.

An Account of the farther Progreſs of the Dutch Eaſt-Indian *Trade, in ſeveral Attempts made by them for that purpoſe.*

THIS Correſpondence between *Holland* and the *East-Indies* being once ſet afoot, 'twas proſecuted by the *Dutch* with a Vigour anſwerable to the Greatneſs of their Hopes and Expectations from it. They had not Patience to ſtay till the laſt Fleet came home; but before they could hear the happy Tidings of their Succeſs, ſent out another upon the ſame Deſign. * This conſiſted of three good Ships, under the Command of *Stephen van Hagen*.

* *May, A. D.* 1599.

Beſides this, the four Ships of the former Fleet, that made ſo quick a Diſpatch at *Bantam*, and went homewards from thence, under the Command of Admiral *Neccius*, were preſently made to begin another Voyage; they did but juſt unlade as it were, and then put out to Sea again.

All this while there was but one Company that took upon them the Management of theſe *Indian* Affairs; and that was the Company of *Amſterdam*, or of the Province of *Holland*.

New Companies in *Holland.*

But now another ſtarted up, the Buſineſs grew profitable, and was upon the thriving Hand, and more were willing to put in for a ſhare on't. This was a Company of *Amſterdammers*, and *Brabanters* joyn'd together: They * ſet out a Fleet of four Ships, under the Conduct of Admiral *Bott*; which after two Years return'd with a very rich Cargo.

* *December. A. D.* 1599.

The ſame Society alſo prepared * two Ships more, to which the former Company added ſix others all going out, under the Command of the aforeſaid *Neccius*, and making a very happy and proſperous Voyage.

* *A. D.* 1600.

Again, beſides all theſe, the very next Year *, 13 Ships more ſet Sail from *Amſterdam*, under the Command of three Admirals, *James Heemskirk*, *John Grenior*, and *Wolphard Herminius*: Theſe were met and encountred by a *Spaniſh* Armado, conſiſting of the like number of Ships; but how the *Dutch* came off in that Action, we have no particular Account in theſe Voyages that are now before us.

* *A. D.* 1601. *April.*

What Succeſs they had at *Achen*, is related in a former Book *; 'tis reckon'd the *Portugueze* procur'd them that Entertainment by the ill Reports they made of them to the King of *Achen*. However, that Prince did afterwards treat them at a better rate, and proceeded ſo far in a friendly Correſpondence with them, as to ſend his Embaſſadors into *Holland* to Prince *Maurice*; one of which died at *Middleborough*, and lies buried there, having an Epitaph on his Tomb, that ſhews his Name and Quality. The Commanders to whom the King of *Achen* was thus Civil, were *Lawrence Bicker*, with four Ships of *Zeland*, and Admiral *George Spilberg*, one of the famous *Dutch* Circum-Navigators. What was perform'd by each of thoſe forementioned Perſons, we ſhall enter upon the enquiry into by and by; but we muſt firſt of all take Notice of a very neceſſary ſtep, in order to the more proſperous Management of theſe Affairs, and that was the Union of all the Stocks and Companies. For whereas by the diverſity of theſe Trading Parties amongſt them, there were ſo many private and particular Intereſts to be regarded, that the Publick Good could not be ſo zealouſly and regularly purſued as otherwiſe; it was concluded, and accordingly proclaim'd, That all theſe ſeveral Societies ſhould form themſelves into one Body, and laying all their Stocks together, ſhould have the ſole diſpoſal of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, for the ſpace of 21 Years. And they agreed alſo upon theſe Terms, with reference to the Diviſion of the Charge of all new Fleets amongſt themſelves, that ſhould hereafter be ſet out, *viz.* that *Amſterdam* ſhould bear a half part; *Middleborough* one fourth; *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Enchuſen*, and *Hoorn*, each a ſixteenth part. The Sum of the Common Stock brought into the Treaſury, amounted to more than Six Millions of Florins: And upon this Foundation of united Counſels and Purſes, they proceeded to carry on a very thriving and profitable Trade. The Accounts we have of their particular Managements abroad, are not very perſpicuouſly nor methodically given; but yet ſo much we may be able to pick out of them, as

* See Dutch firſt Voyage. Lib. 2.

All the Companies united.

may ſerve to inform us of the mighty Progreſs the *Dutch* made both in advancing their own Intereſt and Trade, and deſtroying that of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*.

Harminius relieves *Bantam.*

Wolphard Harminius had five Ships of the *Amſterdam* Fleet under his command. This Perſon being in the Streights of *Sunde*, was informed there by a *Chineſe* Junk, that the Town of *Bantam* was cloſely beſieged by an Armado of *Portugueze*, conſiſting of eight great Ships and twenty Frigats. They came thither pretending to force the *Bandaneſe* to promiſe them to have no dealings with the *Dutch*, and if they would not oblige themſelves to that, they ſhould be puniſhed for their Refuſal with all the Plagues of War.

Portugueze forced from *Bantam.*

Harminius upon this News ſail'd away to *Bantam*, fell upon the *Portugueze*, and routed the whole Armado; he ſunk and took a great many of them, and ſome the Enemies ſet fire to themſelves; in ſhort a very ſmall number eſcaped, and thoſe that did hurried away in a horrible Fright and Confuſion.

The Cruelties at *Amboina.*

Theſe ſcatter'd Remainders of the Fleet (ſince they could not have their Wills at *Bantam*) ſet themſelves to do all the miſchief imaginable at other places. At *Amboina* they ſlaughter'd the poor innocent Natives, cut down their Clove Trees, and committed all manner of barbarous Hoſtilities, and all out of revenge and malice to the *Dutch*, whoſe Trade they were bent every where to hinder. The *Bantameſe* were very thankful to *Harminius* for his timely Aſſiſtance, as they had very good reaſon to be; neither was it without reaſon that the *Dutch* interpoſed in that manner, ſince the Sufferings of the *Bantameſe* were chiefly upon their account, and by caſting off their Friendſhip and Alliance they might have put an end to all their own Danger and Diſtreſs. *Harminius* having received all the Compliments of the *Bantameſe* upon this account, took his leave and went away for the *Molucca* and *Banda* Iſlands. And now this part of the Fleet was divided, two Ships being bound for the former, and three for the latter of theſe Iſlands. Thoſe that went to *Ternate* got a good lading there, and then ſail'd to *Banda* to their Companions. At *Banda* they found their Factory in good caſe, and a ſufficient quantity of Mace and Nutmegs ready for them, with which they preſently furniſhed three of their Ships and diſpatched them home; the other two ſtaid there till the Cloves were ripe.

Harminius goes to the *Molucca's* and *Banda's.*

A noble *Portugueze* Prize taken by *Heemskirk.*

James Heemskirk, that commanded another part of the *Amſterdam* Fleet, performed his moſt conſiderable piece of Service, in the taking of a ſplendid *Portugueze* Ship. She was of 1400 Tun burthen, and had 800 Perſons aboard her; ſhe was laden with Silk, Sugar, Musk, Cotton, Tintinago, and ſo many rich Commodities, that ſhe was worth ſeveral Millions of Florens to them. According to the uſual hectoring way of that People, at the firſt ſight of the *Dutch* Ships ſhe hung out a bloody Flag, threatning them all with Death and Confuſion; but ſhe quickly changed her Colours and put out the white Flag of Peace; a few ſhot from the *Dutch* humbled her, and made her cry out *Miſericordia*. *Heemskirk* returned home in *A. D.* 1604.

Spilbergen at the Iſland of *Ceylon.*

The very ſame Year alſo returned Admiral *Spilbergen* mentioned before. The moſt of his Concerns lay at the Iſland of *Ceylon*, of which we have this following brief Account. He was firſt of all honourably received and entertained by the King of *Batecoli*, who vouchſafed him Liberty of Trade, and after ſeveral other Favours, ſent him away in a very friendly manner to the King of *Cande*, who deſired his Company. This Prince order'd a noble retinue to attend him in his Journey thither; his Elephants were ſent out together with his Guard, and a coſtly Litter for the Admiral himſelf to be carried in. This King of *Cande* being mention'd, we muſt digreſs a little into his Story, which may deſerve our conſideration. The *Portugueze* amongſt other parts of the *Eaſt-Indies* had ſeated themſelves alſo in this Iſland of *Ceylon*, where they had their ſtrong Fort of *Colombo*, and enjoyed Quiet and Friendſhip with the Kings of the Country. In this Fort of *Colombo*, the preſent King of *Cande* had his Education, they had made a Chriſtian of him, and Baptiz'd him by the Name of *Don John de Auſtria*.

Sent for to *Cande.*

The Story of the King of *Cande.*

Upon the Death of *Darma* the old King, this *Fimala* (for that was his Name) by the help of his party in the Iſland ſtept into the Throne, and preſently arm'd againſt the *Portugueze*, and expell'd them the Country. The late King *Darma* had a Daughter living ſtill, whom the *Portugueze* likwiſe had the breeding of, and her they reſolved to marry to the Governour of *Malacca*, and ſo driving out *Fimala*, put the Government into their Hands. Accordingly they brought this young Princeſs with a Potent Army to *Cande*; and now *Fimala* was forc'd to retire and hide himſelf in the Woods, where yet he placed his Forces ſo advantageouſly, that he bitterly diſtreſſed the *Portugueze*, and cut off all manner of Proviſion from the City. *Lopez* the new-made King, ſeeing he was like to be ſtarved in the City, reſolved to ſtay no longer there, but go out and leave all to the hazard of one ſet Battel; if he carried the Day, the Diſtreſs was at an end, and the Country clear of all Adverſaries before him; if not, a Noble Death, or Fortunate eſcape into ſome place of more freedom, would ſtill change this direful Scene. And 'twas by the latter of theſe two Methods that he was relieved; he loſt the Victory and his Life together, * and *Fimala* the Conqueror poſſeſſes himſelf at once of the young Princeſs and the Throne again.

* *A. D.* 1590. *Portugueze* overthrown at *Ceylon.*

She was but nine or ten Years old, when by *Fimala*'s Victory and Marriage with her, ſhe came to the Inheritance of her Fathers Crown; as for the *Portugueze*, the whole Power of the Kingdom of *Cande* was employed againſt them, and all Endeavours uſed to accompliſh their compleat Expulſion from the Iſland. 'Tis to be noted that *Darma* the Father of this young Princeſs, and *Fimala*'s Predeceſſour in the Throne of *Cande*, was not originally King of that place, but of *Sitebagne*, which is about 15 Leagues from *Cande*. 'Twas the Succeſs of his Arms that brought him in there, not the Right of Succeſſion, or the Peoples Choice; he drove the lawful King of *Cande* out, who fled with all his Children for Refuge to the *Portugueze*, and left the Victorious *Darma* for a while, to enjoy the Fruits of his Violence and Injuſtice. But he was at laſt routed out by the People, who were far from being eaſie under his Government; and therefore ſerved him the ſame ſawce that he had ſerved their rightful Prince, forcing him to taſte the Pleaſures of Rebellion, Treaſon, and Baniſhment, and to try how 'twas, for a Man that had a Crown upon his Head, to have it pulled off again in a rude and forcible manner. By this means was a way opened for *Fimala* the Son of the exiled King, to come into his Fathers Royal Seat at *Cande*; the Death of the Uſurper *Darma* did him that Juſtice, and brought him to the Poſſeſſion of his deſired Glory.

Spilbergen's Entertainment at *Cande.*

Spilbergen being come to *Cande* to wait upon this Prince, was the next Day after his arrival ſent for to Court. The King was very well pleaſed with the Preſents he made him, but ſeemed to be much more taken with the Company of him and his European Attendants, who appear'd to be ſuch a ſort of People as he little expected to ſee. For he was under an Apprehenſion that there was no Nation of Whites, but the *Portugueze* alone, his moſt deteſted Enemies, and therefore lay under a very pleaſing Surprize to find the *Dutch* of that Complexion as well as they.

The Furniture of his Palace was after the *Portugueze* Faſhion, for having had his Education amongſt them, he ſtill retained ſome of their Cuſtoms: Thus the Rooms were furniſhed with Chairs, and Stools, and Tables, adorned with rich Arras Hangings and other things of the like nature, that had far more of the *European* than the *Indian* mode in them.

When they came to diſcourſe of the matter of Trade, the King ſhewed an uncommon degree of forwardneſs and willingneſs to promote that Deſign; and (whether 'twas a Compliment or no) he told *Spilbergen* that himſelf and his Queen and all his Nobles would be ready to carry Stones and Mortar for the building of a Fort when and wherever Prince *Maurice* and the States pleaſed.

Burns the *Portugueze* Ships.

And to fix the King more effectually in this good Humour and favourable Opinion of the *Dutch*, *Spilbergen* went out one Day and took three *Portugueze* Ships, burning them when he had done, and bringing all the Men home Priſoners to the King. This did his Buſineſs, and if the King had not been diſpoſed to be kind before, 'twas enough to have made him ſo: A Sacrifice of his Enemies that had once, and would again beat his Crown from his Head. What could be more agreeable and procure more Favour for him that offer'd it? This Prince was mightily delighted with Muſick, and when the Admiral found his Inclination to lie pretty ſtrongly that way, he preſented him with a couple of Muſicians, one of whom came to very good Fortune by this means, for the Charms of his Muſick perſwaded the King to make him a Secretary of State; this was a very fine Poſt for a Fidler, and Preferment enough to have made a Man Muſical that was not ſo before. But farther, to ſhew his Eſteem and Opinion of the *Dutch*, the King ſet himſelf to learn that Language, and would needs have his Kingdom called by the Name of *New Holland*.

Account of *Ceylon.*

The Account we have of this Country is very ſhort and imperfect. The whole Iſland is divided into ſeven Kingdoms, but how much *Fimela* the King of *Cande*'s Territories do take in is not certain; only this we are told, that he poſſeſſes all that Kingdom, of which *Colombo* is the Capital City, a few Forts excepted, out of which he is not yet able to drive the *Portugueze*.

The Iſland is 250 Miles from N. to S. and 140 broad, 'tis a noble fertile Spot, abounds in delicate odoriferous Plants, Cinnamon Trees, the moſt and beſt in the whole World, and which is more than all, choice Jewels of ſeveral ſorts.

A great Carbuncle brought from *Ceylon*.

Spilbergen brought both Cinnamon and precious Stones from thence, and amongſt theſe a Pyropus or Carbuncle of a prodigious ſize, weighing full 400 Carots; one ſo big as which hardly *Europe* had ever ſeen before. Thus we have ſeen the Reſult of *Spilbergen*'s Management at *Ceylon*, an Iſland little known to the *European* World; we muſt now ſee what was performed by other Commanders of the *Dutch* Fleets in other places where their Concerns lay.

* *March A. D.* 1602.

Admiral *James Neccius* ſet ſail with the Ships under his Command for *Bantam*, where after a Voyage of ſome nine Months or better they arrived in * ſafety. The Governour of this place (according to the good Underſtanding now eſtabliſhed between them and the *Dutch*) gave them Information of the Deſigns the *Portugueze* were carrying on againſt them.

King of *Tuban* and the *Portugueze* arm themſelves againſt the *Dutch*.

The King of *Tuban* (a Town upon the Iſland of *Java*) was of a *Portugueze* extraction, and having join'd with his Country-men in their Plot of extirpating the *Dutch* Intereſt there, had ſent to *Bantam* to ask leave to attack the *Dutch* in that Harbour, for which purpoſe they had a Fleet of 40 Ships that lay ready at *Jecatra*. What Anſwer was given we do not know; tho' 'tis probable a peremptory Refuſal to admit of any ſuch Hoſtilities againſt the *Dutch* there; however *Neccius* did not ſtay to ſee the event of it, but went away for the *Moluccas*.

Portugueze reports of the *Dutch*.

At *Ternate* he heard how the *Portugueze* had befriended his Nation in a good Character, repreſenting them to the People as a parcel of Thieves, Sodomites, and in all reſpects the worſt and moſt leud ſort of Men, which they did they alledged out of kindneſs to the King of *Ternate*, becauſe they would not have him impoſed upon by ſuch a ſort of People. Beſides this here was a report of a diſmal Tragedy acted by them upon a Company of **Dutch** Men, whoſe Ships they had betrayed; upon all which Accounts, *Neccius* ſailed away to **Tidore** to take ſome part of his revenge upon them.

They rout the *Dutch*.

But his Succeſs was not anſwerable to the Juſtneſs of his Cauſe, or at leaſt the Greatneſs of that particular Provocation, for he came off with the worſt on't in the Encounter, and beſides the Loſs of ſome of his Company and his own Wounds, was obliged to leave the inſulting Enemy to make their utmoſt Boaſt upon his Flight.

King of *Ternate*'s Title.

They by the way here give us an Account of the King of *Ternate*'s Titles, and all the Dominions he pretends to; they tell us he calls himſelf King of *Ternate*, *Machian*, *Motir*, *Amboina*, *Gilolo*, and of the *Celebes*, tho' he poſſeſſes nothing there; alſo of *Mindanao*, *Sokens*, *Menos*, and other Iſlands. But all the while here's nothing of the *Banda* Iſlands; we don't find the King of *Ternate* pretends any Soveraignty there, and there's no reaſon to believe that Title would be ſuppreſs'd if it had ever been aſſumed by him; and therefore that more modern Pretence of the *Dutch* to the *Banda* Iſlands upon the King of *Ternate*'s account proves it ſelf to be vain and idle, and the Makers of it to be ſhrewdly put to it to find out ſome Reaſon for their unjuſt Claim.

Neccius now beaten away from the *Moluccas* went to ſeek his Fortune in other places.

Coyo one of the *Philippine* Iſlands.

He came firſt to *Coyo*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands tributary to the *Spaniards*, where he met with kind Entertainment from the Natives.

After that they came to *Mendare* not far from the Bay of *Manilla*, where they were horribly endanger'd for eight Days together amongſt the Rocks.

From hence they ſail'd towards the Coaſt of *China*, and had ſight of one of the Cluſter of Iſlands, that lies before *Cauton*.

Cauton and *Macao* on the *Chineſe* Coaſt.

When they were by their own reckoning 12 or 15 Leagues from *Macao*, they ventured to proceed three or four Leagues farther, and ſaw a parcel of Buildings at the Foot of a Hill, and ſeveral Boats in the adjoining Water with whole Families in them, Men, Women, and Children. None of theſe People would come aboard them, but when they enquired of them about *Macao*, they pointed to the Mountain; but the *Dutch* not believing *Macao* to be ſo near, ſet ſome of their Men aſhoar; which not returning, they ſent out more in their Boats to enquire after them, but in ſhort they were all ſtopp'd and detained Priſoners, and now the *Dutch* found by dear bought Experience, that the place they were come to was *Macao*. There was no remedy to be had at all in this caſe: their Men were out of their reach, and they had not ſtrength enough to attempt the Recovery of them by Arms; ſo they were forced to ſubmit to this unjuſt Violence, and go away quiet and contented, till they were in fitter Circumſtances to take their Revenge.

Some of them made Priſoners at *Macao*.

After this they beat about upon the Coaſt of *Cauchin-China*, and having paſt ſeveral conſiderable Dangers by Rocks and Shelves, and other formidable things, they came to *Quami*. Here they found nothing but Woods and Deſarts, and the footings of ſome Wild Beaſts; No Inhabitants appeared, nor any Refreſhment that might tempt a Company of weather-beaten Seamen to ſtay there; ſo they ſailed from hence to *Auarella Talca*, in 11 Degr. 30 Min. This place was almoſt as bad as the other, only not quite ſo barren; they came out into an open Field, beſet all round with comely Trees, where they ſaw good ſtore of Birds, and Buffals too, that were diſperſed up and down a feeding, but they could not lay hands of any of them to ſupply their Neceſſities. They found the Track of ſome Carriages, as alſo the Footings of ſome Men in ſeveral places, which they followed as far as they could, till they were led out into wild rambling Woods, where all was loſt and confounded again. So that 'tis probable theſe People had no fixed and certain Dwellings, but wandred about the Country, ſettling ſometimes in one ſpot of it and ſometimes in another, according as the Paſturage or other Conveniencies ſerved them.

Quami a barren place.

Auarella Talca.

A ſtrange Fruit found there.

But the Fruitfulneſs of this Country (ſuch as 'twas) was a worſe Plague to the *Dutch* in its Effects, than the Barrenneſs of it could poſſibly have been. For here was a Fruit, the eating of which, made them all downright mad for a time. All their Faculties were ſtrangely darkned and diſturb'd, the Harmony and regular Temper of their Minds ſpoil'd and vitiated, their Fancies ſo debauched, that they did nothing but form a parcel of wild extravagant Images, and preſent them in ſuch ſtrong and lively Colours too, that all appear'd as if 'twas real. Every Man was a Viſionary in his own way, and according to his own proper Humour and Diſpoſition. One ſaw and converſed with Angels, another had ſome of the Black Regiment about him, a third cried out of Serpents, and other formidable Creatures, and another of ſome other thing that his confuſed diſtracted Imagination preſented at that time. Theſe Phanaticks muſt ſure make very pretty Company together, while every Man was telling his own Story, and exerting thoſe Paſſions, with their ſeveral Apprehenſions of the Objects that were preſented excited in them. No doubt there was a great deal of variety in that kind, and as much noiſe and buſtle too amongſt them; for thoſe that fanſied the Devil by them, could not but run away from him, and the reſt that were encompaſſed with venomous Beaſts to be ſure did not ſtand ſtill. Any Man that ſhould have come and found them in this Condition (not ſuſpecting it to be the Effect of ſuch a Cauſe as 'twas) muſt have thought *Auarella Talca* to be either a Receptacle of mad People, or at leaſt to be haunted with ſomething worſe. How they came to be ſober again they don't tell us, whether by the uſe of any ſort of Remedies, or whether the Diſtemper went off of it ſelf. They don't give us neither any deſcription of this Fruit, or the Tree, or Shrub that bears it, that other People might learn how to know and avoid it; all which is ſo very groſs a Neglect (that becauſe 'tis more Charity to impute it to Diſtraction than to Ill Nature) wee'll ſuppoſe they did not recover the true Uſe of their Wits as long as they were there, but carried the Relicks of the Madneſs away with them.

Dutch have a Factory at *Patane*.

The next place they came to was *Patane*; and here (whether mad or ſober) they found very kind Entertainment, and had the Grant of a Factory from the Queen of this place. They heard here likewiſe that their Men taken at *Macao* were moſt of them executed and ſent Priſoners to *Goa*; for 'twas the *Portugueze* had ſerv'd them that trick, tho' they ſuſpected the *Chineſe* to have ſome hand in it.

At *Patane* they tell us are uſed the *Malayan*, *Chineſe*, and *Siameſe* Languages; the *Malayan* ſomething reſembling the *Arabick*, the *Siameſe* like *European* Characters, the *Chineſe* much more intricate than either, and to be read from the right-hand downwards, wherein it agrees with the *Japoneſe**.

* See Capt. *Saris*'s Voyage.

Patane, its Cuſtoms and Products.

The Laws of this Country are very ſevere in caſe of Adultery, puniſhing any Treſpaſs of that kind with certain Death. The Offenders are in one reſpect their own Judges, for they condemn themſelves to what Death they pleaſe; and their Parents are their Executioners, and have it hereby in their Power to make their Sufferings as eaſie and favourable as they can be. Tho' 'tis a cruel Law to the Parents that obliges them to do this Office to their own Children; if the Principles of natural Affection and Tenderneſs are any thing ſtrong in them, they muſt offer horrible Violence to themſelves, and endure more Pain and Miſery than thoſe whom they execute.

But as rigid and ſtrict as the Law is againſt Adultery, it tolerates Fornication with a great deal of eaſe and patience. There's nothing of this nature look'd after or regarded; 'tis no Crime in the Country, nay, 'tis an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom amongſt them, for every Man this way to take his full liberty. Common Women are offer'd to Strangers that come hither to do their houſhold Work by Day, and other Offices at Night, to dreſs their Victuals, make their Beds, and when they have done, to lie in them. The *Dutch* ſo highly commend their Entertainment at this place, that 'twould make one gueſs theſe *Patan* Doctreſſes had the management of ſome of them; and by the gentle agreeable Methods of their Art, might help to cure them of their Diſtraction.

They report one thing of the *Siameſe* that looks very odd and ſtrange; which is, that they wear two or three Silver Balls faſtned into the Fleſh of the *Pudenda*, and theſe are ſometimes as big as a Tennis Ball; this they obſerved at *Patane*.

The Country about this place they ſay is very fruitful and Pleaſant. The Woods are ſtored with wild Beaſts, and Fowl; their Turtles are adorned with fine colour'd Feathers like Parrots, their Geeſe and Ducks lay them Eggs twice a Day.

Manner of catching Elephants.

One of the moſt common ſorts of Beaſts amongſt them is the Elephant; they make the Tame ones help to catch the Wild, by turning them out into the Woods, where they preſently begin a Battle with them; and ſo when both are cloſely engaged and faſtned together by the Teeth, the Men that lie near at hand, provided with Ropes, make the Wild ones Priſoners.

This is the laſt Account we have of the Affairs or Obſervations of theſe *Dutch* Ships, which we may ſuppoſe from hence to have ſet ſail for *Holland*.

A brave Fleet of 14 Sail, to be ſent into divers parts.

To go on yet farther with the Endeavours of this Nation at a Foreign Trade, we ſhall conſider the Fleet ſet out under the Command of *Wilrand Warwick* Admiral, and *Sebalt de Weert*, Vice-Admiral. It conſiſted of 14 Ships, the *Maurice* of 400 Tun, the *Holland* 350, the *Naſſaw* 340, the *Sun* 280, the *Moon* 250, the *Star* 180, the *Parrot* a Pinnace of 25, all theſe by the Merchants of *Amſterdam*; then three Ships of *Zeland*, one of 400 Tun, the *Fluſhing* 250, the *Gooſe* 140; two Ships by the *Enchuſeners*, the *Hedge* 220, the *Virgin* 175; two Ships of *Rotterdam*, the *Eraſmus* 250, the *Rotterdam* 80. 'Twas determined that ſome of theſe Ships ſhould go to *Achen* and *Ceylon*, ſome to the *Moluccas*, ſome to *China*, and laſtly others to their old Friends the *Bantameſe*. The *Zelanders* began the Voyage, ſetting out three Months before the reſt of the Fleet; the others followed in *June*, 1602, reaching *Achen* the ſucceeding *March*, where they found the Ships of *Zeland*. They that were appointed for *Ceylon*, left the reſt to their future Good Fortunes, after ſome time of ſtay there, and went away themſelves for that Iſland. 'Twas *De Weert*, the Vice-Admiral's Province to go thither; and thoſe that conſider the Circumſtances of *Spilbergen*'s Entertainment at that place, will eaſily grant, that his Country-men had reaſon enough to hope for Succeſs and Good Treatment.

June, A. D. 1602.

De Weert's Reception at *Cande*.

When this Perſon came to *Cande*, he was received into the City with no leſs than Kingly Pomp and Triumph; the Souldiers and Citizens made a Lane for him to paſs half a Mile long, and all the while the great Guns were roaring, the martial Muſick ſounding, and the People hollowing, ſo that 'twas impoſſible for one Man to hear another ſpeak. Being come to the Palace, he found the King ready to receive him, before whom when he fell down on his Knees according to the Cuſtom, he was preſently taken up in a very gentle manner, and deſired to hear the King's Queſtions, which were concerning his Country, and Buſineſs in the Iſland of *Ceylon*. *De Weert* quickly ſatisfied theſe Demands, eſpecially the former, by pointing to Prince *Maurice*'s Picture that hung there, which *Spilbergen* had given the King, telling him he belong'd to the Country that was governed by that Prince. And they all expreſſed a great deal of Satisfaction at hearing him ſay ſo, for they were in ſome doubt of him, and had placed that Picture there on purpoſe to try if he knew it, and by that means to find out ſomething of the truth of *Spilbergens* Relation.

But the King enquired next, how he durſt adventure ſo far into the Country of his own accord, without any thing of a Pledge or Aſſurance for his ſafe Return; but *De Weert*, who did not pretend to ſuſpect the King's Generoſity and Kindneſs to the *Dutch*, and knowing his perfect hatred to the *Portugueze*, made him ſenſible how ſecure he thought himſelf in his Majeſties Dominions, without any of thoſe Formalities.

King of *Ceylon*'s Propoſal to *Weert* for a War with the *Portugueze*.

This Return pleaſed the King, and he expreſſed a great deal of Indignation againſt the *Portugueze*; nay, ſome-time after in a private Conference, he told *De Weert*, that if the *Dutch* with their Ships would undertake to prevent the coming of Supplies from *Goe*, he would fall upon the *Portugueze* here in *Ceylon* with an Army of 20000 Men. And for the Reward of this piece of Service, he would give them all the Caſtles and Forts he took in that War, and beſides, all the Trade of the Iſland ſhould be turn'd over into their Hands. *De Weert* received ſeveral Tokens of this Prince's Favour to himſelf in particular, amongſt the reſt a noble Bowl of Gold, which he made his young Daughter drink to him in, and afterwards preſent him with; and at his going away gave him 25 Quintals of Cinnamon, and 16 of Pepper, and a very honourable Convoy to his Ships. At parting too he told him, that if his Son the Prince were old enough, he would ſend him into *Holland* to have his Education in Martial Diſcipline under Prince *Maurice*; and thus *De Weert* went away from *Ceylon* with every whit as much Good Fortune as *Spilbergen* had done before him, both as to the Publick and his own private Advantages.

From hence he ſailed back again to *Achen*, where he told theſe Propoſals of the King of *Cande* to his Country-Men, and earneſtly perſwaded them to ſtrike in with the preſent favourable Opportunity of driving the *Portugueze* out of that Iſland. The King of *Achen* was mightily pleaſed with the Project too, and encouraged the *Dutch* by all the Motives in the World to ſet upon it out of hand, and not loſe any time in a Buſineſs of ſuch a Conſequence.

A Fleet of *Dutch* go to *Ceylon*.

So after ſome Conſultation amongſt themſelves, they concluded it ſhould be ſo, and a Fleet be preſently ſent out to aſſiſt the King of *Cande* in his Deſign. Accordingly ſix Ships of War with a Pinnace were diſpatched; along with which went an Embaſſadour of the King of *Achen*'s for *Cande*, to ſpur on that Prince in his preſent Undertaking againſt the *Portugueze*. The *Dutch* being landed marched with their Forces to *Matecalo*, the King of which place was civil to them all other ways, only he would not ſell them any Beeves or Buffals for Proviſion, which they extreamly wanted; and this not out of any Enmity or Ill Will, but from a Scruple of his Religion, which forbid the eating of any of thoſe Creatures. And in that caſe the *Dutch* ought to have complied; and (as ſo plentiful a place would eaſily have ſupplied them with other Neceſſaries that might have ſerved) ſo they ſhould rather have been contented with meaner Refreſhments, than gone to affront the Laws and Religion of the Country, by making uſe of their Cattel for that purpoſe. But ſome of them it ſeems did this; they got ſome Kine and killed them, which made a terrible uproar amongſt the Natives, and as highly incenſed the King when it came to his Ear. He told them 'twas a worſe outrage than ever the *Portugueze* had committed amongſt them, and that it would not be born there; and 'twas a long time before they could perſwade him (with all their Promiſes of better Conduct for the future) to mediate between the People and them, and calm their fury. However at laſt with much ado 'twas done, and the King and People both ſeemingly quieted; but 'twas a dangerous Enterpriſe, and the *Dutch*, who knew how tender they were in that point, ought not to have tried their Patience in that manner, nor run ſuch a riſque as they did by provoking them. 'Tis true, the reaſon of this Prohibition is as ſilly and ridiculous as any thing can be; the Natives won't have their Cattel killed, that the Souls of them may be kept out of Hell, whither they believe they will go, if they are diſpatch'd in a violent manner; but others that believe this to be ever ſo fooliſh, in Prudence are not to go upon their own Hypotheſis of the Impertinence of this, and the Reaſonableneſs of the contrary, and ſo ſlaughter the Cattle becauſe they know they have either no Souls to looſe, or none that will be damn'd: for whether they have or no, the other party is certainly perſwaded of the truth of it, and therefore will as certainly look upon thoſe that ſhed the Blood of them, to have done all the ſame Injury that they could be imagined to have done, if the Opinion of the future ſtate of thoſe Creatures were ever ſo well grounded.

The People enraged at the *Dutch* for killing their Kine.

The King of *Cande* having now encamped with his Army at *Manacrawari*, ſent to the *Dutch* here at *Matecalo*, to come round with their Ships to *Punto de Galle*, which he intended firſt of all to lay ſiege to. The *Dutch* accordingly

Dutch take four good *Portugueze* Ships.

ingly put out to Sea, to keep Guard that way, while the King diſtreſs'd the Enemy aſhore. And tho' no Ships of War came from *Goa*, to be a Prey at this time to the *Dutch* Fleet, yet ſome other good Ships of theirs came within their reach, four of which they took; and this more to gratifie the King of *Cande*, than for any real Profit the Lading of them was capable of affording.

They ſent away two of theſe Ships with all the Priſoners in them; but whether they ſold them their Liberty, or exchanged them only for *Dutch* Priſoners, is uncertain; however, this Action highly diſpleas'd the King of *Cande*, who 'tis poſſible expected they ſhould have been all ſent to him, tho' we find no ſuch Condition brought into the Agreement.

Quickly after this, the Vice Admiral *Weert* landed with a Party of 200 Men, to have ſome Conference with the King, and at his Requeſt ſent back the beſt part of his Men to the Ships again, while himſelf only with a ſmall Retinue, attended the King's Pleaſure. Happy had it been for them, if they had all gone back, or ſtaid together, to have made the better Oppoſition to the Violence that was ready to aſſault them. In a word, the King of *Cande* murther'd the Vice-Admiral, with all or moſt of his Company: An Action as vile and barbarous, as 'tis unaccountable, and the Reaſon of it uncertain.

De Weert and his Men cut off by the K. of *Cande*.

Whether the killing of the Cattle ſtuck yet in their Stomachs or no, and this Sacrifice of Men went for that of Beaſts; or whether 'twere only in Revenge of the Diſmiſſion of the *Portugueze* Priſoners; upon either of which Accounts 'twas highly unjuſt, and the *Dutch* deſerv'd no ſuch Treatment at his hands.

Some ſay, that *De Weert*, in his Diſcourſe with the King, forgot the due Meaſures of Reſpect owing to his Character, and carried it with ſomething of Inſolence (at leaſt unbecoming Boldneſs) towards him.

Others ſay, that the King ſuſpected ſome treacherous Deſign, and was apprehenſive that a Plot was laid to betray him, and carry him off in their Ships; and ſo took this courſe as well to prevent his own Captivity, as to puniſh thoſe that had preſum'd to contrive it.

Which of all theſe Stories is the true one, is uncertain; but this laſt does not ſeem very probable: For if the *Dutch* had taken the King Priſoner, it muſt be ſuppos'd to be in order to the poſſeſſing themſelves of his Kingdom. Now had they form'd any ſuch unjuſt Deſign as that, there had been eaſier and leſs chargeable Methods to have accompliſh'd it than this. For this Action to be ſure would exaſperate the Natives to the laſt degree, and make them take up Arms with one Conſent all over the Iſland, againſt ſuch Invaders; ſo that the *Dutch* could not be conceiv'd to come in, but upon the Foundation of an abſolute Conqueſt, nor ſit quietly there till they had reduc'd all into complete Subjection. But had they improv'd the Favour of that Prince, as they might have done, upon his permiſſion of their Settlement in the Iſland, they might have encroach'd and got ground upon him by degrees; and while they ſate ſhrowded under the Protection of his Wings, have taken any fit Opportunities to work him out, and fix themſelves in the ſure and certain poſſeſſion of his Country. And by ſuch a gradual proceeding the People had been much leſs alarm'd and rouz'd up to ſtand in their own defence: Perhaps they might have been won over by ſome Artifices proper to be uſed on ſuch occaſions; and by this means the Buſineſs had been done, and yet all the Danger and Expence of the Method of Conqueſt avoided.

K. of *Cande* writes to the *Dutch* about carrying on the War.

As for the King himſelf, he preſently ſent word to the *Dutch* Fleet what he had done to their Commander; and that that he alledged in his own Juſtification was, That *De Weert* had behaved himſelf very rudely in his preſence, and pretended in a very poſitive manner to offer him Terms, which he muſt accept, or refuſe, at his peril. But as for their parts, the King promis'd to confirm all that was formerly agreed upon, and to be the ſame in his Carriage towards them as he was before, provided they would perform their part, and help him to take the Forts of the *Portugueze*. But the *Dutch* excus'd themſelves, not caring to put any farther Truſt in a Prince that had ſo deceiv'd them: He muſt now go on with his War by himſelf for them, and make the beſt of his Undertaking againſt the *Portugueze*; who to be ſure were not a little glad that the King had obliged them ſo far in breaking with the *Dutch*.

Dutch go from *Ceylon*.

From hence they went back to *Achen* again, and then to *Darue*, an Iſland near *Sumatra*: While they lay hereabout, they took divers *Portugueze* Prizes; and when that Sport was over, they ſail'd to *Macaſſar*. And now they had no fix'd Trade to take them up, and ſo did nothing but wander about: For from hence they went to *Jor*, and there they aſſiſted that King againſt the *Portugueze*.

This Service being over, they viſited *Patane* (a place well known to ſome of their Countrymen, that were cured of their Madneſs there), and from thence to *Bantam*, and ſo home.

Thus have we ſeen the laſt iſſue of their *Ceylon* Affairs; the unhappy Concluſion that follow'd the moſt fortunate and favourable Beginnings that ever were in the World: The Acquaintance was but of a little ſtanding; but 'twas well improv'd for the time, and promis'd very great things, but perhaps no greater than would have been perform'd, if their good Luck had not had this ſad and ſudden Turn given to it. But thus uncertainly, and without warning, does the Scene change in this World; and ſo impoſſible is it for any Perſon, or People, to keep their Station, when the Critical Moment of their Deſtiny comes on.

CHAP. XLII.

An Account of the reſt of the Dutch *Voyages, down to the time of their firſt Pretenſions to Sovereignty and Property, at the* Banda *Iſlands.*

December. *A. D.* 1603.

WE are yet to proceed ſome Removes farther, in our Enquiry into the Progreſs of the *Dutch Eaſt-Indian* Trade. *A. D.* 1603, in *December*, a Fleet of twelve Ships ſet ſail under the Command of *Stephen Verhagen*. Having doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, inſtead of ſailing directly towards the *Eaſt-Indies*, they went along the Coaſt of *Africk*, and made up to *Mozambique*, which place they had propos'd to aſſault. Here they came to an Anchor cloſe by the Caſtle, and in ſpite of all the *Portugueze* Forces, took ſeveral of their Ships that lay about the Harbour. But the Grand Deſign of all did not ſucceed; the *Portugueze* were too well fortified there, to be beat out at that time; and the *Dutch*, with all their Skill and utmoſt Endeavours, could not accompliſh any thing conſiderable towards the diſpoſſeſſing of them.

Dutch attempt the taking of *Mozambique*.

September, *A. D.* 1604.

They met with the like Diſappointment too when they came with their Fleet before *Goa*; the Enemy was ready to receive them, and had made ſuch Proviſion againſt their coming, that nothing was in Prudence to be attempted. All things were in ſuch order, that it look'd as if the Deſign had been diſcover'd in *Europe*, and Notice had been given from thence to them at *Goa*, that they were to expect a Viſit from the *Dutch*.

October.

They agree with the K. of *Calecut*.

Thus baffled and fruſtrated of their Hopes, they ſail'd from thence down the *Malabar* Coaſt, putting in at *Cananor* and *Calecut*, in the Samorine's Dominions. They treated with this Prince about Trade, and came to an Agreement with him, which was drawn up in Writing, and ratified with all the uſual Solemnities.

Upon this Coaſt they had a Fight with the *Portugueze*; but ſuch a one, as 'tis probable, the little advantage, or elſe the great loſs gotten by it, might incline them to forbear giving any particular Accounts to the World of that matter.

November.

From hence ſome of them went to *Cambeya*, and the reſt to *Cochin*; they attempted nothing at this place neither; and if they had laid any Plot for the ſurprize of it, they did not think fit to try to put it in execution; 'tis likely for the ſame Reaſon, that they forbore doing ſo at *Goa*.

January.

Their next Viſit was to *Bantam* (a place where they were ſure of Trade and Reception), and from thence to *Amboina* *, the Conqueſt of which latter place was the Crown-

* See the Account of this in Sir *H. Middleton's* firſt Voyage, *Lib.* 2.

Crowning Work of all the Voyage hitherto. The *Portugueze* had not the good Luck to be handſomely provided for them here; or if they were, Fortune and favourable Succeſs were wanting; for they were obliged to go out, and leave the Victorious *Dutch* their places.

May, *A. D.* 1605.

When this Action was over, the Admiral, *Veer Hagen*, went away to the *Banda* Iſles; but five Ships of the Fleet were diſpatch'd to *Tydore*. There was more Work to be done at that place againſt the *Portugueze*, and Fortune that had fawn'd upon them at *Amboina*, had given them encouragement to hope for the continuance of her kindneſs at the *Molucca's*. And ſhe did not deceive them, nor their flattering Hopes draw them into a Snare, but to more noble and ſplendid Triumphs. All things now ſeem'd to conſpire for their Felicity and Glory, and the aggrandizing (as much as was poſſible) the Intereſt and Character they had already gotten in thoſe parts of the World. The *Portugueze* made a brave and bold Reſiſtance at *Tydore*, deſpis'd the Summons the *Dutch* ſent them to ſurrender, and laugh'd at the talk of a White Flag.

Dutch win the Caſtle of *Tydore*.

But there is a time when all the Valour, Caution, and good Conduct in the World will prove fruitleſs and inſignificant: Vertue and Bravery muſt yield to the unalterable Laws of Fate, as well as Impotence and Cowardice, and the Party that bids ever ſo fair for Victory and Succeſs, is often run down by another that has no Title at all to it. 'Twas ſo with the Defendants in this preſent Buſineſs, they deſerv'd perhaps to have carried the Day, and kept their Poſt; but the *Dutch* were ſo lucky as to get both from them. They fought well; but that's no Guard againſt unforeſeen, and unthought of Accidents, Courage may keep an Enemy out of the Gates, but 'twon't keep a Fort or a Caſtle from being blown up, where a Firebrand falls amongſt a parcel of Gunpowder. 'Twas this that ruin'd the *Portugueze*; they were not ſo much beat out, as blown out of the Caſtle of *Tydore*; indeed, a good part of the Caſtle it ſelf, and of the Men too, were both blown away; and to be ſure this would put an end to the Siege. In ſhort, this Stroke was the Confuſion of their whole Affairs at the *Molucca's*, they had now no footing in any Iſland all thereabout, but at *Solor* only.

K. of *Ternate* ties up the Hands of him of *Tydore*, that he can't help the *Portug.*

The King of *Tydore* ſtood by and ſaw this Tragedy; but could do nothing towards the prevention of the miſerable Concluſion of it: For his old Friend, the King of *Ternate* (who aſſiſted the *Hollanders* in the Enterprize) was ready with a Fleet of fourteen Coracoras, and near 2000 Men, to have fallen upon him, if he had ſtirr'd in the matter.

Thus the Intereſt of *Holland* advanc'd and riſe, and that of *Spain* and *Portugal* went down in theſe Parts of the World. 'Tis true, the King of *Spain* was horribly nettled at it, and made ſeveral ſevere Decrees againſt the *Dutch* this Year, and ſtrict Prohibitions of all Trade and Dealing with them, in every part of his Dominions: But what ſignified all that Noiſe and Raving? And to what purpoſe is it to ſtorm and threaten, without power to execute? The more the Fox was curs'd, the better he thrives; and the good Fortune of the *Dutch* increas'd upon them, while the Court of *Spain* was praying for their Succeſs the backward way. For 'twas but the ſame * Year, that they ſent out a Fleet under Admiral *Matlief*, who was commanded by the States to bring as many of the *Indian* Princes, as was poſſible, into the Grand Confederacy againſt the *Portugueze*, that their Deſign againſt *Malacca* might be carried on with all deſirable Advantages. And here how far they diſtreſs'd the *Portugueze*, and what Spoil they made of them, has been already related in another * place.

* *A.D.* 1605.

* See Mr. [illegible] Relation, *Lib.* 2.

In ſome of the following Years too, they traded at *Japan* with great Succeſs; the Emperor gave them Encouragement, and leave to ſettle a Factory there; and 'tis reported, that they brought from thence in one Voyage, no leſs than 40 Tun of Gold. Theſe *Japan* Voyages we have but little Account of, and therefore they muſt be thus briefly paſs'd over.

Next to *Matlief*, with his Fleet of twelve Ships, went out * the Admiral, *Paul van Carle*, with eight more; and he was * quickly followed by *Verheuf*, with a Fleet of thirteen Sail. Both theſe Commanders attack'd the *Portugueze* at *Mozambique*, tho' the latter (*Verheuf*) did it with the moſt Succeſs. He forc'd them to leave the Town, and ſhut up themſelves in the Caſtle, but that was impregnable, and would not yield to his fierceſt Aſſaults. But he inſulted them afterwards ſhamefully at *Goa*, and did them a vaſt deal of Miſchief all along the *Malabar* Coaſt; taking ſeveral of their Ships, burning others, and killing many of their choice and prime Officers.

* *A.D.* 1606.

* *A.D.* 1607.

He had better Luck than *Van Carle* too, in his Concerns with the Samorine of *Calecut*; for they were then at the Charge of a Preſent to that Prince; but could not come aſhore to him, by reaſon of the ſtrong Guard of *Portugueze* Gallies that then lay there; beſides, they were not certain of being ſecure from Treachery. But *Verheuf* found the Coaſt clear, and had all the Entertainment in the World; the Samorine ſent out his Men a Hunting on purpoſe, and preſented the *Dutch* with forty great Boars.

From hence they went and viſited the King of *Jor*, their Friend and Ally; and having done the like to them at *Bantam*, they ſail'd * away to the *Banda* Iſles. Here *Verheuf* having ſummon'd the Orankayes, or States of the Iſles together, read Prince *Maurice*'s Letters to them, in which 'twas deſired, That the *Dutch* might have Liberty to erect a Fort or Caſtle amongſt them; not at all with any Deſign to encroach upon them, but to ſecure the Iſlands from the daring Attempts of the *Portugueze*, who might be expected to come thither and viſit them.

* *A.D.* 1607.

The original of the great Controverſie between the *Dutch* & the *Bandaneſe*.

This Propoſal ſet them all in an Uprore; and had it not been for the Terror of the Ships with their great Guns, they had then cut their Throats for making it. However they ſtifled their Reſentments at preſent, and having conſulted amongſt themſelves, gave anſwer, That *Verheuf* ſhould go aboard again now; but after three Days were paſs'd, they would come to a poſitive Concluſion. And they concluded in the Negative with one Voice and Conſent, telling the *Dutch*, they ſhould build no Fort there. But they being reſolved right or wrong to have one, immediately fell upon the *Bandaneſe*, and fought one Battle with them, the very ſame Evening that they gave the Denial.

The *Bandaneſe*, 'tis to be ſuppos'd, having had the worſt on't, and fearing themſelves too weak to hold out in ſuch a Diſpute with the *Dutch*, came and craved a Ceſſation of Arms for three or four Days: But this would not be granted, the other was perfectly inflexible, and would hear of nothing but a preſent acceptance of their firſt Propoſal. Upon this the *Bandaneſe* yielded to their Fate; the Fort muſt be built, and ſince the *Dutch* ſaid it ſhould, it was in vain for them to ſay it ſhould not.

But this put them upon that * ſharp Revenge which they afterwards took, to the Deſtruction of *Verheuf*, and all his Company. And ever after this, there was a continual Heart-burning between the *Dutch* and them; there was indeed ſometimes Peace between them, but 'twas never ſteddy and certain, but often interrupted with the Confuſions of open War and horrid Depredations upon one another. The old Spleen remain'd on both ſides, and as the *Dutch* ſtill remembred the killing of the Admiral, ſo the *Bandaneſe* did the building of the Fort.

* See Capt. *Keeling's* Voyage, *lib.* 2.

Their other Proceedings at theſe Iſlands we have an Account of in our own Journals: So that here we ſhall conclude the Account of their Affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

A Collection of Rules and Directions for the Eaſt-India *Navigations: Taken out of the Obſervations of ſome of our* Engliſh *Sailors of great Experience; particularly Mr.* John Davis, *of* Lime-Houſe, *who made five of thoſe Voyages himſelf.*

Long. Comput. from the *Lizard.*

IN this Account it is firſt of all to be noted, that the Longitude is computed from the Meridians of the *Lizard*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*; in ſome parts of the Voyages, from the one Meridian, and in others from the other; but as far as the Cape *Das Aguillas*, they reckon from the Meridian of the *Lizard*. This premis'd, they give us theſe following Obſervations relating to Navigation and Geography: And firſt of all concerning Places lying between the *Lizard* and St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay, upon the Iſle of St. *Lawrence*.

Cape *Finiſter*

Cape *Finiſterre*, in *Gallicia*, has 43 Degr. 20 Min. N. L. and 2 Degr. 36 Min. Long. to the W.

Iſl: *Lancerota*
Note.

The Iſle *Lancerota*, Lat. N. 28 Degr. 40 Min. and Long. 5 Degr. 24 Min. W. and the Var. 6 Degr. 6 Min. from N. to E. You may be poſitively ſure that you are N. N. E. from the ſaid Iſland, when being in the Lat. of 33 Degr. 30 Min. you happen to have 5 Degr. 20 Min. Var.

Gr. *Canary.*
Note.

The Grand *Canary*, Lat. 27 Degr. 40 Min. Long. 6 Degr. 30 Min. W. Var. 6 Degr. from N. to E. So alſo here, when you are in the Lat. of 30 Degr. 30 Min. and have at any time 5 Degr. 50 Min. Var. you may conclude that you have the Grand *Canary* S. and by W. from you.

Iſle St. *Mary.*

The Iſle of St. *Mary*, which is the Eaſtermoſt of the *Azores*, Lat. 37 Degr. Long. 14 Degr. W. Var. 1 Degr. 40 Min. from N. to E.

Note,

When you are coming homewards from the *Indies*, and make Lat. 30 Degr. 30 Min. and Var. 5 Degr. and would ſee theſe Iſlands in your Courſe, you may go N. E. for St. *Mary*; but the better way is to go more Northerly, and ſo you ſhall be ſure not to miſs ſome of them: For the Var. is much upon that rate in the N. E. Courſe, till you come in with the Iſlands.

Sal Iſle.
Obſervations

The Iſle *Sal*, one of the Cape *de Verds*, Lat. 10 Degr. 30 Min. Long. 12 Degr. 12 Min. Var. 3 Degr. 30 Min. from N. to E. Obſerve, That when you are in the mid-way, between Cape *Verd* it ſelf, and theſe Iſlands that bear its Name, that you have then 2 Degr. 15 Min. Var. to the Eaſtward, and the nearer you come to the main Land, the leſs you find the Var.

As for the Winds, you may obſerve, that if the Tornadoes don't meet with you before you come into 5 Degr. N. Lat. that there you ſhall be ſure to have ſome Blaſts from them.

Directions for paſſing the Line.

And in order to paſs the Equinoctial, uſe all the Endeavours that may be to get free from theſe troubleſome Winds; but yet manage your Ship ſo, that you may be but S. by E. or S. S.E. from *Maio* Iſle: For whereas you may imagine, that your much going over to the Eaſtward may be a help to you, when you ſtand over with the general Wind, you'll find no more in that Courſe, than that it takes up a great deal of time to very little purpoſe. Farther, when you are in 2 or 3 Degr. N.L. and have the Wind at S. S. E. be ſure to ſtand away with it: For if you can but cut the Line in 10 Degr. Long. you ſhall then have 6 Degr. 10 Min. Var. from N. to E. and ſo ſhall feel neither the E. S. E. Current, nor the N. W. and by W. Current that ſets over to the *Weſt-Indies*. But if the Wind does hinder you much, you need not be afraid to paſs the Line in 14 Degr. Long. where you will find 6 Degr. 45 Min. Var. and having paſt it, 'tis beſt to make your way to the Southward as ſpeedily as may be: Only if the Wind be at E. or E. N. E. as many times it is, 'twill not be adviſable to go more Eaſtward, than S. E. and by E. becauſe if you do, you ſhall find the Wind at S. E. and S. S.E. and it will certainly bring you down to your South Courſe again: This will be the effect on't, tho' you have ſpent as much time about it, as would have carried you (in your South Courſe) without the Tropick, into the way of the variable Winds, which is in 26 or 28 Degr. And when your Ship is brought into the variable Winds way, it cannot be long before you have a ſleut to get up to the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Increaſe of Var. in running Southw.

And 'tis to be noted, that in running South from the Line, your Variation encreaſes; for in 20 Degr. S. L. you ſhall have 15 Degr. Var. and more, to the Weſtward 14. By which Obſervations 'twill alſo be manifeſt, that between the Tropicks there's no certain Method or Order of Eaſtering and Weſtering, as there is without them, as may be ſeen at the Iſle *Fernand de Loronha*, where you have 4 Degr. S. L. Long. 19 Degr. 20 Min. W. Var. 8 Degr. 10 Min. from N. to E.

Iſle *Fernand de Loronha.*

The Iſland of St. *Helena* is in 16 Degr. S. L. and Long. from the *Lizard* 4 Deg. 30 Min. E. and from the Cape of *Good Hope* 23 Degr. 30 Min. W. The Variation is there 7 Degr. 30 Min. from N. to E. 'Tis one of the beſt Iſlands in the Ocean for good Refreſhment, a healthy Air, and a convenient Road. The Road is open to the N. W. ſide, and right before the Chapel you may ride from 12 to 7 Fathom, good Ground, and no danger but what you ſee along the Shore.

Note of St. *Helena.*

If you have a mind to ſee the Iſland St. *Helena*, remember that you have the Wind always at S. E. or thereabouts, and therefore keep in the Latitude of 16 Degr. 10 Min. or 15 Degr. and run Weſt upon that height, and you cannot miſs it: And this Courſe you may purſue boldly, either by Day or Night; eſpecially 'tis certain, that in your Courſe from the Cape of *Good Hope*, there's no Stream nor Current that can do you any prejudice; for the S. E. Wind will take you about 30 Degrees, and ſometimes ſooner, and carry you to the Northward of the Equinoctial.

Soldania Bay.

At *Soldania* Bay you have 28 Degr. Longitude E. and 30 Min. Variation from N. to E. The Land is all high, and ſo is eaſily known; but commonly when you come from the Weſtward 'tis dark and foggy about it, ſo that you ſhall ſee the Breach of the Shore, before you can come to make it conſiderably. The worſt Winds for this Road are from the N. W. to the N. E.

Note of the Var. between *Braſile*, and the Road of *Soldania*, and Cape of *Good Hope.*

Between the Coaſt of *Braſile* and this Road, the Variation is 20 Degr. more or leſs, according as you are to the Northward or Southward, but the more to the Southward the more Variation, and to the Northward the leſs. But the higheſt Variation of all is in Lat. S. 33 Degr. 30 Min. for there you have 21 Degr. Variation from North to Eaſt, and Long. 7 Degr. 30 Min. Now obſerve, that when you are come into 11 Degr. Variation (ſuppoſing you take it right), it may paſs for a Rule, that you are 330 Leagues ſhort of the Land; and you may eſtabliſh it as a Method of Computation for the Diſtance upon this Principle, allowing after the rate of 30 or 28 Leagues to a Degree: And you will find it to give you a true Account of your approach to the Land.

Coney Iſland.

Coney Iſland, in Lat. 33 Degr. 27 Min. has bad Ground about it, and on the Weſt-ſide a dangerous Ledge of Rocks, lying off it to the Seawards; but a Ship may go ſafely enough between it and the Main, the Shoar being all along free from any danger but what may be eaſily diſcern'd.

Chapman's Chance.

Chapman's Chance, Lat. 34 Degr. 10 Min. a very good Harbour, ſafe Riding and good Ground: A Ship may come away from hence, with a Wind that will not ſerve her to come from *Soldania*.

Cape *Falſo.*
Cape of G. H.
Cape *Das Aguillas.*

Cape *Falſo* has no Variation diſcoverable by Obſervations made South from it: Whereas at the Cape of *Good Hope* 'tis 25 Minutes from North to Eaſt; and at Cape *das Aguillas*, 'tis 30 Minutes from North to Weſt. The knowledge of the Ground and Depths hereabouts, will be a great help to you, when you can't obſerve either the Latitude or Variation: And therefore 'tis worth remembrance, that at ſeven or eight Leagues diſtance from the Land, when you are to the Eaſtward of Cape *das Aguillas*, you have from 70 to 40 Fathom black ſandy Ground upon your land, and this for a matter of 100 Leagues; but to the Weſtward of it you have deep Water, and all ozie, by the diligent Obſervation of which Remarks you may know in dark Weather, how the Lands are from you, and how to hale in with the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Benefit of the Var.

In all Voyages the great care ought to be about ſettling the Point of the Variation well and ſure; for 'tis by this help that you muſt be able to make a true Judgment of the influence and force of Currents, which are very uncertain till you are come up to have ſeven or eight Degr. Variation: But after you have had ſo much as this, you are out of all danger of Currents, if you be bound Eaſtward; for all the Tides and Streams do ſet between that ſtated Term of Variation before-mention'd, and the Cape *das Aguillas*.

Again, whatever your Variation be under 7 or 8 Degr. obſerve whether it alters or no between the Cape *das Aguillas*; and where it comes to that ſtated number of 7 or 8 Degr. whether or no it alters (I ſay), ſuppoſing your Ship ſails to the Eaſtward; if it does not, you may be ſure that your Reckoning of it was wrong, for 'tis a Rule ſufficiently juſtified by Experience, that the Variation does increaſe at the rate of 29 or 30 Leagues to the Iſle of St. *Lawrence*.

Note, By Leagues is here meant, not the Leagues of the Courſe you ſail by, but Leagues of Eaſtering from the Meridians; when you have gone 29 or 30 Leagues in this reſpect, you ſhall find a change of 1 Degr. Variation, whereas upon another Courſe the allowance of Leagues muſt be different; as for inſtance: If you ſail N. E. and by E. you ſhall have 36 Leagues for 1 ½ Degr. of Longitude, or Eaſtersng, which will alter 1 Degr. Variation: And let it be taken Notice of beſides, that the Rule before deliver'd of the change of the Variation between the Coaſt of *Africk* and that of *Braſile*, does alſo hold from Cape *Aguillas*, and St. *Lawrence* Eaſtward, *viz*. that the more Northward your Courſe is, the more Variation ſtill you have, and the more Southward the leſs; the Rule is plain, and needs no Examples (of which there are enough) to make it clearer than 'tis.

Note.

It is alſo as ſure a Rule, that from the Cape of *Good Hope* to *Java*, the Variation increaſes to the Weſt, the farther Eaſt you run, till it comes to a matter of 17 Degr. and then as you run to the Eaſtward your Variation decreaſes: And thus it holds on decreaſing, till you come to the Streights of *Sunde*, where you have but 3½ Degr. Variation. This we reckon the beſt and moſt approved Rule for Eaſtering and Weſtering, tho' at the ſame time it does not always obſerve an exact proportion.

Directions to find St. *Auguſtine's* River, at St. *Lawrence* Iſle.
Long. Comp. from the Mer. of the Cape of *G.H.*

St. *Auguſtine*'s River upon the Iſle of St. *Lawrence*, being in ſome Repute for a Watering-place, you muſt take this Courſe in order to find it. Seek the Land in the Lat. 24 Degrees 20 Minutes (for 1 Degree higher there's Rocks and Shoals that are dangerous), and here meddling not with the Variation, ſteer N. and N. by E. as Diſcretion will guide you by the Land, and coming along the Shore in 24 Degrees 10 Minutes, you ſhall ſee a Head-land having on it a round Hill of white Sand like a Caſtle, from hence hold on the ſame Courſe as before, without fear of any danger, till you ſee the Iſles and Shoals before the Bay: And now you ſhall have before you, in the Country, a Proſpect of two riſing High-lands, between which the River lies. When you come with the Iſles and Shoals, and will go to the Northward of them, you may be bold in ſeven Fathom; that is, if you will only loof in by them, and not come to an Anchor, which 'tis not ſafe to do, becauſe of the badneſs of the Ground: 'Tis better to hale E. up for the Channel, which comes from the River, where you have Ozy Ground along by the Main, and deep Water too, till you come faſt by the two fore-mention'd Hills; here you may chuſe your Riding from 20 to 4 Fathom.

This River has Latitude 23 Degrees 35 Minutes, Longitude 23 Degrees 20 Minutes, E. Variation 14 Degrees 50 Minutes from N. to W.

Cape *Sebaſtian*.

Cape St. *Sebaſtian* has Latitude 25 Degrees 45 Minutes, Longitude 25 Degrees, Variation 16 Degrees 40 Minutes from N. to W. The Refreſhing-place is call'd St. *Lucia*, and it lies on the S. E. ſide, in the Latitude of 24 Degrees, and affords Ships a very ſecure and agreeable Riding. This Character is chiefly owing to the Obſervation of the *Dutch*, who pretend to have had Experience of it; and if it be ſo, it muſt be much more convenient for Ships bound up or down, than St. *Auguſtine*'s River, becauſe it lies upon the Head of the Iſland.

St. *Mary* Iſle.

The Iſle of St. *Mary*, on the Eaſt-ſide of St. *Lawrence*, has Latitude 16 Degrees 30 Minutes, Longitude E. 31 Degrees, Variation 19 Degrees 50 Minutes, from N. to W.

Iſle *Roque Pize*.

At the Iſle of *Roque Pize*, you have Latitude 11 Degr. Longitude 41 Degr. Variation the higheſt and greateſt 23 Degr. 30 Min. And 'tis obſervable, that S. from this place (as near as can be judged by ſeveral Trials made going up and down), there is likewiſe the Variation riſing ſtill higher and higher.

Shoals *Baxos da Chagas*.

The dangerous Shoals call'd *Baxos das Chagas*, have Latitude 6 Degr. Longitude 53 Degr. 36 Min. E. Variation 19 Degr. 50 Min. from N. to W. The beſt way to avoid the danger, is to keep the Iſlands that lie amongſt them S. S. W. from you: But 'tis to be remembred, that theſe Shoals are put down falſe in the common Plats.

Maldive Channel.
Cape *Comori*.

To carry on the ſame Obſervations ſtill farther into the Eaſtern Parts: In the *Maldivian* Channel you have 17 Degrees Variation: At the Cape *Comori* you have 16 Degrees.

Iſles *Nicabar*

The Iſles *Nicabar*, lying off the N. end of *Sumatra*, have 7 Degr. 10 Min. N. Lat: 73 Degr. Long. E. 7 Degr. 5 Min. Variation from N. to W. As you go within theſe Iſlands (coming from the Weſtward) at about 40 or 50 Leagues diſtance, you ſhall meet with ſome Overfalls that may cauſe ſome miſtruſt of Shoal-Water, tho' the Lead diſcovers none at all: 'Tis probable that they are ſome Streams coming from the Bay of *Bengala*.

Achen.
Iſles *Das Jarras*.

The City of *Achen* has Latitude 5 Degr. 40 Min. Longitude 74 Degr. 40 Min. E. Var. 6 Degr. 25 Min. from N. to W. Your Road lies here to the Eaſtward of the Caſtle, and a round Hill in the Country S. E. from you. If you will go from hence for the Streights of *Malacca*, there's no danger till you come to the Eaſtward of the Iſles *Das Jarras*, from whence you may ſee the high Land of *Malacca*.

Note.

Obſerve that your Variation here about the Equinoctial is reducible to the Rules deliver'd before, about the higheſt Variation, *viz*. That there is leſs Variation within, than without, in the Latitude of 14 or 15 Degr. and much after the rate of 31 Leagues in the Offing of the Eaſtering or Weſtering, will alter 1 Degr. Var. or 1 ½ Degr. Long. but within you run 40 Leagues, or two Degrees.

Direction for ſure Sailing from *Achen* to *Priaman*.
Iſles *Nintam*.

If you were at *Achen*, and would ſail to *Priaman*, the ſureſt way is this: Keep the Sea till you ſee the Iſles *Nintam*, in 1 Degr. 30 Min. S. L. and then ſailing in 1 Degr. 20 Min. you ſhall be ſure to fall with the North end of the biggeſt, which you are to go up by, taking care to uſe your Lead ever now and then to prevent danger, tho' the leaſt depth ſeems to be about 10 Fathom. From hence your beſt Courſe is E. N. E. and N. E. by E. till you ſee the three Hummocks in the Main, and then go in till you ſee the low Land, but with caution, becauſe when theſe Hills come to the N. E. from you, there is Shoal-Water, and Banks of Stone: Now you are 6 Leagues from *Priaman* Road, and your Courſe lies E. S. E. or S. E. by E. keeping your Lead going at times.

To know *Priaman* Road diſtinctly, obſerve that when you have brought the Hummocks N. and W. from you, there will ſeveral Iſlands appear to the Southward; the firſt of which (that ſhews very white) lies three Leagues W. S. W. from the Road. Before the Road it ſelf there lie a matter of four Iſlands, that ſeem to cover it, and you may poſſibly (coming from the W. N. W.) miſtruſt going within them, becauſe they don't open in that Poſition; but the way is to bring them E. N. E. from you, and then they will begin to open, and you'll find good paſſing betwixt them, leaving two on the one ſide, and two on the other.

Take ſpecial care to keep off from the uttermoſt little Iſland that lies by the Main, and keep in 8 or 9 Fathom, till you come with the other 3 of the 4 Iſlands (which lie all in a row) and then ſailing to the Southward of the moſt Northerly of thoſe 3, you come into the very Road, where you may be bold in 5 or 6 Fathom, but be ſure to moor your Ship well.

In this paſſage it will be very adviſable to have the Command of Day-light all about the Sound of the Iſlands *Nintam* (and ſo likewiſe about the Shoals of *Feco*) being contented to hull all Night, and ſail only by Day, by reaſon of the horrid badneſs of the places hereabouts.

Notes for *Tecoo*.

As for the Road of *Tecoo*, you need not be very ſolicitous about that, ſince 'tis ſhoaly Water, and very ill for Ships; and beſides, all the People will bring their Commodities to you to *Priaman* Road, if they know you are there. But if you have a mind to go thither, keep off ſo that the Hummocks may bear N. or N. by E. and then ſail on without fear. Your danger hereabout may be perceiv'd at any time by the whitiſh Spots which appear in the Water, otherwiſe the Sea ſhews its own Natural Colour as 'tis in the main Ocean. You'll find the Var. at *Tecoo*, to be 4 Degr. 40 Min. N. E.

Directions for Sailing to the Southward from *Priaman*.

To the Southward of *Priaman*, the Coaſt is full of Iſlands all along, till you come to the Lat. of 2 ½; and in going this Courſe, obſerve to keep the Main ſtill, and not upon any Terms go without thoſe Iſlands; as alſo not to ſail by Night, till you are in 2½ Degr. S. L. Your danger lies particularly in paſſing the high Land, diſtant from *Priaman* Road about 13 Leagues; here keep your ſelf in 20 or 30 Fathom off the Main, and look well about when the high Land comes towards the Eaſt.

When you are clear of all the Iſlands about the Town of *Celladai*, which lies between the Gut of high Land as you paſs, then your Courſe is S. and by E, along the Main, till you come to 2 ½ Degr. and then the Land lies S.E. to 3 Degr. 10 Min. and then S. E. and by S. to 4 Degr. and ſo to 5 Degr. by the very ſame Courſe, where it is high and bold.

Iſle *Engano.*

The Iſle *Engano* lies in 5 Degr. 30 Min. Lat. a place where you cannot Anchor for Rocks and deep Water; but that defect is here recompens'd by the Neighbourhood of a very good Road, where you may both ride very ſafe, and have all neceſſary Proviſion of Wood and Water.

A good Road.

It lies under an Iſland faſt by the Main, in Lat. 4 Degr. 10 Min. and is call'd by the Country People *Celebar*: Take care two Leagues W. S. W. from this Iſland, of the dangerous Shoal and Breach; to avoid which, keep in by the Iſland, and give the Point a birth; remembring too (that whatever a Boat may do) no Ship can paſs between this Iſland and the Main.

High Land of *Manancabo.*

The Land lying to the Northward in the Country, is that of *Manancabo*; 'tis extraordinary high, and in the Lat. of 5 Degr. 20 Min. Your Courſe here along the Shore is S. S. E. Eaſterly, till you ſee the little Iſland faſt by the Main, that lies in 6 Degrees Latitude, or thereabouts.

Marrough Road.

All along the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, almoſt, are ſuch vaſt numbers of Iſlands, that 'tis impoſſible to give Rules and Directions for all of them: But if you have a mind to go into the Road of *Marrough*, you may bear in boldly amongſt them Iſlands that lie N. E. and by E. till you come to the main Land of *Sumatra*, where you ſhall have 20 or 30 Fathom, and no danger but what is eaſily diſcern'd.

Directions to find *Marrough* Road.

Now when you come in with the Main, 4 Leagues W. S. W. from the Head-land of *Marrough*, you ſhall have all to the Northward of you low Land, and abundance of Iſlands; but you muſt ſail E. S. E. to the Head-land of *Sumatra*, for the Road of *Marrough* is along the Shore from the three little Iſlands (that lie Eaſt of one another faſt by the Main), till you come almoſt to the Point that makes the Streights of *Sunde*.

But now if you would come for the Road of *Marrough*, not from the three Iſlands that bear E. and W. of one another, but from the three that lie N. and S. (which are the three Salt Hills), then you muſt ſteer in with the High-land N. when you are to the Eaſtward of the Salt Hill, and ſo you go right with it, for the Land about it appears like a Barn, and there's none in view like it. It is a good Road, you may Anchor in 20 or 12 Fathom; there's agreeable Refreſhing, and Rivers all along the Shore. You are in no danger coming to it, but what may eaſily be ſeen and avoided; and ſo you may be bold any where without the Streights Mouth.

When you are in the Streight, or Narrow, between *Java* and *Sumatra*, if you go to the Weſtward of the three Salt Hills, you need not apprehend any danger of the Rocks you ſee a League to the Weſtward of the S. Salt Hill; for you may come cloſe by them, or put between any of thoſe Iſlands mention'd, and have 20 or 30 Fathom depth. The Courſe from the Head-land of *Sumatra*, where the three E. and W. Iſlands are, is E. N. E. with that Point or Head-land of the ſame Iſland, that makes the Streights entrance.

Salt Iſlands.

The Iſlands call'd the Salt Hills, are nearer *Java* than *Sumatra* by two Leagues. You may ſee both the Mains at once, if it be a clear Day, and you are about the midway. At the S. E. Salt Hill you have 81 Degr. Long. E. and Var. 3 Degr. 20 Min. The Stream in the Streights ſets twelve Hours one way, and twelve the other; but it runs with a mighty ſtrength, ſo that many times you can't bear a-head with a hard Gale; in which caſe 'tis beſt to go off, and Anchor on one ſide or the other, 'tis no matter which. If you chance to go in by *Sumatra*-ſide, keep nearer to *Sumatra* than to the Iſlands a good deal, till the Iſlands be E. and by S. from you, becauſe of a deſperate Rock under Water (and which breaks at low Water) lying W. and by N. from the Iſle *Sumatra* is bold, ſo you do but keep off the Land, and ſo is *Java*-ſide too.

Directions to ſail into *Bantam* Road from *Sumatra.*

When you are about the Point of *Palimbam*, your way to *Bantam* is by the Land E. S. E. and S. E. and by E. uſing your Lead till you ſee the Iſle *Pulo Panian*; when you come to this Iſland, you may go within or without it as you will; but keep your Lead going, and don't go any nearer it than 5 or 6 Fathom. Then looking to the Main of *Java*, the round Hill that you ſee bear between S. and S. S. W. ſtands right over the Town of *Bantam*. If the Hill bears S. S. W. of you, go in with that Courſe till you come to ſee the five Iſlands together right from *Pulo Panian*: Your Road lies juſt by theſe Iſlands, the name of it is *Pulo Lima*, and you may ride there at what depth you pleaſe; but you muſt be ſure to have the Tide in mind, that you may not be a Ground at low Water as otherwiſe you will, it highing about five Foot Water in the Road. The Variation here is 3 Degr. from N. to W.

Directions for Sailing from *Bantam* to *Palimbam*, *Banca*, *Bintam*, Streights of *Sincapura*, &c.

If you would ſail now from *Bantam* to *Palimbam*, on the E. ſide of *Sumatra*, or for *Bintam*, *Banca*, and thoſe parts, theſe following Inſtructions may be ſerviceable for that purpoſe.

When you weigh from *Bantam* Road, you ſail N. E. by E. in 4 or 5 Fathom, till you come with the Point of the Main; where it comes to bear S. E. by S. you have very Shoaling Water upon that Spot of hard Ground, wherefore keep off betimes. The great Iſland that is to the N. N. W. of you, as you go from *Bantam*, you may leave on your Larboard ſide, and have your depths at 5 or 6 Fathom; from hence in your N. N. E. Courſe, you meet with a long Bed of very ſmall Iſlands, between the Lat. of 5 Degr. and 5 Degr. 30 Min. where you have 18 and 20 Fathom Water amongſt them, and no danger.

When you are at the N. end of theſe Iſlands, ſail N. N. E. and N. over for the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, in which Courſe you ſhall have from 4 to 13 Fathom, and then you'll ſee the low Land of *Sumatra*, and will have about 3 Degr. 30 Min. S. L. Now when you come in with a Riff of hard Sand hereabouts, and have gotten into about 4 ½ Fathoms in your N. and by W. Courſe, then take ſpecial notice, and hale off again E. N. E. into your old Depths, which are from 10 to 7 or 5 Fathom off *Sumatra*, and your Courſe N. by W. and N. N. W. to hold the Coaſt from 5 to 10 Fathom; but be ſure not to go without 10 Fathom, neither by Night nor by Day.

Note.

This for your N. W. or N. N. W. Courſe: But now if your Courſe from *Bantam* be N. you muſt look carefully about for a Shoal, till you have ſight of thoſe two Iſlands that lie 3 Leagues from the Main of *Sumatra*: After you have made theſe 2 Iſlands, you ſhall have no more by *Sumatra*, till you come in 3 Degr. S. L. where you ſhall fall with *Lucapara Falſa*, which is the firſt of the 4 Iſlands that lie at the S. S. W. end of *Banca*. And you ought to look out very well for them, in going your N. by W. Courſe, as the Depths will guide you from 6 to 10 Fathom Ozy Ground. All about them you'll ſee broken Ground, and among them horrid Shoaling Water: And when you have brought them E. from you, your Shoaling will be 4 and 5 Fathom, and your Courſe N. and N. by W. till the Southermoſt Iſle bears S. E. by E. from you.

Lucapara.

From hence you ſail N. N. E. by *Banca*, and when you come along with theſe Iſlands, keep *Sumatra* as the bolder ſide; you have Ozy Ground on that ſide, but hard and ſtubborn on the other. This N. N. E. Courſe holds about a League, and then you ſail N. again, and being paſt the Banks or Shoals by theſe Iſlands, you have 9 or 10 Fathom depth, and are to hold on the N. Courſe by the Land, for a matter of 3 Leagues.

Tides.

Note here by the way, that in the Narrow the Tide ſets N. and S. and runs 12 Hours one way, and as many the other.

Account of the Courſes for ſailing this way.

The next Courſe is N. by W for a League, and your beſt depth here is 15 Fathom: But when you come near to the high Land on the N. ſide of *Banca*, your Courſe is N. N. W. and the beſt depths 20 Fathom. This Courſe of N. N. W. and N. W. by N. continues for 9 Leagues, and then you ſail 20 Leagues N. W. by W. and your depth 24 Fathom; and your Lat. in this Courſe will be 1 Degr. 38 Min. S.

Linga. The Charts wrong in the placing of it.

You change this Courſe for a Northern one next, which you hold 10 Leagues from 10 to 7 Fathom depth, and Lat. 1 Degr. 5 Min. S. but no ſight of the main Land yet. Then you ſail N. E. by N. with *Pulo Sio*, or *Pulo Powe* in 40 Min. S. L. where you may have a Supply of Wood and Water; from hence your way is to go N. N. W. without *Linga*, which lies under the Equator, tho' the Charts place it in 1 Degr. S. L. It's full of Iſlands, and ſunk broken Grounds; and the Tide runs here S. S. E. and N. N. W. The depth in the Offing is 20 Fathom Ozy Ground, and your Courſe N. by W. 15 or 16 Leagues: But beware of the Tide, and keep in 15 or 16 Fathom in the Ozy Ground. In this Courſe you ſee 8 ſmall Iſlands in a Cluſter, in 50 Min. N. L. where, if you have occaſion, you may get both Wood and Water. The Tide runs here 12 Hours, the Flood from the Northward, and the Ebb from the Southward, the Depth 20 Fathom.

Bintam Iſle.

All along by theſe Iſlands you have 14 Fathom, till you come up to the Iſle of *Bintam*, in 1 Degr. 10 Min. N. L. for ſo far alſo the Iſles and ſunken Grounds do continue to run.

The Tide ſets W. by N. on the Northern ſide of this Iſland, and upon the S. E. ſide of it you have bold Shoal-

ing

Sincapura Strait.

Pulo { *Tinge. Timott Lore.*

ing from 14 to 9 Fathom. When you are paſt the E. point of *Bintam*, you are open then of the Strait of *Sincapura*, in which you'll find the Tide to ſet E. And from hence you Sail N. E. and by N. 7 Leagues, with a rapid Stream againſt you, for *Pulo Tinge* upon the Coaſt of *Jor.* in 2 Degr. 20 Min N. Lat. Here you ſee alſo the near Neighbours of this Iſland, viz. *Pulo Timott* and *Pulo Lore*; the former in 2 Degr. 30 Min. the latter in 2 Degr. 40. Min. Nor. Lat. When you have made the Straits of *Sincapura* and would ſail to *Jor*, you are to ſteer N. W. by W. taking care of the Current; you may be bold from 16 to 25 Fathom, and have good ground for Anchoring.

Directions to ſail to *Jor*, &c.

Note.

From *Pulo Sio* ſteer S. E. for *Pulo Paccadour*, in 1 Deg. S. L. where be ſure to keep in 15 Fath. and you may go without danger; from hence your Courſe is S. E. by E. 9 Leag. to *Pulo Pagadure*, in which Courſe be very careful, becauſe *Banca* upon this ſide is all Rocks and Breaches in ſome Places 8 or nine Leagues off, and ſo it is without you again all bad Ground; from hence your Courſe is S. E. by E. again to the Mariners Iſland, or *Pulo Calaſui*, which as ſoon as you ſee you muſt contrive to lie ſomething ſhort of, becauſe there's no anchoring by it for the foul Ground.

Note.

Obſerve alſo not to ſail at all by Night when you are in ſight of this Iſland, becauſe if you go never ſo well by your Compaſs, yet the Currents will deceive you, and force you to the Eaſt ſide of *Chinabata* Iſland; your Courſe therefore will be, to ſail between *Banca* and theſe Iſlands of *Chinabata* and the Mariners Iſlands, ſince 'tis all ſharp Rocks like Steeples to the Eaſt ſide, and particularly your Courſe between *Banca* and *Chinabata* is S. S. W. but look to the Stream, and borrow of *Banca* in this place, in 20 or 25 Fathom. From the Rocks you have in the Offing (which are called *Pulo Pelican*) to the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, the Courſe is S. W. by S. till you have ſhoaling off the main, and ſail as you did outward from *Bantam*, keeping the ſhoaling of *Sumatra* in 7 or 8 Fathom, till you draw near the Straits of *Sunde*.

A draught of the Paſſage between *Bantam* and the *Moluccas*.

If now being at *Bantam* you would Sail for the *Moluccas*, the draught of that Voyage is as follows. From *Bantam* Road N. E. by N. 2 Lea. (and E. by N. and E. N. E. 2 Lea. more) which will bring the low Point to the E. of *Bantam* Bay, S. of you, which point you muſt venture no nearer than three Fathom. Then ſail E. & E. by N. 4 Leagues, leaving to the N. ſide of you the 5 Sandie Iſlands, and the Ledge of Rocks that lie to the E. ſide of them. From hence your Courſe is E. S. E. with the Eaſt Iſland of *Jacatra*; then N. E. by E. 4 or 5 Leagues, which done, ſail by an Eaſterly Courſe 30 Leagues more. Here look out well for a Sand that lies three Leagues from the Main, and obſerve a low Iſland to the N. of you; the beſt Courſe is to go three Leagues to the S. ſide of that Iſland, but you may ſail either between the Iſland and the Sand, or the Sand and the Main, which you will without Danger. Your Courſe now is E. by S. and E. for 70 Leagues, which will bring you in ſight of *Madura*, at 4 or 5 Leagues from the Eaſtern or Weſtern end of which you have 30 or 40 Fathom depth.

Madura.

Straits between *Celebes* and *Cambina*.

Straits of St. *Thomas*

From the Weſt end of *Madura* your beſt Courſe is E. by N. till you make the Lat. of 6 Degr. in which Lat. keep your ſelf and you will go clear between the Shoals of the *Celebes* Iſlands, and the others that lie S. S. W. from them. From the S. Point of the Shoals of the *Celebes* (which lies in Lat. 6 Degr.) your Courſe is E. N. E. with the Straits of the *Celebes*; and from hence ſailing 30 Leagues N. E. by E. & N. E. you come to the Strait between the *Celebes* and *Cambina* Iſland, which is about 5 Leagues breadth, and will give you near 40 Fath. for your Lead. But remember to lie ſtill here always at Night, becauſe you have dangers before you till you are paſt the Straits of St. *Thomas*. To reach theſe Straits laſt mentioned, you purſue your Courſe N. E. by N. 6 Leagues, N. N. E. 8 Leagues, E. and E. by N. ten Leagues, which brings you ſafe into the Straits of St. *Thomas*. The going thro' here is E. for one League, in running of which League you'll have at leaſt 11 or 12 Fat. the Straits are very narrow and hardly to be perceived till you come at them, and ſome Sands will diſcover themſelves, moſt of your Lar-board ſide; but the forementioned Courſe (by the guidance of Providence) will bring you thro' clear of all Danger. From the Straits of St. *Thomas* your Courſe is N. E. by E. and E. N. E. 14 Leagues, then N. N. E. 38 Leagues, at which time look out for an Iſland and a Shoal lying to the N. N. W. of that little Iſland, and bringing the Iſland about 2 Leagues to the E. of you, ſteer N. by E. and N. N. E. 5 Leagues (then W. N. W. and N. W. by N. two or three Leagues) laſtly, N. E. by N. 4 or 5 Leagues, and that Courſe carries you cleverly between the 2 Shoals that lie in 2 Degr. S. Lat. the diſtance between them is not a Mile, and they are quite dry at low water, otherways you have 14 Fathom between them. When you are clear of theſe Shoals, and ſee the Land that your laſt Courſe carries you to, at a League diſtance from it alter the Courſe and Steer E. S. E. 2 Leagues, then N. E. by E. brings you to the Straits of *Bengaia*. They lie in 1 Degr. 20 Min. S. L. and the poſition of them is N. E. by N. and that Courſe you muſt take to go thro'.

Straits of *Bengaia*.

Now from hence to *Machian* one of the *Moluccas*, your Courſe is N. E. by E. 72 Leagues, but you may ſteer with any of them at pleaſure if Wind and Weather ſerve, there being no danger lying near them.

Directions to ſail to *Botun*.

If you are at the Iſland of *Botun*, and at the Northern end of it, and are willing to ſail to the King's Town, your Courſe is between the S. by W. and S. S. W. along the Land for 20 Leagues, or indeed betwixt two Lands, *Botun* on the Eaſt and *Cambina* on the Weſt, the diſtance between them from 4 Leagues to leſs than one League very narrow. When you are nine Leagues ſhort of the Town in this Courſe, look out for a Shoal, not great but very dangerous, and dry at low Water.

Note.

To know when you are near it obſerve the round Hill upon *Botun* near the Water ſide; that Hill and the Shoal lie E. by N. and W. by S. one from the other; and therefore leave the Shoal on your Lar-board ſide. From hence you purſue the ſame Courſe as at firſt, in order to go with the narrow Straits four Miles ſhort of the King's Town. This Strait is a League thro' and half a Mile broad, and 'tis no matter for the Courſe in going thro', ſo you keep the Ship in the middle of the Paſſage, for there's no riding in the narrow by reaſon of the very ſwift Tides that run there: You muſt obſerve too, to take the Tide along with you when you paſs here, for elſe you can't get thro', there being no Wind becauſe of the high riſing of the Land over the Maſts on both ſides. If you have occaſion to Anchor, you may do it two Leagues ſhort of the narow, and ride very ſafely in 30 Fathom Sand. Being paſt this Strait ſteer S. S. W. 1 League to go clear of a Point of Land, that muſt be left on your Lar-board ſide; and being clear of it hale up to the S. S. E. 4 Miles if the Wind will permit you, and then you may Anchor in 28 Fathom, hard Sand, near the flat Iſland, at which time you ſee the Town of *Botun* about a League diſtant from you upon a Hill. The Road lies in 5 Degr. 15 Min. S. Lat.

Directions to ſail from *Botun* to the Straits of the *Celebes*, and from thence to *Banda*.

When you are at *Botun*, to ſail to the Straits of the *Celebes*, you go thus: From *Botun* Road W. S. W. 4 Leagues (S. W. and S. W. by S. 5 Leagues) W. by S. and W. 33 Leagues, and ſo you are at the Straits deſired. From theſe Straits to *Banda* Iſland you ſail thus; firſt E. 37 Leagues (E. by S 15 Leagues) N. E. half a Point to the N: ſide 17 Leagues, at which time you are in the Lat. of 5 Degr. 10 Min. then E. N. E. with *Burro*, and from the S. part of *Burro* to the S. part of *Amboina*, and from thence E. S. E to *Banda*.

Directions to ſail from *Bantam* to *Patane*.

If you are at *Bantam* and have occaſion to Sail for *Patane* upon the Continent of *Malacca*, obſerve the Directions before delivered, that bring you along from *Bantam* as far as *Bintam*, *Pulo Linga*, *Pulo Timon*, and thoſe parts; then from *Pulo Timon* ſail N. by W 36 Leagues to *Pulo Capas*, where if occaſion ſerve, you may go between the Iſlands you ſee there and the Main, in a very fair Channel: theſe Iſlands you'll find to lie in 4 Degr. 52 Min. N. Lat. From *Pulo Capas* your Courſe is N. W. by N. 14 Leagues to a knot of Iſlands, ſo many that they are not to be reckoned; from hence ſail W. N. W. going no farther off the Land then 20 Leagues, nor come no nearer then 12 or 13, unleſs you want to Anchor; and this ſame W. N. W. Courſe purſued, brings you to *Patane*. You have a Rock in your way at 14 Leagues diſtance from it, but you may if you will go between it and the Main.

To conclude this Account, let that general and moſt uſeful Advice of our Sailers about the varying be nicely obſerv'd and followed every where. They propoſe it as the ſureſt Rule to go by under all the Irregularities of Streams and Currents; and the beſt Principle to proceed upon in the Rectification of the Errors that may be introduced thereby. Nay, they declare it to be the only Help in theſe Caſes, and that 'tis not poſſible for any Man to deal to any good Purpoſe with Currents, without he calls in the Variation to his Aſſiſtance. This therefore may be a ſufficient Reaſon for the utmoſt Care and moſt Critical Obſervation in the Buſineſs of the Variation.

THe English *and* Dutch *having ſetled an Advantageous Trade in the* Eaſt-Indies; *the* French *fitted out ſome Ships for the ſame purpoſe. The moſt material of their Voyages are as follows.*

MEMOIRS
OF
Admiral Beaulieu's Voyage
TO THE
EAST-INDIES:

Drawn up by HIMSELF.

Tranſlated from Monſieur THEVENOT'*s Large Collection of Voyages.*

Octo. 1619.

We paſs Madera.

And double Cape Verd.

OCtober the 2d, 1619, I ſet ſail from *Honfleur Road*, with three Ships, namely, the *Montmorancy*, a Ship of 450 Tun, carrying 126 Men, 22 Guns, and 20 Pedereroes; the *Hope*, of 400 Tun, 117 Men, 26 Guns, and 20 Pedereroes; and the *Hermitage*, Advice-Boat, of 75 Tun, 30 Men, 8 Guns, and 8 Pedereroes; All Victuall'd for two Years and an half. The 17th we came in ſight of *Madera*, and at Night its Weſtern Point lay about 7 Leagues off to the S. E. ¼ E. the 18th in the Morning it lay about 12 Leagues off to the N. E. at which time we ſtood South with the Wind at Eaſt, expecting by that Courſe to deſcry the Iſland of *Palma*. *Madera* lies very high, but is commonly ſo foggy, that we could ſcarce deſcry it. The Admiral Ship being deep loaded, and embarraſs'd with an unwieldy Rudder, that two or three Men could ſcarce manage, we reſolved to make the beſt of our way to *Cape Verd*, in order to have a new one made, or to put the old one to rights, which was encumber'd with too much Wood. *November* the 1ſt, we made the Coaſt of *Africa* between the River *Senegal* and *Cape Verd*, which lies very low, running North Eaſt and South Weſt, and is waſhed by a Sandy Sea. Next Day by eight in the Morning we doubled *Cape Verd*, and coaſted along the Shoar in order to get into *Ruffiſque* Road; at which place in the Afternoon we ſaw three *French* Ships at Anchor, and a ſmall Bark, which had Captain *Drowet*'s Equipage on board, and lay off of that place, waiting for him. In the Evening I caſt Anchor within a Cannon Shot of the three Ships; for the Wind being contrary I could not come up with them, and the rainy Seaſon was ſcarce over in that Country.

The 15th having reſolved to ſend the Advice-boat to the *Idol Iſlands* to buy up Proviſions, I furniſhed it with Kaſſade and Knives, which were proper Commodities for that place, and reinforc'd its Compliment with Captain *Soyer* and ſix Souldiers; ordering Captain *Ridel*, who commanded the Pinnace, not to treat with the Natives without Hoſtages, and withal, not to ſtay there above three Days at moſt, but to come with all poſſible expedition to rejoin us at *Tagrin*. When ſhe parted from us we were in the Lat. of 10 ½; from the time we paſt *Cape Verd*, we had but little Wind, and the Tides run againſt us W. N. W.

A Deſcription of the *Idol Iſlands*.

The 19th, about Noon, we deſcried the *Idol Iſlands*, about 8 Leagues off to the E. N. E. and our own Pinnace making into the Shoar. Theſe Iſlands lie in 9 ½ N. Lat. They are cover'd with Wood, and bating *Tagrin*, are the higheſt Land between *Cape Verd* and *Cape Sierra liona*. *Great Idol*, being the largeſt and moſt ſouthern of thoſe Iſlands, affords Water and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits and Fowls; but its Inhabitants, who are very numerous, are not to be dealt with without Hoſtages. The *Leſſer Idol* affords likewiſe Water. Beſides theſe two, there are other ſmaller Iſlands, which are ſo inconſiderable, that they are not diſtinguiſh'd by any name. The name of theſe two is taken from a River ſo called in the Continent, the Mouth of which lies oppoſite to them about three or four Leagues off. The King of this Country reſides up that River. The Natives are Negroes, Idolaters, great Hunters and Eaters of *Elephants*. They have no commerce with the Continent; and 'tis hard to get aſhoar upon them, becauſe their Coaſt lies very high. I believe they put off their *Elephants* Teeth in the River of *Tagrin*. At Night we loſt ſight of theſe Iſlands, which are diſtant 25 Leagues from Cape *Sierra liona* or *Tagrin*; next Day, we ſaw, about ¾ of a League off, ſeveral Spouts or Guſts of Wind whirling about upon the Sea, and forcing up the Water with great violence, two of which were very formidable: As ſoon as we perceived them, we furl'd all our Sails for fear of any inconvenience.

Spouts obſerved upon the Coaſt of *Africa*.

They caſt Anchor at *Tagrin*.

November the 23d, we arriv'd at Cape *Sierra liona*, and caſt Anchor at *Tagrin*, where ſeveral Negroes coming aboard, gave me to underſtand that there was an *Engliſh* Veſſel about four Leagues off, at *Saſena*, the Reſidence of the King of *Tagrin*. *November* the 28th, I cauſed the Rudder to be taken off the Stern Poſt, and hauled aſhoar, where, having poſted a ſtrong Guard, and fortified the place with fell'd Trees, I ſet the Carpenters at work. Having walk'd a little further into the Country, I found it very pleaſant. At the bottom of the Creek, there was a ſmall Brook of clear and ſweet Water; the Banks of which, towards the Sea, were deck'd with great quantities of Citron Trees, Willows, and pretty thick Woods. I likewiſe found ſome Plains good for Paſture; but the Soil is nothing but Stone or Iron-colour'd Rock. Their Houſes are infinitely better than thoſe at *Cape Verd*. The Natives, who are Negroes, worſhip little horrible Images, reſembling Devils, and ſmall lumps of black Earth, in the form of Sugar Biſkuyts, which I underſtood to be the Neſts of Aunts. To theſe they offer Fruits, the Heads of Monkeys, Baboons, and other Beaſts. They call the Idols *Grigris*, which name I take to be derived from the *French*; for they commonly ſalute one another in theſe Words, *Tout Haut*, but when they ſalute a White, they cry *Tu As Menti*. They are a much better ſort of People than the other Negroes; tho' they begin now to improve their Cunning, by converſing with the People of ſeveral Nations that touch there. The place where we lay being the third Creek from *Cape Sierra liona*, is very convenient for taking in Water, Wood, Citrons, Oranges, and Hoops for Water-Casks, which are all to be had for little or nothing. There we had very good Rice in exchange for equal quantities of Salt. It affords no Fleſh, unleſs it be Pullets, which are very ſcarce; and has little accommodation for Hunting; but all its Creeks are well ſtor'd with ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh. The Cape lies in 8 Deg. North Lat. and the Needle varies there 2 ¼ Deg. N. E. One of our Trumpeters that could not ſwim was unfortunately drown'd in a little River near this place, which was nine or ten Foot deep. 'Tis preſumed, he was deceiv'd by the extream clearneſs of the Water, which repreſented the bottom of the River to be nearer the Surface than it was; and that thereupon going to waſh himſelf, but not meeting with the expected Ground, was ſo frightned with the Surpriſal, that he neglected to catch hold of the Banks of the River which was not above ten Foot broad.

The *Portugueze* at *Tagrin* murder the Crew of a St. *Malo's* Bark.

December the 3d. Two Negroes came aboard, one of whom was armed with a Bow, Arrows, Sword and Knife. The other, who was the Interpreter, told me that he who bore the Arms, was ſent by the King to acquaint me, that the *Portugueze* up the River had murder'd the Captain and the whole Crew of a St. *Malo's* Bark, that his Maſter was ſorry ſuch a thing ſhould happen near his Territories, and that if I had a mind to reſent it, he would furniſh me with Negroes to conduct me to the place where the *Portugueze* had lodg'd the Bark. This I underſtood to be about ſeven or eight Leagues above *Saſena*; whither the St. *Malo's* Captain had gone to buy a ſort of Wood not unlike that of St. *Martha*, which in *France* might be worth eight or nine Livers a Hundred. When I firſt heard the News, I ſuſpected that the *Portugueze* underſtanding that my Rudder and many of my Men were aſhoar, had contriv'd the Meſſage, to induce me to ſend a Detachment out of the Land Guard, and ſo give them an Opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of the Rudder and Water Casks that were aſhoar. But upon Second Thoughts, calling to mind the Humour of the *Portugueze* in that Country, and the weakneſs of the St. *Malo's* Ship, I concluded the Account to be not improbable, and withal foreſaw, that the ſlighting of ſuch Intelligence, might leſſen the Reputation of the *French* in that Country. At laſt having reſolved to ſend out a Detachment purſuant to the King's Meſſage, the Interpreter with ſeveral other Negroes, offer'd to go along with my Men to the place, ſaying, They would go any where to have an Opportunity of killing the *Portugueze*. To carry on this Affair with more ſecurity, I order'd the Rudder to be brought aboard, for the Carpenter's work being then finiſhed, there wanted nothing but the Iron work, which might be done aboard, by ſetting up a Forge in the Ship: I reinforced the Land Guard with an addition of ten Men, ordering them to plant Barricades of Water-Casks before the principal Avenues of the place where they lay, and to ſuffer neither White nor Black to come near them in the Night time, and got Captain *Pile* to accompany my Men in the Expedition. Accordingly the next Day, I ſent up the River our *Sloop*, with an addition of ten Men to her Complement; together with Captain *Pile*'s Bark mann'd by his own Men, and the *Hope*'s Long-Boat, with 20 Men and four Pedereroes; all under the Command of Monſieur *Montcurier*. *Dec.* the 8th, *Captain Catel* of *Dieppe* arriv'd in the Bay, and told me that at the Iſle of St. *Vincent*, he met a *Dutch* Ship of 400 Tun, mann'd with *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, bound for *Bantam*, in order to convey thither the News of the Agreement between theſe two Nations. At three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Mr. *Monteurier* return'd with the *Hope*'s Long-boat, and *Captain Pile's* Bark, our Pinnace not being able to keep up with their Oars; and reported that he had been ten or twelve Leagues up the River, where finding the River very narrow and rocky, inſomuch that the Bark ſtruck ſeveral times, and having no Commiſſion from me to venture the loſs of the Bark, he turned back without meeting any *Portugueze* or their Veſſels.

December the 31ſt, We were in 3 ½ Degr. N. Lat. After our departure from *Tagrin*, the weather was various, ſometimes ſtormy and ſometimes very calm, as it uſes to be in thoſe Seas; and we found our Rudder much more ſerviceable than before. *Jan.* the 1ſt, 1620, at Sun riſing, we found the Needle 3 ½ Deg. North, and the Lat. 3 Deg. 5 Min. North. The 6th, we croſs'd the Equinoctial Line, and celebrated the uſual Cuſtom of throwing Sea Water upon thoſe who had never paſs'd it. From the third of this Month, we had the Wind at S. E. and S. S. E. and ſail'd cloſe to the Wind in order to raiſe the South Pole, purſuant to the common courſe of Navigation. The 24th, we were under the *Tropick of Capricorn*, and the Needle vary'd 13 Degr. to the N. E. From our paſſing the Line we had the Wind at E. and E. S. E.

February the 1ſt, we began to have the Weſterly and other variable Winds; being then in 13 Degrees South Latitude, and the Needle varying 13 ½ Degrees N. E.

Remark upon the Variation of the Needle.

February the 3d, Being becalm'd, I obſerved at the Sun Riſing, that the Needle was 13 Degr. North; whereas at my laſt Obſervation, when I was almoſt a Degree farther from the Antarctick Pole, it was 13 Degrees and a half. So that inſtead of increaſing it decreaſed. Upon which I concluded its Variation to be irregular; and that it is not fix'd on two *Meridians* cutting the World in four parts, as the *Portugueze* and others imagined.

Fiſhes with long Horns or Bills, which pierce thro' Ships.

During this calm, we ſaw two great Fiſh with long Snouts or Bills, which ſeem'd to be of that ſort that are known to pierce lin'd Ships. I could ſcarce have credited the Story of their penetrating thro' Ships, if the Governour of *Dieppe* had not ſhow'd me a piece of the Beak or Horn of ſuch a Fiſh, found in the ſide of a *Dieppe* Ship, when it was laid up to be caulk'd after an *Eaſt-India* Voyage; the Captain of which had found ſomething ſtrike againſt his Ship as he ſail'd from the Coaſt of *Braſil* to the Cape, but did not know what it was, till that diſcovery happen'd. This piece of Horn reſembled the Tooth of a Sea-Horſe, only 'twas ſtraight all along, and the Colour of Ivory. Its thickneſs was an Inch and an half diameter. It had run 5 Inches into the Wood, and was broke off where the Lining join'd the Wood, probably by the ſtrugling of the Fiſh, which could not recover it without breaking. Several Perſons have met with the like Adventure in their Voyages. But I ſhall only mention one more of a *Dieppe* Captain, who upon a Voyage to theſe parts, had his Boat ſtaved to pieces by a blow from one of theſe Fiſhes, for the Fiſh endeavouring to withdraw its Horn, disjointed the Planks. Thoſe which I ſaw on this Occaſion ſeem'd to be of the ſmalleſt ſort. One of 'em that came juſt under me appear'd to be 10 Foot long beſides its Beak. 'Twas a maſſie Fiſh, tho' not ſo big proportionably to its length as a *Porpoiſe*. Its Colour was a dark blue; and its Laps and Tail, which were very large, repreſented a bright Azure in the Sea. It had a pretty high Lap upon its Back, reſembling that of a *Rechien* or *Indian* Sea-Calf, which ſometimes puts above water. Its Head was not unlike a Porpoiſe's, only it was longer, and inſtead of a Snout had this Horn or Bill, which was very ſharp at the Point, and almoſt two Foot long, and as thick as a Boy's Wriſt. 'Tis a very ſtiff and ſwift Fiſh, for I have ſeen it fly at *Bonitoes*, with which it wages continual War. I have often obſerv'd *Bonitoe's* and *Albacore's* wounded by this ſort of Fiſh, and the Sea tinctur'd with their Blood. I am certain there are ſome of this ſort much greater than thoſe I ſaw this Day, which attack the Whales; and probably 'tis their miſtaking a Ship for a Whale that occaſions their encountering with a Ship. However I doubt not but even a great Ship may be endanger'd by the ſpliting and gaſhing of its Planks, occaſion'd by this Fiſh's endeavouring to recal its Horn after it has ſtruck.

White things floating in the Sea, like Men's Heads.

While the Calm and the exceſſive Heat continued, we ſaw a certain white thing about the bigneſs of an *Oſtrich* Egg floating upon the Water, which ſunk when the Ship came within 50 or 60 Paces of it. Our Pinnace's Crew ſaid they ſaw a great many of them. It reſembled a Man's Head without Hair; and ſome ſay they obſerved two Black Eyes and a Mouth upon it. We likewiſe ſaw a ſtrange ſort of Fiſh about as long as an ordinary *Lamprey*, and equally round, with a large Fin or Creſt, which ſeem'd to be above a Foot high over its Head, and ſlop'd in a continued ſeries down to its Tail. It ſwims upon one ſide, ſo that the Fin together with the Body, repreſents a large Fiſh of a triangular form; and it makes its way by ſhifting from one ſide to the other. But when it catches its Prey the Fin is ſtrait, and appears above the Water to be of an aſhy Colour; tho' the Body of the Fiſh is as white and as round as a Tallow Candle.

A ſtrange ſort of Fiſh.

February the 10th, we were in 31 ¼ Degrees South Latitude, the Needle varying 12 ½ Degrees North Eaſt.

Sea Wreck.

The 20th, our Latitude was 24 Degrees, and the variation 9 ½. Here we ſaw a great deal of Wreck or Sea-Graſs of a reddiſh Colour; which, ſome ſay, comes from the *Triſtand*, *Acuna* Iſlands. The next Day there happen'd a violent Storm, the Wind at Weſt, which had almoſt broke down our Maſt, our top-Maſt Sails being then out. Such Storms are common and very violent in thoſe Seas in Winter; but 'twas then Summer there, and the Autumn was juſt approaching.

March the 8th, our Latitude was 34 Degrees, and the Variation no more than 20 Minutes; which I took for a certain ſign that we were not above 70 or 76 Leagues off of the *Cape* of *Good Hope*.

The 11th, we ſaw *Trombs* or large Sea-weeds, about three or four Fathom long, *Cormorants*, Sea-Bears, and the Fowls call'd by the *Portugueze Alcatra's*, which are white all over, only the tips of their Wings are black. And all theſe were certain ſigns of our approaching to the Land. We likewiſe ſaw innumerable Troops of *Porpoiſes*, and a great many Whales. Towards night we deſcried Land, and found the common Navigation to be very juſt. Being then in 33 Degrees Latitude, which is over againſt the *Bay de Soldaigne*, we reſolved to ſteer our Courſe to the *Table Bay*, which lay from us about 20 Leagues S. E. ¼ S. in order to take in freſh Water. But the Wind being contrary, *i. e.* S. and the Tides being likewiſe contrary, *i.e.* N. N. W. we did not arrive at the *Table* Bay till the 15th at Night, at which time we caſt Anchor there, having loſt only one Boy in the Voyage.

A Deſcription of the Country near *Table* Bay.

March 16. I ſent fifty Men aſhore with Sails to make Tents of. When the Boat return'd, they told me, They had found ſeveral Corps of dead Men, and Cloaths ſcatter'd up and down, and a ſmall Fortification of Earth, which we gueſs'd to be built by the *Danes*; for one of the Natives, that ſpoke a ſort of *Jargon* of broken *Engliſh*, gave us to underſtand, tho' more by his Signs than by his Language, that five Ships had ſail'd from thence to the Eaſtward about three Months before.

The 19th it continu'd to be very ſtormy, with a N. E. Wind. Some Musketteers, whom we had ſent in queſt of a Soldier that had ſtraggled from us, reported, that they had paſs'd along the South-ſide of an Inland Mountain, joyning to the *Table* Mountain, where they ſaw an infinity of very large Baboons and Monkeys: And from thence continu'd their Courſe along the declining part of the Mountains that bound the Weſtern Sea, till they deſcry'd the Sea about half a League off, which I took to be another Bay between this and the Cape of *Good Hope*; that then they turn'd back, and when they were upon the Mountains, deſcry'd the Sea to the Southward, which muſt be that to the Eaſtward of the Cape of *Good Hope*; that they had a plain View of other Mountains, between which and thoſe they were upon, there lay an open Plain, about 10 or 12 Leagues broad, the Soil of which was very good, and capable to produce ſeveral Fruits, the Plain terminating upon the Sea without any Mountains, between Cape *Falſo*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*; that at the foot of the Weſtern Mountains they met with Woods, and large Trees like Apple-Trees, which bore no Fruit, but were very hard Wood; that in the ſame places they met with very pleaſant Paſtures, and ſome Cattle, and excellent clear Weather.

This Report inſpir'd me with a Curioſity to ſee the Country: Accordingly, the next Day, I walk'd out by the back of the *Table*-Mountain; and when I was got three Leagues into the Country, obſerv'd very good Grounds, deck'd with Graſs and pleaſant Flowers, and a ſmall Rivulet of freſh Water gliding along the Plain, and loſing it ſelf in the Sea, at the foot of the Bay, at a place where there is a great Confluence of Water, which we call the River. This Rivulet riſes out of the Mountains that lie between the Point of the Cape and this Bay, and ſerve for Boundaries to the Weſtern Sea. I likewiſe obſerv'd, that this Rivulet makes ſeveral Fens, which run to the Northward along the *Dunes*, or Banks of Sand that terminate the Bay, and to that place which we call the River, where Barks of 50 or 60 Tun may enter at high Water.

I return'd along the Mountains, and at the foot of the *Table* Mountain to the Southward, met with a great many Trees, ſome of which afford Planks a Foot broad, and 18 or 20 Foot long, their Trunk being ſtrait like that of a Pear-Tree, their Leaves whitiſh and ſmall, their Bark about two Inches thick, and reddiſh, the Heart of the Wood white and hard, and the whole Tree full of Sap.

I likewiſe obſerv'd Herbs of the ſame Nature with thoſe in our Country, ſuch as Sorrel, Fern, Broom, &c. From this Mountain I ſaw Cape *Falſo*, and the Sea that waſhes the Eaſt-ſide of the Cape, which forms a large Bay as far as the Cape, where a great many Rocks ſhoot out into the Sea, that muſt needs be pernicious to Ships upon a Southerly Wind, upon the ſide of the Mountains of Cape *Falſo*, there runs either a great River, or an Arm of the Sea, that ſheals very far up; and I obſerv'd the like upon the Inland ſide of the Mountains upon the Cape of *Good Hope*. Upon all theſe Mountains, there are great Quantities of Goats, Fallow Deer as big as Harts, Partridges, and all ſorts of Fowl; Baboons, Monkeys, Lions, white Wolfs, Foxes, Porcupines, Oſtriches, and other Animals unknown to me. In this Day's Journey I ſaw none of the Natives, they having retir'd for fear of us.

A Character of the Inhabitants about *Table* Bay.

Thoſe who liv'd towards the Point of the Cape, are the moſt miſerable Salvages yet diſcover'd; for they neither ſow nor cultivate the Ground; neither do they Fiſh, or ſo much as venture themſelves two Steps into the Sea. They are of a very low Stature, eſpecially their Women, and are ſo meagre, that they always look as if they were dying for Hunger. Their greateſt Food is ſome White Roots, about the bigneſs of ſmall Cheſnuts, which have a Stalk like a Leek, only a little narrower and not indented, that bears a White Flower. If they find any Cockle-fiſh, or Whales, or any other dead Fiſh upon the Shore, tho' never ſo much putrified, they put 'em a little upon the Fire, and then feed heartily upon 'em: Nay, when the very Skins, Heads, and Entrails of the Sea-Bears and Pinguins (*i.e.* a ſort of Fowls without Wings) which our Men fed upon, were thrown out of the Tents, and had lain for 7 or 8 Days, till their Stench oblig'd our Men to remove their Tents, and ſcar'd the Wolves and other wild Beaſts from touching of 'em; even then, I ſay, the Savages would take 'em up, and after having put them under the Aſhes, and ſqueez'd them between two Stones, would eat up every bit of 'em.

When they meet an *European*, the firſt thing they do, is to ſhew their Stomach, which they draw into their Body, and ſo that makes a hollow or great Pit upon their Breaſt. They have Wars one with another, probably, upon the Account of their Cattle. They abſtain from Man's Fleſh, neither do they eat any of their Cattle, unleſs theſe are apt to die through Leanneſs, Age, or any other Accident. They cover their Privities with a Sheep's Tail, and wear the Skin of a Sheep, or ſome other Animal, over one Shoulder like a Scarf. The better ſort have dry'd Tripe about their Necks, upon which there hangs a little Knife ſhap'd like a Launce, in a wooden Sheath: And this I take to be the Inſtrument with which they cut off one of their Teſticles at ten or twelve Years of Age; that being a Cuſtom among 'em, perhaps in order to qualifie themſelves for running, in which Exerciſe they outdo all that ever I ſaw. Some hang upon their Necks a Plate of Copper, as thin as a *Teſtoon*, and about a Hand long, and four or five Inches broad. Others wear Bracelets, being Pieces of Copper or Iron, with a hole in the middle. Thoſe who ſeem to have ſome Command over the reſt, have commonly a Stick in their Hands, with a Fox's Tail at the end of it.

They cut off one Teſticle.

I could not perceive any Religion among 'em. They marry indeed, and dance; and their common Salutation to us is dancing to a Song, which from the beginning to the end, is nothing elſe but *Hautitou*.

Their Arms are an *Aſſagay*, with a weak ſort of a Bow and a Quiver; which they hide under ſome Buſhes when they come to our Tents. They are very apt to ſteal any thing of Iron or Copper; but Linen or Cloths they do not covet.

They are Negroes, and have frizzl'd Hair, as well as thoſe in *Guinea*, but they wear no Ornaments upon it. They have no Sheds to live in, that I could perceive: But in the Night-time they ſhelter themſelves with their Wives and Children with Buſhes, and have ſome Skins ſtretch'd like an *Umbrella*, upon two Sticks laid a-croſs, with one in the middle to faſten it in the Ground; under which they lie bury'd in the Sand up to their Belly.

They are altogether ignorant of Agriculture, or the making of Canoes; whereas, if they could but tack ſome pieces of Wood together to convey 'em to the Iſlands juſt by the Continent, they would find vaſt Quantities of Pinguins, and Sea-Bears (which are their delicious Food) not only for their own Suſtenance, but for Sale among their Neighbours.

An Account of *Table Bay*, and the Mountain above it.

This *Table-Bay* lies in 34 Degr. Lat. the Needle varying 1½ Degr. N. W. It's Air is very wholeſome. Sometimes you may treat here with the Natives for Beef and Mutton; but that's very uncertain. 'Tis a ſecure Road to Anchor in, and has about 6 or 8 Fathom Water. There's more Rain and Wind in the Bay, than a Shore; for the high Mountains ſtop the Clouds and Vapours, which being driven by the Wind, break and fall down in Hurrycanes upon the Bay. The height of the *Table*-Mountain from the Sea-ſide to the top, is 1350 Foot perpendicular.

Dutch Letters found aſhore.

Some of our Men going aſhore, happen'd to light upon a great Stone, with two little Packs of pitch'd Canvas underneath, which we afterwards found to be *Dutch* Letters. When we open'd them, we found firſt a ſtrong piece of pitch'd Canvas, then a Plate of Lead wrapp'd round the Packet, under that two pieces of freſh Cloth, then a piece of red Frize, all wrapp'd round a Bag of coarſe Linen; in which were the Letters very ſafe and dry. They contain'd an Account of ſeveral Ships that had paſs'd that way; particularly of an *Engliſh* Advice-Boat that was gone for *England*, to acquaint the Company with the Injury the *Dutch* had done 'em in the *Eaſt-Indies*. They likewiſe gave Notice to all Ships that paſs'd that way, to take care of the Natives, who had murder'd ſeveral of their Crew, and ſtole ſome of their Water-Casks. Farther, they gave Advice, that the *Dutch* had beſieg'd *Bantam* with 35 Ships, and that the *Engliſh* were forc'd to abandon it for want of Proviſions: That the King of *Bantam* and the *Dutch*, committed ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility; and many other things, too long to be inſerted. Having read this Letter, I was in a quandary, whether I ſhould go to *Bantam* or not: For I readily imagin'd, that *Bantam* being block'd up by the *Dutch*, they would not ſuffer

Bantam beſieg'd by the *Dutch*.

ſuffer us to enter, and far leſs to traffick there, ſince they always endeavour'd to keep the Trade out of our hands. Beſides, I was apprehenſive they might carry the place, in regard that Prince *Mataran*, who calls himſelf Emperor of all *Java*, and alledges that the King of *Bantam* revolted from him, would readily joyn with the *Dutch*, in reducing the Rebel King. Upon theſe Conſiderations I reſolv'd to ſteer my Courſe to the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, to put off ſome Goods that were proper for that Coaſt, and buy up others that ſhould be ſaleable at *Achen*, and upon the Coaſt of *Sumatra* and *Java*; and after all, to take in at *Achen*, a Ship's Loading of Pepper, or two, if the Siege continu'd; and leave there a Factory, together with the Pinnace, to trade up and down the Coaſt. But if the Siege were rais'd, I deſign'd not to ſettle any Factory at *Achen*, but to ſend one of the Ships back to *France*; and the other, together with the Pinnace to *Bantam*, where we might get 200 or 300 *per Cent.* upon the Coaſt Goods; and there to load the other Ship, and leave a Factory together with the Pinnace.

In the mean time I call'd to mind, that the Directors of the Company mean'd that I ſhould go ſtraight to *Bantam*, and ſend at leaſt one of their Ships back to *France* that Year; which I could not do, if I touched upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*: Beſides, if the Siege of *Bantam* ſhould happen to be rais'd, I was apprehenſive the Company would blame me for not following their Orders. But even that Conſideration was counterpois'd by this, that I could not at any rate ſend back one of their Ships that Year, ſince I could not make the Streight of *Sonda* till *Auguſt*, nor get out from thence till *October* or *November*, by reaſon of contrary Winds; and upon that ſcore I ſhould be oblig'd to ſpend the whole Year, without doing any thing, and eat up my Proviſions, which in that Country are ſo ſcarce, that the *Engliſh* are forc'd to ſpread themſelves along the Coaſt to be ſupply'd; not to mention that I ſhould be expos'd to the Diſcretion of the *Dutch*, who never mean'd us well. Having maturely weigh'd all theſe Conſiderations, I ask'd Advice of the principal Deputies, ſome of whom ſaid they would ſubmit to my Judgment; and others told me, that ſince I had a poſitive Commiſſion for *Bantam*, and ſince *Bantam* was a place of too great Importance to the *Dutch*, to be long at Variance with the King, I had beſt ſteer my Courſe thither. Theſe different Opinions put me upon another Expedient, of ſending the *Hope* to *Bantam*, and giving the Captain, Mr. *Grave*, an ample Commiſſion.

A little Iſle near *Table* Bay.

April 3. We weigh'd Anchor; and being becalm'd about two Leagues off from the Bay, were driven by the great Waves coming from the South, and the Tides running North upon a little Iſland, and caſt Anchor within a League of it, at 20 Fathom Water, the Ground being muddy Sand. The Iſle lay from us North one quarter N.E. and the Southerly Waves made us roul prodigiouſly, ſo that every thing crack'd in the Ship. This Iſland is almoſt round, and about a large League in Circumference. Within, it affords nothing but Sand, and ſome Buſhes, under which the Pinguins hatch their Eggs. A great many Rats and Adders live in it, as well as Chamæleons and Lizzards.

Sea-Bears deſcrib'd.

Upon its Rocks, by the Sea-ſide, we ſaw a great many Sea-Bears, which bleat like Sheep, ſome of which are very large, and have a Skin as thick as a Wolfs, with very ſoft Hair. Both theſe and the Pinguins taſte very rank of the Oyl of Fiſh, of which a great quantity might be taken from them, if one were at the pains. They have two Paws before, and two Fins behind; they cannot ſtay long under Water without taking the Air; they live upon Fiſh, and in the Night-time retire to the Rocks.

A Deſcription of Pinguins, or Fowls without Wings.

The Pinguins are Fowls without Wings, which have two Fins, and two broad Paws, upon which they walk upright, and with which they dig the Ground to make their Neſts. They are a little bigger than a Cormorant, having a white Belly, a black Back, a very thick Head, and a Bill like a Raven's. In the Morning they repair to the Sea, where they ſwim and feed upon Fiſh, and at Night return to their Neſts. They have nothing of the taſte of Fleſh, and for my part, I take them to be feather'd Fiſh.

While I was aſhore, there aroſe ſuch a Storm from the S. E. that I could not reach the Ships, but was forc'd to ſtay upon the Iſland all Night, notwithſtanding that it was a perfect Calm where the Ships rode.

April 7. We had a violent Thunder and Lightning, and the next Day the Weſterly Winds began to ſwell; beſides that, the Fog was ſo thick, that we could not ſee from one end of the Ship to the other; upon which, having given a Signal to the other Ships to follow me, by the Sound of Trumpets and Drums, I return'd Sounding all the way, and caſt Anchor in *Table*-Bay.

April 12. We weigh'd Anchor again, and all that Day had but little Wind, and that very variable. However, on the 14th we doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*; and the 15th were in 36 ½ Degr. Lat.

The Signal of an approaching Storm.

The 16th we had a violent Storm from the N. E. at Full Moon, which we foreſaw the Night before; for at Sun-ſetting reddiſh Rays aſcended from the Sun, and underneath him was a Bank of the ſame Colour; towards the Wind there appear'd, as it were, a Circle, from the Centre of which there proceeded great Rays; under the Wind there appear'd a round blackiſh Cloud, and in the middle of it we ſaw what the *Portugueze* call the *Ox's Eye*, which is generally taken notice of, as the Fore-runner of a great Storm. When the Moon came low, the Sea ſwell'd mightily, and the Storm was indeed very great, notwithſtanding that the Air was ſo clear, that in the Night-time we ſaw the riſing and ſetting of the Stars. The Storm parted me from the other two Ships, till the 17th that the Wind abated, and came Southerly, after which I perceiv'd our two Ships about a League before me; and found, to my great admiration, that none of 'em had ſuſtain'd any harm. However, this wonderful Deliverance made me reſolve not to part with the *Hope*, but to go all in a Company to *Bantam*, purſuant to my Orders.

Accordingly I dropp'd all my former Projects, and ſail'd E and S.E. directly for *Bantam*. But *April* 26. in 36 Degr. Lat. and 12 Degr. N. W. Variation of the Needle, a violent Storm overtook us, and not only broke my *Bowſprit*, but damag'd the Pinnace's Maſt: Upon which I was oblig'd to take up my former Reſolution of ſending Captain *Grave*, with the *Hope*, ſtraight to *Bantam*; deſigning to carry my own Ship and the Pinnace to *Madagaſcar*, in order to have them refitted.

They make S. *Auguſtine's* Bay.

I parted with the *Hope* on *May* the 1ſt, in 37 ½ Degr. S. Lat. and 18 Degr. Long. reckoning the Cape of *Good Hope*, for the Meridian.

The 17th in the Morning we deſcry'd *Tillac*, about ten Leagues off, which is a running Coaſt, that appears very high; and that Night had ſight of St. *Auguſtine* Bay.

The 17th we were oppoſite to the two little Iſlands of Sand, which lay about three Leagues from the Bay, which having no Trees upon them, are very low. But in the Night-time the contrary Winds, and the Trees carry'd us W. N. W. where finding no Anchorage, and not being able to make the Bay, I reſolv'd to ſtand for the Iſles of *Comorro*, during the light Quarter of the Moon. In thoſe Seas their Surface is very plain and ſmooth, and the Air very clear. While we ſtood for theſe Iſlands, the Wind turn'd North, upon which I tack'd about for the Bay, and arriv'd there on the 21ſt, caſting Anchor at 17 Fathom Water, upon a clayie Ground, about a quarter of a League from the Shore.

The Natives fond of Silver Chains.

May 22d, I went with the two Long-Boats, and fifteen Musketeers, to obſerve the River upon our approach to the Shore, we obſerv'd nine or ten of the Natives, upon a conſpicuous Point of Sand, who gave us the Signal to come to them. Upon this we went aſhore, and tho' we were arm'd, they joyn'd in and talk'd with us above an Hour, ſignifying by their Language and Signs, that they were very well pleas'd with us, and would viſit us next Day on Board. They were very curious in obſerving what ſort of things we had about us; and one of 'em, who ſeem'd to be a leading Man, ſpying a Silver Whiſtle, with a Chain to it, that my Mate had about him, deſir'd it very earneſtly: I order'd the Mate to ſhew it him, tho' I was ſorry for the diſcovery, for fear they ſhould inſiſt upon having that, and no other Commodity in exchange for theirs; and for that Reaſon had caution'd all our Men to hide 'em. However, they all lik'd it mightily, and the chief Man among 'em, promis'd to give for it an Ox, which might be worth 20 Crowns at leaſt. Upon which I gave him to know, that we could not ſell it, becauſe we had uſe for it; but if any of 'em would come aboard, I would ſhew them things that they would like as well. Without further deliberation, this principal Man, and three others embarked with us, deſiring that ſo many of our Men might be left aſhore, which I agreed to. In the mean time, at one Caſt of a Sean, we drew up an infinity of little Fiſh reſembling Herrings, both in form and taſte: But I could not make any material Remarks upon the River, only I was ſure that it was very great and rapid.

A Deſcription of the Natives, and their Habit.

The Natives of this place are the handſomeſt Negroes that ever I ſaw. They are large and well ſhap'd; they feed well, and are neither flat Nos'd, nor thick Lip; neither do they ſtink like the *Guinea* Negroes. They are very curious in their Hair, which is long, frizled, rais'd upwards, and made up in Wreaths at the top. Their Teeth are very white, even and ſmall; and they rub 'em every Minute with a ſmall piece of Wood. Their Garment is a Cotton Cloth well woven, of two or three Colours, with which they cover their Privities, the reſt of their Body being naked. As for their Ornaments, he whom we took for the chief Man, had a large Plate like a piece of Bone or Ivory, perfectly white upon his Forehead, a large Ring of Copper at his Ears, about his Neck a Collar of Raſſade, beſides Glaſs-Beads of ſeveral Colours, and a Necklace of fine Yellow Amber, which he eſteem'd very much. The reſt had Ornaments correſponding to all his, excepting the Trinket on his Forehead.

As ſoon as we came on Board of the Ship, the Natives were ſurpriz'd with the bigneſs of the Ship, and mightily taken with the Sound of the Trumpets and Drums. I preſented them with ſome enamell'd Rings, and others of Pearl and falſe Amber, and entertain'd them with Diſcourſe till Supper was ready.

They are ſick on Board.

But in the mean time they were taken ill of the Sea Sickneſs, inſomuch that they would needs go above Deck, and lie upon a Sail. One of them that was not ſo ſick as the reſt, did nothing but jeer his Companions all Night, and merrily imitated every word that the Men upon the Watch ſaid to one another. In a word, theſe are very jolly Negroes, and have nothing in 'em that's brutiſh; they readily apprehend what is ſaid to them, and in my Opinion are much preferable to the other Negroes. Next Morning by Break of Day, I went to ſee for my Gueſts, and found them upon their Legs, and much better than before. Then I ſhew'd them ſeveral little things I thought they would like; ſuch as Coral, yellow Amber cut fine, Raſſades of all Colours (they lik'd the blue, red, and green, but not the white) Knives, Razors, Combs, Iron, Tin Veſſels, a Copper Baſon, and red Cloth, as well as Cloth of other Colours. They ſeem'd to like every thing, and deſir'd the Gift of 'em; but when I ſpoke of their Beeves, they always came back to the Silver Whiſtle, and the Chain: Finding I could make nothing of them, I ſent them a-ſhore again; as well as ſome of our Men, with ſeveral of the above-mention'd Goods, to try what they could do with the other Natives. One of the Natives offer'd a fat large Ox, with Bumps upon his Shoulders (like to thoſe on Camels Backs) in exchange for a Copper Baſon, but he that bore the Trinket on his Forehead ſpoke to him, upon which he gave back the Baſon, and ask'd for a Silver Whiſtle with a Chain to it. In fine, I underſtood they reſolv'd not to truck with me for any thing elſe, but Silver Chains.

The next Day, hearing that the Natives were come down to the Shore with their Cattle, I ſent our Men aſhore with Chains of Steel, Lattin, Copper, Jett, and other things reſembling Pearl; ordering them to conceal the Silver Chain, and not exchange it, till they had try'd if any of the former would do; for I had no mind to make them acquainted with that Metal. But after all, they gave me to know, they would deal in no other thing but in the Silver Chain, and would give no more than one Cow, for as much of it as would go round the Neck of the talleſt of them, and meet with two ends at his Navel. Being unwilling to part with the Silver Chain, and at the ſame time in great want of their Cattle, becauſe we could not live upon the Fiſhing; I reſolv'd to have a Chain made of Pewter, by a Goldſmith that we had aboard; and for that end cauſ'd to melt a Platter; hoping to do as much with a Pewter Chain, as with a Silver one: For when I offer'd them Silver and Pewter Spoons in a heap together, they chus'd the Pewter ones, becauſe they were neweſt. In like manner, when I ſhew'd them a large Silver Baſon, and Silver Cups, and even a Chain of Gold, they would give me nothing for 'em; but ſtill wanted the Chain that was along with the Whiſtle.

The Commodities of the Country.

The next Day they came aboard without Hoſtages, and brought with them ſome Hens and Capons, a pretty deal of Milk, ſome Peaſe, and ſome Horn-ſpoons, made after their Faſhion. Theſe were very fond of our red Raſſade; but we had but very little of it. However, we exchang'd what we had at a pretty good rate; for they gave us a large Capon, or ſome ſuch Poultry, for every String of it.

Theſe Natives lodg'd all Night on board of us, and were not ſick as the others were: They fed heartily, and eat a great deal of broil'd Fiſh, and thrice as much Bread as any of our Men.

The Peaſe they ſold us were white, and as large as a Muſquet-Ball, and the beſt I ever ſaw: They eat 'em raw; and next to their Milk, I believe, they are their beſt Food.

The 26th I ſent ſome red Raſſade, and the Tin Chain aſhore; but they quickly perceiv'd that the Chain was not the right. They gave us Fowls for half a String of Raſſade a piece, as well as a Weather for one String; and Aſſagays and Darts very well made, for half a String a piece. Thoſe Natives work very prettily in Iron and Copper, and to my Mind, their Iron, of which they have great Quantities, is as good as in *Spain.*

They ſold us a ſmall quantity of Rice, which they valued very high.

When our red Raſſade was all gone, I ſhew'd 'em ſome red Coral, Cryſtal, and other pretty little things; but they did not like 'em.

On the 27th, they brought down as many Cattle, as cover'd at leaſt a quarter of a League and ſtill demanded the Silver Chain for an Ox, the red Raſſade for their Sheep and Pullets, and the blue for their Milk, of which they brought great Quantities. For the Silver Chain I demanded three Oxen, and a Sheep for two Strings of red Raſſade.

In the mean time, their King, or Governour, ſent me word to come aſhore (for I marketted in my Long-Boat), and ſhew him the Chain: But I gave him to know, that I could not come aſhore; but if he would be pleas'd to come on Board, he ſhould be very ſafe, and I would ſend ſome of my Men aſhore for Hoſtages. After ſome deliberation he came aboard, and I was ſorry I had no nice thing to preſent him with. However, having four Strings of red Raſſade in my Hand, tho' I thought 'em too mean a Preſent for him, yet finding that he look'd upon 'em with a greedy Eye, I complemented him with 'em; which he accepted with pleaſure, and gave me a Sheep for a Recompence. I had a great Mind to have given him the half of the Silver Chain, which was 5½ Foot long, and weigh'd three Ounces and a half: But conſidering, that if I was prodigal of the Chain, I ſhould have nothing to fetch Beeves; or elſe I would be oblig'd to rob the Mates of their Silver Whiſtles, I e'en put it off till the next opportunity.

But ſome time after, the King reflecting upon the Chain, ſent one of the ſtatelieſt Oxen I ever ſaw, which we bought for half the Chain: But we had a great deal of trouble in bringing it aboard; for tho' it receiv'd in its Head two Piſtol-ſhot, one Harquebuſe, and one Musket-ſhot, yet it was ſo ſtrong, that we were forc'd to ſtifle it under Water, and give it ſeveral Blows in the Head with an Axe, before we could get it aboard. Such an Oxe might be worth 100 Livres in *France.*

An Account of their Cattle and Fruit.

Theſe Oxen are neither high, nor ſo large as thoſe of our Country; but they are ſhort and thick; their Head is ſmall, their Neck ſhort and thick, with a large Bump or Lump of Fat, upon the joyning of the Neck to the Shoulder; which at a diſtance appears, as if it were a Burthen ty'd upon that part.

Their Sheep reſemble thoſe of *Barbary,* as to their Head and Wool; but their Ears hang down like a Hound's, and their Tail contains ten or twelve Pound of pure Fat; which does not diſoblige the Stomach, as the Fat of the Body does. Their Fowls are large, fat, and thick. In a word, their Men are in ſo good a caſe, and their Cattle ſo fat, that the Iſland muſt needs be a very good Country. As for their Fruit, I queſtion whether we were there in their Seaſon; at leaſt they brought us none, but a little Rice, ſome Beans, and very large white Peaſe. They have a great many Gourds, and Bottles made of 'em, in which they put their Milk.

The 28th I was to ſee a little Iſland in the Mouth of the River, and then return'd to the place of Barter; where the Natives waited for us with a great number of Cattle. This Day I bargain'd to a double advantage of what I did yeſterday: But having allow'd ſome of our Men to go aſhore, and treat for themſelves, whether they ſpoil'd the Market by being too prodigal of their Commodities, I cannot tell; but ſo it was, that the Natives, all of a ſudden, demanded four Strings of red Raſſade for a Sheep, whereas they had ſold me ſeveral for two a piece but juſt before: Upon which I call'd all my Men into the Boat, for I always Marketted in my Long-Boat, from the Commencement of the Treaty. I had no ſooner recall'd my Men, but the Governour of the Natives, whom they call *Aurea,* appear'd in a Paſſion, and order'd all the Natives to retire. Leſt our mutual Friendſhip ſhould be thus broke, I made a Signal, that I would ſpeak with the Governour; upon which he came down to the Shoar-ſide, and I going aſhore, preſented him a Cutlas with a Silver Hilt, aſſuring him that I was his Friend, and earneſtly deſir'd, that I and my Men ſhould live in perfect Amity with him and his People: This done, he expreſſed a great deal of Satiſfaction, the Negroes made loud Acclamations of Joy, and I cauſing the Trumpets to ſound, and the Drums to beat, order'd a Party of our Men to come aſhore, who joyn'd in, and ſhak'd Hands with the Negroes. In the mean time the Governour made me ſit down by him, and admiring the Trumpets and Drums, offer'd me an Ox for one of either. But I told him I could not want it. After that we ſold the reſt of our Silver Chain for 2 Heifers and a String of Coral Beads for an Ox; and then we return'd on board, giving the Natives to know, that within four or five Days I would be gone, which they heard with grief. The next Day one of our Officers went aſhoar, and ſold four Ounces of a Silver Chain, for ſix luſty oxen, which I caus'd to be ſalted up.

A Deſcription of the Bay, River, and adjacent Country.

June the 1ſt, I went into our little Skiff with twelve Men; deſigning to reach the Mountains by a ſmall Creek, and from thence to deſcry the Valley where the River run. But finding the Creek very inacceſſible, and ſurrounded with Buſhes, ſteep Rocks, and Aloes Plants, I left it, and rowed about half a League up an Arm of the River to the Southward, where I found a Landing place. Having walk'd up a third part of the Mountain, I diſcover'd that the other Arm of the River to the Northward was yet greater, for it appear'd as broad as the *Seyne*, a League below *Roan*. Upon the Sea ſide, and for two Leagues up the River, there is nothing but thick and black Woods; but beyond that there are very pleaſant Fields.

This Bay is ſo cover'd with Flats to the North and South, that 'tis only acceſſible by the N. W. and W. N. W. I do not believe that great Storms do ever reach it for the Coaſt does not ſeem to be much beaten by the Waves, and all the 15 Days I was there, I obſerv'd but one Cloud in the Zenith; neither is the Heat exceſſive, being temper'd by the Land Breezes, that never fail from the Sun ſetting to ten or eleven a Clock in the Morning, and the Sea-Gales that blow from that time to Sun ſetting. I found the Air of that Bay very healthy, for we had not one ſick aboard, to which the abundance of freſh Meat and good Water contributed not a little. As for the adjacent Country, the Valley is very pleaſant, and affords excellent Paſturage, being water'd by a large River, which would render the Ground very fertile if it were cultivated. The Sea ſwells the Mouth of the River to 10 or 12 Foot running Water, ſo that ordinary Ships might enter it. The Mountains are a dry Rock, the Surface of which looks as if it were burnt. The Low-Country is clad with an infinity of Buſhes and Shrubs, and the greateſt quantity of *Tamarinds* I ever ſaw, as well as with *Ebony* and *Aloes* Plants.

A Fruit reſembling Wall-nuts.

Their *Tamarinds* were not then ripe; but I met with another Fruit almoſt ripe, that reſembled a large Wallnut, having a green Rind; when I open'd it, it gave a fragrant ſmell, and the Fruit within was black and full of little Stones, almoſt like Caſſia Fiſtula, and its Pulp, being of the ſame Taſt and Colour, tho' not ſo thick, and, as I take it, entitled to the ſame qualities. This Fruit is by ſome call'd *Tamboarions*, and ſaid to reſemble Poppy Heads, but without any reaſon. We ſaw in the Hands of the Savages ſome ſmall Cucumbers, which ſeem'd to be better than ours, and which they eat as we do *Pears*; a great many *Gourds*, ſome *Beans*, very good *Peaſe*, a little *Rice*, and only one *Citron*.

The Government of the Natives.

The Natives are jolly, proper, handſome Negroes. They are very friendly one to another, and obey one Sovereign call'd *Aurea*, whoſe Reſidence, as they told me, is at a great Habitation up the River. I take their *Aurea* to be another ſort of a Man, and better qualified than he who appear'd as the *Aurea*, and to whom I made a Preſent of the Silver Cutlas; for they told me with grief that their *Aurea* had been lately ſtabb'd. I could not perceive 'em guilty of any brutiſh or inhuman Action, for they dealt with us very frankly and honeſtly; they did not ſteal the leaſt odd thing, or offer the leaſt Injury to our Men, tho' they met them ſometimes ſtragling and unarm'd. One Day, when one of our Prieſts was ſaying Maſs, and had but very few Auditors, 25 or 30 of the Natives came about him, and being deſired to kneel, did ſo, and behav'd themſelves very reſpectfully till the Service was over.

Their Honeſty.

Their Religion.

As for their Religion, I could perceive none amongſt them. Indeed they are Circumciſed; and tho' the Inſtitution came to them time out of mind, yet I believe they had it from the *Mahometans* upon the Coaſt of *Æthiopia*, who have long had, and ſtill have, an unknown Traffick with that Country.

Their Language.

Their Language ſounds pretty ſmooth, for they pronounce it very glibly. They do not reckon beyond Ten in Computations; and their ten Numbers are thus expreſs'd in order, *Iſſa, Rowa, Tello, Effad, Linne, Euning, Frutto, Vuollo, Sinay, Foulo.*

Their Women.

As for their Women and Houſes, I ſaw neither. Some of our Men told me they left their Women about half a League off in the Woods, and that they ſaw three or four of 'em, that were very handſome, being cover'd from their Breaſt to their Knees with a party colour'd Cloth of Cotton, and having their Ears pierc'd in ſeveral places, with a great many Ear-Rings and Bracelets hanging upon 'em.

Having refitted our Ships, and furniſhed our ſelves with freſh Proviſions, Wood and freſh Water; and rode 15 Days in this Bay, which is a very proper place for taking in freſh Proviſions, and ſheltering diſtreſſed Ships, and might be made as uſeful for thoſe who trade to the *Indies*, as *Mozambique* is to the *Portugueze*: Having rode, I ſay, 15 Days in this Bay, which lies in the Iſland of *Madagaſcar* or *S. Laurence*, under the Tropic of *Capricorn*; we weighed Anchor, and ſtood North Weſt, to avoid the Flats; and having ſail'd all that Day with little Wind, at Night the Bay lay about ten Leagues off S. E. ¼ E. At which time we perceived another Bay about ſix Leagues off to the Eaſtward. The Coaſt runs North and South, as far as we could See; and appears high, ſmooth, and all of a piece, like the Coaſts of *Piccardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretaigne*.

June the 9th, we came in ſight of the *Terra Firma*, between *Sophala* and *Mozambique*; and at Night being in 17 Degrees 10 Minutes Latitude, and ſailing N. E. ¼ E. were in danger of being caſt away, becauſe our Sea Maps are very defective in that part. For the Pinnace being order'd to ſail in head and ſound, and if ſhe apprehended any Danger to give us a ſignal of three Guns; about an hour and an half before Day, the Signal being given, we immediately tack'd about, and dropp'd an Anchor: And when Day came, perceiv'd that if we had but gone a little further, we had run our Ship aground. For about a quarter of a League off there lay a little Iſland, ſcarce a Mile in Circumference, cover'd with Buſhes and Greens, having 2 tall Trees together upon its Weſtern Point. And to the W. N. W. of this Iſland, which has a long Bar before it, there lies another of the ſame bigneſs, very low, and cover'd all over with Trees. The Continent lay about four Leagues from the firſt Iſland. To the S. W. we ſaw a high and ſandy Coaſt, with a woody Country behind it, and to the Weſt we deſcried a low Land, with large Trees upon it, as if they had been planted in the Sea. I was ſurpriz'd to ſee the Continent ſo near me, taking my meaſures from the Sea Cards. For over Night, when we ſaw the *Terra Firma* and the Iſlands, we took 'em according to the Latitude in the Charts, to be what the *Portugueze* call the *Primieras*; and reckoning theſe three Leagues to the Weſtward of us, the Courſe chalk'd down in the Chart from theſe Iſlands to a large Flat (lying in 16 ¼ Degrees about 12 Leagues from the *Terra Firma*) being N. E. and S. W. and the laſt of the *Primieras* Iſlands, being placed in 17 Degrees above ten Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, we reſolved to ſtand N. E. ¼ E. thinking to ſail nearer to that Flat than the *Primieras* Iſlands. But we were miſtaken;

Primieras and Angoxa, miſplac'd in the Sea-Charts.

for the *Primieras* Iſlands are not above two or three Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, from which the Coaſt runs away E. ¼ N. E. Beſides, the Charts have no Flats or Iſlands along that Coaſt, unleſs it be thoſe of *Angoxa*, which are placed more to the Southward, *viz.* 16 Degr tho' after all, I ſaw that Morning a ſtring of Iſlands, about a League and an half or two Leagues diſtant one from another, and lying in 16 and ¼ Degrees, which I could imagine to be no other than theſe of *Angoxa*, ſo that the Charts miſplaced them alſo two thirds of a Degree. Being at a loſs to know what little Iſlands theſe were, and finding the Chart ſo much out, I reſolved to ſtay there no longer. Accordingly I weighed Anchor, and ſaill'd between the 2 Iſlands, the Pinnace ſounding in the Head of me. We ſail'd cloſe by the Land-ſide of the firſt Iſland; where we had 10 or 12 Fathom Water, with a good Ground of muddy Sand, and no Banks; ſo that this ſide together with the Bar, affords a very good Road for Ships. Then ſtanding E. S. E. with a freſh Southerly Gale, we got clear of the ſecond Iſland, between which, and the Continent, I doubt not but there is a good Paſſage, for I obſerved no Banks nor Shallows.

Having paſs'd this Second Iſland, we deſcryed a Third, of the ſame bigneſs with the former, which aſſur'd me that theſe were the Iſlands of *Angoxa*. The next Day 'twas as much as we could do to ſee the Land to the North Weſt of us, being then about ſix Leagues off; but according to the Charts we ſhould have been above 20.

A Deſcription of the Iſlands of Comorro.

The 13th, we deſcryed one of the Iſlands of *Comorro*, which is very high, and as conſpicuous as *Madera*.

The next Day we perceived another not ſo high, which is call'd *Majotta*, and abounds with all ſorts of Proviſions and Fruits; lying about ten Leagues from the Iſland that's neareſt the *Terra Firma* of *Mozambique*, the South Point of which we made the next Day, but could find no convenience for coming to an Anchor, notwithſtanding it is inhabited all along the Shoar. This laſt Iſland is very Cool, Moiſt, and full of Verdure, by reaſon of its heighth, which gathers a great number of Clouds that break upon it. It has a great many Brooks of Water running down from the top, which in my Opinion do not ſpring from the Rock, but are occaſion'd by the continual elevation of Vapours.

The 16th, we made the North Cape, which is 15 or 16 Leagues diſtant from the South. Having doubled the Cape, we perceiv'd a ſmall Sandy Creek, which appear'd like an old ruinous Caſtle, where two Ships (not more) may ride at Anchor, at ſix Fathom Water upon a Sandy Ground. We thought to have rode there, but the Tide carry'd us by it.

The Natives command the Wind,

Having doubled the Point of this Creek, we came before an Inhabited Place, furniſhed with Houſes like thoſe of our own Country, where we thought to come to an Anchor; but finding nothing but from 50 to 30 Fathom Water upon a Rocky Ground, we ſtood to the Sea, deſpairing of Anchorage upon that Iſland. In the mean time the Tide carried us Weſtward along the Coaſt to a Point, where we came in ſight of a Ship, and having ſent out our long Boat with ten Musketeers, we underſtood it to be a *Mecca* Ship of 40 Tun, that upon our appearance on that Coaſt had run all their Goods aſhoar, taking us to be *Dutch* Ships. The Captain ſhew'd me two Letters, one from an *Engliſh* Captain call'd *Martin*, and another from Captain *Bannar*, intimating to all their Country Men, that they had taken in ſeveral Refreſhments at that place, eſpecially Fruits but little Meat; that they had found no Water there; that Linen Cloth and Paper was a proper Commodity for that place; and adviſing them to take care of diſobliging the Iſlanders, who, tho' they appear'd friendly enough, were capable to do them a great deal of Injury. Having ask'd the *Arabian* Maſter, where I could find the beſt conveniency for coming to an Anchor; he told me the place of Anchorage lay to the Windward of their Ship; but withal, adviſ'd me to fetch a Pilot from the Shoar, by reaſon that the Road is ſurrounded with Rocks and Banks, and the Inhabitants of the Iſland being great Sorcerers, and having the Wind at their command, could, upon occaſion, change it to our diſadvantage. Purſuant to his Advice, I ſent my Boat aſhoar along with him, and in the Afternoon he returned with two of the Inhabitants, who were *Negroes*, and brought our Ship ſafe to an Anchor before Sun-ſet. In the mean time I ſent the *Arabian* Maſter back to his own Ship, with full Aſſurances of the Innocency of our Deſign, and the Friendly Diſpoſition of the *French*; together with a Letter to the ſame purpoſe addreſſed in *Spaniſh* to the King.

And are ſlow in making Bargains.

The 17th, The King ſent ſome of his chief Favourites, to aſſure us of his Friendſhip, and readineſs to ſupply us with the Product of his Country. I acknowledged my Obligations to the Prince, and ſent him a Preſent of a Silver-Hilted Hanger, a couple of very pretty Knives, a Ream of Paper, and a Looking-Glaſs; which he receiv'd with pleaſure, and return'd me a Compliment of a young Kid and ſome Fruit. At the ſame time I deſired the *Arabian* Captain, who was then aſhoar, to buy up ſome Proviſions for me, promiſing to ſend ſuch Commodities aſhoar as were proper to be given in exchange. But the Captain ſent me Word that the Inhabitants of that Iſland were of ſuch a particular Humour, that they would not ſtrike a Bargain of half a Rial value in a Days time; for they would not buy half a Yard of Cloth without calling all their Relations and Neighbours to concert the meaſures of the Bargain. I was likewiſe inform'd by a *Portugueſe* that a *Portugueze Carrack* had been loſt upon that Iſland about three Years before, and by that means the Inhabitants were ſo overſtock'd with Rials, that they put no eſteem upon that Coin. Accordingly I found, that tho' they had vaſt quantities of Fruits, they would not ſell them to our Men for Money, but only for Paper, white Cloth and Knives. In fine, I perceiv'd that it would coſt me 15 Days Attendance to make up two Pipes of Peaſe which I wanted; tho' I did not deſign to ſtay above three or four Days.

The 18th, having deſcry'd a couple of the Ships of that Country, I brought the Captains aboard; who gave me to know that they came from the Iſle of *Majotta*, were laden with Rice and Hung Fleſh, and were bound for *Lama* near *Bombaze*. Next Day they ſupply'd me with as much Rice, Peaſe and Hung Beef as would ſerve us for four Months: And I was glad of the Opportunity, for I could buy nothing from the Inhabitants without an infinite loſs of time: Beſides, I began to ſuſpect the Honeſty of their Intentions; for the Day before, when we were ſounding for Anchorage, ſome of the Inhabitants gave us a ſignal to come to a place, where we ſpied a long Ridge of Rocks, and had certainly been loſt if we had anſwer'd the Signal: And upon that ſcore I preſum'd that the Advantage they had made by the Shipwrack of the *Portugueze Carrack*, tempted them to wiſh us the like Fate.

The 20th, I thought to have taken up ſome freſh Water aſhoar; but finding it brackiſh, and hard to be got on board, by reaſon of the great Waves; and obſerving withal that the Ship rode in the midſt of Shelves, I dropped that deſign, and weighed Anchor on the 21ſt by break of Day. The *Arabian* Captains underſtanding that I deſign'd to double *Cape Comorin*, had adviſ'd me to ſtop at the Iſle of *Socotora* for ſix Weeks, to avoid the uſual Storms upon the Coaſt of *Malabar*. I would gladly have taken one of their Pilots along with me, to ſhew me the coaſting of that Iſland; but they pleaded the difference of Religion, and our Men's eating of Pork for an Excuſe.

A Deſcription of the Iſland of *Nangaſija*.

This Iſle of *Nangaſija* extends it ſelf from North to South about 15 or 16 Leagues, with about three or four Leagues in breadth. We could obſerve no Anchorage round it, but that where our Ship rode; which lies upon the N. N. W. Point, in 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ Deg. South Latitude, but the middle of the Iſland is in 12 Degrees South Latitude. In that place we rode at 25 or 30 Fathom Water upon a Ground of Sand. But within a Piſtol ſhot of us, there lay Flats which had not above two Foot Water at low Water; and rocky Ground all about. 'Tis a very dangerous Road, and hard to be found by Strangers. Indeed among many Inconveniencies it has theſe Advantages, that the Tide always runs againſt the Wind, ſo that the Ship rides eaſie; and that Night brings a perpetual Calm at Sea, becauſe the Wind then takes the Land: Beſides the Inconveniency of Anchorage, it is likewiſe a very improper place for taking in freſh Proviſions; for its Water is very bad, and the Inhabitants are ſo over cautious, that they will be two Hours in marketting to the value of five pence. So that *Majotta* is upon that ſcore infinitely preferable to it. The Iſland it ſelf affords a pleaſant proſpect, eſpecially to the Northward; for on that ſide the Mountains riſe gradually, being clad with ſeveral ſorts of Trees; and below upon a large Creek of Sand along the Sea-ſhoar, there ſtands a great many Houſes, ſhelter'd with an infinite number of Coco, Orange and Citron Trees. Their Oranges are ſmall, but very ſweet and delicious, reſembling both in ſhape and taſte thoſe of *China*. The Inhabitants are *Negroes*, and call their Iſland *Nangaſija*. They are all very zealous *Mahometans*, and mark'd with a hot Iron on the Temples and middle of their Forehead. They are neither ſo handſome, nor ſo well ſhap'd as the Negroes of St. *Laurence*.

The Religion and Government of the Natives.

The Iſland is govern'd by 15 petty Kings; of whom the King of the place where the Anchorage is, is the ſtrongſt and the beſt ally'd. Theſe Kings War with one another, and ſell the Priſoners of War to the *Portugueze* and other Nations.

Their way of Fighting.

Their Fighting conſiſts in throwing of Stones, beating one another with Sticks burnt at the end, and flinging Sand in one anothers Eyes. We ſaw no Arms among them, but what the King had; and thoſe were Fuſees and Piſtols, which the *Engliſh* preſented him ſome time ago, and which he valued mightily.

They are reckoned great Sorcerers, but are civil and reſpectful enough to Strangers, unleſs it be when they ſee a Stranger ſtand upright and make Water, for then they ridicule him with a prodigious ſhouting.

A ſtrange way of building Ships.

The *Arabian* Ships, which they call *Pangays*, are ſtrangely built; for the Planks are neither nail'd nor cauk'd, but ſowed together with a ſort of Thread made of the Rind of the *Coco* Tree, and tarr'd or pitch'd above the Seams: ſo that they are very leaky, and there are always five or ſix Men employed to lave out the Water, beſides, that they always obſerve the Seaſons of the Trade Winds, ſo as to Sail right before the Wind, for they won't venture to ſet their ſide to the Wind-ward. They are undeckt, and may carry about fifty or ſixty Tun.

Juan de Caſtraval deſcried.

When we weighed Anchor in this Road, we ſtood N. N. E. and without the Points of the Land met violent Tides bearing to the Windward, *i. e.* S. S. W. At Night we deſcry'd another tall Iſland to the Sea-ward, which muſt be that call'd in the Maps *Juan de Caſtraval*, and lies fifteen Leagues N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. from *Nangaſija*:

The 28th we croſs'd the Equinoctial Line; and *July* the 1ſt, the Wind blowing very high, ſail'd 55 Leagues in 24 Hours, notwithſtanding that moſt of our Sails were furl'd; which gave me to underſtand that upon that Coaſt the Tides run rapidly before the Wind. Next Morning we diſcover'd a clear and rocky Coaſt, with good Ground a great way off from it; for at three Leagues diſtance, we had 30 Fathom Water, upon a fine white Sand.

July the 2d, we ſtood againſt the Wind, hoping the Storm would abate upon the change of the Moon, but by our Latitude found that the Tide and Storm had carried us 38 Leagues, tho' in the Night we ſtood to the Sea, and by Day to the Land; which ſeemed very wonderful.

Cape Orp'n.

The 4th, we made Cape *Orpin* (which in the Maps is plac'd in 10 Degrees Latitude) and drop'd two Anchors, the Storm ſtill continuing.

The 8th, it blew ſo very hard that a Man could not walk upon Deck; upon which, we try'd all the Inventions imaginable, of lowering our Top-Maſt, running out above a hundred and eighty Fathom Cable to every Anchor, &c. for our Pilots declar'd us to be loſt. At the ſame time our Pinnace was drove from two Anchors, the Ropes being cut by the Rock.

The 14th, 15th, and 16th, it blew ſtill harder, inſomuch, that the Pinnace was oblig'd to quit the Coaſt.

But the 17th, ſhe returned and caſt Anchor nearer the ſhore, at ſix Fathom Water upon very good Ground.

The high Winds continued without intermiſſion till the 3d of *Auguſt*; during which time we could neither ſend our Boat aſhoar, nor hoiſt up a Sail. However I reſolved to ſtand for Cape *Guardafu*, in order to conſider the ſtate of our Tackling as well as to take in freſh Water, and receive Directions from the Natives about our coaſting on *Socotora*, where none of us had ever been. With this view I fitted out our Long-Boat with Proviſions for three Days, ordering the Men by all means to make the Land, and know of the Natives where they might come at freſh Water.

They returned on the 12th, and reported that they had coaſted along the Shore to the Eaſtward of the place where we rode under ſteep Mountains, on the tops of which they ſaw ſeveral Perſons in a mean *Arabian* Habit, who ſeem'd to them to be Negroes, and threw ſo many Stones upon 'em from the tops of the Mountains, that they were obliged to ſteer off, for notwithſtanding all the Signals they could make of Peace and Friendſhip, the Natives ſignified by their Swords and *Aſſagays*, that if they came aſhoar they would cut their Throats. Upon that, they ſteer'd to that part of the Coaſt which was oppoſite to our Anchorage; where ſome of 'em got up the Precipice by a gap, and found an open Champain Country as far as they could ſee, without any Trees, unleſs it were ſome wither'd Buſhes, and ſome Herbs burnt up by the Sun. They ſaw likewiſe two or three of the Natives, who fled further into the Country. Having lain that Night under the Precipice, they ſteer'd next Day two or three Leagues to the Weſtward, and ſaw ſome Natives along the Shoar, who marched up Hill as ſoon as the Boat offer'd to come near them. After that they doubled the Cape, from which, a ridge of Rocks ſhoots above half a League into the Sea; and there found a large Bay three Leagues broad, and ſhooting very far into the *Terra Firma*, but very ſhallow; for about two Leagues from the Mouth of it they found but 3 and 4 Foot Water, the ground Sand and thick Gravel, with a great deal of Wreck and an infinity of Fiſh. In this Bay they found two of the Natives a fiſhing, who fled as ſoon as they made up to them. Our Men went aſhoar here, and met with a great many of the Inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding all the Signals they could make of a White Standard, *&c.* ſtill fled from them, crying aloud *La Ilach, Illalach, Mahomet reſul Alack*, which is the Mahometan Confeſſion of Faith. Upon the Shore they found an *Arabian* Boat with nothing in it; a little further in the Country they met with a few ſmall Trees, and a little Lodge, with two or three very pretty Mats in it, which they did not touch. After they had reimbark'd, they ſaw the Natives peep out again; but could find no opportunity of treating with them, whether by friendſhip or force. Upon this unfavourable Report I reſolved to weigh Anchor as ſoon as the Storm abated.

Cape Orpin a very bad Anchorage.

This Anchorage, in which we encounter'd ſuch violent Storms, and which is indeed the Winter of that Country, lies in 10 ½ Deg. N. Lat. the Needle varying 17 ½ Deg. N. W. and the Coaſt running E. and W. I would not adviſe any one to pitch upon that place to lie in till the proper ſeaſon of Coaſting upon *Malabar*; for not only the Land is deſart and inacceſſible, by reaſon of the continual violence of the Wind, which never varies further than from S. S. W. to S. W. but it affords no Water, neither from Earth nor Heaven, as being altogether deſtitute of Rain.

The Storm being abated, we weighed Anchor the 17th; and the 18th, came within a League of Cape *Guardafu*. That Night we tack'd about and ſtood to the Sea, ſteering E. ¼ S.E. and E. S.E. in order to make the Iſles of *Curia Muria*, which lie between the Iſle of *Socotora* and the Cape, and afford good Water. But miſſing of them we return'd next Morning, ſtanding for the *Cape*; and in the Afternoon came to an Anchor within Cape *Guardafu*, at nine Fathom Water, upon good Ground, within one fourth of a League of the Land, that runs away N. W. ¼ W. Next Morning, I ſent one Boat's Crew in queſt of ſome Spring of freſh Water falling from the Mountain into the Sea on its South ſide; and another to coaſt along the Shoar N. W. ¾ W. which extends to the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, in order to find Water, or to ſpeak with ſome of the Inhabitants. At the ſame time I ſent out the little Skiff to try what convenience they could have for fiſhing. The Skiff brought back word, that all along the Shoar for 20 or 30 Paces, the Ground was ſo Rocky, that they durſt not venture to bend their Sean. Thoſe who went in queſt of Water to the Southward, returned half dead with thirſt and fatigue; and gave me to know that they had travelled four or five Leagues into the Country, which was extreamly deſart, dry, and unſufferably hot, the Sun being in the Zenith of the Horizon, and there being no Shade nor Wind. The other Boat's Crew reported, that about three Leagues W.N.W. from us, they came to a place, which ſeem'd to be pretty green in compariſon of that dry Country; where they went aſhoar, and meeting with ten or twelve Negroes, ask'd them (as well as they could) where they could have Water to drink; that one of the Negroes ask'd a piece of Cotton-Cloth that one of the Sea-men had as a reward for the Diſcovery, and upon having it, ſhew'd him, ſome Ditches and Wells dug out of the Ground, in which was abundance of Water; and that the ſaid Negroes ask'd them if they were *Engliſh*, and promiſed to give them Cattle in exchange. Upon this Report, we weighed Anchor and ſet ſail for that place.

The Water about Cape *Guardafu* partly freſh, partly Salt.

The 22d about Noon, we came to an Anchor at ſix Fathom Water, bad Ground, about four Leagues within Cape *Guardafu*, over againſt ſome Buſhes and Greens which are not common upon that Coaſt. Having ſet 30 Men aſhoar to dig for Water, I found, that the Water which came in great abundance after they had dig'd but one Foot deep, was at firſt ſweet; but after we had fill'd a Barrel or two the reſt came very Salt; inſomuch, that for 22 Tun of Water, we were obliged to dig in above 70 places; which we did in leſs than 4 Hours, the Soil being Sand. While we lay here it was inſufferably hot without any Wind.

Cape *Guardafu* lies in 12 Degr. N. Lat. the Needle varying 17 ½ Deg. N. W. 'Tis the higheſt Land upon all this Coaſt, and riſes to a Precipice. All this Coaſt is wonderfully deſart and ſcorch'd by the Sun; inſomuch that I do not believe there is a hotter place in the World. We ſaw no appearance of Houſes; but there appear'd to us ſome Men wandering upon the Shoar, who were ſo large that we ſhould have taken them for Rocks if we had not ſeen them move. I ſaw one of their Bows, which by its largeneſs and ſtrength, ſpoke the hugh Stature of its Owner.

Very large Men.

Under the Cape there's no Wind.

I was mightily ſurpriz'd to find no manner of Wind when we lay cloſe by this Cape, whereas it had blown ſo very hard but a few Leagues off, in the Lat. of 10 ½ Degr. The Reaſon I imagine to be this; that Point of Land lying in 10 ½ Deg. Lat. being a Peninſula, not above 3 or 4 Leagues broad, ſerves for a Shock to heighten and inflame the Wind which runs along the Coaſt N. E. and S. W. Whereas Cape *Guardafu* is very high, and the Wind paſſing over a long Tract of dry and hot Land, in conjunction with the Rays of the Sun, does ſo heat its Surface, that the Wind is waſted above it.

The Sea ſtain'd with Red-Spots

The 27th we weighed Anchor; and as we advanc'd toward the Sea, found the Wind brisker. After we had ſail'd about 12 Hours we fell in with great Tides running out of the *Red-Sea*; and a few Hours after that found the Sea very much troubled and ſtain'd with red ſpots. Some took it for Flats; but we could diſcover no ſuch thing by ſounding. My Senſe of the matter was, that, we being then in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, and that being the Day of the Moon's Conjunction, ſome great Floods join'd to the Preſſure of the Sea, had occaſion'd the Violence of the Tides.

Next Day, a conſultation of the Pilots being call'd, 'twas reſolv'd that we ſhould run ſeven or eight Days to and again in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, for fear the Wind we then had ſhould waft us too ſoon upon the Coaſt of *Malabar*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, we ſteer'd North, towards the Coaſt of *Arabia*.

Carambe-rumma, a Frankincenſe Iſland on the Coaſt of *Arabia.*

Auguſt 31. We came within two Leagues of the Coaſt of *Arabia*. We were then in 14 ⅓ Degr. Lat. over againſt a Bay, in which, according to the vulgar Maps, there ſhould be ſome Iſlands call'd *Caramberumma*, and *Xael*, which produce great Quantities of Frankincenſe. I thought to have made *Caramberumma*, but the contrary Winds and Tides prevented me. *I* underſtand that there come to that place, every Year, a great many *Mahometan* Pilgrims; ſome of whom continue there a long time.

Thornbacks almoſt impenetrable.

In the entry of the *Red Sea*, and along the Coaſt of the *Abaſſines*, or *Gurdafines*, there is a prodigious quantity of Fiſh, eſpecially Thornbacks, ſome of which are as long as a Boat, and proportionably thick. Some of our Men ſtruck at them with a Graple, but it pierc'd their Skin no more than if it had been ſo much Iron. This Coaſt of *Arabia* is ſandy, and in ſome places low; but in the Inland parts there are very high Mountains, which were cover'd with Fog all the time we were there. The Calm obliging me to ſtay in the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, till *September* the 10th; *I* began to be apprehenſive we might come too late to double Cape *Comorin*: And for that reaſon ſtood N. E. with what E. and E. S. E. Wind we had; till we fell in with the S. W. Winds, and ſo ſteer'd our Courſe S.

A Conſultation what Courſe to ſteer.

Having call'd a Conſultation of the Pilots, and other Officers, in order to determine what Courſe we ſhould ſteer to Cape *Comorin*, whether through the Channel of *Mammale*, or along the Coaſt of *Malabar*. 'Twas alledg'd, that paſſing through *Mammale* at that Seaſon, would abridge our Voyage, by leading us into a clear Sea as far as *Achen*. But on the other hand, the Tides running N. W. were againſt us, and to ſtand S. S. E. we ſhould be oblig'd to ſail cloſe by the Wind; ſo that the Ship would make but little way, and for that Reaſon 'twas alledg'd, that we might ſooner make the Coaſt of *Malabar*, than the Latitude of that Channel. And for my part, I was apprehenſive of being becalm'd on that Coaſt, upon which we had 120 Leagues to ſail, before we could double Cape *Comorin*. 'Twas likewiſe alledg'd, that we could not reach the Latitude of that Channel (which was 9 Degr.) without falling in upon the *Terra Firma*, by reaſon that ſtanding S. E. would make no more than an E. Courſe.

Others again pleaded, that ſtanding S. S. E. would do our buſineſs.

In this difference of Opinions, I reſolv'd to put the Caſe to a Trial, by ſtanding S. S. E. and remarking from the Latitudes what way we made. Accordingly we ſteer'd S. S. E. till next Day at Noon; and then having taken the Latitude, found that our way was no better than E. S. E.

After that, I call'd together the Pilots again; the Majority of whom agreed, that we ſhould go directly in queſt of the Coaſt of *Malabar*, in the Lat. of 13 ' Degr. The chief Reaſon they inſiſted upon, was, that the Channel of *Mammale* lying in 9 ¼ Degr. it would be a long time before we could reach it; beſides, that in that Courſe we ſhould be in danger of falling in with the Flatts to the Northward of the Channel. Tho' I was very apprehenſive of being becalm'd on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, yet I yielded to the plurality of Votes, and ſtood E. S. E.

They make the Coaſt of *Malabar*.

The 26th we came in ſight of the Coaſt of *Malabar*, which is very high and mountainous within the Country.

The 27th we deſcry'd Mount *Deli*, about eight Leagues off, which lies between *Cranganor*, and *Mangalor*, and appears at that diſtance like an Iſland. In that place the Needle vary'd 15 ¼ Degr. N. W. Having ſpy'd a Galliot about a League off, and the Wind veering about to the North, we gave her chace, but could not come up with her.

The 28th being becalm'd, we ſaw a Ship two Leagues to the Windward of us; and I ſent M. *Monteurier* with 23 Men in the Long-Boat, ordering them not to board the Ship, but to command the Captain to ſend his Pilots and the Purſer aboard of us, and to acquaint him that I deſign'd 'em no harm, but only to know if it was not too late to double Cape *Comorin*. Sometime after, I ſaw our Long-Boat board the Ship, and ſome Muskets fir'd, and after that a Boat came off from the Ship, and made towards us. The Calm continuing, and the Boat advancing but ſlowly, I ſent out our Skiff to know their News, which I was in pain to hear. Upon its return, I underſtood that the People in the Boat were five of our Men, three of whom were dangerouſly wounded. When theſe came aboard, they recounted a Tragical Story, *viz.* That upon their approach to the Ship, which was a large one, M. *Monteurier* gave 'em Notice to lower their Sails; that they not obeying, he fir'd upon them two Braſs Guns, and a Broadſide of Musket-ſhot; that thereupon they ſtruck, and told him, he might board them if he would; upon which our Men boarded them upon the Quarter-Deck, and having kill'd all the Men abaft, thought themſelves entirely Maſters of the Ship; when of a ſudden 60 or 80 Men ſtarted up in the Forecaſtle, and with Shields and Hangers in their Hands, fell upon our Men with ſuch fury, that they oblig'd them to retire to the Boat; but by an unlucky miſchance, the Boat was ſo belaged, that they could not diſengage her, ſo that moſt of our Men were kill'd with Pick-axes, Arrows, and Pot-Grenadoes, which were thrown into the Boat; and the reſt being forc'd to leap into the Sea, one of 'em ſwim'd to the Moors Boat, and having cut the Cable, ſav'd himſelf and the other four Men, without ſtaying for the reſt, who in all probability were drown'd.

Next Morning I made all the Sail I could to come up with the Ship; and having boarded it, found no Body aboard but fifteen poor old Wretches, with white Beards reaching to their Girdle, who with Tears and Lamentations threw themſelves at my Feet, and rais'd my Compaſſion more than Revenge; beſides, that the five Men who were ſav'd, unanimouſly aſſur'd me, that they did not ſee them in the Engagement. The Account I had from theſe Men, was, that the Ship having carry'd a Cargoe of Pepper to *Mecca*, was upon her return to *Panama* near *Calecut*, to which place ſhe belong'd; that themſelves were poor People coming from *Mecca*, to beg upon that Coaſt; that the Owners of the Ship, in number 80, had gone off the Night before in our Boat, with their Gold and Silver, and the Boat being almoſt overladen, had left them behind. Upon the whole, I conſider'd that theſe poor Men were innocent, and that the Ambition and Avarice of our Men was the Cauſe of their Death, ſince the Moors had ſtruck, and deſign'd them no harm, till our Men fell upon them: For theſe Reaſons I ſpar'd the poor old Men.

I found aboard of the Ship, a great quantity of Salt, Dates, Wine, two Punchions of Opium, ſome Hundreds of Pounds of Coral, ſome Cotton Cloth of ſmall value, Roſe-water, and Knives; and I underſtood from the old Men, that if our Men had not boarded the Ship, the Owners could have furniſh'd me with 40000 Duckets of *Caire*, which is a Golden Coyn worth about four Livres a piece.

They paſs Cape *Comorin*.

October 2. We were off of Cape *Comorin*, in the Latitude of 7 Deg. and 50 Min. the Needle varying 14 ¼ Deg. the Tides bearing to the South, having carry'd us further off than we deſign'd. After that, being adviſ'd by our Pilots to ſtand for *Ticow* rather than *Achen*, I ſteer'd S. E. and S. E. ¼ E.

The 11th we had a violent Guſt of Wind, which laſted for two Hours; and ſoon after had another, which broke our Fore-maſt; being then in 1 ¼ Degr. S. Lat.

The 12th being in 1 Degr. 10 Min. S. Lat. we ſaw little Land-Fowls, which made us hope to ſee the Land in a ſhort time; moſt of my Ship's Crew, as well as that of the Advice-Boat, being then ſick.

A Pilot conducts them to *Ticow*.

November 11. We came in ſight of Land in 1 Degr. 40 Min. N. Lat. But the frequency of the Calms, and the ſickneſs of my Men, retarded me mightily; for the Pinnace had not above two or three Hands fit for Buſineſs, and in our Ship there were not eighteen that were able to work. Beſides, both our Surgeons were dead. I deſcry'd ſeveral Ships of that Country under Sail, and put out a White Ancient to make them ſteer towards us. At laſt finding they would not come, I ſent out my Skiff to ſpeak with one that ſtood between us and the Shoar; tho' they endeavour'd to run aſhore, yet the Skiff came up with them, and agreed to give 35 Pieces of Eight for a Pilot to conduct us to *Ticow*: They were of *Priaman*, a Town about 8 or 10 Leagues to the Southward of *Ticow*, and told our Men, That *Ticow* lay about 7 or 8 Leagues off, beyond ſome Iſlands that were in head of us. Our Pilot carry'd us nearer the *Terra Firma* than we were; and when we came to be off of the above-mention'd Iſlands, made us put back to Sea.

Having paſt theſe Iſlands, we came in ſight of an high Promontory of the *Terra Firma*, which had two Banks, one about half a League before its outmoſt Point, and another about two Leagues to the S. E. of it; and we had certainly run foul of the laſt, if one of our Men had not given us Notice of it from the Main-maſt-top; for we could not ſpy it upon the Deck, and our Pilot had told us nothing of the matter.

Having weather'd this dangerous place, and ſtanding S. S. E. we ſaw another in head of us, about a large League diſtant from the laſt. We ſteer'd between theſe two, which lie S. E. and N. W. ſounding all the way, and had all along 16 Fathom Water, the Ground Mud with a little Sand. The Night overtaking us, we were oblig'd to drop an Anchor between them.

Pageman.

This place lies off of a place call'd *Pageman*, juſt under the Equinoctial, which affords a great deal of Pepper;

making a large Creek, the bottom of which is a low Country cover'd with Wood; but in the Inland Parts there ſtands an high Mountain pointed like a Pike, which is ſeen above 30 Leagues off, and runs S. E. ¼ E. Having weather'd the Point of this Creek, we deſcry'd the three Iſlands of *Ticow*; and at laſt, after having ſpent two Months upon a Voyage, that's commonly perform'd in eight Days, landed at *Ticow* the firſt of *December*.

Between that time and the Second of *October*, I had loſt 25 Men; and if the Calm had but continu'd fifteen Days longer, I believe I had loſt all the Men in my Ship.

The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* expell'd at *Ticow*.

We caſt Anchor at *Ticow*, between the greateſt of the Iſlands, and the *Terra Firma*, at 4 Fathom Water, the Ground Mud; and ſent our Skiff aſhore, which brought us one *Pedro*, who had been Interpreter to the *Engliſh* Factory in that place. This Interpreter told me, That the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had been expell'd that place, by the King of *Achen*, two Months ago; and that there was a great deal of Pepper aſhore; but we could not buy it without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, who was Lord of all that Coaſt.

The *Hope* loſes their Long-Boat and 13 Men.

He likewiſe acquainted me, that the *Hope* (our Vice-Admiral) had touch'd upon the Coaſt, about 20 Leagues off, in the latter end of *July*, and had ſent their Long-Boat with 15 Men to this place, to take in freſh Proviſions, which they wanted mightily; that upon the Boats arrival, a *Dutch* Ship in the Road fir'd upon them; but upon Complaint excus'd themſelves, pleading, that they took 'em to be *Engliſh*; that the 15 Men having met with a kind Reception from the Governour, and taken in what Proviſions they wanted, ſet out in queſt of their own Ship, but could never meet with it, upon which they return'd to this place, where ſeven of 'em dy'd in *October*, four went for *Achen* in a *Dutch* Ship, three for *Bantam* in another *Dutch* Ship, and one continu'd in the Country, and earn'd his Bread by gathering of Pepper.

I was infinitely griev'd to hear that Captain *Grave* had been ſo inconſiderate as to ſend his Long-Boat ſo far from him; eſpecially when I was inform'd, that among the 15 Men he had loſt, there were two principal Commiſſaries, and a Pilot.

Upon further enquiry *Pedro* inform'd me, That the place where the *Hope* had caſt Anchor, was a great Iſland about 20 Leagues to the Weſtward of that place; that, for a certainty, they had not ſuffer'd Shipwreck, either upon that Iſland, or along the Coaſt, ſince the Praws (ſo the Ships of that Country are call'd), going to and again, had never diſcover'd any Wreck; that the two Commiſſaries, before they dy'd, were of Opinion, that the Ship had been drove from her Anchors by Storm, and not being able to make her former Station, made the beſt of her way to *Bantam*, expecting that I would touch at this place according to my Promiſe, and take up her Men.

The *Dutch* unkind to the *French* at *Ticow*.

As to the Affront offer'd 'em by the *Dutch*, he gave me to know, That the *Dutch* knew 'em to be *French*, having ſpoke with them before they fir'd; that the News of the Peace between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, was arriv'd before this happen'd; that the *Dutch* had repreſented to the Governour and Inhabitants of that place, that the *French* were Robbers, and mean'd only to obſerve the Landing-place, in order to ſack them; that they would not aſſiſt our two Commiſſaries any manner of way, whether in Health or Sickneſs, nor give the leaſt Relief to any of our Men, bating ſome few Sailors that they ſtood in need of, and that the *Engliſh* had ſerv'd our Men to the utmoſt of their power. He added, that the Governour was very ſenſible of the Malice of the *Dutch*, who meant only to engroſs the *Indies* to themſelves, and had but lately abus'd the King of *Jacatra*, and uſurp'd his Territories; for which Reaſon the King of *Achen* thought fit to diſlodge 'em of *Ticow*.

Why the *Dutch* were expell'd *Ticow*.

As to the Death of our Men, he ſaid, it had been a very ſickly Year in that place, as ever was ſeen; but that after all, the *Dutch* were ſuſpected of having ſhorten'd their Days, conſidering that thoſe who dy'd were the Perſons they hated moſt, and were not the firſt who had receiv'd Poiſon from their Hands; witneſs the Death of ſeveral *Engliſh-men* occaſion'd by that means.

I queſtion'd him about the Injury done by the *Dutch* to the King of *Jacatra*, and whether they had laid Siege to *Bantam*. He aſſur'd me, that it was ſtill beſieg'd, inſomuch, that there was no Commerce or Traffick with that City; that the *Dutch* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Jacatra*, and expell'd the King; that they had raz'd the ancient City, and built a ſtrong Fort, and a City after the Faſhion of their own Country, which they had peopled with all ſorts of Nations; and in fine, that they were at that time Maſters of the Streight of *Sonda*, where no Body could ſail without their Paſſport. Having maturely weigh'd all the Particulars of this Advice, I reſolv'd to ſend both to *Achen* and to *Bantam* at any rate, to have ſome Account of Capt. *Grave* and his Ship, whoſe Condition I was mightily concern'd for.

December 2. The King and Governour allowing me to come aſhore, I carried ſome Preſents along with me, without which one will ſcarce be made Welcome in that Country. Upon my landing, the Governour, and principal Officers, gave me an honourable Reception, under a Roof, or Baly (as they call it). Having told 'em my Country and Buſineſs, they gave me to know, that I was free to buy up what Proviſions I wanted, provided I paid for 'em in Rials and Knives, and no other Commodity; that as for Pepper, and the other Commodities of the Country, they could not diſpoſe of any without a Licence from the King; but if I would go to *Achen*, and obtain leave of the King to erect a Factory with them, they would be glad to deal with us. I ask'd leave to hire a Houſe in the City, for accommodating my ſick Men, and thoſe who were to tarry aſhore to buy up Proviſions. But they reply'd, That they could not anſwer for the Safety of my Men aſhore, there being ſo many Rogues about the Town; but if I pleas'd, I might leave two Men to buy up Proviſions, and that only for the ſpace of five Day.

No Trading at *Ticow*, without a Licence from the K. of *Achen*.

Next Day I ſent a Letter to *Achen*, directed for Monſ. *Grave*, Captain of the *Hope*, if he was there; having oblig'd the Maſter of a Praw bound thither, by ſome Preſents, and Promiſes of Reward, to carry it.

The 6th I agreed with the Maſter of a Praw that liv'd at *Ticow*, to give him 100 Rials for carrying one of my Men to *Bantam*, or *Jacatra*, in queſt of the *Hope*; provided he return'd in 20 Days. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up in Writing, and lodg'd in the Hands of *Pedro* the *Engliſh* Interpreter; and both he and the Maſter of the Praw deſir'd, that his Voyage might be conceal'd from the Governour and Inhabitants of *Ticow*.

The Governour having ſent me a Buffle, and ſome Fruit, I went to return him Thanks; and by Virtue of ſome Preſents *I* made him, obtain'd leave to hire a Houſe, in which *I* lodg'd 43 ſick Men, with three Surgeons, a Prieſt, and three more to wait upon 'em. In the mean time, *I* had ſeveral Preſents ſent me of Fruit and young Kids; particularly from the Governour of *Priaman* (a Town about eight Leagues off) who preſs'd me earneſtly to give him a Viſit. *I* return'd him Thanks, together with ſome Preſents, and a Promiſe to come and wait upon him with the firſt opportunity.

The 8th an *Achen* Galliot arriving, aſſur'd me, that no *French* Ship had touch'd at *Achen*; upon which *I* concluded, that our Vice-Admiral muſt of neceſſity be either at *Bantam* or *Jacatra*.

They fortifie their Ship for fear of the Natives.

The 10th, there arriv'd three Galleys pertaining to the King of *Achen*, with an Elephant, and ſome 300 Men in each of 'em: And the Inhabitants of *Ticow* acquainted me, that they expected a further Reinforcement of Elephants and Men, in order to carry on a War againſt a Prince that had revolted from the King of *Achen*. Upon this News, conſidering *I* had 50 Men at *Ticow*, and 50 more at the Iſland with the Water-Caſks, beſides 8 or 10 that were always out with the Skiff; ſo that *I* had few Men left on Board, tho' at the ſame time *I* us'd to have 80 or 100 of the Natives on Board, ſome by way of Viſit, and others to ſell their Eggs, Fruit, Pullets, Fiſh, and other Proviſions: Upon theſe Conſiderations *I* nail'd down the Hatches, and run a Rail between the Great Maſt and the Fore-Maſt, which was fortified by two great Pedereroes mounted on Wheels, and five more upon the Bittacle; together with a Guard upon the Deck, and two Musketteers, with as many Halberdeers ſtanding at a Door in the ſaid Rail, which *I* never ſuffer'd to be open'd, but when *I* receiv'd a Viſitant into my Cabin: So that 200 Men upon the Deck could do us no injury, while our Men were upon their Guard.

The Inhabitants of *Ticow* fond of a *French* Factory.

The 13th *I* went aſhoar, and found my Men recovering by degrees. Being to wait upon the Governour, to ask leave to ſtay fifteen Days longer, he granted my Requeſt; but withal intreated me to go to *Achen*, and obtain a Licence of the King for erecting a *French* Factory, which would be infinitely more acceptable to the Inhabitants, than that of any other Nation. He likewiſe deſir'd me not to be jealous of the Inhabitants, or fear any injury from them; which it ſeem'd *I* did, ſince *I* had made a Fortification in my Ship, and mounted more Guns than before.

I made Anſwer, That my coming ſo careleſly aſhore, and leaving 50 ſick Perſons in their hands, was ſufficient Evidence of the Confidence *I* put in the Natives; that the deſign of the Barrier in my Ship, was only to keep out thoſe *I* did not know from running into my Cabin, that ſo *I* might be capable to diſtinguiſh an Orankaye (or a noted Gentleman) from a Fiſher-man; and that I had not mounted ſo many Pieces of Cannon, if I had not heard that two *Dutch* Ships were expected here, of whom *I* had reaſon to be jealous. Upon this he told me, *I* had a great deal more reaſon to miſtruſt the *Dutch* than them: And that if *I* pleas'd, he would forbid the Natives to go on board of me. But *I* aſſur'd him, they ſhould be at all times very welcome, and that *I* did not at all miſtruſt 'em. After that, *I* viſited the Captains of the three Galleys, who aſſur'd me afreſh, that there had no *French* Ship come lately to *Achen*.

The 19th, the King of *Ticow*'s eldeſt Son viſited me on board with a great Retinue; and *I* gave him the beſt Reception *I* could. That Night the Praw *I* had ſent to *Bantam* return'd in 11 Days; and the Maſter made the following Report:

Surabaya.

Four Days after they had put to Sea, they arriv'd at the Port of *Surabaya*, which lies on this Coaſt of *Sumatra*, in 4 Degr. S. Lat. There being a *Dutch* Ship in the Road, Mr. *Iſaac* (the Man whom *I* had ſent on board of the Praw, in queſt of the Vice-Admiral) would needs ſpeak with them, tho' he diſſwaded him; the *Dutch* Captain acquainted him, That *Bantam* was block'd up ſo, that no Ships of any Nation could get in; that the *Hope*, which was then at *Jacatra*, had been in great Diſtreſs upon that Coaſt, there being only 4 or 5 Men on board, till a *Dutch* Veſſel re-inforc'd her; and that the Streight of *Sonda* was infeſted with the *Java* Praws and Caracau's, they having from the King of *Bantam* a Sum of Money for every Head they kill'd of what Nation ſoever. Upon this Advice Mr. *Iſaac* thought it not ſafe to go further in the Praw, but took the opportunity of a Veſſel, the Maſter of which promis'd to land him in *Jacatra* in 7 or 8 Days. The Maſter of the Praw brought likewiſe a Letter from Mr. *Iſaac*, containing the foregoing Account.

Theſe News vex'd me more than the former; for *I* had poſitively order'd *Iſaac* not to ſtop for any Ship, but to go ſtrait on. After mature deliberation we reſolv'd not to go to *Bantam*, where our Ship and Cargoe might be in danger in a time of War, beſides that we ſhould be oblig'd to ſpend *January* and *February* in going thither, and managing the Traffick of the place, and *March* would be too late a Seaſon for returning along this Coaſt to *Achen*. At the ſame time we diſpatch'd the Advice-Boat with a Re-inforcement of 20 Men for *Jacatra*, in order to aſſiſt and ſupply Capt. *Grave*; whom we order'd to return to *France*, if he could get his Lading at *Bantam*; or if he fail'd of it there, to return forthwith to *Achen*, where he would find us.

The Soil of *Ticow*.

Ticow lies in 20 Min. S. Lat. The Inland Country is very high, but towards the Shore it falls very low, being cover'd with Woods, and water'd with ſeveral little Rivers, which render it marſhy. 'Tis grac'd with ſeveral pleaſant Meadows well ſtock'd with Buffles and Oxen, which may be purchas'd for 4 or 5 Rials apiece. It affords plenty of Rice, Cattle, Poultry, Ducks, and ſeveral good Fruits, ſuch as Durions, Anana's, Patatoes, Mangoes, Pomegranates, Oranges, Citrons, Water-Melons, Cucumbers, *&c.* The Riches of the Country conſiſt in Pepper, which it produces very plentifully, and which is much better than that of *Bantam*. As for other Rarities, Drugs, and Manufactures, it affords none of 'em.

Its Commodities.

The City of *Ticow*.

The City of *Ticow* is but a ſorry place; it lies about half a League from the Sea-ſide. Upon the Shore, oppoſite to the little Iſland where the Ships ride, there are ſome Houſes, and a ſort of Halls. But both the City and Suburbs will not make 800 Houſes, which are built of Reeds, and are neither ſtrong nor convenient. However the Country is very populous, eſpecially at the foot of the Mountains, where the Pepper grows.

Its Government.

The King of *Ticow* is Subject to the King of *Achen*, who puts in a new Governour every three Years, without whom the King of *Ticow* cannot do any thing of importance; ſo that Foreigners have more Buſineſs with the Governour, than with the King; nay, the very Inhabitants pay more Reſpect to him, calling him *Pangaran Lima*. The Inhabitants of the City are *Malays*, and no other Language is ſpoken all along that Coaſt. The Inland parts are poſſeſs'd by the Natives, who diſown the King of *Achen*'s Authority, having a peculiar Language, and Kings of their own. Theſe are Idolaters, and eat Human Fleſh. They have rich Gold Mines, but do not know how to manage 'em; for they only gather the Gold out of ſome little Ditches, which are not very deep, and out of the Cavities made by Floods. This Gold they exchange with the *Dutch*, or the Inhabitants near the Shoar for Pepper, Salt, Iron, Cotton Cloth dy'd red, and *Surat* Pearl, which they eſteem mightily. But among the *Malays* Gold is as dear as in *France*; and in *Achen* 'tis yet dearer. Theſe *Malays* are all of 'em very ſuperſtitious *Mahometans*, but withal great Robbers, inſomuch that the People are not ſafe in their Houſes in the Night-time, and far leſs in the Fields. They are of an Olive Colour. Their Women are all kept up, and not ſuffer'd to appear in the Streets.

A Character of the *Malays*.

From *July* to *October* their Air is very unhealthy, being attended with Fevers that ſeldom admit of a Cure: Inſomuch, that if it were not for their Pepper, no Body would venture to come near 'em. They gather Pepper at any time, but eſpecially in *December*, *January*, and *February*. No Trade can be carried on at this place, without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, which they call *Chappa*: And if you have that, neither the Governour nor the King can diſturb you. For want of it, *I* could neither ſell any Commodities, nor buy any Pepper while I was there; excepting about 8000 Pound, that was brought by Night from *Priaman*, and ſold me at a reaſonable Price.

The *Ticow* Money.

The *Surat* Commodities go off very well here; as well as ſome of the *Maſulipatan* Commodities. Rials are current enough; but the Money of *Achen* does not paſs among 'em: All their Money is ſome ſmall Pieces of Gold as they come from the Mine, which they weigh with Scales. They ſell their Pepper by Bahars, (a Weight containing 150 Pound *Averdupois* Weight;) and the King of *Achen* has 15 *per Cent* of all that is ſold, that is 7 ½ for the Export of the Pepper, and 7 ½ for the Import of the Rials, or Commodities given in exchange for it. This Cuſtom is paid either in Subſtance, or in Rials, over-valuing the prime Coſt.

The Duties upon Pepper.

Beſides the abovemention'd Impoſt for every hundred Bahars, we pay 25 Rials to the King of *Ticow*, and ½ of a Rial to the Weigher, and ſome inconſiderable Allowance to 10 or 12 Perſons more. But above all, one muſt make the Governour his Friend, and have a watchful Eye over the *Malays*, who are apt to wet the Pepper, or to put Sand and little Stones among it.

1621.

January 1. 1621. Having brought on board all my ſick Men, who began to recover apace; I weigh'd Anchor, and ſteer'd for *Achen*.

Barros, a principal Town on that Coaſt; its Situation & Commodities.

The 14th we were off of *Barros*, one of the moſt conſiderable places on that Coaſt, belonging to the King of *Achen*, where no Perſon can traffick without that King's leave. This place is half way between *Ticow* and *Achen*, and affords plenty of Benjamin, which ſerves the Natives for Money. 'Tis a pleaſant Country, abounding with all ſorts of Wines and Fruits; but bears no Pepper. It affords a good quantity of Camphire, which is worth 14 or 15 Rials the Carti (*i. e.* 28 Ounces). Rials will ſcarce paſs there; but the *Surat*, or Coaſt Commodities, go off very well. Both the Inhabitants of the Coaſt, and the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* buy up their Camphire, to carry it to *Surat*, and the Streight of *Sonda*.

The 23d we deſcry'd the high Lands of *Achen*, and the Iſlands that lie to the Sea-ward of the Road. We ſtood directly for theſe Iſlands, but it was eight Days before we could make them, notwithſtanding that we were but four Leagues off. For wanting a Pilot, we took the Channel that lies neareſt the Land, where the contrary S. E. Winds incommoded us very much. At laſt, with much adoe, we weather'd 'em about a League and a half from the Road, which lies oppoſite to the Mouth of a River, upon which there ſtands a Fort very remarkable for its Moſkey or *Mahometan* Church.

A Fort remarkable for its Mosks.

The King of *Achen*'s Chappe.

The 30th *I* came to an Anchor juſt by an *Engliſh* Ship of 600 Tun that rode there. Immediately a Boat came off from the Shore, with ſeveral of the King's Officers, and one of his Eunuchs carrying a Chappe (as they call it) which is a Dagger with a Gold Handle and Scabbard, belonging to the King; made uſe of for a Badge or Sign, that the Perſon who bears it is commiſſion'd by the King. After a profound Silence, he who carry'd the Chappe, welcom'd me in the King's Name, and order'd me to come forthwith a Shore. Accordingly *I* made my ſelf ready, but before *I* could come off, *I* was oblig'd to pay the Officers Dues, which amount to above 80 Rials, beſides a great Looking-Glaſs for the Eunuch, and another for a Friend of his, and ſome ſmall ones for his principal Officers.

This done, *I* came aſhore, where the Captain of the *Engliſh* Ship invited me very kindly to Dinner, and to lodge in his Houſe. *I* accepted his Invitation to Dinner, and was very handſomely entertain'd.

After Dinner *I* went to look upon a Houſe, and offer'd 40 Rials a Month for it, but could not have it under 54. In the mean time the *Engliſh* Captain complain'd heavily of the King, for that he would not let them have the Pepper under 54 Rials the Bahar, tho' 30 Rials was as much as it was worth. Finding that *I* could not ſpeak with the King that Day, and that the King had ſent his Chappe twice for an Emrauld *I* wore on my Finger, and would not be ſatisfied with my Promiſe of bringing it to morrow, I went on board again.

Febr. 1. I came aſhore again, and by the way met ſome *Portugueze*, whom the King of *Achen* had laid in Irons; and who told me, that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had a Deſign to poyſon me. *I* told 'em, *I* did not believe the *Engliſh* would do me any harm; however, *I* would be upon my guard. They reply'd, That if *I* went to Dine with the *Engliſh* Captain that Day, *I* would never return; and very affectionately begg'd me to avoid it, becauſe they had no hopes of being deliver'd from their Captivity, but through my means.

But after all, purſuant to my Promiſe, *I* went and Din'd with the *Engliſh* Captain, namely Mr. *Roberts*, who treated me very kindly and handſomely, and gave me nothing either to eat or drink, but what he and his Company took part of. After Dinner, the King's Officers came for the Emrauld, which *I* gave 'em; and told me, *I* could not ſpeak with the King, till the Day after the next.

Houſes dear at *Achen*.

After that, conſidering *I* was troubleſome to the *Engliſh* Captain, and that it was not my Intereſt to lodge with him, *I* agreed to give 50 Rials a Month for a Houſe.

February 2. *I* was taken with a violent Looſeneſs and Vomiting; and being apprehenſive of the truth of what the *Portugueſe* had told me, took ſome *Maldiva* Cocoes with Bezoar, which in that Country are reckon'd a Sovereign Counter-Poyſon.

Next Day *I* went aſhore, where *I* met with bad News, *viz.* That the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had taken the *Hope* off of *Bantam*, and ſhar'd the Cargoe, and murder'd moſt of the Men; and that they would do as much to me, if they were able.

This Diſcovery came from a *Dutch-man*, who being diſoblig'd by his Country-men, had taken Protection under us in one Apartment of the Houſe *I* had taken. *I* was unwilling to take this Man on board, by reaſon that in a former Voyage *I* was challeng'd at *Bantam* for having *Dutch-men* on board, and thoſe *I* had, who were the moſt uſeful and neceſſary Officers in my Ship, were taken from me. But after all, finding that the Fellow was ready to turn *Moor*, and that he ſpoke the Language of the Country naturally, and that might be uſeful to me as an Interpreter; *I* told him, if he would lie cloſe, without giving any notice to the *Dutch* or *Engliſh*, till *I* was ready to ſet Sail, *I* would do my utmoſt to convey him on board: For *Pedro*, the *Engliſh* Interpreter, whom *I* had brought from *Ticow*, had then left my Service; being check'd and threaten'd by the *Engliſh* Factor for entring into my Service, and hated by the King's Officers, who upon my ſcrupling at firſt to pay their Dues, thought he had ſuggeſted to me ſomething to their diſadvantage.

In the mean time one of our Men, that had been drinking with the *Engliſh* Sea-men, pump'd out of them, that their Ship, in Company with the *Dutch* Ship, had given chace in the Streight of *Sunda*, to a Veſſel which they took to be *French*; that the *Dutch-man* falling behind, was mad that he could not come up with her; but their Ship being the better Sailor, made up to 'em, and found it was an *Engliſh* Veſſel, upon which they left her; that before *I* came into the Road, they hearing *I* had not twenty ſound Men, had a Deſign to take me; but finding upon my Arrival that *I* was ſo ſtrong, they dropp'd their Deſign.

The Preſumption of the *Dutch* in *Jacatra*.

The *Engliſh* Captain acquainted me, That the *Dutch* Admiral aſſum'd the Authority of King of *Jacatra*, and ſhew'd me a ſort of Money half Silver half Copper, that he had coyn'd in that Country, bearing on one ſide a Lion with a Hanger in one Hand, and Arrows in the other, and on the Reverſe *Trajectum*, in *Roman* Letters, with the Date of the Year underneath.

The 4th *I* kept aboard, and receiv'd Advice from the Shore, that a Draught was a brewing for me in the *Engliſh* Ship.

The 6th *I* was invited to Dinner on board of the *Engliſh* Ship, where *Reiſembrat*, the *Dutch* Factor, was to be preſent. *I* return'd Thanks for all their Civilities, and promis'd to wait upon 'em, if ſo be *I* was not oblig'd to go aſhore upon an Interview with the King; or, if *I* was, to ſend Capt. *Riddel* to ſupply my place.

Next Morning *I* went aſhore betimes, and ſent my Excuſe to the *Engliſh* by Capt. *Riddel*, whom *I* acquainted with the Reaſon of my abſence, and caution'd to be upon his Guard.

A Letter and Preſent deliver'd to the King of *Achen*, as from the K. of *France*.

As ſoon as *I* was aſhore, *I* clean'd and prepar'd the Preſent *I* deſign'd for the King of *Achen*; and withal, meaning to oblige him as much as poſſible, took a Blank Letter *I* had by me, with the King's Seal affix'd to it, and having adderſs'd it, *To our deareſt Brother the King of* Achen, ſeal'd it with Red Wax, bearing the Impreſſion of the Arms of *France*. That my Preſent might not be unworthy of my Prince, in whoſe Name I deſign'd to preſent it, I ſet apart the following things for that uſe. The complete Armour of a Horſeman, carv'd and gilded; a *German* Hanger, with a carv'd and gilt Hilt, upon which hung a Piſtol; ſix Muskets, the Barrels of which were partly carv'd, and partly gilt, and the But-ends enrich'd with Mother of Pearl; two Heads of Pikes enamel'd and gilded; a very large Looking-Glaſs, which was broken, but pretending I had receiv'd it entire, and that I durſt not but deliver it at any rate, having receiv'd the King's Orders to that effect; two large Flasks full of excellent Roſe-Water; and two pieces of Watered Camlet of a Crimſon Colour. Such was the Preſent that I had clean'd and put in order, in our Houſe aſhore.

The Captain of the *Surat* Veſſel came to ſee it, and told me, it was ſo magnificent a Preſent, that it was more proper for the Great Mogul his Maſter, than for the King of *Achen*.

The King's Officers came likewiſe to our Houſe, to take an Inventory of what *I* deſign'd to preſent to their Maſter, and gave me to know, That they fear'd the Preſent *I* deſign'd was not conſiderable enough for their Prince, who was a great Sovereign, and had but few Equals in the *Indies*. I reply'd, That I was not unacquainted with the Grandeur of the King of *Achen*; and at the ſame time I knew the Value of the Preſent, which came not from a private Man, but from a puiſſant King, and merited a Reception from any Potentate whatſoever; and withal, that my Maſter had given me nothing elſe to preſent.

The manner of being conducted to an Audience of the King.

The 8th I was conducted to an Audience of the King, by the Sabandar, and four of the principal Orankayes, with two Elephants; and that with the following Ceremonies. Upon a great Elephant ſate one of the principal Orankayes in a cover'd Pulpit, who ſent me a great Silver Diſh, cover'd with a Cloth embroider'd with Gold and Silk of divers Colours; in which I put the Letter, and then gave it to him. By his Command one of the other Orankayes mounted the other Elephant, and after him the Sabandar, then I, and after me another: So that four of us rode upon one Elephant, and I ſat between two Perſons.

The other two Orankayes rode upon *Arabian* Horſes, before the Elephant that carry'd the Letter.

Before them went 14 or 15 Men, each of 'em carrying a piece of the Preſent, cover'd with yellow Cloth, without which nothing could be preſented to the King. Six Trumpets, ſix Drums, and ſix Hautboys lead the Van, which ſounded till we arriv'd at the Caſtle, about a League off.

In the Rear follow'd three Sabandars, and all the Officers of the Alfandeque on foot.

When we arriv'd at the Caſtle, we alighted at a great place before it, and when we entred the outer Gate, all my Men were order'd to retire. Then we paſs'd two other Gates. I was order'd to put off my Shoes, without which Ceremony I could not have Audience of the King.

Soon after, the Royal Chappe was brought, and being firſt put into my Hands, then rais'd above my Head, and re-deliver'd to him that brought it, I was order'd to follow it, being accompany'd by a Sabandar and an Orankaye.

We waited ſome time at the King's Chamber-Door, which was cover'd with Silver Plate. At laſt an Eunuch came out, who gave the Sabandar to know, that tho' the King was more indiſpos'd that Day than uſually, yet ſince I was ſo near, he ſhould bring me in. Upon which I was led into the Chamber by two Men, one holding me by each Hand; and ſet upon a Turky-Carpet with my Legs a-croſs, in purſuance of the Cuſtom of that Country.

The Form of Salutation.

Then the two Men retir'd, and I ſaluted the King in the uſual Form, *viz.* by joyning my Hands, and lifting them up to my Forehead, bowing my Head a little. The Cuſtom does not oblige one to take off their Hat, but I being unaccuſtom'd to appear before Perſons of that Quality with my Hat on my Head, choſe to put it off. The King ſate upon a place about two Foot higher, and gave me to know by the Sabandar, That he was infinitely oblig'd to the King of *France* for the Preſent he had ſent him, which he eſteem'd more than ten Bahars of Gold. Then he open'd the Letter, and gave it to me to interpret to the Sabandar, who underſtood a little *Portugueze*. But his Knowledge of that Language was ſo very imperfect, and the Stile of the Letter ſo uncommon among them, that I could not make him underſtand it: For the very firſt word, *viz.* *Moſt Illuſtrious*, put him to a ſtand; upon which I turn'd it to *Deareſt Brother*; which the King lik'd mightily, ſaying, He knew very well that Chriſtian Princes us'd to uſher in their Letters by ſuch Expreſſions. At laſt, ſince I could not make the *Sabandar* underſtand every Word of the Letter, I repeated the ſubſtance of it in ſhort, *viz.*

That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty deſir'd His Mightineſs to grant me a Free and Undiſturb'd Traffick in his Territories, and promis'd in like manner to protect his Mightineſs's Subjects if any of 'em ſhould happen to come into his Kingdom; That he deſired nothing more, than that a Commerce between his Subjects and thoſe of *Achen*, ſhould bring him to the knowledge of ſo great a Prince; And that he had ſent him a Preſent of Arms, as a Pattern of the Manufacture in which his Subjects excell'd. This done, the King gave me to know by the *Sabandar*, That I was both welcome and ſafe in his Territories; That as to the Buſineſs of Trade, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* us'd heretofore to have Pepper in his Country at an eaſy rate, but now that they had ſhown ſuch flaming ingratitude in warring with the King of *Bantam*, who had formerly vouchſafed them a kind Reception, he had thereupon caus'd all the Pepper Plants to be cut down, leaſt hereafter they ſhould prove the occaſion of trouble; That by this means the price of the Pepper was rais'd 64 Rials the Bahar; and that, even at that price, he did not much care to let them have it, knowing them to be an ill ſort of People, that would rob and pillage, and do any thing in order to engroſs the Trade of the *Indies*.

I reply'd, That the Inſolence of that Nation, in offering to dethrone Kings that have ſhown them Civilities, would be a ſurpriſing piece of News in *France*; That for my part *I* was ſtruck with amazement, to find that a People, who pretended to nothing but fair Merchandize, and whom the King of *France* has long protected againſt the *Spaniards*, ſhould on this ſide of the World ſlight us, and uſe all means to do us an Injury; and that, in regard I had no Commiſſion to uſe any manner of Violence, or to fortify any place, but only to ſell and buy in a fair way, I ought not to be rank'd among a Nation, whoſe very Converſation I avoided.

Upon this, the King order'd ſome Sallade to be given me in a large Gold Veſſel, and a Suit of his Cloaths laid upon a Silver Platter, which he order'd me to put on. Having retired to the next Chamber and put on his Cloaths above my own, I return'd to his Majeſty, who told me the Arms my Maſter had ſent him, would be very ſerviceable to him in the Siege of *Malacca*, which he had in his view, and ask'd me if I would accompany him thither.

I reply'd, I would place my laſt Happineſs in doing him any manner of Service. Then he put ſeveral Queſtions to me about the Age, Puiſſance, &c. of my Maſter; and when I told him that my Maſter was in peace with all the World, particularly with the *Grand Seignior*; He ſaid, He would enter into a ſtrict Alliance with the King of *France*. This done, I was mounted upon an Elephant and conducted home.

One thing happen'd upon my firſt ſetting out in order to an Audience of the King, that I muſt not omit. Juſt as I was mounted upon the Elephant, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Commiſſaries, with 20 or 30 of their Gang, having hid themſelves in a Porch of the *Engliſh* Houſe that was juſt oppoſite to mine, ſiez'd upon the *Dutch Man* I mentioned above, whom *I* deſigned to make uſe of as an Interpreter to the King. Being then upon the Elephant, *I* could not conveniently get down; but *I* repreſented to the *Sabandar* the impudence of thoſe Men, in offering to lay hands upon one that was carrying Preſents from his Majeſty of *France* to the King of *Achen*; and preſs'd him to order the *Dutch Man* to be releaſed. The *Sabandar* reply'd, he would take care of it, but could not ſtop at that time. When *I* had audience of the King, *I* importun'd the *Sabandar* to let the King know my reſentment of that Action; but he told me it was not a proper time: And the King perceiving *I* wanted to ſay ſomething, ask'd the *Sabandar* what it was, who replied, He did not underſtand me.

Upon this I went next Day and viſited the *Orankay Laxemane*, a great Favourite of the King's; and made him a Preſent of two Arquebuzes, a piece of water'd Camlet, a gilded Head-piece, a Looking-Glaſs, ſix Ear-Pendents, and two Glaſs-Chains. He receiv'd me very graciouſly; and after ſome diſcourſe, I recounted to him the Story of the *Dutch Man*, whom *I* pretended to have entertained, becauſe he ſaid he had been formerly under the *Orankay's* Protection. But the *Orankay* told me that if the *Dutch Man* ſaid any ſuch thing, he was a Cheat and a Villain. Next Day to prevent all further Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*, *I* ſhut up the Gate of our Houſe that was oppoſite to theirs; for they haunted the Houſe perpetually, ſo that *I* could not do or ſay any thing without their knowledge; beſides, they frequently viſited my Commiſſaries and Purſers, which made me ſuſpect, that they deſign'd either to do 'em an Injury, or to pump out of them an Account of my Deſigns.

February the 11th, being call'd to ſpeak with the King, he ſhewed me the two Pike Heads that I had preſented him, which, above the carv'd Work, were at firſt cover'd with an enamel Colour; but the King having given them to one of his own Gold-Smiths to be carved and gilded, the Paint went off as ſoon as the Gold-Smith put them in the Fire. So the King wanted to know if I could think of any Body that could put them to rights as they were. I told him I knew none: Upon which he caus'd to cut off the poor Fellows Hands that had put them into the Fire. Then the King told me he heard I had a Gold-Smith on board, and deſired I would order him to enamel a large Gold Ring of his, that weighed above an Ounce, which he deliver'd to me.

The King of Achen's Cruelty to one of his Gold-Smiths.

His Rich Jewels, &c.

This Prince was very curious in all Lapidary and Gold-Smiths Wares; for he had above 300 Gold-Smiths, that wrought daily for him; and he ſhew'd me a great number of Stones, ſome ſet, ſome not, which for the moſt part were bor'd at the two ends; ſeveral Necklaces and Chains of large Emeralds; Caſacks or Garments after their faſhion, embroider'd with Jewels; great Veſſels of Gold cover'd with Jewels; a great many Swords, Hangers and Daggers, cover'd all over with Jewels both upon the Hilts and Scabbards; and a vaſt number of Gold Claſps to put upon the Caſacks: And told me that he had above three *Bahars* of Gold in Caſacks and Claſps; and that ſix Days would not ſuffice for taking a view of all his Jeweſs and Stones. Whether he ſaid this out of Oſtentation or not, I know not. But the greateſt part of what I ſaw were rather Stones of ſhow than value; tho' after all I muſt own he ſhew'd me ſome that were very rich, particularly three Diamonds, that may be worth from 15 to 20 *Carats* a piece, two very large Rubies, and an Emerald that he got in the Conqueſt of *Pera*, which was one of the prettieſt Stones I ever ſaw. After that, I ſet our Gold-Smith to work for the King, and was ſorry I had one on board, being apprehenſive that if the King lik'd his Work, he would retard us to get his Jewels enamel'd.

Having occaſion to build a Long-Boat to ſupply the room of that I had loſt, I went to the *Orankay Laxemane*, to deſire he would obtain me a Licenſe for the cutting of Wood in the Iſlands oppoſite to the Road, and let me have his Boat, which carried about 15 Tun, to bring the Wood aſhoar. He granted my Requeſt upon the Conſideration of paying him 20 *Rials* a Month for his Boat; which was indeed extravagantly dear, but I was oblig'd to give it, or elſe I had not had the King's Licenſe ſo eaſily.

The King's way of Treating.

The 19th, the King ſent a *Sabandar* to invite me to Dinner. When I came I found the King in a ſquare Hall, the Floor of which was cover'd with Turky Carpet, upon which he made me ſit down; and after he had order'd ſome Sallade to be given me in a large Golden Diſh, the cover of which was ſet all over with Emeralds, and ask'd me ſome queſtions concerning the Grandeur and Puiſſance of Chriſtian Princes; there came about 30 Women, each of which had a large Silver Diſh in their Arms, which they ſet on the Ground on the Carpet. Each Diſh was cover'd with a Cloth of Gold, or half Silk half Gold, with Jewels trailing upon the Ground. After theſe Women had ſtood for ſome time, the King order'd them to ſet Dinner before me. Upon which they uncover'd the Diſhes, which had the circumference of a large Baſon, and together with the Lid were about two Foot and an half deep. Out of each of theſe Diſhes they drew ſix Plates of Gold, full of Comfitures, Meat, and Paſty, after this Faſhion. So that in leſs than a Minute, I found my ſelf ſurrounded with Golden Diſhes, ſome containing Water, other Sauces, and one, which was very large, full of Rice; beſides two other Diſhes of *Tomback*, which they eſteem more than Gold, containing Rice (made uſe of for Bread all over the *Indies*) of which the King order'd me to eat; and I found it very good, for its taſt reſembled our *Marchpane*. After that, by the King's order, an Eunuch brought me ſome drink in a Gold Cup ſet in a large Golden Baſon. I drank to his Grandeur's better Health, and thought to have drunk it up; but the Liquor was ſo very ſtrong and fiery, that it quickly baulk'd my tip, and put me into a great Sweat. The King told me, ſince I had drunk to his Health, I ſhould drink it out; and that if he were to drink the King of *France's* Health, he would not leave a drop of it. But upon my Requeſt, they exchang'd the Liquor for a

Their Rice very good.

The King's Women.

weaker ſort. They preſs'd me mightily to eat and drink. But at laſt, being quite tir'd by ſitting with my Legs acroſs, I pray'd the *Sabandar* to preſs me to eat no more: Upon which the King order'd all the Diſhes to be remov'd, and bid me drink his Health once more. This done, they brought a very fine Carpet, done upon a Ground of Gold, and laid between me and the King; then came 15 or 20 Women, who ranged themſelves by the Wall ſide, and each of 'em having little Drums in their Hands, ſung their King's Conqueſts, making their Voice to anſwer the Drums. After that there came in at a little Door, two Girls very oddly dreſs'd, but very handſome, and whiter than any I ever ſaw in ſo hot a Country. Upon their Head they had a ſort of Hat made of Spangles of Gold, which gliſter'd mightily, together with a Plume about a Foot and an half high, made of the ſame Spangles. This Hat hung down upon one Ear. They had large Ear Pendants of Spangles of Gold reaching down to their Shoulders. Their Neck was cover'd with Necklaces of Gold; and upon their Shoulders was a ſort of Jacket of Gold curiouſly engrav'd; under which was a Shift or *Baiu* of Cloth of Gold, with Red Silk covering their Breaſt, and a very broad Girdle made of Gold Spangles. Their Girdle was tied above the Hanches, from which there hung a Cloath of Gold, with ſtrait Breeches underneath, which were likewiſe made of Cloath of Gold, and did not paſs the Knees, where ſeveral Bells of Gold hung upon them. Their Arms and Legs were naked; but from the Wriſt to the Elbow were ſurrounded with Bracelets of Gold and Jewels, as well as from the Ancle to the Calf of the Leg. At their Girdle, each of 'em had a Sword, the Hilt and Scabbard of which was cover'd with Jewels, and in their Hands a large Fan of Gold, with ſeveral little Bells about it. They advanc'd upon the Carpet with a profound Gravity, and falling upon their Knees before the King, ſaluted him by joining their Hands and lifting them up to their Head. Then they began to dance with one Knee upon the Ground, making ſeveral motions with their Body and Arms. After that they danc'd upright with a great deal of Agility and Cadence; ſometimes putting their Hand to their Sword, another time making as if they ſhot a Bow, and ſometimes as if they had a Shield and Hanger in their Hands. This laſted about half an Hour, after which they kneel'd before the King, and in my opinion were pretty well tir'd, for each of 'em had above 40 pound weight of Gold upon 'em. However they danc'd with a very good grace; and if our *French* Dancing Maſters had ſeen 'em, they would have own'd their Performance to exceed what we account barbarous.

Mas, a ſmall Gold Coin.

To look upon the King's She Favourites a Capital Crime.

At laſt it grew late, and upon my requeſt the King ſuffered me to go, having firſt preſented me with 200 little pieces of Gold of his Coyn, which they call *Mas*, and are worth about ten Pence a piece. Then the *Sabandar* conducted me home by Water, and aſſur'd me he never ſaw the King ſhow ſo much Reſpect to any Stranger, eſpecially in ſuffering his Women to dance before me; for, during that Entertainment, the whole Company ſhut their Eyes, it being a Capital Crime to look upon the King's Women; tho' indeed I look'd upon them very earneſtly all the while, preſuming that they were not brought thither to make me ſhut my Eyes.

The King's Treaſure.

This Prince told me he had above 100 *Babars* of Gold, *i. e.* 18000000 of Livres, beſides his Silver Jewels and other Commodities; but then he keeps it cloſe, and has no occaſion to ſpend it. Beſides, the Royal Treaſure has been handed down from Father to Son, for *Achen* was never pillag'd or ſack'd by any Nation, and the King often boaſts that he fears no Prince but the *Grand Seignior*, who, according to an Ancient Prophecy, handed down by Tradition, ſhall one Day conquer that place.

A dangerous Bar in *Achen* Road.

February the 19th, An *Orankaye* and two *Sabandars* came aboard in the King's Name, to demand two Swords that I had, one of which I had promis'd him before. Before they boarded me, they were in ſome danger in the Mouth of the River, where there lies a very dangerous Bar, eſpecially towards the Evening, when the Sea Breezes break the Water upon it. I gave 'em both my Swords, but withal pray'd them to acquaint his Majeſty that I had no more, and it being an unwonted thing in *France* to go abroad without a Sword, I hoped he would let me have one of them again. Next Day he returned one of them, with a Preſent of a Dagger, made after the faſhion of the Country. He who brought it told the King lik'd the other mightily, becauſe it did not bow when they offered to bend it, and that if this had not bow'd I had never ſeen it again. After that I went aſhoar, and adreſs'd the King, that he would pleaſe to order ſome of his Officers to make ſome Overtures about the Price of his Pepper, to the Merchants that were along with me. He gave me no anſwer to that point; but ask'd me what ſort of a Ship the *Hope* was, that I had ſent to *Bantam*, and what her Cargo might amount to. I anſwer'd him as near as I could; upon which, he aſſur'd me ſhe was taken by the *Dutch*, and that in a ſhort time I ſhould have certain intelligence of it. He told me withal that while I continued in his Road, he would ſecure me from receiving any injury at their Hands, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Factory being worth more than my Ship; but that without the Road he would not intereſt himſelf in the Quarrel. It ſeems the King had mentioned the taking of the *Hope* at my firſt Audience: But the *Sabandar* did not give me to underſtand it. And indeed I was at a great loſs, both in this, and many other things, that I could not make uſe of an Interpreter of my own. For without a particular Licenſe from the King, it is not to be done. Beſides, no Interpreter is fond of appearing before the King; for if he makes but the leaſt trip in his Diſcourſe, or ſays any thing that the King does not like, tho' order'd to ſpeak it, he is in danger of being cut to pieces. An Inſtance of this we have in one *Pedro Lorenzo*, a Native of *Achen* and deſcended of a very good Family, who, being Interpreter for the *Dutch*, and having ſpoke ſomething by their Orders that diſpleas'd the King, was order'd by his Majeſty to be cut in two alive; and the Orders had certainly been put in Execution, if the *Engliſh* had not interceded very effectually with their Prayers and Preſents on his behalf.

The danger of being an Interpreter at *Achen*.

The King's Cruel Freaks.

All this while I could do nothing in the Pepper Concern; for no body durſt ſell a Grain till the King had ſold his; and it was not proper for me to preſs the King much upon it, becauſe he was out of humour with ſome of his Grandees, having put three of 'em to death for appropriating to their own uſe ſome Jewels they had met with in the late Conqueſt of *Pera*; and condemn'd the *Serjeant Major* to die for retaining ſome Booty in the War with *Queda*, who with much Interceſſion got off for 1200 *Rials*. When the King was in theſe Humours no Body durſt ſpeak to him upon any Subject; and the People of that Country imagine that he is more ſubject to them about New-Moon than any other time.

An Earthquake at *Achen*.

March the 7th, About an hour before Sun riſing, we had a great Earthquake, at Full-Moon, which, the Natives ſaid, was predicted four or five Days before by the *Cady* or Biſhop of *Achen*, whom they gave out for the wiſeſt of Men. I am inform'd there are commonly three or four Earthquakes in this place every Year.

March the 9th, I waited upon the King with ſome Preſents, in order to obtain leave to buy up Pepper from private Perſons, which he would not allow till his own was ſold off, which he always kept half as dear again as the other.

The King intent upon Betting at a Cock-Fighting.

The next time I waited upon him I found him at a Cock Fighting and laying very high Wagers with his *Orankays*. Upon my entrance he preſented me with a Dagger, which had about five or ſix Livres worth of Gold upon the Handle. But I found him ſo intent upon his Wagering, that 'twas not proper to mention my Affair at that time. I could not but take notice of one Inſtance of the King's Avarice, and his Readineſs to ſacrifice all things to his covetous Temper 'Twas this, One of the Company pitch'd upon a middle ſiz'd Cock, offering to bet upon his Head againſt any other of what ſize ſoever (it being cuſtomary there to match 'em according to their ſizes) Upon which an *Orankay* that had ſome of the King's Cocks a keeping (for he gives them out among his *Orankays* according to their Subſtance and Eſtate) preſented a very large Cock; and upon this the King betted very high. But the little Cock beat the great One, and ſo the King loſt his Money. Being fretted by the loſs, he ask'd the *Orankay* how it came to paſs that the little Cock had more ſtrength than the great one. The *Orankay* anſwering with all poſſible humility that he could not conceive how it was; the King replied, He conceiv'd very eaſily, that it proceeded from the Cocks being ill fed, and that he had given the Cock's Rice to his Whores, or elſe eat it himſelf. This ſaid, he order'd his Right Hand to be cut off, which was immediately put in execution.

He demands extravagantly for his Pepper.

Next Day the *Sabander* came to my Houſe, and acquainted me that the King ask'd for his Pepper 64 *Rials* the *Babar*. I told him I could not buy it at that rate. Then he ask'd me what I was willing to give. I anſwer'd, I would not pretend to ſet a Price upon the King's Goods, but would gladly treat with his Subjects, if his Majeſty would give me leave. Upon which he gave me to know, that could not be granted, till the King had ſold his. At that time, tho' the King kept his Pepper at 64 *Rials*, the private People would have ſold it for 8 *Tails* in Gold.

The value of a Tael. A loſs upon Rials at *Achen*, and why?

Ticow a more proper place for taking in Pepper than *Achen*.

Now the common value of a Tael is four *Rials*. But ſince we arriv'd in this place, the Gold roſe, and the *Rials* fell; for whereas we us'd to have 16 Mas for 4 *Rials*, now we cannot have above 14. This Alteration is occaſion'd by the King's engroſſing all the Gold in his own Hands, and coyning Lead Money to circulate among the People, who put it off at any rate for Gold. Beſides, *Rials* would have no circulation in that City, were it not for thoſe of *Suratte* and *Maſulipatan*, who ſupply this place with Commodities that they cannot be without, and export nothing from it but *Rials*, upon which, they gain conſiderably. Now there being no *Suratte* Ship there at this time, to take off the *Rials*, their value ſunk apace; which was an infinite Loſs to me, who had nothing elſe but *Rials*, at a time, when the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had Gold enough in their Hands. To return to the *Sabandar*. He told me after all, that the King, out of his particular Affection to me, would, perhaps, let me have his Pepper at the ſame Price that the *Dutch* had offer'd, *viz.* 48 *Rials* the *Bahar*. I reply'd, that the King had given ſeveral Inſtances of his Affection to me, that I would take care to report to the King of *France* the Reſpect his Majeſty of *Achen* had ſhown to his Letters, and that the Obligations I lay under to the King of *Achen* would be much ſtrengthen'd, if he would allow me to take in my Lading at *Ticow*, ſince I could not do it at *Achen*, where the Pepper was ſo very dear, unleſs I had a mind to return to *France* with half Lading. Then the *Sabandar* ask'd me what Preſent I would make to the King for that Favour, and what I would give him for procuring of it. I told him I would conſider of the matter, and acquaint him with my Reſolutions that Night. Having communicated the Motion to our Merchants, it was unanimouſly agreed upon, that *Ticow* would be a place of more profit for us, tho' it coſt us 3000 *Rials* for a Licence to trade there. Thereupon I ſent one to ſound the *Sabandar*, in order to know what his Demands might be: The *Sabandar* told him the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had offer'd the King two Ships laden with Goods, for the Privilege of an Eight Years Factory at *Ticow*, and that if I would give him 4000 *Rials*, and make the King a Preſent of 20000 *Rials*, he would procure me a Factory there for two Years. Hearing this extravagant Demand, I perceiv'd the *Sabandar* to be a grand Villain; and reſolved to make my Addreſs to *Orankay Laxemane*. Accordingly I gave him a Viſit, and repreſented to him that I had been a long time there, without making any progreſs in my Buſineſs; that the Pepper was ſo dear at *Achen*, that I could not buy it there without a conſiderable loſs; That *Ticow* was the moſt proper place for me within the King's Dominions; That foraſmuch as I could not trade at *Ticow* without the King's Licence, I thought it my ſafeſt way to have recourſe to him, knowing that if he favour'd me, the King would certainly grant it; And that out of a grateful Senſe of ſuch a Favour, I would make him a Preſent of 400 *Rials*, and another to the King of four Iron Guns, weighing 3500 Pound each. Upon this he adviſ'd me not to deſire any ſuch thing of the King, who had a great Affection for me, and was deſirous of lading me with his own Pepper. I reply'd, That I was infinitely oblig'd to the King, but could not come up to the Price that the *Dutch* had offered him. Then he told me that I did not know what the King would do on my behalf, and that the Guns I mention'd was not a proper Preſent for the King, who had more already than he knew what to do with.

The *Portugueſe* skill'd in Bleeding and Surgery.

March the 23d, I interceded with the King for the Redemption of four *Portugueze* Chriſtians, that were his Captives at *Negapatan*. Their Ranſome came to 650 *Rials*, 128 of which I was forc'd to advance, retaining one of the Men for my ſecurity; the reſt of the Money being gather'd by a Charitable Contribution from the People of *Negapatan*. There were five of theſe Slaves, for whoſe Redemption I interceded; but the King would needs detain one to bleed himſelf, or any of his Family upon occaſion. For all of 'em not only knew how to open a Vein, as indeed moſt of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies* do, but likewiſe practis'd ſome ſort of Surgery to earn their Bread in the time of their Captivity.

Five or ſix Women cruelly tortur'd.

Their Obſtinacy and Courage.

The *Sabandar* and an *Eunuch* came next Day to acquaint me that the King wanted to ſpeak with me. In obedience to his Commands, I went, and found him very much out of humour, and giving orders for the Torturing five or ſix Women. To my great mortification I ſaw theſe poor Creatures tortur'd in his preſence to the laſt Degree for three Hours, and the King's Wrath increaſing in proportion to their Torment. After the Torturing was over, he order'd their Hands and Legs to be cut off, and their Bodies to be thrown into the River. The occaſion of this Execution was as follows. In the preceding Night, there being 5 or 6 of his Women in a Room adjoining to his, one of 'em gave a hideous ſkreek: Upon which the King enquir'd into the matter, and at firſt they all told him there was nothing in it; but after many Threats, ſhe that had cry'd out, confeſs'd, that ſome body came in the Night Time, and prick'd her in the Thigh with a Dagger, thro' the Reeds upon which they lay, upon which ſhe ſaid, ſhe cry'd out and awak'd the reſt. But the reſt did not agree in their Anſwers, ſome ſaying they heard a Noiſe, and others that they heard nothing. However the Dagger was found, but no body would own it. After all, the King having ask'd 'em who it was that came with the Dagger, and why they did not tell him the Truth at firſt; and finding they would give him no ſatisfying Anſwer, was led into the Suſpicion of a Deſign againſt his Life carried on by his own Mother, who, as he imagin'd, had alarm'd theſe Women, that their out-cry might induce the King to come out of his Chamber, which would be a favourable opportunity to the Aſſaſſins. Thinking to extort a Confeſſion of the whole matter by Torture, he put all the Women upon the Rack: But their Reſolution, Courage, and Conſtancy was invincible; for notwithſtanding the King's frequent Offers of Pardon, in caſe they would diſcover the Plot, and the repeated Intreaties of the *Cady* of *Achen*, and the whole Court, who begg'd of 'em to be kind to themſelves; yet they did not ſo much as ſhrink or relent. One of 'em being very old, and ſwooning away from time to time, the King took Compaſſion upon her, and graciouſly order'd her to be put to death; upon which ſhe aſſum'd a gay Countenance, and thank'd the King for his Grace and Mercy, wiſhing him in recompence for his Favour a long and happy Life of 1000 Years. In a Word, all of 'em ſtood out undaunted to the laſt gaſp, and even after their Hands and Legs were cut off, ſome of 'em had the Courage to ſay, That for the ſpace of 10 Years, they had long'd for this Happy Hour, that deliver'd them from the drudgery of the Caſtle. When the Execution was over, the King ask'd me what I thought of it. Tho' the Spectacle was very mortifying to me, yet I diſſembled upon the Matter, and anſwer'd, That without the Execution of Juſtice no Kingdom could ſtand.

The King's Apology for his Cruelty.

Then the King told me in a long Diſcourſe, That if the laſt Nights Action had paſt with impunity, his very Life had been expos'd to danger; That his *Orankays* were fooliſh and unthinking Men, who charg'd him with Cruelty, not conſidering that 'twas their Wickedneſs that drew upon them the Anger of God, who made uſe of him as an Inſtrument to puniſh their Impiety; That they had no occaſion to complain of him who ſuffer'd 'em to poſſeſs their Wives, Children and Slaves, and competent Eſtates to maintain 'em; who maintain'd their Religion, and preſerv'd 'em from the Captivity of Neighbouring Kings, and the Robberies of Strangers; That in former times *Achen* was a Neſt of Murderers and Robbers, in which the weaker were oppreſs'd by the ſtronger, and no Man was ſafe, all of 'em being oblig'd to keep off the Robbers with Arms by Day, and barricadoe themſelves in their Houſes by Night, whereas at preſent they had no occaſion neither for Arms in the Day, or Doors to their Houſes in the Night; That his Nobles hated him, becauſe he ſuppreſs'd Extortion, Maſſacres, and Robberies; That they mean'd to ſet up Kings at pleaſure, and murder 'em when diſoblig'd; That his Mother was in the ſame intereſt, and wanted to make away with him, in order to prefer another, that would give way to their Inſolence.

The *Cady* of *Achen*.

This he deliver'd with ſo much Vehemency and Paſſion in his looks, that all his Courtiers threw themſelves upon the Ground, imploring his Mercy; and among them even the Biſhop or *Cady*, a Man of above 80 Years of Age, for whom every Body had a vaſt Veneration, and who could boaſt of the nobleſt deſcent in *Achen*. In fine, the Cruelty of this Prince is unparallell'd. Notwithſtanding, that all his Tortures could extort no diſcovery, yet he impriſon'd his own Mother and put her upon the Rack; and put to death five of the Principal Lords of his Court, whom he ſuſpected of favouring his Mother. He barbarouſly murder'd his own Nephew, the King of *Joor*'s Son, ſaying, his Mother mean'd to prefer that young Prince to the Throne. He put to death the Son of the King of *Bantam*, as well as the Son of the King of *Pau*, who were both his Couſins. He has not left one of the Royal Family but his own Son, who has been thrice baniſh'd the Court, but now begins to return into favour, and is only ſafe for being more cruel than his Father, and hated by all the World. He has extirpated all the ancient Nobility, and raiſ'd a new ſet of *Orankays*, who, in my opinion, would live much happier in a meaner Capacity.

pacity. In fine, his Cruelty is without a parallel, he takes Advice of no body, and never liv'd a Day (while I was at *Achen*) without the Execution of one, and ſometimes ſeveral of his People.

Elephants fighting.

The 28th, The King ſent for me to ſee two Elephants Fight. After I came, two Elephants were brought into a large Court, each of 'em having a Cable faſten'd about their hind Feet. Then came ſeveral Men with long Pikes forked at the Head. The two Elephants fell upon one another with a prodigious roaring; but all of a ſudden the King was taken ill, and the Fight was interrupted.

We obtain a ſham Licence to buy Pepper.

Having preſented the *Orankaye Laxemane* with an enamel'd Ring, which he again preſented to his Majeſty, I at laſt obtain'd leave to buy up Pepper in the City. Being ſenſible of this Favour, and Meaning to oblige the King as much as I could, I profer'd to buy 600 *Bahars* of his own Pepper; but he reply'd, he was my Friend, and would not put it upon me, ſince it was too dear, in regard he had made an Oath not to ſell it under 16 *Taels* the *Bahar*. Next day I made a Publication of the King's Licence, that the Inhabitants might not ſcruple to ſell their Pepper. But at the ſame time the King was buying up Pepper for himſelf, and the Inhabitants fear'd that if they ſold me any, he would alledge they had prefered my Cuſtom to his. To ſtifle this Apprehenſion, I firſt bought ſome of the *Sabandar*, thinking his Example would dipſel their Fears. But by an unlucky Accident, before he had deliver'd me any, the King took him up and laid him in Irons, for not having ſome enamel'd work ready, which he had committed to his Care to get done by our Goldſmith by a prefix'd Day, at which time he had promis'd it to a She-Favourite: Tho' after all it was not the *Sabandar*'s Negligence, but the Goldſmiths being taken ill, that occaſioned the Delay. After this, notwithſtanding I had the King's Licence, they would not ſell me one *Bahar*, ſome pretending they durſt not while the King bought, others refuſing to take *Rials*, or any other Coin but *Mas*, which is a Gold Coin current in the Country.

The uſefulneſs of a Factory at *Suratte*.

In the mean time I ſent *Don Franciſco Carnero*, a *Portugueze*, to the Court of the *Great Mogul*, by the way of *Maſulipatan*. His Errand at that Court was, To obtain leave from the *Great Mogul* to ſettle a *French* Factory at *Suratte*, the Sovereignty of which belong'd to him. The deſign of that Factory, was, to render a Factory at *Achen* more uſeful for us: For there being no acceſs to *Bantam*, there was a neceſſity of having a Factory at *Achen*. Now the *Rials* and *French* Commodities could not be put off at *Achen* without loſs, whereas at *Suratte*, the *Rials* are pretty high, and ſome *French* Commodities may be put off at *Cent. per Cent.* profit. So that 'twould be our Intereſt not to ſail directly from *France* to *Achen*, but to *Suratte*, where we might put off our own Commodities at a good rate, and buy up ſome *Suratte* Commodities, that the People of *Achen* can as little be without, as the very Rice they eat; and this would fetch us the *Achen* Pepper at an eaſy rate.

The People of *Achen* cannot be without the *Suratte* Commodities.

This *Carnero* was an everlaſting Gameſter, and won great Sums by the help of ſome falſe Dice he had brought from *France* with him, particularly from the *Sabandar*, whoſe Loſſes at Game made him very hungry in his Demands upon me; and yet I could not take off the *Portugueze* from playing with him. One time, when *Carnero* was a playing, he happen'd by beating his Hand againſt the Table to break one of his falſe Dice, upon which there run ſome Quick-Silver out of it, that quickly ſlip'd through the Chinks of the Table. This put his Company into a horrid Conſternation, for *Carnero* quickly hid the pieces of the broken Dye, and they imagin'd there was ſome Magick in the ſubtle Spirit, that appear'd and diſappear'd ſo ſuddenly.

The King's Licence for buying of Pepper proves a Bam.

April the 15th, I made a diſcovery that the King had play'd me a Trick, and that no Recommendation or Preſents whatſoever would turn his avaritious Temper. For he only gave me the Licence to amuſe me, and keep me from leaving the place, as I had threatned to do before. He knew very well that his buying of Pepper at the ſame time would ſtifle my Market, and if any one had ſold me Pepper, he would certainly have puniſh'd him under the Pretence of prefering my Cuſtom to his. Beſides, the true reaſon of the *Sabandar*'s Confinement, was not the Buſineſs of the Rings, but his miſunderſtanding the King's deſign in giving me the Licence: And the *Sabandar* ſent to intreat me to intercced with the King that he might not be diſgrac'd for that he had expos'd his Life to Danger by doing me Service. Next Day I went to interceed with the King on the *Sabandar*'s behalf. But he interrupted me by asking if I had bought any Pepper. I anſwer'd, That I had not endeavour'd to buy any, nor would not, till his Majeſty's Market were over. Then he laughed, contrary to his cuſtom, and told me he would buy no more, till I had got what I wanted. Soon after, he ſent for me, and having often preſs'd me to tell what I was willing to give for his Pepper, I order'd the Interpreter to offer him a *Catti*, or 32 *Rials* a *Bahar*. But the Interpreter durſt not mention the Sum, and pretended he did not underſtand me. Upon which I told it my ſelf in the *Malays* Language. The King was ſilent for ſome time; after which he gave me to know, that tho' he had ſwore that whoſoever offer'd him leſs than two *Catti*'s or 64 Rials for his Pepper ſhould loſe his Favour, yet he would overlook it in me; that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had offer'd him 48 Rials, and at that price I ſhould have what I would. I made anſwer that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had a longer Purſe than I, and dealt in ſeveral Branches of Trade that compenſated the dearth of the Pepper; and in fine, that I had not ſo much Money to give. However, being inform'd, that unleſs I took ſome of his Pepper, they durſt not ſell me a Grain in the City, and conſidering withal that *Bantam* being block'd up, there was none to be had but within his Dominions; upon theſe Conſiderations I offer'd to take 400 *Bahars* at 40 *Rials*. But the King would not abate any thing of his price, ſaying, he had us'd me more kindly than the *Dutch*, ſince he would not let them have it at the ſame price. Finding him reſolute, I offer'd to take 300 *Bahars* at his price, provided he would give me a Licence to buy 300 more at *Ticow*. At laſt he agreed to it, and order'd the 300 *Bahars* to be deliver'd. I preſs'd him to ſign my Licenſe for *Ticow* out of hand, in regard he was about to take Phyſick for his illneſs, ſo that I could not have Audience of him for ſome time. But he told me that would be over before I was ready to go. Notwithſtanding the King's Orders, it was a long time before I could get the Pepper which the King had order'd me, by reaſon of the Avarice and Villainy of his Officers, who always find out ſome trick or other to put off thoſe they have to do with, till they are ſufficiently brib'd. For beſides, that they have no Sallary, they are oblig'd to make the King a rich Preſent every Year. As for dealing with private Perſons, I found them all unwilling to take *Rials*, and for that reaſon employ'd a Broker to make a Propoſal to the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* of giving them my *Rials* at the current price, in exchange for Gold. But the Broker acquainted me that they were ſo far from liſtning to the Propoſal, that they had a great Hand in ſinking the value of the *Rials*, in order to ſpoil my Market.

The Avarice and Villainy of the King's Officers.

The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have a Hand in ſinking the Rials.

Being diſappointed on that hand, I made my Addreſs to the *Orankaye Laxemane*, offering him the *Rials* at ten *per Cent.* diſcount. At firſt he agreed to it; but next Day, when I came with the *Rials*, he retracted, and ſaid, he would give but three *Mas* and an half for them, ſince they went for that in the City. Finding I could not mend my ſelf, I condeſcended to let them go ſo; but after all, when I came to deliver the *Rials*, he retracted again. The notorious perfidiouſneſs of this Nation, made me think of leaving them in time, before the bad Seaſon was further advanc'd. In the mean time the Officer of the *Alfamdegue* ſtop'd 21 *Bahars* of Pepper for the King's Duties. It was a great Surpriſal to me, to hear that the King demanded Duty for the Pepper he had ſold me himſelf: eſpecially conſidering that before I made the Bargain, my Interpreter had aſſur'd me he never did. But when I repreſented the matter to the *Orankaye*, and deſired acceſs to the King in order to complain of the Injury done me; he told me that I was oblig'd to pay Cuſtom for it, that the *Dutch* had always pay'd it, and that ſuch a Complaint would be very diſagreeable to the King: And ſuſpecting that my Interpreter had miſinform'd me upon the matter, would have ty'd him to a Poſt, if I had not brought him off as being one of my Domeſticks.

At laſt I found my Interpreter to be one of the Spies of the *Alfandegue*, and perceiv'd he had diſcover'd all my Intrigues to the King's Officers. Tho' this Fellow was born of Chriſtian Parents, and profeſs'd Chriſtianity for 40 Years, when among Strangers, yet he inſtructed his Children in the *Mahometan* Religion; a certain Evidence that he was worſe than a true *Mahometan*, and had neither Religion nor Conſcience.

The Duty upon Pepper at *Achen*.

The Duties upon the Pepper that I was oblig'd to pay, was Seven *per Cent.* to the King, Ten *per Cent.* of the King's Duty to the Officers, and a *Mas* for every *Bahar* to the Weigher. When I paid this Cuſtom to the Officers, they ſiez'd upon the Interpreter, who had made me believe there was none due, and having ty'd him to a Poſt, beat him ſoundly, and made him pay more than he had got in my Service to get clear.

May 15. I could have had Pepper enough for 8 Taels and a quarter in Gold, which as Rials went then, came to 37 ½ Rials, ſo that the loſs upon Rials was unſufferable.

Clipp'd *Mas* will not paſs at *Achen*

Another Miſchance, that gall'd me mightily, was, that their Mas, or Gold Coyn, is often clipp'd by the *Chineſe*, and that there are a great many of a falſe Coyn: For at *Achen* they are ſo nice, that if the edge be but any ways ſhrunk or broke, they will not meddle with it, ſo that in the Payment of any Sum they'll return a third part, or a half. However, *I* bargain'd with one Man for 300 Bahars, at 38 Rials the Bahar.

The Chapman *I* dealt with, call'd himſelf *Xerif Nepueu of Jeſus Chriſt*. He was a *Mahometan*, and great Doctor in the Law of *Mahomet*. He bore the Character of a Prophet, and came to this place to make ſome Remonſtrances to the King of *Achen*, who was ſo little mov'd with his Remonſtrances, that he order'd him to keep within Doors, and not to meddle with his Deportment; ſo that the Oracle was ſtruck dumb all of a ſudden.

The Fraud of a *Mahometan* Prophet.

When *I* came to have my Pepper weigh'd, the Prophet alledg'd, that *I* had bargain'd with him for 39 Rials, and offer'd to appeal to the Broker; but *I* told him roundly, that *I* had promis'd no more but 38, and that my Word was as much to be credited as either his, or the Broker's. After ſome wrangling he yielded; but when we had weigh'd about 200 Bahars, I began to perceive ſome black Sand among the Pepper, and return'd it. He pleaded for his excuſe, that ſome of his Domeſticks had mix'd Sand with the Pepper without his knowledge; and tho I might have done him an Injury, in regard that the King of *Achen* cuts off their Hands and Feet without any Mercy, who are found guilty of that Trick, yet conſidering his Credit upon the place, I was willing to overlook it. After that, we continu'd to weigh, till I obſerv'd the Pepper wet, upon which I ſtopp'd and would have no more, alledging only that his Houſe was faulty, and that ſome Rain had fallen upon the Pepper. What for a Doctor or Prophet this may be, I cannot tell; but both he, and moſt of his Followers, ſeem to place a great deal of Honour and Goodneſs in cheating a Chriſtian, eſpecially about *Achen*.

Tiburou's, or large Sea-Calves.

May 22. One of our Men waſhing himſelf by the Ship's ſide, had all the fleſhy part of his Leg, and both his Hands bit off by a great Fiſh, or Sea-Calf, which the *Portugueze* call *Tiburou*, and immediately expir'd. By this time the Pepper was become very ſcarce; for not only the King continu'd to buy, contrary to his Promiſe, but an *Engliſh* Veſſel that arriv'd lately from *Surat*, laden with Cotton Cloth, and truck'd their whole Cargoe for Pepper; not to mention the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* upon the place, who having the advantage of Gold, and Commodities vendible in that Country, ſtill bought it up under-hand.

A great Fire at *Achen*. The Woman impail'd alive, in whoſe Houſe it began.

June 4. There happen'd a great Fire in the City, which in an Hour's time conſum'd 260 Houſes: And the King caus'd the Woman in whoſe Houſe the Fire began, to be impaled alive.

June 10. I had Audience of the King, and repreſented, that ſince the Pepper was become very ſcarce and dear, I wanted to be gone, and pray'd that he would allow me to buy three or four hundred Bahars at *Ticow*. The King reply'd, That I might have ſome more of his, which he had ſold me at a lower rate than to any Body elſe. I told him, his Pepper was ſo dear, and the loſs upon it would be ſo great, that if I offer'd to take it at his Rates, it would diſcourage the *French* from coming again to kiſs his Hands. His Majeſty reply'd, That the *French* might hereafter make a more profitable Voyage, by bringing Gold or Commodities vendible in the Country, this being infinitely more valuable to him than Silver, which he eſteem'd no more than Dirt. As for the Buſineſs of *Ticow*, he made me no Anſwer, neither durſt the Interpreter remind him of it, becauſe he found he did not like the Motion. However, I repreſented to him, That ſince I had no more Buſineſs in that place, I hop'd he would give me leave to be gone: Upon which he ſaid, He would firſt write a Letter to the King of *France*.

Floods and Storms at Full & New Moon.

June the 15th, We had a violent Storm of Wind and Rain, from the S. W. and W. S. W. commonly, for three Days before, and three Days after New Moon and Full Moon, we had heavy Rains and Floods that ſwell'd the River mightily, together with violent Guſts of Wind call'd *Samatra*.

The 19th, One of my principal Merchants dy'd of an uncommon ſort of a Diſtemper, who in my Opinion was poyſon'd by the *Dutch*. In this place we loſt fourteen Men, moſt of whom were ſiez'd with a violent Vomiting, and the Bloody-Flux, which no Remedy could ſtop. In earneſt, this Climate is ſo very much hotter than *France*, that one can ſcarce avoid Sickneſs at firſt. But a regular Diet goes a great way, if not in preventing, at leaſt in abating the Sickneſs: For my part, I eat little or no Roaſt-meat, but moſtly Fiſh, and drank Cider; or in want of that fair Water firſt boil'd and then cool'd. But the unwary Sailors fill'd their Bellies with Beef, and drank a great deal of Rack, beſides other Liquors, and when they were out of order drank Water, and ſleep'd with their Stomachs expos'd to the Air; by which means the Stomach being at once overcharg'd, Vomitings and Fluxes enſu'd. The Cure for that Diſtemper, is, to let Blood, and take ſome cooling Medicines, and to abſtain from Meat, Wine, and Rack.

An Account of the Diſeaſe of the Country, and its Cure.

The King's Letter deliver'd with a great deal of Ceremony.

The 27th, The King ſent his Letter for the King of *France* to our Houſe, with a great deal of Splendour, the Letter being carry'd upon a great Elephant by one of the principal Orankays; after which follow'd three of the principal Officers of the Houſe upon another Elephant, with all the Officers of the *Alfandegue* on foot. Before the Elephant went four Drums, and four Trumpets, and four large Umbrelloes ſurrounded it.

But all this Splendour was to my Coſt, for I was oblig'd to ſatisfie not only the principal Orankaye, who brought the Letter, but all thoſe that accompany'd him. The Letter was carry'd in a Silver Baſon, in a Red Velvet Bag, with Gold Strings; being writ in the *Achen* Language, in Letters of Gold, upon very ſmooth Paper, with ſeveral Gildings and Colourings round it.

The Form of it was this:

The King's Letter.

THE *Letter of the Grand* Siri Sultan, *Subduer and Conqueror, by God's aſſiſtance, of ſeveral Kingdoms, King of* Achen, *and, by the Divine Favour, of all the Countries that lie to the Eaſt and Weſt; to the Eaſtward, the Kingdom, Territories, and Sovereignties of* Deli; *the Kingdom of* Joor, *with its Lordſhips and Territories, the Kingdom of* Paham, *the Kingdom of* Queda, *and the Kingdom of* Pera, *with their Lands and Seigniories: To the Weſtward the Kingdom and Territory of* Priaman, *the Kingdom and Territory of* Ticow, *the Kingdom and Territory of* Paſſuruam. *To be deliver'd to the great and puiſſant King of* France. *May the King of* France *know, That the Letters he ſent me by Admiral* Beaulieu *was deliver'd, and that I have ſeen all that was written in it: And foraſmuch as he recommended the ſaid Admiral, that I have done him a great deal of Honour, both in the Matters of Traffick, and in allowing him the Quality and Rank of my principal Gentlemen. As for the Offer made me, in caſe I have any Buſineſs in* France, *I ſend a Memorial by the ſaid Admiral, to ſhew how much I eſteem it; ſaying farther, that if God bring this Letter ſafe to hand, I expect an Anſwer by the Ships that ſhall come to trade in this place, which will be to me a great Satisfaction. So, I pray God, preſerve the States of the King of* France. *And ſince God has made us great Kings in this World, it ſeems reaſonable we ſhould live in Friendſhip, and correſpond with one another. For a Token of Friendſhip I ſend Eight Bahars of Pepper, which is the Product of this Country. God preſerve the illuſtrious Perſon of the King of* France.

Given in the Month *Raab* (or *June*), in the Year 1030.

The French Goldſmith ſtays at *Achen*

June 28. My Goldſmith ask'd leave to ſtay at *Achen*, promiſing to find another to ſupply his place, that would be more ſerviceable than himſelf. And tho' he could not find one according to his Promiſe, yet conſidering that he was blinded by the Promiſes of the King, and the Orankaye *Laxemane*, who were mightily taken with his Work, and that he had a great mind to ſtay, I left him in the *Engliſh* Houſe; wiſhing I had never brought him from *France*, or had turn'd him off ſooner; for the King of *Achen* retarded my Affairs upon the account of having more of his Work.

The Reaſons inducing us to think of ſteering towards *Queda*

July 1. The *Portugueſe* Captives whom I had redeem'd, and ſome others, having adviſ'd me to go to an Iſle near *Queda*, upon the Coaſt of *Malacca*, about 200 Leagues from hence, where I might have Pepper cheaper than any where elſe, *viz.* at 16 Rials the Bahar: I reſolv'd to follow their Advice, conſidering that I had no proſpect of a Licence to Trade at *Ticow*; that at *Achen* the Dearth and Scarcity of the Pepper, the Charge of keeping Houſe and living aſhore, the coſtly Preſents and Bribes that the King and his Officers expect, cut off the Profit of the Trade; that I had no hopes of ſeeing our Vice-Admiral, or Advice-Boat there, the laſt being gone from me above ſeven Months, and there being no poſſibility of hearing from *Bantam*, or *Jacatra*, till *October*, by reaſon of contrary Winds; that the preſent Weſterly Winds ſtood fair for *Queda*; and in *October*, when they begin to veer to the

Eaſt, they would favour my return; that tho' the King of *Achen* had lately conquer'd the place I was bound for, and prohibits all Perſons to go there without his Conſent; yet I could manage it ſo, as not to diſpleaſe him, by pretending to be forc'd in by the Winds, which blow right upon it; beſides, that the *French* having no Factory in *Achen*, and he having us'd me unkindly, I had no great reaſon to fear his diſpleaſure. Theſe Conſiderations induc'd me to reſolve upon a Voyage to that Iſland, where I might lie more ſecurely till the Weſterly Winds were over, as well as make a better Bargain for Pepper. To this end, I reſolv'd to give 250 Rials by way of Ranſome, for two *Portugueze* Captives, one of whom having been in that Iſland would ſerve for a Pilot, and the other had been a Merchant at *Pera*. The number of my Men being reduc'd by Sickneſs and Detachments to a ſmall Complement. I likewiſe redeem'd 7 more Chriſtian Slaves, for 361 Rials, that had formerly ſerv'd the *Portugueze* at Sea. Some *Engliſh-men* offer'd to ſerve me, but not having leave of their Superiours, I rejected them.

The *Surat* *Ladea.*

The 15th, I had Audience of the King, at which time the *Dabul* and *Surat* Captains preſented their *Ladea*, i. e. a Preſent of the Commodities of their Country, computed to be worth 1500 Rials. After theſe Captains had withdrawn, the King ask'd me, If the King of *France* was Subject to the King of *England?* I anſwer'd, That *France* was inferiour to none of the Chriſtian Monarchies, having continued for 1300 Years under the Government of their own Kings, without ſubmitting to any Foreign Power whatſoever. Upon which he told me, He had ſeen a Letter from the King of *England*, in which he aſſumes the Title of King of *France*. But I ſhew'd him how ſlender a Right he had to that Title, which proceeded only from a ſpite that one of our Kings had againſt his Succeſſor. After he had put ſeveral Queſtions about the Grandeur of Chriſtian Princes; I humbly requeſted he would ſuffer me to put into *Ticow* for one Month, in order to buy only 200 Bahars of Pepper, and to ſend a Praw from thence to *Bantam*, to enquire after my two Ships; adding that ſuch a Favour would be a laſting Obligation upon the *French* Nation. He anſwer'd me very coldly, That I might diſcourſe that Subject with the Orankay *Laxemane*. This done, I took leave of his Majeſty, who wiſh'd me a good Voyage.

After that, I went to wait upon *Laxemane*, who told me, that the King had ſworn never to ſuffer any Nation to Trade at *Ticow* after the *Dutch*; and that 'twas a ſign he had no mind to give me a Licence, ſince he had put it off by ſending me to him. However, I preſs'd him to ſpeak to the King about it, and let me have his Anſwer. After ſome time he ſent me word, That the King would allow me to put into *Ticow* for a Month, provided *I* gave him half a Bahar (*i. e.* 3200) of Rials.

At laſt, being ſo much provok'd by the inſatiable Avarice and Ingratitude of this Nation, that notwithſtanding all my Preſents, gave me ſuch uſage, I reſolv'd to ſteer for *Ticow*, and if they would not deal with me in an amicable way, to ſtop the Ships that were to come from thence, and take out of 'em what Pepper I wanted, allowing for it the Market-price at *Ticow*: But if I could not weather the Point of *Ticow*, as 'twas probable I might not, by reaſon of the violent Winds aad Tides from the Weſt, I deſign'd to Sail for *Pulo Lancabuy*, alias *Pulo Lada* (ſo the Pepper Iſland near *Queda* is call'd) notwithſtanding that about two Days before the King had ſent three large Galleys, and thirty Sail of other Ships to *Pera*, with Orders to return by that Iſland, and cut down all the Pepper-Plants.

July 24. Having taken in 700 Bahars of Pepper at *Achen*, I ſet Sail from that Road, which lies in 5 Degr. 34 Min. North Lat. the Needle varying 5 ½ Degrees N. W.

The 25th, we weather'd the Iſles of *Gomiſpola* and *Poolaway*, which fence in this Road on the North-ſide. In this Seaſon the Trade-Wind blows S. W. with which I endeavour'd to double the Point of *Achen*, in order to reach *Ticow*, ſteering our Courſe W. N. W. But the Tides ſtill bringing me right before the Wind, I was oblig'd to ſteer directly for *Pulo Lancabuy*; tho' the Calms were ſo great, that I could not make it till the Seventh of *Auguſt*, whereas it is but commonly four Days Sail with that Trade-Wind.

The next Day after my arrival, the Pangoulow, or Governour of the Iſland came aboard, and gave me to know, That he could not ſuffer me to Trade with the Inhabitants, without a Licence from the King of *Queda*, which he doubted not but I might have, eſpecially if I aſſiſted him with ſome Artillery.

Scarcity Pepper at da, and Lanca

The 12th, The Governour accompanied with two of my Men (in lieu of whom he had left me his own Son, with one of the principal Men of the Iſland for Hoſtages), went in Perſon to acquaint the King with my Arrival. At that time the King of *Queda* had retir'd from *Queda* to *Perleys*, about three Days Journey further into the Country, for fear of the King of *Achen*'s Army.

The 20th, I receiv'd a Letter from Sieur *D'Eſpine* (one of our Company that went along with the Governour) acquainting me, That he underſtood the King of *Queda* had but little Pepper, and that this Iſland had not much: To my infinite regret I found this Intelligence to be true; for I found that we came too late for the laſt Year's Pepper, and too early for that of this Year, which is not gather'd till *December*.

September 2. Sieur *D'Eſpine* ſent me word, That he could not come to ſpeak with the King, who had retir'd into the Woods, under the apprehenſion that we were employ'd by the King of *Achen* to do him an Injury; but in the mean time he had order'd all the Pepper that could be had to be gather'd up, in order to buy ſome Cannon of me, if I would ſell them. Upon this Advice I ſent poſitive Orders to Sieur *D'Eſpine*, to inform himſelf particularly what Quantity of Pepper might be expected in that place, and if it was under 100 Bahars, to return immediately, without troubling himſelf about it, or if it was above that number, to ſolicite the King to ſend a Commiſſioner with full Power to treat with me, and that without any delay.

The King of *Queda's* Offers to obtain ſome Guns.

The 9th, Sieur *D'Eſpine* return'd in Perſon, and reported, That the King had but very little Pepper in *Queda*, but had a ſtrong Mind for my Cannon, offering, if I would ſtay till *December* (which is the Seaſon for gathering of the Pepper) to give me twice as much Pepper for my Cannon as *I* had ask'd; and farther, to furniſh me with 1000 Bahars more, if *I* had occaſion for 'em; and if *I* had a Mind to eſtabliſh a Factory there, to furniſh it every Year with 2000 Bahars of Pepper, and exclude all other Nations from trading in his Territories. The King ſent me a Letter, empowering me to trade freely with the Natives, and deſiring two of my Cannon for 30 Bahars of Pepper, which he ſaid was all he had. In the mean time they had detain'd my Purſer at *Perleys*, about 7 or 8 Leagues from this Iſland, thinking *I* would come and lie off of that place, to eſtabliſh a Factory in the ſame. But *I* underſtood, that the Channel between this Iſland and *Perleys*, was embarraſs'd with Shelves and Flats, and at the ſame time obſerv'd, that my Ship did not anſwer the Helm as it us'd to do: Upon which *I* reſolv'd rather to continue where *I* was, threatning to ſet Sail with the Hoſtages *I* had on board, if they would not return me my Man.

October 1. The Purſer was return'd, and *I* deliver'd them their two Hoſtages. He reported, That the King had only 20 Bahars of Pepper, and deſign'd to pay the other 10 in Rials, at the rate of 20 Rials a Bahar; that the Country was very poor, and the Rice extream dear; that upon the arrival of every Praw, the People fled into the Country, thinking them to be the Partiſans of the King of *Achen*; that about 8 or 10 Days before, they had receiv'd Advice, That 70 Sail were arriv'd at *Pera*, with the King of *Achen*'s Army on board; and by yet freſher Intelligence, that the King of *Achen* was dead. Upon this Report, tho' *I* had reſolv'd not to let them have any Cannon, becauſe *I* mean'd to return by the way of *Achen*, yet *I* thought fit to amuſe 'em with fair Words, till *I* had taken in freſh Water; and with that view ſent back the Purſer, to acquaint them, that *I* was very much diſpos'd to deal with them, that *I* could not bring my Ship to *Perleys*, becauſe my Rudder was out of order, and that to ſhew my willingneſs to oblige 'em, *I* was ready to ſend one of my Cannons aſhore, provided they gave me two Hoſtages to enſure the delivery of 20 Bahars of Pepper within eight Days, or elſe deliver'd the Pepper it ſelf. This Offer pleas'd them ſo well, that they ſent me word, There was no occaſion for giving Hoſtages, or putting a Cannon aſhore, till the Pepper was got ready, which would be in 6 or 7 Days.

In this place *I* did nothing to the purpoſe; only *I* caus'd to be cut down, a Main-top Maſt, a Mizen-Maſt, and Boltſprit, which *I* could not have had elſewhere. Could *I* have tarried there till *January*, *I* could have loaded my Ship with Pepper at a quarter of the Price it coſt me at *Achen*; beſides, that at that time the Trade-Winds come E. and ſo would have ſtood fair for returning directly to *France*: But the Men *I* had were ſo few, and withal ſo diſcourag'd, that *I* could not think of tarrying.

A Deſcription of *Pulo Lancabuy.*

This Iſland call'd by the Inhabitants *Pulo Lancabuy*, and by the Natives of *Achen*, *Pulo Lada*, i. e. *The Iſland of Pepper*, lies in 6 Degr. 15 Min. N. Lat. the Needle varying 2 ½ Degr. N. W. It has about 15 or 20 Leagues in Circumference, and is Mountainous in ſome places, eſpecially where it faces *Pulo Botton*, where it lies 5 Leagues off to the Weſtward.

In the middle of the Country there's a high Mountain divided in two by a very narrow Vally, which is not obſervable but on the South-ſide. The Pepper grows at the foot of this Mountain, as well as in the intervening Plain, which extends it ſelf about 3 or 4 Leagues in length. The Pepper-Plants are dreſs'd after the ſame manner with tall Vines. Were this Iſland more cultivated, it would produce many more than it does; for there are not at preſent above 100 Perſons in the Iſland, whereas formerly it was inhabited by above 700.

Its Soil.

The Soil of the above-mention'd places is very convenient for all ſorts of Drugs, Fruits, Rice, and Cattle, being enrich'd with excellent Paſturage, and plenty of Rivers and Springs. The reſt of the Iſland is cover'd with very thick Woods, in which eſpecially upon the Mountains, there are ſome Trees exactly ſtraight, of an incredible heighth and proportionable thickneſs.

On the South-ſide the Shoar is frequently interſected with Arms of the Sea, leaving little Iſlands and Rocks cover'd with Woods.

On the North, there lies a large Iſland about a League off.

On the Eaſt it has a Bay cover'd with a little Iſland, in which Ships of 200 Tun may ride with ſafety, and be ſhelter'd from all Winds. In a word, there is very ſafe Anchorage all round the Iſland; and any part of it affords excellent freſh Water.

From the beginning of *July* to the end of *October*, the Winds are there Weſterly, at which time it rains very much, and the Climate is unhealthy, as it happens in all other places of the ſame Latitude.

The Pepper Seaſon. This Iſland produces the beſt.

The Pepper ripens in *November*: It's Harveſt is from the middle of *December* to the end of *February*. At preſent this Iſland produces every Year 500000 Pound Weight of excellent large and dry Pepper, which is preferable to that of any other place in the *Indies*.

Patani.

This Iſland is ſubject to the King of *Queda*, without whoſe permiſſion no Trade can be carry'd on there. The *Portugueze* that reſide in *Malacca*, come there every Year to Trade, and continue there from *December* to *February*. The Commodities they bring are *Guzurat* Pluſh, Salt, Rice, and a few Rials, which go well off there, by reaſon of the vicinity of the *Chineſe*, a good number of whom are ſettled at *Patani*, a Town ſituated on the oppoſite Coaſt. They ſell their Pepper by Meaſure, and not by Weight, which is better for the Buyer, ſince at that rate he cannot be ſo eaſily injur'd by wetting it, or deceiv'd by the putting Stones or Sand among it, as they commonly do at *Achen*. They ſell it by the Nali, which contains 16 Gauta's, each Gauta containing 4 Chuppa's. Fifteen Nali make a Bahar, which is 450 Pound *Averdupois*: So that the Meaſure in this Iſland is greater by one quarter than in the King of *Achen*'s Territories. The common Price of a Bahar is 16 Rials.

Nali, what it contains.

The Pepper-Plants grow in a fat free Soil. They are planted at the Root of all ſorts of Trees, round which they creep and twiſt like Hops. The way is, to take a Shot or Spring of an old Pepper-Plant, and plant it under ſome Shrub, taking care to clean the Ground, and weed out all the Herbs about it: It will bear no Fruit till the third Year, after which it bears every Year perhaps ſix or ſeven Pound Weight of Pepper. Its firſt, ſecond, and third Crops are much at one; but the fourth, fifth, and ſixth decreaſe one third, both in the quantity and ſize of the Pepper; and in the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, the Pepper becomes very ſmall and ſcanty: So that after its twelfth Year it bears no more; and a new Shot muſt be planted in its room. For the firſt three Years the Ground about 'em muſt be kept very clean, elſe they will not bear: And even that requires a great deal of pains, for the Climate is extream moiſt, by reaſon partly of the Rains, and partly of the Dew, which is ſo great, that if one walks among Trees, or Graſs, before the Sun-riſing, they will be as wet as if they waded through Water. When the Plant begins to bear, the Branches of the Tree round which it creeps, muſt be lopp'd off, leſt they intercept the Rays of the Sun, which above all things that Plant ſtands moſt in need of. When the Cluſters of the Fruit are form'd, care muſt be taken to ſupport 'em with Poles, leſt their Weight ſhould draw down the Plant, which of it ſelf is tender enough. Care muſt likewiſe be taken, that no Buffles, or Oxen, or large Animals, get in among 'em, for fear they be entangled among the Branches, and ſo break 'em. They muſt be planted at a convenient diſtance from one another, that one may get round 'em with a Ladder to prune them after their Fruit is gather'd; for otherwiſe they would grow too high, and ſo bear leſs Fruit.

A great Dew in that Iſland.

Commonly this Plant has a white Flower in *April*, in *June* this knots, in *Auguſt* 'tis large, green, and ſtrong, and the Natives make uſe of it for a Sallad, or make a Confit of it and other Fruits in Vinegar, which they call *Achar*, and which will keep for a Twelvemonth. In *October* 'tis red; in *November* it begins to grow black; in *December* 'tis all over black, and conſequently ripe. This is the moſt general Method, tho' in ſome places 'tis ripe ſooner or later than in others. When the Fruit is ripe, they cut off the Cluſters, and dry 'em in the Sun, till the Grain falls off from its Stalk; which does not come to paſs in leſs than 15 Days, tho' the Sun is very hot; and during that time they muſt be turn'd from ſide to ſide, and cover'd up in the Night-time. There are ſome of the Grains that neither redden nor blacken, but continue ſtill white; which are made uſe of Phyſically, and ſold for double the Price of the other.

A way of adulterating white Pepper.

Of late Years, the Inhabitants underſtanding that Foreigners wanted theſe for the ſame uſe, have found out a way of whitening the black ones, by taking them when they are yet red, and waſhing off the red Skin with Water and Sand, ſo that nothing remains but the Heart of the Pepper, which of it ſelf is white.

By this Account we may perceive that Pepper does not grow ſo eaſily as many are apt to imagine, and that the Pepper-Plants require a great many Hands to dreſs them; which at preſent is mightily wanted in this Iſland, both it and the Country of *Queda* being laid deſolate by the King of *Achen* within theſe three or four Years, inſomuch that the King of *Queda* is now oblig'd to put himſelf under the Protection of the King of *Siam*.

The Inhabitants are *Malays*, but not ſo crafty and roguiſh as theſe of *Achen*. Their Habit is much the ſame, but not ſo rich.

They are very zealous *Mahometans*, and in their Cuſtoms and Way of Living, differ but little from the Inhabitants of *Achen*.

Tras, a Coin.

They have a ſort of Coin not unlike our *French Sols*, but of a little better Alloy, which they call Tras; and 32 of theſe make a Rial. They reckon by Taels, but one of their Taels makes four of theſe of *Achen*.

The Revolutions of Queda.

Queda is a good Marſhy Soil, cut by ſeveral Brooks, taking riſe from a large River, in which are a great many large and dangerous Crocodiles. In former times the Country was well peopled, and abounded with all ſorts of Proviſions, eſpecially Rice and Cattle: And *Queda* was reſorted to by all ſorts of Merchants from *Pegu*, *Aracan*, *Bengal*, *Jerſelin*, the Coaſts of *Coromandel*, and *Surat*, beſides the *Portugueſe* reſiding at *Malacca*, and even the Merchants of *Achen*.

The Cuſtoms and Impoſts at this place were very moderate, till the Father of the preſent King came to Reign, who was a perfidious and cruel Tyrant, and by Divine Vengeance (as the Natives will have it) was carry'd off in Captivity by the King of *Achen* about three Years ago. In earneſt, this place bears ſeveral Marks of the Divine Wrath; for about four Years before 'twas ſubdued, two thirds of the Inhabitants, amounting to above 40000 Souls, were carried off by a Plague.

The next Year after that, the Peſtilence ſeiz'd upon the Cattle, and carried off all the King's Elephants, and $\frac{7}{8}$ of their other Cattle.

The third Year, there was ſuch a Scarcity of Rice and all manner of Fruit, that they underwent a terrible Famine.

The Year after that, the King of *Achen*, who always lies in wait to pillage his Neighbours, laid Siege to *Queda*. The City held out three Months, and then the King with his Family and Retinue, conſiſting of 120 Men, retir'd to his Palace which he had fortified, and where he was reduc'd to the laſt extremity of want; till about two Months after, that the King of *Achen*'s Officers overperſwaded him to ſurrender, by alledging, that their King admir'd him for his Valour, and would certainly re-inſtall him in his Throne, if he truſted to his Diſcretion.

This Siege was carried on by the *Achen* Army with a great deal of vigour; inſomuch, that they fought when up to their middle in Water, in Winter; for their King had ſent 'em word, That he would cut 'em all in pieces, if they did not bring him the King of *Queda*. At laſt having demoliſh'd the City and Caſtle, they carried the King and his Family, and about 7000 of the Inhabitants to *Achen*.

The Miſery of the late King and his Subjects.

The King of *Achen* gave the Captive King a tolerable Reception, till he had drein'd him and his Friends of all they had; after which, he put to Death not only him and his Children, but the principal Men among the other Captives; confining the reſt to a remote part of the City, where moſt of 'em were kill'd by Miſery and Want; and the ſorry remainder, amounting to about 500 Souls, work at preſent in little Huts one half of the Week, for their own maintenance, ſuch as it is; and the other half in the building of the King of *Achen*'s Houſes, and manuring of his Grounds.

The preſent King of *Queda*, the Son of this his miſerable Predeceſſor, was ſhut up with his Father in the Caſtle of *Queda* before it was ſurrendred; but finding that his Father was inclinable to ſurrender, and carry all his Children and Treaſures to *Achen*, to procure a better Reception from that King, he made his eſcape privately without his Father's knowledge.

October 12. I weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood for the Road of *Achen*, in order to try if I could hear any thing of our Ships.

A Deſcription of the Iſles of *Pulo Botton.*

Soon after the Tides carried me upon the Iſles of *Pulo Botton*, above five Leagues off, where I was oblig'd to drop an Anchor to keep clear of a Rock. Theſe Iſlands are three in number, but accompany'd with a great many ſmall ones. They are uninhabited and cover'd with Woods, in which there are ſome Trees fit for the Maſts of Ships. They afford good Anchorage all about; and the largeſt of 'em has good freſh Water upon a Sandy Creek.

Next Day we came in ſight of the Coaſt of *Sumatra*.

The 27th we came within two Leagues of the Iſle of *Pooloway*; and I deſign'd to double it, in order to caſt Anchor on the Weſt-ſide of the Road of *Achen*, where I might eaſily get off, in caſe the King of *Achen* ſhould uſe me otherwiſe than well. But the Tides were ſo ſtrong, and the Wind blew ſo hard from the W. and W. N. W. that I was drove above ſix Leagues before the Wind, and oblig'd to put into a ſmall Creek of Sand about half way between *Pedir* and *Achen*.

That Evening a Praw came up to me with a Commiſſioner from the King of *Achen*, to know who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going: For it ſeems the King had heard of a Ship cruiſing upon his Coaſt 15 Days before I came to an Anchor in this place. By this Commiſſioner I underſtood that a ſmall *French* Ship had arriv'd in the Road of *Achen* about 8 Days before. It happen'd that the King's Commiſſioner knew me to be the Perſon that had been at *Achen* before: And when he ask'd me, whence I came, I order'd my Interpreter to ſay, That when I went from *Achen* I was bound for *Bantam*, by the way of *Ticow*; but having loſt two of my Maſts by a Storm, was forc'd to put into an Iſland to be refitted. *I* deſign'd to conceal the Name of the Iſland, knowing the King would be angry at my going thither without his leave, and to pretend that *I* knew not the Iſland, and could meet with no Inhabitants upon it to inform me. But my Interpreter precipitantly told him, *I* had been at the Iſle of *Pulo Lancahuy*.

Next Day a Praw came on board with an *Achan-man* in her that *I* knew, and he aſſur'd me, there was a ſmall *French* Veſſel in the Road, and ſome *French-men* that ſaid they belong'd to me; adding withal as a Secret, that the King of *Achen* detain'd 'em there againſt their Will. In the mean time *I* ſent my Long-Boat aſhore for ſome freſh Proviſions; but the People would ſell none, alledging that the King had prohibited them to ſell without his Command. Upon the whole, *I* was apprehenſive, that the King of *Achen* might ſtop our Advice-Boat (for *I* took the *French* Ship in the Road of *Achen* to be it), to prevent their coming to an Interview with me: And thereupon *I* weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood for the Road of *Achen*: But the Winds being contrary and very high, *I* was forc'd to come to an Anchor at the Point of a large Bay; and ſent by Land one of the Men *I* had redeem'd at *Achen*, in a *Moor*'s Habit, to carry a Letter to the People belonging to the *French* Veſſel in the Road of *Achen*; promiſing him his Freedom if he brought me an Anſwer in two Days; for we were then but four Leagues off of *Achen*, and he knew the way exactly well, for which reaſon *I* ſet him aſhore in the Night-time, ordering him to walk it before Day, leſt any Body might meet him, or enquire after his Buſineſs.

The next Day a large Ship, with *Engliſh* Colours, made up to us; and when they came within a quarter of a League, put out their Long-Boat, which brought on board of me Mr. *Du Parr*, one of the Men belonging to our Vice-Admiral, *The Hope*.

An Account of what befel the *Hope* and the *Hermitage*.

The State of the Vice-Admiral's Affairs, according to *Du Parr*'s Report, was as follows:

This Great Ship was an *Engliſh* Ship of 600 Tun, and 32 Guns, and had on board Capt. *Grave*, the Captain of the *Hope*, who was very ſick, and not finding me at *Achen*, was going to *Jacatra*, to find paſſage for *France*. After the *Hope* parted from me, they came to an Anchor at a long Iſland, about 20 Leagues from *Ticow*; and ſent their Long-Boat to *Ticow*.

The Cruelty of the *Dutch* to the *French*.

Twelve Days after the departure of their Long-Boat, they ſtood for *Ticow* themſelves, to put aſhore Mr. *Telier*, the firſt Commiſſary, who was then ill. But the Winds and Tides being contrary, they not only loſt the Men in the Long-Boat, but even thoſe they had on board were all ſick, bating the Captain and five or ſix more. In this diſaſterous Condition they met with a *Dutch* Ship of 1200 Tun, call'd the *Leyden*, and commanded by *William Schouten*: And Capt. *Grave* went on board 'em, to deſire their aſſiſtance: He was no ſooner on board, but the *Dutch* Captain ſent 60 Men in two Long-Boats to board the Vice-Admiral, which accordingly they did without any oppoſition, and not only plunder'd the Ship, but us'd our ſick Men moſt barbarouſly, turning them out of their Hammocks, and throwing them upon the Deck. In the mean time, the *Dutch* Captain having detain'd Captain *Grave*, told him, both he and his Ship was a Prize, and if they met with me, they would ſerve me the ſame way.

Some few Days after this, they met another *Dutch* Ship that had a great many Sick aboard, and was going to put 'em aſhore on the Iſle of *Naſſaw*; Capt. *Grave* deſir'd his Men might be likewiſe ſet aſhore at the ſame place, for the recovery of their Health; which indeed they did, but with ſo much Cruelty, that one would think that Nation had neither Humanity, Religion, nor Conſcience: For they threw the ſick Men like ſo many Logs of Wood out of the Ship into the Boat; and ſome they dragg'd through the Water with a Rope faſten'd about 'em, particularly one who being ſo dragg'd, expir'd immediately upon the Rocks on the Shore.

In the mean time the firſt Commiſſary of the *Leyden*, being ſenſible of his Crime, told Capt. *Grave*, They were miſtaken, and that upon a Review of his Commiſſion, he found he had no Authority to take any *French* Ship; ſo that he was at liberty to return to his own Ship. Captain *Grave* conſidering that he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance, anſwer'd with a great deal of Complaiſance, That the Commiſſary was not the firſt that had been miſtaken in Matters of as great conſequence; and deſir'd he might have ſome of their Sea-men to Man his Ship. The Commiſſary granted his Requeſt, upon a Proviſo, That the Captain ſhould forget what had paſt, and give ſomething to that effect under his Hand.

Captain *Grave* receiving this Reinforcement, went on board of his own Ship; but the *Dutch* Sea-men threatned every Day, to throw him and his Crew overboard; and he believ'd they had certainly done it, if the other *Dutch* Ship, namely, the *Horn*, had not been in Company.

Sometime after they fell in with three *Dutch* Ships near *Selibar*, upon the Coaſt of *Sumatra*; one of which having a Flag upon its Maſt, like an Admiral Ship, Captain *Grave* went on board of her; but as ſoon as he was on board, that Admiral Ship fir'd upon his, in order to make them take down their *French* Colours; upon which the Captain ſent back his Boat, with Orders to take 'em down. This done, they ſail'd all together for *Jacatra*, where they arriv'd in *December*; and Captain *Grave* went to wait upon the *Dutch* Admiral, and deſir'd he would aſſiſt him with ſome Sea-men to conduct his Ship to *Bantam*, purſuant to his Commiſſion.

The Admiral promis'd to aſſiſt him, and to allow him to go to *Bantam*, provided he would there buy up all the Pepper he could get, at a limited Price, *viz.* two Rials a Sack; and then diſtribute two thirds of it to the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* in that Road. The Captain conſidering his miſerable Condition, was fain to ſubmit and ſign an Obligation of buying 15000 Sacks of Pepper, 5000 of which ſhould be given to the *Dutch*, and 5000 to the *Engliſh*.

The Reception the *French* Ship met with at *Bantam*.

In the mean time the Pinnace I had ſent in queſt of him arriv'd at *Jacatra*, but the Bargain being ſtruck before its arrival, Capt. *Grave* was oblig'd to go to *Bantam*. Accordingly he went, and arriv'd there the end of *January*, where the King gave him a welcome Reception, but would ſell him no Pepper under four Rials a Bag. In the mean time, the *Dutch*, contrary to their Promiſe, ſent out arm'd Barks up and down *Bantam* Road, in purſuit of the *Javans*; and theſe Barks having purſu'd the *Javans* within Cannon-ſhot of their Walls, return'd always on board of our Ship the *Hope*, in order to make thoſe of *Bantam* believe, that the *French* gave ſhelter to their mortal Enemies. However, the King of *Bantam* reſented it no otherways, than by keeping the Pepper at the firſt Price. Upon which Captain *Grave* reſolv'd to take it at the Current Price, and when he had got his Loading, to return to *France*.

He offer'd part of what he got to the *Dutch*, but they would not have it at that price; the *Engliſh* indeed took 150 Bags of him, but never paid for it. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* paying him no Money, he had not enough to pay the King of *Bantam* for the 15000 Bags he had bargain'd for, and therefore deſir'd he would let him have only 2000 Bags more; but the King refus'd to let him have any, unleſs he would take all he had bargain'd for. At laſt the Commiſſary of the St. *Malo's* Company at *Bantam*, ſupply'd him with as much as would compleat his Loading, taking the *Hermitage* Advice-Boat for 1500 *Rials* in part of payment.

How they were us'd by the *Dutch* at *Jacatra.*

This done, he reſolv'd to return directly for *France.* But three Ships that lay at an Anchor juſt by him, commanded him to go to *Jacatra.* Accordingly he went, and was there order'd to unlade ⅔ of his Cargo; and, notwithſtanding that he had ſhew'd Letters under the *Dutch* Preſident's Hand, importing, that they would not ſtand to the firſt Bargain, yet they arreſted the Captain aſhoar, and made ſeven or eight of their Ships to ride at Anchor round the *Hope*, and began to unload the Pepper themſelves, tho' none of Captain *Grave*'s Crew put their Hand to it. In the mean time Captain *Grave* enter'd a Proteſtation againſt the Injuſtice of the *Dutch*, declaring that all Damages enſuing upon that Action, ſhould be put to their Account.

Soon after, in a very dark Night, a *Praw* was ſeen to come from the place where the *Dutch* Ships lay at Anchor, and make up to the Stern of the *Hope*, near which it continu'd for a little time, and after that putting off, one of their Men cry'd out in the *Malays* Language that the *Hope* was on fire. Immediately the *Dutch* Ships were ſeen under ſail, having weighed Anchor before, which was a certain ſign that they knew of the Deſign: And when the Preſident of *Jacatra* receiv'd the firſt Advice, that a Ship was on fire in the Road, he reply'd without any concern, that he knew it was the *French* Ship. In the mean time the *French* Sea-men finding the Fire too far advanc'd to be extinguiſh'd, came off in the Long-boat, and abandon'd the Ship. Next Morning Captain *Grave* ſent ſix *Praws* to ſave ſomething in the Ship; but the *Dutch* kept them off; So that they ſav'd all the Pepper and Artillery, and put it in their own Magazines, and ſold the very Hulk of the Ship by beat of Drum.

The King of *Achen* arreſts Capt. *Grave's* Men, and takes all from 'em.

This done, Captain *Grave* hearing I was at *Achen*, ſet out for *Achen* in the *French* Commiſſary at *Bantam* his Pinnace, and the reſt of the Men came in another Bark; but as ſoon as he arriv'd there, the Bark and all that was in it, was ſtop'd by the King of *Achen*; and Captain *Grave* being taken very ill, and not meeting with me there, took the opportunity of returning to *Jacatra* by the *Engliſh* Ships above mentioned. Having heard this fatal Account of our Affairs, I ſent out a Boat for Captain *Grave*, and receiv'd him aboard.

November the 5th, We weigh'd Anchor, and making the Road of *Achen*, came to an Anchor among five more Ships that were in that Road, in order to be in a capacity to force the King of *Achen* to deliver up my Men, if ſo be he would not do it with Good Will. Immediately upon our arrival the King ſent an Eunuch aboard to welcome me, and pray me to come aſhoar. I made anſwer, that I could not truſt my ſelf aſhoar, ſince the King had impriſon'd my Men like Robbers, and ſiez'd upon the ſorry Remains of a burnt Ship, contrary to what might have been expected after the Services profer'd him by the King of *France* and me in particular. The Eunuch reply'd, that the King took 'em to be *Portugueze* that had ravag'd his Coaſts, and as ſoon as he was undeceiv'd, had ſet them at liberty and return'd 'em their Money; that it was true, he had hinder'd them to go on board the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Ships, for fear they ſhould come at any harm from theſe their mortal Enemies, deſigning to put them into the Hands of the firſt *French* Captain that ſhould have arriv'd in that place. To this I anſwer'd, That the *French* were eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the *Portugueze*; and that I underſtood, that tho' the King had return'd 'em ſome *Rials*, yet he had not return'd the value of 2500 Rials, that he took from 'em in *Musk, Jewels, Bezoar, Coral*, and other things. The Eunuch told me the King would certainly pay that. But after all I gave him to know that I was firmly reſolved not to come aſhoar till all my Men were aboard, after which I would come and receive his Commands. Then they demanded the Duties of the King's *Cappe*, beſides 400 *Rials* of Anchorage for the King, and 200 for the Officers of the *Alfan degue*, a late Impoſition laid upon all Ships that ſhould come into the Road. But I told them I did not come to Traffick, and therefore would not pay a Farthing.

His Apology for arreſting them.

The Men are deliver'd, but not their Goods.

Some time after the *Cappe* return'd and brought all my Men aboard; upon which, purſuant to my Promiſe, I went aſhoar. When I waited upon the King, he complain'd heavily that I did not come to ſee him ſooner, and told me that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had ſpread falſe Reports, in order to exclude the *French* from the Trade of *Achen*; that the Men he had impriſon'd were repreſented to him as Robbers and Pirats, but as ſoon as he underſtood they belong'd to me, he immediately ſet them at liberty; that he was afraid the King of *France* might have taken it ill if he had put his Subjects into the Hands of the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, who were his Mortal Enemies; and that he only waited for the arrival of a *French* Ship, in which he might ſend them home. But after all, when I thank'd him for ſending the Men on board, he told me he had only ſent them to viſit me, but not to ſtay with me; for that they being ſhipwrack'd and loſt Men, belong'd to him into whoſe Port they came. This, as I took it, he ſaid to prevent my asking for what he had taken from them, the value of which amounted very near to 2000 *Rials*. However I reſolv'd to play him a trick for it; and with that view, deſir'd Mr. *Limmony* (ſo the firſt Commiſſary of the St. *Malo's* Company at *Bantam* was call'd) who was now Proprietor of the Pinnace, to retire from *Achen* as ſoon as he could, to avoid the Danger he might incur thro' the Inſolence and Perfidiouſneſs of the King. But *Limmony* made anſwer, That he had ſome Goods to put off, which would require ſome time; and he being of another Company I could not force him.

Upon this anſwer, I reſolv'd to put in for a Licence for *Ticow*; and for that purpoſe, offer'd *Orankay Laxemane* a Diamond if he would procure it me. The *Orankay* told me it might be done, provided I made a Preſent of ſome fine Diamond to the King, who was then paſſionately fond of Diamonds. I ſhew'd him a rough Diamond, weighing 12 Grains, which I deſign'd for the King, and another cut, of five Grains for himſelf. Next Day he acquainted me that he had ſhown the Diamonds to the King; but the *Engliſh* having lately preſented him with very large ones, he did not value mine; but after all, that if I could find any extraordinary Rarity, I might certainly obtain my Requeſt. Upon this Advice, I bought of *Peribey*, the *Portugueze*, who was lately return'd from *Maſulipatan*, Two Diamonds; One weighing 18 Grains, cut Lozenge-ways, and very prettily ſet, which coſt me 550 *Rials*; and another of nine Grains cut Point-ways, which coſt me 120 *Rials*. I ſhew'd them to *Laxemane*, who advis'd me to preſent them my ſelf. Upon which I deſir'd *Quylin* the Gold-Smith, who was my Interpreter, and who uſed to ſpeak very boldly to the King, to acquaint him that I had ſome Jewels to ſhow his Majeſty, without telling him whether I meant to ſell them or give them away.

A Preſent made to the King, in conſideration of a Licence to trade at *Ticow.*

Accordingly, after ſome time the King ſent for me, and deſired a ſight of the Diamond that he heard I had. I ſhewed him the large one, which he look'd mightily upon; and when he ask'd the price of it, I told him it was at his ſervice, if he would allow me to buy 300 *Bahars* of Pepper at *Ticow*. His Anſwer was, That if the *Dutch* ſhould offer him 30000 *Rials*, for that Liberty, he would not give it them; but to me he would give a Licenſe of ſtaying at *Ticow* 20 Days, provided I gave him another Diamond like that. *I* told him *I* had none ſuch, nor could not poſſibly find any. Then he deſir'd *I* would preſent him with a Cannon in the room of it: But *I* beg'd his Majeſties Pardon. Upon which he ſaid, all other Nations had preſented him with Cannons, and *I* ought not to refuſe him. *I* pray'd him to excuſe me, in regard *I* had ſo many Enemies, and that there were ſome Ships near *Ticow*. He reply'd, *I* needed not fear the *Dutch* at *Ticow*, ſince they had a Factory at *Achen*, which was more valuable than my Ship. After all, finding he was ſo bent upon the Gun, *I* agreed to let him have it; upon which he call'd for the *Orankay Laxemane*, and order'd him to give me a Commiſſion to trade at *Ticow*: After that he queſtion'd me very particularly concerning Mr *Limmony*'s Circumſtances; the force of his Ship, the value of his Cargo; and at laſt advis'd me to carry him and his Pinnace along with me, and not leave him expos'd to the indiſcretion of the *Portugueze, Dutch, Engliſh*, and even the *Moors* themſelves, who would be eaſily tempted to fall upon ſuch a ſmall Veſſel (repreſenting, that his Affection to the King of *France* mov'd him to give that Advice, and that, tho' Mr. *Limmony* was not under my Command, yet out of reſpect to my Countrymen and Acquaintances, *I* ought to reſcue them from the Danger they were in.

His Intrigue for getting another Diamond.

December the 5th, Having ask'd *Laxemane* often for my Commiſſion, and finding he only ſhuffl'd and put me off, *I* complain'd of him to the King, who bid me give him a Diamond, as if that had been agreed to at firſt.

To make ſhort of the Story, *I* ſmell'd that the *Orancay Laxemane* could do nothing of the matter, for that the King diſpatch'd all his Commiſſions himſelf; and that the deſign of turning me over to him, was, to worm out of me another Diamond for the King's own uſe. On this diſcovery, *I* gave him another Diamond that weigh'd about ſix Grains; and at laſt after many Stops and Delays, receiv'd out of the King's own Hand a Letter, empowering me to traffick in *Ticow* for 20 Days, and ordering the King and Governour of that place to aſſiſt me in carrying on the Trade of Pepper, for which, I was to pay the uſual Duties. At the ſame time the King order'd me to pay the Duties of ſome Goods that *I* had bought up in order to ſell at *Ticow*; which *I* thought to have been excus'd from, in regard *I* mean'd to put 'em off within the Territories of the King of *Achen* However *I* was forc'd to pay it. *I* had frequently order'd my Interpreter to deſire Reſtitution of the King for what he had taken from my Men; but the Interpreter would not venture to mention it, becauſe he found it was diſagreeable to the King. After all, *I* preſs'd *Orancay Laxemane* to repreſent my Requeſt to the King, which at laſt he did, and then gave me to know, that it was in vain to expect it, that the King had a Title to all the Goods of thoſe who were Shipwrack'd upon his Coaſt; and that the King had been very favourable in delivering the Men themſelves.

1622. We take in Pepper at Ticow.

December the 16th, We weighed Anchor, and arriv'd in the Road of *Ticow* the laſt Day of this Year.

January the 1ſt, 1622. I ſhew'd the Inhabitants of the Iſland the King of *Achen*'s Letter, who receiv'd it with pleaſure. In this place *I* bought about 400 *Bahars* of Pepper, which coſt me about 25 *Rials* the *Bahar*, including the Charges of my Commiſſion, and the Preſents *I* made at *Achen*.

We ſteer Homeward.

February the 1ſt, We weigh'd Anchor from the Road of *Ticow*, in order to return home; having on board 75 Men all in good health, and Proviſions for nine Months.

A Deſcription of the Iſland of Sumatra.

THe Iſland of *Sumatra* is larger than *Great Britain*. It contains 11 Deg. in length, running S. E. and N. W. *i. e.* from the Point of *Achen*, which lies in 5 ½ Deg. N. Lat. to the Streight of *Sunda*, the Latitude of which is 5 ½ Deg. S. So that its length may be computed to be 300 *French* Leagues. Its South End is broader than the North; but one with another, its breadth will make 70 Leagues. The Coaſt for the moſt part lies low, tho' there are very high Mountains within the Country. Its Valleys afford excellent Paſturage, and are fertile in Rice, and all other Fruits. 'Tis water'd with many noble Rivers, ſome of which are very great, for inſtance, *Cinquel*, *Baaros*, *Daya*, *Achen*, *Pedir*, *Jambi*, *Andripoura*; Beſides ſeveral ſmall Rivers and an infinity of Brooks. By which means 'tis render'd very moiſt, and in ſome places marſhy. Beſides 'tis ſubject to frequent Rains, for the Equinoctial cuts it directly in the middle. It bears very large Trees, which retain their verdure all the Year round.

Sumatra unhealthy.

The Air is unhealthy for Strangers, eſpecially near the Equinoctial Line, as in *Ticow*, *Paſſaman*, &c. nay, the very Inhabitants of *Achen* don't care to live in thoſe places during the wet Seaſon, which laſts from *June* to *October*; and in which the Weſterly Winds, mix'd with Whirlwinds, Rains, Tempeſts, and ſudden Calms, blow upon that Coaſt. In theſe Calms the Air being unmov'd, and the Ground ſoak'd with conſtant Rain, the Sun with its perpendicular Rays, attracts very ſtinking Vapours, which occaſion'd peſtilential Fevers, that carry Strangers off in two or three Days, or at leaſt terminate in obſtinate Swellings and Dropſies.

Achen the moſt temperate place.

The City of *Achen* ſituated on the North Point, is more temperate. It ſtands upon a great River, about half a League from the Sea, in the midſt of a great Valley, that is ſix Leagues broad. The Soil is very proper for all ſorts of Grain and Fruit; but the Inhabitants ſow nothing upon it but Rice, which is their principal Food, together with *Coco's* with which the whole Iſland abounds. This place is well ſtor'd with Fruit Trees, which bear in their proper Seaſons; ſo that there is not a Month in the Year without ſome ripe Fruit. Here they ſow no Pulſe or Pot-Herbs; but they have excellent Paſturage, and a great many Buffiers, which they imploy in manuring the Ground, and in drawing or carrying. They have plenty of Young Kids, and Horſes of a ſmall breed; but their Sheep are good for nothing. The Peaſants breed up great numbers of Hens and Ducks, in order to ſell their Eggs. Hunting and Game they are much accuſtom'd to, for they have an infinite number of Wild-Boars, tho' not ſo large and furious as they are in *France*; and their Stags and Does go beyond ours. They have but few Hairs or Roebucks; but in the Woods, and at the Foot of the Mountains, there are great numbers of Wild-Elephants. Upon the uninhabited Mountains and Hills, there are a great many Tigers, ſome Rinocerots, Porcupines, Wild-Buffles, Civet-Cats, Wild-Cats, Monkeys, Adders, large Lizards, and in ſome Rivers poiſonous Crocodiles.

The Coaſt of Sumatra.

The better half of this Iſland is poſſeſs'd by the King of *Achen*. If you go along the Coaſt to the Eaſtward of *Achen*, about 12 Leagues from it you meet with *Pedir*, a large and populous City, and after that *Pacem* and *Dely*. About 12 Leagues to the Weſt-ward of *Achen*, lies *Daya*, a conſiderable City; and then the King of *Achen*'s late Conqueſts, viz. *Labo*, *Cinquel*, *Barros*, *Barabam*, *Paſſaman*, *Ticow*, *Priaman*, and *Padang*. The other half of the Iſland is poſſeſs'd by five or ſix Kings, who, tho' they are Lords of very good Countrys, yet if you put them all together, they are not ſo conſiderable as the King of *Achen*.

Upon the Eaſt ſide, near the Equinoctial, lies the little Kingdom of *Andrigri*, and beyond that *Jamby*, the richeſt of them all; and a little farther *Palimbac*. To the Weſt-ward of *Padang*, lies the Kingdom of *Manimcabo*, and beyond that *Andripoura*. The reſt of the Coaſt extending to the Streights of *Sunda*, is woody and uninhabited. That part of the Coaſt that faces theſe Streights is ſubject to the King of *Bantam*. Thus you have an Account of the whole Coaſt of *Sumatra*, the Inhabitants of which are *Malayans*; ſo that they all underſtand the *Malays* Language.

Its Inland parts.

The Inland parts of this Iſland are inhabited by Natives that ſpeak a different Language from the *Malays*; and are under the Government of ſeveral Petty Kings, of which the Richeſt and moſt Powerful is one that reſides between *Ticow* and *Manimcabo*, as being poſſeſs'd of all the places where the Gold of this Iſland lies. 'Tis certain there is a great deal of Gold to be found in this Iſland; but the Inhabitants are altogether ignorant of the working of Mines, and what they gather is only in Torrents, and little Ditches, that they dig in the places where the Floods diſcharge themſelves. This Gold the Natives truck with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo*, for Rice, Arms, and Cotton-Cloth; and with thoſe of *Priaman*, for Pepper, Salt, *Surat*-Cloth, and *Maſulipatan* Steel. *Ticow* and the other Kingdoms they have but little Commerce with. As for Strangers, they have no dealings with them; but murder and eat 'em wherever they catch 'em, as well as their Enemies. For when they war with one another, they never ranſome Priſoners; but eat their Fleſh raw with Pepper and Salt. Tho' they have no Religion, yet they have ſome Polity relating to Marriage, Juſtice, and their Duty to their King, which they obſerve with an Inviolable Reſpect.

The Iſlands upon the Coaſt of Sumatra.

Upon the Weſt Coaſt of *Sumatra*, there are a great many Iſles; ſome of 'em large, about 18 or 20 Leagues off, and others but ſmall, about three or four Leagues from the Continent; which do not belong to any of the abovemention'd Kings. Thoſe which are inhabited, are poſſeſs'd by the Original Natives, whom the *Malays* never expell'd, becauſe theſe Iſlands were not to their purpoſe.

Engano.

Upon the South ſide of *Sumatra*, in the Latitude of 5 Deg. lies the Iſland of *Engane*, Inhabited by Barbarous Savages, that ſpare no body, but maſſacre all that come upon their Shoar, whether White or Black. They go naked with long Hair, and have *Canows*, in which they fiſh. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows.

Naſſaw.

Upon the ſame Coaſt, in the Lat. of 3 ½ Deg. lies a long Iſland, call'd by the *Dutch Naſſaw*, which may contain about 14 or 15 Leagues in length; but is not inhabited.

About four or five Leagues from this, near the Equinoctial, we meet with another uninhabited Iſland, about 7 or 8 Leagues long.

Montabey.

Then we came to a great Iſland in the Latitude of 1 ½ Deg. call'd *Montabey*, above 20 Leagues long, the Inhabitants of which are cloath'd, and traffick with thoſe of *Ticow*, tho' they ſpeak a peculiar Language.

Under the Equinoctial there are 20 or 25 Iſlands, ſome great, ſome ſmall, ſome inhabited, ſome not.

Pulo Nyas.

Having croſs'd the Line, we meet with the Iſle of *Pulo-Nyas*, in 2 Deg. N. Lat. which is 15 or 16 Leagues long; and peopled with a good ſort of People that hurt no body, unleſs they be injur'd, and traffick with the People of *Barros* and Strangers, to whom they ſell their Children and Slaves.

In 3 ½ Deg. N. Lat. there are ſeveral other inhabited Iſlands. Several of theſe Iſles are cover'd all over with palm-Trees, that bear the Coco's, which the Inhabitants of the Maritim Towns carry off in their Ships and make Oil of. Others are cover'd all over with very high Trees that differ much from thoſe of *Europe*.

The particular Kingdoms in *Sumatra*.

To return to the Great Iſland of *Sumatra*, and take a Circumſtantial View of what it produces.

Andrigri.

The Kingdom of *Andrigri* affords a conſiderable quantity of Pepper; but is very ſmall. Gold is cheaper there than in any other Country poſſeſs'd by the *Malays*.

Jamby.

The Kingdom of *Jamby* produces a great deal of Pepper, which is much better than that of *Andrigri*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have a Factory in it, as well as the *Portugueze* of *Malacca*. The City, which is very unhealthy, lies 50 or 60 Leagues up a River, which one muſt row up with a Boat. The Inhabitants drive a great Gold Trade, not only with thoſe of *Manimcabo*, but with the Natives of the Country.

Polimban.

The Kingdom of *Polimban* abounds in Rice and Cattle; and affords but little Pepper. 'Tis a pleaſant Country towards the Shoar; and is poſſeſs'd by the King of *Bantam*.

Andripoura.

Andripeura is ſeated on a rapid River, in 3 ½ Deg. S. Lat. and furniſhes every Year two Ships loading of ſuch Pepper as we have in *Jamby*. The Inhabitants trade likewiſe in Gold with thoſe of *Manimcabo*.

Manimcabo.

Next is the Kingdom of *Manimcabo*, which ſhoots into the Country, but has ſome Harbours upon the Sea-ſide, particularly *Cortatinga*, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* come often. They have little Pepper, but a great deal of Gold, which is not above 30 or 35 *per Cent.* cheaper there than in *France*, becauſe they deal with ſo many Nations in that Commodity. They ſell it by the *Tael*, of which 1 ½ makes ſharp two Ounces. It is in duſt and ſmall pieces, for they make but few Bars of it.

The Dominions of the King of *Achen*.

As for the Dominions of the King of *Achen*, the Territory of his principal City, is not ſufficiently cultivated for maintaining the Inhabitants; ſo that a great part of their Rice comes from abroad. In former times it produc'd a great deal of Pepper; but one of their Kings obſerving they minded nothing elſe, and neglected the manuring of the Ground, cut down all the Pepper Plants, ſo that at preſent it does not produce every Year, above 500 *Bahars* of Pepper, and that of the ſmalleſt ſort. Six Leagues from *Achen*, towards *Pedir*, there is a high Mountain that furniſhes great quantities of Sulphur, as well as the Iſle of *Pooloway* in the Road of *Achen*, which ſupplies in a manner all the *Indies* with Sulphur to make Powder of.

Pedir.

The Territory of *Pedir* being very fertile in Rice, is call'd the Granary of *Achen*. This place affords pretty large quantities of a yellow and hard ſort of Silk; part of which is by the Natives made into Stuffs, that are eſteem'd all over *Sumatra*, and the reſt they ſell to the Inhabitants of the Coaſt of *Coromandel*.

Dely.

At *Dely*, there is a Fountain of Oil, which is ſaid to be unextinguiſhable when once it is ſet on fire, and with which the King of *Achen* burnt two *Portugueze Galleons* near *Malacca*, about 8 or 10 Years ago.

Daya.

Daya abounds in Rice and Cattle.

Cinquel.

Cinquel affords every Year large quantities of Camphyre, which the Inhabitants of *Surat* on the Coaſt of *Coromandel* buy up very eagerly for 15 or 16 *Rials* the *Catti*, or 28 Ounces.

Barros.

Barros is a pleaſant place, ſeated upon a large River, in an open and well cultivated *Champaign* Country, about a League from the Shoar. Its *Benjamin*, eſpecially the White ſort, is mightily eſteem'd in theſe Iſlands; and it ſerves the Inhabitants for a Barter in all their Bargains, for they have no other Money. This place affords likewiſe plenty of Camphyre. The Camphyre of *Batabam* is reckoned the beſt, but there's very little of it.

Paſſaman.

Paſſaman ſtands at the Foot of a very high Mountain, that may be ſeen in a clear Day 30 Leagues off. It has excellent large Pepper, being the firſt place of this Coaſt where we meet with Pepper-Plants.

Ticow.

Seven Leagues from this place ſtands *Ticow*, which is yet more fertile in Pepper.

Priaman.

Priaman has not ſo much Pepper, but it is a better Air, and very well Peopled, and plentifully furniſh'd with all ſorts of Proviſions; and drives a great Gold Trade with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo*. The *Dutch* had a Factory there for a long time; but the laſt Year the King of *Achen* expell'd them

Padang.

Padang has little Pepper, but deals pretty much in Gold, and has the Conveniency of a fine River, where great Ships may come up and ride ſafe. All theſe places are well Peopl'd and Cultivated, and ſome of the Inhabitants are rich, and live happily by virtue of their Remoteneſs from the Tyrannical Court of *Achen*.

A Character of the People of *Achen*.

The Inhabitants of *Achen* are a worſe ſort of People than thoſe of *Ticow* and *Priaman*, and the other places along the Coaſt. They are Proud, Envious, Men of no Faith or Conſcience, eſpecially in their Dealings with Chriſtians, Treacherous, and given to Robbing and Poiſoning. They deſpiſe their Neighbours, and take all other Nations but themſelves to be brutal. They are very prodigal in their Cloths, and would be the ſame in their Houſes, Slaves, and other things, if the King did not cramp 'em. They ſpeak well in their own Language, and ſome of 'em ſet up for Orators. They are very fond of Simile's, and happy enough in applying them; but the Frequency with which they uſe them, would be nauſeous and impertinent in any other Country. They compoſe ſome Poems and Songs, and apply themſelves to Writing, and the *Arabian* Arithmetick, which differs but little from ours. Some of 'em are very good Mechanicks, eſpecially for the building of Gallies; and they make all ſorts of Iron Work as well as any where elſe, tho' they do not work with that ſame Facility and Dexterity as the *Europeans*. They work very well in Copper and Wood, and ſome of 'em are skill'd in caſting of Artillery.

The King entertains 300 Goldſmiths in his Caſtle; beſides a great many other Artiſans.

Since this King came to the Throne, the Subjects of *Achen* have got the Name of the beſt Souldiers in *India*; for they endure Fatigue wonderfully, and are excellent *Pioneers*, as appear'd in the Siege of *Queda* and *Dely*, the laſt being a place of great ſtrength; fortify'd by the Aſſiſtance and Contrivance of the *Portugueze*; and defended by a Perſon of great Valour and Reputation, which, nevertheleſs the King of *Achen* took in ſix Weeks time, by cutting Trenches and gradually advancing them.

They live very ſoberly, and for the moſt part upon Rice, to which the Richer ſort may add a ſmall matter of Fiſh and a few Herbs: And he muſt be a great Lord indeed, that, in a Day's time, eats a Hen boil'd or broil'd upon the Coals. 'Tis a common ſaying among them, That if there were 2000 Chriſtians in that Country, all their Beef and Fowl would quickly be conſumed.

They pretend to be very ſtrict *Mahometans*, but are great Hypocrites and Diſſemblers, eſpecially in their Reſpect to the King, whom they would ſee hang'd if they could.

If they ſuſpect, tho' without reaſon, that any one does not love them, to prevent his being in a Capacity to miſrepreſent them to the King, they'll form an Accuſation againſt him before the King; and it is the frequency of theſe Accuſations, that makes the King ſo cruel, foraſmuch as it perſwades him, that there are more Conſpiracies againſt him than there are.

In fine, they are ſuch a wicked ſort of People, that it is a common thing among them, for one Brother to accuſe another, or the Son the Father; and if you charge them with Inhumanity and want of Conſcience upon that ſcore, they'll tell you, that God is not far from them, but the King of *Achen* is near at hand.

Their Marriages.

Purſuant to the Law of *Mahomet*, they marry as many Women as they are able to maintain, one of which is entitul'd to a Preference before the reſt, her Children being reckon'd the lawful Heirs. They ſuffer their Slaves and Concubines to go abroad, but not their Wives. If a Man marries a young Woman, he commonly pays ſome Money for her to her Relations, and allots her a Joynture upon his own Eſtate. If a Woman has any thing of her own, ſhe lodges it in the Hands of her Husband, and takes of him a Note, entituling her to the Recovery of it in caſe of Separation or bad Husbandry: And if the Husband dies firſt, this Note, together with the Joynture, ſtipulated in the Contract of Marriage, muſt be firſt ſatisfy'd out of the Goods of the Deceas'd, to the prejudice of all Creditors. If the Woman dies firſt, the Husband is entitul'd to all that ſhe brought him. Man and Wife may ſeparate when they will, provided they both agree to it, for the Conſent of one party is not ſufficient.

Their Courts of Juſtice.

In *Achen* Uſury is prohibited, and the Intereſt of Money is limited to 12 *per Cent. per Annum*, without Pledges; whereas in *Bantam* they'll give 5 *per Cent.* a Month, and a Pawn beſides. If the Debtor refuſes to pay, he is cited before a Court of Juſtice, where, if the Debt be made to appear, he is condemn'd to pay it in a little time; and if he do's not pay it in the appointed time, he is cited a ſecond time, and muſt either pay it in

Court, or elſe have his Hands ty'd behind his Back with a Withe, in which poſture he continues (for no Body dare to untie him), and is oblig'd to appear before the Court every Day that it ſits, till he ſatisfies the Debt: At laſt, if the Judge perceives that he appears every Day, and is not capable to ſatisfie the Debt, he delivers him up to the Creditor to ſerve him as a Slave, empowering the Creditor to carry him home, or ſell him, or to do by him as he pleaſes, ſo he does not put him to Death. This Court ſits every Morning, excepting *Friday*, under a great *Bali*, near the great Moskey; and one of the greateſt and richeſt Orankays preſides in it.

Under another Bali, by the Caſtle-Gate, ſits the Criminal Court, in which ſeveral of the principal Orankays preſide by turns. Under the Cogniſance of this Court are all Quarrels, Murders, Robberies, &c committed in the City. Any Criminal may be ſtopp'd, or taken up by a Girl or Child of four or five Years of Age, for whenever Hands are laid upon him, he dares not but ſtand unmov'd like a Statue, and ſuffer his Hands to be ty'd, in order to be dragg'd before the Court, where Juſtice is immediately put in execution. I have ſeen great lubberly Scoundrels dragg'd in that faſhion by little Children, and condemn'd to receive ſome Laſhes of a Withe upon the Shoulders, for ſtealing the Value of a Farthing. After the Execution is over, neither Criminal nor Informer dare complain; nay, ſometimes they return together equally unconcern'd.

I ſaw a Man try'd there for having peep'd through a Hedge, to ſee his Neighbour's Wife waſhing her ſelf, and condemn'd to receive thirty Laſhes upon his Shoulders, but after the Sentence was pronounc'd, the Criminal capitulated publickly with the Executioner, and after ſome words gave him 20 Maes in the open Court, in Conſideration of being only whipp'd above his Cloths. 'Tis a common Cuſtom in that place, to bargain with the Executioner for mitigating the Puniſhment: For there's never a Day but the King orders a Noſe, Eye, Ear, Hand, Foot, or Teſticle to be cut off from ſome Body or other; and upon thoſe occaſions the Executioner gets Money for doing his Buſineſs handſomely, and with little pain; for if the Criminal does not come up to his Price, and pay him in ready Money, upon the ſpot, he'll cut the Noſe, for inſtance, ſo deep that the Brain may be ſeen through the Wound, or mangle a Foot or a Leg in two or three pieces, &c. In all theſe cruel Mutilations, and even Gelding it ſelf, ſcarce any one dies, tho' ſome of the Perſons thus maim'd are above 50 or 60 Years of Age; and the only Remedy they uſe, is to put the wounded part immediately into Water, and after it has bled a little waſh it, and bind it up with Linnen Clouts. After a Criminal has thus ſuffer'd Juſtice, whether by the King's Command, or by the Judge's Sentence, all the Ignominy of his Crime is wip'd off, and if any one upbraids him with it, he may kill him with Impunity. There is another Court, in which the Cady or Biſhop preſides; that takes Cogniſance of all Infringements upon their Religion.

In the Alfandegue likewiſe there's a Bali for determining Differences among Merchants, whether Natives or Foreigners, the Preſident of which is the Orankay *Laxemane*, who in a manner governs the whole City. In this Alfandegue they keep an exact Account of all the Cuſtoms, Gifts, Fines, and Commodities belonging to the King; with a particular Liſt of the Perſons Names that buy of the King, and pay the Duty, or make him Preſents. To the end they may be capable to give his Majeſty a ſatisfactory Account how every thing is diſpos'd of; for if their Accounts be perplex'd, they can expect nothing but death. Beſides theſe, there are four Officers call'd *Pengoulow Cevals*, who take Cogniſance of all things done in the Night-time, ſuch as running of Goods without paying the Duty, Robberies, &c. Each of theſe has a quarter of the City under his Juriſdiction. Farther, each of the Orankays has a Province or Country Diſtrict under his Juriſdiction, where they give Orders, and adminiſter Juſtice to the Inhabitants. Some of the principal Orankays reſiding near the City, are oblig'd to give Orders for a Watch of 200 Horſe, that Patrols every Night in the Country, and along the Shore.

The King's Houſe. His Women.

As for the Caſtle, or King's Palace, the inner part is fill'd with 3000 Women, which he keeps partly for a Guard, and partly for other Uſes. Theſe Women come ſeldom out of the Caſtle; they have a Market-place of their own, and traffick with one another in ſuch Commodities as they make. They are rang'd under ſeveral Captains, and have their Civil Judges, and Night Officers as well as the City.

His Wives.

None are allow'd to enter into their Apartments, but the King's Eunuchs, who are ſaid to be in number 500. Beſides theſe, the King has a great many Wives and Concubines; and of theſe his Wives, twenty are the lawful Daughters of the Kings whom he has pillag'd. The laſt Wife that he had by ſuch means was the Queen of *Pera*, who is ſaid to be very handſome; and from whom he contracted a Diſeaſe that is likely to carry him off, unleſs the Vigour of his Age, which is now in its prime, be able to overcome it.

Of all theſe Wives he has but one Son of 18 Years of Age, who is yet more cruel than himſelf. This Prince has only the Quality of a ſimple Orankay, and is always confin'd to the Caſtle, except when he goes to the Moskey, and then he has a pompous Retinue. Some time ago, his Father gave him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Pedir*; but his Government was ſo cruel and licentious, that the King call'd him home, and put him to ſtrange Torments, from which time he hath ſtill kept him with himſelf.

In the great Court, where the King's Apartments are, the Eunuchs keep Guard; beſides which, there is a Guard of 250 Slaves at one Gate, and another of the like number at the outer Gate of all.

Theſe Slaves are moſtly Foreigners, taken in young, and bred up in the Exerciſe of Arms and Shooting; they are confin'd within the Caſtle, and allow'd to converſe with no Body: So that the King makes uſe of them to overawe his own Subjects, and ſcare them from treaſonable Deſigns. All the Puniſhments inflicted in the Caſtle, are put in Execution by theſe Slaves.

To put the Orankays in the Cuſtody of theſe Slaves, he ranges them in three Companies, one of which is oblig'd to keep Guard in the Caſtle Day and Night, without Arms, in a Court ſurrounded by Slaves; ſo that every third Night each Nobleman comes upon the Guard; and if any ſuſpicious Plot ſhould be diſcover'd, the King has always the third part of his Nobility in his hands. If any of the Orankays fail to obſerve the third Night, he undergoes the loſs of his Life, together with the Confiſcation of his Goods, Wives, Children, and Slaves. The Orankays dare not converſe familiarly, or have frequent Interviews one with another, for the King ſuſpects all Familiarity among them: So that they never converſe together, unleſs it be upon an accidental Rencounter, that they ſalute one another with a great deal of Complaiſance. When ever they, or any Body elſe, enters the Caſtle, they are oblig'd to take off their Sword, and put it into the Hands of the Guard at the Second Gate.

The Fortifications of the Caſtle.

The City of *Achen* is more like a Village than a City, being an open place without Walls, and the Caſtle is no more fortify'd than an ordinary Gentleman's Houſe; it has about half a League in Circumference, of an Oval Figure, ſurrounded with a Ditch of 25 or 30 Foot depth and breadth, the Banks of which are almoſt inacceſſible, by reaſon of their ſteepneſs and plenty of Thickets. Before the Caſtle the Earth is caſt up in Banks, which ſerve for a Wall. On the top of this Bank there grows a great many large Reeds as tall as Aſh-trees, and planted ſo thick that one cannot ſee through them. 'Tis preſent Death for any one to touch the leaſt Branch of theſe Reeds; for the King of *Achen*'s Ambaſſador to *Holland*, upon his return home, having forgot that Order, and unluckily pulling off a ſmall Twig, was immediately put to Death. Theſe Reeds enjoy a perpetual Verdure, and can't be ſet on fire.

I could obſerve no Flanks or Baſtions round the Caſtle; but upon that ſide which faces the Moskey, I ſaw the beginnings of ſeveral Ramparts, but nothing yet finiſh'd. Before the Gates there are neither Ditches nor Draw-Bridges; but on each ſide of every Gate there is a Stone-Wall, about 10 or 12 Foot high, ſupporting a Terraſs, on which a couple of fine Braſs Guns are planted. The Gates are as high as the Wall, and are made of a ſtrong ſort of Wood, being ſhut on the inſide with two great Croſs-bars fix'd in the Wall, beſides other Bolts.

Through the middle of the Caſtle there paſſes a ſmall River, that deſcends from the Mountains, the Water of which is extream cool and agreeable. Upon the Banks of this River, there are Steps for People to go down and waſh themſelves.

Before we come at the King's Apartments, we paſs four Gates: From one of theſe Gates there runs a Brick-Wall, back'd with a Terraſs, with ſeveral Braſs Guns upon it, within which, as I take it, is the King's Arſenal. This Rampart incloſes part of a very large Court upon the Front of the Houſes, in which I have ſeen 300 Elephants at a time.

The other part of this Court is encloſ'd by four great Pavilions, and a ſort of a Stone Rampart, which commands the Terraſs, being fortify'd with a Parapet. As for the inner part of the Caſtle, I can give no account of it, being deny'd acceſs.

To conclude, the Fortifications of this place are inconſiderable; but its Avenues are very difficult; for the Country about it is full of Rivers, Marſhes, Trees, and very cloſe Thickets. Where the River enters the Caſtle, there is a Stone Fort, conſiſting of a large round Baſtion, and two Courtines, with ſeveral Guns mounted upon 'em. Upon the Land-ſide theſe Courtines are joyn'd by a Rampart made of Turf, in which there is a Gate, but without either Ditch or Draw-Bridge, as well as the whole Fort. The Walls both of the Baſtion and Courtines are 18 Foot broad, and 20 Foot high.

Before this Fort the King has a ſort of a Pleaſure-houſe, by which there are ſeveral Fiſh-ponds and pleaſant Walks; the whole being encloſ'd with a Trench made of Turf, the Breaſt of which is 10 or 12 Foot high, and moted about, where 2 or 3000 Men may lie. Before this Trench is a ſmall Fort cover'd with Thickets, and Ditch'd about, upon which there are ſeveral Pieces of Cannon. The Country round all theſe Forts is ſo full of Marſhes, Ditches, and the Trees that they call Nippiers, that it is almoſt unpracticable.

Forts upon the Shore.

Paſſing Eaſtward from the Caſtle along the Shore, we meet with ſeveral little Forts of Turf, ſurrounded with Thickets, and plac'd at a Musket-ſhot diſtance from one another, on each of which there are two or three Pieces of Cannon, but ſo cover'd with the Buſhes that they are not viſible. In theſe Forts there is no Guard by Day; but in the Night-time the Horſe-Watch above-mention'd patrols round 'em.

The Weſtern Shore is more acceſſible, and deſtitute of Forts. About a Piſtol-ſhot from this Shore, there is a wet Trench above forty Foot broad, and very deep, that riſes out of the great River, and runs along the Shore to the ſide of the Mountains. Having paſs'd that, we meet with a plain open Country, free of Ditches and Trenches. 'Tis computed that *Achen*, and the adjacent places in that Valley, are able to raiſe 40000 Men: But they have no Fire-Arms or Powder, for the King keeps theſe up in the Caſtle, as well as his Artillery. That Prince has above 2000 Braſs Guns, in his Gallies, Forts, and two Houſes, where they are heap'd one above another. He is likewiſe well furniſh'd with Fire-Locks, but they are ſhort and ill mounted.

The King's Elephants.

But his greateſt ſtrength he places in 900 Elephants, which are bred to tread Fire under their Feet, and to be unmov'd at the Shot of Cannons or Guns; and likewiſe to ſalute the King when they paſs by his Apartments, by bending the Knee, and raiſing their Trunk three times. The King gives a Name to each Elephant, and confers much Honour upon ſuch of 'em as are moſt ſtout and docile; for he orders Umbrello's to be carry'd before 'em as they paſs the Streets, for ſome ſix, for others four, and for others two, in proportion to their merit. Now there is not a Man in *Achen*, beſides the King, that is allow'd the Priviledge of an Umbrello. He matches the Male Elephants with their Females; and to ſome that are deareſt to him, he allows ſeveral Concubines. The Elephants that the King commonly makes uſe of, have a great deal of Honour paid 'em; for as they paſs along, every Body ſtops and makes way for them; for which purpoſe a Boy goes before 'em with a Copper Inſtrument in his Hand, with which he makes a Noiſe to give the People Notice. When the Oil drops from their Ears, they are furious, and it is not ſafe to come near 'em; and at that time the Boy runs above 200 Paces before 'em, to give the People earlier Notice: For they'll ſteal upon a Man ſtrangely, and notwithſtanding their huge bulk, make no more Noiſe when they walk than a Rat; tho' at the ſame time upon that marſhy hollow Ground, the Trot of a Horſe makes the Earth to tremble in a manner.

Sometimes the King is out of Humour with his Elephants, as well as with his Subjects, and ſhews his Diſpleaſure by robbing them of their Wives, Concubines, and other Honours, and inflicting Corporal Puniſhments in preſence of the reſt: For exemplary Correction has the ſame Influence upon them as upon Men, as appears by the following Inſtance:

The King having order'd the Embarkation of 100 Elephants for the Siege of *Dely*, when the Elephants were brought down to the Shore, not one of them would enter the Ship: The King being acquainted with the matter (which ſome took to be a bad Omen) came in Perſon to the Shore, and having check'd and chid 'em with a great deal of Paſſion, and upbraided them with the Breeding and Honour he had beſtow'd upon 'em, cauſ'd one of the principal Elephants to be cut in two before their Eyes, threatning the reſt with the ſame uſage, if they did not embark immediately. This done, they embark'd very peaceably, and were extream tractable during the whole Voyage.

There never was a Prince in *Achen*, that had ſuch a dexterity of managing theſe Animals. He would ſtand upright upon their Backs, while they run a full ſpeed: For my part, I had rather run ten Stages on Foot, than ride four Leagues upon an Elephant; for it is a very uneaſie poſture to thoſe who are unaccuſtom'd to it, eſpecially if one ſits behind, for the forepart of the Shoulders is the ſofteſt.

His Horſes.

When the King was well, he us'd to hunt every other Day. In his Stables he has about 200 Horſe, 50 of which might be worth 500 Crowns a piece in *France*. All of 'em have rich and magnificent Trappings.

The *Achen* Gallies.

The King of *Achen* is ſtronger by Sea than any of his Neighbours; for he has about 100 great Gallies, of which a third part are much larger than any we build in Chriſtendom. I ſaw the Keel of an ordinary one, that was 120 Foot long, all in one piece. They build their Gallies very prettily in that Country; but they are too heavy, for they are broader and higher than they ſhould be. Beſides, the Rigging is too ſmall and weak for their bulk; their Oars have neither length nor weight ſufficient, being only Poles, with a piece of Board at one end. They put but two Men to an Oar, who ſtand upright when they row. Their Sails are not made like Mizain Sails, but ſquare like thoſe of a Ship. The Sides or Planks of theſe Gallies are ſix Inches thick: So that conſidering their dulneſs, one of our *European* Gallies might beat ten of 'em. They have commonly three good Pieces of Cannon, of which that planted in the Bourſey is not leſs than a Battery Gun, for ſome of 'em will carry a Bullet of forty Pound. Beſides theſe, they have ſeveral Fauconites, which they plant before and abaft. The largeſt Gallies have commonly ſix or eight hundred Men: Their Crew conſiſts not of Slaves, but of poor People that row very well.

This King's Wars are not very chargeable to him, for all his Subjects are oblig'd to march at his Command upon their own Charges, and carry Proviſions with them for three Months. The King gives them Arms, of which a Regiſter is kept, they being oblig'd to reſtore them at their return. Their Wives and Children, and their Parents, if they have any, are anſwerable for their Behaviour; for if they ſhrink or give way before the Enemy, not only themſelves, but theſe their innocent Relations ſuffer for it: By this means the King has brought them to be good Soldiers, and the Terror of their Neighbours. If they continue above three Months in the Field, the King is at the Charge of Rice to maintain 'em.

His Gallies coſt him as little as his Land-Armies; for he divides 'em among his principal Orankays, obliging them to fit them out, take care of 'em when they return, and repair 'em at their own Charges; and orders a certain number of People to be ready upon the Command of ſuch and ſuch an Orankay, to aſſiſt at theſe Services. The Orankays are very careful of the Galleys; for if theſe fail, they either loſe their Lives, or muſt build new ones in their room: For that reaſon, when the Gallies come into the River to be laid up, they cleanſe the Dock very carefully, and then lay great pieces of Wood a-croſs it, which are ten Foot diſtant from one another, and lie upon an exact Level, leaſt the Gally ſhould bow when it lies upon 'em.

When the Tide comes in, the Elephants draw the Gally up upon theſe Sommers, which lie above ten Foot from the Ground, that they may get underneath to view and caulk the Ship's bottom. This done, they run a Dyke of Turf, Stone, and Planks, between the Dock and the River, and then fill the Dock with Water to the upper Surface of the Sommers. This they do that the Gally may be refreſh'd by the Water, but ſo as not to dip into it, leaſt Sea-worms ſhould breed in it. Having laid up the Sails and Rigging, they cover the Maſts very carefully with Palm-Tree Leaves, ſo that neither Rain nor Sun can hurt them. Beſides they have a great Roof, that they bring entirely over the Gally. After that they put Water into it to the depth of four or five Foot, to keep the Planks freſh, and prevent their being ſplit by the heat. All this is done in five or ſix Days; and one cannot imagine how well they preſerve the Gally, and how readily they launch it again. For the Dock being full of Water, there is no occaſion for caulking, the Rigging is at hand, and the Roof is taken off in a Minute; the Water within the Gally being thrown out into the Dock, augments the Water there, which ſets the Sommers afloat, ſo that they are eaſily remov'd: Upon which the Water ruſhing into the River carries the Gally along with it.

A Cuſtom peculiar to the King of *Achen*.

Every Morning and Evening, upon the opening and ſhutting of the Caſtle Gates, the King cauſes a Gun to be fir'd; and if any of the neighbouring Kings offer'd to do the like, he would declare War againſt them, alledging, That he being the Inventer of that Cuſtom he had a Right to engroſs it to himſelf, for a Badge of his Grandeur. He prohibits the ſhooting of Muskets, or Fire-Locks, in the

City, on any other Days but *Munday* and *Thurſday*.

The Riches of the King of *Achen*.

From what has been ſaid, 'tis manifeſt that this King cannot be but very rich. For in War he is only at the Charge of the Arms, Powder, Lead, and Rice, which is very inconſiderable: And in Peace he ſpends yet leſs, for as to the maintenance of his Family, he has more Rice, Fleſh, Fiſh, Fowl, Oils, Sugar, and Herbs, paid him by his Subjects, than is conſum'd in the Caſtle; and the Surpluſage is ſold in the Market to the King's advantage. Beſides, he allows his Servants nothing but Rice; if they eat any thing elſe, they muſt purchaſe it by their Labour and Induſtry.

He amaſſes together great Quantities of Rice every Year; for having large Hereditary Countries, he parcels them out among his Subjects to be manur'd, obliging them to furniſh him with a certain Quantity of Rice every Year, whether the Crop be good or bad; and he calculates the Product of his Land ſo nicely, that the Farmers can't be idle, if they maintain themſelves, and pay the King, who never bates them a Grain. This Rice he puts into a Magazine, and keeps it up till the latter end of Autumn, at which time it fetches a double Price, and dreins all the poor People of their Money. If it be a plentiful Year in *Achen*, he ſends it to ſome neighbouring Country, where Rice is ſcarce.

He has vaſt Herds of Cattle, kept by his Slaves.

His Elephants coſt him nothing, for he gives them no Rice, but only the Trunks of *Banana*-Trees, which being cut, a Sprout comes up next Year that bears Fruit.

As for his Cocks, they coſt him nothing, for the Orankays take more care of them, than of their own Children.

The Preſents made him by his Officers.

He is at no charge for his own, nor his Womens Cloaths; for on a certain Day of the Year, all that have any Offices or Places in *Achen*, are oblig'd to make him a Preſent of one or more Garments, according to the Incomes of their Places, or elſe of Stuffs for Cloathing the Women: And every one ſtrives to outdo another in the Magnificence of his Preſent, in order either to procure a better place, or to ſecure what he has. If he does not like the Garments or Stuffs, he turns them back, and the Officer that gave 'em is ſure to be turn'd out of his Poſt, unleſs he quickly accommodates the matter with a large Sum of Money; or if he be a Man of Riches, he'll be charg'd with ſome Male-adminiſtration in his Office, and perhaps put to Death.

Houſes;

He cauſes a great many large Houſes to be built of rough Stone, which coſt him but little, tho' they would be very chargeable to another, becauſe he has ſuch large Numbers of Slaves. Tho' theſe Houſes are reckon'd inimitable in that Country, yet they are infinitely ſhort of what we have in *Europe*:

Slaves.

His Slaves indeed have a better Life, than any Slaves I know; for he does not chain 'em, unleſs they ſeem to endeavour an eſcape, or to rebel againſt their Maſters; and of eight Days he allows 'em four to work at what Work they will, for their own Livelyhood. And thus the King pays nothing for their Maintenance. He employs them moſtly in cutting of Wood, making of Mortar, hewing of Quarries, and Building. There are three or four Overſeers of their Work, who are maintain'd by the Slaves; for thoſe who underſtand any Trade may live pretty handſomely, and be excus'd from working to the King for Five-pence a Day, which is receiv'd by Commiſſaries appointed for the purpoſe, and goes toward the Maintenance of the Overſeers, and the buying of Iron, and all other Materials.

The King gives the Model of the Buildings himſelf; and very often, if a Window, or a Door, or any ſuch thing, be not exactly according to his Fancy, down goes the Houſe, and another muſt be built in its place. He appoints them a certain time, in which the Work muſt be finiſh'd, which is commonly but very ſhort; for in the ſix Months that I was at *Achen*, I ſaw more Buildings rear'd up and pull'd down again, than I could have imagin'd to be done in the ſpace of two Years. Theſe Slaves may redeem themſelves; but their Ranſome riſes according to their Quality.

The King is Heir to all his Subjects that die without Male Iſſue; and if they leave any Daughters then unmarried, he puts 'em into the Caſtle, which occaſions the numerouſneſs of his Women.

A Cuſtom peculiar to the King of *Achen*.

In that Country Daughters have no Title to any Heritage; and not only the People of *Achen*, but even all the *Mahometans* are ſo loth to part with their Money, and ſo buoyed up with the hopes of having Male Children, by ſome of their many Wives, that they ſeldome or never give any thing to their Sons-in-Law in their Life-time: And after their Death they can't have it; nay, even in their Life-time, if the King's Spies obſerve it, it may do them more injury than good.

Forfeited Eſtates.

The Royal Treaſure is likewiſe conſiderably enlarg'd by the forfeited Eſtates of thoſe whom he puts to Death every Day; for to prevent their alienating their Eſtate or Goods, he takes them at a ſurprizal, and has their Wives, Children, Slaves, Cattle, Money, and all ſorts of Movables, lodg'd in the Caſtle, before they know their Sentence. While I was there, I ſaw the Jewels, Gold, Silver, and all the movable Goods belonging to his own Mother, brought in upon the ſame occaſion. The Perſons that he thus puts to Death, are commonly the Orankays, or great Lords; and that for one of theſe two Reaſons, *viz*. Either their Reputation and Intereſt among the People, or their Riches, the former giving him occaſion of Jealouſie, and the latter awakening his covetous and avaricious Temper.

The King is Heir to all Foreigners.

The King is Heir to all Foreigners that die within his Territories; for as ſoon as a Foreigner ſickens, the King's Officers preſently take poſſeſſion of his Houſe, and upon his Death remove his Effects to the Caſtle: And oftentimes his Servants, Friends, and Slaves, are put upon the Rack to diſcover where his Gold, Silver, and Jewels are, or where any thing is due to him. But the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* having Factories here, are exempted from this Law; as we were while we ſtaid there.

This King has another bad Cuſtom, of impropriating the Men and Goods of all Ships that ſuffer Shipwreck upon his Coaſt.

No Audience of the King without a Preſent.

No Foreigner can enter the Caſtle, without making a Preſent to the King. 'Tis true, *I* often went without any, being allow'd the Quality and Privilege of a principal Orankay; but at the ſame time I never could have Audience upon my own Affairs, but when I uſher'd it in with a Preſent. Nay, if either Foreigner or Native puts in any Requeſt to the King without a Gift, the former is not heard, and the latter is puniſh'd. And after all, the Requeſt will not be granted, unleſs the Preſent be lik'd; for I have ſeen the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* have their Preſents frequently return'd, and in that caſe they were oblig'd to make more valuable Gifts, ſuch as would pleaſe the King, before they obtain'd their deſire.

No Foreigner can enter the King's Chamber without the Chappe, for which he pays a Rial to the Officers that bear it. When a Ship comes into the Road of *Achen*, none of their Crew muſt go aſhore till the Chappe comes, and till the Duty of that be paid, which amounts to 50 or 60 Rials, according to the bigneſs of the Ship: And upon their departure from the Road, they are oblig'd to pay about half as much. The *Moors* pay nothing upon the Export of Goods, but upon the Import the Duty is very heavy; for they pay 10 *per Cent* in Gold for the Entry of all Goods, which are appris'd by the Officers of the Alfandegue, and commonly over-rated 50 *per Cent*. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* pay as much; but then they pay it in the Commodity it ſelf, and not in Gold. But the greateſt Damp upon the Trade of that place, is, that the King engroſſes it all into his own hands; for what Commodities he buys, he muſt have 'em under the Market-price, and what he ſells riſe to 50 *per Cent* above it: So that if he continues at this rate, the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* will be oblig'd to abandon this place; and 'tis with that view, as I take it, that he does as he does, for at preſent he is very jealous of their ſtrength.

From what has been ſaid, we may ſafely infer, that the King of *Achen* is infinitely rich; eſpecially if we conſider, that over and above the above-mention'd Articles, he had a rich Exchequer left him by his Father.

The ancient State of the Kingdom of *Achen*.

To underſtand how this preſent King of *Achen* came to the Crown, we muſt know, that before the Reign of his Grandfather, the Orankays being never oppreſs'd with their Kings, nor pillag'd by other Nations, were very rich in Lands and Houſes, beſides Gold and Silver, and gave a licentious Range to their inſolent and proud Tempers. In thoſe Days the City was ſix times greater than it now is, and ſo crouded with People, that one could ſcarce paſs along the Streets: No City in *India* had ſo flouriſhing a Trade; the Alfandegue requir'd no Cuſtoms but that of the Chappe; Merchants might unload and load again, in 15 Days time.

The Orankays liv'd in great ſtately Houſes, with Cannons at their Gates, and great Numbers of Slaves, both to ſerve and guard them, they had proud magnificent Garments, and pompous Retinues, and were much reſpected by the People. This Grandeur and Authority of the Orankays, not only leſſen'd the King's Authority, but was oftentimes fatal to his Perſon. Inſomuch, that it was a great matter, if a King enjoy'd his Crown two Years; or if he did, 'twas with ſo much trouble and dependance upon the Orankays, that nothing but the Title of his Dignity was left.

Things continu'd at this rate, till the extirpation of

The ancient Line extinct.

ancient Royal Line, which happen'd about forty Years ago. Upon that the Orankays met in order to chuſe a King: But every one affecting that Dignity for himſelf, they could not agree upon the matter, and reſolv'd to decide it by force.

In this Ferment the Cady, or great Biſhop, by his Authority and Remonſtrances, perſwaded them to liſten to an Expedient that would remove all their Jealouſies; namely, to put the Crown upon the Head of a certain Orankay, who in all theſe Diviſions had not ſtirr'd or affected any thing for himſelf or his Family; but had liv'd in the Reputation of a wiſe experienc'd Man, being then 70 Years of Age, and deſcended of one of the Nobleſt Families in *Achen*.

The Orankays accepted the Propoſal, in regard it did not ſink their reſpective Pretenſions, ſince they only entituled him to a preference by reaſon of his Age and Prudence. But after all, the old Nobleman deſir'd to be excus'd; alledging, that he had retir'd for ſome time from the Affairs of the World, and deſired to paſs the remainder of his Life in peace and quietneſs. Upon this the Orankays fell together by the Ears: But at laſt finding that every thing run into confuſion, they endeavour'd to threaten the old Orankay into an acceptance of the Crown: But both their Threats and Intreaties were equally ineffectual. At laſt they came all in a Body to his Houſe; the Cady carrying the Crown, and one of the Orankays a naked Sword. There they repreſented to the old Gentleman, That they could not poſſibly find any other Remedy for their preſent Calamity, but that of making him King; that as they had frequently importun'd him to accept of the Crown, ſo they came now once more to make the laſt Offer; and that if he refus'd it, they were reſolv'd to cut him off immediately, to prevent their inſiſting any longer on an uſeleſs Expedient.

The Acceſſion of this Kings Grandfather to the Crown.

The old Orankay finding himſelf in a quandary, told 'em, That tho' he had firmly reſolv'd to finiſh his Days without the diſturbance of Publick Affairs; yet ſince nothing but his mounting the Throne could prevent a pernicious War, he accepted their Offer; with this Proviſoe, That they ſhould reſpect him as a Father, and he ſhould treat them as his Children, that if any of them diſſatisfy'd him, he ſhould treat them as his own Children, and they ſhould receive his Correction as from the Hands of their own Father.

This ſaid, they all thank'd him, promiſing not only to honour him as their Father, but to reſpect him as their Sovereign Lord.

After his Coronation he took poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and invited all the Orankays to a Feaſt upon an appointed Day, and made ſuch vaſt Preparations for their Reception, that the Orankays were ſtruck with admiration. The Orankays were drawn up in order in a Court near the King's Apartment, and conducted by the Chappes into a Hall; but as every one entred the Hall, he was immediately ſeiz'd and dragg'd into another Court behind the Buildings, where the King had caus'd to dig a deep Ditch, upon the Brink of which their Throats were cut, and then their Bodies were thrown into it.

His Cruelty.

In the mean time the Muſick play'd, and nothing but Songs and Mirth was heard in the Hall, and the matter was carried on ſo warmly, that 1100 were cut off before thoſe in the Rear could perceive any thing of the matter; at which time the ſmall Remainder ſlipp'd ſoftly out of the Caſtle, without knowing diſtinctly the occaſion of their miſtruſt, till the next Day that the principal Orankays were miſſing.

The King having thus cut off all thoſe whom he ſuſpected, and fortify'd himſelf with a good Body of Men in the Caſtle; he publiſh'd a Declaration, ſetting forth, That this great Execution was neceſſary for the Safety of his own Perſon, and the States; that as in former times the Orankays had made and dethron'd ſo many Kings at pleaſure, and extinguiſh'd the Ancient Line, ſo when they were at the point of cutting one another's Throats, they could find no other Remedy but that of making him King by force, in order to uſe him as they did the former Kings upon occaſion; that ſince he was King, he would not be expos'd to the inconſtant Humours of the Orankays; who, after they ſhould have maſſacred him, would have relaps'd into their former Animoſities, and made the People to ſuffer by their Quarrels; and in fine, that all his Deſign was to preſerve the General Peace, to Reign in Equity, and execute ſevere Juſtice upon Offenders.

After this Declaration, when he ſaw that no Body ſtirr'd, and none came near him to pay their wonted Reſpects in the Caſtle, he demoliſh'd all the Houſes of the executed Orankays, and lodg'd their Cannon, Arms, and movable Goods in the Caſtle; he prohibited every one to build with Stone, or to have Cannons or Intrenchments about their Houſes; he order'd the Trenches that then were to be fill'd up, and the Stone-Walls to be pull'd down; he enjoyn'd, that all their Houſes ſhould be but one Story high, and their Walls be made of Mats, as they are at this Day; he conferr'd the Quality of Orankays upon his Favourites and Abettors, allowing them part of the Lands of the executed Lords; he put to Death the ancient Orankays, and thoſe of the People that teſtify'd any diſlike of his Conduct: Inſomuch, that the firſt Year of his Reign he put to Death 20000 Perſons; and in the ſecond, ſome thouſands more. This Prince reign'd a long time, and reduc'd the City to the pitiful Condition that it is now in. He us'd the *Mooriſh* Merchants very unkindly; but was extream civil to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who ſettled there in his time. He brought up this preſent King, who is the Son of his own Daughter, and whom he had a particular Love for.

He divides his Kingdoms between his two Sons.

He died in the Year 1603, aged 95 Years, leaving behind him two Sons, who were already advanc'd in Years. To the eldeſt of theſe he left the Kingdom of *Achen*, and all his Territories along the Coaſt of *Sumatra* to the Weſtward; and to the other the Kingdom of *Pedir*, with the Territories upon the Eaſt Coaſt of *Sumatra*. Theſe two Princes were of too meek and humane a Temper for their Subjects; ſo that Murders, Robberies, Oppreſſion, and an infinity of Diſorders, reign'd in *Achen*, for want of a ſevere execution of Juſtice.

A War between the Brethren.

The King of *Achen* happening to give ſome ſlight Rebuke to his Nephew, the preſent King, whom he entertain'd in the Caſtle, the young Prince made his eſcape out of the Caſtle, and fled to his Uncle the King of *Pedir*, who gave him a very kind Reception. The King of *Achen* deſir'd his Brother to ſend his Nephew back to *Achen*; but his Brother made anſwer, That he would not offer to force a young Prince, whom their Father had recommended to their care. Upon this, the two Brethren declar'd War one againſt another, the Forces of *Pedir* being commanded by the Nephew, now King. In this War above 60000 Men were kill'd between 'em; and the Nephew had oftentimes the advantage. But at laſt the Forces of *Achen* being more numerous, thoſe of *Pedir* refus'd to march; upon which there King was oblig'd to deliver his Nephew into the hands of the King of *Achen*, who immediately put a ſtrong Guard upon him, and laid him in Irons.

Some time after, the *Portugueſe* made a Deſcent upon *Achen*, and carried the firſt Turf Fort at the entry of the River, but could not maſter the Stone one. In this Juncture the young Prince deſir'd his Uncle would let him go and fight againſt the *Portugueze*, remonſtrating, that he had better die in a Battle with the *Caſires* (ſo they call the Chriſtians) than lie in Chains to no purpoſe. The King of *Achen* being at that time in a Conſternation, releas'd him, and ſuffer'd him to go upon that Deſign. The young Prince behav'd himſelf with ſo much Bravery in two or three Engagements with the *Portugueze*, that he acquir'd a great Reputation among the People of *Achen*.

This King's Acceſſion to the Throne.

Upon this, his Mother, being an Active ambitious Woman, forms a Deſign of making him King of *Achen*, and furniſhes him with great Sums of Money to be diſtributed among the principal *Orankays*. With the ſame view, the young Prince was very familiar in his Converſation, what ever he had was common to his Friends and Courtiers, he refus'd nothing that was ask'd of him; in a word, he ſhew'd himſelf liberal to the *Orankays*, affable to the Rich, a Companion to thoſe that profeſs'd Arms, and extream courteous to the Common People. In the mean time the King of *Achen* dy'd ſuddenly. At the Hour of his Death, the young Prince gets into the Caſtle, bribes the Guards, makes large Promiſes to the Officers, advances a large Sum of Money to the Governour of the Caſtle, diſtributes Money among the principal *Orankays*, and threatens the *Cady* who ſcrupled to Crown him. In fine, he managed the Intriegue ſo happily, that he was proclaim'd King that very Night, to the great joy of all the People; who had conceiv'd great Hopes of him, in regard of his Liberality, Courteſy, and Familiarity, as well as his Valour.

This Kin cuts his U kle's Thr

Pedir being 12 Miles from *Achen*, the King of that place was quickly acquainted with his Brothers Death, and came next Day to receive the Inveſtiture of his Patrimony: But as he approach'd to the Caſtle with a ſmall Retinue, he came into the Hands of his Nephew the King of *Achen*, who forgetting his former Favours, kept him a Month Priſoner in the Caſtle, and then pretending to ſend him out to a more agreeable Retreat at a diſtance from the City, caus'd his Throat to be cut by the way. Thoſe who put the Crown upon his Head were not better us'd: For he began with the *Maraja*, or Governour of the Caſtle, who had taken moſt of his Money, and ended with thoſe that receiv'd the laſt. In a Years time they found a great alteration upon him; for, inſtead of

being

His Character.

being *Human* he was very *Cruel*, inſtead of *Liberality* he diſplay'd an extream *Avarice*, and his *familiar meek* Temper became *auſtere* and *inexorable*. In fine, he has ſhed more Blood than his Grandfather did in his whole Reign; he has diſpeopled the whole Territory of *Achen*, and drain'd, not only the Natives, but, the Foreigners that reſide there, of all their Money. 'Tis true, he endeavour'd to repeople this City with his Conqueſts or rather Ravages (properly ſpeaking) for having ruin'd the Kingdoms of *Jor*, *Dely*, *Pahan*, *Queda* and *Pera*, he tranſported from thence to *Achen* about 22000 Perſons; but at preſent there are ſcarce 1500 of them left, ſo that that Policy ſerv'd rather for an inſtance of his Cruelty than any other thing, for the People being brought naked to *Achen*, and allow'd not a Grain of Rice for their Maintenance, dy'd of Hunger in the Streets. Hitherto this King has been ſucceſsful in all his Enterpriſes, inſomuch that ſome take him for a great Sorcerer. For my part *I* take him to be a Man of great judgment, one that undertakes nothing raſhly or unſeaſonably, but after a mature Deliberation, and upon the Foot of very probable Conjectures. He never aſſaulted one of his Neighbours, but when they were reduc'd to ſome Extremity. All his preparatory Meaſures are incomprehenſible, till the Deſign is put in execution; for he never asks nor receives Advice of any, and being inveſted with an abſolute Authority, his Commands are immediately put in Execution. Now, all this may be done without the Aſſiſtance of Devils: Beſides, *I* have often heard, that Sorcerers are poor ſorry Wretches, but *I* am certain, that this King is the richeſt of all his Neighbours.

Iſlands upon the Coaſt of *Sumatra*.

February the 3d, We came in ſight of the Iſle of *Montabey*. The 5th, We came to an inhabited Iſle that lies between *Naſſaw* and *Montabey*. The 6th, we paſs'd between *Naſſaw* and another Iſland not mark'd in the Charts. This Channel is four or five Leagues broad. All theſe Iſlands lie very low, whereas the oppoſite Coaſt of *Sumatra* is very high and conſpicuous. I would adviſe all Sailors rather to put in to *Sumatra* than into any of theſe little Iſlands; for the former is peopled all along the Shoar with Perſons acquainted with the Converſation of Strangers, whereas the Inhabitants of theſe are barbarous Savages, that have no communication with any other People.

We return to *Table-Bay*.

April the 20th. In 33 ½ Deg Lat. the Needle varying 7 ½ Degr. N.W. We deſcry'd a ſmooth and uniform, but rocky Coaſt; upon which, we ſtood to the Sea, and next Day encounter'd a violent Storm that laſted to the 23d. *May* the 1ſt, We perceiv'd the Land between Cape *Anguillas* and Cape *Falco*; and *May* the 5th, we came to an Anchor in *Table-Bay*. Our ſick Men did not recover at this place as I expected; either by reaſon of the extream cold, or becauſe I could not take in ſuch freſh Proviſions has I had a mind to, there being ſome *Dutch* Ships in the Bay that I miſtruſted. I bellieve the Cold had a great hand in it, for all the *Dutch* Sick died as well as mine. The Wind continu'd at W. N. W. from my firſt arrival in this Bay to the 24th, that I weighed anchor, and a bad Rudder obliging me to paſs by the N. E. of the little Iſland, was becalm'd within a Cannon ſhot of it. *May* the 30th, we ſet ſail, the Wind at S. S. E.

S. Helena.

June the 21ſt, we deſcry'd St. *Helens*, about 15 Leagues W. N. W. of us. Next Day I came to an anchor before it, and ſent our ſick Men aſhoar, who were ſomething benefited by the Air. This is a very convenient place for the refreſhing of Men, not only with regard to the Temperateneſs of the Air, but by reaſon of the plenty of young Kids and Hogs, the facility of coming at good Water, the conveniency of good Fiſhing in the Road and upon the Shoar, the abundance of Oranges and Citrons, which are excellent Remedies againſt the Scurvy, beſides ſeveral good Herbs, ſuch as Purſlain, a ſort of Tarragon in large quantities, ſome Fenugreek, Tobacco, and the Herb Mayoc; not to mention the Partridges, Pidgeons, and, as ſome ſay, Oxen, that this Iſland abounds with. For tho' the Iſland be mountainous and very ſteep and wither'd like, yet on the top there's a great deal of moiſture, and there is not a Gap or Valley without a Brook or Rivulet, the greateſt of which runs in the large Valley, where a Chapel is built, tho' the Valley is not above 150 Paces broad, and 1000 long; at the end of this Valley there's a ragged cleſt hill of Rocks, upon which there falls down a Stream of Water from a very high Mountain, inſomuch that it is beat as ſmall as Rain before it falls. This Iſle lies in 16 Deg. S. Lat. the Needle varying 5 ¼ Deg. N. E. and always has the Wind at S E.

Iſle of Aſcenſion.

July the 16th, we ſaw the Iſle of *Aſcenſion*, about 12 Leagues N. E. of us. 'Tis very high, and its Anchorage lies over againſt a Sandy Creek. This Iſle has neither Wood nor freſh Water, nor any green Herbs, being nothing but parch'd Rock. Yet it affords ſome Hogs, and a great many Fowls, ſuch as can live without freſh Water. Upon the Rocks and in the Road it has abundance of Fiſh, and Tortoiſes. *Its* circumference will make about 8 Leagues, as well as that of St. *Helens*. *It* lies in eight Deg. S. Lat.

The Iſle of S. Vincent.

After we croſs'd the Equinoctial we had ſuch Calms and drizling Rains, that moſt of our Men were ſiez'd with Dropſies and Tumours, upon which there enſued a great Mortality in the Ship. *Auguſt* the 11th, the Calms and drizling Rains continuing, there came a ſudden Whirl-wind that laſted for two Minutes, and broke all our Sails, carrying the Main-top-Sail quite off. The next Day we ſaw ſome Swallows and Butter-flies, which ſignified that we were near the Land. The 13th, we ſaw an *Iſland* to the North, in 16 Degr. Lat. which we knew to be St. *Nicolas*, one of the *Cape Verd* Iſlands. The 16th, we made the *Iſle* of St. *Vincent*, and caſt Anchor at five Fathom Water. The 17th, *I* ſet my ſick Men aſhoar, who were very numerous and in a ſorry condition; but when they came upon Land retriev'd apace. The ordinary Anchorage of this *Iſland* lies in 17 Deg. 20 Min. Lat. the Needle varying 2 Deg. 15 Min. N. E. *It* affords at this Seaſon great plenty of excellent Tortoiſes, which they call Free-Tortoiſes, and are diſtinguiſh'd from the others they call *Cabouanes*, by the ſmoothneſs, plainneſs, and green colour of the Shell, the largeneſs of their Body, and the ſmalneſs of their Head, and the form of their Snout, which reſembles the Teeth of a Saw. Theſe eat as well as a young Heifer, and ſome of 'em are ſo large that they'll weigh 300 Pound. They come out in the Night time, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, which they bury a Foot deep: Thoſe who have a mind to catch 'em, watch 'em at that time, and getting behind 'em, turn 'em over upon their Back, after which they cannot turn themſelves to get upon their Feet, and ſo lie there till the Morning: Moſt of 'em have 250 Eggs ſhell'd and as many unſhell'd in their Belly, which are very good. *In* this *Iſland* we meet with an Herb, that in ſome meaſure reſembles *Spinage*, but is infinitely better. We us'd it both in Sallad and Soup; and both it and the Tortoiſe Fleſh, kept our Bellies open, and cur'd our Men of great Dropſies, without any other Purgation, in the ſpace of eight Days, which perhaps could not be cur'd in *France* in a Month. 'Tis well ſtor'd with young Kids, but you are not ſure of catching them, unleſs you have Dogs. We ſaw no Fruit in it, but Wild Figs, which were all ſpoil'd with Worms. To the Eaſt-ward, under a high Mountain, there are vaſt quantities of Purſlain. Commonly the Water of this *Iſle* is brackiſh; but upon the S. W. Point of the Bay, where the Anchorage is, there's a ſmall Spring, that, if it were cleans'd and deepen'd, would afford pretty good Water. 'Tis furniſh'd with a conſiderable quantity of Wild Pines, which may ſerve for firing; beſides which, it has no Wood, unleſs it be ſome Shrubs that caſt forth a white milky Juice, that's very dangerous and painful to the Eyes, if it touches 'em. There's very good fiſhing along the Rocks, eſpecially at a little Rock at the entry of the Bay, about ½ of a League from the Anchorage. *In* two Hours time ſeven or eight Men may there catch Fiſh enough for 200 Men. *In* fine, 'tis not inferiour to St. *Helens* for a place of refreſhment, bating that its Water is not good; in compenſation of which Defect, 'tis all over acceſſible, and furniſh'd with pleaſant Walks, whereas the other is the moſt inacceſſible Country *I* ever ſaw. This *Iſle* is about 9 Leagues in circumference, and it has always the Wind at N. E. *It* has ſeveral pleaſant Bays; but that towards the *Iſle* of St. *Anthony* is the beſt Road for Ships that can be, for we rode at five Fathom Water on an excellent ſandy Ground, and were ſhelter'd from all Winds. We ſaw neither Men nor Honſes, tho' we travel'd over moſt of the *Iſland*.

After our departure from St. *Vincent* (which happen'd *September* the 15th) we had ſeveral violent Storms. *October* the 12th, we deſcry'd the *Azores Iſlands*; but it was the 17th before we could weather 'em. The 19th, we had a violent Storm from the N. W. that broke our Mizen-maſt, and oblig'd us to bring our Main-top-Maſt upon the Deck. The 30th, we were in 50 Deg. Lat. and had 70 Fathom Water; upon which moſt of our Pilots agreed that the *Sorlingues Iſles* lay about 20 Leagues to the W. of us. *November* the 3d, we deſcry'd the *Lizard* Point in *England*; and *December* the 1ſt, came ſafe to *Havre de Grace*, having been out 38 Months.

The End of Admiral Beaulieu's *Voyage to the* Eaſt-Indies.

The VOYAGE
OF
Francis Pirard de La Val to the Eaſt-Indies,
AND HIS
Remarks upon that Country.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH, *and Abridg'd.*

The French put to Sea May, 1601.

IN the Year 1601, a Company of Merchants of St. *Malo's* fitted out two Ships for the *Eaſt-Indies*; one of 400 Tun, call'd the *Creſſant*, and another of 200, call'd the *Corbin*; the former commanded by *Sieur de la Bardeliere* as Admiral, and the latter by *Francis Grout* of *Cloſneuf*, in the quality of Vice-Admiral. Our Author being on board the *Corbin*, drew up a Journal of the Voyage, the Subſtance of which is as followeth.

May the 18th, 1601. We ſet ſail from St. *Malo's* with a N. E. Wind; and at the Diſtance of nine or ten Leagues from the Shore, the Mizen-maſt of the *Corbin* ſplit in two.

They encounter ſome Dutch Fly-boats.

May the 21ſt, We fell in with nine great *Dutch* Hoys, each of which ſaluted us with a Gun; but one of 'em being loaded with Ball, beat the Sail of the *Corbin* to pieces; upon which the Vice-Admiral fired two Guns upon the Rigging of the Ship that had injur'd him; and the Admiral taking to the Windward of the *Dutch* Admiral, made to with all his Sails, and fir'd a Gun upon 'em. The *Dutch* Admiral preſently ſtruck, and having inform'd himſelf that the Miſchance was occaſion'd by the over-ſight of a Gunner that was in drink, deliver'd up the Gunner to the *French* Admiral, in order to condign Puniſhment, and beg'd he would pardon the Miſtake. Our Admiral finding how the Matter ſtood, ſaid, he deſir'd no further Satisfaction, and having return'd the Gunner, intreated the *Dutch* to vouchſafe him a Pardon. How the *Dutch* treated him afterwards I know not; tho' I do not much doubt, but they hang'd him up immediately at the Yard's Arm; for the *Dutch* obſerve an exact Diſcipline in their Ships, and ſuffer no Crimes to paſs with Impunity; and from thence it comes to paſs that their Navigation is more ſucceſsful than the *French*.

June the 3d, We deſcry'd the *Canary* Iſlands in 28, 29, and 30 Degrees North Latitude: The 12th and 13th, we came in ſight of the Iſlands of Cape *Vard*, which run from 20 to 14 Degrees North Latitude.

June the 29th, We were in five Degrees Latitude, and deſcry'd the South Star call'd the *Croſs*; at the ſame time we ſaw a prodigious quantity of flying Fiſh, with Wings like thoſe of Bats, which are very plentiful near the Equinoctial Line, whether on the North or South ſide.

July the 14, We diſcover'd the unhealthy Coaſt of *Guinee*, being carried out of our Courſe in a Calm, by the ſtrength of the Currents.

The Weather unconſtant near the Equator.

Auguſt the 24th, We croſs'd the Equator, on both ſides of which, for the extent of ſeven or eight Degrees, we had very unconſtant Weather, and an extremity of Heat in an inſtant of time: The greateſt Calms were frequently turn'd into Thundrings and Lightnings (eſpecially when the Sun is near the Equinoxes) and with boiſtrous Winds; which ſurpris'd us ſo ſuddenly, that we could ſcarce get our Sails down in time: The Heat was ſo great, that it melted our Candles and Butter, corrupted our Water, and ſpoil'd our Meat and Fiſh, tho' never ſo well ſalted. Oftentimes we ſaw great Whirlwinds riſing at a diſtance, call'd by the Sea-men Dragons, which ſhatter and overturn any Ship that falls in their Way. When theſe appear, the Sailors have a ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of repairing to the Prow, or the ſide that lies next the Storm, and beating naked Swords againſt one another croſs ways, upon a vain Apprehenſion of preventing their approach by that Means. In this Air the Rains are very dangerous, for if one is wet, and does not immediately ſhift himſelf, his Body is ſoon after cover'd all over with Botches, and his Cloths with Worms. In the time of a Calm, Ships roll prodigiouſly in thoſe Seas; but when they run with a freſh Gale, they are more ſteddy.

Auguſt the 29th, Our Pilot (an *Engliſh* Man) deſcry'd Land ten Leagues off; for tho' we mean'd to ſtand 100 Leagues off to the Sea, the Currents drove us towards the Shore. This we found to be the Iſle of *Anabon*, poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueſe*, where we took in freſh Water and Fruit; and after a Show of Civility at firſt, treacherouſly ſlew one of our Men, and took five Priſoners.

A Deſcription of the Iſle of Anabon.

Pinguin's

This Iſland is govern'd by a *Portugueſe* Lord, who had the Gift of it from the King of *Spain*; the other *Portugueſe* who inhabit it, being only his Factors and Commiſſaries. The Natives, who are all his Slaves, are *Negro's*, and go naked, covering their Privities with Cotton. Their Women carry their Children upon their Backs, and ſuckle them over their Shoulder, their Breaſts being very long. The Iſland is ſituate in 1 ½ D. S. Lat. and is five or ſix Leagues in Circumference. 'Tis high, mountainous, and always green. The Road is on the N. W. ſide, and is very dangerous, by reaſon of Flats and Rocks. We lay there ſix or ſeven Weeks, and during that time, it rain'd every Day more or leſs. The Country produces great plenty of Fruit and Cotton, in which all the Revenues are paid; their Fiſh is extraordinary good, and very plentiful. The diſtance of a League and a half from *Anabon*, there is a little ſcorch'd Iſland, that affords no Greens; but is ſo cover'd with the Fowl call'd *Pinguin's*, that one cannot walk any where without treading upon their Eggs. This Fowl is no bigger than a Pigeon, and its Fleſh is black, but it eats admirably well.

St. Helens.

October the 16th, We put to Sea again, and *November* the 17th, we made the Iſland of St. *Helens*, which lies in 16 Degrees S. Lat. at a diſtance of 600 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Upon the Altar of a Chapel in this Iſland, we found ſeveral Letters, adviſing, that the *Dutch* had paſs'd that way. Here we thought to have fitted our Mizen-maſt, but found no Wood fit for the Purpoſe. The Air, Fruit, Fleſh and Water of that place are ſo healthy, that our Men who were much oppreſs'd with the Scurvy, recover'd in the ſpace of nine Days

Abroilles.

November the 26th, We ſet ſail, and ſtood for the Cape of *Good Hope*; and three Days after doubled the *Abroilles*, i. e. a Bank of Shelves upon the Coaſt of *Braſil*, which lies in 18 Degrees South Latitude and is 70 Leagues long. The doubling of theſe Sands is both difficult

The *Guinea* Coaſt unhealthy.

difficult and dangerous; and in ſailing to the *Eaſt-Indies*, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious, in keeping to a juſt diſtance from the *Guinee* Coaſt, which is very unhealthy, and incommoded with Calms and Currents, and at the ſame time ſtanding off from the *Abroilles*: For the doing of which, there is Sea room enough, ſince we reckon 1000 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Africa* to that of *Braſil*.

The Cape of Needles.

Having doubled this Cape, we continued our Courſe for the Cape of *Good Hope*, and in few Days knew that we approach'd to it, by the appearance of the Reeds call'd Tromba's, and white ſpeckl'd Fowls. Having weathered the Cape of *Good Hope*, we came in ſight of that of *Aiguiles*, or *Needles*, which ſhoots 15 Leagues further into the Sea, and lies in 35 Degrees South Lat. This Cape derives its Name from the Obſervation, that when a Ship comes before it, the Needle of the Compaſs Points directly Northward, without declining to the E. or W.

January the 6th, 1602, We met with a violent Storm, in which one of our Sea-men fell over-board, and his Companion would have jump'd after him, if we had not prevented him; tho' after all, I take his Offer to be the effect of Wine rather than true Affection, for there is but little Friendſhip among Sea-faring Men.

Coaſt of *Natal* very ſtormy.

Purſuing our Courſe, we ſteer'd by the Country of *Nathal*, upon the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, without any Storm, which was an uncommon Favour in thoſe Seas; for between the 33 and 28 Degrees, they are never almoſt without violent Storms.

After that we miſtook our Courſe through the Ignorance of the Pilot, and *February* the 4th, finding our ſelves on the Land-ſide of St. *Lawrence*, tack'd about, in order to make the other ſide.

A violent Storm off of *S. Lawrence*.

February the 7th, 1602, Having paſs'd that Iſland according to our Wiſhes, we were ſurpriz'd all of a ſudden, with a violent Storm from the South-Weſt, being leſs acquainted with thoſe Seas than the *Portugueſe*, who make timely Proviſion for ſuch Accidents. In this Storm, it was ſo dark in full Day, that we could not ſee the Heavens or one another; our two Ships were ſeparated, and our Sails were tore to rags; ſuch was the Force of the Rain and Wind, that they wounded our Faces like ſo many Laſhes of Whip-cord; the Waves ſwell'd ſo high, and waſh'd in with ſuch Force upon the Ship, that we could not ſtand upon the Deck. In this place we continu'd four Days and four Nights, and the Men of Senſe that were on board, apply'd themſelves to devout Exerciſes, while the Sailors redoubled their Oaths and Blaſphemies. Our ancienteſt Pilots and Sea-men proteſted they never encounted ſuch a violent Tempeſt; but the Buſineſs was, they never had been in thoſe Seas, which ſwell higher than elſe where.

St. *Auguſtin* Bay deſcrib'd

February 11, The Storm being over, we ſtood in for St. *Lawrence*, being much diſabled. All our Men were in a Manner half dead, and we had not a Man on board but a *Dutch* Gunner, that had ever been in the *Indies* before. When we came within 30 or 40 Leagues of the Iſland, the Sea appear'd yellowiſh and frothy, and was cover'd with Reeds and floating Herbs, which continued to appear on its Surface till the 19th, that we arriv'd and caſt Anchor at St. *Auguſtine*'s Bay, in 23 ½ Deg. S. Lat. This Bay is large and very convenient, having an excellent Ground of Clay and Sand. The ſame Day the *Creſſant* rejoin'd us after twelve Days Separation, and was more diſabled than we. The Sea-men being Scorbutick, we mark'd out a place on the Shore for the Sick: And at the ſame time a *Dutch* Ship was forc'd into the ſame Harbour by ſtreſs of Weather, which had not one ſick Man on board. The Natives gave us Cattle, Fowl, Honey, Milk and Fruit, in exchange for Knives, Ciſſars, and Trinkets of little value. But the place was ſo unhealthy, that many of our Men were ſwept off, partly by the Scurvy, and partly by a Phrentick Fever. We lay directly under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and the Sun Beams darted upon us almoſt in a perpendicular Line; ſome had their Legs ſcorch'd and ulcerated thro' their Stockings; nay, the extream heat would have incommoded us yet more, if it had not been for the Conveniency of a fine River to bath in, and the Shades of a large Wood. We were poſted at the Foot of a great Mountain, which was cover'd with an infinity of large Lizards, that offer'd no hurt to any body. The Wood was repleniſh'd with an innumerable quantity of little Monkeys and Apes, which entertain'd us with a pleaſurable Shews, in dancing about, and skipping from Tree to Tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and make an agreeable Harmony with their various and warbling Notes. Not to mention the Indiſcretion of our Men, in over feeding in ſo hot a Climate, and the pernicious Conſequences that attended it, I ſhall only take notice further of the unſpeakable Uneaſineſs that attended from the Flies by Day, and the Gnats that peſter'd us in the Night time, in piercing the Fleſh till the Blood came, and an Inflamation inſued. This Inconvenience was ſo cutting, that ſome crept into Sacks and Bags, leaving only a ſmall hole to breath through, and all of us were forc'd to make Fires, and lie down in the midſt of the Smoak.

A Deſcription of St. *Lawrence*.

The Iſland of St. *Laurence* has 700 Leagues in circumference; It lies between 26 and 14 Deg. South Lat. It abounds in Cattle, eſpecially Sheep, which bring forth three or four Lambs at a time. The Cattle are not impropriated, but common to all that catch 'em; for the Inhabitants, and indeed moſt of the other *Indians*, chooſe rather to feed on Fiſh, Fruit and Milk. 'Tis common there to ſee 200 or 300 Bulls and Cows in one Herd; and when they come to croſs a broad deep River, the Cows raiſe their Heads upon the Bull's Rump, and ſo get over. We anchor'd at the Mouth of a River that afforded great plenty of Fiſh and Crocodiles; and when we kill'd a Crocodile and took out its Intrails, we obſerv'd, that like Musk, they made a very agreeable Perfume in the Air. The Natives are of a tawny Olive Complexion, inclining to a red; they are tall, ſtreight, well made, and not only of a ready Apprehenſion, but wiſe. Their Hair is long, and reath'd into Treſſes; they go naked all over, excepting that their Privities are cover'd with Cotton Cloth. Their Women wear one Piece of Cloth that covers 'em from under their Breaſt to their Girdle, and another that reaches from thence to the Knees, their Head being bare and ſhav'd. Their Arms are Darts and Javelins, call'd *Azagayes*, for the Noiſe of a Gun frights 'em exceedingly. 'Tis ſaid, that this Iſland was formerly peopled by the *Chineſe*, upon the Occaſion of a Ship's being caſt away upon that Coaſt; and indeed they reſemble the *Chineſe* very much, bating, that their Complexion is not near ſo white, which perhaps may proceed from their going naked, and living in the Torrid Zone. At preſent the Iſland is very populous, and govern'd by ſeveral Kings, that wage War with one another. Some of the Inhabitants are *Mahometans*, and circumcis'd, and the reſt are *Pagans*: The inland Parts of the Iſland are in great want of Water.

The Iſlands of *Comorre*.

May the 15th, 1602, Having refitted our Ships as well as we could, and provided our ſelves with Water, Wood, and Fleſh, which after all would not take Salt ſo well as what we have in *Europe*, we ſet ſail, and ſteer'd for the *Comorro* Iſlands, upon the Conſideration, that our complement of Men was very ſhort and ſickly.

The 23d, we made theſe Iſlands, which lie in 12 ½ Deg. South Lat. between S. *Lawrence* and the Continent of *Africa*, at the diſtance of 70 Leagues from *Mozambick*. There are five of 'em, each of which has a peculiar King; and one of 'em, call'd *Molaill*, being ſurrounded by the other four, we choſe to anchor in its road. We ſaw ſeveral Villages aſhoar, the Inhabitants of which us'd us kindly, and gave us Fruit in exchange for Trinkets made of Iron. The Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands are *Mahometans*, being a Medley of ſeveral Nations, viz. *Ethiopians*, *Caffrians*, *Arabians*, and *Perſians*. They are true Friends to the *Portugueſe*, and a cunning ſharp ſort of People, that are not fit to be confided in. When our Men offer'd to land at a little Village to take in Water, the Inhabitants roſe up in Arms, and oppos'd their landing, till they ſent 'em five or ſix Crowns, after which they allow'd 'em to take as much Water as they pleas'd. All theſe Iſlands are extream fertile in Oranges, Citrons, Coco's, Honey, Betel and Rice, which we bought up at the eaſie Purchaſe of a few Iron Trinkets, and Flanders Ware. Fleſh indeed is as dear there as here, tho' they have plenty of Oxen, Cows and Sheep. They have Barks made altogether of the Core and Tree, in which they ſend their Fruit to *Mozambick*, to be exchang'd for Cotton, Cloth, Gold, Ivory, *&c.* One Day we ſaw a monſtrous Fiſh riſe above the Water, which had the Form and Figure of a Man, with a ſort of Beard towards the Chin, that ſeem'd to be its Fins, and a long ſhaly Head, terminating in a Point. When we offer'd to come near him, he plung'd his Head under Water, and ſo diſcover'd part of his Back, which was ſcaly. We ſtay'd a Fortnight in this Road, and the Goodneſs of the Fruit and the Air, cur'd our Men of the Scurvy, to a miracle; and indeed I have always obſerv'd, that Citrons and Oranges, and their Juices, are of ſoveraign uſe in Scorbutick Caſes.

The *Corbin* is caſt away on the Coaſt of the *Maldives*.

June the 17th, 1602. We ſet ſail, and the 24, repaſs'd the Equinoctial Line, ſtanding to the Northward. In the Lat. of 5 Deg. N. Lat. we perceiv'd ſome great Shelves ſurrounding little Iſlands, which were the *Maldives*, tho' moſt of our Maſters and Pilots miſtook for the Iſlands call'd *de Diego des Rees*, which we had left 80 Leagues a-ſtern to the Weſt. Our Admiral deſign'd to paſs to the North of the *Maldives*, between them and the Coaſt of *India*; But on the contrary we run directly upon 'em, whereas we ought to have ſtood 100 Leagues off 'em, if we had a mind to be ſafe. In fine, ſuch was our Miſfortune, that the *Corbin* which ſail'd in head, ſtruck thrice upon a Rock, at the diſtance of five or ſix Leagues from the Shoar of the *Maldives*. In this Diſaſter we ſaw a Bark belonging to the Iſlands, which would not come near us, by reaſon of a ſtrict Prohibition in that Country, to approach any Ship in diſtreſs, without the King's eſpecial Leave. In the mean time the Sailors eat and drank heartily, and treated their Commanders with a flaming ſort of Inſolence; inſulting all thoſe that ſhew'd any regard to Religion, and loudly proclaiming, that ſince Death was ſo certain, they were reſolv'd to render its Approaches eaſy and ſoft. This fill'd me with Horrour, and convince me that moſt Sailors leave their Souls and Conſciencies a-ſhoar. In fine, after continuing two Days in this deplorable and deſperate Condition, we made a ſhift to refit our Galioon, and haul it over the Flats, and with infinite Labour and Difficulty, arriv'd on board of it, at one of the Iſlands call'd *Pouladon*, which is not a League in circumference. We had carried ſome Arms along with us, but the Inhabitants diſputed our landing, till we gave up our Arms, and ſurrender'd our ſelves at diſcretion. There was not above 20 or 25 Inhabitants in the Iſland; but they concerted their Meaſures ſo wiſely, that they ſent off our Boat and all their own to the other Iſlands, to prevent any Inſurrection from us. They carried us all to a Lodge in the middle of the Iſland, where they entertain'd us with ſome Fruit, Coco's and Limons, and riffled us of all we had, pleading, that it belong'd to their King, as being Wreck. We had a piece of Scarlet Cloth with us, which (we pretended) was deſign'd for a Preſent to the King of the Iſlands, alledging at the ſame time, that the whole Cargo of our Ship was mean'd for a Compliment to him. Upon this, no body dar'd ſo much as touch the Scarlet; but after all, we cut a piece of two or three Ells off it, and preſented it to the Governour of this little Iſland, in order to oblige him; and the Governour, who was a very old Man, took it very kindly, conjuring us not to ſpeak of it. Soon after, the Governour ſent the Maſter and two Sailors to the King, who reſided in the Capital Iſland call'd *Male*, and the Maſter preſented him the piece of Scarlet. Immediately the King ſent for his Brother-in-Law to ſave what was on board our ſtranded Ship. Tho' the Flats were ſuch that no Boat could come near it, yet they found a way of getting at it, by the means of a Rope faſten'd at one end to the Ship, and at the other to the Rock; for tho' the Waves waſh'd over 'em, they held faſt by the Rope, and ſo got to the Ship; nay, they are ſo ingenious, that they took the very Cannon and the heavieſt Goods, and laugh'd at any Advice we could give 'em. When we left the Ship, we brought with us about 1000 Crowns in ſeveral Girdles, and bury'd it a-ſhoar for a common Reſerve to ſupply our Neceſſities: But ſome of our Men being in want of Suſtenance, dig'd up the place, and offer'd the Natives pieces of Money for Food; after which, the Natives would never allow us Suſtenance, without pieces of Money; and in regard that the leaſt piece in the whole Bank was worth 20 pence, their Proviſions were much over-valued. Every Seaman hid from his Neighbour what he had got, and would not aſſiſt him even at the point of ſtarving; nay, when any lay very ſick, the reſt came and rifled him before he dy'd. As for my own part (ſays our Author) I and two more were tranſported to the Iſland of *Pandowe*, the Natives of which being acquainted with what paſs'd in the other Iſlands, and thinking we had Money about us, refus'd us Suſtenance, till we gave 'em pieces of Silver; but in effect we had none of the Money, and were reduc'd to great Extremities. In the mean time I made it my Buſineſs to learn their Language, and by the being able to diſcourſe with 'em, inſinuated my ſelf into the Favour of the Governour of the Iſland, who ſent me to *Male*, with Recommendation to the King, and both the King and his Queens were ſo well pleas'd with my ſaluting 'em in their own Language, and according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and with the Account I gave 'em of the things that were took out of our Ship, the Manners of the *French* Ladies, &c. that they took a diſtinguiſhing Care of me, particularly in a fit of Sickneſs, that laſted for ſeveral Days. In a word, I roſe by the King's Favour and Bounty to a competency of Riches; and having by virtue of a long Stay in the Country, an Opportunity to inſpect their Conſtitution, Cuſtoms, Laws, &c. am now going to gratifie the Publick with what I have learn'd upon that Subject.

The Natives covet pieces of Silver.

The Sufferings of the *French*.

The King of the *Maldives* favours thoſe that learn his Language.

The *Maldives*, Their Situation, Diviſion and Number.

The Inconvenience of going into the Water.

The Fowl call'd *Pingui's*

Scarcity of freſh Water.

Freſh Water juſt by the Sea.

The *Maldives* lie between 8 Degrees North Latitude and four Degrees South Latitude, being 200 Leagues in length and 35 in breadth. They are diſtant from *Spain* (according to the Courſe of Sailing) 4500 Leagues, and from the Continent or Cape *Comorin*, 150 Leagues. They are divided into 13 Provinces, call'd *Attollons*, each of which comprehends a great many ſmall Iſlands, and is of a circular form, containing about 30 Leagues in circumference. Theſe Iſlands are ſurrounded with a great ridge of Rocks, which breaks the Shocks of the Sea, and raiſes prodigious Surges. 'Tis ſaid the number of Iſlands amounts to 12000, a great part of which is nothing but uninhabited Hillocks of Sand. But the Inhabitants inform'd me, that the daily Incurſions of the Sea had impair'd the number both of the Iſlands and Inhabitants; and that the Iſles of one *Attollon*, were formerly one continued Tract of Land. 'Tis plain that the Seas which divide the Iſles of one *Attollon* are ſo ſhallow, that at low Water one might eaſily wade over, were it not that the bottom is rocky and ſharp, and apt to wound the Feet to a flaming degree; and that thoſe Seas are peſter'd with the Fiſh call'd *Paimones*, which break Mens Legs and Arms, and devour 'em. Another great Inconvenience that attends the going into the Water, proceeds from a rough, ſharp, polous, hard and ponderous ſort of Subſtance, not unlike white Coral, which they call *Aquiry*, and make uſe of in boiling it with Coco Water, for 'tis that which forms their Sugar or Honey. A great part of theſe Iſlands are uninhabited, and produce nothing but Trees and Graſs; others are only a moveable Sand, without any Green; and others again are overflowed at high-water. The reſt are cover'd all over with great Crabs call'd Cacouue, and Cra-fiſh, or elſe with the Fowls call'd *Pingui's*, inſomuch that one cannot place their Foot in any part, without treading upon their Eggs and Young ones, or upon the old Birds themſelves, which do not fly far upon the approach of a Man. This Fowl is as big as a Pigeon, with white and black Feathers, and is excellent Meat, tho' the Natives do not eat it. The uninhabited ſandy Iſlands appear at a diſtance, as if they were cover'd with Snow; for the Sand, which is as fine as that of an Hour-glaſs, is extream white, and withal ſo very hot, as to hatch the *Pingui's* Eggs. Theſe ſandy Iſlands afford little or no freſh Water; but the covered Iſlands whether inhabited or not, enjoy that Benefit, abating for a very few, the Inhabitants of which are forc'd to have recourſe to the neighbouring Iſlands for Water, and make uſe of certain Inventions for the receiving of Rain Water. The Water of ſome Iſlands is better than that of others. Their Well-water is neither very ſweet nor wholeſome, but it is very plentiful and freſh, even within four Paces of the Sea-ſide; for they dig not above three or four Foot, and where the Sea makes frequent Inundations. This Water is very hot in the Night time, and extream cool in the Day, eſpecially about Noon.

The Names of the *Attollons*.

The *Maldivans* ſail very dexterouſly.

To return to the 13 *Attollons*; the firſt (beginning from the North) is call'd *Tilla Don Matis*, i. e. the *High Point*. In this lies the Head or Cape of the ſame Name, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Cabexa Des Las il has*, and ſituated in eight Degrees North Latitude; the ſecond is call'd *Milla dene Madone*; the third *Padypolo*; the fourth *Maloſmadon*; the fifth *Arratollon*; the ſixth *Male Attollon*, in which lies *Male*, the head Iſland of the *Maldives*; the ſeventh *Pouliſdous*; the eighth *Molucque*; the ninth *Nillandous*; the tenth *Collomadons*; the eleventh *Adoumatis*; the twelfth *Souadon*; the thirteenth *Addon* and *Pona Molubque*, theſe two being reckon'd but one by reaſon of their ſmalneſs. Each *Attollon* is ſeparated from the adjacent Provinces, by an Arm of the Sea, which is in ſome places narrow and in ſome places broad. There are only four of theſe limiting Chanels, that being much broader than the reſt, are navigable by great Ships, but not without danger, eſpecially in the Night, by reaſon of their Flats and Rocks, which are mark'd very exactly in ſome Sea Charts, which I ſaw in that Country. The Natives have a wonderful Dexterity in avoiding theſe dangerous places; I have ſeen 'em ſail ſo nicely, as to rub upon Rocks on both ſides, without any damage. Both the Rich and the Poor are inur'd to the Sea from their Infancy, and fear not to encounter the moſt turbulent and foaming Seas, in little Boats and Barques, the number of which is unaccountable, for the pooreſt Man that is has one, and the Rich have ſeveral. They never ſail by Night or out of ſight of Land, unleſs it be when they undertake ſome great Voyage; and accordingly the Proviſions they have on board, are calculated only for one Day. The greateſt part of the Iſlands comprehended in one *Attollon*, are ſurrounded with a common Flat or Bar, that's only paſſable at one or two narrow places, which are not eaſily obſerv'd ; and for that Reaſon it is neceſſary for 'em to be very expert in the Management of their Boats or Barques, ſince the leaſt Ship is certainly followed with Shipwrack and the loſs of their Goods. As for their own Perſons, indeed they have no great Reaſon to fear, for all of 'em ſwim admirably well. Notwithſtanding their wonderful Dexterity in Sailing, they frequently looſe their Barques, which is chiefly occaſion'd by the Currents call'd *Oyvarou*, which run Eaſt and Weſt Currents, ſix Months upon the Eaſt Coaſt, and ſix Months upon the Weſt, but with ſuch uncertainty, that the change happen'd ſooner or later at one time than another. Tho' their Winds are frequently fix'd, as well as the Currents, in the Eaſt and Weſt quarter, yet they ſometimes ſhift to the N. and S.

The neceſſity of four landing places in each *Attollon*.

'Tis obſervably, that the *Attollons* lie all in a line, the end of the one facing the end of the next adjacent ; and that they have two Entrances or acceſſable places on each ſide, which is a wonderful Conveniency ; for if there were only one landing place at each end, the impetuoſity of the Eaſt and Weſt Currents would break their Communication with one another, or at leaſt 'twoud be impoſſible to practice it in all Seaſons. The neceſſity of four landing places in each *Attollon* will be evident, if we conſider the following Inſtance. Suppoſe a landing place on the Eaſt Coaſt, almoſt directly oppoſite to the Entry of the other *Attollon*, and another on the Weſt, oppoſite to that of the adjacent *Attollon* ; if the Current runs from Eaſt to Weſt, we cannot croſs directly from Entrance to Entrance, but ſet out from the Eaſt Coaſt, which is then the Head of the Current, and taking it ſideways, ſteers for the Weſt Entry of the other *Attollon*. In order to return, we ſet out from the Eaſt Entrance, and overthwarting the Current, make to the Weſt Entry of the other *Attollon*. *W*hen the Current changes its Courſe, we obſerved the ſame Contrivance in ſetting out from the Head of the Current, and entring the other *Attollon* at that place which lies under the Current. Of theſe Entrances, ſome are broad and ſome narrow, but the wideſt is not above 200 Paces broad, and ſome of 'em are leſs than 30. Each Entrance is guarded with an Iſland on each ſide ; and if Cannon were planted on theſe Iſlands, 'twere eaſy to hinder any Ships to enter.

The Chanels that parts the *Attollons*.

Of the Chanels that part the *Attollons*, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great Ships, and frequently viſited by Strangers, when the Currents carry them in againſt their will. To begin from the North ſide ; the firſt of theſe four waſhes the *Attollon*, call'd *Malos Madou*, and 'twas in this that we were caſt away. The 2d, call'd *Caridou*, has *Malé*, the greateſt of all theſe Iſlands in the middle of it. The 3d call'd *Addou*, lies to the South of *Malé*. The fourth call'd *Souadou*, lies directly under the Equinoctial Line ; and in regard that it is the broadeſt of 'em all, being 20 Leagues over, the Natives don't ſail upon it without a Compaſs, tho' they never uſe any in the other Chanels. Beſides theſe, there is a narrow Chanel, which ſeparates *Malé* and *Poliſdou*, in which the Sea appears as black as Ink, but the *Water* taken up in a Veſſel, looks like other *Water*. That Sea boils like *Water* on a Fire ; it ſwells into great black Surges, but is not mov'd from one ſide to another, which renders it very terrible.

A Sea as black as Ink.

The Climate of theſe Iſlands.

The *Maldives* lie ſo near the Equinoctial on both ſides, that their Climate is extream hot. Their Day and Night are always equal ; and their Nights are very cool and dewy, which renders the heat of the Sun more tolerable, and ſhoots forth their Herbs and Trees. Their *Winter* commences in *April* and continues till *October*, at which time the Summer begins, and laſts likewiſe ſix Months. In *Winter* they have perpetual Rains but no Froſt ; and the weſterly *Winds* are very boiſterous. In Summer their *Winds* are Eaſterly, with an exceſſive Heat and no Rain.

The Original of the Inhabitants.

'Tis ſaid, that the *Maldives* were in former times peopled by the *Cingala* (ſo the Inhabitants of *Ceylon* are call'd.) But 'tis obſervable, that the *Cingala* are black and ugly, whereas the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* are handſome, well made, and of an Olive Complexion : Tho' after all 'tis poſſible, that the Climate and proceſs of time, may have alter'd the Complexion and Shapes to their advantage ; beſides, that a great many Foreigners being caſt away on their Coaſt, are blended with 'em by intermarriages : And by this Means it comes to paſs, that thoſe who live about *Malé*, between it and the North Cape (where the Shipwracks happen) are more poliſh'd and civiliz'd, than thoſe on the South Coaſt, who are not only blacker, but much coarſer in their Language, Cuſtoms, and the ſhape of the Body ; nay, many of their *Women*, eſpecially ſuch as are poor, go naked, with a ſmall cover for their Privities. This North ſide of the Iſland is not only richer and more civiliz'd, as being the common Paſſage for all Ships, but the Seat of all the Nobility and Men of Fortune ; and when the King puniſhes a Criminal with Baniſhment, he only ſends him to the South parts ; The Souldiers are all rais'd in the North parts. But after all this Difference, I muſt ſay, that the Inhabitants of the South parts are naturally as apprehenſive and ingenious, as thoſe of the North.

The North point more civiliz'd than the South.

A Character of the Inhabitants.

In general, the *Maldivans* are very ingenious ; they apply themſelves with great Induſtry and Succeſs, to all ſorts of Manufactures, and even to Letters and Sciences, (after their manner) eſpecially to Aſtrology, which they hold in great eſteem. They are a wiſe cautious People, and very ſharp in their Merchandize and way of living ; they are brave, and skill'd in Arms, and their Policy is very regular. Their Women are very handſome, abating for their Olive colour ; nay, ſome of 'em are as white as the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, which is reckoned a great Ornament ; and in order to turn it exactly black, ſeveral Women keep their Daughters Heads ſhav'd till they are eight or nine Year old, leaving only a little Hair upon their Forehead to diſtinguiſh 'em from Boys, who have none at all. I have ſeen ſome Children have half flaxen Hair, which was turn'd very black, by being ſhav'd every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair, but the Women place an Ornament in having theirs thick and long, which they waſh and dreſs very frequently. They waſh their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that purpoſe, after which their Hair hangs diſhevel'd in the Wind (but within doors) till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moiſt and oily. Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after waſhing, but tho' they waſh their Bodies oftner than once in a Day, their Hair is not waſh'd above twice or thrice a week. They may waſh their Hair when they pleaſe, but they are oblig'd to do it after copulation, and particularly on *Fridays*, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Feſtival Days for the Men. After the Women have waſh'd, rub'd and perfum'd their Hair, they ſtretch all the Hair from before backwards, without leaving ſo much as one ſtragling Hair, and tie it behind in a great tuft or knot, which they enlarge by a Perriwig of Mans Hair, made in the form of a Horſe's Tail ; nay, ſome of 'em have two ſuch Perriwigs ; beſides which, they add odoriferous Flowers.

How the Women dye, waſh, perfume and dreſs their Hair.

How the Men wear their Hair.

As for the Men, none but Gentlemen and the King's Officers and Souldiers are allow'd to wear long Hair, and theſe indeed waſh, perfume and dreſs their Hair after the ſame manner with the Women, excepting that they make the tuft not behind, but on the Crown of the Head, or on one ſide, and that they wear no falſe Perriwigs. However they are oblig'd to wear long Hair, againſt their own pleaſure ; and moſt of thoſe who do cut it off when it gives over growing, in order to be made into Perriwigs for the Women ; for the Women's Heads are never ſhav'd, whether dead or alive ; and indeed the greateſt part of theſe Perriwigs come from the Continent, particularly from the Coaſt of *Melebar*, where every Man wears his Hair long. Their Hair grows much faſter than ours, by reaſon partly of the frequent waſhing and perfuming, and partly of the exceſſive heat, which occaſions thick and ſtrong Hair, and for the ſame reaſon their Hair is never curl'd. The Men are hairy all over the Body, and deſpiſe thoſe that are not ; but the Women have no Hair but what's uſual. They have no Combs but they have Ciſſars of caſt Copper, and Copper Looking-glaſſes, which they make uſe of in ſhaving themſelves with Steel Raſors, made after another faſhion than ours. There are no profeſs'd Barbers in the Country, for every one ſhaves himſelf, excepting the King and ſome Peers, who are ſerv'd by Perſons that are proud of that Honour, without any Proſpect of Gain ; ſo that in all theſe Iſlands both Men and Women are provided with Utenſils for ſhaving, and are very nice in taking off their Hair when it begins to be uneaſy to 'em. The Girls have their Heads ſhav'd once a week, from their Infancy to the 8th Year of their Age, at which time their Hair is ſuffer'd to grow to its full length, and dreſs'd as above, for then is the Seaſon of looking out for Husbands. Before that Age they have no Garments, but only a Cloth that hangs down from their middle to the Knees ; and the Occaſion of their being cloth'd afterwards, proceeds from the riſing of their Breaſts, which commences at that time ; for the Women in that Country are as tender of ſhewing their Breaſts, as our Women are of their ſecret parts. Before the ſwelling of their Breaſts, they are look'd upon as Children, and 'tis not allowable for Men or Boys to diſcourſe to 'em of Love Matters. The Cloth that

The manner of ſhaving, both for Men and Women.

The Modeſty of the Girls.

hangs down from their middle to the Knees, they put on as ſoon as they begin to go; but the Boys have none till they are ſeven Years old, and circumcis'd. As for the Men who are hairy all over, they only ſhave their Breaſt, which is left uncover'd; but they ſhave it ſo as to leave Hair ſtanding here and there. Their Beards are of two ſorts; Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and thoſe who have perform'd Pilgrimages to *Mecca*, wear long Beards, ſhaving under the Throat, and upon the upper and lower Lip, all round their Mouth; for 'tis reckon'd the greateſt nuſance in the World, to have their Meat or Drink touch'd with Hair. The other ſort of People have little *Spaniſh* Beards without Muſtaches, being ſhav'd round the Mouth and under the Chin. They are very careful in ſaving the Pairings of their Nails and the Shavings of their Hair, which they wrap up in Cotton, and bury in their Church-yards, with a little Water, upon the Plea, that being parts of the Body, they require interment as well as the whole, and for that reaſon, many of 'em choſe to be ſhav'd in the Porches of their Temples; for they would not for any thing in the World, either trample upon theſe Excrements, or ſee 'em thrown in the Fire. They are ſo hardy, that tho' their Raſours are very bad, yet they uſe nothing but cold Water, and never complain of any Pain in ſhaving.

The Mens Beards.

They ſave their Shavings and Pairings.

The Fertility of theſe Iſlands.

To give a particular Deſcription of the *Maldives*, we ſhall begin with its Fertility. It produces great plenty of Millet, call'd there *Pura*, and another little Grain call'd *Brinby*, which reſembles Millet, but is black like Rapeſeed; theſe two ſorts of Grain they ſow and reap twice in one Year. They make a ſort of Meal of 'em, of which they make Pottage, with Milk, Coco, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters.

Nelpoul a Root.

The Country produces likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one call'd *Nelpou'*, which grows wild, being round, and as big as two Fiſts. They bruiſe it upon a rough Stone, and then expoſe it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white ſort of Meal, that eats admirably in Pottage or Cakes, only it muſt be very freſh, and 'tis apt to lie heavy upon the Stomach.

Alas a Root.

Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is call'd *Alas*, which muſt be ſown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh; ſome of this ſort of Roots are red and others white. The Inhabitants boil 'em ſeveral ways, and make 'em the moſt of their food, keeping 'em for a whole Year, for they come to maturity only once a Year, in *September*. They have no Rice but what is imported from the Continent; however they have it pretty cheap, and uſe a great deal of it, either boiling it with Water, or mix'd with Spices, or boil'd with Milk and the Sugar of Coco's, or boil'd with Pullets or Fiſh, or turn'd into Meal after drying and bruiſing, and then made into Cakes and Fritters with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and the Butter of Coco's.

Their Fruit.

Bannanes a Fruit.

This Countey is well repleniſh'd with Herbs and Trees, ſome of which bear Fruit and ſome do not, tho' the Natives eat their Leaves, theſe being very ſweet and well taſted. As for their Fruit, they have an infinite plenty of Citrons, Pomgranates, and Oranges of *Bannanes*, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Indian* Figs, and by the *Maldives*, *Quella*, which is a large, delicious, and nouriſhing Fruit, inſomuch that it ſerves their Children inſtead of Broth.

Coco's.

The moſt profitable Fruit is the Coco, or *Indian* Fruit, call'd by them *Koul*, which is more plentiful in the *Maldives*, than in any other part of the World; ſo that the Inhabitants know how to manage it better than others. This Tree alone might ſupply all the Neceſſities of Life, for it affords Wine, Honey, Sugar, Milk and Butter, beſides, that its Kernel may be eat as Bread, of which they have none in that Country. Further, moſt of their Utenſils are made of the Wood, Bark, Leaves and Nutſhells of this Tree.

Great plenty of Wood.

In fine, the whole Country is ſhaded and refreſh'd with Trees, many of which ſerve for no other uſe but burning, ſo that there's no occaſion to buy Firewood; beſides, that there are whole Iſlands cover'd with Trees, from whence they fetch what Fire-wood they pleaſe.

The Products of one Province differ from that of another.

'Tis very remarkable, that tho' all the thirteen *Attollons* are in the ſame Climate, and all very fertile, yet they produce ſuch different Commodities, that one cannot live without another; for what is plentiful in one is ſcarce in another, or at leaſt not ſo good. This occaſions a Neceſſity of Mutual Commerce, and purſuant to Nature's Method, the Inhabitants have ſo divided themſelves, that one Province cannot live without the other; for the Weavers repair all to one Iſland, the Goldſmiths to another, and ſo on. Now to render the Communication eaſy, theſe Artificers have little Boats with Cheeks, where they work, ſleep and eat, while they are ſailing from one Iſland to another, to vent their Manufacture, and ſometimes they are a Year out, before they return to their fixt abodes.

The Animals, Fowl.

As for their Animals; they have prodigious numbers of wild Pullets, which are ſold for a Penny a-piece; and the ſame price will fetch three dozen of Eggs; next to Fiſh, this is the moſt of their Food. They have great plenty of Wild Pigeons, Ducks, Rayls, Birds reſembling Spar-hawks, black and gray Muskits living not upon Prey but upon Fruit, *&c.* as for Domeſtick Fowl they have none. The Crows are here very troubleſome, for they are numerous to a miracle, and ſo bold as to take things out of the Houſes, before the Peoples Faces. Their Bats are as big as Ravens; and their Gnats or Muskito's bite more ſeverely than in any other part of the *Indies*. But they are moſt incommeded by Rats, Dormice, Piſmires, and other ſorts of Vermine, which over-run all their Houſes, and ſpoil their Grain, Proviſions, Fruit, and tender Commodities. To obviate this Inconvenience, they build Granaries and Ware-houſes, on Piles or Stakes in the Sea, at the diſtance of 200 or 300 Paces from the Land; and moſt of the King's Magazines are built after the ſame manner. They have no poyſonous Animals but Snakes, of which a very dangerous kind frequents the Sea. Cats, Pole-Cats and Ferrets are likewiſe found there; but there are no Beaſts for riding, nor indeed any great Beaſts, whether wild or tame, excepting a few Sheep, and ſome 3 or 400 Cows and Bulls in the Iſland of *Malè*, which belong only to the King, and of which they never eat but on Feſtival Days and Solemn Occaſions; for their Kind is imported from the Continent. They have no Dogs, nay, they abhor 'em ſo much, that when the King of *Portugal* ſent two as a Preſent to their King, he order'd 'em to be drown'd immediately.

Crows.

Bats as big as Ravens.

Rats very troubleſome.

No large Beaſts in this Country.

Great plenty of Fiſh.

The Sea affords wonderful plenty of all ſorts of Fiſh, eſpecially between the *Attollons*, where 'tis ſhallow and calm; and the Fiſhery is the moſt conſtant Exerciſe of the Natives, who feed moſtly upon Fiſh, whether freſh with Rice or other Meat, or fry'd with the Oil of Coco's, or boil'd in ſalt Water, and dry'd for keeping. They ſend every Day, Ships loaded with Fiſh for *Sumatra*, *Achen*, and other places. Many of the Fiſhermen want Arms and Legs, that have been bit off by a ſort of great Fiſh that frequents thoſe Seas.

All things very cheap.

This great plenty of all Neceſſaries occaſions an eaſy Purchaſe; 400 Coco's coſt but a Larin, which is eight Pence; the ſame price will purchaſe 500 *Barmanes*, or a dozen of Fowls, or 300 pound weight of Roots, or 100 large Fiſh, *&c.* In fine, there is no part in the *Indies*, where a Stranger can get an Eſtate ſo ſoon as here; for it lies conveniently for Trade, and requires but an inconſiderable Charge for Maintenance.

The Natives lazy.

The Natives 'tis true do not grow rich, and that I take to proceed from their cheap and eaſy living, which encourages 'em to Negligence and Idleneſs.

The Iſle of Male deſcrib'd.

Malè, the Principal Iſland, gives name to all the reſt, *Dives* ſignifying a heap of little Iſlands. This Iſland ſtands almoſt in the middle, and is one League and a half in circumference. 'Tis the moſt fertile of 'em all, the ſtaple Port and Magazine of all the reſt, and the Reſidence of the King and the Court. By this means 'tis better peopled, but at the ſame time 'tis not ſo healthy, for which the Natives give this Reaſon, *viz.* The King and the Court having reſided there time out of mind, and the Corps of all that dy'd being interr'd apart, the whole Surface of the Iſland becomes a continued Series of Graves, from whence the perpendicular Sun extracts pernicious Vapours; and accordingly the Water is here ſo bad, that the King and the Perſons of Quality ſend for Water from other Iſlands.

Their Houſes.

The way of taking Stone out of the Sea.

Candou Tree.

In all the Iſlands, even in *Malè* it ſelf, there's no ſuch thing as encloſ'd Towns, but the Houſes lie ſcatter'd here and there, tho' not without ſome Order, and the Diſtinction of Streets. The common Peoples Houſes are built of Coco Wood, and cover'd with Coco Leaves ſow'd double, one within another. Perſons of Quality and Fortune, have Houſes built of Stone taken out of the Sea from under the Flats and Rocks. This ſort of Stone is very ſmooth and white, and ſomewhat hard to cut, but when it is wet with Rain or freſh Water, it looſes its hardneſs, and at laſt becomes all over black; the manner of taking them out of the Sea is very remarkable. There grows in that Country a ſort of Tree call'd *Candou*, which is as big as our Walnut-tree, and reſembles the Aſpin in its ſhaking Leaves and whiteneſs, but is extream ſoft; it bears no Fruit, and is not proper for burning. When 'tis dry they ſaw it into Planks, like our Fir Dales; this Wood is lighter than Cork; this premiſ'd, we come to ſhew how they draw out the Stone. Being the experteſt Swimmers that can be, they dive under Water, and having pitch'd upon a Stone fit for their Purpoſe, faſten a great Cable to it, then they take a piece of the *Candou* Wood, and having boar'd it, run it along the Cable quite up to the Stone; after this they run on ſuch a number of Pieces as they have occaſion for, till the light and floating Wood drags up along with it, a Stone or any other weight of 100000 pound weight. 'Twas by this Convenience that the Natives took up the Canon and Anchors of our Ship that was caſt away; and I was Eye-witneſs to their clearing, by the ſame means, in the ſpace of 15 Days, the Harbour of *Malè*, which was choak'd with great Rocks, inſomuch that no Ship could come in.

The Advantage of the floating *Candou* Wood.

When the *Candou* Wood is once ſoak'd in Water, it muſt be dry'd in the Sun before it be us'd again, elſe 'twill not float. Upon other Occaſions they take five or ſix large pieces of Wood, and having rang'd 'em all in a line, raiſe upon 'em Planks of the ſame Wood to ſit upon, and ſo paſs from one Iſland to another; and 'tis by this Contrivance that they chiefly manage their Fiſhery. In the Canals that run between the *Attolions*, one Man can work theſe Inſtruments of Navigation, tho' they are not proper for the Sea; for they know how to trim their Dale Seats ſo well, that there's no fear of over-ſetting, and if that happens, their Planks will always ſwim above. All the Danger lies in the disjoyning of the Pieces; and this ſort of Float is call'd *Candoupatis*, from the Wood of which it conſiſts. The *Candou* Tree has yet another Property, namely, that when one piece is ſtruck againſt another, they will ſtrike fire, and this ſerves 'em in the place of Tinder-Boxes.

The Lime they make uſe of.

So much for the way of dragging their Stones from the bottom of the Sea; and as to Lime, they ſupply its room with an excellent Cement, made of the Shells that they find on the Sea-ſide.

Their Language,

Our Method directs us in the next place to ſpeak of their Language, which lies in two Chanels. The firſt is the *Maldivan*, properly ſo call'd, which claims a large extent. The ſecond is the *Arabick*, which runs upon the ſame lay with the *Latin* in a Popiſh Country, and is the Language of their Devout Addreſſes. I paſs over the *Cambaye*, *Guzeratta*, and *Portugueſe* Tongues, which are depriv'd from their Commerce; and ſhall only take notice, that in the Southern parts they ſpeak a coarſe unpolite ſort of Language, which, after all, is a Retainer to the common Tongue of theſe Iſlands.

Their Religion.

Temples.

Their Religion and Ceremonies come next in courſe. All the Inhabitants are *Mahometans*, and the greateſt part of the Foreigners (*viz.* *Arabians*, *Malabars*, and *Sumatrans*) are the ſame. Their Temples, *Alia's*, *Moſchees*, are built of good Stone well cemented, and have a thick Wall. They ſtand in the middle of a ſquare wall'd Encloſure, where they bury their Dead, abating for thoſe who deſire a ſeparate Sepulchre. Their Temples are ſquare and face the Weſt, as pointing to *Mahometan's* Tomb, with reference to their Poſition. They have three Doors, each of which is fac'd by a broad Well, with Steps, the bottom and ſides of which are lin'd with poliſh'd and flat Stones, the Floor of the Temple being cover'd with Mats and Tapeſtry, whereas the Church-yard is nothing but Sand. Their Temples are kept ſo clean, that if they want to ſpit or blow their Noſe, they muſt either do it in their Handkerchief, or get out of doors. The Roof or Ceiling of the Temples is of Wood admirably well poliſh'd, and the Walls are Wainſcoted, both of 'em being firmly join'd without Nails or Pegs or any other viſible Artifice. Upon the Walls of the Temples we met with large Tables of Stone or of Wood, with *Arabick* Inſcriptions. They have a particular place for the King and his Court, and Galleries for the Guards, with ſeparate Apartments for certain Dignities, Qualities and Ages, inſomuch that any Perſon who takes up an improper place, is fin'd accordingly. They are never without burning Lamps, for which end certain Coco Trees are conſecrated. Some of the Iſlands have nine or ten Temples; but that in which they ſolemnize a general Feſtival, is built and ſupported upon the common Charge, under the Name of *Ou couru Meſquite*.

Their Prieſts.

Each Moſche has it Prieſt call'd *Moudin*; and each Iſland that has 40 Perſons above the 15th Year of their Age, is dignified with a *Catibe* or Curate, who aſſiſts as Principal in all publick Exerciſes, and governs the inferiour Prieſts. He pronounces the publick Prayers, and by Sermons and Exhortations, explains and recommends the Law of *Mahomet*; under him the *Mondins* teach Children to read and write their Mother Tongues and that of *Arabia*, for which Service their Parents give a voluntry Reward.

Their way of Worſhip.

Their Prayers.

Every Day in the Week all above 15 Years of Age, repair by the break of Day to the Temple, and declare their Creed, *viz.* That the World is flat and not round; That 'tis ſurrounded with a Wall of Braſs, which prevents its being drown'd in the Waters that encompaſs it; That the Devil, the general Enemy of Mankind, indeavours every Night to break through and undermine this Wall; And that he is not much ſhort of compaſſing his end when the Day-light arrives. Upon this Belief they all join in Prayer at the break of Day, to prevent the Deſtruction of the World, which (as they believe) would otherwiſe inſue. They repair to the Temple four times a Day, beſides, namely, at Noon, at three a Clock in the Afternoon, at Sun-ſet, and at ten a Clock at Night, tarrying each time half an Hour. Thoſe that have no mind to go to Church, may ſay their Prayers at home, or ſay none at all if they will; but if it be known that any Perſon neglects the Duty of Prayer altogether, no body will eat or converſe with him; from whence it comes to paſs, that almoſt all of 'em, whether Tradeſmen or others, ſpend a great part of their time in Publick Service. They make uſe of Beads as well as the Papiſts, but they have no Croſſes. Before they enter the Temple, they waſh their Feet, Hands, Ears, Mouth and Eyes, obſerving at the ſame time certain Ceremonies, and pronouncing Prayers ſuitable to the Sin they repent of. They are ſo ſcrupulous, that no Temptation in the World can oblidge them to forbear this ſolemn way of Waſhing, upon the Apprehenſion, that it certainly purges 'em of all Sin and Pollution. The greateſt Indecency of their Worſhip is, that they waſh and bath publickly and promiſcuouſly, and offer their Penitential Prayers with a loud Voice, and ſo diſcover to all the world all the ſecret Tranſactions of their Life, whether in the way of Luſt or otherwiſe. At this rate all the ſecret Adventures of Man and Wife are laid open to the World, by the publicks Prayer of both Parties; for the Women pray aloud as well as the Men, only they do it in their Houſes, in regard that they never go to Church.

Circumciſion of Males.

of Female.

The Male Children are circumcis'd when they are ſeven Years of Age; and upon that Occaſion the Parents and Relations divert themſelves with Muſick and Publick Feaſting fourteen Days. They have particular Operators for Circumciſions, who apply themſelves to nothing elſe; and the Ceremony of the Action is after this manner. For ſix or ſeven Hours before the Circumciſion, the Child is bath'd in the Sea, in order to make the Yard ſhrink, and to render the Skin ſoft and tender. When the Hour of Action comes, the Child is brought to a Lodge built on purpoſe, and held by two or three *Moudins* or Prieſts, who in the mean time chant Verſes and Prayers ſuitable to the Occaſion; then the Operator, having drawn over the Prepuce and ty'd it with a String, cuts it with a Razor; after which he heals it in the ſpace of 15 Days. Before Circumciſion, they alledge, that the Child is innocent and cannot ſin; and for the ſame Reaſon they do not cover the Privities of the uncircumcis'd Children. As for the Girls, their Circumciſion conſiſts in drawing two or three drops of Blood from their Privy Parts, when they are two Years of Age, but 'tis attended with no Solemnity. When the Children are grown up, they pay a profound Deference to the Operator that circumcis'd them, and call 'em their Maſters.

Their Feſtivals.

The Feaſt of *Friday*.

Prieſts over-fed.

They celebrate ſeveral Feſtivals all the Year long, particularly every *Friday* is with them a Day of Feaſting, at which all the Males above 15 Years of Age are preſent, but no Females. On the preceding Eve they pray in their Houſes, ſome for their Health, others for the Dead; and for that end ſend for the Prieſt to their Houſes, where an Entertainment is provided; and when the Prieſts have no Stomach for eating, they chooſe rather to abſent, for if they come they muſt eat tho' againſt their Appetite. On *Friday* Morning, the publick Crier goes round the Iſland, with a ſort of caſt Bell in his Hand, and a Hammer of Wood to beat it withal: He is aſſiſted by three Trumpeters, who ſound often to give the People notice of their Duty. Upon this Warning the People throw aſide all work for that day, and after waſhing and bathing, and putting on their beſt Cloths, repair to the Temple. In the mean time the King's Muſicians play before his Palace on divers Inſtruments; and ſoon after, the King's four Prieſts, who are Men of Quality and Learning, and never aſſiſt but at publick Solemnities; theſe Prieſts, I ſay, aſcend an high Stone Edifice, adjoining to the Temple, where they clap their Hands upon their Ears, and with a loud and fearful Voice, cry thrice, *Alas*, *Alas*, *Aquebar*, i. e. *Great God*, and then they add ſomething of *Mahomet*. This done, they repair to the King's Palace, and pronounce the ſame Words after the ſame manner; upon which, if the King has a mind to be ſeen, as he commonly is, ſends a Carpet of Silk to be ſpread on the place where he means to ſit. Then the *Moudins* do the like at the *Catibe*'s Houſe; and he comes and waits upon the King, who walks in great magnificence to the Temple, his Head being cover'd with a white Vail above a great Turband, ſo that he cannot ſee, and is oblig'd to be led by one of the *Moudins.* The King comes laſt to the Church, and immediately ſays his Prayers; after which the *Catibe*, being mounted on a rais'd place at one end of the Temple, takes a naked Sword in his Hand with the point downward, and flouriſhing it about, recites his Prayers. In the mean time the People pray without ceaſing, putting themſelves into divers Poſtures, and obſerving ſeveral apiſh Geſtures. The *Catibe* has a new Prayer for every *Friday* in the Year, and when that Year is expir'd, makes uſe of the ſame Prayers for the next. He repeats all without book, and if he happens to be out in one Word, Syllable or Letter, the *Moudins* reprimand him publickly, and the Feaſt is thought to be of no avail. This Service laſts about two Hours, and after it is over, the People ſalute one another, and the King returning in great ſtate to his Palace, entertains 'em at his own Charges.

The New Moon Feaſts.

The Lent call'd Ramedan.

On Faſt-Days they muſt not ſwallow their Spittle.

They are very ſcrupulous on Faſt-Days.

The Diverſions of Men and Women.

How they carry on Love Intriegues.

They obſerve the like Solemnity on the Day of every New Moon, and rejoice when they ſee it. Upon this Occaſion they clean their Houſes, Courts and Streets, garniſhing the Entries of the Churches and the Gates of their Houſes, with Coco Shells cut in the middle, and fil'd with white Sand and burning Coals, upon which they burn almoſt all Night, ſweat ſcented Gums and Woods; at the ſame time the inſide of their Houſes, their Beds, *&c.* are perfum'd after the ſame manner. Tho' the *Maldivans* celebrate every New Moon, yet they obſerve four beyond the reſt, particularly in *December* or thereabouts (for their Months are lunar) they have a Feaſt call'd *Ramedan*, which commences at the New Moon, and laſts till the next New Moon. They take their Meaſures, not from the real change, but from the Appearance of the New-Moon; by which means it comes to paſs, that ſome Iſlands begin the Feaſt ſooner than others. The firſt Night of the *Ramedan* Feaſt, the Men and Women viſit one another apart, and divert themſelves with Feaſting, Dancing, *&c.* till 'tis near day; having prepar'd themſelves for eating by faſting the preceding Day, in which Cuſtom they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that for that Day they will not only avoid the taſting of any thing, but even the waſhing of their Mouth, or putting their Finger in their Mouth, or ſwallowing their Spittle. The prohibition of ſwallowing their Spittle, puts them to a great Inconvenience when they are in Church, for that 'tis not allowable to ſpit there, and ſo upon every turn they are forc'd to run out of Doors. Nay, ſuch is their Superſtition upon the Faſt-Day, that the Men who are allowed to bath, are prohibited to plunge their Heads in the Water, leſt ſome drop of it ſhould enter their Mouth or Ears; and the Women are downright forbid to bath at all, leſt the Water ſhould get in at their lower Parts. Half an hour before Sun-ſet, all above 15 Years of Age repair to the Temple, and in the ſpace of that half hour, cleanſe their Mouths and pick their Teeth very nicely, being furniſh'd by the *Moudins* with Pick-tooths and other cleanſing Inſtruments made of Coco Wood. This done, the *Moudin* makes his Cry three times, and enters the Temple at the head of the People, who then ſay their Prayers, the Women being at the ſame time imploy'd in ſaying theirs at home: When that Service is over they feaſt and make merry with one another. During the *Ramedan* the King entertains all the People at ſeveral times, inviting only Perſons of one and the ſame quality at a time; for they are ſuch religious Obſervers of their Quality, that they will not eat with any Perſons of a different rank. The Nobles &c. entertain their Friends in like manner, and thus do the Men and Boys Feaſt; but the Women, who are not allow'd to go to the Feaſts, ſend only Preſents at Night to one another. The Women bath themſelves in the Evening, at which time the Men are enjoin'd to avoid bathing. During the whole courſe of the *Ramedan*, they faſt after the above-mentioned manner in the Day time, and avoid Sin and Pollution as much as they can; nay, in the Day time the married Men muſt not imbrace their own Wives, and if they do it in the Night, they muſt bath with their Wives, and ſay certain Prayers before the Day comes. If any one breaks any of the faſt Days, he is oblig'd to faſt as many more after the end of the *Ramedan*: In this Month no body will either work or travel be they never ſo poor. The *Pandiare* preaches every Day at three a Clock in the Afternoon, in the King's Palace, or in the Church, or in his own Houſe. After the Sermon is over, they divert themſelves with the Exerciſe of Arms, and ſeveral ſorts of Plays, particularly the Foot-ball: At the ſame time the Women and Girls viſit one another, and have particular ſorts of Plays and Diverſions ſuitable to their Sex. The Intriegues of Love run higher in this Month than in any other; and the Courtſhip conſiſts in ſending to one another Songs and Verſes, inſcrib'd with Bodkins on Coco-leaves, which are as white as Paper. The Youths do likewiſe preſent their Miſtreſſes with Garlands of ſweet ſmelling Flowers, and receive a Counter Preſent of Betel nicely dreſs'd: In fine, they take all poſſible Meaſures to heighten their Mirth and Diverſion. After the Month is over, the Women and Girls are oblig'd to faſt eight Days longer, upon the account of their Menſtrual Flux.

A Poll Tax.

Three Days before it ends, the Bell-man and the Trumpeters go round the Iſland, requiring all the Inhabitants, whether Men or Boys, Women or Girls, to ſend their Names in writing to the *Naybo* of their reſpective *Attollon*, and to pay an Offering of half a Larin a Head, which the People pay very willingly, as a Tribute to God and *Mahomet*; for they imagine, that without the paying of that Tribute, their Faſting would not avail 'em. In this Tax the Parents pay for their unmaried Children, and for their Servants and Slaves; and if any poor Perſon has not the Money to lay down, the King or any rich Man pays for 'em very willingly. The Money ariſing from this Tax is lodg'd in the Hands of four Receivers, one on the behalf of the King, a ſecond for the Clergy, a third for the New Converts, and a fourth for the Poor; one third of it goes to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, another to the Proſelytes, and the laſt third to the Poor.

The Ydu Feaſt.

When this Lent is over, they celebrate a great Feſtival call'd *Ydu*, which is one of the greateſt New-Moon Solemnities that they have.

Several Feſtivals.

The next New-Moon after that, they celebrate a Feſtival call'd *Mas Ydu*, i. e. a *Great Feaſt*, which laſts three Days. The Day of this New-Moon, is that Day in which the Pilgrims obſerve ſo may Ceremonies before *Mahomet*'s Tomb in *Mecca*.

About the Month of *April* or *May*, at Full-Moon, they have a Solemnity of three Days, call'd *Poyeaöan*, *i. e.* the *Full-Moon*, at which every one carrys ſome Rice along with them, and boils it over a great Fire, being entertain'd at the ſame time with Muſick, Dancing, *&c.* for they date the Arrival of Rice in theſe Iſlands from that Full-Moon.

All-Souls day.

In *June* or thereabouts (for, as I ſaid above, their Months being *Lunar*, do not agree with ours) they obſerve a Feaſt for the Dead with a great deal of Superſtition. On this Occaſion they viſit the Sepulchres of Holy Men, and of their Anceſtors, Relations, *&c.* where they make Offerings and burn Perfumes.

The next Day after that Solemnity is a Day of general Alms-giving, and even the King himſelf gives Alms with his own Hand to the Poor, who upon that Occaſion reſort to *Male* from the other Iſlands.

About *Auguſt* and *September*, they have a Solemnity of two Days, in which they ſend about to one another boil'd Wine with Honey and Coco Milk: This Feſtival is ſaid to take its Riſe from a Miracle that *Mahomet* acted on that Day.

The ſolemnizing of Mahomet's Death.

There remains yet another very ſolemn Night-Feſtival, call'd *Meulude*, which happens about the Month of *October*, being the Night on which *Mahomet* dy'd. Upon this Occaſion they have a large Houſe or Hall of Wood, in ſeveral parts of the Iſland, which is hung within with the fineſt and richeſt Tapeſty, the Floor being cover'd with white Sand and Mats above it, and the Cieling adorn'd with white Cotton Cloth, ſupported with black Strings that run along it like Stripes. In this great Hall hang up ſo many Lamps that 'tis as light as day, and the Smell and Smoak of the Perfumes that they burn, fills the adjacent Air. In the midſt of the Hall, there's a Table cover'd with ſeveral ſorts of Meat and liquid Mixtures. The Women do not aſſiſt at this Solemnity, but the Males repair thither about eight a clock at Night, and ſit down in order according to their reſpective Stations, there being Officers appointed to rank 'em. All the Night long the Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſing Songs, which they call the Pſalms of *David*. When Mid-night approaches, the whole Aſſembly falls down flat upon the Ground, as in an Extaſy, and continue in that poſture for ſome time; after which the *Pandiare* and the *Catibes* ſtart up of a ſudden, and all the reſt following their Examples, skip about and leap upon each other as if they were mad. The People are ſerv'd with Betel well dreſs'd, and drink, by 50 Perſons choſen into that Office, which is reckon'd very honourable. When the

Night is almoſt over, the Prieſts give over ſinging and ſay Prayers; after which they all go to the middle of the Hall where the Table ſtands, and every one takes a Plate of Meat and ſome Aromatick Liquors, which they carry home with them and value very much.

The ſolemnity of Marriages.

The laſcivioufneſs of their women.

Their Joyntures.

The forbidden Degrees.

Their frequent and voluntary Divorces.

After their Religious Rites, 'twill be proper to ſubjoin the Ceremony of Marriages and Funerals. Upon a Deſign of Marriage, they addreſs themſelves to the *Pandiare* or *Naylies*, who after the being ſufficiently inform'd and ſatisfied that things really are as they are repreſented, takes the Man by the Hand, and asks him if he is willing to take ſuch a Woman on the Conditions propoſ'd, and (the Woman being always abſent) he likewiſe queſtions her Parents and Relations, upon their Conſent. If they all agree he marries 'em, and calls the By-ſtanders to witneſs their mutual Conſent. Then the whole Company waits upon the Woman at home, and ſeveral other Perſons viſit her, all the Viſiters being entertain'd with Feaſting, Muſick, Dancing, *&c.* The new-married Man makes Preſents to the King and the great Lords, and the Bride pays the like Complement to the Queen and the other Ladies; both of 'em makes Preſents likewiſe to their Relations. But when the King is married he does not give, but receives Preſents from all his Subjects, ſuitable to their Stations, *viz.* Cloth, Garments, Turbands, Victuals, Fruit, Flowers, *&c.* and all theſe Preſents, which in the bulk riſe to a great value, belong to the new-married Queen. A Man may have three Wives if he can maintain 'em, but not more; and if all the three live in one Iſland, he is oblig'd by the Law, to beſtow as many Nights upon one as upon the other; tho' after all, this Law is not obſerv'd; and indeed 'tis a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are ſo laſcivious, that three Men cannot ſatisfie one Woman. The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wife; and is oblig'd not only to be at the Charge of the Nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to ſettle upon her a Joynture equal to what her Mother and other Anceſtors had. They are ſo nice upon this laſt Condition, that if the Prieſts apprehends that the Man can't afford ſuch a Joynture, he refuſes to marry 'em, notwithſtanding that both Parties require it. But after all, the Bride may renounce either the whole, or part of her Joynture, after marriage, and indeed that is frequently practis'd. Brothers and Siſters, Firſt-Couſins, and thoſe who by way of Friendſhip and Intimacy, have us'd to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Siſter; theſe, I ſay, are prohibited to marry. The Males may marry when they will, but a Female Orphan cannot marry till ſhe is 15 Years of Age. Indeed if her Father be alive (for the Mother has no Power) he marries her at ten or eleven Years of Age, and that to the firſt Suitor, whether old or young, provided his Quality is in ſome meaſure ſuitable to hers; for they reckon it a great Sin to keep up their Daughters from the injoyment of a Man. A Man may turn away his Wife; but unleſs ſhe conſents to the Separation, ſhe may demand her Joynture; tho', after all, that Demand is ſeldom made, as being reckon'd a mean and deſpondent Action, and a ſign that the Woman fears that her Merit will never procure her another Husband; on the other Hand, the Woman cannot part from her Husband without his conſent. This ſort of Divorce, which is very frequent, muſt be atteſted by Witneſſes, or elſe they can't have the Benefit of ſecond Marriages. The divorc'd Parties frequently repent of their Separation, and marry again a ſecond, third, or fourth time, but after three Divorces, ſuch Re-marriages are not allow'd, tho' ſuch is the Levity of the People, that they frequently deſire 'em; and in order to elude the Law, they have a common trick of getting ſome profligate Scoundrel to marry the divorc'd Woman, and lie with her one Night without touching her: after which, he quits her before Witneſſes, and ſo ſhe is married again to her former Husband. Such is the frequency of theſe Divorces, that a Man ſhall have 100 Wives; and the Women look upon the multitude of ſeparated Husbands, as a recommending quality for future Marriages. When a Woman is ſeparated from her Husband by death, ſhe muſt mourn four Months and ten Days, before ſhe can marry again; and if the Separation is accompliſh'd by Divorce, ſhe muſt prove, that after that, her Menſtrual has return'd three times, before ſhe offers to marry. This Caution is us'd, for fear ſhe ſhould prove with child to her former Husband.

The Funeral Ceremonies.

The Benefit accruing to the Prieſts.

A yearly Funeral Feaſt.

Their Funeral Ceremonies are ſuperſtitious to a flaming Degree. In the firſt place the Corps are waſh'd by ſix Perſons of the Sex, who buy that Office of the King, and are paid for their Service, then they are wrap'd up in Cotton, and cover'd with fine white Cotton-cloth (which goes afterwards to the Prieſt) the Right-hand of the deceaſed Perſon being laid upon his Ear, and the Left upon his Thigh. This done, the Corps are laid upon the right-ſide in a Coffin of *Candou* Wood, and carry'd to the Burying-place by ſix Relations or Friends, attended by the Women-waſhers, who cry and howl moſt hideouſly. Every Man in his life-time, provides for himſelf a Burying-place, and all the other Neceſſaries for his Funeral; nay, they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that they'll rather ſtarve, than touch the Money they have laid up for the Charges of their Funeral. Beſides the ſix principal Mourners, the other Relations and Neighbours are preſent withont invitation; and upon the march from the Houſe of the deceas'd Perſon to the Grave, they ſcatter Shells for the Benefit of the Poor, to whom they likewiſe diſtribute Bags and Sacks of Rice and Millet. At the ſame time they give to the Prieſt pieces of Gold and Silver, the number of which is proportionable to the Eſtate of the deceas'd Perſon; and theſe Pieces are diſtributed by the Prieſt to thoſe who have aſſiſted in praying for the dead Perſon, and particularly to thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtick Order, who alledge, that they have the only right to 'em. The Prieſts ſing continually, during the whole courſe of the Ceremony, and in the Proceſſion, a Perſon of Quality ſprinkles the Aſſiſtants with a Water made of ſweet Flowers. The Grave is cover'd with a large piece of Silk or Cotton, which upon the Interment goes to the Prieſts of the Temple. When the Corps are laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceas'd Perſon to the quarter that faces *Mahomet*'s Tomb, and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, ſprinkling it with Water. When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following *Fridays* they pray over the Grave, where the Prieſts ſing, eat and pray every Day, till the third *Friday* paſſes, after which a General Feaſt is prepar'd for the Relations, Friends and Prieſts, who pretend that the Soul of the deceas'd Perſon is then convey'd to Paradice. This Feaſt is repeated every Year, and on *All-Souls* Day they throw freſh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incenſe. The Grave is ſurrounded with wooden Pails, for they reckon it a great ſin to walk over it. They never bury two Corps in the ſame place; for they have ſuch a Reverence for the Bones of the Dead, that even the Prieſts do not dare to touch 'em. If a great Lord dies, the Prieſts ſing for him a whole Year, and are entertain'd every day with Diſhes of Meat and Betel; but if the King or Queen dies, the Ceremony is continued to the Death of the next Succeſſour.

In this Country the Mourners make no alteration in their Habit, only they go bare-headed to the Grave, and continue ſo for a few Days after the Interment. Thoſe who die in fighting with Perſons of a contrary Religion, are buried upon the Spot where they fall, without any ceremony; and in regard that they are accounted holy and happy, neither the Prieſts nor their Friends pray for 'em. They never tranſport Corps out of one Iſland to another; and even the King himſelf is buried where he happens to die.

How they bury thoſe who die at Sea.

If any Perſon dies at Sea, they waſh the Corps and put 'em into a Coffin, which they place upon a float of *Candou* Wood; within the Coffin they put Silver in proportion to his Means, and a written Paper, deſcribing his Religion, and withal praying thoſe who meet with the Corps, to take the Money and bury 'em handſomly.

The Mens Cloaths.

In purſuit of the other Cuſtoms of the *Maldivans*, we come next to their Apparel. The Men tye about their Privities a great Swathe of Cloth, which comes round about, to prevent any diſcovery in working or walking. Above that they have a piece of blue or red Cotton Cloth that reaches to their Knees, and then a larger piece of Cotton or Silk, reaching to their Ankles, and girded with a ſquare Handkerchief, imbroidered with Gold and Silk, which is ſpread upon their Backs and ty'd before. Above theſe they have a little piece of tranſparent and particolour'd Silk, which reaches only to the middle of their Thighs; at laſt they gird themſelves with a great fring'd Silk Girdle, the ends of which hang down before. Within this Girdle on the left ſide they keep their Money and Betel, and on the right ſide a Knife.

Their Knives.

Theſe Knives are made of excellent Steel, the common Sheaths being of Wood, and the Hafts of Fiſh-bone, for the Bone of a Land-creature they will not wear; the richer ſort have both their Hafts and Sheaths of wrought Silver.

Their Arms.

Every one wears a Knife, and eſteems it very much, as being his only Arms; for none but the King's Officers and Soldiers are allow'd to wear any other. Theſe indeed have a wrought Dagger at their ſide, and when they walk along the Streets, a drawn Sword in one Hand, with a Buckler or Javelin in the other.

The *Maldivans* place their chief Ornament in the Silver Chains that hang about their Girdle, and of which the meaneſt Boy or Girl has more or leſs in proportion to their Means; but 'tis only the Perſons of Quality and Fortune that ſhew 'em openly. In theſe they place their chief Treaſure, and commonly they appropriate 'em for the Charge of their Funeral.

A ſweet ſcentedPaint.

The common People are naked from the Girdle upwards, abating for the Feſtival Days, on which they wear Cotton and Silk Jerkins and Weſtcoats, with gilt Copper Buttons. The Sleeves of theſe Coats reach only to their Elbow; for they alledge, that if their Wriſts were ty'd up like ours, they could not have the free uſe of their Arms. The Perſons of Quality do commonly wear ſuch Coats; but ſome have a Cuſtom of covering their Skin from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Paſte, made of the Pouder of Camphy and Sanders, beaten upon a ſmooth Stone, and incorporated with the diſtill'd Water of ſweet ſcented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, &c. with this Paint, and draw various Figures upon 'em; However they muſt not appear with that piece of foppery before the King or be ſeen in his Palace.

Turbants.

The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or particolour'd Turbants, ſome of which are of Cotton for the meaner ſort of People, and others of Silk for the Perſons of Quality. The King's Officers or Souldiers have frequently embroyder'd Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which the other Subjects are not allow'd to wear.

Sandals.

Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within doors they uſe wooden Sandals, which they pull off when viſited by a Perſon of a ſuperiour rank; oftentimes their Legs are likewiſe naked.

The Women's Habit.

The Women wear a Coat of Cotton or Silk, which reaches from their middle to their Ankles; above that they have a long robe of Taffato or fine Cotton, reaching to their Feet, without any ſlit beſides the Neck, where 'tis faſtened with two little gilded Buttons; this Robe they pull quite up when they ſuccle their Children.

Bracelets.

Their Arms are loaded from the Wriſt to the Elbow with great Bracelets of Silver, inſomuch that ſometimes they have three or four Pounds of fine maſſy Silver upon 'em, tho' indeed the poorer ſort alloy the Silver with Braſs. The Women of quality have many Chains of Gold or ſtrings of little pieces of Gold upon their Necks, and rich Pendants in their Ears.

Ear-rings.

They have their Ears pierc'd when they are young, not only in the Cap, upon which there hangs an Ear-ring, but in 24 places of the Griſtle, in which they put as many gilded Nails, with a precious Stone or Pearl upon the Head of 'em.

Veils.

When the Women walk in the Streets they cover their Heads with a Veil, and are very cautious of ſhewing their Faces before Men, tho' in the Preſence of Women of a ſuperiour rank, they take off their Veil. They are not allow'd to wear Rings, Jewels, Bracelets or Ear-rings or Chains of Gold, till they ask and obtain leave of the Queen, as the Men do of the King for the ſame Priviledge, which commonly coſts 'em Money. The different quality of the Women is diſtinguiſh'd by the Nature of their Ornaments; for none but Queens and Princeſſes are allow'd to wear Gold Bracelets or Gold Rings on their Arms or Legs; beſides, the Queens put Rings on their fore-Fingers, the Princeſſes and Perſons of the firſt quality do upon their middle-Finger; ſo that all other Women have their Rings upon the Ring-Finger and little-Finger, and the Men have theirs upon their Thumb only. If a Man's Wife begins to wear richer Ornaments than ſhe us'd to do in former times, the Man's Taxes are rais'd, unleſs he be one of the King's Officers or an Inhabitant of *Malé*; for theſe are exempted from all Taxes upon the Head of Apparel.

Foreigners incourag'd.

Forreigners and their Wives are free from the above-mentioned Reflections; for they may wear what they pleaſe as well as the Clergy.

The Women very handſome.

The Women place a great part of beauty in redding the Nails of their Fingers and Toes, which they effect with the Juice of a certain Tree. In a Word, they have very handſome and proper Bodies, and are very careful in ſetting themſelves off with a genteel Habit, and with frequent waſhing and perfuming. Generally ſpeaking, their Complexion turns upon an Olive Colour, tho' ſome of 'em are brown, and others very fair.

Cuſtoms relating to eating and drinking.

The People of this Country have many peculiar Cuſtoms with reference to their way of eating. They reckon 'tis very diſhonourable for a Perſon of a ſuperiour rank to eat with his inferiour; and indeed they ſeldom regale one another, unleſs it be at ſolemn Feſtivals. If they mean to complement a Friend with a Treat, they ſend a cover'd Table with ſeveral Diſhes of Meat to their Friend's Houſe, who is thereby much honour'd; but in their own Houſes they are cautious of eating before others. Before and after eating they ſay Prayers; and their Table is the Floor cover'd with a fine Mat, upon which they ſit croſs legg'd. They feed ſo nicely, that they will not drop one Crumb upon the Floor, nay, not ſo much as a drop of Water, tho' they waſh their Mouth before and after. Inſtead of Table Cloths and Napkings they uſe Banane-leaves.

Gold and Silver Diſhes prohibited.

Their Diſhes are made of Earth or of the *China* Porcelain, which is very common in that Country, Gold or Silver Veſſels being prohibited by the Law; they are all round like Boxes, with an Earthen Cover, above which they put a piece of Silk; for the Piſmires are there ſo numerous and troubleſome, that 'twould be impoſſible to keep Meat without a Cover upon it; nay, the People are ſo nice, that they will not taſte any Meat that has been touch'd by a Flie, Piſmire, or any Inſect or unclean thing, but give it to the Fowls.

A generous Regard to the Poor.

As for the Poor, whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they ſcorn to offer 'em what they will not eat themſelves, and entertain 'em with the beſt Victuals they have. If they ſpie the leaſt crack in a Diſh, they eat no more out of it, upon the Plea of its being polluted. All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, but withal ſo nicely, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very martial piece of Civility and Decency. If they have occaſion to cough or ſpit in the time of eating, they riſe from the Table and walk out, for they muſt not do it at Table. They never feed themſelves with their Left-hand, becauſe they make uſe of it in waſhing their Privities. They chooſe to begin their Meals with the eating of a Coco-nut half ripe, and drinking the Water of it, which they ſay is very healthful, and looſens the Body. While they eat they are all ſilent, and make very quick diſpatch; for with them 'tis an unmannerly thing to be long at eating. They take it for a piece of rudeneſs and incivility to drink before they have done eating, and even then they drink but once, either Water or Coco Wine freſh drawn. They drink out of Copper Cups well wrought, with Covers to 'em. After eating and waſhing, they ſerve up a Plate of Betel inſtead of Sweatmeats, for the Fruit is ſerv'd up along with the Meat. They have no ſet Meal times, but eat when their Appetite provokes 'em;

A Man-Cook contemn'd.

and the Victuals are dreſs'd only by the Women; for the Men deſpiſe the Character of a Cook in ſuch a violent manner, that they will not converſe with a Man-Cook, or admit him to a ſhare of their Exerciſes, he being doom'd to the Company of Women.

Superſtitious Cuſtoms relating to the killing of Beaſts.

When they kill a Beaſt for Food, they turn their Faces towards *Mahomet*'s Sepulchre, and ſo cut its Throat in a particular place; after which they ſuperſtitiouſly avoid the touching of it till 'tis quite dead: Their Butchers muſt be ancient and the Fathers of Children. When they awake out of their ſleep, they preſently waſh their Eyes and Face, and rub 'em with Oil, and blacken their Eyelids and Eye-brows; for before the Performance of that Duty, they muſt not ſpeak or bid any one good morrow.

To Waſhing.

They are very careful in waſhing or cleanſing their Teeth, to the end that the Betel and Arecqua may the more readily impreſs their red Colour upon 'em, which they are very fond of. They are always chewing Betel, which they carry about in the plaits of their Girdle, and mutually preſent to one another upon occaſional Salutations. They bath before they enter the Temple, and waſh their Privities with their Left-hand after the natural Evacuations. When they bath at home for their Adventures with their Wives, they plung their Head three times under water; and in regard that they always bath and pray publickly; and that the reſpective Crimes have peculiar Ceremonies calculated for 'em, every Man's Crimes or Miſdemeanours are thus expos'd to the publick view.

To Sailing.

When they ſet out upon a Voyage, they avoid touching or meeting with any body; for if any unluckly Accident befals 'em, they impute it to the Perſon that touch'd 'em. When they go a fiſhing, they muſt not ſalute any, nor bid 'em good morrow.

From the Sun-ſet on *Thurſday*, till three or four a Clock next Morning, they ſuffer nothing to be carried out of their Houſe, but receive all that's brought in. If they fall out one with another, they never rail or throw about Calumnies; for if they did, all the World would fall upon 'em. When croſs'd at Sea, they addreſs themſelves to the King of the Winds (for they do not call him a God) and in every Iſland there's a deſolate by-place, call'd *Siave*, where thoſe who have eſcap'd danger, make Offerings of little Boats and Ships made on purpoſe, and loaded with Gums, Perfumes, Flowers, and odoriferous Woods. They burn the Perfumes, and having ſet fire to the Boats and Ships, turn 'em a-drift, ſo that they float up and down till they are quite burnt: And this they

take

The Magical cure of Diſeaſes.

The Worſhip of the Devil.

take for a Sacrifice that's acceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they cannot eaſily ſet their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right afore the Ship they mean to ſail in. They likewiſe pay a Superſtitious deference to an Imaginary King of the Sea; and dare not ſpit to the Windward of the Ship, nor look behind them. All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Powers of the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and clean as Temples. They place a wonderful vertue in certain Characters call'd *Tavide*, which they wear under their Garments in little Boxes; and ſometimes upon their Arms, Necks, Girdles or Feet, according to the Seat of the diſtemper: For their imaginary vertue is ſaid to conſiſt in curing or cauſing Diſeaſes, procuring Love or Hatred, Safety or Danger, *&c.* Theſe they buy of the Magicians, who are their only Phyſicians. They impute Death, Sickneſs, and all Affliction, to the Devil; and in order to pacify him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets, in a certain place, where they let them conſume, unleſs ſome poor Body has the ſenſe to take them. With the ſame view they offer him Cocks and Hens, which they kill with their Faces directed towards *Mahomet*'s Tomb.

Their Diſeaſes.

Diſeaſes of the Eyes.

Itch.

Tettar.

To give a ſhort view of their moſt common Diſtempers: The firſt in that Claſs is a Fever, which is of dangerous conſequence to Strangers. An epidemical and contagious Diſeaſe call'd *Curiadin*, and not unlike the Small-Pox, viſits them once in ten Years, and ſweeps off a great many. They are very liable to the diſorders of the Eyes; many of them are quite blind, and moſt of them have little Eyes. When they have occaſion to be long in the Sun in the height of the Day, oftentimes they loſe their ſight when the Sun goes down; and for a cure of that infirmity, they take the Liver of a Cock boil'd, and after the writing of certain words and charms upon it, ſwallow it juſt before the Sun ſets. By this Remedy, both I and my Companions receiv'd a ſenſible benefit, tho' we omitted the Magical part. They are very ſubject to the Itch, which they heal with the Oil of Cocoes; and ſome of them are cover'd all over with incurable Tettars, all which is owing to their feeding moſtly upon Salt Fiſh, and their pouring Salt Water upon their Salt Meat.

Hand-worms.

Obſtructions of the Spleen.

Ulcers.

Wounds.

Pox.

Tooth-ach prevented.

In the Winter, at which time they go barefoot, notwithſtanding that it rains continually, a ſort of Hand-worm breeding in the Mud ſeizes upon the Soals of their Feet, and the intervals of the Toes, where they raiſe wheals that degenerate into Ulcers, ſo that they cannot walk. Their whole Body is likewiſe infeſted with theſe Hand-worms. Commonly their Spleens are large, and liable to Obſtructions; and their Bellies are apt to ſwell and be hard, which they take to proceed from their unhealthy Water. In all external Inflamations or Aches they apply Fire, which raiſes an *Eſchar*; and upon that they lay Cotton ſteep'd in Coco-oil, which proves very ſucceſsful. Their Ulcers which happen chiefly in their Legs, are perfectly cur'd by the application of Plates of Copper. As for their Wounds, they cure them very dexterouſly by the application of Ointments, without any Bandages or Tents. They are ſometimes troubled with Catarrhs, Defluxions, and Aches in the Bones. Venereal Diſeaſes are not frequent among them, however they cure them with *China*-wood, without Sweating; and thoſe diſtempers are communicated to them from the *Europeans*. They are altogether unacquainted with the Tooth-ach, which advantage they owe to the continual chewing of Betel, for that fortifies the Gums.

The Education of Children.

All Mothers Suckle.

As ſoon as the Children come into the World, they waſh them for a conſiderable ſpace of time ſix times a Day in cold Water, and then anoint them with Oil. When they void their Excrements, they waſh their Privities with water. All Mothers, even the Queens themſelves, Suckle their own Children; and beſides the Breaſt-milk, feed them with a ſort of Pap made of Rive or Millet bruis'd, and ſteep'd in water, and afterwards boil'd in Milk, and the Sugar of Cocoes. Tho' they never Swaddle their Children, yet I never ſaw any of them deform'd. They rock them in hung Beds of Cord, or in little Chairs hung up in the air, which they ſwing to and again. At the Age of nine Months the Children begin to go; and when they are nine Years old, they commence the purſuit of the Studies and Exerciſes of the Country.

The Learning of the Country.

Their Studies conſiſt in Learning to Read and Write, to underſtand the *Alcoran*, and to know their Duty. They have three ſorts of letters; namely, the *Arabick*, the *Maldivan*, and a third ſort which is commonly made uſe of in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. Their Leſſons are writ down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and whiten again after they have got their Leſſons by heart; for durable and laſting Writings are done upon Parchment made of the leaf of a Tree call'd *Macare Queau*, that leaf being a fathom and a half long, and a foot broad.

Their way of Writing.

To teach the Children to write, they make uſe of no Paper, but make draughts of Letters with a Bodkin upon ſmooth plain Boards of Wood, cover'd with fine white Sand. The Children have ſuch a profound veneration for their Maſters, that they cannot marry them no more than their own Parents. Some of them, eſpecially the *Moudins*, *Naybes* and *Catiles*, carry their Studies a great length, and acquire great Skill in the *Alcoran*, and the Ceremonies of the Law.

Aſtrology much eſteemed.

The Mathematicks are much eſteem'd in this Country, eſpecially that part call'd Aſtrology, for they always conſult Aſtrologers not only upon Nativities and Births, but upon all Undertakings whatſoever, as Travelling, Building, *&c.*

Their Exerciſes.

As for their Exerciſes, they have Schools for learning the Exerciſe of a Sword and Buckler, of a Bow, of a Gun, and of a Pike; and the Maſters who teach them are much reſpected. They have no ſort of Plays but that of the Foot-ball, which they toſs very dexterouſly. Many of them apply themſelves to Manufactures, for Houſhold-Goods, and other Commodities, which they make very ingeniouſly. But the moſt univerſal, and moſt conſiderable Exerciſe they have, is that of Fiſhing.

The way of fiſhing in the deep Sea.

The Bait is not faſten'd to the hook.

Fiſhing is ſo common an Exerciſe all over the *Maldives*, that there's no ſuch thing as a particular Trade of that nature; for the Gentlemen, and even their King, purſue Fiſhing, as we do Hunting in this part of the World. Every Man there enjoys the natural liberty of fiſhing where and what he pleaſes. The Fiſh which are always taken in the deep Sea, about 6 or 7 Leagues off the Bars of the *Atollons*, are large, and of 7 or 8 ſorts, ſuch as *Benito's*, *Albachores*, *Guiltheads*, &c. which are all much of the ſame taſte and reſemblance, and have no more Scales than a Mackrel. The Inſtruments with which they catch them are, a Line of a fathom and a half of a great Cotton thread, made faſt to a great Cane of very ſtrong Wood; together with a Hook, that in form reſembles the Letter h. The bait is not faſten'd upon the Hook, but thrown about in the Sea; for they drag after their Boat a quantity of ſmall Fiſh like our Roches, which are very numerous among the Banks and Sands, and which are preſerv'd alive in Purſe-nets of Coco-thread. And when they come to the deep Sea, they ſow theſe little Fiſhes about, and throw in their Line; upon which the great Fiſhes perceiving an unwonted quantity of little Fiſh croud upon them in ſhoals, greedily ſwallow the whiten'd Hook as being one of the little Fiſh. The Fiſh that ſwallows the Hook falls off as ſoon as the Line is brought into the Boat, and ſo the Line is thrown in again. At this rate they'll fill their Boat with Fiſh in three or four hours time; and, which is very ſtrange, the Boat is all along under Sail. The Fiſh thus taken are all black, from whence they are called *Cobolly Maſſe*, i. e. *the black Fiſh.*

How they fiſh upon the Banks in the Night-time.

They have another way of Fiſhing in the Night time, upon the Banks that ſurround the *Atollons* at every Full and every New Moon. They convey themſelves to the Banks upon Hurdles, and the fiſhing laſts three days every time. 'Tis perform'd by Lines of hard coarſe Cotton-thread, which is 50 or 60 fathom long, and is blacken'd over with the Bark of a Tree that ſerves inſtead of Pitch, in order to preſerve it from corruption. At the end of this Line they have a Hook, with a Bait faſten'd upon it, after the ſame manner as is uſual among us; by this means they catch a prodigious quantity of large and red Fiſh, ſuch as I never ſaw elſewhere, which eats moſt deliciouſly, and is by them call'd *the King of the Sea*.

In fine, they have ſuch plenty of divers ſorts of Fiſh unknown to us, that 'tis impoſſible to recount or diſtinguiſh them; for beſides the Lines above-mention'd, they have all ſorts of Nets of Cotton-twine, Wheels, and other Inſtruments of Fiſhing. Upon the Flats, near the ſhore, they catch ſmall Fiſh like Pilchards with caſting Nets.

A general fiſhing twice a Year.

At the two Equinoxes of the Year they have a General Fiſhing, which is very remarkable. At thoſe two periods of the Year, as the Tides flow beyond the wonted Bounds, ſo they ebb more than uſually, and uncover ſeveral Rocks and Flats which at other times continue under water. Upon this occaſion the *Maldivans* pitch upon ſeveral dry corners, which they incompaſs with Stones, rais'd like a Wall to a great heighth, being forty paces in circumference, with a door or entrance left that is three paces wide. This done, 30 or 40 of them

Fiſh frighted with the ſhadow of a Line.

ſtretch out all round the Flats a large wide Circle of the great Coco-cords, at each fathom of which they tie a piece of Coco-ſhell dry'd, and that ſupplies the place of Cork in making the Line float. Now the Fiſh incloſ'd within the Circle are ſo ſcar'd with the ſhadow of the floating Line, as if it had a Net underneath it, that inſtead of making their eſcape by ſwimming out underneath it, they fly from it, and by the gradual contraction of the Line are brought into the wall'd Incloſure; the entry of which is thereupon ſtopp'd with all expedition with Faggots of the Boughs and Leaves of Cocoes compacted together to the thickneſs of a Man. After all, the Sea runs out, and leaves the Fiſh on the dry Land. This Fiſhery, which continues 15 days together, produces 10 or 12000 Fiſh. To conclude, I know of no place in all the *Eaſt-Indies* that can vie with the *Maldives* for a rich and plentiful Fiſhery.

The Vertues and Vices of the *Maldivans*.

Having thus diſpatch'd the Learning and Exerciſe of the *Maldivans*, 'twill not now be improper to take a view of their Temper and Inclinations. They are a lively briſk wiſe People, and very diſcreet in moſt of their Actions; they love Arms and Exerciſe, and are not deſtitute of Courage. They diſplay a great deal of Induſtry in Arts and Manufactures, and are polite enough in their Manners. They are Religious to a diſtinguiſhing degree, and Superſtitious beyond meaſure, tho' at the ſame time they are extremely given to Wantonneſs and Debauchery, and purſue the embraces of Women without controul. Adultery, Inceſt and Sodomy, are their common actions, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of their Laws and Penalties. Fornication is accounted no crime, and a young Woman ſuffers no affront for obliging a Friend before Marriage; nay, ſhe will not ſtand to procure the abortion of a ſpurious Birth, or to make away with it if it comes to maturity.

Horrid lewdneſs.

Women impudent.

The impudence of the Women is unparallel'd, and the Men are as vicious as they, tho' indeed they can't outdo them if they would. The Men bend all their thoughts upon the ſpurring up of Nature, and ſcrewing their luſtful Appetites to the higheſt pitch. They'd give their whole Eſtates for a *Recipe* to corroborate drooping Nature, and to enable them for repeated Adventures. The Feats of Letchery engroſs all their Diſcourſes, and their Wives or Whores are their inſeparable Companions. But after all, 'tis plain that they have not Mettle enough to ſatisfie their Wives, which may be imputed partly to the ternary number of their Wives, which makes an unfair odds; partly to the heat of the Climate, which exhales their Spirits, and exhauſts their vigour; partly to their continual Bathing, which unbends the Nerves and Sinews; and partly to the eating of Opium, which palls, clouds and diſpirits them.

Men perform but weakly.

Womens Breaſts reckon'd Privy-parts.

The Women are as cautious in uncovering or mentioning their Breaſts, as they are with reference to their lower Parts; and kiſſing is with them a nicety of the ſame extent with actual Enjoyment. Tho' they are impudent to the laſt degree, yet the regard they have for their Parents and Relations ſtifles it in their preſence; for if a Man talks a little pointedly to a Woman before any of her Relations, they will reſent it ſo far as to proſecute him at Law, and oblige him to own in Court that he takes them for Perſons of Honour, unleſs it be that he declares he did not know of their affinity to the Lady.

A profound regard to Relations.

A Man muſt not enter where a Woman bathes, or is preſent without her Garment; for tho ſhe never takes off the Cloth that ſupplies the place of a Petticoat, yet her Boſom and Breaſts are liſted into the number of her Privy-parts. When a Man is in company of a Woman, if another Man meets them he muſt not ask if ſhe be his Daughter or Wife, but if ſhe be his Kinſwoman, and what degree of Affinity or Conſanguinity ſhe ſtands in to him; for if the Woman be really the Man's Daughter, and the other asks if ſhe is his Wife, he'll take the Queſtion for an inſinuation of Inceſt. While a Woman is under her Menſtrual Flux, ſhe neither bathes nor ſhifts her ſelf; ſhe does not Bed with her Husband; neither does ſhe eat or converſe with any body; only ſhe is allowed to waſh her Mouth and her Hands.

The Women viſit at night.

As I intimated above, the Women ſeldom ſtir abroad in the Days, ſo that they make all their Viſits at Night, being accompany'd with a Man who walks before; and when he ſpies any one approaching, calls out thrice, *Gas*, i. e. *Take care*. Upon this Signal the Man betakes himſelf to the other ſide of the Street, without ſeeming to ſee or know the Woman; nay, if one Woman meets another, ſhe takes to the other ſide of the Way, and does not ſalute her, unleſs ſhe be very intimately acquainted with her. The outer Gate of the Houſes being always open till Eleven a Clock at Night, at which time every body is at home, the Viſitants have no occaſion to knock; and, indeed, the Gates have no Knockers. After entring the outer Gate, and approaching to the Door of the Houſes, which is always open, and ſpread with Tapeſtry of Cotton-cloth, or ſome other Stuff, they cough once; upon which the People of the Houſe come out. In the Iſland of *Male*, the King's Officers and Soldiers cough frequently, to give notice to one another in the dark Streets, for fear of receiving mutual Wounds from their Arms, which are always naked.

The nature of the Government.

We proceed in the next place to take a view of their Publick Government, which is an abſolute and ancient Monarchy, for the King is fear'd and rever'd by all, and every thing depends upon his pleaſure. Under him each *Atollon* has a *Naybe*, or Governour, who is a Prieſt and Doctor of the Law. The *Naybes* govern the inferiour Prieſts, and are intruſted with the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the management of Religious Concerns. The *Cantons* or *Atollons* being ſubdivided into many Iſlands, each of theſe Iſlands, that contains above 41 Men, is allotted a Doctor call'd *Catibe*, who preſides there in Religious Matters, and rules over the particular Prieſts of the Moſques.

The Offices of the Naybes.

The Catibe.

The Office and Living of the Prieſts.

All theſe Prieſts are imploy'd in Inſtructing the People in the Law, and live upon a certain Portion of Fruits collected from every Inhabitant, and a Salary allow'd them by the King in proportion to their Dignity.

Thirteen Judges in the Kingdom.

The *Naybes* indeed are likewiſe imploy'd in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; nay, they are the only Judges both in Civil and Criminal Caſes; and 'tis for the ſake of Juſtice, as well as the promoting of Religion, that they make four Circuits in the Year through all the Parts within their Juriſdiction. When they go the Circuits they gather their Dues, and greedily receive Preſents from an infinity of Perſons; ſo that the Circuits raiſe the beſt part of their Incomes.

Pandiare the Supreme Judge.

The *Naybes*, or Thirteen Judges, are under the direction of a Superiour, call'd the *Pandiare*, and in Arabick *Cady*, who reſides in the Iſle of *Male*, and is not only the Supreme Judge of all Cauſes, but likewiſe the Head of the National Church. He receives Appeals from the *Naybes*, but does not paſs Sentence without taking the Advice of four or five *Moncouris*, i. e. Doctors learned in the Law, and divers other Sciences; who are univerſally honour'd and reſpected, there being but about fifteen of them in all the *Maldives*. The Judgment pronounc'd by the *Pandiare* may be revers'd by appealing to the King himſelf, who upon ſuch Occaſions orders Juſtice to be done by ſix principal Officers, theſe being the Managers of the moſt important Affairs of the State.

Six Counſellors of State.

The yearly Circuits.

The *Pandiare* makes a Circuit once a Year through the Iſle of *Male*, as every *Naybe* does in his reſpective *Atollon*, and condemns all to be whipt that can't ſay their Creed and Prayers in the Arabick Tongue, and conſtrue them in the *Maldivan*. When he goes along the Street the Women muſt not ſhew themſelves, for if he ſpies any unveil'd, he orders their hair to be ſhaven.

Each *Atollon* has, beſides the *Naybes*, a Collector of the King's Revenues. Juſtice is diſpens'd in the Houſe of the *Naybe*, or elſe at the *Pandiare*'s Houſe in *Male*; and ſometimes, in caſes of moment, in the King's Palace.

The manner of Writs or Summons.

The Defendant is ſummon'd by Serjeants, call'd *Devaints*, to come before the *Naybe*, by vertue of a ſpecial Letter or Writ from the *Naybe*; but if he lives out of the *Naybe*'s Juriſdiction, he is ſummon'd by Letters from the *Pandiare*, which injoyn him to come from any part of the Realm to the Iſland of *Male*. The *Pandiare*'s Writ is ſerv'd publickly upon the Defendant by the *Calibe*, or Superiour of the Iſland; and if he does not appear at the place appointed, he is not only excommunicated and excluded from eating or drinking with his Neighbours, or coming to Church, but ſeiz'd with main force by a Party of Soldiers.

The trial of Civil Cauſes.

If either Plaintiff or Defendant ſuſpects the partiality of the *Naybe*, they have recourſe to the King, who orders the Cauſe to be tried before unſuſpected Judges. The contending Parties pleads their own Cauſes: In the buſineſs of Right or Title they are judg'd by the Law; and in Allegations of Matter of Fact, the Plaintiff muſt have them atteſted by three Witneſſes, or elſe the Defendant's own Oath will bring him off. In adminiſtring an Oath, the Judge holds up the Book of the Law, and the Evidence is oblig'd to touch it with his Hand, and that not ſuperficially, but ſo that every one may obſerve a real Contract. Whatever is adjudg'd to the Plaintiff, a 12th part of it goes to the Serjeants, but nothing to the Judges. If Women are call'd in as Witneſſes, three of them are reckon'd equivalent to one Man.

Slaves.

Slaves can neither Witneſs nor Plead; and the meaneſt of them, call'd *Allo*, have but one Wife, whereas the reſt are allowed three. By Slaves, they underſtand ſuch only as voluntarily ſell themſelves, or are Imported as Slaves from Foreign places; for a Shipwrack'd ſtranger, that was not a Slave before that misfortune, continues in the injoyment of his liberty. The puniſhment for beating a Slave, is the half of what they inflict for beating a Freeman.

Debtors become Servants.

An Inſolvent Debtor is oblig'd to become a Servant to his Creditor, but not a Slave; and he and his Children after him, continues in the Service till the Debt is work'd out. If he thinks himſelf ill us'd, he may turn himſelf over to another Maſter, who lays down the Money due to the former.

Murderers how proſecuted.

If a Man be murder'd, his Wife can't proſecute the Malefactor, but the Judge obliges him to maintain her Children, and bring them up to a Trade, till they are of Age; at which time they are qualify'd either to forgive or proſecute the murderer, for the State takes no cognizance of Perſonal injuries, unleſs the Parties aggrieved complain of them.

Puniſhments. Whipping the moſt ſevere.

The ordinary puniſhment of Criminals is whipping, which indeed is very ſevere, and frequently mortal; but in ſome Caſes they are baniſh'd to the Southern deſart Iſlands, and in others they are doom'd to the mutilation of a principal Member. The Whips are made of thongs of thick leather, which are a fathom long, two fingers thick, and four fingers broad; five or ſix of them being faſten'd together in a wooden handle. Whipping is the puniſhment of Sodomy, Inceſt, Adultery, Perjury, and Rapes: But over and above that puniſhment, an Adultereſs has her hair cut off; a perjur'd Criminal pays a pecuniary Mulct for the benefit of the Poor; and a Raviſher is oblig'd to give a Dowry to the injur'd Woman. The ſtealing of any thing of value is puniſh'd with the loſs of a Hand, and the diſobeying of the Law with publick Penance; for they are of the Opinion, they can never come at Paradiſe without ſatisfying the demands of the Law. The Sentences pronounc'd by the Judge are executed by the Serjeants, for they have no Hangman or publick Executioners. Tho' Death is by Law intail'd upon Homicide, they never condemn a Priſoner to die unleſs the King expreſly requires it, which ſeldom happens; and when it does, the King ſends his own Soldiers to execute the Sentence, for he reſerves the Power of Life and Death to himſelf alone, whereas the inflicting of other puniſhments lies in the hands of the Judges. Their tenderneſs in not ſentencing Criminals to die, is grounded upon the Plea of not diſpeopling the Country, there being ſo great a number of Criminals whoſe juſt demerit is Death. When the King is Perſonally offended, he makes the Criminal lie on the ground flat upon his Belly, his Arms and Legs being held by four Men, while his Back is ſoundly thraſh'd with a *Bengala* Cane call'd *Rotan*, which takes off the Skin, and leaves a perpetual mark.

Few put to death.

No Writings.

Neither Indictments, Depoſitions, nor Sentences, are put in writing, as being all very ſhort; nay, in Civil Matters the Allegations are never written, unleſs it be in a Suit for a Land, Inheritance, or Coco-trees, which are reckon'd immoveable, then indeed the Judges give Letters ſeal'd with Ink (Wax they do not uſe) for an Evidence of the Perſon's Right to be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

Four ranks of Perſons.

Noblemen.

The Inhabitants of this Country rank'd in four Claſſes, namely the Royal Family; Perſons inveſted with Dignities and Offices; the Nobility or Gentry; and the Common People. The third rank is diſtinguiſh'd from the fourth by their Birth; and the diſtinction is ſo nicely kept up, that the latter dare not ſit in the preſence of the former. If a noble Woman marries a Plebeian, ſhe retains her rank, and upon her account the Children are reckon'd Noble. But a Woman of the loweſt Form can't ennoble her ſelf by marrying a Nobleman. Beſides the Nobles by Birth, there are ſome ennobled by the King, who upon ſuch Occaſions gives them Letters, intitling them to that Privilege, and ſends an Officer round the Iſland to make publication of the promotion. The firſt rank comprehends the King, call'd *Raſquan*; the Queen call'd *Renequillague*; the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood call'd *Calans* and *Camenaz*; and all who are deſcended of the King's Predeceſſors. The next Station is allotted to the great Officers of the Kingdom; particularly to the *Quilague*, or the King's Lieutenant-General, who commands in the King's abſence; the *Eudequerry*, who always attends the King's Perſon as chief Counſellor; the *Velannas*, who takes care of all ſtrangers, and takes the Rudder off all the Ships that arrive, for fear they ſhould ſet Sail without taking leave; the General of their Forces call'd *Dorimenaz*; the *Manpas* or Chancellor, who affixes to all Letters the King's Seal, *i. e.* the impreſſion of his Name in Arabick ingraven on Silver; the Secretary call'd *Carans*, &c. Theſe Officers have, beſides the Rents of certain Iſlands allotted them, the King's Rice for their Proviſion, (which is a great honour allow'd likewiſe to the Soldiers) and the Toll of the Ships that Traffick to the *Maldives*. The Officers and Soldiers are ſo much eſteem'd, that a Nobleman is not reſpected unleſs he be an Officer; and a Gentleman will hardly paſs for ſuch, without he be liſted into the King's Service.

The King's Miniſters and Officers.

The King's Guards, and other Troops.

The King's Guards conſiſt of 6 Companies of 100 Men apiece, commanded by the 6 ancient Counſellors call'd *Moſcoulis*. Beſides theſe, there are ten large Companies commanded by ten of the Grandees of the Country, which ſerve the King not in fighting, but in the lanching of Ships, building of Palaces, and ſuch other work, being call'd together by the ſound of a Bell. In five of theſe Companies none but Gentlemen are receiv'd, but the other five take in the Common People. Slaves are always excluded, as well as thoſe who work in a Mechanical mean way, as the dreſſing of Coco-trees, &c. and particularly ſuch as ſerve others, or cannot read nor write. Whoever is liſted a Soldier, pays twenty Lovins to the King, and forty to be diſtributed among the Company in which he is to ſerve. To conclude, all Offices are bought of the King, and much coveted by reaſon of the Honour, Authority and Power that attends them; but the Perſons inveſted with theſe Offices can neither ſell nor reſign them.

The Names of the Natives.

The Iſlanders having but one Name, ſuch as *Mahomet*, *Haly*, *Huſſum*, *Aſſan*, *Ibrahim*, &c. are diſtinguiſh'd by their Stations, as Noble, Plebeian, &c. added to their Name, and ſometimes by the addition of the Iſland in which they live.

The King's Palace.

Fountains for waſhing.

Two great Halls.

The Royal Palace is of Stone one ſtory high, and has a great many fine Apartments, tho' without the Ornaments of Architecture. 'Tis ſurrounded with Gardens, in which there are great Fountains and Ciſterns of Water wall'd in, and pav'd with great ſmooth ſtones, and guarded continually to hinder People from waſhing in them, as being reſerv'd for the King and Queen's ſole Uſe. The Palace is divided into ſeveral Courts, each of which has a Well in the middle garniſh'd with fair white ſtones; and in one of theſe Courts the King has two Magazines, one for Ordnance, and the other for Ammunition. At the Palace-gate there's a Guard-Houſe, with many pieces of Ordnance, and other Arms. The Portal is made like a ſquare Tower, and on Feſtival-days the Muſicians ſing and play upon the top of it. Paſſing on from the Gate you come firſt to a Hall, where the Soldiers wait; then to another great Hall, where the Noblemen and Gentlemen attend, for none but the Officers of the Houſhold, with the King and Queen's Slaves or Servants, are allow'd to go farther. The floor of theſe Halls is rais'd three foot from the ground, to avoid the Ants, being neatly boarded with well-plain'd Wood, and cover'd with a ſort of parti-colour'd Mats which they make in theſe Iſlands, and which have ſeveral Characters, and other Figures, work'd upon them. The Walls are hung with ſilk Tapeſtry, as well as the Ceiling, which has pretty Fringes hanging round it. The Noblemen ſit down croſs-legg'd on the Mats which cover the floor of the Hall, obſerving nicely the order of their Dignities. The Gentry of the Iſle of *Male*, and the ordinary Courtiers, who are oblig'd to ſalute the King every day after Noon, ſit in an outer Hall till the King comes forth. The Gentry of the other Iſlands come likewiſe to wait upon the King in the ſame manner, and always bring Preſents with them; for no body ſalutes the King without one. The Chambers and inner Apartments are hung with ſilk Tapeſtry, and inrich'd with gold flowers and branches of divers colours. The Beds in the Palace, and thoſe of all the great Men, are hung with Cords upon a Beam ſupported by two Pillars; and ſo the Perſon is rock'd aſleep. 'Tis uſual among the better ſort of People to make their Servants move and chafe their Bodies when they lie down, and to give them little flaps or gentle blows with both their hands, upon the apprehenſion that it promotes Sleep, and expels the Spleen.

Chambers.

Beds.

The King's Habit.

Commonly the King is Cloath'd with a fine white Robe or Coat of Cotton, reaching to the Girdle, or a little lower, with white and blue Edgings, and made faſt before with maſſy gold Buttons. Then he has a piece of red imbroider'd Tapeſtry, reaching from the Girdle to the Heels, and girded with a long large Girdle of Silk fringed with Gold, and a great Chain of Gold before, upon which there hangs a large Jewel as big as one's fiſt, of the fineſt and moſt precious Stones. He wears likewiſe a Knife made after the faſhion of the

Country, only 'tis richer than ordinary. Upon his Head he has a Cap of Scarlet, that Cloth being ſo much eſteem'd in this Country that none but the King muſt wear it. This Cap is lac'd with Gold, and has on the top of it a great gold Button with a precious Stone. The Grandees and Soldiers wear their hair long, but the King has his Head ſhav'd every Week. His Legs are naked, after the faſhion of the Country; and his Feet are cover'd with Slippers of gilt Copper, imported from *Arabia*, and made like Sandals, which none are allow'd to wear but the Queens, and the Princeſſes of the Royal Blood.

His Retinue when he goes abroad.

When the King goes abroad, the chief mark of Majeſty about him is a white *Umbrella*, which none are allow'd to uſe but ſtrangers, who may have what they will. Upon the ſame Occaſion he has three Pages near his Perſon, one carrying a Fan, another his Sword and Buckler, and the third a Box full of *Bettel* and *Averqua*, which he chews every hour. He is likewiſe attended by a Doctor of Law, who reads in his preſence, and puts him in mind of Religion. This King does not purſue the Diverſions of going abroad, and fiſhing as his Predeceſſors were wont to do, but mews himſelf up in his Palace, and ſpends his time in Careſſing his Queen, giving Audience to his Courtiers, and ſeeing a great many Mechanicks and Artificers work; for he keeps in his Palace Painters, Goldſmiths, Imbroiderers, Cutlers, Joyners, Turners, Armourers, &c. and finds them work. Nay, he works frequently with his own hands, and accounts it a ſin to be idle. He is a Man of a lively quick apprehenſion, and very curious to learn Mechanick Trades. He incourages all ſtrangers that practiſe Arts unknown to his People, and makes inquiry after thoſe that excel in their way.

His eſteem for Mechanick Arts.

His Parade to the Temple.

On *Fridays* he goes in great Pomp to the Temple, being attended by his Guards, (conſiſting of 100 Men) and his ordinary Officers, with the agreeable Muſick of Drums, Flutes and Trumpets. After Service is over, he returns with the ſame Retinue, the Soldiers leaping all along to the ſound of the Muſick, and ſtriking with their Swords on one another's Bucklers, and that in ſuch a ſucceſſive manner as to avoid confuſion. He is likewiſe attended in his return from Church by all the People of the Iſland, and regales with a Dinner the *Pandiare*, *Nayles*, *Catibes*, *Moudins*, Gentlemen and Soldiers. After Dinner he hears Cauſes, and adminiſters Juſtice. Theſe Iſlands affording neither Horſe nor Beaſt, the King walks abroad on foot, unleſs he be carry'd in a Chair upon Slaves ſhoulders; which happens but ſeldom, for he is a brawny ſtrong Man, and chuſes rather to go on foot. In ſpeaking to the King or Queen, or to the Princes of the Royal Blood, and in ſpeaking of them, they have peculiar expreſſions that they dare not apply to others; as when they ſay of another Man *he is aſleep*, in talking of the King they ſay *he takes his reſt*.

The Habit of the Queens.

The Queens wear the ſame ſort of Habit with the other *Maldivan* Women, only their Cloaths are richer. The Noblemen's Ladies and Daughters are oblig'd to wait upon them every evening; and when the Queens go abroad, (which happens but very ſeldom) all the Women in the Iſland run to meet them in their reſpective Diſtricts with Preſents of Flowers and Fruits, the She-Slaves giving notice at a great diſtance before them for all Men to get out of the way. Upon that occaſion, four great Ladies carry over the Queen's Head a Veil of white Silk reaching to the ground; ſo that ſhe is not ſeen. The Queens bathe frequently in the Sea, as well as the other Women; ſuch being the Cuſtom of the Country, which they reckon very conducive to health. For this end they have an Incloſure in the Sea, cover'd with Cotton Cloth, and upon the ſhore a little Houſe, with a freſh water Bath, which they uſe as they come out of the Sea. Daylight is never ſeen in the Queen's Chambers, or thoſe of the Ladies of Quality, for their only light is Lamps burning continually. And the place of the Room where they uſually retire, is block'd up with four or five rows of Tapeſtry, the innermoſt of which neither Man nor Woman dares to pull up without coughing or hemming firſt, and telling who they are. When they undreſs, they pull off only their Robe, for neither Man nor Woman in the *Maldives* dares to throw off the Cloth that ſurrounds their middle.

They bathe in Salt water.

The King's Revenue.

As for the King's Revenue, he has many Iſlands of Crown-Lands, beſides a fifth part of all the Grain and Fruits of the Country, and a Tax of dry'd Fiſh, Shells call'd *Boly*, and Cords of Cocoes, which he lays upon them according to their circumſtances; for he has no Taxes paid him in Money, abating for what is paid as a Purchaſe for Titles and Offices, or for Licenſes to wear fine Apparel. He obliges his People to make him every Year as much Cotton-Cloth as Cloaths his Soldiers, for he gives them Cloaths as well as Pay. His Revenue is further inlarg'd by his Claim to the Goods imported by Shipping; for a Ship no ſooner arrives than the Owners repair to him, and give him an account of their Cargo, out of which he takes what he pleaſes at low Rates, and obliges his Subjects to take it of him again at what price he pleaſes, by way of exchange for ſuch things as he wants; oftentimes he fits out Ships laden with the Commodities of his own Country. All wreck found on the Sea ſhore is immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares to keep it; no more than Ambergreeſe, call'd by the *Maldivans Gomen*, which is more plentiful here than in any part of the *Indies*, and which is ſo narrowly look'd after, that whoever appropriates it to his own uſe loſes a Hand. In a word, whatever the Sea caſts upon the ſhore is the Kings; particularly, a ſort of Sea-Nuts call'd *Tauacarre*, as big as a Man's Head, which they fancy to grow upon Trees under water. The *Portugueſe* call them *Cocos* of the *Maldives*; 'tis uſed in Phyſick, and is very dear. Their Money is Silver only, and but of one ſort, called *Larins*. However, all Gold and Silver is current here by weight, as 'tis all over the *Indies*; before they take it 'tis try'd in the fire, and every Man keeps Weights for that purpoſe. There's a ſort of Metal named *Calin*, reſembling Tin, much eſteem'd in the *Indies*, but 'tis not current here. Iron-money paſſes no where in the *Indies*, but in the Dominions of the Prince that Coined it. Having but one ſort of Coin, they are forc'd to cut it, by which they loſe the 12th part. Inſtead of ſmaller Coins, they uſe ſometime Shells, 12000 of which makes a *Larin*, and a *Larin* is worth about eight *Sols*, being long like one's finger, and much folded. The King's Name is ſet upon theſe in *Arabick* Letters. Their Gold and Silver is all Imported from abroad, but in their own Markets they often Barter one thing for another.

Sea-Nuts.

Coin.

The Wares they export.

The *Maldives* are well frequented with Merchants; the Commodities they ſend abroad are chiefly the *Cocos*, with which they lade above 100 Ships Yearly. Of this the Cordage is made that ſerves all the Ships of *Arabia*, *Malabar*, and all the *Indies*; they make alſo Oil and Honey of that Tree, and by weaving the leaves of the Tree make Sails. They vend alſo little Shells that contain a Creature in them as great as the end of one's little finger, white, very ſmooth and glittering. They fiſh for them but twice a Month; three days before, and three days after the New Moon, and ſo before and after the Full. The Women gather them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea, ſtanding up to the middle in water. Theſe go only to *Bengala*, the Inhabitants of which eſteem them ſo much, that I have ſeen thirty or forty Ships laden, without any other Commodity bound thither. Tho' in *Bengall* they have enough of other Metals, yet theſe Shells paſs there as Money, and the King and Noblemen hoard up vaſt quantities of them, accounting it part of their Treaſure. They give twenty Meaſures of Rice for a Fardel of Shells, each Fardel containing 12000. They have beſides theſe a ſort of Tortoiſe-ſhells named *Cambe*, which is black and ſmooth, and has many natural figures; 'tis found no where but here, and in the *Philippines*, and goes off beſt in *Cambaia*. Here they make fine Reed-Matts, and Cloaths of Cotton and Silk.

What they import.

In exchange the Merchants import ſome Cotton and Silk Cloaths, a ſort of Oil, *Arecqua*, Iron and Steel, Spices, Porcelane; and, in ſhort, all the Neceſſaries of Life, and yet every thing is cheap, becauſe of the number and frequency of Ships. They import all their Gold and Silver, which they never ſend out again, but lay it up among their Wives Jewels as their chief Treaſure.

The Author's liberty fore-told by a Dream.

To return to our Author, who purſuant to the foregoing account was Priſoner in the *Maldives*, he dream'd he was ſet at liberty, and as ſoon as he awaked made a Vow to undertake a Voyage to St. *James* of *Gallicia*, to give God thanks if it ſo happen'd. Two days after, News came of the approach of 16 Gallies; upon which, the King order'd what Shipping he had to be got ready, but the Enemy were in ſight e'er it could be done. So imbarking his beſt Goods, he thought to ſave himſelf and Women in the Southern Iſles; his haſte was ſo great, he was forc'd to leave his Arms and Ammunition behind. But the Wind failing, the Enemy ſent eight Gallies after him, in an Engagement with which the King was ſlain, and his Wives and Goods taken. The other eight put into the Land, and our Author ſurrender'd himſelf into their hands. They ſtaid till they laded their Gallies with the Booty, and 100 or 120 pieces of Ordnance at their departure; they left all behind at liberty, except the chief Queen's Brother, and the King's Brother-in-Law.

The King ſlain.

I muſt

Vaſt Power of the King of *Bengala*.

I muſt not forget to acquaint you, that when this Author left *Bengala*, the chief King there was raiſing a Million of Men, and ten thouſand Elephants, to oppoſe the *Great Mogul*, who had proclaim'd War againſt him; but having us'd our Author only in relation to the *Maldives*, I've omitted his paſſage from thence to *Bengala*, nor need I now mention the particulars of his return from that place homewards.

The End of De la Val'*s Voyage to the* Eaſt-Indies.

Brief Collections of Voyages, chiefly of Spaniards *and* Portugueſe, *taken out of* Anthony Galvano'*s Book of the Diſcoveries of the World. Publiſhed by* Purchas.

IN the Year 1300. the Soldan of *Cairo* commanded the Drugs and Merchandize of *India* to be carried through the Red-Sea, as they had been formerly; they were unladed on the *Arabian* ſide, and carried by the Pilgrims to *Mecca*. Each Prince receiv'd a Cuſtom for them through whoſe Country they paſs'd, but chiefly the Soldans of *Cairo*, from whence the Wares were carried into *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Africa*, *Tunis*, *Fez*, *Morocco*, &c. And this was the common way of carrying the *Indian* Drugs, until the *Portugueſe*, by turning the *Cape of Good Hope*, brought them to *Lisbon* by Sea.

The *Canaries*.

In 1344. when *Peter* the Fourth was King of *Arragon*, one *de Cerda* went to conquer the *Canaries*, lying in the 28 degr. of North Lat. whereby theſe Iſles came to be commonly known in *Europe*, and ſpecially in *Spain*.

Madera diſcover'd by *Macham* an *Engliſhman*.

About this time the firſt Diſcovery of *Madera* was owing to the Misfortune of one *Macham* an *Engliſhman*, who ſailing from *England* to *Spain* with a Woman, was driven by a Tempeſt upon that Iſland, where he landed with ſome of his Company, and was left behind by the Men in the Ship, who weigh'd and put to Sea. The Woman died, for whom he built a Chapel, and engrav'd on her Tomb her Name and his, with the occaſion of their coming thither. After this he made a ſmall Boat out of one Tree, and ventur'd with his Men to ſail along the Coaſt of *Africa*, without Sail or Oars: And the *Moors*, among whom he came, wondering much how he came there, preſented him to the King, who ſent him and his Men to *Caſtile*.

Canaries diſcover'd.

In the Year 1395. in the Reign of *Henry* III. King of *Caſtile*, upon the Information which *Macham* gave them, many of *France* and *Caſtile* went to diſcover this Iſland and the great *Canary*, who ſeem to be the firſt that diſcover'd the *Canaries*, and landed in them.

The firſt *Portugal* Diſcoveries.

In 1415. King *John* I. of *Portugal* went from *Lisbon* with his three Sons, and other Nobles, and took the great City of *Ceuta*, which lies between 35 and 36 degr. of North latitude.

Canaries conquer'd.

In 1417. King *John* II. and his Mother *Katherine*, granted to Monſieur *Betancourt* the Government of the *Canaries* with the Title of King: Whither he went with a good Army, and conquer'd *Lancerota*, &c. where they built a Caſtle of Stone, and ſent home Wax, Hides, and other Commodities.

The Monument built by *Macham* found in *Madera*.

In 1418. ſome Gentlemen ſent by *Henry* the King's third Son, ſail'd into a Haven on the Coaſt of *Africa* called *Santo*, where they remain'd two Years: And after that, in 1420. they ſail'd alſo to the Iſland *Madera*, where they found the Monument of *Macham* the *Engliſhman*.

Canaries given to *Spain* by the Pope.

Their ancient Manners and Commodities.

In 1431. the *Canaries* were given to the King of *Caſtile* by Pope *Eugenius* IV. The Iſlands are 7, call'd *Fortunatæ*, lying in 28 degr. of North latitude. The People eat raw fleſh, Till the ground with Ox-horns: The Commodities of them are Wheat, Barley, Wine, Sugar, and certain Birds call'd *Canary-Birds*.

Cape Boiador firſt paſs'd.

In 1434. the ſaid *Henry* ſent out one *Gonſales* and *Gilianes*, who had formerly paſs'd the terrible Cape *Boiadoz*, and went to another Cape beyond it, where they landed, and found the Country inhabited.

Cape Blanco.

In 1441. the ſaid Don *Henry* ſent two Ships, with *Triſtan* in one, and *Gonſales* in the other, who ſail'd to *Cape Blanco* in 20 degrees, and brought *Moors* from thence to inform Don *Henry* of the State of the Country, who were afterwards return'd, and ranſom'd for other *Moors* with curled hair, and ſome Gold; whence the place was call'd *Rio de Oro*, or the *Golden River*.

Rio de Oro why ſo called.

The River *Sanaga* and *Cape Verde* diſcovered.

In 1446. one *Fernandes* of *Lisbon* went to the River *Sanaga*, between 15 and 16 degrees of Lat. and having taken ſome Negroes there, he went on and diſcover'd *Cape Verde* in 14 degrees, where he ſet upon the Land a Croſs of Wood.

Rio Grande.

In 1447. one *Triſtan* paſs'd *Cape Verde* and *Rio Grande*, and went to another Cape lying in 12 degrees North latitude.

Azores firſt Inhabited.

In 1449. Don *Henry* went to dwell in the *Azores*, by whom was diſcover'd the Coaſt of *Africa* from *Cape Non* to the Mountain *Sierra Leona*, in 8 degr. of latitude.

Alcacer taken.

In 1458. Don *Alfonſo*, King of *Portugal*, went into *Africa*, and took the Town *Alcacer*: And in 1461. he built the Caſtle of *Arguin*, and appointed *Mendez* his Governour there.

Guiney let out to farm.

Azila and *Tangier* taken.

In 1469. the King of *Portugal* let out the Trade of *Guiney* to one *Gomez*, for 5 Years, for 200000 Reyes a Year, *i. e.* 138 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.* half-penny *Engliſh* Money, upon condition that he ſhould diſcover every Year 100 leagues. In 1470. this King went into *Africa*, and took the Town of *Azila*, and the City of *Tangier*.

The Iſles *de Poo*, *St Thomas*, and *Del Principe*.

Benin a Kingdom.

In 1471. *John Azen* and *Scouar* found the Mine in 5 degrees of lat. and the next Year *de Poo* diſcover'd the Iſland now call'd after his Name. About this time *Sequeiza* diſcover'd the Iſlands *St. Thomas* and *del Principe*, lying under the Line of the firm Land as far as *Cape Santa Catharina*, lying in 3 degr. South lat. in which is the Kingdom of *Benin*.

Rio de Congo.

In 1484. King *John* II. ſent out *Caon*, who went to the River of *Congo* in 7 or 8 degr. South lat. and from thence to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, ſetting up Pillars of Stone in both places: He return'd to the King of *Congo*, who ſent an Embaſſador to *Portugal*.

Alexandria, *Cairo*, *Tozo*, &c.

Preſter John's Country.

The firſt that ſaw the *Indies*.

In 1487. King *John* ſent *Pedro de Covillan* to diſcover *India* over Land, who went out in *May*, and took Shipping at *Naples* the ſame Year, and went to the Iſle of *Rhodes*; and from thence to *Alexandria*, and ſo to *Cairo*, and the Haven of *Tozo*, in the company of the Caravans. Again he took Shipping at the *Red-Sea*, and went to the City of *Aden*, and from thence to *Cananor* and *Calecut*, and came back again to *Goa*; from whence he ſail'd unto *Sofala*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, in 20 degrees South lat. to ſee the famous Mines there. And from *Sofala* he turn'd back to *Moſambique*, and to the Cities of *Quiloa*, *Mombaza* and *Melinde*, until he came to *Aden*, and having ſail'd through the *Red-Sea* to *Cairo*: here he receiv'd Letters from King *John*, requiring him to go to *Ethiopia*, and ſo he turn'd back again to *Aden*, and went to the famous City of *Ormuz*, in 27 degrees North lat. where he heard of the Streight of *Perſia*, and of that Country; and there he paſs'd over the *Red-Sea* to *Preſter John's* Country, where he was detain'd till 1520. that an Embaſſador came there from *Portugal*. This *Covillan* was the firſt *Portugueſe* that diſcover'd the *Indies*, and Seas and Places adjoining.

The greater part of *Congo* baptiz'd.

In 1490. the King ſent back the Ambaſſador of *Congo*, who with ſome others of his Company had been baptiz'd in *Portugal*; and when the *Portugueſe* came to *Congo*, the King, and the greater part of his Realm, turn'd Chriſtians, and were baptiz'd.

The firſt that ſail'd by Latitudes.

In 1492. *Ferdinando*, King of *Caſtile*, ſent *Chriſtopher Columbus*, with 3 Ships, to diſcover *Nova Spayna*: He ſet out from *Palos* in *Auguſt*, having with him ſeveral Captains, and 120 more in company; and 'tis ſaid they were the firſt that ſail'd by Latitudes. In his return home he took the Iſles of *Azores*, which offended the King of *Portugal*, but theſe Iſles were given to the King of *Caſtile* by Pope *Alexander*.

Columbus's Voyage.

In 1493. the ſaid *Columbus* ſail'd from *Cadiz* with 17 Ships, and 1500 Men in them, among whom were his two Brethren, and many other Gentlemen, and on the tenth day after their ſetting forth they arriv'd at the *Canaries*, from whence in thirty days they ſail'd to the *Antibes*, of which the firſt Iſland lies in 14 degrees North lat.

Defeada diſcovered. *Las Virgines.* *St. John.* *Jamaica.*

lat. and is diſtant from the *Canaries* 800 leagues, and they call'd it *Defeada*, i. e. the *Deſired Iſland*. After that they diſcover'd many more, which they call'd *Virgines*, which are nam'd *Caribas* by the Natives, who poyſon their Arrows, ſo that a Man dies like a mad Dog. From theſe Iſlands he went to the principal call'd St. *John*, and from thence to *Hiſpaniola*, where he found all the Men dead he had left: And leaving here the moſt part of his People to plant it, and his Brethren *Gors*, he went to diſcover the other ſide of the Iſle *Cuba*, and from thence to *Jamaica*; all which Iſles lie between 16 and 20 degr. of North lat. But when he return'd, he found his Brethren, and the reſt of the company, diſtreſs'd by the Inſurrection of the Natives, whereupon he went back to *Spain* to inform the King of his Adventures.

The Diſcoveries of *John Cabot*.

In 1496. *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, was ſent out by *Henry* VII. King of *England*, with two Ships and 300 Men, who ſailed Weſtward till they came in ſight of Land in 45 degr. of lat. and then went Northward till they came to 60 degr. of lat. where the Day is 18 hours long. There they met with great Iſles of Ice, and Coaſting along the Land which turn'd Eaſtward, they diſcover'd the River *Defeada*; and then ſail'd back towards the Equinoctial to 38 degr. and ſo to *England*.

Trinidada. *Teſtigos, Cubagna.*

In 1497. *Ferdinando* King of *Spain* ſent out *Chriſtopher Columbus* with 6 Ships, who carried with him two Ships of his own, and ſail'd to *Cape Verde*, and running along by the Line, the firſt Land of the *Antilles* they came to was an Iſland in 9 degr. of lat. which they call'd *Trinidada*; and ſo he enter'd into the Gulf of *Paria*, and came out by the *Dragons-mouth*, and ſteering near the Coaſt he found 3 ſmall Iſles, which he nam'd *Teſtigos*, beyond which lies the Iſle *Cubagna*, where is fiſhing for Muſcle-Pearls, and, as ſome ſay, a Well of Oil. And beyond that Iſle they came to the Iſles *Frailes*, *Rogues*, &c. with other ſmall ones along the Bay; and at laſt to the Point of *Cape de Vela*, having diſcover'd along the Coaſt about 200 leagues, whence they croſs'd over to *Hiſpaniola*.

Moſambique, Mombaſa, Melinde.

In the ſame Year 1497. *Vaſquez de Gama* ſail'd from *Lisbon* with three Ships and 120 Men, and in 14 days came to *Cape Verde*, and the Iſle of *St. Jago*, from whence he ſail'd along the Coaſt beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, and having erected there Pillars of Stone, he came to *Moſambique*, in 15 degr. of South lat. and thence to *Mombaſa* and *Melinde*, where the King gave them Pilots to conduct them to *India*, and they diſcover'd the Flats of *Padua*.

Calecut.

In 1498. they anchor'd before *Calecut*, and ſailing from thence Northward, they diſcover'd the Coaſt all along till they came to *Angediva*: And in 1499. they ſail'd thence to *Melinde*, and ſo to *Moſambique* again, and the *Cape of Good Hope*, and thence ſailing along the Coaſt they came to *Cape Verde*, and at laſt to *Lisbon*, in 26 Months.

St. Luke. Rivers *Marannon, Amazones, Dulce*

In 1499. one *Pinſon* went from *Palos* at his own Coſt, with the leave of the King of *Caſtile*, to *Cape Verde*, and paſs'd the Line Southward, and diſcover'd the Cape of *St. Auſtin* in 8 degr. of lat. The chief places beſides this Cape where they touch'd, were the Point of *St. Luke* and *Terra de los Humos*, the Rivers of *Marannon*, *Amazones* and *Rio Dulce*, and other places along the Coaſt, till they came to 10 degr. of North lat.

Safe-Haven in *Braſile.* *Sofala.*

In 1500. *Pedro Cabral* ſail'd from *Lisbon* with 13 Ships, and in ſeeking one of his Ships loſt his way, and fell upon the Coaſt of *Braſile*, and put into a Haven which he call'd the *Safe-Haven*, in 17 degr. South lat. From thence he ſail'd towards the Cape of *Good Hope*, and croſs'd over the River *Cochin*, which was not known before, and laded himſelf with Pepper, and in his return diſcover'd *Sofala* on the Coaſt of *Africa*.

Cortereal's Diſcovery.

In the ſame Year 1500. *Gaſpar Cortereal* went with two Ships at his own Coſt from *Tercera*, and ſail'd to a Land in 50 degr. North lat. call'd after his Name, and return'd to *Lisbon*.

The Iſle of *Aſcenſion.* *St. Helena.*

In 1501. *John de Nova* went from *Lisbon* with 4 Ships, and paſs'd the Line to 8 degr. and diſcover'd the Iſle of *Aſcenſion*; and from *Melinde* he croſs'd to the other ſide, where he took lading, and ſo came back and doubled the Cape, and found the Iſland *St. Helena*.

Braſile diſcover'd to 32 degrees.

In the ſame Year 1501. three Ships were ſet out by the King of *Portugal*, which paſs'd the Line, and having ſeen the Land of *Braſile*, in 5 degr. of lat. they went on to 32. and it was very cold.

The Haven of *Zamba*, the *Coradas* and *Carthagena*, the Iſles of *St. Bernard*, &c. diſcover'd.

In 1502. one *Rodevigo Baſtidas* went with two Caravels, and ſteering Weſtward from the *Green Iſland* in the *Antibes* to *St. Martha*, *Cape de la Vela*, and *Rio Grande*, he diſcover'd the Haven of *Zamba*, the *Coradas*, *Carthagena*, and the Iſlands of *St. Bernard*, *Baru* and *Arenas*, and went forward to the Point of *Caribana*, at the end of the Gulf of *Uraba*, which is within ſight of the *Farallones*, hard by the River *Darien*, which is diſtant from the *Cape de la Vela* 200 leagues, lying in 9 degr. North lat.

Veragua and *Rio Grande*, &c diſcover'd.

In the ſame Year 1502. *Chriſtopher Columbus* went a fourth time upon Diſcoveries, and he went firſt to *Hiſpaniola*, *Jamaica*, and the Cape of *Honduras*; from whence he ſail'd Eaſtward to *Gracias a Dios*, and diſcover'd the Province and River of *Veragua*, and *Rio Grande*, and to the River of *Crocodiles*, within four leagues of *Panama*, which runs into the North Sea. And ſo he went to the Iſle *de Baſti mentos*, *Puerto Bello*, and *Nombre de Dios*, *Rio Franciſco*, and the Haven of *Retreat*, and then to the Gulf of *Cabeſa Cattiva*, the Iſles of *Caperoſa*, and laſtly to the Cape of *Marble*, being 200 leagues upon the Coaſt; from whence he turn'd again to the Iſle of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, where he grounded his Ships much eaten with Worms.

The Iſle *Moſambique.* Cattel fed with dry fiſh.

In the Year 1502. *Vaſques de Gama* went from *Lisbon* with ten Carvels, and from *Cape Verde* he went to *Moſambique*, and was the firſt that croſs'd from that Iſle to *India*: And he diſcover'd another Iſle in 4 degr. of latitude, which he call'd the *Iſle of the Admiral*, where he took his lading of Pepper and Drugs, and left there one *Sodre* to keep the Coaſt of *India* with five Ships. Theſe were the firſt *Portugueſe* that with an Army run along the Coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, which is ſo barren, that Cattel and Camels are maintain'd with dry Fiſh brought from Sea.

Socotora.

In 1503. *Antony de Soldania* diſcover'd *Socotora*, and the Cape of *Guardafu* adjoining to it.

Codego. *Uraba.* Gold Sand.

In 1504. *Baſtidas*, with the leave of *Ferdinando* King of *Caſtile*, went with two Ships to diſcover that part of *Terra firma* where *Carthagena* is, being in 10 degr. and half of North lat. and having landed in *Codego*, he took 600 of the Natives: And going further, he enter'd into the Gulf of *Uraba*, where they found Sand mingled with Gold, being the firſt that was brought to King *Ferdinando*; from whence they return'd to *Santo Domingo* laden with Slaves, but the Natives would not ſell them Victuals.

Forts built in *Quiloa*, &c. *Ceylan.*

In 1505. *Almeida*, Vice-Roy of *India*, went thither with 22 Sail, and when he came to *Quinola* he built there a Fort; and beyond *Melinde* he croſs'd to *Angediva*. In *Cananor* alſo and *Cochin*, he built Forts; to each of which he appointed a Captain. And at *Sofala*, *Peter Anheya* built a Fortreſs, whereof he was made Captain. In this Year the Vice-Roy ſent his Son towards the Iſles of *Maldiva*, and he came to the Iſles now call'd *Ceylan*, and having made Peace with the People there, he came back to *Cochin*, and ſailing along the Coaſt he fully diſcover'd it.

Bezequiche. Iſles of *Triſtan.* *Sumatra.* A Fort in *Sumatra.*

In the Year 1506. *Diego Columbus* ſucceeded his Father *Chriſtopher* as Admiral of the *Weſt-Indies*, and *Triſtan de Acuma* went to *India* with 14 Ships, and by the way caſt Anchor at the Town of *Bezequiche*, and before he arriv'd at the *Cape of Good Hope* in 37 degr. he found certain Iſles now call'd the Iſles of *Triſtan*. *Alvaro Telez* ran ſo far that he came to the Iſle *Sumatra*, and ſo back again to the Cape of *Guardafu*, having diſcover'd many Iſles and Lands, and a Sea never ſeen before by any *Portugueſe*. *Emmanuel Telez* being driven without the Iſle *St. Lawrence*, ran along the Coaſt and came to *Moſambique*; from whence he ſail'd to *Melinde*, and ran along that Coaſt and entred into *Brava*, from whence he croſs'd over to *Socotora*, where he built a Fort, and made one Captain of it.

Cochin. *Polvoreira.*

In 1509. *Lopez Sequeira* went with 4 Ships to *St. Lawrence*, and in the ſame Year he arriv'd in *Cochin*; from whence paſſing between the Iſles of *Nicubar*, he went to the Land of *Sumatra*, and along that Coaſt to the Iſle *Polvoreira*, and the Flats of *Capacia*, from whence he went over to *Malacca*, in two degr. North lat. but becauſe the Natives there kill'd ſome of his Men, he turn'd back to *India*, having diſcover'd in this Voyage 500 leagues. *Sumatra* is the firſt Land where they found Man's fleſh to be eaten. The fleſh of Kine and Hens there is as black as Ink.

Darien. *Golden Caſtile.* *Nombre de Dios.*

In 1508. one *Alfonſo de Hoida* went at his own Charges to conquer *Darien*, and having diſcover'd firm Land at *Uraba*, he call'd it the *Golden Caſtile*, becauſe of the Gold found among the Sand along the Coaſt; and they were the firſt that did this. He went firſt from the Iſle *Hiſpaniola*, and the City *Domingo*, with four Ships and 300 Soldiers, and landed at *Carthagena*, where he was diſtreſs'd by the Natives, who ſlew and eat 70 of his Soldiers; but in the ſame Year, *Diego Niqueſa* having 7 Ships and about 800 Men, came to *Carthagena* and join'd him, where having landed, they aveng'd themſelves of the Natives. In this Voyage *Niqueſa* diſcover'd the Coaſt of *Nombre de Dios*, and went into the Sound of *Darien*;

A Fort in *Caribana.*

Darien ; and when they came to *Veragua*, he went aſhore with his Army, having no hopes of returning to *Hiſpaniola*. *Alfonſo de Hoida* built a Fort in *Caribana*, which was the firſt the *Spaniards* built on firm Land, and another in *Nombre de Dios*, and alſo the Town of *Uraba*.

Hiſpaniola and *Cuba* Peopled with *Spaniards.*

In 1509. *Columbus* went to *Hiſpaniola* with his Wife, who carried with her many other Women, which were there married ; and ſo they began to People the Country, which was afterwards much frequented by *Spaniards*. He plac'd alſo a Lieutenant over the People of *Cuba*, which is a very large Iſle.

The Streight of *Sincapura*. *Odia* chief City of *Siam.*

In 1511. *Alfonſo de Albuquerque* went from *Cochin* to *Malacca* ; and the *Chineſeans* leaving *Malacca* in the ſame Year, to go to their own Country, he ſent with them *Duarte Fernandes* with Letters to the King of *Mantias*, now call'd *Siam*, who paſs'd through the Streight of *Sincapura*, and ſailing North went to *Odia*, the chief City of the Kingdom, lying in 14 degr. North lat. *Fernandes* being the firſt *Portugueſe* the King had ſeen, was much honour'd by him, who ſent back with him Ambaſſadors to *Albuquerque*, who paſs'd over the Land to the City *Tanazerim*, a Sea-Port in 12 degrees, where they embark'd, and ſail'd along the Coaſt to *Malacca*. This Kingdom of *Siam* is 150 leagues long, and 80 broad ; the King can bring into the Field 30000 Elephants.

Pegu.

Peza

One Fitch brought ſome of theſe Bells to *England.*

After this, *Albuquerque* ſent *D'Acuma* with Letters to the King of *Pegu*, who went in a Junk of the Country to the City *Peza*, near the River *Salano*, and many other Villages lying along this River ; and to the Cities *Tanazerim* and *Martanan*, in 15 degr. North lat. and *Pegu* in 17. He was the firſt *Portugueſe* who travell'd in that Kingdom, and gave an account of the Country, and of the People, who wear Bells in their Privities as the *Siamites* do.

The Iſles of *Banda, Malucco.*

Java, Madura.

In the end of 1511. *Albuquerque* ſent three Ships, with 120 Men, to the Iſles of *Banda* and *Malucco*, which paſs'd through the Streight of *Saban* along *Sumatra*, and other Iſles, towards the Eaſt, which they call'd *Salites*. They ſail'd alſo to the Iſles *Palimbam* and *Puparam*, and paſs'd by the noble Iſle of *Java*, and ſteering Eaſtward ſail'd between it and the Iſle *Madura*. Beyond *Java* they ſail'd by another Iſle call'd *Bali*, and came to many other Iſles lying in the ſame Parallel in 7 or 8 degr. South lat. their Courſe along theſe Iſles being above 500 leagues. Beyond theſe there are other Iſles towards the North, inhabited by whiter People, who wear Shirts and Doblet.

Ternate.

Burro, Amboyno, Guliguli.

Anthony de Bron the Admiral, went towards the North to a ſmall Iſle call'd *Ternate*, from the higheſt place whereof fall Sea-flakes like ſtreams of fire. From thence he went to the Iſles of *Burro* and *Amboyno*, and anchor'd in the Haven call'd *Guliguli*, and landed in a Village where the Natives are Man-eaters ; and then croſſing over to a place on the other ſide in 8 degr. they laded Cloves, Nutmegs and Mace, in a Junk brought here.

Mindanao. Malucco.

In 1512. they went from *Banda* towards *Malacca*, and the Junk being loſt on the Flats of *Luzapinho*, nine or ten *Portugueſe* eſcap'd to *Mindanao*, whom the King of *Malucco* ſent for ; and theſe were the firſt that came to the *Iſle of Cloves*, in one degr. North lat.

In the ſame Year 1512. *Albuquerque* went back from *Malacca* to *Goa*, and the Ship in which he went being loſt, a few Men were driven to the Iſles of *Maldiva*, where they firſt ſaw Coco's.

Rio de Plata.

In the ſame Year 1512. *John Solis* went from *Caſtile* to diſcover the Coaſt of *Braſile* : He came to the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, and Coaſting Southward he went to the Port *Lagoa*, and in 35 degr. of South lat. he found a great River, which he called *Rio de Plata*, i.e. the *River of Silver*.

Florida.

In the ſame Year 1512. *John Pence* went with two Ships to find out the Iſle *Boynca*, and the Well there which was ſaid to make Old Men young ; but there was no ſuch thing. He entred into the Iſle of *Bimini*, and diſcover'd a Point of Land in 29 degr. North, which he call'd *Florida*.

The South-Sea.

In 1513. *Vaſco Nunnes Valboa* having heard of the South-Sea, with 290 Men went from *Darien*, carrying ſome *Indians* to be his Guides march'd over Land, and on St. *Michael's-day* came to the South Sea, where he embark'd, tho' he was told of great danger, and came back to Land in ſafety, having taken there ſtore of Gold, Silver and Pearls.

The Streight of *Mecca.*

In the ſame Year *Albuquerque* went from *Goa* to the Streight of *Mecca*, with 20 Ships : He batter'd *Aden*, enter'd the Streight, and winter'd in the Iſle of *Camaran*, being the firſt *Portugueſe* Captain that gave information of thoſe Seas, and of that of *Perſia*.

In 1514. *Pedro d'Avila* went from *Lucar* with his Wife and 1500 Men, in 7 Ships, being the 4th Governour of *Golden Caſtile*, as they nam'd the Countries of *Darien*, *Carthagena* and *Uraba* ; and *Valboa* was made Governour of the South-Sea of that Coaſt.

The Gulf of St. *Michael.*

Iſle of *Pearl.*

In 1515. *Pedro Arias d'Avila* ſent one *Gaſpar Morales* with 150 Men to the Gulf of St. *Michael*, to diſcover the Iſles of *Tararequi*, *Chiapes* and *Tumaccus*. A Cacique, friend to *Valboa*, gave him many Canoes, wherein they ſail'd to the Iſle of *Pearl* ; the Lord whereof at firſt oppos'd their Landing, but being afterwards pacified, he took them home to his Houſe, and was baptiz'd *Pedro Arias*, for which he gave them a Baſket full of Pearls, weighing 110 pounds, whereof ſome were as big as Hazel-nuts, weighing 25, 26, or 31 Carats, every Carat being 4 grains. There was given for one of them 1200 Ducats. This Iſle *Tararequi* lies in 4 degr. lat. towards the North.

An Embaſſy to the King of *Perſia.*

In the ſame Year 1515. *Albuquerque* ſent from *Ormuz* *Fernando Gomez* as Ambaſſador to *Iſmael* King of *Perſia*, who travell'd in it 300 leagues, and reported that it is a pleaſant Country like *France*, and that there are the faireſt Women in the World.

Pepper a great Commodity in *China.*

In 1516. about 100 Years after the taking of *Ceuta*, *Lopez Suarez* being Governour of *India*, one *Fernando Perez* was ſent to *China*, where he received much Pepper ; and after that to *Bengala*, to a Knight call'd *John Calo*. He was the firſt *Portugueſe* that ſaw *Ganges*.

China firſt diſcover'd.

Pekin.

In 1517. the ſame *Perez* went to the City of *Malacca*, and from thence towards *China*, with 8 Sail, 4 *Portugueſes*, and 4 *Malayans*. He went with *Thomas Perez* the Ambaſſador from the City of *Canton*, by Land 400 leagues to the City of *Pekin*, where the King was ; the Province whereof is the biggeſt in the World, extending from 20 to 50 degr. of latitude, *i. e.* 500 leagues in length, and it's ſaid to be 300 leagues broad. *Perez* was 14 Months in the Iſle *de Veniaga*, learning as much as he could of the Country, of which he diſcover'd very much by Land and Sea.

Maldiva.

In 1518. *John Silveira* went to the Iſles of *Maldiva*, and made Peace with them ; and from thence to the River *Ganges*, 100 leagues beyond *Canton*, and diſcover'd the Country and Manners of the People.

Jucatan.

Santa Cruz.

Aſcenſion.

In 1518. *John Griſalva* went with 4 Ships and 200 Soldiers from *Cuba*, to diſcover *Jucatan* ; and in their way they found the Iſle of *Coſmuel* in 19 degrees North lat. and nam'd it *Santa Cruz*, becauſe they came to it the 3d of *May*. They coaſted the Land, and came to an Iſland call'd *Aſcenſion*, becauſe they came to it on *Aſcenſion-day*, and finding no place to go out at, they went round about it to another River, which they call'd the River of *Griſalva*, in 17 degrees lat. where they got Gold, Silver and Feathers.

Panuco.

In the ſame Year 1518. *Francis Garay* went with three Ships from *Jamaica* towards the Point of *Florida*, but when they came on Land the Natives kill'd many of them, ſo that they durſt not ſtay ; whereupon they ſailed along the Coaſt, and came to the River of *Panuco*, 500 leagues diſtant from the Point of *Floride*.

King of *Mexico.*

Tutepec.

In 1519. *Fernando Cortes* went from *Cuba* to *Nova Spania*, with 11 Ships, and 550 Men in them : and the Country of *Tenich* being at War with *Montezuma*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cortez* with Preſents, offering him their Country and Friendſhip ; and they which went to *Tutepeck* near the South-Sea, brought ſome Samples of Gold, and prais'd the pleaſant Country, and many good Harbours, but nothing could be done at that time.

In 1520. *Lopez de Sequeir* went to the Streight of *Macca*, in the Iſle of *Macua* in the *Red-Sea*, in 17 degrees North.

Chicbora, Guadalupe, &c.

In the ſame Year, *Vaſquez Aillon* went with two Ships to the Iſles of *Lucayes* to get Slaves, and finding none, they paſs'd along the firm Land beyond *Florida* to certain Countries call'd *Chicbora* and *Guadalupe*, and to the River of *Jordan*, and the Cape of St. *Helen*, in 31 degrees North. The Natives came to the Sea ſide to ſee the Ships, having never ſeen the like before, and the *Spaniards* went on Land and receiv'd ſuch things as they wanted ; but having got many of them into their Ships, they ſet Sail and brought them away for Slaves.

Nicaragua.

St. Vincent.

In 1522. one *Gilgonzales* went with four Ships from the Iſle *Tararequi* in the South-Sea, to diſcover the Coaſt of *Nicaragua*, and eſpecially the paſſage from the South into the North-Sea : And ſailing along the Coaſt, he came to a Haven call'd St. *Vincent*, and there landed 100 Foot and ſome Horſemen, and went 200 leagues within Land, and brought with him 200 Peſo's of Gold, and ſo came back to St. *Vincent*, and thence to *Panama*.

St. John.

In 1522. *Gonzalo Gomez* went from the Iſle *Tidore* towards *Nova Spania*, and wanting Wind they ſteer'd towards the North-eaſt into 16 degrees, where they found two Iſles which they nam'd the Iſles of St. *John*, and in that Courſe they came to another Iſle in 20 degrees, which they nam'd *la Griega*, and after four Months they came into 42 degrees of North lat. where they ſaw Sea-fiſhes call'd Seales; but the Climate was ſo cold, that they turn'd back to *Tidore*.

Teco antipec.

In 1522. *Cortez* deſirous to have ſome Havens on the South-Sea, and to diſcover the Coaſt of *Nova Spania* on that ſide, that he might bring the Drugs from *Malucco* and *Banda*, and the Spicery from *Java*, with leſs trouble, ſent four *Spaniards* with their Guides to *Teco antepec*, and other Havens, where they were well receiv'd, and brought ſome of the Natives to *Mexico*; and *Cortez* afterwards ſent 10 Pilots, who went 70 leagues in the Sea, but found no Haven. One Cacique, or Lord, ſent with them to *Cortez* 200 Men, with a Preſent of Gold and Silver, and other Goods, the Product of the Country.

St. James and *Segura* built.

In 1523. *Cortez* ſent to the Aid of the ſaid Saique 200 Foot and 40 Horſe, who went through the Country and built the City of *St. James*, and the Town of *Segura*, leaving People in them. The Saiques wondred much at the Monſters of the Sea, as they call'd the great Ships.

The Iſles of *St. Michael* and *Borneo*.

In this Year 1523. *Simon de Breu* was ſent to learn the way by the Iſle of *Borneo* to *Malacca*: They went thro' the Streight of *Treminao* and *Tagui* to the Iſles of *St. Michael*, in 7 degrees, and from thence diſcover'd the Iſles of *Borneo*, paſs'd through the Streight of *Cincapura*, and ſo to *Malacca*.

St. Stephano del Puerto.

In the ſame Year 1523. *Cortez* went with 300 Foot, and 150 Horſe, and 40000 *Mexicans*, to *Panuco*, which after ſome reſiſtance was conquer'd; and upon the River near *Chila*, he built a Town call'd *Santo Stephano del Puerto*, leaving in it 100 Foot and 30 Horſe, with a Lieutenant. This Journey coſt 76000 Caſtilians, beſides *Spaniards*, Horſes and *Mexicans*, who died there.

Rio de Palmas.

Rio Montalto.

In 1523. *Francis Garay* having a Grant from *Charles* the Fifth, of the Coaſt of *Florida* to *Panuco*, went with 9 Ships and 2 Brigandines, carrying 850 Soldiers and 140 Horſes to *Panuco*; but hearing that it was Peopled by *Cortes*, he went to *Rio de Palmas*, and having ſent one up that River, he travell'd by Land, and having paſs'd *Rio Montalto*, at laſt he came to *Panuco*, but finding there no Victuals, and having loſt 40 Horſe in an Ambuſh, and 4 of his Ships, he gave over the deſign; and hearing that the Government of *Nova Spania* and *Panuco* was given to *Cortes*, he yielded to him.

Gil de buena Viſta in the Bay of *Aſcenſion*.

In 1523. *Gonzales d'Avila* diſcover'd and Peopled a Town, call'd *Gil de buena Viſta*, in 14 degrees of North latitude, which lies in the bottom of the Bay call'd the *Aſcenſion*, which he knew to be a rich Country.

Alom Hills.

St Jago Quahutemallan.

In 1523. *Alvarado* was ſent from *Mexico* with three hundred Foot, one hundred and ſeventy Horſe, and four Field-pieces, to diſcover and conquer *Quahutemallan*, *Xochuuxco*, and other Towns towards the South-Sea. He went by *Teco antepec* to *Xochuuxco*, and other places, and diſcover'd and ſubdu'd all the Country: In which he found ſome Hills that had Alom, and a Liquor like Oil and Sulphur, of which he made Gun-powder. He travell'd four hundred leagues, and paſs'd ſome Rivers ſo hot that they could not well wade through; and built a City call'd *St. Jago Quahutemallan*. 'Tis ſaid he had the Government of that Country for his labour.

Chamolla.

In 1523. *Godoy* was ſent by *Cortes* to the Town *del Spiritu Santo*, whoſe Captain joyn'd with him and went to *Chamolla*, the chief City of that Province, which being taken all the Country ſubmitted.

Zapotecas and *Niſticas*.

In 1524. the *Zapotecas* and *Nixticas*, and other Countries, were ſubdu'd by *Bangel* with one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*.

St. Martha.

In the ſame Year the Country of *St. Martha* was diſcover'd and conquer'd by *Baſtidas* and *Villa Forte*.

Triumpho de la Cruz.

Nativity of our Lady.

In 1524. *Cortes* ſent one *Chriſtopher Olid* to diſcover and People the Country about the Cape *Higueras* and the *Honduras*; but this *Olid*, when he came to *Cuba*, leagu'd with *Volaſquez* againſt *Cortes*, and landing hard by *Puerto de Cavallos*, in ten degrees North latitude, built *Triumpho de la Cruz*. *Cortes* went from *Mexico* to ſeek *Olid*, with three hundred Foot and Horſe, and carry'd with him the King of *Mexico*, and other Lords; and coming to *Del Spiritu Santo*, ten Guides were ſent him, who gave him a Map of Cotton-wooll, ſhewing the ſituation of the Country from *Xicalanco* to *Naco* and *Nico*, and as far as *Nicaragua*. But when he came to *Izancanao*, he underſtood that the *Mexicans* and their King conſpir'd againſt him, wherefore he hang'd the King and two of the chief Leaders; and ſo he came to *Mazatlan* and *Tiaca*, and to *Nito*, and the Bay of *St. Andrew*, where finding a good Haven, he built a Town call'd the *Nativity of our Lady*. From thence he went to *Truxillo*, where he heard the News of a Sedition in *Mexico*, and he went thither by Sea, after he had travell'd five hundred leagues.

St. Matthew.

In 1525. *Garſia de Loaiſa* went from the *Groyne* with 7 Ships to the Iſles of *Malucco*. He paſs'd by the *Canaries* and came to *Braſil*, where he found an Iſle in two degrees call'd *St. Matthew*: A Pinnace of theirs paſs'd the Streight of *Magellan*, and run along the Coaſt of *Peru* and *New Spain*. The *Malucco's* were kind to them.

Cape *Razo*.

In the ſame Year *Stephen Gomez* went from the *Groyne*, to diſcover the Streight to *Malucco* by the North. 'Tis ſaid he came to Cape *Razo* in 46 degrees North, and thence came back laden with Slaves.

In 1525. *Gomez Sequeira* going from *Malucco*, found ſome Iſles in 9 degrees North, and call'd them after his own Name.

River *Parana*.

Paragioa.

In 1526. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, Son of a *Venetian*, born at *Briſtol*, went from *Sevil* with four Ships towards *Malucco*, which they could not reach becauſe the Admiral Ship was loſt in the Bay of *Patos*, where they made a Pinnace to go up the River of *Plate*; and having run up ſixty leagues to the Bar, they left there their great Ships, and with their Pinnaces row'd up the River *Parana* one hundred and twenty leagues, where they built a Fortreſs, and ſtaid above a Year, and then row'd further till they came to the River *Paragioa*, and perceiving the Country yielded Gold and Silver, they kept on their Courſe; but hearing that a Brigantine which he had ſent before was taken by the Natives, he ſail'd back again, and return'd to *Sevil* in 1530. having diſcover'd about two hundred leagues in this River which is very Navigable.

The Iſles of *Kings*.

In 1527. *Cortes* ſent three Ships to diſcover by the way of *New Spain* the Iſles of *Malucco*, with his Couſin *Saavedra*, who ſail'd from *St. Chriſtophers* in twenty degrees North, to the Iſles call'd by *Magellan* the *Pleaſures*, and thoſe diſcover'd by *Sequeira*, which he nam'd the *Iſles of Kings*; and having loſt two Ships by the way, he ſail'd to the Iſle of *Candiga*, and in 1528. arriv'd at laſt at the Iſles of *Malucco*, and anchor'd before *Galilo*, diſtant from *New Spain* 2050 leagues.

In 1528. *Cortes* having diſcover'd and planted the Country of *Chichimecas*, which was ſaid to be rich in Gold, went to *Caſtile* in great pomp, carrying with him 250000 Marks of Gold and Silver, and was nobly receiv'd by the Emperor at *Toledo*, who made him a Marquis and Governour of *New Spain*.

Papuas.

Iſle of painted People.

Iſle of Palm-trees, or *los Jardines*.

In 1529. *Saavedra* returning towards *New Spain*, had ſight of Land in two degrees South, and ran along it above five hundred leagues, where he ſaw People of black curled hair call'd *Papuas*; but having ſail'd four or five degrees to the South, he return'd towards the North, and diſcover'd an Iſle which he call'd the *Iſle of painted People*. And a little beyond it, in ten or twelve degrees, he found many low ſmall Iſles full of Palm-trees and Graſs, which he call'd *los Jardines*. The Natives wear white Cloaths made of Graſs, never ſaw fire, eat Coco's and Fiſh, dig Boats with ſhells. *Saavedra* perceiving the Weather to be good, ſail'd towards the firm Land and City of *Panama*, there to unload the Cloves and Merchandize he had, which might be carry'd in Carts four leagues to the River *Chagre*, which is ſaid to be Navigable into the North-Sea, not far from *Nombre de Dios*; by which way all Goods might be brought a ſhorter way than round about the *Cape of Good Hope*.

In 1529. one *Tavarez* went from the City of *Ormuz* unto *Balſera*, and the Iſles of *Giſſara*, with ſome Ships of War, and went up to the place where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet; and tho' others had ſail'd through that Streight, yet never any before him ſail'd ſo far upon freſh, and diſcover'd that River ſo fully.

River *Maragnon*.

Incenſe-trees.

A great Emerauld.

In 1531. *Dacugna* with ten Ships, nine hundred Foot, and one hundred and thirty Horſe, went to the River *Maragnon*, in three degrees South, being fifteen leagues broad at the entrance, having many Iſles inhabited, wherein grow Trees that bear Incenſe, bigger than in *Arabia*. Gold, rich Stones, and one Emerauld as big as a Man's Hand, was found there. The Natives make their Drink of Dates as big as Quinces.

Mechuacan.

Nova Gallicia.

Compoſtella, &c.

In 1531. one *Guſman* went from *Mexico* towards the North-weſt, with 250 Horſe and 500 Foot, to diſcover and conquer the Countries of *Valiſco*, *Ceimtili quipac*, &c. He went through the Country of *Mechuacan*, where he had much Gold, ten thouſand Marks of Silver, and ſix thouſand *Indians* to carry burdens. He conquer'd many Countries; call'd that of *Valiſco*, *Nova Gallicia*. He built a City which he call'd *Compoſtella*, and another which he nam'd *Guadalaiara*, being the name of the place of his Nativity. He built alſo the Towns *de Santo Epirito*, *de la Conception*, and *de la San Miguel*, in 24 degrees North latitude.

In 1533. *Francis Pizarro* went from the City of *Tumbez* to *Caxamalca*, where he took the King *Attabalipa*; *Alvarado* found Mountains of Snow ſo cold, that ſeventy of his Men were frozen to death, but when he came to *Quito* he begun to inhabit it, and call'd it *St. Francis*.

Mountains of Snow under the Line.

In 1534. *Cartier* a *Britain* went with three Ships to *Cortereali*s, and the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, and ſail'd North to 51 degrees, hoping to go that way to *China*, and bring thence Drugs to *France*. The next Year he went into thoſe Parts, and found plenty of Victuals, many Houſes, and great Rivers. He ſail'd in one River S. W. three hundred leagues, and call'd the Country *Nova Francia*; but finding the Water freſh, he perceiv'd he could not go that way to the South Sea.

Nova Francia.

In 1535. *Triſalva* ſail'd three hundred leagues from *Teco antepec* to the Iſle he call'd *St. Thomas*, in 20 degrees latitude.

In the ſame Year *d'Acuma*, Governour of *India*, built a Fort at *Diu*, and ſent a Fleet to the River *Indus*, which is diſtant from it about one hundred leagues North; he ſent alſo an Army againſt *Badu* King of *Cambaia*.

The Fort of *Diu*.

In 1535. *Alcazava* went from *Sevil* with two Ships, and 240 Men, and entred the Streight of *Magellan*, without touching at *Braſile*; he went to a Haven in 53 degrees South, and was kill'd by his Soldiers.

In 1535. *Mendoza* went from *Cadiz* with 12 Ships and 2000 Men; he died, and his Men built in that River a great Town, wherein are two thouſand Houſes inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*. They diſcover'd and conquer'd the Country till they came to the Mines of *Potoſi*, and the Town *la Plata*, diſtant from them five hundred leagues.

The Mines of *Potoſi*.

In 1536. *Cortez* with 3 Ships ſail'd to a Point which he call'd *St. Philip*, and an Iſle hard by he call'd *St. Jago*. After this he came into the River call'd *Rio San Pedro y San Paulo*, where having loſt two of his Ships by a Tempeſt, he entred into the Gulf now call'd *Mar de Cortez*, or the Gulf of *California*, and went fifty leagues within it, where he had been loſt, if he had not found a Ship at Anchor to ſuccour him. While he was at *Acapulco*, being inform'd by *Francis Pizarro* that *Mango Inga* was riſen againſt him with a hundred thouſand Men, who had kill'd his Brother *John*, he ſent two Ships with Men and Victuals to *Tangarara* in *Peru*, to ſuccour *Francis Pizarro*, which ſail'd from thence along the Line to *Malucco*, and 'tis ſaid they went above a thouſand leagues without ſight of Land, and in two degrees North they diſcover'd an Iſle nam'd *Aſea*, which ſeem'd to be one of the Iſles of *Cloves*; and having ſail'd about five hundred leagues more, they ſaw another which they call'd the *Iſle de los Piſcadores*. Going on in this courſe, they ſaw another Iſle towards the South call'd *Hayme*, and two others call'd *Apia* and *Seri*; but turning towards the North one degree, they anchor'd at the Iſle *Coroa*, from whence they came under the Line to *Meouſum* and *Buſu*, lying in the ſame courſe. The People eat Mens fleſh, and are Witches in all theſe Iſles. Here is a Bird as big as a Crane, which flies not, but runs on the ground like a Deer. From theſe Iſles we came to others call'd *Guelles*, lying one degree towards the N. E. and Weſt from the Iſle *Tenerate*, where the *Portugueſe* have a Fort, being diſtant from it about forty leagues, and from *Moro* 124. From whence they went to the Iſle of *Moro* and the Iſle of *Cloves*, where they cou'd not land without leave from *Galvano*.

St. Jago.

The Gulf of *California.*

Aſea an Iſle.

De los Piſcadores. Hayme, &c.

The Iſle of *Cloves*.

In 1537. *Vadillo*, Governour of *Carthagena*, went with a good Army from *Sebaſtian* in the Gulf of *Uraba*, and from thence to *Rio Verde*, and thence by Land, without knowing any way, to the end of the Country of *Peru*, and the Town of *la Plata*, being twelve hundred leagues. From this River the Country is full of Hills, Trees and Rivers, to the Mountains of *Abibe*, which are ſaid to be leagues broad, and muſt be paſs'd over in the firſt four Months, before the Rains fall which ſwell the Rivers. There are in theſe Mountains Herds of Swine, Lyons, Tygers, Cats, Monkies, and vaſt Snakes; and alſo Partridges, Quails, Pigeons, and other Fowls, and plenty of Fiſh, which they could kill with their Staves. They paſs'd through many Countries, and made great Diſcoveries by Land.

The Mountains of *Abibe*.

In 1538. *Galvano* ſent *Francis de Caſtro* towards the North, to convert as many as he could to the Chriſtian Faith. He himſelf chriſten'd many Lords, of *Celebes*, *Amboynos* and *Moros*, and other places: and *Francis de Caſtro* at *Mindanao*, caus'd 6 Kings to be baptiz'd, with their Wives, Children, and Subjects; moſt of which were call'd *John*, after *John* the Third King of *Portugal*.

Six Kings baptized at *Mindanao*.

In 1539. *Cortes* ſent three Ships with *Villoa*, to diſcover the Coaſt of *Culuacan* to the North, which went from *Acapulco*, and entred into *Cortes*'s Gulf, and ſail'd to 32 degrees, which is at the further end of it, and call'd the place *Ancon de St. Andres*. When they came out of it, they doubled the point of *California*, and going between certain Iſles and the Point, and ſo ſail'd along by it till they came to 32 degrees, whence they return'd to *New Spain*.

Ancon de St. Andres.

From the Cape *Enganno* to the Cape *Liampo* in *Spain*, the ſailing is a thouſand or twelve hundred leagues. *Cortes* and his Captains diſcover'd *New Spain* from 12 degrees South to 32 North, being ſeven hundred leagues. In *New Spain* are many Trees, but the chief of them is the *Meth*, which hath forty kind of leaves like woven Cloths: When they are tender they make Conſerves, Paper, and a thing like Wax; of which they make Mantles, Mats, Shoes and Cordage. The prickles ſerve for Needles, the Juice of the Root is like Syrup, the Fruit is Cocoes, the Rind roaſted cures Sores, and the tops expel Poyſon, being mingled with Incenſe. There are alſo Birds call'd *Vicmalim*, which live of dew and the juice of Flowers: They die or ſleep every Year in *October*, and revive or wake in *April*, when the Flowers ſpring.

The beneficial Tree *Meth*.

A Bird that dies and revives in the Spring.

In 1538, and 1539, *Pizarro* ſent *Baldivia* with many Men to diſcover and conquer the Country of *Chili*, who diſcover'd much Land, and the Sea-coaſt towards the South-eaſt, to 40 degrees and more in latitude. About this time *Alvarado* went to conquer the Province of *Guanuco*, *Chavez* to ſubdue the *Couchincos*, *Vergara* to the *Bracamores*; the *Pizarro's* to ſubdue *Collao* rich in Gold. And thus they ſubdued ſeven hundred leagues of Country.

Chili.

Collao rich in Gold.

Braſile and *Peru* are diſtant almoſt eight hundred leagues Eaſt and Weſt, lying both almoſt in one parallel.

In ſome places of the *Andes* the Earth is of divers colours, as black, white, &c. wherewith they Die. On theſe Mountains grow ſeveral Roots, whereof one heals Sores, but eats ſound fleſh to the bone. Thoſe who live on them are for the moſt part blind of one Eye, by the great cold and heat. There grows in the Fields good Maize and Potatoes, and an Herb call'd Coca, that's always in their Mouths, as in the *Eaſt-Indies* the Herb called Beetle, which they ſay ſatisfieth both hunger and thirſt.

Strange Root.

People blind of one Eye.

From *Tumbez* Southward, they ſay it neither Rains nor Thunders for five hundred leagues of Land, but at ſometimes there falls a little ſhower; and that from *Tumbez* to *Chili*, there are no Hens or Cocks, or Birds of prey, but Ducks, Geeſe, &c. There are Bitterns which fight with the Seals, and pick out their Eyes, that they may not ſee to get into the Water; and *Xacos*, having Wool like Sheep, and a Saddle-back, on which Men ride.

Bitterns fight with Seals.

From the River *Plata* and *Lima* Southward, there are no Lizards nor venemous Vermine, but ſtore of good Fiſh. On the Coaſt of *St. Michael* on the South-Sea, are many Rocks of Salt cover'd with Eggs. On the Point of *Helena*, are Springs of Liquor which ſerves for Pitch and Tar.

Rocks of Salt cover'd with Eggs.

In 1540. *Gonſalvo Pizarro* went out of *Quito*, to diſcover the Iſle of Cinnamon, with 200 *Spaniards*, and 300 *Indians* to carry burdens. He came to *Guixos*, the laſt place govern'd by the Inga's, and paſs'd over ſnowy Hills, where many *Indians* were frozen to death, and found much Snow under the Line. Thence they went to *Cumaco*, where they tarried two Months for the continual Rains. And beyond they ſaw the Cinnamon-trees, whoſe leaves are like Bay-leaves, and the leaves, branches and root, taſte of Cinnamon; but the beſt have certain knops like Acrons, which is a good Commodity. It appears to be wild Cinnamon, and there is much of it in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Iſle *Java*. From hence they went to the City *Coca*, and forwards along a River's-ſide being 60 leagues long, without either Bridge or Ford, which in one place had a fall 200 fathoms deep; and a little below this fall they made a Bridge to paſs over to the other ſide, where they came to a Country call'd *Guema*, which had only Fruits and Herbs to eat. Going from hence forward, they met with a People in Cloaths of Cotton-wool, and found Canoes wherein they put their ſick Men, and their Treaſure, truſting them with one *Orellana*; and *Pizarro* went by Land along the River's-ſide, 200 leagues, going at Night with his company into the Boats. When *Pizarro* came to the place where he thought to find the Canoes, and could not hear of them, he was ſo diſtreſs'd, that they were forc'd to eat their Horſes and Dogs, the Country being poor and barren, and the Journey long to *Quito*; in which, 'tis ſaid, that they travell'd 500 leagues without ſeeing the Sun, and being out 18 Months, there were not of 200 that came out, above 10 that return'd to

Cinnamon-trees.

Pizarro's hard Journey.

River of Amazons.

Quito. In the mean time *Orellana* went 500 leagues down the River, and ſaw divers Countries and People on both ſides of it, which is call'd the River of the *Amazons.*

Japan diſcovered.

In 1542. *Diego de Freitas* being in *Siam*, in the City of *Dodra*, chas'd 3 *Portugueſe* in a Ship towards *China*, who directed their courſe towards *Liampo* in 30 degrees, but there fell ſuch a Storm upon their Stern, that it ſet them off the Land, and they ſaw an Iſle to the E. in 32 degrees, call'd *Japan.*

In 1542. *Mendoza*, Vice-Roy of *New Spain*, ſent Captains and Pilots to diſcover the Coaſt of Cape *Euganno*, who ſail'd to the ſnowy Mountains in 40 degrees North, where they ſaw Ships which had the Yards of their Sails gilded, and their Prows laid over with Silver, which ſeem'd to be come from the Iſles of *Japan* or *China*, for they ſaid 'twas but 30 days Sail to their Country.

The Iſles St. Tomas, Cloudy Iſles, and Cloven Rock.

In 1542. *Mendoza* ſent unto the Iſles of *Mindanao* a Fleet of 6 Ships, with 400 Soldiers, and as many *Indians*, under *Lui Lopez* as General. They ſet ſail from the Haven of *Natividad*, in 20 degrees North, and ſteer'd towards the Weſt, where they ſaw the Iſle of *St. Thomas*, and another which they nam'd the *Cloudy Iſle*, and a third call'd the *Cleven Rock*. They ſaw the Iſles diſcovered by *Roca*, *Sequeira* and *Saavedra*, and beyond them they found other Iſles ſtanding round, in 10 degrees.

In *Jan.* 1543. they departed from the ſaid Iſles with all the Fleet, and ſaw other Iſles, out of which came Men in Boats with Croſſes in their hands, who ſaluted them in the *Spaniſh* Tongue, ſaying, *Good morrow Companions*, who were ſome of thoſe that had been Chriſtned by *Caſtro.*

Mindanao.

In *February*, the ſame Year, *Lopez* ſaw that noble Iſle *Mindanao*, lying in 9 degrees, but could neither double it, nor caſt Anchor there, being oppos'd by the Chriſtned Kings, who had promis'd Obedience to *Galvano*; whereupon he ſail'd along the Coaſt, and in 4 or 5 degrees took a ſmall Iſle perforce, which he call'd *Antonia.* In the ſame Year he went to many other Iſles, in 11 or 12 degrees North latitude, where *Magellan* and *Caſtro* had been, which were call'd the *Philippines.* He ſaw alſo the Iſles call'd the *Evil Roads*, the *Two Siſters*, the *Vulcano's*, and *Farfara*, beyond which there is a high Rock which caſts out fire in five places. They found alſo an *Archipelagus* of Iſles, in 15 or 16 degrees, where the People are white, well array'd, and wore Bracelets of Gold. Here alſo were Barks three Cubits long, row'd with Oars; and the Natives told the *Spaniards*, that with them they us'd to go to *China*, which was not above five or ſix days ſailing from thence.

Antonia.

Philippines.

Archipelagus of Iſles.

In 1544. *de Vargas*, Biſhop of *Placenza*, ſent a Fleet from *Sevil* to the Streights of *Magellan*, but none of them could paſs the Streight for contrary Winds, except one Bark, which diſcover'd the Land to *Chirimai* and *Arequipa.*

The Iſle of Moro.

In 1545. *Rui Lopez* and *Giraldo*, with the *Caſtilians*, came to the Iſle of *Moro*, and the City of *Camafo*, where they were well receiv'd by the Kings of *Gilolo* and *Tidore*, and the People of the Country.

In the ſame Year 1545. *Rui Lopez* ſent from the Iſle of *Tidore* a Ship towards *New Spain*; by the South-ſide of the Line they ſail'd to the Coaſt of *Os papuas*, but knew not that *Saavedra* had been there before.

Os papuas.

In 1545. there went a Junk from *Borneo* with a *Portugueſe*, which by contrary Winds was driven Northward, where he found an Iſle in nine or ten degrees that reach'd to 22 degrees of Latitude, which is call'd the Iſle of the *Lucones*; it runs from North to S. W. and lies between *Mindanao* and *China.*

The Iſle of Lucones.

A Letter from Trigantius *a Jeſuit, concerning Affairs in* China *and* Japan.

12 Jeſuits to Japan. 22 to China The Portugueſ give the Engliſh 80000 Rials of Eight to avoid fighting.

‘THree Ships ſail'd from *Lisbon*, *April* 1618. In one of them, call'd *St. Mauro*, were 12 Jeſuits for *Japan*: In another were 22 for *China*, whereof I was one. After five Months and a half ſailing we came to *Goa*, whither the *St. Mauro* came a Month after us. A Fortnight after that the Admiral arriv'd with Diſgrace, becauſe falling in company with 6 *Engliſh* Ships, he choſe rather to pay them 80000 Patacas than engage in a fight; for which Cowardice, he and ſome other Officers were ſent back Priſoners to the King to be puniſh'd.

‘At *Nanquin* Chriſtianity flouriſh'd and encreas'd, until *Xin*, a chief Judge in the third Tribunal, oppos'd it, by ſending many reproachful Petitions ſecretly to the King, and engaging the chief Preſident of the ſaid Tribunal againſt us, to which Court belongs the Cognizance of Foreign Affairs and of Religion. Yet this did not move the King to write any Anſwer, (which with the *Chineſe* is Interpreted a denial) until at laſt the Preſident wrote to the King, that he would baniſh them all out of the Kingdom, except ſuch as were in the Royal City, as by his Office he was oblig'd. This he did, but none of the Magiſtrates executed his Order where the Chriſtians reſided, except *Xin* at *Nanquin*, who Apprehended two Prieſts, a Brother, and others, but durſt not ſend them away before the King's Anſwer, tho' they were often cruelly whipt, and one or two of them died in Priſon. At laſt *Xin* of *Nanquin*, having brib'd the Eunuchs with 10000 pieces of Gold, obtain'd an Order from the King that the Chriſtians ſhould be ſent to *Canton*, which was their own. And two of *Pequin* were honourably diſmiſs'd, but two of *Nanquin* were carried in Cages, and all the reſt continued in the Kingdom. After this the Magiſtrate of *Pequin* was depriv'd, and he of *Nanquin* fell ſick.

Perſecution of the Chriſtians in China.

‘As to the *Japan* Church: After *Daifuſama* obtain'd the Victory over *Fideri*, and tranſmitted the Empire to his Son *Comboſama*, the Church was quiet for a Year and a half; but by the Indiſcretion of ſome at *Nangaſaque* the Perſecution was begun, in which twenty have died for the Faith, and others have been baniſh'd.

Two Comets in Bazain.

‘In *India* things continue in the ſame ſtate. At *Bazain* there was an unuſual Tempeſt; and two Comets were ſeen, whereof one directed his Courſe to the North, and ſo is ſeen this 20th of *December*, 1618.

Extracts out of Trigantius's *Martyrology.*

THE Emperor of *Japan* is he that poſſeſſeth *Tenſa*, the Imperial Province, ſo call'd by the *Chineſe*, of whom the *Japan* Iſlands are a Colony; for that which the *Chineſe* call *Thienbia*, *i. e.* whatever is under Heaven, the *Japoneſe* term *Tenſa*, expreſs'd with the ſame Characters, however differing in pronunciation. *Taicoſama* died 1598. and left *Fideri* his Heir; but *Daifuſama*, with others, being appointed his Tutors, quarrell'd for themſelves in 1600. At laſt *Daifuſama* getting the better, entitled himſelf *Cuboſama*, but left *Fideri* in the beſt Fort of *Japan*, with a tolerable Revenue; and having remov'd the Imperial Seat from *Meaco* to *Surunga*, he married his Son to the Niece of *Nabunanga*, which was next Emperor before *Taicoſama*, and Aunt to *Fideri*, whom he beſieg'd and kill'd in *Oſacca*, fearing leſt he ſhould divert the Inheritance from his Son. For which end he ſet *Fideri* at work, to build his Father's Temple which was conſum'd by Fire, hoping thereby to exhauſt his Treaſures; but when he came before *Oſacca*, with an Army of 200000 he loſt 30000, and was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, in 1615. Yet after this, he return'd with another Army as great as the former, to which *Fideri's* was equal, and in two Battels was defeated; ſo that *Daifuſama* deſpairing of ſucceſs, deſir'd ſome to diſpatch him, rather than he ſhould fall into the Enemies hands. But at laſt, *Fideri's* General thinking the Victory ſure, ſent for him to have the honour of it, who leaving his Captains in haſte, ſo provok'd them by that ſeeming contempt, that they ſet fire to *Oſacca*. Whereupon *Fideri*, to ſave his Relations, return'd to the Caſtle, in which both he and they periſh'd. *Oſacca* was deſtroy'd in 1615. and the Emperor return'd Victorious to *Surunga*, and prais'd his Idols for this Succeſs, which he attributed to his Perſecution of the Chriſtians. But in *March*, 1616. this Triumph was turn'd to his Funerals, and one of his Sons ſucceeded. The Chriſtians had ſome hopes of more liberty after his Death, and perform'd their Religious Offices ſecretly, leſt they ſhould ſeem to Inſult over the Dead. For under pretence of Injuries done by *Portugal*-Merchants, and Contempts of his Imperial Edicts, and the Reports of worſhipping ſome Chriſtian Malefactors that were Executed, (becauſe ſome at their Death had commended them to Chriſt) he had baniſh'd many, and put many to ſeveral cruel kinds of Death. *But one true Cauſe was Jeſuitical Hypocriſy, for they, under pretence of converting Souls, were become Factors for the* Portugal *Merchants, as will appear in part by the Letters which follow from Captain* Saris *and* Cock.

Oſacca beſieg'd and burnt.

Fideri kill'd and Daifu made Emperor.

Cauſes of Perſecuting Chriſtians in Japan.

A Letter concerning ſome later Tranſactions in Japan, *from Mr.* Cocke *to Captain* Saris. *Written at* Firando, December 13. 1622.

Captain Saris,

‘I am inform'd of the greateſt Conſpiracy that ever was heard of in *Japan*, againſt *Soonga Samma* the preſent Emperor, carry'd on by Nine of the greateſt and richeſt Kings and Noblemen in that Empire, *viz.* by *Canzano Figen* the Emperor's Kinſman, having the greateſt Revenue in *Japan*, being worth *per Annum* 200 *Mangoeas*, i. e. 1875000 pounds Sterling, as Mr. *Saris* caſt it up.

By
- *Shimaſzu* King of *Xaxica* and *Liqueas*, the moſt powerful Prince in *Japan*, worth more than 100
- *Micanano Camy*, Son to the Emperor's Eldeſt Brother, worth 70
- *Maſſa Moneda*, King of *Oſhew*, worth 70
- *Yechew*, K. of *Cocora*, worth 34
- *Catto Samma*, King of *J. O.* worth 30
- *Mengamy*, King of worth 35
- *Nancobo*, High Prieſt next to the *Dairo*, worth 1
- *Codgſq*; Secretary, worth 15

Mangocas *per Annum*.

The way of ſumming up the Revenues aforeſaid.

‘Every Mangoca is 10000 Gaca's, and each Gaca is 100 Ganta's of Rice, and each Ganta is about 3 Alepints in *England*. The preſent King of *Firando* has but 6 Mangocas, out of which he maintains 4000 Soldiers, two to keep his Country, and two to ſerve the Emperor, but is able to ſet out many thouſands more. About 6 or 7 Years ago, *Calſa Samma*, this Emperor's 2d Brother, was Diſinherited by his Brother, and ſhaven, and confin'd to a Pagan Monaſtery, expecting when the Emperor his Brother will command him to cut up his Belly.

The *Unicorn* wreck'd on the Coaſt of *China*.

‘Mr. *Sayer* is gone towards *Edo* with Preſents to the Emperor, and arriv'd at *Oſacca* about ten days ago. The *Unicorn*, in which were Mr. *Roberts* and *Pickering*, was wreck'd on the Coaſt of *China*, but the Company ſav'd themſelves, and carry'd part of their Goods aſhore, where they bought two Veſſels, with all neceſſary Proviſions; and one part of the Company went to *Japan*, the other to *Malacca*.

A Letter deſcribing the Government, Country and People of Japan. *Written by Mr.* Hatch, *a Miniſter, to Mr.* Purchas.

SIR,

The Country of *Japan*.

‘THE Country of *Japan* is very ſpacious, conſiſting of ſeveral Iſlands and petty Provinces: It is ſo mountainous and craggy, that a third part of it is not Inhabited or Manur'd. The Soil is not fat enough for Corn and Fruit, which makes the People pitch upon the loweſt and plaineſt places to Till and Dwell in. The Climate is temperate and healthful, free from infectious Airs, but ſubject to fierce Winds, which over-ſet the Ships in the Harbour; and to terrible Earthquakes, which ſhake their Houſes in pieces.

The Government of *Japan*.

‘It is govern'd by an Emperor, who hath 65 Kings under him; and tho' they have but petty Kingdoms, yet all of them aſſume the Royal State and Dignity. There are but five of them of the Emperor's Privy-Council, who are very vigilant in managing all State-Affairs. No Cauſe is brought before the Emperor till firſt the Council is acquainted with it; and if they approve of it he ſhall know it, if not, it is dropt. The Emperor lives in great State, and ſeldom goes to Hunt or Hawk without a thouſand followers. He is much admir'd for contententing himſelf with one Woman, his Wife, whereas his Subjects are ſcarce contented with a hundred Women; of which they make their boaſt. This Emperor hath great ſtore of Silver and Gold: And 'tis reported, that from *Oſacca*-Caſtle were brought to his Court ſome Balls of Gold, ſo great, that 15 or 16 Men can ſcarce carry one of them.

The Emperor's State and Chaſtity.

The Preſents made by the Princes.

‘The Princes of *Japan* impoveriſh themſelves to enrich the Emperor with Preſents, and each of them muſt be either in Perſon, or by a Deputy at his Court, to give an account of all Matters relating to the ſeveral Kingdoms, and keep them quiet. The Emperor, to requite his Princes Preſents, gives commonly ſome Kerrimoons, or Coats, for Gold, Silver, and precious Commodities; and to prevent their growing Rich, he raiſes Taxes on them for building his Caſtles, and repairing his Fortifications.

Oſacca, a Fort very famous.

‘*Oſacca* is the moſt famous Caſtle within the Empire, being compaſs'd round with three ſeveral Walls: The Caſtles at *Edo*, and other places, are Wall'd and Moated about, being two Miles in compaſs. The Noblemen live within theſe Caſtles, and in each of them there is a Store-houſe of Rice. At *Falcata* there is a Wood of Pine-trees three Inches ſquare; in the midſt of which there is a Temple adorn'd with gilded Images, and all ſorts of curious Works.

Cuſtoms of the People.

‘The People are generally courteous, and very punctual in their Ceremonies to ſtrangers: Their common Diet is Fiſh, Roots and Rice; and rarely they kill a Hen, Pig or Duck, to treat their Friends. Their common Drink is Water, which is commonly heated in the ſame Pot that Seethes their Rice. They have Wine and Rack diſtill'd of Rice, of which they drink largely at their Feaſts; and being heated with it, they are very obſtinate and wilful in their anger. Their Laws are ſtrict and ſevere, and know no other puniſhment but Death or Baniſhment. Murder, Theft, Treaſon, Violence of the Emperor's Edicts, are puniſh'd with Death; and ſo is Adultery alſo, if the Parties be taken and convicted, which they ſeldom or never are. In all Cauſes, Civil and Criminal, they proceed according to the Verdict of Witneſſes; and Sentence being once paſt is certainly executed. Criminals ſuffer Death either by Beheading or Crucifying; the Head is cut off with a Catan, and after that the Cavaliers try their weapons, whether they can cut off a Leg or a Limb at a blow. When any one is Crucify'd, his Arms and Legs are ſpread on a Croſs ſet upright, and then one runs him through the Body with a Lance or Spear, where he muſt hang till he rots off.

Their Laws.

‘Every one may change his Name three times, when he is a Child, a young Man, and when he is Old. They have had Writing and Printing for many Years; a ſingle letter ſtands for a Word, and, as it is variouſly plac'd, ſtands for ſix or ſeven. They have ſeven ſorts of letters, and each Alphabet has forty eight; they cannot pronounce *D*.

‘They obſerve no Sabbath, but certain Feaſts-days, as the 1ſt or 15th of the Moon, but the 9th is held accurſed; and therefore they never begin any buſineſs of importance on that day.

‘They keep the Day of their Parents death ſo ſtrictly as a Faſt, that they will not touch nor eat any thing that has Blood.

From Wingham *in* Kent,
Nov. 25. 1623.

Arthur Hatch.

An Abſtract of Mr. Cæſar Frederick's Indian Obſervations for Eighteen Years.

The way from *Venice* to *Ormuz*.

IN 1563. he went from *Venice* to *Aleppo*, and from thence, with ſome Merchants of *Armenia*, to a City call'd *Bir*; thence to *Bagdat*, and ſo to *Baſora* and *Ormuz*.

The Election of the King of *Ormuz*.

Ormuz hath a Moor King of the Race of the *Perſians*, who is created by the Captain of the Caſtle in the Name of the King of *Portugal*; he is choſen out of the Blood Royal, and ſweareth to be true and faithful to the King of *Portugal* as his Lord and Governour. After which, he is brought with great Pomp to the Royal Palace in the City. He keeps a good Train, and has ſufficient Revenues, and is defended by the Captain of the Caſtle; without whoſe Leave he cannot go abroad.

Diu.

From hence, going for *Goa*, I came to *Diu*, a ſtrong City, of great Trade, in *Cambaia*, where the *Chriſtians* and *Moors* (with the leave of the *Portugueſe*) lade many Ships with Goods brought from *Cambaietta*, another City in *Cambaia*, in ſmall Barks, becauſe no great Ships can go thither for the ſholes in the water, which are 100 miles about, in a Gulf call'd *Macareo*, i. e. the race of a Tide. *Cambaietta* is a fair City, and when he was there was in ſo great Calamity, that the *Pagans* were forc'd to ſell their Children to the *Portugueze* for 8 or 10 Latins apiece, *i. e.* 10 or 13 *s.* 4 *d.* There is a vaſt Trade at the New and Full Moon, when the Tides are higher, for then very many Barks come in, and are laded with all ſorts of Spices, *China* Silk, Elephants Teeth, Velvets of *Vercini*, *Chickinos*, which are pieces of Gold worth 7 *s.* Sterling, and other Commodities; ſuch as Cloth, white and painted, Indigo, Ginger, Myrobalans, Agats, Hematites, and natural Diamonds.

Cambaietta.

Womens Bracelets.

When he was at *Cambaietta*, he ſaw an infinite number of Artificers employ'd in making of Bracelets for the Women, who break them off when their Relations die, and buy new ones.

Coco tree moſt profitable.

There come every Year to *Chaul*, from *Cochin* and *Lananor*, ten or fifteen Ships laden with Nuts, and Sugar made of them call'd *Gingra*. The Tree on which they grow is call'd the Palm-tree, which is the moſt profitable Tree in the World, for with the Wood of it they build Ships, with the Fruit of it, which are Nuts, they make Wine, and of the Wine Sugar. Out of this Tree there runs a white Liquor in the Spring, which being diſtill'd with Fire makes a ſtrong Liquor, and being put into Buts with a quantity of *Zibibbo*, in a little while becomes perfect Wine. Of the Nuts, after this, they make Oil; of the Bark they make Cables; of the Boughs, Bedſteds; of the Leaves cut ſmall and woven, they make Sails and fine Mats; of the outer rind of the Nut they make Ockam to caulk Ships; and of the hard Bark, Spoons and other Veſſels for Meat.

A good Sale for Horſes.

In 1567. he went from *Goa* to *Bezeneger*, the chief City of *Narſinga*, 8 days Journey from *Goa* within Land, in company with two other Merchants, which carried with them three hundred *Arabian* Horſes to the King of that Country; and as they went out of *Goa*, the Horſes paid Cuſtom 42 Pagodies apiece, *i. e.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for in theſe Countries *Arabian* Horſes are valued from 300 to 1000 Ducats.

Bezeneger Sack'd.

In 1565. the City of *Bezeneger* was ſack'd by four Kings of the Moors, who could not take it but by the treachery of two of the chief Captains under the King of *Bezeneger*, who commanded about 80000 Men; and after theſe Kings had ſearch'd the City ſix Months they left it.

Merchants Gull'd.

After theſe Mooriſh Kings were gone, one *Temiragio* a Tyrant came to the City to repeople it, and invited all Merchants to bring Horſes to it, promiſing to give them what price they would; upon which account the two foreſaid Merchants brought their Horſes, but after he had got great numbers he paid for none.

Wives burn with their Husbands.

While he ſtaid at *Bezeneger* ſeven Years, he obſerv'd among other Cuſtoms of the *Gentiles*, that when a Nobleman or Woman die they burn their Bodies; and if a married Man die, the Wife muſt burn her ſelf alive with the Body of her Husband, which is done with much pomp and ceremony. For ſhe having appointed a day for her burning, goes out that Morning early on an Elephant or Horſe, apparel'd like a Bride, and is carry'd round about the City deck'd with Jewels and Flowers, having a Looking-glaſs in one hand, and an Arrow in the other, ſinging all the way, That ſhe is going to ſleep with her dear Spouſe. Thus accompanied with her Relations, about One or Two a Clock ſhe goes out of the City to the place for burning of Women, where there is a great ſquare Cave full of dry Wood, and hard by it a Pinacle four or five ſteps up. When the company is come there, they make ready a great Banquet, where the Woman eats with the reſt of the company as joyfully as if it were her Wedding-day; and the Feaſt being ended, they ſing and dance for ſome time. But when ſhe is certified the Fire is kindled by her Order, ſhe leaves the Feaſt, and goes with her Husband's neareſt Kinſman to the Bank of the River *Nigondin*, where ſhe ſtrips her ſelf of her Jewels and fine Cloaths, and gives them to her Parents or Kindred; and then covering her ſelf with a Cloth, ſhe throws her ſelf into the River, ſaying, *O wretches, waſh away your ſins.* After ſhe is come out, ſhe goes with her Husband's Kinſman to the Pinacle of the ſquare Cave, where the Fire is made, and having talk'd to the People, another Woman anoints her Head and all her Body with Oil, and then throws the Pot and Woman into the Fire; whereupon the People round about the Cave, throw at her great pieces of Wood to haſten her death. And after this, all their mirth is turn'd into bitter howling and weeping. When any great Man dies, his Wife, with all his Slaves, with whom he has had Carnal copulation, burn themſelves with him. Among the meaner ſort of People, the Wife claſps the dead Husband about the Neck, until a Maſon builds a Wall round about them; and ſhe being ſtrangled, the Wall is finiſh'd over their Heads, and ſo they lie buried both together.

After what manner.

Another way of Wives dying with their Husbands.

About ſix days Journey from *Bezeneger* is the place where they get Diamonds, which is a large Plat of ground compaſs'd with a Wall, which they us'd to ſell for ſo much a foot ſquare, and dig for Diamonds; whereof the leſſer are for them, and the bigger for the King. But they have not got any there now of a long time, becauſe the rightful King being put to Death, there is great diviſion in the Kingdom, and *Bezeneger* is left almoſt deſolate. This City is 24 Miles in compaſs, in which there is a very ſtately Palace for their Kings, having nine Gates, which are kept with a Guard of Porters. After two Months he went for *Goa*, in the company of two *Portugal*-Merchants, with two Palankins or Litters, and eight Falchines to carry them. He bought two Bullocks, one to ride on, and the other to carry his Proviſion, which they ride on there like Horſes; but the Burden-Bullock grew weak and cou'd not go, and the other going through a River, got to a little Iſle in the middle, where I could not come at him, and ſo I was forc'd to travel on foot till I met with ſome Falchines to carry my Victuals. At laſt he got ſafe to *Ancola*, which is Tributary to the King of *Bezeneger* to *Goa*. The Merchandize from *Bezeneger* are *Arabian* Horſes, Velvets, Damasks and Sattins, China, Saffron and Scarlets. And for their Commodities, they have in *Turky* Jewels, and Pagodies, which are Ducats of Gold. The Apparel in this City is Velvet, Sattin, Scarlet, and long Hats made of them: They have Breeches like the *Turks*, and at their Ears great plenty of Gold hanging.

Men ride on Bullocks, and uſe them as Pack-Horſes.

Their Winter is our Summer.

At *Ancola*, one of my Companions ſtaid all Winter, which begins there in *May* the 15th, and laſts to the end of *October*, but I went for *Goa* with ſome Merchants and Soldiers in a Palankin, with eight Falchines to carry me; and from *Goa* I went for *Cochin*, which is a Voyage of 300 Miles. Between theſe two Cities there lie three Forts belonging to the *Portugueſe*, call'd *Onoz* and *Mangalor*, and *Bazelor*, where is good ſtore of Rice that's carried to *Goa*. And from thence you go to *Cananor*, out of which Kingdom, when they are at peace with the *Portugueſe*, is carried *Cardamomum*, Pepper, Ginger, and great quantities of *Archa*, a Fruit about the bigneſs of a Nutmeg, which the *Indians* eat with the Herb Bettel, made up with the Lime of Oyſter-ſhells; which, they ſay, makes the ſpittle red, and gives them a ſtomach. From *Cananor* you go to *Cranganor*, a Country full of Thieves, who divide the Spoil with the King of *Calicut*; ſo that there is no ſailing there but with great Ships well arm'd.

Forts of the *Portugueſe*.

Bettel much eaten in the Country.

From

Cochin the chief place for Spices and Pepper.

From *Cranganor* we came to *Cochin*, 15 Miles diſtant, the chief place that the *Portugueſe* have in the *Indies*, where is the greateſt Trade of Spices, Drugs, and all other Merchandize; and within the Land is the Kingdom of Pepper. In *Cochin* there are two Cities, whereof one belongs to the King of *Portugal*, and the other to the King of *Cochin*, a *Pagan*, in whoſe Country are many Chriſtians of *St. Thomas*'s Order. All Chriſtians through the *Indies*, that come from the Weſt, are call'd *Portugueſe*; and they that marry in *Cochin* have Offices, and great Privileges, in the two Commodities they deal with in that place, which are Silk that comes from *China*, and Sugar that comes from *Bengala*, for the married Citizens pay no Cuſtom for theſe Commodities, and for others only 4 *per Cent.* whereas all ſtrangers pay 8 *per Cent.* to the King of *Portugal*.

Amochi and *Nairi*.

The King of *Cochin* keeps but 70000 Men in Arms, whereof ſome are call'd *Amochi* and *Nairi*, who are deſperate Fellows, and run upon any danger for the honour of their King. They go naked from the Girdle upwards, with Targets and naked Swords, and have their Wives in common. The King's Children here do not inherit after their Father, becauſe perhaps they were begot by ſome other Man, but the Sons of the King's Siſter, or ſome other, who are certainly of the Blood Royal.

The *Nairi* and their Wives make ſo great holes in their Ears, that one may put his arm into them.

Coulam.

Chriſtians.

The Ships go from *Cochin* to *Portugal* every Year, on the 5th of *December* or *January*. From *Cochin* we went to a Fort call'd *Coulam*, 72 Miles diſtant, and from thence to Cape *Comori*, where endeth the Coaſt of the *Indies*: And along this Coaſt to the low Land of *Chiloa*, for 200 leagues, the People are Chriſtians.

The way of fiſhing for Pearls.

The prizing of Pearls by Caracks, each of which is four grains.

The Sea that lieth between the Coaſt from the Cape *Comori* to *Chilao*, they call the fiſhing for Pearls, which begins in *March* or *April*, and laſts 50 days, but every Year they change the place. When the time of Fiſhing draws near, they ſend good Divers to diſcover where the greateſt heaps of Oyſters lie under water, and right againſt that place they make a Village with Houſes, and a Bazazo of Stone, which ſtands as long as the Fiſhing-time laſts, and is furniſh'd with all Proviſions. The Fiſhermen are all Chriſtians, and pay a Duty to the King of *Portugal* and the Friars of *St. Paul*, and are defended from Rovers with three or four Fuſts. I ſaw the manner of their fiſhing, which is this: Three or four Barks go together, with 7 or 8 Men in a Bark, and anchor in 15 or 18 fathom water, the ordinary depth of that Coaſt; and then they caſt a Rope into the Sea with a ſtone faſten'd to the end of it, and one that hath his Ears and Noſe well ſtopt and anointed with Oil, and a Basket under his arm, goes down by the Rope to the bottom of the Sea, and fills the Basket as faſt as he can, and when it is full he ſhakes the Rope, and his Fellows in the Bark hale him up with the Basket. And thus they go one by one, until they have laden the Bark with Oyſters, and at Evening they come to the Village, where they lay their heap of Oyſters diſtant from one another, and when the fiſhing is ended, every company ſits round their own heap and opens them, and gather all the Pearls they can find in them; on which the *Chitini*, being expert in them, ſet a price, according to their Caracks, Beauty and Goodneſs, thoſe that are round and large being of greateſt value, and there are Merchants ready to buy them all at the prices ſet.

In this Sea of fiſhing for Pearls, there is an Iſle call'd *Manar*, between which and *Zeilan* all Goods are firſt carried in ſmall Ships for the ſhallowneſs of the Chanel, and then laded into great Ships to go for the *Indies*; but thoſe that go thither Eaſtward paſs by the Coaſt of *Coromandel*.

Zeilan.

The cutting and gathering of Cinnamon.

Zeilan is an Iſle bigger than *Cyprus*, diſtant from Cape *Comori* 120 Miles over-thwart, wherein there grows fine Cinnamon, Pepper, Nuts and Arochoe. There alſo they make great ſtore of Cairo for Cordage, and there grow cryſtal Cats-eyes. I ſaw the manner of gathering Cinnamon, which is this: We went to a Wood about three Miles from the City, where was ſtore of Cinnamon-trees among other wild Trees; and in the Month of *March* and *April*, when the ſap goes up to the top, they cut the Bark off the Tree from knot to knot, and then take it away, laying it in the Sun to dry, and the Tree dieth not, but has a new Bark againſt the next Year, and that which is gather'd every Year is the beſt Cinnamon. And in this Wood there groweth alſo much Pepper.

Negapatan.

St. Thomas's House.

From *Zeilan* we went to *Negapatan*, and from thence towards the Eaſt 150 Miles; We came to the Houſe of *St. Thomas*, a Church much eſteem'd by the *Pagans*, for the many Miracles which are reported to be done by that bleſſed Apoſtle; near to which Church the *Portugueſe* have built a City, which is one of the faireſt in that part of the *Indies*.

In *Andeman* are Caniballs.

As I return'd in 1566. I went from *Goa* to *Malacca*, which is 1800 Miles, and paſs'd through the Chanel of *Nicubar*, and from thence to *Pegu*; there is an infinite number of Iſles call'd *Andeman*, which are inhabited with Savage People that eat one another, and if any Ship be loſt on theſe Iſles, every Man in it is eaten up. As I came from *Malacca* through the Chanel of *Sambrero*, I paſs'd that way, and there came two of their Barks laden with Fruit to our Ship; they would neither come into our Ship, nor take Money for the Fruit, but when we let down into their Bark ſome pieces of old Linen, they faſtned to the Rope ſo much Fruit as they thought them worth, which we hal'd into our Ship.

Siam.

Siam was beſieg'd in 1567. by the King of *Pegu*, 21 Months, with an Army of 1400000 Men, and was taken by treachery, one of the Gates being left open for him to enter in: Whereupon the Emperor of *Siam* poyſon'd himſelf, and his Relations and Nobles were carried Captive to *Peru*, where I was when the King return'd in triumph, with many Elephants laden with Gold, Silver and Jewels, and Noble Priſoners.

I went from *Malacca* to *St. Tome*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, but going away in the Night without Leave, we made no Proviſion of Water, and could not take any in for 42 days, till we arriv'd at *Oriza*, 500 Miles beyond *St. Tome*, and many of our Men were ſick, and died for want of Water.

The Kingdom of *Oriza*, and the River *Ganges*.

Strong Tides.

When *Oriza* was govern'd by its lawful King, 25 or 30 Ships were uſually laden every Year in that Port with Rice, white Cloth, Butter, Lacca, Pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans, Cloth of Herbs; but ſince that time it has been conquer'd by the *Great Mogol*, who ſets a great Cuſtom on the Commodities. From *Oriza* I went towards *Bengala*, and having row'd along the Coaſt 54 Miles, we enter'd into the River *Ganges*; and we row'd to *Satagan* from the mouth of that River, when the Tide flows, for there is no rowing againſt the ſtream, which is very ſwift. By the way there is a Port call'd *Buttor*, where they make a Village for Trade, and burn it when the Ships go off.

The Commodities laden in *Satagan*.

The People worſhip *Ganges*.

The ceremony of their Burial.

In the Port of *Satagan* 30 Ships are uſually laden every Year with Rice, Lacca, Sugar, Long Pepper, Oil of *Zezelyne*, and other Commodities. Here the Merchants buy and fraight Ships, with which they travel up and down the River *Ganges* to Fairs, and make great profit. The People here within Land worſhip the River *Ganges*, for when any one is ſick he is brought to the Bank of it, where they make a ſmall Cottage, and every day wet him with the water, whereof many die; and when they are dead, they half roaſt their Body with a Fire made of Sticks, and then, with an empty Jarr tied about their Neck, they throw them into the River.

From Port *Piqueno* I went to *Cochin* and *Malacca*, and thence I ſail'd for *Pegu*, being 800 Miles diſtant; and after three Months our Ship was without Victuals, and the Pilot told us we were not far from *Tanaſary* in *Pegu*, which we found not to be true.

Tanaſary.

Nype Wine good for the Pox.

Strange Tides

The King's Palace in *Pegu*.

Four white Elephants kept.

Tanaſary is ſituate on a Rivers-ſide, which runs into the Sea; and there is a Village call'd *Mirgim*, in whoſe Harbour every Year they lade ſome Ships with *Verzine*, *Nypa*, *Benjamin*, Cloves, Nutmegs and Mace, which come from the Coaſt of *Siam*. But the greateſt Merchandize is *Verzina* and *Nypa*, which is an excellent Wine made of the Flower of a Tree call'd *Nyper*, whoſe Liquor they diſtil, and the Drink is clear, good for the Stomach, and is a certain Remedy for the *French-Pox*: For tho' the Perſon be rotten with it, this Liquor will cure him if he drinks good ſtore of it, as I ſaw prov'd in a Friend, whoſe Noſe began to drop away. From the ſaid River, having endur'd great hardſhip for want of Victuals, and thence to *Martavan*, from thence we went in Barks like our Pilot-Boats, which go as ſwift as an Arrow out of a Bow when the Tide runs with them, but when it turns they draw to a Bank, and lay the Barks on high in the Land. The ſudden encreaſe and decreaſe of the Water makes a horrible noiſe, which they call a *Macareo*. At laſt we arriv'd at the City of *Pegu*, in the Kingdom of the ſame Name, where the Merchants have all one Houſe call'd *Godom*, in which they put their Goods of value. There is a new City beſides the old, in which is the King's Palace, Wall'd and Moated about; the Lodgings within are of Wood gilded, with fine Pinacles, and much curious Work, cover'd with Plates of Gold. The King of *Pegu*, among his other Titles, is call'd the King of the white Elephants, whereof he keeps four, every one of which is kept in a Houſe gilded all over, and is ſerv'd in Veſſels of Silver and Gold. He has 4000 Elephants of War, and to their upper Teeth is faſten'd Pikes of Iron, wherewith they fight. They hunt them by riding on Female Elephants, who draw in the wild Males by the ſmell of their Tail into a Trap; and when they are alone, they rage till they are weary, and then are forc'd into a Houſe, where they are tam'd.

The great ſtrength of the King of *Pegu*.

The great ſtrength of the King of *Pegu* conſiſts in his Elephants when they go to Battel, for they ſet on their backs a Caſtle of Wood, bound on with Bands under their Bellies, and in this Caſtle four Men ſit to fight with Harquebuſſes, Bow and Arrows, Darts and Pikes. They keep good order in their Armies, having 4 ſeveral Squares of Elephants, Horſemen, Harquebuſſers and Pike-men, but their weapons are naught except their Harquebuſſes, which are excellent, and ſome Ordnance of good Metal. He is the greateſt King on Earth, for he hath 26 Kings under him, and can bring into the Field a Million and a half of Men. He has no Navy by Sea, but for People, Dominions, Gold and Silver, he far exceeds the Great *Turk*; for he hath divers Magazines full of Treaſure, and he is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Saphires and Spinels. Near his Palace there is an unvaluable Treaſure in a Court Wall'd round, which every one may ſee. In one Houſe there is a very large Statue of a Man in Maſſy Gold, and on his Head a Crown of Gold beſet with Rubies and Saphires, and round about him are four little Children of Gold. In another is a Statue of Silver, which is as high as the Roof of a Houſe, and has a Crown on his Head like the firſt. In the third there's a Statue of Braſs, with the like Crown on his Head: And in a fourth there's a Statue of *Ganza*, (which is a mixture of Copper and Lead) with the like Crown on his Head as the firſt.

He is the greateſt King on Earth for Armies and Riches.

The Order of Juſtice.

The King ſits every Day in Perſon on a high Tribunal, to hear the Suits of his Subjects, who bring their Supplications, written with a ſharp Iron on long leaves of a Tree, and Preſents according to the value of their Suit. The Secretary reads their Petitions before the King, who commands to take the Preſents if he grants their deſire; but if he refuſes it, he takes no Preſent.

The Commodities ſold in *Pegu*.

The moſt valuable Commodity that's brought to *Pegu* comes from *St. Tome*, which is Cloth made of Bombaſt, ſo woven and painted, that the more it is waſh'd the colours are the more lively; which is ſo highly valu'd in *Pegu*, that a ſmall Bale of it is worth one or two thouſand Ducats. There goeth alſo from *St. Tome* a Ship laden with Yarn died red with a Root, ſo that it never changes the colour; and if it ſets out *September 6.* they make a ſure Voyage, but if it ſtays ſome days after the 6th, they are catch'd with contrary Winds, which blow in one place three or four Months.

There goes alſo from *Bengala* another Ship laden with Bombaſt of all ſorts to *Pegu*. From *Malacca* to *Martavan*, there come ſmall and great Ships laden with Pepper, China, Camfora, and other Wares. From *Mecca* the Ships bring Woollen Cloth, Scarlet, Velvet, Opium and Chickino's. From *St. Tome* going to *Pegu*, (which is 300 miles) they ſail up a River to *Coſmin*, where the King's Officers come and take the note and marks of all the Merchants Goods, and convey them to the King's Houſe at *Pegu*, until they have receiv'd the Cuſtom. All Merchants that travel through the *Indies* muſt take all manner of Proviſions with them, for there are no Inns in that Country. From *Coſmin* to *Pegu* they ſail in ſix hours with the Flood, and in eight days to *Macceo*, 12 miles from *Pegu*, where they lade their Goods on Carts drawn with Oxen, and the Merchants are carried in a Litter call'd *Deling*. The Cuſtom of *Pegu*, and Fraight thither, is about 20 or 22 *per Cent*.

Merchants carry Proviſions becauſe there are no Inns.

Brokers Law for Bankrupts.

There are in *Pegu* eight Brokers, who are oblig'd to ſell all Commodities that come there at the current price: they have two in the hundred, and are bound to make good the Debts of the Goods; and if payment be not made, the Creditor may ſhut up the Debtor in his Houſe, and if he is not able, the Creditor may take his Wife, Children and Slaves, and ſell them. The current Money in this Kingdom is call'd *Ganza*, which is ſtamp'd not by the King but the Subjects; and with that Money you may buy Gold, Silver, Rubies, and Musk, for there is no other Money current among them.

Ganza the Money, and the way of taking it.

This *Ganza* goeth by weight of *Byza*, which makes a hundred weight of *Ganza*, which is about half a Ducat; and this *Byza* is always the ſame, tho' the price of Gold and Silver varies. He that Winters there muſt take all his payment in *Ganza*, wherewith he may buy and ſell every thing: and when he takes this Money, he muſt give it to a publick Weigher, and two *Byza's* a Month; and he is bound to make it all good, otherwiſe the Merchant may be deceiv'd in the weight and falſeneſs of the Money.

Merchandize that goes out of *Pegu*.

This Money is ſo heavy, that 40 *Byza's* is a good Porter's Load, and it muſt be paid by the Common Weigher of Money for the Merchant that buys any thing. The Merchandize that go out of *Pegu*, are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spinels, Benjamin, Long Pepper, Lead, Lacca, Rice-Wine, and ſome Sugar; for tho' they have abundance of Sugar-canes, many of them are eaten by the People and the Elephants. Beſides that, many of them are ſpent in making a Covering for their Pagods, which they plaiſter with Lime, and over-lay with Leaf-gold every fifteen Years; which makes Gold the dearer in *Pegu*.

Rubies cheap.

There are four Brokers of Jewels and Rubies, who have them all in their hunds, and in ſuch quantities, that they ſell them very cheap. When the Merchant has agreed for them he may carry them home, and take the advice of other Merchants; and if he does not like his bargain he may return them, without any loſs: Which is counted ſuch an affront by the Brokers, that they commonly afford good Penniworths, eſpecially to thoſe that underſtand not Jewels, to keep up their Credit.

Their ſecret way of making bargains.

At the buying of theſe Jewels, many Merchants are preſent; but the bargain is made between the Broker and the Merchant, by holding their hands under a Cloth, and touching the Joints of their fingers, to ſignify what is ask'd and bidden, which the ſtanders by know nothing of, becauſe it might breed a Controverſy among them.

Touffon a great Storm at Sea.

Intending to return to *Venice*, I went aboard a Ship of *Bengala*, and met with a cruel Storm call'd *Touffon*, (which happens every ten or twelve Years in theſe Seas) which carried away our Sails, Yards and Rudder, and forc'd us to throw our Maſt over-board. After this Storm we diſcover'd an Iſland call'd *Sondiva*, where we had plenty of ſalted Kine, wild Hogs, Hens and Rice, at cheap rates. From *Sondiva* we went to *Chatigan*, and thence to *Ormuz*, where I and Mr. *Berettin* fraighted a Bark to go for *Baſora* for ſeventy Ducats, and there we ſtaid forty days waiting for a Caravan of Barks, which conſiſts of twenty five, or thirty, becauſe in the Night we faſten our Barks to the banks of the River, and then we muſt keep a ſtrong Guard to ſecure our Goods from Thieves; and at laſt we arriv'd at *Babylon* in fifty days. And there we ſtaid four Months, until the Caravan was ready to go over the Deſert for *Aleppo*, and bought a Tent, and Horſes and Mules, and Victuals for them. We had alſo thirty two Camels laden with Commodities, at two Ducats a Camel, and three Men to ſerve us by the Way for five Ducats a Man. The Caravan travels twenty Miles a day, and reſts about Two in the Afternoon. We wanted no Water becauſe it rain'd, and we eat freſh Mutton every day, having bought twenty Sheep at *Babylon*, which the Shepherds that came with us with their Flocks did keep, and kill for us. In thirty ſix days we paſs'd over the Deſert to *Babylon*, and ſaw neither Houſe, Trees nor People. The Caravan has certain Stations where the Wells are; and there always goes with it a Captain to do Juſtice, and every Night a Watch is kept about it. From *Aleppo* we went to *Tripely*, and thence to *Venice*, where we arriv'd *November* 5. 1581.

The way of providing to go over the Deſert from *Babylon* to *Aleppo*.

The way of recovering the Goods of the Dead in theſe Countries.

When you travel in the *Indies*, you muſt always keep your Will about you; and there is a Houſe of the *Portugueſe*, call'd the School of *Santa Miſericordia*, where it may be Regiſtred. Among the *Moors* (i. e. the *Mahometans*) and *Pagans*, there goes always a Captain along with you to do Juſtice, who has Authority to recover the Goods of thoſe that die in their Voyages, if their Wills be Regiſtred in the ſaid Schools.

There goeth alſo in theſe Voyages ſome Merchants, who are Commiſſaries of the School of *Miſericordia*, that if any Merchant die, and hath given Order in his Will that the School of *Miſericordia* ſhall have his Goods to ſell them, they ſend the Money by Exchange to the School of *Miſericordia* in *Lisbon*, with that Copy of his Will; and from *Lisbon* they give Intelligence to any Part of *Chriſtendom*, and the Heirs of ſuch a one coming thither, with a Teſtimonial that they be Heirs, ſhall receive there the value of the Goods without loſs. But every Chriſtian that dies in *Pegu*, loſeth a third part of his Eſtate to the King and his Officers, but the reſt is honeſtly paid.

Gaſparo Balbi *his Voyage to* Pegu, *and Obſervations there gather'd out of his* Italian *Relation*.

A River of red Water.

A Fountain of Pitch.

IN 1579. *Balbi*, a Jeweller of *Venice*, travell'd with the Caravan from *Aleppo* towards *Bagdat*, and came by the way to *Bir*, or *Abir*, on the Banks of *Euphrates*, where we met with great Cold and Snow in *January*, and there embark'd our Goods for *Felugia*; and thence to *Elder*, the River *Cabur* of a red colour, *Elerſi* and *Giuba*, near which is a Fountain of Pitch, wherewith the Natives build their Houſes, daubing it on the boughs of Trees, and at laſt to *Felugia*, and thence paſſing by the Ruins of *Old Babylon* we came to *Bagdat* in 49 days from *Bir*.

Tigris ill ſcent.

A hot deadly Wind.

In *March* 1580. we embark'd from *Bagdat* towards *Balſara*; and at *Encaſerami*, each Mariner caſt a whole Bisket for Devotion to one buried there: And there the River *Tigris* had a very noiſome ſcent, and we were in danger by a Whirlpool. At *Corno* we met with a very hot Wind, which ſtrangled four of our Company; and thence we came to *Balſara*. The reſt of this Voyage to *Negapatan* is here omitted.

The Jeſuits Miracle, a caſual accident.

Stinking Devotion.

Deſperate Men.

In *May* 1582. we ſail'd to *St. Thomas*, ſituate in thirteen degrees and half, wherein are three Chriſtian Churches; and that belonging to the Jeſuits is ſaid to be finiſh'd by a Miracle, for when Money fail'd, the Sea caſt up a piece of Timber, of the ſame length with the Church, which ſerv'd for that end. Without this City is another Inhabited by *Pagans*, who bury the Wife alive with the Husband, and worſhip the figure of a Cow and a Serpent. And the *Bramins*, with the aſhes of Cows-dung burnt, daub the *Pagans* Forehead and Noſe, which out of Devotion to the Cow they will not waſh off that day. The worſhippers of a Pagod having liv'd a whole Year in carnal Pleaſures, are wont to cut off pieces of their own fleſh, and ſhoot them up in the air; and when they can live no longer, they cut their own throat, and ſo ſacrifice their Body to the Pagod. Some People from *Chiava* ſtand in the way with a weapon, and kill as many as they can, until ſome body kills them, being weary of their Life.

I ſaw one Cuſtom there which is us'd by thoſe who make a Vow to a Pagod, and they are drawn up with hooks faſtned to their ſhoulders to the top of a high Tree with a Croſs-bar, where having ſaluted the Pagod three times they let them down, and colour the Tree with their Blood, in reverence to the Pagod; which they do to obtain health, or any thing elſe.

They have another Feaſt by Night: When in a Street full of light, three or four take one another by the hands, and having Baskets full of Rice and Milk, they caſt the Meat behind them, and ſays the Devil eats it; but they never look back leſt they die, as they think they ſhall.

Dangerous Tygres.

On the 5th of *October* we came to *Coſmi*, in ſixteen degrees one third, where are many Parrots, wild Boars, Apes and Tygres, which often devour Men and Beaſts by Night.

Audience before the King.

His Bounty.

After this I came to the Old City of *Pegu*, in ſixteen degrees one third, where I and the Druggerman, or Interpreter, having three times fallen proſtrate on the ground, were admitted to the preſence of the King, where I preſented ſome Emeralds to my Interpreter, who having made his Rombee, *i. e.* his Reverence, gave them to the King's Interpreter, and ſo they came to the King's hand; and then being ask'd I told him my Name, whence I came, what *Philip* King of *Portugal* was, and what a Victory the *Venetians* had obtain'd over the *Turks*, making a Rombee at every word: And the King gave me a Cup of Gold, and five Pieces of *China* Damask; and order'd me to be paid out of his Treaſury, and that my Goods ſhould be Tax-free.

Terrible Execution.

Combat of Kings.

400000 Men ſlain.

The King of *Avna* conſpir'd againſt the King of *Pegu*, his Nephew, with his chief Courtiers, who ſent to *Avna* one of his Domeſticks, to clear himſelf from all ſuſpicions conceiv'd againſt him; but he was murder'd by *Avna*, who truſted to the Grandees of *Pegu* for Victory. Whereupon the King of *Pegu* declar'd War againſt *Avna*, and Order'd his Grandees to be Impriſon'd, and to be burnt alive on a large Scaffold, with their Wives and Children; which I ſaw, hearing with great pity their lamentable ſhrieks and cries. And after this, he encamp'd without the City with 300000; where I ſaw the King upon an Elephant cover'd all over with Gold and Jewels, with a Sword ſent from *Goa*, and while the Guards fought one another, he fought the King of *Avna* hand to hand, firſt with Harquebuſſes, then with Darts, and at laſt with the Sword, and his Elephant having broke his right Tooth with charging that of *Avna*, he ſo engag'd with the other Elephant, that the King of *Pegu* kill'd the King of *Avna*, and mounted on his Elephant, his own being kill'd. And when the Army of *Avna* ſaw their King dead, gave over fighting and begg'd Pardon, which the King of *Pegu* granted, and found upon a Muſter that he had loſt 200000 Men, which loſs was little leſs than that of *Avna*.

The Voyage of Mr. Ralph Smith, *Merchant of* London, *to* Ormuz, *and ſo to* Goa *in the* Eaſt-Indies; *to* Cambaia, Ganges, Bengala; *to* Bacola *and* Chonderi, *to* Pegu, *and* Jamahay *in the Kingdom of* Siam, *and back to* Pegu; *and thence to* Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, *and all the Coaſt of the* Eaſt-India.

Ormuz barren, but of great Trade.

Womens ſtrange Apparel.

IN 1583. I *Ralph Fitch*, Merchant of *London*, went with Mr. *Newberry*, *Leeds* and *Storey*, for the *Eaſt-Indies*, and having paſs'd through *Tripoly*, *Aleppo*, *Birra* and *Felugia*, we came to *Babylon*, or *Bagdat*, which is a place of great Traffick for ſtrangers, being the way by which the Caravans paſs to *Perſia*, *Turkey* and *Arabia*. Here are great ſtore of Victuals which are brought down the River *Tigris*, upon Rafts made of Goats Skins, blown full of Wind, and Boards laid upon them. From thence we came to *Baſora*, which ſtands near the Gulf of *Perſia*, and is a Town of great Trade for Spices and Drugs that come from *Ormuz*; and there is great ſtore of Wheat, Rice and Dates, wherewith they ſerve *Babylon* and *Ormuz*, and all the Parts of *India*. From *Baſora* we came to *Ormuz*, where there grows nothing but Salt, being furniſh'd with all Neceſſaries from *Perſia*, about twelve Miles diſtant; yet here is a great Trade of Spices, Drugs, Silk Tapeſtry of *Perſia*, ſtore of Pearls, which come from *Baharim*, and *Perſian* Horſes which ſerve all *India*. The Women here wear on their Noſes, Ears, Necks, Arms and Legs, many Rings ſet with Jewels, and a long Bar of Gold on the ſide of their Noſes. Here we were put in Priſon, and ſent to *Goa*, and by the Way we came to *Na-Malucco*, a place of great Trade for Spices, Drugs, Silk, Elephants Teeth, *China*-Ware and Sugar. Here they worſhip a Cow, and will kill nothing that has life, and burn their dead Bodies, for fear that the Worms that are bred of them ſhould lack ſuſtinance.

Goa.

Bellargan.

Gulconda.

When we came to *Goa* we were caſt into Priſon, and examin'd before the Juſtice, who charg'd us to be Spies, but could prove nothing againſt us: whereupon we were ſet at liberty finding Sureties, to whom we paid 2150 Ducats, which we could not have again, but were threatned with the Strapado; and therefore we ran away, and went on foot two days in great fear, having no Guide. The firſt Town we came to is call'd *Bellargan*, where is a great Market of Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, and many other ſoft Stones. From thence we went to *Biſapor*, where the King keeps his Court, and there is great ſtore of Gold and Silver; and then to *Gulconda*, where be the Diamonds of the old Water.

Bellapore.

Agra and *Fatipore* great Cities.

In theſe Parts is a Port call'd *Muſulipatan*, whither come many Ships out of *India*, *Pegu* and *Sumatra*, laden with Pepper, Spice, and other Commodities. Thence we went to *Bellapore*, a populous Country, where is good ſtore of Cotton-cloth, Corn and Rice. Here we found Boys of eight or ten Years, and Girls of five or ſix, married, who feaſt, pipe and dance, on the Day of Marriage, but lie not together till they are ten Years old; which they do for this reaſon, That if the Husband dies, and the Wife be burn'd with him, the Children may have a Father-in-Law to bring them up. Thence we came to *Mandovay*, and ſo to *Agra* and *Fatepore*, where the Great *Magor* keeps his Court. In theſe two Cities the King keeps a thouſand Elephants, thirty thouſand Horſe, fourteen thouſand tame Deer, eight hundred Concubines; either of them is bigger than *London*. Hither is a great reſort of Merchants from *Perſia* and *India*, and much Merchandize of Silk, Cloth, Rubies, Diamonds and Pearls; Mr. *Newberry* went homewards, and I left Mr. *Leeds*, the Jeweller, in *Fatepore* with the King, who gave him a Houſe, five Slaves, and 6*s.* a Day.

Superſtitious Cuſtoms of Bramins.

From *Agra* I went to *Satagam* in *Bengala*, in company with 180 Boats laden with Salt, Opium, Lead, Carpets, and other Commodities, down the River *Jemena*. Here the *Pagans* eat no fleſh, nor kill any thing; they pray in the water naked, dreſs their Meat and eat it naked, and for their Penance they lie flat upon the Earth, riſe up and turn themſelves thirty or forty times, lift up their hands to the Sun and kiſs the Earth. The *Bramins* mark themſelves with yellow powder, and ſo do their Men and Women mark themſelves in the face.

Pilgrims go to the River *Ganges*.

From *Agra* I came to *Prague*, where *Jemena* enters into the River *Ganges*. Here be many Beggars highly valued by the People: I ſaw one who could cover his Privities with the hair of his Head, and his nails were two Inches long, waited on with eight or ten, who will not ſpeak to the King. Thence we went to *Bannaras*, where is great ſtore of Cotton-cloth and Saſhes; hither come *Pagan* Pilgrims from far Countries, to worſhip their Images ſtanding in Houſes by the River *Ganges*, which are made like Lyons, Leopards, Monkies, Peacocks and Devils. They waſh themſelves early in the River, and give ſomething to the Old Men that ſit there praying; and then they go to their Images, and give them of their Sacrifices, while the Old Men are praying, and ſo they are Holy. They throw water upon great carved Stones, and then lay upon them Rice, Wheat or Barley. They alſo go down into a Well to waſh themſelves, that their Sins may be forgiven, for they ſay God waſh'd himſelf there. They never pray but in the water, and then waſh themſelves over Head, and drink of the water three times, and ſo go to the Idols in the ſaid Houſes; and ſome of them are fann'd in warm Weather, eſpecially one, who they ſay gives them all things.

Pythagorean Superſtition.

Cloth of Graſs.

From *Bannaras* I went to *Patanaw* down the River *Ganges*, where they dig deep Pits in the Earth, and waſhing the Earth in great Bowls, they find Gold in it. Here is a great Trade of Cotton-cloth, and Sugar, which they carry hence to *Bengala*, much Opium, and other Commodities. From *Patanaw* I went to *Tanda*, in the Country of *Bengala*, where there is a great Trade of Cotton, and thence to the Country of *Couche*, 25 days Journey Northwards, where they have much Silk, Musk, and Cotton-cloth. They kill nothing, but have Hoſpitals for Sheep, Goats, Dogs, Cats, Birds, and all living Creatures, and keep them when old till they die. If a Man bring any thing alive thither, they give Money for it, and keep it in their Hoſpitals. Their ſmall Money is Almonds, which they often eat. Thence I return'd to *Hugeli*, in 23 degrees North Latitude, call'd *Porto Piqueno'*; whence I went to *Angeli* in *Orixa*, where there is much Rice, Cotton-cloth, and Cloth of Graſs call'd *Terva*, Sugar and Pepper, whither they come from *India*, *Sumatra*, *Malacca*, and lade with theſe Commodities.

Cow-tails ſold dear.

About four days Journey from *Couche* is a Country call'd *Bottanter*, and the City *Bottia*, where are Merchants that come from *China*, *Muſcovy* or *Tartary*, to buy Musk, Cambals, Agats, Silk, Pepper and Saffron. They cut the Tails of their Kine, and ſell them very dear, for they are much us'd for bravery in *Pegu* and *China*. From *Chatigan* in *Bengala* I went to *Bacola*, *Serrepore* and *Sumergan*, in all which places there is great ſtore of Cotton-cloth.

From *Serrepore* in 1586. I went to the Bar of *Negrais*, and ſo to *Pegu*, and within three days we came to *Coſmin*, where the Houſes are high built for fear of Tygres; here are great Figs, Oranges, Coco's, and other Fruit. Within the Bar the People live in Boats, which they call Paroes. From *Coſmin*, paſſing by *Medon*, *Delu*, *Cirion*, *Macao*, we came to *Pegu*, which was deſcribed before.

Tallipoies, or Prieſts of *Pegu*.

Their Ordination.

In *Pegu* there are a great many Tallipoies and Prieſts, which preach againſt all Abuſes in their Kiacks or Churches; when the People enter into them, they waſh their feet with Water that ſtands at the Door, and then lift up their hands to their Heads, firſt to the Preacher, and then to the Sun, and ſo ſit down. After they have been at School till they are twenty Years old, they are examin'd by *Rouli* the High Prieſt, whether they will leave their Friends, and the company of Women, to take upon them the Habit of a Tallipoie? And if they be content, they ride upon a Horſe richly Apparell'd, with Drums and Pipes; and after that they take the Habit of a Tallipoie, and become Prieſts. They go about with a great Pot, and ask nothing; but when they come to the

Door,

Their way of begging. Their Feaſts of the Moon.

Door, the People give them ſomething or other. They keep their Feaſts by the Moon, and the greateſt when it is New-moon; and then the People ſend Rice, and other things, to the Kiack, with which all the Tallipoies of that Church feaſt. When they preach, the People carry Gifts into the Pulpit, which one ſitting by receives from them.

At *Caplan* are Rubies.

Caplan in *Pegu* is the place where they find Rubies, Saphires and Spinels, which are dug out of ſome high Hills; but none may come near the Pits but the diggers.

Round Balls us'd in Mens Privities.

In *Pegu*, and all the Countries of *Ava*, the Men wear little round Balls in their Privy Members; for which they cut the Skin, and put on in one ſide, and another in the other, when they are about 25 Years old. This is ſaid to be done to prevent Sodomy, to which they were before addicted.

The Bramas, who are of the Kings, have a black ſpot in their Skins, which none but they uſe.

They have no Beards, which they pluck out with Pincers; they black their Teeth, becauſe a Dog's are white.

A ſtrange Tryal of Suits.

If they have a Suit in Law which cannot eaſily be determin'd, both Parties go into the water with Poles; and he that dives longeſt under water wins the Suit.

Voyage to *Japan*.

600000 Cruſado's employ'd in *China*.

When the *Portugueſe* go from *Macao* in *China* to *Japan*, they carry much white Silk, Gold, Musk and Porcelane, and bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Carack which goes there every Year, and brings from thence above 600000 Cruſado's; and all this Silver of *Japan*, and 200000 Cruſado's more, they employ with great profit in *China*, from whence they bring good Musk, Silk, Copper, Porcelane, and many other things. When they come to *Canton* in *China*, they muſt remain but certain Days, and muſt lie at Night in their Boats.

Gold.

Laban is an Iſle among the *Java's*, whence come the Diamonds of the new Water, which they find in the River, for the King will not ſuffer them to dig the Rock: And the King hath a Maſs of Earth which is Gold, that groweth in the middle of a River; and when the King wants Gold, he cuts part of the Earth and melts it, out of which comes Gold.

From *Malacca* I return'd to *Martavan*, and ſo to *Pegu*, and thence to *Cochin*, where I took Shipping, and went to *Bengala* and *Ceylon*, where the King keeps a Guard of a thouſand Men, and the People burn Cinnamon-wood, and have ſtore of Rubies, Saphires and Spinels, of the beſt ſort; and thence to *Coulam*, *Cochin*, *Goa* and *Ormuz*, which places have been above deſcribed.

Rubies and Saphires.

Pepper.

Pepper grows in many Parts of the *Indies*, eſpecially about *Cochin*: The Shrub is like our Ivy-tree, which twines about ſome Tree or Pole to keep it up. They gather it green, but when dry 'tis black.

Ginger.

Ginger groweth like Garlick, the Root is Ginger, and groweth in many Parts of *India*.

Cloves.

Cloves come from the *Molucco's*; their Tree is like our Bay-tree.

Nutmegs and Mace.

Nutmegs and Mace grow together, and come from the Iſles of *Banda*; the Tree is like our Walnut-tree.

White Sandol is a very ſweet Wood; it comes from the Iſle of *Timor*.

Camphire.

Camphire is very precious among the *Indies*; that which is compound comes from *China*, but the beſt from *Borneo*.

Lignum-Aloes comes from *Cochin-china*; Benjamin from *Siam* and *Jangomes*.

Long-Pepper grows in *Bengala*, *Pegu*, and the Iſles of the *Java's*; and Musk comes from *Tartary*.

Amber.

Amber is thought by moſt Men to come from the Sea, and they find it on the ſhore's ſide.

Rubies.

Rubies, Saphires and Spinels, are found in *Pegu*.

Diamonds.

Diamonds are found in *Biſnagar*, *Agra*, *Della*, and in the Iſles of *Java's*.

The beſt Pearls come from *Baharim*, the worſe from *Piſcaria* and *Agnam*, on the South Coaſt of *China*.

Spodium, and many other Drugs, come from *Cambaia*.

But to return to my Voyage: From *Ormuz* I went to *Baſora*, and ſo to *Babylon*; and thence by Land I came to *Moſul*, which ſtands near to *Niniveh*, wholly ruin'd now. And thence to *Merdin* and *Orfa*, where the *Moors* have a great Opinion of *Abraham*, who they ſay did once dwell there. Thence I went to *Bir*, and ſo to *Aleppo* and *Tripoly*, where I found an *Engliſh* Ship, in which I came to *London* in 1591.

Indian *Obſervations, gather'd out of the Letters of* Nicolas Pimenta, *Viſitor of the* Jeſuits *in* India, *and many others of that Society.*

Audience before the King of *Gingi*.

WE went for *St. Thomas* in 1597. travelling twelve days in a pleaſant Country; but ſo many and prodigious were the Idols we met with in their Temples, that Superſtition ſeem'd to contend with Ambition. And by the way we ſaw *Cidambaran*, the Mother-City of Superſtition, whither the *Naichu*, or King of *Gingi* was come, who commanded us to be brought into his preſence. Two hundred Brachmans went before us to ſprinkle the Houſe with Holy water, and prevent Sorcery againſt the King, whom we found lying on a Silk Carpet, with a great Chain hanging from his Neck, ſet with Pearls and Gems all over his Breaſt, and his long hair ty'd up, and adorn'd with Pearls. He entertain'd us kindly, and offer'd us Beetle to chew, and diſmiſs'd us with Gifts of Cloth wrought with Gold.

The miſeries of *Pegu*.

The King of *Pegu*, Father of the preſent, was the mightieſt King that ever reign'd there, for he ſubdu'd twelve Kingdoms to his Empire, and could bring into the Field 1060000 Men, taking one out of ten. He reign'd 36 Years in ſo great plenty, that a hundred Ships laden with Rice would not have been miſs'd in his Store; and he had ſuch plenty of Gems, that a Man might have laid out in one Month many Talents of Gold on them. But in his Son's time, by the Murders and Oppreſſions of his Subjects, and the Invaſions of Foreign Enemies, there are found in that Kingdom only a few Men, who, with the King, have betaken themſelves to the Caſtle, which, with Women and Children, are ſaid not to exceed 7000. And in late times they have been reduc'd to ſuch extremity of want, that they did eat Man's fleſh, and ſold it at the publick Shambles; Parents ſpar'd not their own Children, and Children devour'd their Parents. For *Martavan*, a fruitful Country, which yielded yearly a threefold Harveſt, is now made deſolate by the *Siamites*; and *Cochin* and *Malacca*, abounding in Grain, Gold, Silver, Braſs, Rubies and Gems, are loſt. And the King of *Pegu* being beſieg'd by the Kings of *Tangu* and *Arracan*, deliver'd himſelf up (being unable to hold out longer) to the King of *Tangu*, who caus'd him to be beheaded with his Queen and his Son. And after this he went to the Tower, where the King's Treaſure was kept, which was ſo great, that he loaded ſix hundred Elephants, and as many Horſes, with Gold and Gems only, leaving the Silver behind him, which the King of *Arracan* ſeiz'd, exceeding three Millions, beſides many Braſs-Guns in the Caſtle.

The vaſt Treaſure of the King of *Pegu* ſeiz'd.

An Ape worſhipt.

The *Jeſuits* ſay there is a Temple of *Perimal*, in which the *Pagans* worſhip an Ape, whom they report to have been a God, and for ſome Offence to be transform'd into an Ape; and that he leap'd over the Waters upon ſome occaſion, and at every leap made a Hill of Sand for himſelf.

Feaſt of *Perimal*.

Another *Jeſuit* mentions their Superſtitious Opinion about the Sun's Eclipſe, caus'd like that of the Moon, when the Dragon, one of their Conſtellations, biteth them; and therefore they faſt all that day, crying out, The Dragon devoureth the Sun. At the Feaſt of *Perimal* there was ſuch a concourſe of People, that that day's Offering amounted to 200000 Ducats, the King, Queen and Courtiers, being preſent. The Idol call'd *Perimal*, which is a gilded Poll, with an Ape at the foot of it, was drawn by ten thouſand Men, about Midnight, a Mile and a half. The Feaſt of *Cows* was ſolemniz'd a

Month before, for they hold *Perimal* to be the Son of a Cow. 'Twas ſaid the King of *Biſnagar* would make War upon the King of *Tanagor*, but his Death prevented it, his three hundred Concubines being buried with him, who willingly leapt into the flames.

Linſchotten's *Voyage to* Goa, *and Obſervations on the* Eaſt-Indies, *Abridg'd.*

Goa deſcrib'd.

GO A is the chief City of the Oriental *Indies*, in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, where the Archbiſhop, the Viceroy, the King's Counſel and Chancery reſide, and govern all other places in the *Indies* ſubject to them. It is the Staple for all *Indian* Commodities, whither all Merchants reſort to buy or ſell, from *Arabia*, *Armenia*, *Perſia*, *Cambaia*, *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Malacca*, *Java*, *Molucca*, *China*, &c. it lieth in 15 degrees North, and is above three Miles in circumference, being compaſs'd about with a River; on the North-ſide is the Land of *Bardes*, which is high Land, under which the *Portugueſe* anchor, and lade and unlade their Ships. This Land is ſubject to the *Portugueſe*, and is full of Villages inhabited by *Canarys*, who for the moſt part are Chriſtians, but go naked, only covering their Privy-members, and is full of Palm-trees whereon grow Coco's. On the South-ſide is the Land of *Salſette*, planted with People and Fruit like the Land of *Bardes*. Theſe two Lands are Lett by the King of *Portugal*, and the Rents of them pay the Yearly Stipends of the Archbiſhop, Cloyſters, Prieſts, and other the King's Officers. The Town has fair Houſes and Streets, with Gardens and Orchards full of *Indian* Fruits, and hath all ſorts of Cloyſters and Churches as *Lisbon*, only it wanteth Nuns.

The Laws of *Goa*.

The *Portugueſe* here uſe the ſame Laws, in Spiritual and Temporal Cauſes, as in their own Country. There dwell and traffick in the City ſome of all Nations, as *Indians*, *Heathens*, *Mahumetans*, *Jews*, *Armenians*, &c. and every one enjoys the liberty of his Religion, only the *Pagans* are forbidden to burn their Dead, and marry publickly: But if any one hath been Chriſtned, and after that uſes *Pagan* Superſtition, or teaches Hereſy, he is liable to the Inquiſition.

The Soil.

The Iſle is very hilly and barren, and hath nothing to maintain it ſelf but a few Cattel, Hens, Goats, Doves, *&c.* All their Neceſſaries come from *Salſette* and *Bardes*, from *Cambaia*, and the Coaſt of *Malabar*. They have but one Well of freſh Water, a quarter of a Mile without the City, which is carried by Slaves and ſold, to ſerve all the Inhabitants.

The *Portugueſe* there are many of them married to *Indian* Women, and the Children born of them are call'd *Meſtico's*, but the Children of the *Portugueſe* are call'd *Caſtico's*, and they incline to a yellowiſh colour, and in the third Generation they become like Native *Indians*.

The Traffick.

There is daily Traffick to *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Cambaia*, *China*; and there is a Meeting of all Nations like a Fair, whither come Gentlemen, as well as Merchants, to buy or ſell *Indian* Commodities. At this Leylon or Outcry, there are Cryers who go about with Gold Chains, Jewels, Pearls, Rings; and Slaves, Men and Women, young and old: all which are daily ſold there at a certain price. As alſo *Arabian* Horſes, Spices, Drugs, ſweet Gums, fine Coverlets, and many curious things out of *Cambaia*, *Bengala* and *China*. And when any one dies, his Goods are here ſold, to do Juſtice to Orphans and Widows. Some get their living by their Slaves, both Men and Women, whereof ſome have 12, 20 or 30, for the Men ſell freſh Water about the Streets for Money, and the Women make all ſorts of Conſerves, and fine Needle-work, and ſell them, and the uſe of their Bodies too, for Money; all which they bring home to their Maſters. Others trade in the exchange of Money, and buy Rials of Eight when the Ships come from *Portugal*, which they ſell in *April*, when the Ships go for *China*, at 25 or 30 in the Hundred profit: And then they receive a Money brought from *Ormuz* call'd *Larrins*, which they exchange again with the *Portugueſe* at 25 *per Cent.* profit for Rials of Eight, who carry theſe *Larrins* with them to *Cochin* to buy Pepper, and other Wares.

There are but two ſorts of People in *India*, married Men and Soldiers, as they call all the common ſort of People. The married Men keep 5, 10, or 20 Slaves, in their Houſe, according to their Quality, who wait upon them with a Hat or Veil when they go abroad, to keep off the Sun or Rain. They are very nice in their Ceremonies of ſaluting one another, and if any one fail in thoſe Punctilio's, they either beat him unmercifully, or cauſe him to be ſtabb'd by their Slaves; for which no redreſs is to be had.

Of the Marriages, and other Cuſtoms of the *Portugueſe* and *Meſtico's*.

When any one is married, there are fifty or a hundred Horſe that ride in good order to the Church, and then follow the Parents and Friends; and in the laſt row the Bridegroom between two Goſſips, and the Bride between two Commeres, upon whom, as they return home again, the People looking out of the Windows throw Roſe-water, with Roſes and Sugar-comfits. Their Slaves having plaid upon Shalmes and Trumpets all the way, take their leave of the Company when the married Couple come to their Houſe, where they ſit at a Window and ſee the Horſemen run ſeveral courſes. After which they go off with the Goſſips, who wiſh them much Joy, leaving only three or four of the neareſt Friends and Relations to dine with the Bride and Bridegroom.

The ſame Ceremonies they uſe at a Chriſtning; but then one on foot carries a Silver Veſſel full of cracklings, with a Wax-candle ſtuck with Gold or Silver, for an Offering: and another carries a Silver Salt-cellar and Lamp, with rich Towels; and the Commeres, with the Midwife and Child, are carried in Litters.

The Soldiers live ten or twelve in a Houſe, and have but one Suit of Cloaths among them, which is wore by one that goes abroad, and then the reſt ſtay at home. They get Money by ſerving in the Fleet, or by revenging the Affronts done to Gentlemen, or by fulfilling the Luſts of the Women, who reward them well.

Of the *Portugueſe* and *Meſticos* Women, their Manners and Cuſtoms.

The *Portugal*, *Meſtico's* and *Indian* Chriſtian Women, ſeldom go abroad except it be to Church, or to viſit a Friend, and then they put on very coſtly Apparel, with Bracelets of Gold and Rings upon their Arms, beſet with precious Jewels and Pearls. The Men are ſo Jealous of them, that they ſuffer no Man that comes to their Houſes to ſee their Wives or Daughters, or to dwell in the Houſe where they are, tho' he be a Friend or near Relation: But moſt of the Women have one or two Soldiers for their Gallants, whom their Slaves fetch to them by night; and ſometimes they Lie with them in the preſence of their Husbands, to whom they give the Juice of *Deutroa*, which makes them ſenceleſs, but as ſoon as their feet are waſh'd with cold Water they revive.

The Womens Luſt and Skill in Poyſon.

They are very Skilful in preparing Poyſon to kill their Husbands, which ſometimes lies in the Body for ſix Years without doing any hurt, and ſometimes kills them in one, two or three Years, Months, or Days, as they deſign'd it.

The Men's Revenge.

And tho' there are many Women diſpatch'd by their Husbands every Year, if they be either taken in Adultery, or ſtrongly ſuſpected of it, yet this does not hinder them from purſuing their pleaſures; but, on the contrary, they eſteem it a great honour to die a Sacrifice to Love. They are very cleanly, and waſh their Bodies all over at leaſt twice a day, and rub them with ſweet Herbs, and Sanders ſteep'd in Water; they are no great workers, but are continually chawing Beetle and Arrequa by Day and Night, which they alſo give to their Husbands, with Cloves, *&c.* to increaſe Letchery.

Of the Viceroy and his Treaſure.

Every three Years there is commonly a new Viceroy ſent to *Goa*, where he gathers a great Treaſure, partly by the Revenues allow'd him by his own King, and partly by the rich Preſents that are ſent to him from the neighbouring Kings.

Of the Heathens, *Ind* and other ſtrangers in *Goa*.

In the City of *Goa* there are many Heathens, *Moors*, (who are *Mahumetans*) *Jews*, and many ſtrange Nations, which have every one their ſeveral Cuſtoms and Superſtitions. The *Moors* eat all things except Swines-fleſh, and when they die are buried like the *Jews*. The Heathens, as *Decanyns*, &c. being dead, are burnt to aſhes; and if they be Gentlemen or Bramens, their Wives are burnt with them. Some of the Merchants eat all things, except Cows and Buffles, which they eſteem Holy; others eat not any thing that hath Life or Blood, as the *Guſazates* and *Banians* of *Cambaia*. Moſt of them pray to the Sun and Moon, yet acknowledge a God that created all things, and that there is another Life after this, wherein Men ſhall be rewarded according to their Works. They have Images call'd Pagods, cut in uggly ſhapes, to whom they Offer, and ſay that they were holy Men when alive, and that they are now Interceſſors between them and God. The Devil often anſwers them out of theſe Images, whom they honour for fear he ſhould do them hurt. When any Maid is married, they bring the Bride before their Pagod, made with a Pin of Ivory-bone, and there the neareſt Kindred by force make the Image take the Bride's Maiden-head, which the Bridegroom takes as a great honour done to him. They commonly pray the whole Day to the firſt thing they meet with in the Morning, be it a Hog, or any thing elſe; but if a Crow happens to be the firſt thing they ſee, they look upon it as ſo bad an Omen, that they will not ſtir out of doors all that day upon any account. They pray to the New Moon when ſhe firſt appears, and in their Travels offer to their Pagods on every Hill, after they have waſh'd their feet in a Ciſtern that ſtands always near them, Fruits, Rice, Hens, &c. which the Bramen takes away, and makes the People believe the Pagod hath eaten it. They feaſt them with ſound of Trumpets, and great Fires, for fourteen days, before they go into a Ship, that they may have a good Voyage. The like they do at their Return, at their Feaſts, Marriages, &c.

Of their Religion, and uggly Idols.

A Hog god.

There are in *Goa* many rich Heathen Merchants, who ſell all kind of Silks and Sattins, and *Banians* who have all ſorts of Wares from *Cambaia*, and of precious Stones; but thoſe who Till the ground are a ſort of Chriſtians, who retain ſtill many of their Pagan Superſtitions, and all the Money-changers, or Xaraffo's, are Chriſtian *Jews*.

Of the times of the Year in *India*.

Winter begins through the whole Coaſt of *India*, from *Cambaia* to Cape *de Comorin*, on the laſt of *April*, and begins with Thunder and Lightning; after which follows a conſtant Rain night and day till *September*, and then Summer begins, and it continues fair Weather till the laſt of *April*, and all the Ships which could not ſtir out in the Winter, are made ready to ſail to all places. The Eaſt-wind which cometh from the Land, blows always from Midnight to Noon; and then the Weſt-wind, which comes from the Sea, blows conſtantly until Midnight. When it is Winter from *Diu* to the Cape of *Comorin*, on the other ſide of that Cape, call'd the Coaſt of *Choramandel*, it is Summer, tho' they lie under the ſame Degrees, and are but a few Miles diſtant; and which is more ſtrange, as Men travel by Land from *Cochin* to *St. Thomas*, which lies on the ſame Coaſt, they find it clear Sun-ſhiny Weather on one ſide of the Hill of *Ballagate*, and ſtormy Wind, Rain and Thunder, on the other ſide of the Hill. So it is alſo on the Coaſt of *Arabia Fœlix*, clear Weather on one ſide of the Cape of *Roſalgate*, and Rain on the other. The Days, both Summer and Winter, are alike long, only there is an hours difference at the Change.

Conſtant Winds.

Summer and Winter under the ſame Degree.

Of the *Bramens*, the Prieſts of their Pagods, their Manners.

The *Bramens* are the moſt eſteem'd among the *Indian* Heathens, for they ſerve in the chiefeſt places about the King, and are the Prieſts of the Pagods. They eat not any thing that hath life, but feed upon Herbs and Rice; and will not be let Blood for any Sickneſs, but heal themſelves by Herbs and Ointments. The Women have but one Cloth about their Bodies, which reacheth down to their Knees, and have Rings through their Noſes, about their Legs, Necks and Arms, and upon each Hand ſeven or eight of them, which are made either of Silver, or more commonly of Glaſs. When a *Bramen* dies, his Body is burnt with ſweet Spices and much Oil, and commonly the Wife is burnt with him.

Of the *Guzarates* and *Banians* of *Cambaia*.

The *Guzarates* and *Baniens* are of the Country of *Cambaia*, and many of them dwell in *Goa*, *Diu*, *Chaul*, *Cochin*, and other places of *Indie*, for they traffick in all kind of Wares, as Corn, Cotton, Linen, Rice, &c. but chiefly in all ſorts of precious Stones, in which they have great Skill. They eat not any thing that hath Life or Blood in it, neither would they kill any ſuch thing for all the World. They will give Money to Chriſtians for Fowls and Beaſts, which are to be kill'd, to ſave them alive. In *Cambaia* they ſet Pots of Water in the High-ways, and caſt Corn on the ground to feed the Birds and Beaſts; nay, they have Hoſpitals to cure them of any ails, and when they are heal'd let them fly or run away. They eat no kind of Herbs that hath any red in it, and drink nothing but Water. If their Proviſion happens to fail when they go from *Goa* to *Cochin*, they will rather ſtarve than eat with Chriſtians.

Of the *Canaras* and *Decanyns*.

The *Canaras* and *Decanyns* are of the Country of *Decam*, commonly call'd *Ballagate*, and many of them live in *Goa*. They eat all things except Kine, Hogs and Buffles, Fleſh and Fiſh. They account the Ox, Cow or Buffle, to be Holy, with whom they eat and ſleep in their Houſes as if they were rational Creatures, and thereby think they do God good Service. Every one follows his Father's Trade, and marries with the Daughters of ſuch Tradeſmen, to whom they give Bracelets and Earings, for the Sons inherit all; and in other Cuſtoms and Ceremonies they reſemble the *Bramens*. They commonly farm the King's Revenues, in *Bardes*, *Salſette* and *Goa*; and when any queſtion ariſes in Law, they plead their own Cauſe without any Counſel. And when they take an Oath as a Witneſs, they ſtand in a Circle of Aſhes, ſtill laying Aſhes on their bare Heads; and with one Hand on their Head, and the other on their Breaſt, they ſwear by their Pagod to tell the Truth.

Their way of taking an Oath.

The *Canaryns* and *Corumbyns* of *India*.

The *Canaryns* and *Corumbyns* are thoſe that Till the Land, and live very poorly. They ſow the Rice upon low grounds, which in the Winter-time is cover'd with Water; and upon that the *Canaryns* maintain themſelves in their little Straw-houſes, which are ſo low, that a Man muſt creep in and out. Their Women are commonly deliver'd of a Child all alone, who lay the Child upon a Fig-leaf, and then go about their buſineſs. Their Children go naked till they are ſeven or eight years old, and nothing is done to them but only waſh'd in a little cold Water. In their Marriages and Religion they follow the *Canaras*.

The *Arabians* and *Abexins* in *India*.

There are many *Arabians* and *Abexins* in *India*. The *Arabians* are *Mahometans*; and of the *Abexins*, ſome are *Mahometans*, ſome a ſort of *Chriſtians* of *Preſter John's* Country. The Chriſtian *Abexins* have on their face four burnt marks in the form of a Croſs, one in their Forehead, one on each Cheek, and one under the nether-lip. Theſe *Arabians* and *Abexins* ſerve as Sailors in Ships for a ſmall hire, and commonly have their Wives and Children in the Ship with them, and dreſs their Meat by themſelves, which is Rice ſodden in Water with Salt Fiſh. They have a chief Boatſwain, who is call'd *Mocadon*; he bargains with the Owners of the Ships for ſo many Sailors, and receives the Money monthly for their Wages, which he pays to every particular Sailor.

Of the *Caffares*, their Manners and Cuſtoms.

The black People, or *Caffares*, of the Land of *Moſambique*, and along the Coaſt of *Ethiopia*, go commonly all naked, and have all their Bodies ſear'd with Irons like raſed Sattin; and ſome of them file their Teeth as ſharp as Needles. They account themſelves very fair, and deſpiſe all white Men as Monſters and uggly People, in whoſe colour they repreſent the Devil. When they kill any of their Enemies in a Battel, or take Men Priſoners, they cut off their Privy-members, which being well dry'd they lay at the King's feet, and the King orders them to be deliver'd again with thanks, and that they ſhall be accounted as Knights; all which Members they tie upon a ſtring like a Bracelet, and when they marry, or go to Weddings or Feaſts, the Bride, or Wives of thoſe Knights, wear the Chain of Men's Members about their Neck, which is counted with them as great an Honour, as with us to wear the Garter.

A coſtly Chain for Women.

Great numbers of theſe *Caffares* are carry'd into *India*, and ſold at low rates, eſpecially in a time of Dearth, when they will exchange Children of eight or ten Years for five or ſix Meaſures of Rice, or ſell them for three or four Ducats a-piece; and ſome come with their Wives and Children, to ſell themſelves for Slaves.

Of the *Malabars* and *Nayre's* in *India*, with their Manners and Cuſtoms.

The *Malabars* dwell on the Sea-coaſt between *Goa* and Cape *Comorin*; they are very black, and of a ſmooth Skin, which they anoint with Oil. Their hair grows very long, which they tie up on their Heads with a Lace; and the laps of their Ears being open'd hang down to their ſhoulders, which with them is a great beauty. They are ſo letcherous, that few Girls of ſeven or eight Years old have their Maiden-heads. Of theſe *Malabars* there are two ſorts, one call'd *Nairos*, who are Gentlemen and Soldiers, and are oblig'd to carry Arms night and day, that they may be always ready to ſerve the King. Some carry a naked Rapier or Cutlaſs in their Right, and a Target in their Left Hand, or a Bow and venemous Arrows upon their ſhoulder; others carty long Pikes, or Muskets, with a lighted Match wound about their Arms. None of them are married, but they freely Lie with the *Nayro's* Daughters, or any other Women, though they be married; and leaving their Arms at the Door, they go into any Houſe where they have a mind, and Lie with the Wife or Daughter, and then come and take their Arms at the Door, which ſtands open all the time, none daring to hinder them, or trouble the Woman with whom they have to do.

As they walk the Street, they cry *Po, Po, i. e.* ſtand out of the way, for if any of the *Polyaſſes*, (who are the other ſort of *Malabars*) or any Man of another Nation, happen to touch them, they run him through, and then waſh themſelves with much ceremony before they eat, or converſe with other *Nayro's*.

But a *Portugueſe* having ſlain a *Nayro*, in a Duel fought on purpoſe to decide the quarrel, it was agreed between the two Nations, That the *Nayro's* ſhould give place to the *Portugueſe*.

The *Nayro's* wear the Nails of their Hands very long, the better to gripe a thing in their hands, and to ſhow that they are Gentlemen. The Captains and Officers among them wear a Gold or Silver Bracelet above their Elbows, to diſtinguiſh them from others, and are guarded by other *Nayro's* when they go abroad. If they deſerve Death, they are ſecretly diſpatch'd at the King's Order by other *Nayro's*.

At their Dwelling-place, they have a Well of Water dug in the High way, wherein Men and Women waſh themſelves every Morning from Feet to Head, which though green and ſtinking, yet being Conjur'd by the *Bramens* with many Ceremonies, is thought of ſo great Vertue, that without it they would be Unclean and full of Sin.

Their Sons are not their Heirs, for they uſe all Women when they will, and know not who is their own Son; and the *Bramens* alſo have the King's Wives at their pleaſure, and do him great Honour when it pleaſeth them to Lie with his Queen; but their Siſter's Sons are their Heirs, becauſe they are ſure of their Mothers.

The common People of the *Malabars*, call'd *Polyas*, are the Labourers, Fiſhermen, and ſuch like, who live poorly, and wear no weapon. In other things they follow the Cuſtoms of other *Indians*.

Of the *Moors* and *Jews* in *India*.

There are great numbers of *Jews* and *Moors* at *Goa*, *Cochin*, and in all places of *India*: Amongſt the *Indians* they have their Churches, Synagogues, and Meſquita's, wherein they uſe all Ceremonies according to their Law; but in places where the *Portugueſe* govern, they muſt not openly uſe any of them. And if it be found that they mingle any Chriſtian Ceremonies with theirs, both Men and Women die for it, unleſs they turn Chriſtians. Moſt of them are of a white colour, and many come from *Paleſtine*, and ſpeak good *Spaniſh*.

The *Moors* alſo have their Meſquitos, wherein they pray: They waſh their Feet before they go into the Church, in a Ciſtern of Water that ſtands at the Door, and in the Church they fall down proſtrate on their faces, and with their hands lifted up make faces. They are Circumcis'd like the *Jews*, and eat no Swines fleſh: They have no Images in their Churches, but only ſome round Pillars, on which ſome *Chaldean* Letters, taken out of the Alcoran, are graven. They will not ſuffer Chriſtians to enter into them, unleſs they put off their Shoes; and if you ask what Saints they pray to, they will tell you, That they do not pray to Stocks and Stones, but to the living God; and that the *Portugueſe* and Heathens, who worſhip Images of Wood and Stone, are all of one Religion.

Of their Pagod.

In the Kingdom of *Narſinga*, or the Coaſt of *Choromandel*, there ſtandeth a Pagod very great and rich, which is ſo highly eſteem'd, that many Pilgrimages are made to it from all the Countries round about. Upon a large Cart drawn by four Elephants, there is a Seat whereon this Idol ſits, and under it ſit the Kings Wives, which play upon all Inſtruments; which Cart is drawn forth with great Devotion at Fairs, Feaſts, and Proceſſions, for ſome of the People out of Zeal cut out pieces of their own fleſh, and throw them before the Pagod. Others lay themſelves in the way for the Cart to run over them, and are cruſh'd to pieces; who for that are accounted Holy Martyrs, and all the Parts of their Body are kept as Relicks.

In all the Villages where the *Indians* dwell, there are carved Pagods of moſt helliſh ſhapes; but we found in one Village a Church of Stone, wherein there was nothing but a Table hanging in the middle, and the Image of a Pagod painted, having many Horns and long Teeth hanging down to the Knees; and beneath his Navel, ſuch another Face with Horns and Tusks, having a Triple-crown'd Mitre on the Head of it. It hung before a Wall, which made a Partition from another Chamber, and in the middle of the Wall there was a little Door, before which ſtood a Calf of Stone, on which one of our company leap'd and fell a laughing, for which we begg'd pardon of the *Bramen* to prevent miſchief. This Door being open'd, we ſaw what they count their Quire, which is cloſe Vaulted like a Lime-kiln, and admits no light but by the Door; on each ſide of which there is a Furnace within the Wall, having certain holes to let the ſmoke of the Fire enter into that place, wherein the Offerings are made of Rice, Fruits, Hens, *&c.* which makes the place very foul and ſtinking. But in this Quire there hung at leaſt a hundred burning Lamps, in the middle whereof ſtood an Altar cover'd, firſt with Cotton, and over that with pure Gold; under which ſate the Pagod of Gold, about the bigneſs of a Puppet, which we ſaw brought out of his Cell, and ſet in a Palankin, born by the chief Men of the Town, all the reſt following with great Devotion, with ſound of Trumpets, and other Inſtruments. And having gone round about a Field, they brought him to the Stone Ciſtern that ſtands before the Church-door, and waſh'd him in that ſtinking water, and then ſhut him up in his Cell, with all his Lamps, to make good cheer with the Offerings they left behind them, wherewith the *Bramen* feaſted inſtead of the Pagod.

All the way as we went we found Pagods of Stone, under certain Covers, before which all Travellers fall down and ſay their Prayers, and Ciſterns of Water to waſh their feet. By theſe Pagods commonly ſtand two little Furnaces, with a Calf or Cow of Stone, before which they ſet their Offerings of ſuch things as are to be eaten, of which we found ſome ſtanding in every place, but had no ſtomach to taſte of them, but we could not ſufficiently admire the monſtrous ſhapes of their Idols, which we found every where.

Of all kind of Beaſts and Fowls in *India*.

All over *India* there are great ſtore of Cattel, as Oxen, Kine, Sheep, Hogs, Goats, Kids, *&c.* which are very cheap; but the fleſh, by reaſon of the heat, is not ſo well taſted as in *Europe*. There are Sheep of five Quarters, the tail being as great and fleſhy as any of the other Quarters, but their fleſh is not counted ſo good as that of Hogs.

They have ſome Bats ſo vaſtly great, that the *Canaryns* are forc'd to watch them for the miſchief they do to Trees and Herbs.

There is a prodigious number of black Crows, which came in at the Window, and take the Meat out of the Diſh when the People are at Dinner; one of them, in my ſight, took the Cotton out of my Ink-horn, and blotted all the Paper upon the Table. They ſit upon Buffles backs, and pick all the hair off them, ſo that they are forc'd to ſtand in the water up to the Neck to get rid of them.

There are ſome Rats as big as young Pigs, ſo that the Cats dare not touch them, which dig down Walls and Houſes: There are alſo other little reddiſh Rats which ſmell ſweet like Musk.

There is an incredible number of Ants, which deſtroy all the Meat and Clothes they come at, ſo that they are forc'd to ſet their Cupboards and Cheſts upon Ciſterns full of water to keep them off. The like Ciſterns ſome uſe under their Beds and Tables, and to preſerve their *Canary*-Birds, and other Fowls.

They are alſo plagu'd with Moths and Worms, which deſtroy all their Clothes and Papers; and with Baratta's, twice as big as Bees, which eat up all ſweet and fat things, and ſtain all their Clothes with their Eggs.

There is a Bird call'd Noyras, which comes from *Molucca*, that ſurpaſſeth all other Birds for beauty, and ſpeaks like a Parrot; it claws Men with the Tongue upon the Head and Beard, the Ears and Teeth, to make them clean; but they cannot be brought alive into *Portugal.*

They have Elephants in many places of *India*, which the Merchants hire of their Keepers to draw Pipes, Buts, or Packs of Goods. When they are chid for not drawing ſtrongly, they will ſometimes refuſe help, and burſt themſelves with ſtriving. They are mad all the Winter when it rains, and are kept tied to a great Tree till the rain ceaſes, and then they come to themſelves. Their Docility and Ingenuity is ſo well known that I need not deſcribe it.

The Rhinoceros is not in *India*, but only in *Bengala* and *Patane*; it hath a ſhort horn upon the Noſe, whereof the hinder-part is bigger, and towards the end it is ſharper, and ſo by ſome it is thought to be the right Unicorn. The horns in *India* are much eſteem'd, and us'd againſt Poyſon, and many Diſeaſes: His Teeth, Claws, Fleſh, Skin and Blood, nay, his very Dung and Water, are us'd for curing many Diſeaſes, and I my ſelf have found them good by Experience. But there is a great difference among the Rhinocerots as to their value, which the *Indians* can diſcern, which is ſuppos'd to ariſe from the different Herbs they feed upon in *Bengala*, which gives them great vertue, for ſome of them are ſold for two or three hundred Pardaws, and others for three or four Pardawes a-piece.

Of the Fiſhes in *India.* Fiſh in *India* is very plentiful, as Shads, Soals, *&c.* and are commonly eaten with Rice, which is inſtead of Bread. Crabs are very great and good; and contrary to what it is with us, they are empty at Full Moon, and full at New Moon. Fiſh is ſo cheap, that with the value of a Stiver one may buy as much as will ſerve five or ſix Men for a Meal.

When our Ship lay at *Cochin*, we let down one of our Sailors, with a Rope about his middle, to place the Rudder on the hooks, and while he hung with half his Body in the Water, there came a Shark which bit off one of his Legs at one bite; and when he put down his Arm to feel his wound, it bit off his Arm above his Elbow, and alſo a piece of his Buttock.

A monſtrous Fiſh. There was a monſtrous Fiſh taken in the River of *Goa*, of the bigneſs of a middle-ſiz'd Dog, with a Snout like a Hog, and four Feet like an Elephant, wherewith it run on the Floor, grunting like a Hog. The whole Body was cover'd with Scales of a Thumb's breadth, harder than Iron; and when we ſtruck him, he roul'd himſelf up like a round Ball ſo cloſe, that we could not by any means open him again, which at laſt he did and run away.

When a Ship was ſailing from *Moſambique* into *India*, with a fair Wind, ſteering their Courſe towards the Equinoctial Line, it was much wondred at by thoſe who took the height of the Sun for a Fortnight, that inſtead of leſſening their Degrees, they found themſelves every Day further backward than they were, until at laſt the Boatſwain ſpied a great broad tail of a Fiſh, that had winded it ſelf about the Beak-head of the Fiſh, the Body of it being under the Keel, and the Head of it under the Rudder, ſwimming in that manner, and drawing the Ship with her againſt the Wind and their right Courſe, which we, with much ado, ſtruck off with Staves, and then the Ship went right on.

There are by *Malacca* certain Shell-fiſh, ſo great and heavy, that two ſtrong Men can hardly, with a Lever, draw one of them after them: And to the South of *Goa*, at a place call'd *St. Peter*'s *Sand*, there are Crabs ſo great and numerous, that Men are forced to keep a good Watch to defend themſelves, for if they get one in their Claws it coſts him his Life.

Of the Fruits, Trees and Plants in *India.* *Ananas* is a Fruit of the beſt taſte in all *India*, which was at firſt brought by the *Portugueſe* from *Braſil* and planted there, but now is grown very common: They are as big as a Melon, of colour red and greeniſh, and grow about one third of a Fathom high from the ground. When they eat them they pull off the Shell, and the Juice taſtes like ſweet Muſk.

Jaaca's grow on Trees like Nut-trees by the Seaſide, not upon the ſmall branches, but upon the trunks or great branches; they are as big as a great Melon, and much like it in ſhape, the Fruit within is in husks, like Cheſnuts, each of which has a Nut white and yellow, and very ſweet.

Manga's grow upon Trees like Jaaca's, in ſize and colour like a great Peach, having a bigger ſtone and better taſte. It ſerves for Food to the common People and Slaves, being ſalted in Pots, and eaten with Rice; they are like the white *Spaniſh* Olives, and much of the ſame taſte.

Caions grow on Trees, and are in ſize and ſhape like Pears, but inſtead of a Stalk they have a Cheſnut, which muſt be roaſted before it be eaten, elſe it makes your Tongue ſmart.

Jambo's grow on Trees like Palm-trees, are white and red, of a ſweet ſmell and taſte, both pleaſant and wholſome. The Tree bears Fruit three or four times a Year, and when the leaves fall off on one ſide, and the Fruit is ripe, the other ſide begins to have leaves and to bloſſom.

Jangomas grow on Trees, and are in ſize, colour and taſte, like our round Plums.

There is a Fruit that came out of the *Spaniſh Indies* call'd Papaios, which is very like a Melon, and will not grow but when there are two together, *i. e.* Male and Female. The Male Tree never yields Fruit, but only the Female; and when they are parted they yield none at all. Oranges, Limons and Citrons, are very good and plentiful. They have very few Grapes, and ſweet Herbs and Flowers, but they have great abundance of Cucumbers, Radiſhes and Melons.

Indian Figs there are many, and of divers ſorts, ſome ſmall, ſome great. That on which they grow may be rather call'd a Cane than a Tree, the Bark of it being like a Hair-Sieve, which within is full of large leaves, that by degrees ſhoot upwards, till the Tree comes to its full growth. Out of the midſt of theſe leaves grows a Flower with a long Stalk, which grows full of Figs, bearing at leaſt two hundred in cluſters like Grapes. The Tree bears but one bunch at a time, and being cut down, out of the root preſently grows another, which within a Month beareth Fruit, and ſo continueth to do all the Year long. They are very plentiful in all places, and yield the greateſt part of the Food of the Country. When they are eaten, they pull off the Shells; the Garden Figs are thicker and more common, but thoſe that are thinner are better for ſmell and taſte. The Figs of *Cananor* are dried, and carry'd over all *India.*

Of the Palm-tree whereon the *Indian* Nut call'd Cocus grows. The Palm-tree is the moſt profitable Tree of all *India*; it grows tall and ſtraight, is a Span thick, and hath no branches but in the top where the leaves grow, under which grow the Coco's, commonly ten or twelve together. Theſe Coco's are firſt planted, out of which ſpring the Trees, and when they are about a Man's height they plant them again, and dung them with aſhes, and they yield Fruit in a few Years.

The Wood of this Tree, tho' it be ſpungy, is good for many uſes, for in *Maldiva* they make whole Ships of it, without any Iron-nail, for they ſow the pieces of Wood together with the Cords that are made of the Cocus; they make Ropes and Cables of the ſame Tree, and Sails of the leaves, call'd *Olas.* They ſerve alſo to make *Canaryns* Houſes, and Hats to carry over their Heads, and Mats to cover Palankins. The Nuts or Coco's are as great as an Oſtridge-Egg, and are cover'd with two husks, whereof the outmoſt is hairy, and of it they make all their Cables and Ropes, call'd *Cairo*; and it ſerves inſtead of Ocam or Tow, to ſtop all Crevices in Ships, and keeps them cloſer in Salt water. Of the inner husk they make Drinking-Cups, of which we have ſome here. The Cables ſerve as well as thoſe of Hemp, if they be waſh'd every Fortnight in the Sea. The Fruit, when it is almoſt ripe, is call'd *Lanba*, and within is full of water white and ſweet, which increaſes the longer the Cocus in on the Tree, but when the Fruit is ripe the water thickens, and is not ſo pleaſant Drink as that which comes of the *Lanba.* With the Milk of theſe Nuts they ſeethe the Rice, which is the Sauce of their Meat; and ſometimes they dry it, and carry it out of *Malabar* to *Cambaia* and *Ormuz*, and other places, to traffick with it. And ſometimes they make Oil of it, which is very good to eat; either of the green Nuts ſtamp'd with water and preſs'd, or of the dried Cocus, which is call'd *Copra*, both which are accounted Medicinal. When they have no mind to any Cocus, they cut the Bloſſoms away, and bind a round Pot ſo cloſe to the Tree that no air can enter in, which in a little time is fill'd with Water call'd *Sure*, that taſtes like ſweet Whey. If this Water ſtands but one hour in the Sun it is good Vinegar: when it is diſtill'd it is excellent *Aqua-vitæ*; and being diſtill'd a ſecond time it is call'd *Vraca*, and is very good Wine, and is the only Wine in *India*. The *Portugueſe* put to a Pipe of it three or four Hands of Raiſins, (every Hand being twelve pound) and leaving the Bung open, and the Pipe not full, it boils like Water over a Fire for fourteen or fifteen days, and then becomes in colour and taſte like red *Portugal* Wine, wherewith there is a great trade to *Bengala*, *Malacca*, *China*, and other places, every Pipe in *Goa* being worth thirty Pardawes. Of the foreſaid *Sura* being boil'd, or ſet in the Sun, they alſo make a brown Sugar. The innermoſt part of the Tree is call'd *Palmito*, which is thin and white, having many plaits and folds which is us'd by the *Indians* for Paper, whereon they write when it is green; and after it is dry, the ſame folds continue, and 'tis impoſſible to get the letters out, which are printed in it with an Iron-Inſtrument call'd *Olla*. And thus are all their Writings made.

Of the *Duryoen*, a Fruit of *Malacca*.

Duryoen is a Fruit that groweth only in *Malacca*, and is eſteem'd the beſt for taſte in the World, tho' it ſmells like rotten Onions when firſt open'd. It is outwardly like a Melon, and like it in its partitions within, wherein is the Fruit which contains the Nuts as big as Peach-ſtones: It taſtes like *Mangiar blanco*, made of Hens fleſh diſtill'd with Sugar.

Of the Tree *Arbore de Rays*, or the Root tree.

When *Arbore de Rays* groweth and ſpreadeth branches, they are full of Roots, and grow downwards, and take faſt root again in the ground; and ſtill the more the Branches ſpread, the more Roots ſhoot downwards, ſo that ſometimes it covereth forty paces, and, as ſome ſay, extends to a Mile's compaſs, and is ſufficient to ſhadow a thouſand or three thouſand under it. It hath no Fruit good for any thing but for the Birds to eat.

Near *Cochin* there are Trees call'd *Angelina*, ſo thick, that of the Wood in one piece, without ſeam or joynt, there are made Skiffs call'd *Tones*, which will lade twenty or thirty Pipes of Water; the Wood is harder, and will laſt longer than Iron. There are alſo Sugar Canes and Bamboo's, which have a pith that is Medicinal. Theſe Bamboo's grow very high, and are as thick as a Man's Thigh.

Of the Tree call'd *Arbore Triſte*.

Arbore triſte is ſo call'd, becauſe it never bears Bloſſoms but in the Night-time, for when the Sun ſets there is not one Bloſſom to be ſeen, but within half an hour there are as many Bloſſoms as the Tree will bear, which ſmell very ſweet; and when the Sun riſes the Bloſſoms fall off, and the Leaves ſhut themſelves cloſe together. If you cut off a branch, and ſet it in the ground, it preſently takes root, and in few days has Bloſſoms.

Beetle.

Beetle is a Leaf a little larger than Orange-leaves, planted by Sticks, upon which it climbs up like Ivy. The leaves keep long green, and are ſold by the Dozen, and every Man and Woman in all *India* eats every day a dozen or two of them, for they are continually chawing them by night and day: And becauſe they are bitter, they are eaten with a Fruit call'd *Arecca*, which is like a Nutmeg, and groweth upon Trees like Palm-trees, whereof one ſort being cut in the middle is white and red, another makes the Mouth black and red, and a third ſort makes them light-headed for a little time. With this Fruit they mix alſo a Cake of the Tree call'd *Kaate*, and ſome powder of Oyſter-ſhells, which they ſprinkle upon the Beetle; and when they chaw all this, they ſwallow down the Juice and ſpit out the reſt. They think they cannot live a Day without it; and they ſay 'tis good for the Maw, the Teeth and Gums, and againſt Scurvy.

Of the Herb *Dutrea*, and the Plant call'd *Herba-ſentida*.

Dutroa is an Herb very common in *India*, and groweth in every Field; the Leaf of it is ſharp printed, and indented on the edges. The Bloſſom is like that of Roſemary, out of which groweth a bud like the bud of Poppy, wherein are ſome kernels like thoſe of Melons, which being ſtamp'd and put into any Liquor or Meat, whenever it is eaten or drunk, makes a Man ſometimes laugh like a Fool, without any ſenſe of what is done before him; and ſometimes makes him ſleep for 24 hours as if he were dead, but if in that time his feet be waſh'd with cold water he comes to himſelf.

There is another Herb in *India* call'd the *Senſitive Herb*, which ſhrinks up and cloſes the leaves if any Man touches it, as long as he ſtands by it; but as ſoon as he is gone, it opens the leaves and looks freſh again.

At one end of *Goa*, where Oxen, Sheep, and all kind of Cattel are kill'd for Meat, there is a place where all the Horns of Beaſts lie ſcattered up and down; for beſides that no body uſes them, 'tis counted a great affront to the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* to have any Horns, or to ſhow a Horn to another, or throw it before his Door, for that is to call him Cuckold, which he would revenge by killing the Offender, and Juſtice there will ſeverely puniſh. Now theſe Horns having lain a certain time ſtick faſt in the Earth, and the inner-part of the Horn taketh root, as if it were a Tree, whereof I have ſeen many pull'd up that had Roots two or three Spans long, which was never ſeen in any other Place of the World.

Of the Spices, Drugs and Plants in *India*, for Apothecaries and Druggiſts.

Pepper is planted at the foot of another Tree, commonly of the *Arecca*, and grows upon the Tree like Beetle or Ivy. The Leaves of it are green and ſharp pointed; it grows in bunches like Grapes, but thinner, and ripens in *December* and *January*, when it is gather'd. The Long-Pepper grows in *Bengala*, and is as long as a Needle, but a little thicker; without it is of an Aſhy-colour, but within ſomewhat white, with ſmall Seeds. The White and Black Pepper in taſte and form are alike, but the White is ſtronger and leſs plentiful than the Black.

Cinnamon.

Cinnamon-trees are commonly as great as Olive-trees, with leaves like Citron-leaves. They have white Bloſſoms, and a Fruit as big as black *Portugal*-Olives, whereof Oil is made, which is us'd for many things. The Tree hath two Barks, whereof the ſecond is the Cinnamon, which is cut off in four-ſquar'd pieces, and ſo laid to dry; if it be not well dried it is of an Aſh-colour, if it be too much dried it is blackiſh, but when it is well dried it is reddiſh. After this Bark is taken away, within three Years the Tree hath another Bark as it had before. The Trees grow of themſelves without planting, in the open Fields, like Buſhes: The beſt is in the Iſle of *Seylon*, but that in the Coaſt of *Malabar* not half ſo good; in both places there are whole Woods full of Cinnamon-trees. There is an excellent Water diſtill'd from Cinnamon while it is half green, which is very pleaſant to the Taſte and Smell, but very hot and ſtrong. It is much us'd in *India* and *Portugal* againſt the Cholick, and other Diſeaſes; the Water made of the Bloſſoms is not ſo good.

Ginger.

Ginger grows in many places, but the beſt is in the Coaſt of *Malabar*; it grows like thin Reeds, two or three Spans high, the Root whereof is Ginger, and is much us'd for Sallads while it is green. They dry it by covering it with Pot-earth, to ſtop up the holes, and preſerve it from Worms, which would deſtroy it. Tho' it is little eſteem'd in *Indie*, there is much of it ſhipp'd off to the Red-Sea, as to *Ormuz*, *Arabia* and *Aſia*.

Cloves.

The Trees whereon Cloves grow are like Bay-trees, the Bloſſoms at firſt white; then they have the pleaſanteſt ſmell, and are green, and at laſt red and hard, which are the Cloves. They grow very thick, and when they are dried their right colour is a dark yellow, but they are ſmoak'd to make them black; and thoſe that are left on the Tree ungather'd, are call'd the Mother of Cloves. The Stalks are commonly gather'd and mingled with them, but they are ſever'd in thoſe that are ſent to *Portugal*. The Cloves are of ſo hot a nature, that no Graſs grows near the Trees on which they grow; and when they are made clean, a Pail of Water, or any other Liquor in the Chamber where they are cleans'd, will within two days be dried up, as I have often ſeen. And ſo whenever unſpun Silk of *China* lies upon the Floor, which is a Foot or two above ground, it ſucketh up quickly all the Water that covers the Floor, tho' it touches not the Silk, which is a trick us'd to make the Silk heavy when it is ſold.

Nutmegs.

The Nutmeg-tree is ſomewhat leſs than a Peach-tree, which hath round Leaves, and grows in *Banda* and *Java*; from whence they are carried to *China* and *Malacca*, and *India*. The Fruit is like a great round Peach, the inner-part whereof is the Nutmeg, which hath a hard ſhell cover'd over with the Flower call'd Mace, wherein the Nut lieth looſe.

Cardamomum.

Cardamomum is a Spice much us'd in *India* to dreſs Meat withal, and chaw upon: The husks are like thoſe of Panick, having ten or twelve grains of Berries,

ries, which is the Cardamom; whereof ſome is great, ſome ſmaller. It grows on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and in *Java*.

Lac. *Lac* is brought from *Pegu* to *Sumatra*, and from thence is carried to the Red-Sea, *Perſia* and *Arabia*. In *Pegu* there are very great Piſmires, which fly up the Trees, on which there is a Gum which the Piſmires ſuck up, and then make the *Lac* round about the branches, as Bees make Honey and Wax; and when it is full, the Owners break off the branches, which being dry'd they ſhrink, and the *Lac* remains behind. The Crums that fall upon the ground they melt together, which has ſome filth in it, and ſo is not ſo good. The *Lac* as it comes from the Tree is of a dark red colour, but when it is beaten to powder they mix all ſorts of Colours with it, as red, black, green, &c.

Benjamin. *Benioin* groweth much in *Syan*, *Sumatra* and *Java*, upon high Trees full of branches, with a thick Stem in the middle; whence proceeds the Gum call'd *Benioin*. When the Tree is young it yields the beſt, which is of a blackiſh colour, and a very ſweet ſmell, and is call'd the *Benjamin of Flowers*; but the ſecond, call'd *Benjamin of Almonds*, is not ſo good, being mix'd with white Flowers.

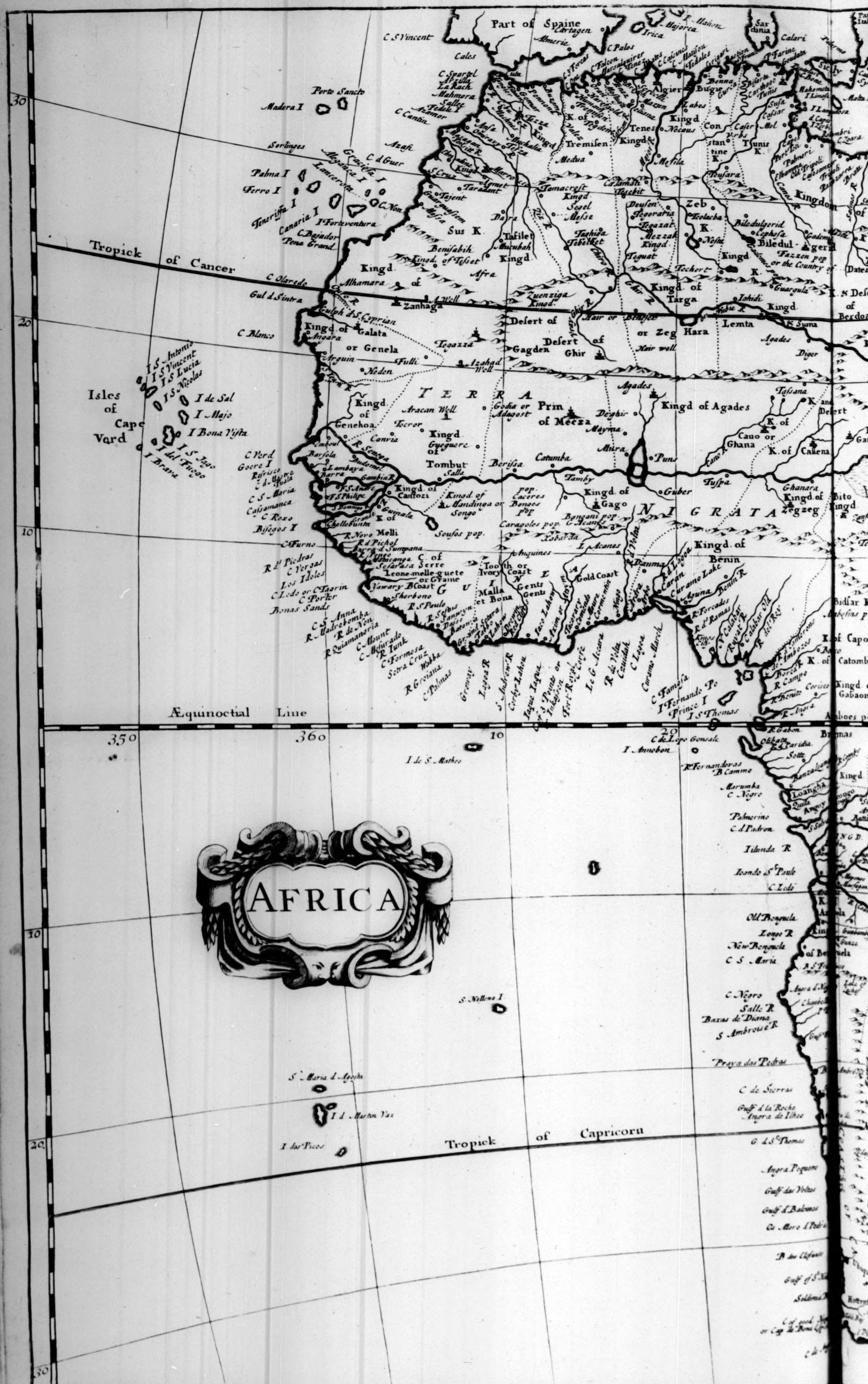
Frankincenſe and Myrrhe. Frankincenſe and Myrrhe are Gums from Trees, which grow in *Arabia-Felix* and *Alexin*.

Sanders. White and yellow Sanders, which are the beſt come from *Tymor* near *Java*, which hath whole Woods of them, from whence it is carried to *India*, and other Countries; but the red Sanders grow moſt in *Choromandel*. The Trees of Sanders have Fruit like Cherries, of no value, but the Wood is the Sanders.

Snakewood. Snakewood is the Root of a low Tree of a whitiſh colour, and bitter in taſte, which being bruis'd in Water or Wine is good againſt burning Fevers, Cholick, Worms, and ſpecially againſt the ſtinging of Snakes; whence it has its name. It was firſt found out by a little Beaſt call'd *Quil*, which is of the ſize and nature of a Ferret, and being bit by a Snake, heals it ſelf by this Wood in *Seylon*, where there is great ſtore of theſe Ferrets and Snakes.

Lignum-Aloes. *Lignum*-Aloes abounds moſt in *Malacca*; the Trees are ſomewhat greater than Olive-trees. The beſt, and that which ſmells moſt, is the innermoſt part of the Wood, and is call'd *Calamba*, which is heavieſt and yields moſt moiſture, and is ſo much eſteem'd, that it is ſold by weight againſt Silver and Gold. The *Palo daguilla* is next to it in eſteem; but there is another ſort call'd *Wild Aquilla*, which is us'd for burning the Bodies of the Bramens; and being coſtly, is accounted as great an honour with them as with us to be buried in Tombs of Marbel-ſtones. Theſe Woods are much us'd in *India* for Beads and Crucifixes, which are held in great Veneration.

Navigantium


AFRICA
Part of Spaine
Cartagen
Almerie
C S Vincent
Cales
C Palos
I Majorca
I Minorca
Irica
Sardinia
Calari
Sicily
C Spartel
Arzilla
La Rach
Mahmora
Salle
Fedala
Azamor
C Cantin
Azafi
C d Guer
Madera I
Porto Sancto
Sorlinges
Graciosa I
Alegranca I
Lancerota
Palma I
Ferro I
Teneriffa I
Canaria I
I Forteventura
C Non
C Bojador
Pena Grand
Tropick of Cancer
C Olaredo
Gul d Sintra
C Blanco
Isles of Cape Vard
I S Antonio
I S Vincent
I S Lucia
I S Nicolas
I de Sal
I Majo
I Bona Vista
I S Iago
I del Fuego
I Brava
C Verd
Goere I
Rufisco
C S Maria
Casamanca
C Roxo
Bissegos I
C Furno
R de Piedras
C Verga
Los Idoles
C Ledo or C Tagrin
C Porker
Bonas Sands
C S Anna
R Madrebomba
R de Nun
R Quiamansoria
C Mount
C Mesurado
R Iunk
C Formosa
Sestra Cruz
Wokka
R Greciana
C Palmas
Fez
Morocco
Kingd of Fez
Tarudant
Sus K.
Dara
Tafilet
Segelmesse
Kingd of Tafilet
Kingd of Tesset
Afra
Tremisen
K. of Tremisen
Algier
Bugie
Tenes
Kingd Tenes
Kingd Necaus
Con stan tine K.
Tunis
Tunis K.
Mesila
Tegorarin
Tegazat
Mezzab
Teguat
Zeb
Tesbit
Biledulgerid
Kingd Biledulgerid
Kingd of Targa
Targa
Lemta
Kingd
Zuenziga Kingd
Desert of Zuenziga
Zanhaga
Kingd of Galata
Galata or Genela
Arguin
Hoden
Tegazza
Gagden
Desert of Ghir
Azahad Well
Aracan Well
Kingd of Genehoa
Canvia
Tocror
Kingd Gueguere
Tombut
Salla
Berissa
Prin of Meeza
Mayma
Agades
Kingd of Agades
Tassana
Cano
Kingd of Gago
Gago
Guber
Cano or Ghana
K. of Ghana
K. of Casena
Tusspa
Zegzeg
Kingd of Zegzeg
Bito Kingd
TERRA NIGRATA
Kingd of Cantozi
Kingd of Mandinga
Songo
Sousos pop.
Melli
Guinala
K of Guinala
Senega R
Gambia R
Sierra Leone
Leone melle guete or Graine
Tooth or Ivory Coast
Malla et Bona
Gold Coast
Kingd of Benin
Benin
Benin R
Guarguela
Lamlam
Gengonabat
Biafar
C S Iohn
Tagrin
R S Paulo
Grain coast
Maley Coast
Æquinoctial Line
C Fermosa
I Fernando Po
Princes I
I S Thomas
Guinea
R Gabon
C de Lopo Gonsalo
I Annobon
Biafra
I de S Matheo
R Fernandovas
C Negro
Palmerino
C d Padron
Ilunda R
Loando St Paulo
C Ledo
Old Bengala
Longo R
New Bengala
C S Maria
C Negro
Salte R
Baxas de Diana
S Ambrose R
Praya das Pedras
C de Sierras
Gulf d la Roche
Angra de Ilhes
G d St Thomas
Angra Pequena
Gulf das Voltas
Gulf d Balenas
Co Mero d Pedra
P das Elefantes
Gulf of St Helena
Saldanha B
C of Good Hope or Cap de Bone Esp.
S Helena I
St Maria d Agosta
I I Martin Vaz
I das Picos
Tropick of Capricorn
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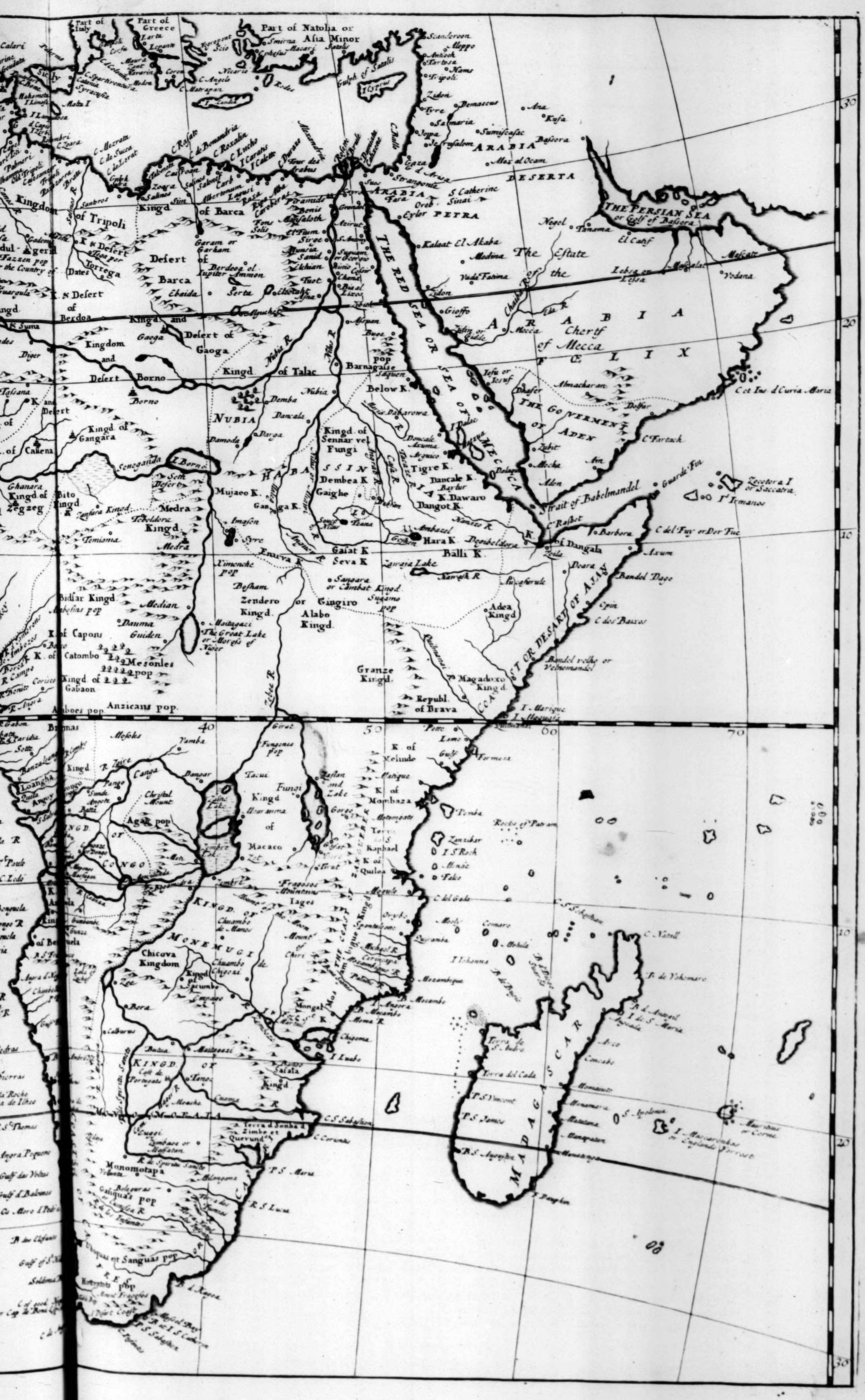

Part of Italy
Part of Greece
Part of Natolia or Asia Minor
Smirna
Scio
Rodes
Candia
Sicily
Malta I
Scanderoon
Aleppo
Antioch
Tripoli
Hams
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Samaria
Jerusalem
Joppa
Sumiscasac
Ana
Kufa
Basora
ARABIA
DESERTA
Alexandria
Rosetta
Damiata
Gulph of Satalia
Cyprus
C. Mezrata
C. Rasat
Kingdom of Tripoli
Kingd of Barca
Desert of Barca
Ebaida
Serta
Garam or Garham
Berdoa or Jupiter Ammon
Desert of Berdoa
Torrega
Fazzen pop
Gaoga
Kingd. and Desert of Gaoga
Kingdom and Desert Borno
Borno
Kingd. of Talac
Nubia R
Nilus R
NUBIA
Nubia
Demba
Dancala
Damoda
Darga
Kingd. of Gangara
Z. Borno
Seth Desert
Medra
Kingd. Medra
Mujaeo K.
Gaga K.
Teboldora
Zanfara Kingd.
Temiama
Zanfara
Sues
ARABIA Petra
Oreb
Sinai
S. Catherine
Tor
PETRA
Piramids
Cairo
THE RED SEA OR SEA OF MECCA
Kalaat El Akaba
Medina
The Estate of the
ARABIA FELIX
Cherif of Mecca
Mecca
Gioffo
Jidda or Gidda
Nogel
El Catif
Lahsa or Lahsa
THE PERSIAN SEA or Gulf of Basora
Mascalat
Mascate
Vodana
Sibuc
Suaquem
Barnagasse pop
Below K.
Kingd. of Sennar vel Fungi
Dembea K.
Gaighe
Tigre K.
Dancale K.
Dangot K.
Bagamedri
ABASSIN
Tsana
Hara K.
Balli K.
Gafat K.
Seva K.
Dobas
Dancali
Jesu or Jesuf
Dhafer
THE GOVERMENT OF ADEN
Almacharan
Dofar
Zebit
Mocha
Aden
C. Fartach
C. Rasalgate
C. et Ins d Curia Maria
Strait of Babelmandel
Zeila
C. Rasbet
Barbora
Guarde Fui
Zocotora I or Saccatra
I. Irmanos
C. del Fuy or Dor Fue
Dangala
Doara
Axum
Bandel Dago
Opin
C. dos Baixos
COAST OR DESART OF AJAN
Bandel velho or Velnomandel
Zawaja Lake
Sangara or Cambat Kingd.
Gingiro
Zendero Kingd.
Alabo Kingd.
Adea Kingd.
Granze Kingd.
Magadoxo Kingd.
Republ. of Brava
Ximenche pop
Besham
Maitagaci
The Great Lake or Morass of Niger
Median
Dauma
Guiden
Bidsar Kingd.
K. of Capons
K. of Catombo
Mesonles pop
Kingd of Gabaon
Anzicans pop
Zaire R
Kingd
Congo
Loangha
Angoy
Canga
Chrystal Mount
Agag pop
KINGD. OF CONGO
Zembre Lake
Zaire Lake
Bangar
Vamba
Fungenes pop
Tacui Kingd
Fungi
Ursuamma
of Macaco
Zaslan and Zoke
Gorge
Fragosos Mountains
Iages
KINGD OF MONEMUGI
Chuambe de Manes
Chicova Kingdom
Chuambo
Kingd Sprumbe
Monomotapa
KINGD OF Tauo
Sofala
Terra d Sonka Zimbe et Quevund
MONOMOTAPA
Zimbase or Marataen
C. Corientes
Bolongoma
Galiquas pop
Vbiquas et Sanguas pop
Hottentots pop
Angra Fragosa
Desert Coast
C. S. Sebastian
P. S. Maria
R. S. Lucia
B. d. Lagoa
R. d. I. S. Catherina
B. S. Cabastion
C. Falso
Aguada de S. Braz
Pate
Lamo
Gulf
Formosa
K. of Melinde
Quilique
K. of Mombaza
Pemba
Zanzibar
I. S. Roch
Monfie
Falco
Terra de S. Raphael
K. of Quiloa
Mongallo
C. del Gada
Angoxa
Mozambique
Mocambo
I. Iohanna
Mayotta
Comaro
Mohila
Rochs of Patram
Quiroma
I. Luabo
Chygoma
Rio de Spirito Santo
THE COAST OF ZANGUEBAR
Kingd. Mosambique
Botonga
C. S. Sebastian
C. Natall
P. de Vohemaro
B. d. Antongil
I. de S. Maria
Angada
Arco
Coucabo
Manaiunto
Monamara
Matatana
Manapater
Manatenga
MADAGASCAR
Terra de S. Andre
Terra del Cada
P. S. Vincent
P. S. James
B. S. Augustine
I. Dauphin
S. Apolonia
I. Mascarenhas or Englands Forrest
Mauritius or Cerne
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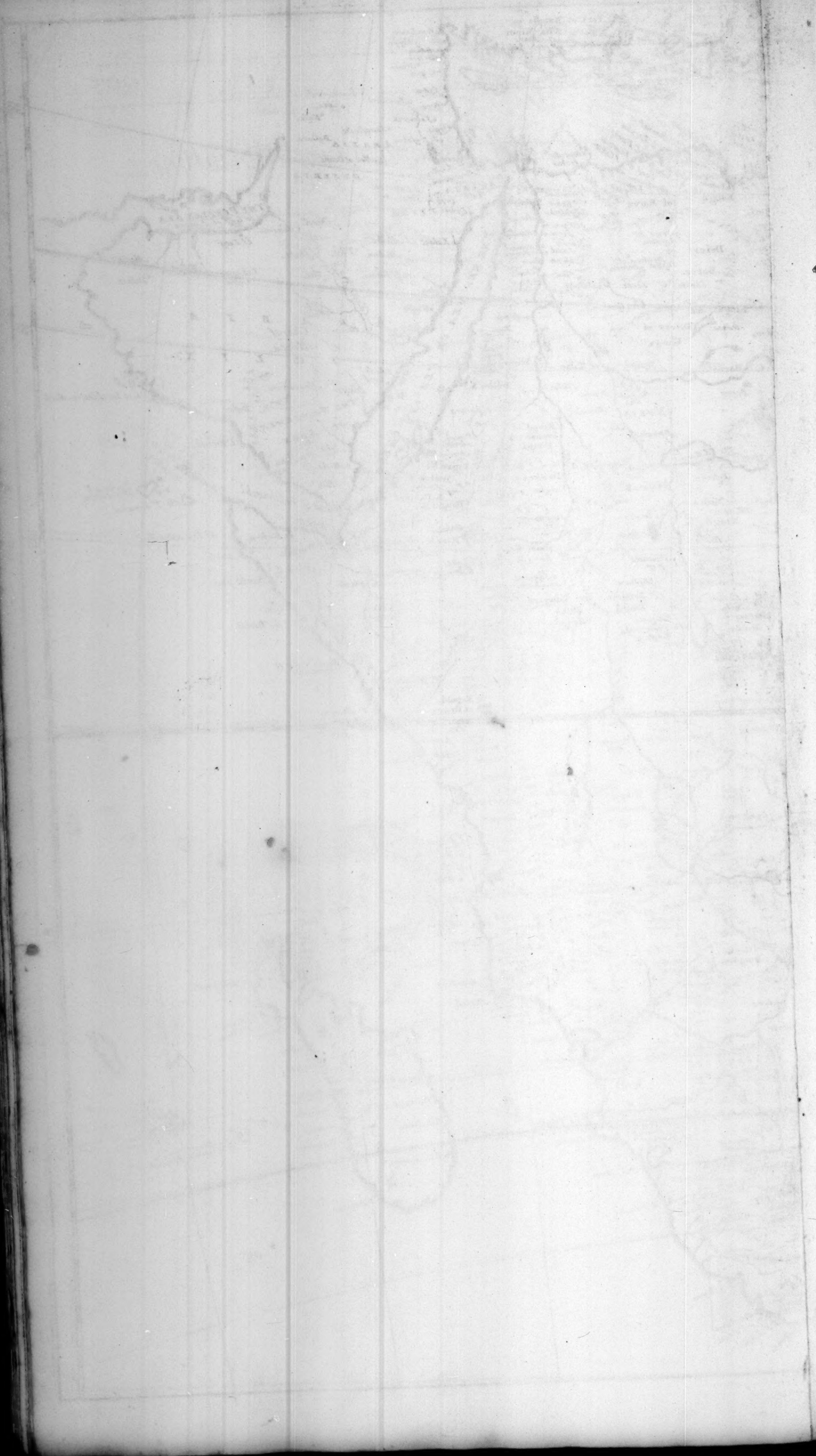

Navigantium atq; Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

BOOK III.

A
DESCRIPTION
OF
AFRICA, and all its Provinces.

Taken from JOHN LEO and MARMOL.

CHAP. I.

Containing a General Deſcription of the Limits, Soil, Product and Climate of the Country: Together with the Original, Tribes, Cuſtoms, Language, Religion, Conſtitution, Vertues and Vices of the reſpective Inhabitants.

John Leo's Account of the Name, Bounds and Diviſion of *Africa*.

AFRICA, is by the *Arabians* call'd *Iphrithia*, either from the Wood *Faraca*, i. e. *to divide*, with regard to its being divided from Europe by the *Mediterranean*, and from *Aſia* by the *Red Sea*, or elſe from *Ifricas*, a Prince of *Arabia Fœlix*, who being diſpoſſeſs'd of his own Country, by the King of *Aſſyria*, croſs'd the *Nile*, and ſettled with his Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*; for which Reaſon, the *Arabians* and Ancient Geographers took that part of *Africa* for the whole.

As to its ancient Bounds, 'twas reckon'd to have ſome Rivers ſpringing from a Lake in the Deſart of *Gaogo*, on the South, *Nilus* on the Eaſt, on the North, the Coaſt extended from *Non*, the out-moſt Sea Town of *Lydia*, to the Mouth of the *Nile*, and the Ocean to the Weſt.

Ancient *Africa* was commonly divided into four parts, namely, *Barbary*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, and *Negro-land*.

Barbary. *Barbary*, extends it ſelf from the out-moſt Point of the Mountains of *Atlas* (near *Meſſa*) to the Streight of *Gibralter*, and paſſing along the *Mediterranean* Sea, to Mount *Meies*, about 300 Miles from *Alexandria*, is bounded on the South with that ſide of the *Atlas*, which faces the *Mediterranean*. This Country is the beſt part of all *Africa*, its Inhabitants being brown and tauny, but withal a civil and well-govern'd People. 'Tis divided into four Kingdoms, namely, *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Telenſtin* or *Tremizen*, and *Tunis*. The firſt of theſe Kingdoms is divided into ſeven Provinces, namely, *Hea*, *Sus*, *Guzula*, the Territory of *Maroco*, *Ducoala*, *Aazcora*, and *Tedles*: The ſecond into other ſeven, namely, *Temeſne*, the Territory of *Fez*, *Azgara*, *Elabat*, *Errif*, *Garet*, and *Elcauz*: The third into three, *viz*. the *Mountains*, *Tenez*, and *Algezer*: And the fourth into four, namely, *Bugia* (which was a Kingdom of its ſelf, till its Principal City was taken by *Ferdinando*, King of *Caſtile*) *Conſtantina*, *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, and *Ezzaba*.

Numidia. The ſecond part of *Africa* is call'd by the Latins *Numidia*, and by the *Arabians Beledulgerid*, or *the Land of Dates*, as being the Country of *Africa*, that produceth moſt of that Fruit. Its Boundaries are, on the Eaſt the City of *Eloacat*, about 100 Miles diſtant from *Egypt*, on the Weſt the Town of *Non*, on the North the South ſide of *Atlas*, and on the South the ſandy Deſarts of *Libya*. This is the ſorrieſt Country in all *Africa*, and by reaſon of the Remoteneſs of its Inhabitants, is ſcarce dignified with the Name of a Kingdom; particularly *Teſſet*, one of its Cities, lies at almoſt 300 Miles diſtance from any Inhabitants, and does not contain in it ſelf 400 Families. However its three principal Regions are, *Segelmeſſe*, upon the Confines of *Mauritania*; *Zeb*, oppoſite to *Bugia*; and the Territory of *Biledulgerid*, extending to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. The firſt has but one City of the ſame Name; the ſecond includes theſe five, *Percara*, *Elberh*, *Neſta*, *Taolac* and *Deuſin*: and the third as many, namely, *Teozar*, *Capheſa*, *Nefreoa*, *Elchamid* and *Chalbis*.

Libya. The third part of *Africa* is call'd by the Latins *Libye*, and by the *Arabians Sarra*, i. e. a *Deſart*. Its Bounds are the *Ocean* on the Weſt, the *Nile* on the Eaſt, *Numidia* on the North, and *Negro-Land* on the South. 'Tis divided ito five parts, namely, *Zanega*, *Gauzige*, *Terga*, *Leuta* and *Berdeoa*, ſo called from the five Tribes of *Numidians* that inhabit it.

Negro Land. The fourth and laſt part of *Africa*, viz. *Negro-Land*, is bounded by *Gaoga* on the Eaſt, *Gualata* on the Weſt, and *Libya* on the North, but its Southern Boundaries are yet unknown. In this Country there's a famous River, call'd from it *Niger*, upon the Banks of which its moſt fertile Countries are ſeated. This River, which empties its ſelf into the Weſtern Sea, takes its Riſe Eaſtward, out of a Deſart call'd *Negros Sea*, or elſe out of a certain Lake, which ſome will have to ſpring from the *Nile*, after its confinement under the Earth for a conſiderable ſpace. This *Negro-Land* contains a great many Kingdoms, fifteen of which I viſited my ſelf, namely, *Gualata*, *Chinea*, *Melli*, *Tombuto*, *Gogo*, *Guber*, *Agadez*, *Cano*, *Caſena*, *Zegzeg*, *Zanfara*, *Guangara*, *Barno*, *Gaoga*, and *Nube*. Theſe Kingdoms had formerly their reſpective Kings, but now they are ſubject, the greateſt part of 'em, to the King of *Tombuto*, a leſſer part to the King of *Barno*, and the reſt to the King of *Gaoga*. They are parted from one another, either by the River *Niger*, upon which moſt of 'em lie, or elſe by ſome ſandy Deſart. They lie cloſe by one another, and are the common Road for the Merchants, who travel from *Gualata* to *Alcair* or *Cairo* in *Egypt*. Beſides theſe, this Country has other Kingdoms upon the South Frontiers, namely, *Bito*, *Temiam*, *Dauma*, *Medra* and *Gorhan*, which are inhabited by a rich induſtrious and juſt ſort of People.

Marmol's General Deſcription of *Africa*.
The Names.

This part of the World which is call'd *Africa*, takes its Name from one of its own Provinces, where *Carthage* once ſtood. Some *African* Authors ſay, the Name was deriv'd from *Melec Iſiriqui*, an *Arabian* Prince, who being outed of his own Country, ſettl'd in the Eaſt Parts of *Barbary*, as being a fertile Country, and fit for Paſturage.

Ancient *Africa*.

Ptolomy gave this whole Country the Name of *Libya*, and divided it into twelve parts, namely, *Mauritania* (divided into *Ceſarienſis* and *Tingitana*) *New Numidia*, the Province of *Africa*, *Cyrenaick*, *Libya*, *Marmarica*, *Lower Egypt*, *Thebais*, *Inner Libya*, and the two *Ethiopia's*. The moſt Southern Part of *Africa*, known to *Ptolomy* was *Mozambick*, which lies in 14 Degrees South Latitude; ſo that what we call *New Africa*, extending from that to the Cape of *Good Hope*, was unknown to *Ptolomy*, and the Knowledge of it was owing to the *Portugueſe* Diſcoveries. As for the *African* and *Arabian* Geographers, they were yet leſs acquainted with the true Extent of this Country; for they not only join *Egypt* to *Aſia*, calling it *Mezra*, but leave out all that Tract of Land that lies between the *Nile*, the *Red-Sea*, and the Ocean. In deſcribing the Boundaries of *Africa*, they begin with the Extremity of *Nubia*, and the firſt Arm of the *Nile* in *Æthiopia* near *Egypt*, following that River down to the *Mediterranean*-Sea, about 15 Leagues to the Eaſt-ward of *Alexandria*; and from thence coaſting on to the Streights of *Gibralter*, from whence they run along the Weſtern Ocean to the Cape of *Non*, that ſeparates the white *Africans* from the black: After that they coaſt on till they arrive at the Mouth of the River *Zayre*, and then trace that River up to a Lake in the Deſart of *Jaoga*, whence it riſes: From this Lake they return to *Nubia* and the *Nile*, where they firſt ſet out. 'Tis likewiſe obſervable, that theſe Geographers give quite different Names to the Provinces, Gulfs and Capes from thoſe recorded by *Ptolomy*. The Occaſion of the Alteration may be this, When the *Arabians* ſettl'd in *Africa*, they alter'd the Names of Places, in order to extinguiſh the very Memory of the firſt Inhabitants; and upon the Declenſion of their Empire, the *Africans* revolting againſt them and recovering their former Seats, did the ſame with reſpect to them. Beſides, ſeveral Provinces have been laid waſte, and ſeveral Cities deſtroy'd, that had a Being in *Ptolomy*'s time, not to mention, that ſeveral others have been built and planted ſince.

The *African* and *Arabian* Geographers differ from *Ptolomy*.

The Limits of modern *Africa*.

The true Bounds of *Africa* lies thus; From the Mountain of *Aytuacal*, call'd by the *Ptolomy*, the *Great Atlas*, you paſs to the City of *Meſſa* in the Province of *Sus*, then to Cape *d' Aguer* and Cape *Non*, and after that to the River *Senega*, which ſevers the Whites from the Negroes. Next comes *Geneoa*, and the Province of *Jaloſes*, which extending a great way along the Ocean, leads you to *Moſala*, inhabited by the *Barbacines* or *Berberes* (as the *Arabian* Authors call 'em) through which there runs a great River, that enters the Sea by two Mouths, and gives an Opportunity of ſailing far up into the Country. The next in order is *Gambu*, call'd by *Ptolomy* *Eſtacharu*, and water'd with another deep River that receives Veſſels above 300 Leagues up; then the Province of *Caſa-Manſe*, and that of *Papan*, water'd by a great River call'd the *Iſlettes*, from two little Iſlands, peopled with Negroes, that ſtand in its Mouth. After theſe we meet with the Province of *Biafar*, where *Riogrande* empties it ſelf into the Sea, being ſo call'd, for that it is the greateſt of all, and receives ſeveral Navigable Rivers. Having paſs'd *Biafar*, we came to *Cocolu*, inhabited by the *Maluces*, and to the River *Vagues* alias *Tabite*, which the *Portugueſe* Veſſels ſail ſeveral Leagues up. From thence we paſs to the Country of *Sape*, watered by two great Rivers, namely, *Caluz* and *Caceres*, where the Inhabitants of the *Canaries* come to traffick with the Negroes. Next are the Rivers *Marive* and *Siragliona*; and beyond that the *Gold Coaſt*, whence the *Portugueſe* import great quantities of Gold, having a Fort there to ſecure that Trade. From thence we advance to the Coaſt of *Malagette*, which extends it ſelf to the Kingdom of *Manicongo*, where the River *Zayre* ſwell'd with ſix great Rivers, falls into the Sea. From this Kingdom to the Cape of *Good Hope*, there are great Deſarts, and two Capes, namely, Cape *Negro*, and Cape *Peron*. Having paſs'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, we turn up to the Coaſt of *Zanguebar*, upon which we meet with Cape *Anguillas*, the River *Fumos*, the Province of *Alcgoa*, Cape *Corientes*, Cape St. *Sebaſtian*; and farther up *Sofala*, a long Province, ſurrounded with a great River, call'd *Zambere*, that divides it ſelf into two Arms, and incloſes it like an Iſland. This Province is follow'd by the Kingdom of *Angos*, and then by the Cape of *Mozambick*, call'd by *Ptolomy* the Promontory of *Praſe*, in *French* Cape *Verd*. In this place the *Portugueſe* have a Port for refreſhing the Ships that go to the *Eaſt-Indies*. Paſſing *Mozambick*, we coaſt on to the Province of *Quyloa*, and then to that of *Mambaze* and *Melind*, where the great River *Obii*, call'd by *Ptolomy* *Ratt*, falls into the Sea. Next in order are *Magadochzo*, *Adea*, *Adel*, and Cape *Guardafu*, the moſt Eaſtern point of *Africa*. Beyond theſe are the Province of *Debas*, and the Mouth of the Streight of the *Red Sea*, from whence the *Abiſſinian* Coaſt extends to *Sues*, the uppermoſt Port in that Gulf, and the Boundary of *Egypt* to that ſide. Then we croſs an Iſthmus about 16 Leagues long, reaching from the bottom of the *Arabian* Gulf to the *Mediterranean* Sea. This done, we deſcend by the *Nile* to the City of *Damiette*, where that River enters the Sea; then turning to the Weſt-ward, we paſs by *Alexandria*, the Coaſt of the Deſart of *Barza*, Cape *Meſurate*, *Tripolis* of *Barbary*, *Carthage* and the Coaſt of *Tunis*. A little farther are *Gigery*, *Tidelez*, *Algiers*, the Ruines of *Ceſarea*, *Sargiel* and *Quyva*, all Maritime Places of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*. Then we advance to the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and entring the Ocean from whence we ſet out, meet with the Cities of *Tangier*, *Arzile*, *Machamor*, and the other Ports of the Kingdom of *Fez*. Advancing thence to *Morocco*, we came in ſight of the Cities of *Adzamor*, *Mazagan*, *Safi*, *Teſtani*, and *Meſſa*, where this Deſcription commenc'd. And thus you have a Circumſtantial Account of the Circumference and Limits of *Africa*.

The Diviſon of *Africa*.

Being thus bounded, it is divided into ſix parts, viz. *Barbary*, *Biledulgerid*, *Sahara*, Lower-*Æthiopia*, *Egypt*, and High-*Æthiopia*.

Barbary.

Barbary is ſeparated from *Biledulgerid*, by a long Tract of Mountains, running from Eaſt to Weſt, call'd by *Ptolomy* the Great *Atlas*, and by the Natives *Ayduacal*. *Ptolomy* places it in 8 Degrees Longitude, and 26 ½ Degrees Latitude. The Little *Atlas* is another Ridge of Mountains, running from the Streight of *Gibralta* to the Neighbourhood of *Bone*. *Barbary* is ſo call'd, either from *Ber*, a Name given to that Country before it was peopled, whence the Inhabitants were afterwards call'd *Bereberes*, or from ſome of the Inhabitants, who call'd themſelves *Barbares*, and are ſtill poſſeſs'd of a City call'd *Barbara*, and a large Tract of Lands in *Genehoa* and *Zinque*; or, as ſome will have it, the Name muſt be deriv'd from the *Romans*, who chriſten'd it ſo by reaſon of the Barbarity of their Language. This Country contains four large Kingdoms, namely, *Morocco*, *Fez*, (both included in *Mauritania Tingitana*) *Tremeſen* or *Mauritania Ceſariana*, and *Tunis*, which contains the Country that was properly called *Africa*.

Biledulgerid.

Biledulgerid, the ſecond part of *Africa*, was call'd by the Ancients *Getulia* or *Numidia*, from *Nomades*, i. e. *Shepherds*; for the Inhabitants of that Country, are always wandring after their Flocks, and live in little Sheds made of the Branches of Trees, call'd by the Ancients *Maphalia*. The moſt Eaſtern Part of *Numidia* was by *Ptolomy* call'd *Libya Cirenaica*, or *Pentapolis*, becauſe it contains five large Cities.

Sahara.

Sahara, the third part of *Africa*, ſignifying *Deſarts*, is the moſt inconſiderable part of *Libya Interior*, which according to *Ptolomy*, included likewiſe *Numidia* and Lower *Æthiopia*.

Lower Æthiopia.

The fourth part of *Africa* is call'd Lower *Æthiopia*, or *Beled-Ala-Abid*, or the Land of Negroes. 'Tis larger than all the above-mention'd parts put together, and is not only well peopl'd, but water'd with very large Rivers that empty themſelves into the Sea. Its Bounds are, the Ocean on the Weſt, the Country of the *Abiſſines* on the South, on the Eaſt *Æthiopia* near *Egypt*, and on the North the Deſarts of *Sahara*.

Egypt.

Egypt, the fifth part of *Africa*, is by *Ptolomy* join'd to *Marmarica*, but the *African* Authors exclude it, or at leaſt its Eaſtern Part from *Africa*. 'Tis call'd by the *Arabians*

rabians Meſra, by the Jews Mezraim, and by the Natives Elzumet. Its Limits, according to the Africans, are, the Deſarts of Barca, Libya, and Marmarica, on the Weſt, thoſe of Aſia on the Eaſt, the Mediterranean Sea on the North, and Æthiopia near Egypt on the South.

Higher Æthiopia.

The laſt part of *Africa*, call'd Higher *Æthiopia*, comprehends the Kingdoms of the *Abiſſines*, and all the Provinces terminating upon the *Arabick* or *Red-Sea*, together with that Country which is call'd *Æthiopia* above *Egypt*, where the Kingdom of *Nubia* or *Neuba* lies. This Country extends it ſelf from the Mouth of the *Red-Sea* Southwards, to the Mountains of *Telme*, or the Golden Mountains under the Equinoctial Line. Its Northern Limits are the *Nile*, *Nubia*, and the lower and moſt Weſtern part of *Geneova*; to the Weſt it borders upon *Negro-land* or Lower *Æthiopia*. There are ſeveral Kingdoms in this Country, the Prince of which, tho' diverſify'd by their Sects, Language, Cuſtoms, and Colour, are all tributary to the Emperour of the *Abiſſines*, who poſſeſſes the greateſt part of it. It contains above 700 Leagues in length, and is very near as large as all *Spain* and ancient *Gaul*.

John Leo's Account of the Inhabitants of *Africa*.

In ancient Times *Negro-land* was the only inhabited Country of *Africa*, at leaſt *Barbary* and *Numidia* were for many Ages deſtitute of Inhabitants, till the Tawny People ſettled in that Country, who were call'd by the name of *Barbar*, an *Arabick* Word, probably deriv'd from *Barbara*, i. e. to *Murmur*, becauſe the *Arabians* look'd upon the *African* Language as an articulate ſound of Beaſts. Others will have *Barbar* to be only the Repetition of *Bar*, i. e. *Deſart*, ſuppoſing *Bar-Bar*, *To the Deſart*, *To the Deſart*, to have been the Word among *Ifricus*'s Followers, when they fled out of *Arabia Fœlix*.

Five Tribes of Tawny *Mores*.

Theſe Tawny *Mores* are divided into five Tribes, namely, the *Zanbagi*, inhabiting the Weſtern and Southern part of Mount *Atlas*; the *Muſmudi*, inhabiting the Provinces of *Hea*, *Sus*, *Guzula*, and the Territory of *Maroco*; the *Gumeri*, poſſeſſing the *Barbary* Mountains upon the *Mediterranean* Sea; and the River *Rif*, which takes its Riſe near the Streights of *Gibralter*, and runs Eaſtward to *Tremeſen*, or *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*; the *Haoari* and *Zeneti*, who are diſpers'd all over *Africa*. Theſe Tribes are diſtinguiſh'd from one another by certain Marks, and wage continual War among themſelves. In former Times they had their Habitations and Tents in the Fields, every one favouring thoſe of their own Tribe, and labouring for their mutual and common Benefits. The Governours of the Country attended their Droves and Flocks, and the Citizens followed Husbandry, or ſome manual Art. *Ibnu Raceo*, who writes of the Genealogies of the *Africans*, divides theſe People into 500 ſeveral Families. Tho' their Poſterity is run out into innumerable Branches, and at that great diſtance from one another, yet they retain one Language, call'd by them *Aquel Amarig*, i. e. *The Noble Tongue*, which is the true *African* Language, and branded by the *Barbarians* for a barbarous Tongue. The *Gumeri*, and moſt of the *Haoari*, underſtand the *Arabick*, by vertue of their long Acquaintance with the *Arabians*.

Several Languages among the Negroes.

As for the *Negroes*, they have ſeveral Languages, particularly the *Sungai*, which is current in *Gualata*, *Tombuto*, *Guinea*, *Melli*, and *Gago*, and another call'd *Gubir*, commonly ſpoken in *Guber*, *Cano*, *Caſena*, *Perzegreg*, and *Guangra*. *Borno* has a peculiar Language, reſembling that of *Gaoga*, as well as *Nube*, whoſe Speech bears great affinity to the *Caldean*, *Arabian*, and *Egyptian* Tongues. All the Sea Towns from the Mountains of *Atlas* to the *Mediterranean*, ſpeak *Arabick*, excepting *Maroco* and the *Inland Numidians*, who ſpeak the *Barbarian* Tongue. About *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, they ſpeak *Arabick*, but very corruptly.

How the *Arabians* came to invade *Africa*.

To underſtand how the *Arabians* came to ſettle in *Africa*, we muſt know, that in the 400th Year of the *Hegeira*, *Hutmen* the Mahometan Califa and Patriarch of *Arabia*, ſent an Army of 80000 Men to *Africa*, under the command of one *Hucba Hibnu Nafich*, who to avoid the People of *Tunis*, whom he dreaded, travell'd into the Deſarts, and built *Cairoan*, about 120 Miles from *Carthage*. 'Tis true, the *Mahometan* Prieſts forbad the *Arabians* to croſs the *Nile*, but this factious *Califa* permitted them to go becauſe one of his Noble-men had rebell'd againſt him, and uſurp'd a great part of *Barbary*. After that, the *Califa Elcain* ſent another Army of 80000 Men, under the command of one *Geboar*, whom of a Slave he had made a Counſellor. This *Geboar* conducting the Troops through the Deſarts of *Egypt* and *Barbary*, defeated the *Vice-Califa* of *Egypt*, and recover'd all *Numidia* and *Barbary*; and to cover the Garriſons he had left in *Barbary*, from the Incurſions of the *Califa* of *Bagdet* out of *Aſia*, built a City call'd *Alchair*, and afterwards *Cairo*, which he wall'd round, and which is ſaid to have increas'd ſo prodigiouſly, that it out-ſtrip'd all the Cities of the World for Buildings and number of Inhabitants. After that, while *Califa Elcain* was preparing for a War againſt the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, the Vice-Roy of *Barbary* betray'd all *Barbary* into the Hands of the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, who thereupon made him King of all *Africa*. *Elcain* being much diſcourag'd with his Loſs, was told by one of his Counſellors, that if he would ſuffer the *Arabians* to invade *Africa*, they would not only do him good Service, but likewiſe preſent him with a large Sum of Gold for their Licence, eſpecially conſidering, that they were then grown ſo populous, that *Arabia* was not able to maintain them. *Elcain* knew very well, that the *Arabians* would ſo waſte all *Africa*, as to render it equally unprofitable, either for himſelf or for his Enemies. However his Kingdoms being in great danger, he permitted all the *Arabians* who would pay him Ducats a piece to go and invade *Africa*. Upon which ten Tribes of *Arabia Deſerta* join'd by ſome of the Inhabitants of *Arabia Fœlix*, invaded *Africa*, amounting in all to about 50000 Men in Arms, beſides their Women and Children, and innumerable Droves of Cattle. Theſe *Arabians* having travers'd the Deſart between *Egypt* and *Barbary*, firſt laid ſiege to *Tripolis*, a City of *Barbary*, which being Maſter'd, they ſlew a great part of the Citizens, the reſt eſcaping by flight. Then they took the Town of *Capes* and after a Siege of ſix Months *Cairacan*, putting all to the Sword. By this means they came to poſſeſs all that Country, and continu'd their Poſſeſſion, till one *Joſeph* the Son of [illegible] mounted the Throne of *Morocco*. This *Joſeph*, the firſt King of *Morocco*, expell'd the *Arabians* out of *Cairaon*, and prefer'd the Friends of the late King of *Africa* to the Government. However the *Arabians* poſſeſs'd the adjacent Regions, and liv'd upon robbery and ſpoil. But *Manſor* the fourth King of *Morocco*, oppos'd the Friends of the late King of *Africa*, and in conjunction with the *Barbarians*, ſubdu'd 'em. This *Manſor* ſettled moſt of the *Arabians* in the Weſtern Dominions of *Africa*, allotting to the better ſort *Duccala* and *Azgara*, and to the reſt *Numidia*. But afterwards he planted the *Numidian* Slaves in that part of *Numidia* which he had allotted to the *Arabians*, and brought thoſe of *Azgara* under his Subjection. For the *Arabians* being then out of the Deſarts, were like Fiſhes out of the Water; and the *Barbarians* planted upon the Mountains of *Atlas* in the Plains prevented their Return to the Deſarts, which they often endeavour'd. Being thus humbl'd, and confin'd to Villages, Cottages, and Tents they apply'd themſelves to Huſbandry and pay'd a large Tribute to the King of *Morocco*. Indeed the *Arabians* of *Duccala*, being a great body, exempted themſelves from the Tribute. When *Manſor* firſt tranſplanted theſe *Arabians* to the Weſt, he left a Body of 'em at *Tunis*, who after his death, became Lords of *Tunis*, and continued ſuch, till they reſign'd their Government to the People call'd *Abu-Haf*, upon condition of receiving from them half the Revenue thereof, which Condition is ſtill obſerv'd. After that theſe *Arabians* multiplying in innumerable ſwarms, and not being able to live upon the ſtipulated Revenue, betook themſelves to Robberies, Murders, and other Ravages, inſomuch, that no Merchants could paſs that way, without endangering both his Goods and Life. Some of 'em indeed are in pay with the King of *Tunis*, for bringing the Merchants ſafe through, which they do effectually; but then they oftentimes conſtrain the Merchants to give them great ſums of Money over and above their Pay.

Cairo built.

The Progreſs of the *Arabians* in *Africa*.

The Tribes of the *Arabians* in *Africa*.

To be ſhort, the *Arabians* that inhabit *Africa* are drawn up in three Claſſes, viz. *Cachin*, *Hilel*, and *Machil*. *Cachin* is divided into three Tribes or Nations, viz. *Etheg*, *Sumait*, and *Sahid*; and *Etheg* is ſubdivided into the Families of *Delleg*, *Elucuntefig*, and *Subair*, which are diſpers'd into ſeveral places. *Hilel* is branch'd out into the People of *Benihemir*, *Reib*, *Suſien*, and *Chuſain*; under *Benihemir* are the Lineages of *Huroam*, *Hucben*, *Habram*, *Muſſein*; under *Reib* theſe, of *Devead*, *Suaid*, *Aſgeg*, *Elehywith*, *Euedri* and *Gaſam*. *Machil* has three Tribes, viz. *Maſtar*, *Hutmen*, and *Haſſau*; under *Maſter* are *Ruchen* and *Selim*; under *Hutmen*, *Elbaſi* and *Chinau*; under *Haſſau*, *Dewigheſſen*, *Dewigmanſor*, and *Dewibubaidulla*; and each of theſe have their reſpective Subdiviſions. All theſe Tribes are ſo widely diſpers'd, that it is not poſſible to trace their diſtinct Seats.

Cachin and its Subdiviſions.

To begin with that of *Cachin*; *Etheg* was the nobleſt and moſt illuſtrious Tribe of all the *Arabians*, being planted in *Duccale* and *Tedles*, by *Almanſor*. Tho' they are able to raiſe 100000 Men, many of which are Horſe, yet the Kings of *Portugal* and *Fez* have often maul'd them. The Tribe *Sumait* poſſeſſes that part of the *Libyan* Deſart, that's oppoſite to the Deſart of *Tripoli*. It raiſes 80000 Men, moſt Foot, and frequently invades *Barbary*. *Sabid* poſſeſſes the *Libyan* Deſart, is ſtrictly allied with the King of *Guargala*, raiſes 150000, moſt Foot, and ſupplies all the Cities of that Country with Fleſh, being mew'd up in their Deſarts in Winter. Moſt of the Tribe *Dellig* inhabits *Cæſarea*, ſome of 'em the Frontiers of *Bugia*, who have a Yearly Allowance from their next Neighbours, and a ſmaller number *Acdes* and part of Mount *Atlas* being ſubject to the King of *Fez*. *Elmunleſig*, call'd by latter Writers *Elcaluth*, inhabits *Azgar*, raiſes 8000 Horſe, and pays Tribute to the King of *Fez*. *Sobair* enjoyns a great part of *Numidia*, takes pay of the King of *Tremeſen*, is able to raiſe 3000 Warlike Horſes, and having many Camels lies all Winter in the Deſarts. Part of this Family poſſeſſes the Plain between *Sala* and *Mecnes*, being 4000 Warlike Horſe ſtrong, and applies it ſelf to Husbandry, paying a yearly Tribute to the King of *Fez*.

Hillel and its Branches.

As for the ſecond Principal Tribe call'd *Hilel*; *Benibemir* poſſeſſes the Frontiers of *Tremeſen* and *Oran*, has always in readineſs 6000 Horſe, takes pay of the King of *Tremeſen*, and ſcours the Deſart of *Tergoraziu*: *Harva* are Savages, Strangers to War, but devoted to Robbery. They have 2000 Horſe poſſeſſing the Borders of *Muſtuganim*, but never peep out of the Deſarts. *Hucban* lives in the Neighbourhood of *Melin*, and takes pay of the King of *Tunis*; they are an inhumane People, and their Strength lies in 1500 Horſe. *Habrum* are planted between *Oran* and *Muſtuganim*; they are Tributary to the King of *Tremeſen*, and can ſcarce make 100 Horſe. *Muſſim* poſſeſſes the Deſart of *Muſila*, and purſues Theft and Robbery. *Riech*, living in the Deſarts of *Libya* near *Conſtantina*, is a Warlike Nation, that poſſeſſes Ample Dominions in *Numidia*, has 5000 Horſe at command, and receives pay of the King of *Tunis*. *Suaed* poſſeſſes the Deſart adjoyning to *Tenez*, and receives pay of the King of *Tremeſen*, being a People of great dexterity, both in Wars and other Actions. Part of *Azgeg* inhabits *Garet*, and part of 'em poſſeſſes that part of *Duccala* that joins *Azaphi*. *Elcheret*, a barbarous inhuman Tribe, poſſeſſes *Heliu*, in the Plain of *Sabidim*, and commands Tribute from *Hea*. *Enedri* inhabits the Plains of *Hea*. *Garfa* having neither King nor Governour, are diſpers'd among the other Families, and are employ'd in carrying Dates from *Segelmus* to *Fez*, and bringing Commodities from Fez to *Segelmes*.

Machil and its Dependants.

To come to the laſt Tribe call'd *Machil*. *Ruchen* poſſeſſes a ſmall Deſart between *Dedes* and *Forcala*: 'Tis not rich, but boaſts of 8000 Warlike Footmen, that run more ſwiftly than any Horſe, let the Journey be never ſo long. *Selim* have a great Juriſdiction upon the River *Darha*, and great plenty of Camels: They are very rich, and trade every Year to *Tombuto*, and have always 3000 Horſe in readineſs. *Elbaſi*, lives upon the Sea-Coaſt near *Meſſa*, and does not raiſe above 500 Horſe, being altogether unacquainted with War or Dependance; the one part of them planted near *Azgara*, is ſubject to the King of *Fez*. *Chinau* are ſubject to the King of *Fez*, being a Warlike People, able to raiſe 2000 Horſe. *Dewibeſſen* has ſeveral Deſcendants, known by the Names of *Dulein*, *Berbun*, *Vode*, *Racmen*, and *Hamrum*. *Dulein* having neither Dominions nor Pay, are Poor Robbers, that range among the People call'd *Zanbaga* in the Deſarts of *Libya*, and carry Cattle to *Dara* to be exchang'd for Debts: They have 4000 Horſe and 6000 Foot, and are equally Strangers to Gallantry, and neatneſs of Apparel. *Berbun*, a numerous People, without any other Riches but Camels, inhabits the *Libyan* Deſart, in the Neighbourhood of *Sus*, and commands the City of *Teſſet*, which is ſcarce ſufficient for the few Horſe that they have. *Voden* poſſeſſes the Deſart between *Guaden* and *Gualata*, is able to raiſe 60000 good Souldiers, but very few Horſe, commands the *Guadenites*, and puts the Duke of *Gualata* under Tribute. *Racmen* inhabits the Deſart near *Hacha*, and being rich in Poſſeſſions, has above 12000 Men fit for Arms, but few Horſes. In the Spring they uſually travel to *Jeſſet*, where they have always buſineſs. *Hamrum* poſſeſſes the Deſarts of *Tagavoſt*: It raiſes above 8000 Men, moleſts the People of *Non*, and puts the Neighbours under Contribution. The Tribe of *Dewimanſor* has five Branches, namely, *Debeucrum*, in the Deſart oppoſite to *Segelmes*, where the Plenty of Dates alone is able to maintain them, who put *Segelmes*, *Todgatan*, *Terbelbelt* and *Dara* under Contribution, and bring into the Field 3000 gallant Horſemen; *Menebbe* in the ſame Deſart, a moſt valiant Nation, able to raiſe 2000 Horſe, that commands the two Provinces of *Metgara* and *Retebbe*, and receives Tribute of *Segelmes*. *Huſein*, poſſeſſing divers Caſtles and rich Cities, upon the Mountains of *Atlas*, which 'tis thought the Vice-Roys of *Marini* gave 'em in conſideration of their Service, a rich honeſt ſort of People, able to raiſe 6000 Horſe, and uſing many other *Arabians* for Servants; and *Albahuſein* in the Deſart of *Eddara*, living in great miſery in their Tents, where they have ſcarce ſufficient Suſtenance. The Tribe of *Dewibubaidulla* has the following Branches, viz. *Gharrag* in the Deſarts of *Benigomi* and *Tighig*, a People given to Theft and Robbery, Stipendaries to the King of *Tremeſen*, and able to raiſe 4000 Warlike Horſes; *Herdeg*, poſſeſſing the Deſart call'd *Haugad*, near *Tremeſen*, able to raiſe 500 Horſe, and minding only Rapine and Stealth, and having neither Juriſdiction nor Pay of any Prince; *Teleb*, conſiſting of 3000 Horſe inferiour to no other Nation, who inhabit the Plain of *Algezer*, and were Maſters of the famous Cities of *Algiers* and *Tedelles*, till in our Days *Barbaraſſa*, the *Turk* diſpoſſeſs'd them, and cut off their principal Heads; and laſtly *Geboan*, ſcatter'd among the People of *Glorrag* and *Hedig* in the quality of Servants.

Cachin and *Hilel* deſcended from *Iſmael*.

So much for the Branches of the three Principal Tribes of the *Arabians*, two of which, namely, *Cachin* and *Hilel*, being originally of *Arabia Deſerta*, derive their Pedegree from *Iſmael* the Son of *Abraham*, and the other call'd *Machil*, ſpringing from *Arabia Fœlix*, traces its Original to *Saba*. Tho' the *Mahometans* give the Preference to the *Iſmaelites*, yet ſeveral Epigrams and Dialogues have been writ both *pro* and *con* upon the comparative Nobility of their Extraction. The Ancient *Arabians* that were before the time of the *Iſmaelites*, were call'd by the Ancient Hiſtorians *Arabi-Arabia*, i. e. *Arabians of Arabia*; but the *Iſmaelites* were call'd *Arabi-Mus-Araba*, i. e. *Arabians ingrafted in Arabia*, as being bred and born elſewhere. Thoſe which came after them to *Africa*, were call'd *Muſteahgemi*, i. e. *Barbarous Arabians*, becauſe they joyn'd in with Strangers, and corrupted both their Speech and Manners.

Additions to *John Leo's* Deſcription of the Ancient Inhabitants of *Africa*, out of *Marmol*.

Of all the parts of *Africa* after the Deluge, *Egypt* was firſt inhabited by *Mexraim*, the Son of *Ham*, and Grandſon of *Noah*, and was call'd after his Name. Sometime after *Æthiopia* was peopled by *Chus* another of *Cham's* Sons, and *Libya* by *Futh*, a third Son, from whom it derived the Name of *Futeia*. *Sabatha* the Son of *Chus*, peopl'd the Deſarts between *Numidia* and *Negro-land*, as *Tut*, another of *Cham's* Grand-children did that of *Mauritania Tingitana*. The *African* Authors aſſure us, that *Barbary* and *Numidia* have been long inhabited, but they are not agreed upon the firſt Inhabitants. Some ſay, an *Aſiatick* People expell'd their own Country, and finding no Security in *Greece*, went and peopled *Barbary*. Others alledge, that the People of *Phœnicia* in *Paleſtine*, being expell'd their own Country by the *Aſſyrians*, and coldly receiv'd by the *Egyptins*, paſs'd on to the Deſarts of *Africa*, where they ſettl'd.

Barbarians a Colony of the *Sabeans*.

But the *African* Authors of the beſt note aſſur'd us, that the firſt Inhabitants of *Barbary* and *Numidia*, now call'd *Barbarians*, were five Colonies or Tribes of *Sabeans*, that came thither along with *Melec Iſirqui*, a Prince of *Arabia Fœlix* mention'd above, to which 600 Families of *Berebers*, and the greateſt Lines of all *Africa*, owe their Original. Theſe Tribes did firſt people the Eaſtern Parts of *Barbary*, from whence they diſpers'd themſelves over moſt of *Africa*, retaining the name of *Berebers* from *Barbary*, their firſt Habitation; whereas the former Inhabitants of *Tingitana*, *Numidia* and *Libya*, were call'd *Chilohes*. Tho' theſe five Tribes liv'd firſt of all in Tents of the Fields, yet when they came to War with one another, thoſe who were defeated and rob'd of their Flocks, fled from the Plains, where the Conquerours remain'd to the Mountains, where mixing with the Ancient *Africans*, *Chilobeans*, and *Getulians*, they built Houſes to ſcreen themſelves from the Weather.

Berebers, ſome live in the Fields ſome in Houſes.

This occaſion'd the Difference between the *Berebers* that live in the Fields and thoſe that dwell in Houſes, the former of which, have the Preference for Riches and Power, tho' both of 'em are equally zealous in keeping up their Ancient Cuſtoms, and celebrating the Honour of their Original. Three of theſe five Tribes, namely, the *Muſmudi*, *Zeneti*, and *Zanhaga*, have reign'd ſeveral times in *Barbary*, *Numidia*, and *Libya*, upon the Declenſion of the Empire of the *Arabians*; for before that they were only govern'd by Heads or Leaders for each Community, call'd *Cobeila's*, and were ſeveral times worſted by foreign Nations. The Kings of *Tunis* and *Tremeſen* are deſcended of theſe Tribes, and theſe Crowns continued in that Line till the *Turks* was poſſeſs'd of 'em. The other two Tribes, namely, *Gomeri* and *Haoari*, were Maſters of ſeveral Provinces, tho' they did not arrive at the Dignity of Crowns: So that it is manifeſt, that all the Kings that reign'd in *Africa*, from the Declenſion of the Empire of the *Arabians*, were deſcended of theſe five Tribes.

The People call'd *Azuagues*.

Beſides theſe, there was a noted People in *Africa* call'd *Azuagues*, who are now ſcatter'd up and down the Provinces of *Barbary* and *Numidia*, and moſt of 'em are Shepherds, tho' they have ſome Artizans among 'em, that make Linen and Cloth. They live upon Mountains and Hills, and neſtle in little Holes and Chinks; and notwithſtanding their extream Poverty, are commonly Tributary to the Kings or *Arabians*. The *African* Authors ſay they are *Phenitians* expell'd by *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun*, who being deny'd Admiſſion by the *Egyptians*, paſs'd on to *Libya*, where they built *Carthage* 1268 Years before *Chriſt*: And a long time after that, if we credit *Ibni-Abraqu yq*, a great Stone was found there with theſe Words engraven upon it in the *Punic* Language, *We fled hither from the Preſence of that Notorious Robber,* Joſhua *the Son of* Nun: Before the Arrival of this People, *Aſclepius* and *Hercules* had reign'd in *Africa*. But after the firſt Deſtruction of *Carthage*, before it was rebuilt by *Dido*, this People retir'd to the Weſt part of *Barbary*, under *Hannon* their Leader, and there built *Liby-Phœnician* Cities, in which they ſtill continu'd when the *Romans* invaded *Africa*. Some ſay that Country was call'd *Mauritanian* from them, becauſe they call'd themſelves *Mauri* or *Maurophori*. However 'tis certain the *Azagues* are a warlike induſtrious People, and very formerly very puiſſant.

Expell'd *Phœnicia* by *Joſhua*.

Their Language.

Their Language is that of the *Berbers*, tho' they likewiſe ſpeak *Arabick*, eſpecially thoſe of 'em that frequent the Neighbourhood of *Lorbut* upon the Frontiers of *Tunis*, where they have a perpetual Traffick. Their principal Reſidence is in the Provinces of *Tremeſen* and *Fez*.

Victories.

But the moſt puiſſant Branch is ſeated between the Kingdom of *Tunis* and *Biledulgarid*, from whence they have ſeveral times had the confidence to attack the Kings of *Tunis*, and not many Years ago defeated the Governour of *Conſtantina*, who mean'd to ſubdue them. By vertue of that Victory, their Leader became one of the moſt puiſſant Soverains in *Africa*. At preſent he is known by the Name of *Cuco*, and wages perpetual War with the *Turks*.

Religion.

Christians diſtinguiſh'd by the Mark of a Croſs.

This People boaſts of being originally Chriſtians, and diſtinguiſh themſelves from the *Mahometans*, by not ſhaving their Beards nor cutting their Hair as they do. By an ancient Cuſtom they make a blew Croſs upon their Cheek or Hand with an Iron, which they take to be a Mark of their Original. But the true Occaſion of that Cuſtom was this, When the *Romans* and *Goths* reign'd in *Barbary* and *Numidia*, they exempted the Chriſtians from all Tribute; And for as much as every body had a trick of calling himſelf a Chriſtian when the Commiſſaries came to collect the Taxes, to avoid all Miſtakes, thoſe who were really Chriſtians, were ordered to have a Croſs engraven upon their Cheek or Hand. Upon that Occaſion the *Azuagues* did ſo, and continued the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity till the Arrival of the *Arabians*. There are other *Africans* that likewiſe carry ſuch Marks, but by the proceſs of time, inſtead of Croſſes they make other Figures, with no other Deſign but to denote the Antiquity and Nobility of their Extraction. The *Arabian* Girls alſo have, by way of Ornament, upon their Breaſts, Hands, Arms, and Legs, ſeveral Figures of a blew colour made with a Lancet; but theſe Figures are different from thoſe of the *Azuagues*. As for the other Inhabitants of *Africa*, we muſt call to mind that *Zabatha* the Son of *Chus*, peopled the Deſarts of *Libya Interior*, and the Inhabitants were call'd after him *Sabatheans*, and are divided into five Tribes, viz. *Senega*, *Zuenzigar*, *Terga*, *Berdoa*, beſides a poor miſerable ſort of People, that inhabit the rough and barren places upon the Confines of *Negroland*.

The Nomades or Numide.

Theſe the *Grecians* call *Nomades*, and the *Latins Numide*. They live in Tents like the *Arabians*, and run up and down after their Camels. Thoſe of *Senega* live upon the Weſtern Coaſt, extending eaſtward to *Tegaza*, northward to *Sus*, *Hacha*, and *Dara*, and ſouthward to *Gualata* and *Tombut*. Theſe *Zuenzigues* or *Guanezeries*, extend from the Frontiers of *Tegaza* on the Weſt, to the Deſart of *Hair* on the Eaſt, on the North to the Provinces of *Segelmes*, *Tebelbeled* and *Benigoray*, and on the South to the Kingdom of *Guber*. Thoſe of *Terga* extend from *Hair* on the Weſt, to *Iguil* on the Eaſt, and from the Deſarts of *Agadez* on the South, to that of *Tuat* and the Province of *Tegorarin* and *Meſzab* on the North. Thoſe of *Lempta* extend from *Iguidi* on the Weſt to *Berdoa* on the Eaſt, and from *Cano* in *Negroland* on the South, to *Tecourt*, *Guerguelau*, and *Gademm* on the North. Thoſe of *Berdoa* run from thence Eaſtward, to the Frontiers of *Angela*, and are bounded on the North by the Deſarts of *Fez* and *Barca*, and *Bomo* on the South. Some *African* Hiſtorians ſay, the race of *Semega* did and does ſtill reign in *Meli*, *Tombut*, and *Agadez* in *Negroland*. Each of theſe Families has a reſpective *Cheque* or Prince; and, which is very remarkable, they never War or quarrel with one another about the Diviſion of their Lands.

The Manners and Cuſtoms of the *African* People, from *Leo*. Their Garments.

The five Tribes of the *Numide* are equally Strangers to Civility or Laws. They cover about half their Body with a piece of narrow courſe Cloth; ſome of 'em wrap a piece of black Cloth about their Heads, in the form of a Turkiſh Turbant, part of which, like a Mask, covers all the Face but the Eyes. The better ſort wear a Jacket of blue Cotton, with wide Sleeves, the Cotton being imported from *Negroland*.

Manner of Riding.

They have no Beaſts fit to ride upon but Camels, which Nature has furniſh'd with a ſort of Saddle between their Necks and the Bunch upon the hinder part of their Backs. Sometimes they lay their Legs acroſs upon the Camel's Neck; and ſometimes they make uſe of a Rope caſt over his Neck for Stirrops. Their Spurring conſiſt in pricking the Cammel's Shoulders with a Goad faſten'd to the end of a Truncheon of a Cubit's length. Their Bridles are a Ring of Leather faſten'd to a hole boar'd thro' the Griſtle of the Camel's Noſe, with which they curb 'em very eaſily, as ſome do the Buffloes in *Italy*.

Beds.

Their Beds are Mats made of Sedge and Bulruſhes.

Tents.

Their Tents are commonly cover'd with a coarſe ſort of Camblet, or with a rough ſort of Wool, which commonly grows upon the Boughs of their Date-Trees.

Way of eating.

Their only Food is Camel's Milk and dry'd Fleſh ſteep'd in Butter and Milk. For their Breakfaſt they drink up a great Cup of Camel's Milk; and for Supper they take a piece of the above-mention'd Fleſh in their Fiſh, and ſo eat it up, drinking afterwards out of the Palms of their Hands, the Broth in which 'twas ſteep'd, in order to promote Digeſtion, and after that a Cup of Milk. The better ſort, who cover their Heads and Faces with the black Cloth mention'd above, remove the Mask when they put the Meat into their Mouths, and immediately cover their Mouths again; for which Cuſtom they offer this Plea, that as Vomiting is undecent, ſo is eating with an uncover'd Mouth. While their Milk laſts, *i. e.* for the Spring of the Year, they never mind Water, nay, ſome of 'em waſh neither Hands nor Face; and in like manner their Cammels never drink any Water ſo long as they can feed upon Graſs.

Buſineſs.

Their whole Imployment is Hunting or Theiving; but they cannot tarry above three Days in one place, for want of Paſture for their Camels.

Government.

Notwithſtanding their unacquaintedneſs with Civility or Laws, they tender Homage and Obedience to a Prince that governs 'em.

Learning.

But they're altogether ignorant of Learning, and deſtitute of Vertue; nay, ſuch is their contempt of liberal Sciences, that they can neither condeſcend to purchaſe 'em at the Expence of quitting their Deſarts, nor brook the Converſation of Learned Men. A Man of Senſe and Prudence is a *Phœnix* among them.

Judges.

If any one means to commence a Law Suit againſt his Neighbour, he muſt ride five or ſix Days before he can meet with a Judge; Tho' after all, if any Judge would condeſcend to live amongſt 'em, they'd make him a good Allowance, perhaps 1000 Ducats a Year, ſome more, ſome leſs.

Women.

Their Women are groſs, corpulent, and ſwarthy, ſmall waſted, and fat about their Breaſts; they are modeſt in their Speech and Geſtures. Whoever offers 'em more than a bare Kiſs, endangers his Life; for the Men can by no means brook a whoriſh Wife; nay, ſuch is their nice Jealouſy, that it frequently prompts 'em to murder one another in a very ſavage manner.

Liberality and Hoſpitality.

This People are noted for their generous Liberality. When any Travellers paſs the Deſarts, they neither repair to their Tents, nor travel upon the High-way. If any *Caravan* or Company of Merchants paſſes thoſe Deſarts, they muſt pay to the Prince a piece of Cloth worth a Ducat for every Camel's Load. I remember I once travel'd with ſome Merchants thro' the Deſart *Araon*, and there met with the Prince of *Zanaga*, who after the Receipt of his Cuſtom, carry'd the Merchants to the place of his Reſidence, and there entertain'd 'em very handſomely. We ſtay'd with him two Days, and convers'd with him and his Courtiers frequently, by the Intervention of an Interpreter. He entertain'd us with great plenty of roaſted and boyl'd Fleſh, particularly roaſted Oſtriches (which he had hunted and taken by the way) ſerv'd up in Wicker Servers, and ſeaſon'd with ſeveral Herbs and Spices; beſides the Fleſh of Camels, of which he kill'd ſeveral every day, notwithſtanding our Remonſtrances to the contrary, alledging, That ſmall Cattle was too mean Entertainment for ſuch unfrequent Gueſts as we. He regal'd us likewiſe with Bread made of Milk and Panicke, the Taſte of which was very pleaſant and ſavoury. For the King had laid up great ſtore of Corn for the Entertainment of Strangers, tho' his own Country bears none; and for that Reaſon neither he nor his People eat of it, unleſs it be when they ſacriſice at the Feaſt of the Paſſover, and other Feaſts. He did not eat with us himſelf, but order'd ſeveral Religious and Learned Men to make us welcome, who fed only on the Fleſh and Milk without Bread; our conſtant Deſert was plenty of Milk and Dates. On the third day we took leave, and he accompany'd us to the place where we overtook our Camels and the reſt of our Company that we had order'd to go on while we went to the King's Reſidence. What we have ſaid of the Cuſtoms of this Nation, may be apply'd to the other four Tribes of the *Numida*.

The Cuſtoms of the *Arabians* in *Africa*.

As for the *Arabians*, their Cuſtoms vary according to their reſpective Seats. Thoſe who are ſeated between *Numidia* and *Libya* are very valiant, but live in great Want and Miſery. They commonly exchange Camels in *Negro-land*, and have great plenty of Horſes, call'd by the *Europeans Barbary-horſes*. They take great delight in hunting Deer, Wild Aſſes, Oſtriches, and the like. The *Arabians* which inhabit *Numidia*, have a peculiar Talent of ſetting forth their Love Intreagues, Hunting Adventures, Combats, and other memorable Actions in Rhime. They are naturally generous, but dare not make any ſhew of Wealth by their Liberality, for fear of the daily Inconveniences that oppreſs 'em. They diſlodge the Native *Numidians* of the Deſarts they now poſſeſs, *i. e.* thoſe which border upon the Land of *Dates* or *Biledulgerid*, and about that time the *Getuls* and *Numidians* fled to the Frontiers of *Negro-land*.

The *Arabians* between Mount *Atlas* and the *Mediterrnean*.

The *Arabians* between Mount *Atlas* and the *Mediterranean*, are much wealthier than thoſe. Their Horſe-meat is better, as well as their Cloaths and Tents. Their Horſes are better ſhap'd and more corpulent, tho' not ſo ſwift. Their Husbandry is rewarded with great increaſe of Corn. Their Flocks of Cattle are almoſt innumerable, ſo that they can't live juſt by one another for want of Paſture. But after all, they are far from being generous and liberal, and are more barbarous than thoſe which inhabit the *Numidian* Deſarts. Part of theſe, dwelling in the Territory of *Fez*, are ſubject to the King of *Fez*. The reſt in *Morocco* and *Duccala*, continued a long time free from Exaction and Tribute, till being attack'd by the King of *Portugal* on one hand, and the King of *Fez* on the other, they were reduc'd to the extremity of Famine, and thereupon offer'd to ſubmit to any one that would ſupply their Neceſſities. Thus they became Slaves to *Portugal*, and were almoſt totally extirpated out of *Duccela*.

The *Arabians* upon the Borders of *Tremiſen* and *Tunis*.

Thoſe who inhabit the Deſarts bordering upon the Kingdoms of *Tremizen* and *Tunn*, may be call'd Noblemen and Gentlemen, upon the compariſon with the reſt. The King of *Tunis* pays great Revenues every Year to their Governours, who deſtribute the ſame among the People, and that renders their Peace and Mutual Concord firm and inviolable. They have a notable Dexterity in making Tents, and in breeding and keeping Horſes. They continue in the Deſarts all Winter; in the Spring they hunt with wonderful ſucceſs; and in the Summer they approach to *Tunis*, in order to have their Pay, and to provide themſelves with Bread, Armour, and other Neceſſaries. I have ſeen in their Tents, tho' not without danger, greater quantities of Cloath, Braſs, Iron, and Copper, than the richeſt Ware-houſes of ſome Cities can match. They have ſome ſhew of Civility, but upon occaſion will ſteal very dexterouſly. Their Language is pure and elegant. They take great delight in Poetry, and indeed their Verſes are very fine; and the Governour treats their beſt Poets with a diſtinguiſhing Reſpect and bounty.

The Habit of their Women.

Their Women are very gorgiouſly attir'd, according to the Cuſtom of that Country. They wear Linen Gowns died black, with exceeding wide Sleeves; over which they ſometimes caſt a Mantle of the ſame Colour, or of blue, the Corners of it being very artificially faſten'd about their Shoulders with a fine Silver Claſp. They have Ear-rings, for the moſt part of Silver, beſides many Rings upon their Fingers, and ſome Scarfs or Rings about their Arms and Ankles. Their Faces are cover'd with Masks, which they pull off only to their Relations. They accompany their Husbands to the Wars, in order to chear up and hearten 'em, and to avoid the Trouble and Affliction of their Abſence, and ride upon Camels, having Wicker Saddles ſo contriv'd, as to be fit only for one Woman to ſit upon. The Maids paint their Faces, Breaſt, Arms, Fingers and Legs, for Ornament's ſake; but the married Women abſtain from counterfeit Colours. Sometimes indeed they make uſe of Hen's Dung and Saffron, to paint a round ſpot about the breadth of a French-Crown, in the Balls of their Cheek, a triangle upon their Eye-brows, and the reſemblance of an Olive leaf upon their Chins. But upon the Uſe of theſe Ornaments, which are highly eſteem'd by the *Arabian* Poets, and reckon'd Incentives to Venery, they are ſeen by none but their Husbands and Children.

The *Arabians* between *Barbary* and *Egypt*.

The *Arabians* inhabiting the barren Deſarts between *Barbary* and *Egypt* live in great Miſery and Want. They are not without Camels and other Cattel, which they exchange for Dates and Corn, but they have very little Fodder. The Soil produces no Corn; and all the Labour and Induſtry of the Inhabitants of ſome few Villages is only rewarded with a plentiful Harveſt of Dates; beſides, they are a numerous multitude. When they come to *Sicily* to buy Corn, their Money falls ſhort, they leave their Sons in pawn in great numbers, many of which turn Chriſtians; and if the Money be not paid on a certain Day, the *Sicilians* claim their Sons for Slaves, and put a Ranſome upon 'em, amounting to the triple or quatriple of the Debt. For which Reaſon they take all the Strangers they meet, and after having ſtrip'd 'em of all they have, ſell 'em to the *Sicilians* for Corn; nay, ſometimes they pour warm Milk down their Throats, and hang 'em up by the Heels to make 'em vomit up their Gold, in caſe they have ſwallow'd any to prevent their coming at it; and upon that account the Merchants which Traffick to *Africa*, keep above 500 Miles off of their Country, eſpecially towards the Sea-Coaſt. In fine, they are a rude, Forlorn, beggarly and ſlav'd Crew.

Shepherds inhabit the Mountain *Atlas*.

There are many *Africans* who are diſpers'd about the Mountain *Atlas*, living altogether the Life of Shepherds or Drovers, which pay Tribute either to the King of the Country where they dwell, or elſe to the *Arabians*; excepting only thoſe which inhabit *Temeſna*, who are very powerful and independant. Moſt of 'em ſpeak the ſame Language with the other *Africans*, only thoſe who lie near *Urbs* (a City in the Neighbourhood of *Tunn*) ſpeak the *Arabian*.

A puiſſant People between *Numidia* and *Tunn*.

Farther, the Region which divides *Numidia* from *Tunn*, is inhabited by a ſort of People who oftentimes wage War with the King of *Tunis*, and in the 915 Year of *Mahomet's Hegeira*, routed the King of *Tunn*'s Army, and ſlew his Son who commanded 'em. From that time their Fame ſpread it ſelf into all places, and many of the King of *Tunn*'s Subjects revolted from him to them, inſomuch that the preſent puiſſance of the King of this People, is ſcarce to be parallel'd in all *Africa*.

The Religion and Letters of the ancient *Africans*.

The Ancient *Africans* had magnificent Temples, dedicated to the Honour of the *Sun* and *Fire*, which they worſhip'd, and kept a perpetual Fire in 'em. Thoſe of *Libya* and *Numidia* worſhip'd ſome certain Planet, with Sacrifices and Prayers. But thoſe of *Negro-land* worſhip'd *Guibimo*, i. e. *The Lord of Heaven*, and that by a natural Inſtinct without the Influence of any Teacher. After that, the Jewiſh Law prevail'd among 'em for ſome Years, till they imbrac'd Chriſtianity; which at laſt they exchang'd for Mahometaniſm, in the 208th Year of the *Hegeira*, being at that time inveigled by *Mahomet*'s Diſciples, inſomuch that they put to death all the Jews, Chriſtians, and Profeſſours of the *African* Religion that were then found among 'em. But in proceſs of time, their Civil Diſſentions mov'd 'em to neglect *Mahomet*'s Law, and revolt from the *Califa* of *Badget*; for which they were ſeverely puniſh'd by the *Mahometan Califa's*. However the *Africans* that dwell near the Ocean, are, all of 'em very groſs Idolaters. The *Arabian* Hiſtorians agree, that the *Africans* us'd only *Roman* Letters, but others alledge that they had peculiar Letters of their own, which were loſt when the *Italians* firſt fell upon *Africa*: For, that when the *Africans* revolted from the *Califa* of

Badget, the *Mahometan Califa's* cauſ'd all the *African* Books to be burnt, upon the apprehenſion that the knowledge of Arts and Sciences prompted 'em to contemn *Mahomet*'s Law. And the ſame Fate befel the *Perſian* Books and Letters, their knowledge in Natural Philoſophy and Idolatrous Religion being reckon'd by the *Mahometan* Prelates, an Incentive to the contempt of the Precepts of *Mahomet*.

'Tis true, all the Cities of *Barbary* uſe only Latin Letters, whether in Verſe or Proſe; but that does not argue that the *Africans* in times paſt might not have peculiar Characters, by which they deſcrib'd their Exploits, eſpecially if we conſider with *Ibim Rachich*, that as 'tis certain they had a peculiar kind of Speech, ſo 'tis not to be imagin'd that they borrow'd Characters unſuitable to their Mother Tongue. Probably the *Romans*, when they ſubdued *Barbary*, aboliſh'd the uſe and memory of the ancient *African* Characters, in order to raiſe the Fame and Reputation of the *Roman* People, by introducing *Roman* Letters.

Additions to the foregoing Head, out of *Marmol.*

The *Arabians* of *Numidia* and *Libya* are of a frank hoſpitable Humour, and value their Reputation; but they are miſerably poor, as well as the Natives of that Country. They are not only Lovers of Poeſie, but likewiſe of natural Philoſophy and Eloquence. The Poems they make, are ſet to their Tabors, Lutes and Violins, and ſung along with them; nay, many of 'em ſing, play and compoſe all at once. The *Arabians* that live in *Barbary*, between Mount *Atlas* and the *Mediterranean*, are a People of leſs courage, and more barbarous, than thoſe of the Deſarts; tho' at the ſame time they entertain and regale Strangers without any Reward. The *Arabians* in *Morocco* being divided among themſelves when the King of *Portugal* took the Towns of *Safi* and *Azamor*, moſt of 'em were forced to offer themſelves as Slaves to the *Portugueſe*, and ſell their Wives and Children for Bread. A ſmall handful of 'em retir'd further into the Country, under the conduct of *Cherif*, who at laſt made himſelf Maſter of a Province, and at preſent all the Inhabitants of that and the neighbouring Provinces are his Vaſſals. The *Arabians* who inhabit the Deſarts upon the Frontiers of *Tremizen* and *Tunis* came to *Tunis* in the Summer, to have their Pay from the King of *Tunis*, but continue with their Flocks in the Deſarts all Winter, becauſe they afford Graſs in that Seaſon. In the Spring they are much taken up with Hunting and Hawking, being furniſh'd with excellent Dogs and Falcons. Their Women accompany 'em to the Field when they are engag'd in a War.

The Cuſtoms of the *Arabian* Women in *Africa*.

The Girls adorn ſeveral places of their Body with blue ſpots made with Vitriol and the point of a Launcet, and the *African* Girls follow their Example in that point. But the married Women do not diſguiſe their natural colour; only they black their Eyebrows, and make ſome black ſpots upon their Cheeks, Forehead and Chin, with the Soot of Gall-nuts and Saffron.

The Arms of the *Arabians*

All the *Arabians* that live towards the Weſt, where the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco* lie, do commonly carry Spears about twenty five hands long, which are made of Beech, for they have none of Aſh but what are brought from *Europe*, and are ſo much valued, that they are ſold for twenty Crowns. They likewiſe make uſe of Bucklers made of a ſort of Buff, of which they have a great deal. Their Kings are very curious in making Magazines of Arms, in which there are a great many Coats of Armour and Headpieces. Moſt of their Swords are imported from *Chriſtendom*, and are very dear; for thoſe they make in the Country are neither of good Steel, nor well temper'd for want of Water fit for that purpoſe. There are ſome Horſemen among 'em that carry

Their way of fighting.

Croſsbows, and manage 'em very dexterouſly. They uſe no Muſquets or Piſtols, neither do they love 'em. When they go upon a Skirmiſh, they take the Saddles or Coverings off their Horſes, that they may ſit with more freedom, and be leſs incommoded by the Wind when they wheel. They affect rich Harneſs and Trappings mightily, and thoſe who have 'em never ride without 'em. Some Horſemen carry ſix or ſeven Javelins, which they throw ſo dexterouſly, that they'll hit a ſmall Mark at forty paces diſtance; and their Horſes turn and wheel with an unimaginable celerity.

The *Arabians* who live towards the Eaſt, from the Kingdom of *Tremeren* to the Deſarts of *Barca*, carry Pikes about forty or fifty hands long, which are ſteel'd at both ends for puſhing both backwards and forwards, and the moſt dangerous Wounds they give is upon a Retreat; for when an Enemy purſues 'em cloſe, they lay the Pike upon the left Arm, and dart it back upon him when he leaſt thinks of it: this they do with ſo much agility, that one of 'em would be hard enough for twelve Horſemen upon a Plain. The better ſort of theſe Pikes are made of a black, hardy and weighty Root, which they bring from the Deſarts of *Libya*, and which the heavier it is, is reckon'd the better for that uſe. Thoſe who uſe theſe Pikes carry no Bucklers, but ſometimes the Javelins I mention'd above. Headpieces and Coats of Armour are only us'd by the Spearmen, becauſe they would hinder the Pikemen to turning ſo nimbly as they commonly do. Some of 'em carry Croſsbows; for they uſe no Fire-arms, eſpecially upon Horſeback.

Thoſe of *Tremeren* and *Fez* go beyond all the reſt in the Goodneſs and Ornaments of their Horſes; and thoſe who live further to the Weſt, are more nimble, and have ſomewhat in 'em that's nobler and greater.

They commonly fight on Horſeback; but ſome of their *Cheques*, eſpecially thoſe of *Tremeren*, have of late years made ſome Muſquetiers, who ſerve only to frighten the *Arabians*, that are wonderfully afraid of Fire, for they cannot make uſe of Guns without running into diſorder: And indeed they have a peculiar way of fighting upon all occaſions, for they never fight in a Body, but as ſoon as they are attack'd, they diſperſe and charge the Enemy upon ſeveral Quarters. In a word, they are ſo handy and expert in the management of their Arms, that they fall preſently in with the Enemy upon all hands, and retire or advance with incredible celerity.

When they engage with the *Chriſtians*, they aim chiefly at their Horſes, as knowing that themſelves, being in Armour, are not ſo eaſily wounded.

Their Superſtition.

As for the ancient Cuſtom and Superſtition of the Inhabitants of *Africa*, the ancient *Africans* in *Barbary* continued in the idolatrous adoration of the Sun and Fire, till the Year 349, (the 387th of *Cæſar*'s Calendar) at which time they were converted to Chriſtianity. This People, after long Wars and many Battels with the *Arabians*, were at laſt vanquiſh'd by 'em. The Negroes of lower *Æthiopia* worſhip'd ſome the Sun, others the Moon, others the Stars, others again Water or Fire, and ſome the firſt living thing they met upon their going abroad. Thoſe of *Æthiopia* the higher worſhip'd the God of Heaven, under the name of *Guiguime*, till they embrac'd the *Jewiſh* Religion, which hapned when the Queen of *Sheba* or *Maguede* was inſtructed by *Solomon* in the Law of *Moſes* and the Prophets. Some of the Inhabitants of lower *Æthiopia* did likewiſe receive the *Jewiſh* Religion, and continued in it till the Queen of *Candace*'s Eunuch, baptiz'd by St. *Philip*, taught 'em the Chriſtian Faith. After that, in the Year 1067, (the 469th of the *Hegeira*) *Tabaya*, the Son of *Abubequer*, invading lower *Æthiopia*, gave an opportunity to the Mahometan Doctors to impart their Religion, particularly to the Inhabitants of *Libya* and *Geneova*, bordering upon *Egypt* and the Deſarts of *Libya*, among whom there are ſeveral *Alfaqui's* and *Alcaroniſts* to this day. Thoſe of the lower *Æthiopia*, that live towards the Sea-ſide, are moſt brutiſh Idolaters, and deſerve the title of Monſters rather than that of Men; tho' ſome few of 'em have been converted to Chriſtianity ſince the *Portugueſe* extended their Navigation to that Coaſt. The *Egyptians* were firſt Idolaters, then Chriſtians and Monothelites, after which the greateſt part of 'em took up with *Mahomet*'s Law.

Their Letters.

As for the Letters in uſe amongſt the ancient *Africans*, tho' all the ancient Writings to be found in *Africa*, before the arrival of the *Arabians*, are in Latin or Gothick Characters, as the modern are in Arabick, yet that does not argue that the ancient *Africans* had no peculiar Letters; for it cannot be thought ſtrange, that they ſhould loſe their Letters, after paſſing ſo many Ages under the Yoke of divers Nations, who were of different Religions.

Leo's account of the Soil and Climate of *Africa*.

After the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Africans*, we come to their Climate and Soil, and the natural Conveniencies or Inconveniencies of their Country.

The Mountains of *Barbary*.

Barbary and its Mountains are more ſubject to cold than heat, for Snow accompanies almoſt every gale of Wind. Theſe Mountains have plenty of lofty Trees, Fruits and Beaſts, but little Corn, ſo that the Inhabitants live moſtly upon Barley Bread; and the Springs or Rivulets deſcending from them are muddy, and repreſent the quality and taſte of the Ground they glide from. The little Hills and Valleys lying between theſe Mountains and Mount *Atlas* abound with Corn, being water'd with Rivers, which run from the *Atlas* to the Mediterranean Sea; they are not ſo plentifully repleniſh'd with Woods, but are more fruitful than the plain Countries between the *Atlas* and the Ocean.

Of *Atlas*.

The Mountains of *Atlas* are very cold and barren; they are cover'd on all hands with Wood, and afford but little Corn; they give riſe to almoſt all the Rivers in

Africa, and their Springs are cold even in Summer, inſomuch that they'll ſtupifie ones Hand, if it be held there for any time. Some parts of theſe Mountains are leſs cold than others, and well inhabited; but the inhabited places are either cold to an extremity, or very rugged: Such are thoſe oppoſite to *Temeſca*, upon which the Winter North-wind is ſo furious, and the Snow ſo copious, as to deſtroy all the People and Cattle; for which reaſon the Merchants carefully avoid that Road in the Winter time, for one Nights Snow will drown not only Men and Carts, but even the very Trees.

Snowy places dangerous.

I remember (ſays *John Leo*) that as I travel'd towards the *Atlas*, in the company of ſeveral Merchants, a cold and ſnowy Hail fell upon us in *October*, about Sun-ſetting, upon which meeting with eleven or twelve Horſemen, whom we took to be *Arabians*, upon their perſwaſion we left our Carts, and follow'd them, in hopes of being conducted to a ſecure place. We rode on quietly till midnight, at which time one of the *Arabians* ſtripp'd me naked, in queſt of my Money; but finding none about me, (for I had buried it in a certain place by the way) they ſaid in a jocoſe way, That *they had ſtripp'd me only to try how hardy I was in enduring Cold.* After that, we continued our wandring Journey, and in a ſhort time heard the bleating of Sheep, upon which we directed our courſe to the place from whence the ſound came; and leading our Horſes thro' thick Woods, and over ſteep and craggy Rocks, to the great hazard of our Lives, came at laſt to a Cave where ſome Shepherds had with much labour ſhelter'd themſelves and their Cattel, and had kindled ſwinging Fires to guard off the extream Cold.

Upon our firſt arrival the Shepherds were afraid the *Arabians* meant 'em harm; but afterwards being convinc'd that the extremity of Cold forc'd us thither, they entertain'd us very kindly, with Bread, Fleſh and Cheeſe, and after Supper we all went to ſleep before the Fire. Our Horſes they lodg'd in another Cave, and gave 'em good ſtore of Hay. After two days the Snow ceas'd, and the Shepherds clear'd the Door of the Cave, which the Snow had block'd up, this done, we mounted our Horſes, and were directed by the Shepherds how to avoid the Snowy depths; however, the clear Sunſhine of that day diſpel'd the Snow and Cold of the preceding days. At length we came to a Village near *Fez*, where we receiv'd Advice, that our Carts were left drown'd in the Snow: Upon this, the *Arabians* who had defended our Carts from Thieves, and conducted our ſelves, took my Horſe from me, and carried off a *Jew* of our company as their Priſoner, till they ſhould be rewarded for the pains they had taken.

The Soil of *Numidia.*

To return, the Country beyond the *Atlas* is hot and dry; it affords plenty of Dates, but no Corn; what Rivers it has ſpring from the *Atlas*, ſome of which are dried up by the Sands, and others gather into Lakes.

People kill'd by Thirſt in the Deſarts.

In that part of *Numidia* which borders upon *Libya* we met with barren naked Hills, the lower parts of which afford only unprofitable Thorns and Shrubs; theſe Hills have neither Springs nor Rivers, nor indeed any Water, unleſs it be in ſome few Pits and Wells, which the very Inhabitants ſcarce know of, for moſt of their Water is brought to them by Merchants, upon Camels Backs, eſpecially in thoſe parts which lie upon the Road from *Fez* to *Tombuto*, or from *Tremizen* to *Agad* or *Agadez*; ſo that 'tis dangerous travelling that Road for fear of periſhing by Thirſt. 'Tis true indeed, that between *Fez* and *Tombuto* there are Pits ſurrounded with the Hides or Bones of Camels, but when the South Wind blows, theſe are oftentimes ſtopt up with Sand. In this Extremity ſome have a way of relieving themſelves by killing their Camels, and ſqueezing Water out of their Entrails.

In the Deſart call'd *Azaoad* there are two Monuments of Marble, the Inſcription of which ſets forth, that a wealthy Merchant travelling that way, gave ten thouſand Ducats to a Carrier for a Cup of Water, but that not being ſufficient, both of 'em died for thirſt.

The Soil of *Negro-land* and *Libya.*

The Land of Negroes is extream hot, but well moiſten'd by the River *Niger*, ſo that it abounds with Cattel, Corn, Cocao's, Cucumbers, Onions, and ſeveral other Herbs and Fruits; it has no Trees but ſome great ones, which bear a bitter Fruit like a Cheſnut, call'd *Goron.* Neither this Country nor that of *Libya* have any Mountains, but they preſent us with ſeveral Fens and Lakes, occaſion'd (as 'tis reported) by the Inundations of the *Nile.*

The Climate of *Barbary.*

After the Soil of *Africa*, we come to the Climate. In *Barbary* the ſtormy cold weather begins about the middle of *October*; in *December* and *January* the cold is greater, but not very ſharp, unleſs it be in the Mornings; *February* mitigates the cold, but brings ſuch inconſtant weather, that it changes perhaps five or ſix times a day: In *March* the North and Weſt Winds blow, and the Trees are adorn'd with Bloſſoms: In *April* the Fruit are form'd, and the Cherries ripen towards the latter end of it: In *May* the Figs are gather'd, (tho' the greateſt plenty of Figs and Peaches is in *September*) and the Grapes are ripe about *Midſummer*: About the midſt of *Auguſt* they begin to dry their Grapes in the Sun, in order to make Raiſins, and if the unſeaſonable weather overtakes 'em before they have dried all, they make Wine and Muſt of the reſt. Their Harveſt for Honey, Pomegranates, and Quinces falls in *October*, as their Olive-harveſt does in *November*; their Olive-trees are ſo tall, that they cannot get at the Olives by a Ladder, but beat off the very Boughs with long Poles. Some great Olive-trees bear Olives which, being unfit for Oyl, are eaten when ripe.

Their *Spring* begins on *Febr.* 15, and ends *May* 18, all which time they have moſt pleaſant weather. They take it for a fatal Omen, if no Rain falls from *Apr.* 25. to *May* 5, for the Rain of that ſeaſon is call'd *Naiſan*, i.e. *Water bleſſed of God*, and ſome religiouſly preſerve it in Veſſels.

Their *Summer* extends from *May* 18. to *Auguſt* 16, and for the moſt part is attended with hot and clear weather, unleſs it be ſometimes that a fatal Rain falls in *July* and *Auguſt*, upon which a mortal Peſtilence enſues.

Their *Autumn*, in which the heat is moderate, commences *Auguſt* 16, and terminates *November* 16, from which time they reckon it Winter till *Febr.* 15.

They fix their *Equinoxes* upon *March* 16. and *Sept.* 16. For their *Solſtices* they reckon upon *June* 16. and *Dec.* 16. The Interval of time between *Aug.* 15. and *Sept.* 15. is by them call'd *the Furnace of the Year*, in regard it brings to maturity their Figs, Quinces, and ſuch other Fruits. They hold it for a firm truth, that every Year has forty extream hot Days, commencing from *June* 12, and as many extream cold following *Dec.* 12.

The Seaſons of the Year nicely diſtinguiſh'd.

Upon the Mountains they begin to plough in *October*, but in the Plains they delay it till the beginning of Winter. In fine, they have ſuch ſetled Rules relating to the Seaſons of the Year, as are not only regarded in the buſineſs of Husbandry and Navigation, but in that of finding the Houſes and Places of the Planets; and theſe are the firſt Documents they give to their Children. Theſe things they are ſo well vers'd in, that many Country People, that know nothing elſe, can diſpute learnedly of Aſtrology, and all their computations relating to Law or Religion, are taken from the courſe of the Moon. However, they ow'd their firſt Knowledge of Aſtrology to the *Latins*, as appears from their calling the Months of the Year by the Latin Names, and from a great Book call'd *The Storehouſe of Husbandry*, that was tranſlated out of Latin into their Language when *Manſi* was Lord of *Granada*; tho' indeed the Latin Tongue, as it ſtands at this day, does not afford words for a great many particulars contain'd in the three Volumes of that Book.

Their Year differs eleven days from that of the *Romans*, for they allow to ſix Months thirty Days each, and to the other ſix but twenty nine, which makes in all three hundred fifty four days. At divers times they have Feſtivals and Faſts.

This Country (viz. *Barbary*) is infeſted, about the end of Autumn, all Winter and a great part of the Spring, with boiſterous Winds, Hail, and terrible Thunder and Lightning, and in ſome places it ſnoweth very much. The Eaſt, South and South-Eaſt Winds happening in *May* and *June*, prejudice their Corn and Fruit mightily, and ſo does the Snow, eſpecially if it falls in the day-time, when the Corn begins to flower. So much for the Climate of *Barbary*.

The Climate of the *Atlas* Mountains.

Upon the Mountains of *Atlas*, where Snow continues all the Year round, they reckon it Winter from *October* to *April*, and Summer from *April* to *October*; ſo that they divide the Year only into two parts.

Of *Numidia.*

In *Numidia* they have Winter from *September* to *January*; they reap their Corn in *May*, and gather their Dates in *October*, unleſs the *September* Rain ſpoils them. If there falls but little Rain upon the Mountains of *Atlas*, the *Numidian* Rivers grow dry, and the Fields are parch'd and barren for want of their due watering; ſo that a dry *October* and *April* ſignifie a ſorry Crop: and indeed all the Corn that grows in *Numidia* in one Year, does ſcarce ſuffice the Inhabitants for half a Year: But they have great plenty of Dates, which ſucceed beſt in a Droughth, and theſe they give to the *Arabians* in exchange for Corn.

Of *Libya.*

In the *Libyan* Deſarts they have incredible plenty of Graſs and Milk, when a change of Weather happens about the midſt of *October*, and it continues to rain for all *December*, *January*, and ſome part of *February*, the Country being then well ſtor'd with Lakes and Fenns, 'tis the beſt Seaſon for the *Barbary* Merchants to travel to *Negroland*.

Of Negroland. *Negroland* is neither benefitted nor injur'd by rain. 'Tis render'd extream fruitful by the Water which falls from certain Mountains, and by the overflowing of the River *Niger*, which increaſes for forty days from *June* 15, and then decreaſes as many. During its inundation, one may go over all the Country in a Bark, tho' not without great danger.

The Conſtitution and Humour of the Africans; *the Diſeaſes they are ſubject to; together with their Vertues and Vices. From* John Leo.

The Period of their Lives. IN *Barbary* 65 or 70 Years is the common Period of their Lives; only in the Mountains ſome live to 100 and above, retaining all the while, a vigorous, active Conſtitution of Body. In *Numidia* they live a long time, only their Eyes become wonderful dim, and they looſe their Teeth very ſoon; the firſt of which Infirmities perhaps is owing to the Duſt and Sand that the Eaſt Winds toſs in the Air, as the latter may be to their continual feeding upon Dates. The *Libyans* are ſhorter liv'd; perhaps the moſt healthy among 'em may live to 60 Years, but at the ſame time they are very lean and thin. The Negroes live not ſo long as any of the other *Africans*, but are very ſtrong and active; they are ſtrangely addicted to Venery, and their Teeth continue ſound till their dying day. In fine, the *Barbarians* are of a weaker Conſtitution than any of the reſt. The Children, and ſometimes the ancient Women of *Barbary*, are ſubject to an incurable ſhedding of the Hair.

Their Diſeaſes. The common Diſeaſes of that Country are the Head-ach without a Fever, the Toothach, which ſome impute to their drinking of cold Water immediately after hot Pottage. Pains of the Stomach, call'd by them Pains of the Heart; Gripings, proceeding, perhaps, from the continual uſe of cold Water; Pains in the Bones, and the Gout, occaſion'd by their going bare-foot, and ſitting upon the bare ground. In the Spring-time they ſit very much upon the Ground, upon which thoſe of a ſanguine Complexion, are frequently ſiez'd with a Cough.

Neezing. Upon *Fridays*, on which they aſſemble to hear the *Mahometan* Sermons, if any one neezes in the Church, every one neezes to bear him company; ſo that they never leave neezing till the Sermon is done; and he that goes to hear the Sermon, gets but little good of it, the Noiſe being ſo very great.

The Pox. In *Barbary* the *French-Pox* is for the moſt part fatal. This Diſeaſe begins with a ſwelling and languiſhing, and at laſt breaks out into Ulcers. Some of the *Barbarians* have been cur'd of it, only by travelling to *Numidia* or *Negroland*, where the Air is very temperate and wholſome, and the ame of that Diſeaſe is ſcarce known. It was not known among any of the *Africans*, till the *Jews* being expell'd *Spain*, fled to *Africa*, where their Wives receiving Promiſcuous Embraces, contracted the Diſtemper, and ſo it ſpread all over the Country. For this Reaſon they call it the *Spaniſh Pox*, tho' in *Tunis*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Italy*, it goes by the Name of the *French-Pox*.

The Women of *Barbary* and *Negroland* are ſubject to the Falling-Sickneſs, which they, by way of Excuſe, give out for Poſſeſſion with a Spirit.

Rupture. The *Rupture* or *Hernia*, is not very common among the *Barbarians*, but the *Egyptians* are mightily troubled with it, probably by reaſon of their eating ſo much Gum and Salt Cheeſe. The *Egyptian* Children are ſubject to the Falling-Sickneſs, which leaves 'em when they grow up.

Plague. The Plague ſweeps off great numbers of the *Barbarians*, every tenth, fifteenth, or twentieth Year; for which they have no other cure, but rubbing the Sore with Ointments made of *Armenian* Earth. But it ſcarce viſits *Numidia* once in 100 Years, and in *Negroland* the Name of it is not ſo much as known.

The Vertues of the *Africans*. Knowledge of Mathematicks. The *Arabians* in *Barbary*, who live upon the Mediterranean Coaſt, were in former times great Purſuers of Mathematicks, Philoſophy, and Aſtrology, but theſe Arts were quite extinguiſh'd about 400 Years ago, by the chief Profeſſors of their Law and Religion, whom they honour as Petty Gods. They go frequently to Church to repeat ſome formal Prayers, eſteeming it unlawful to waſh ſome of their Members on the Day they ſay theſe Prayers, tho' at other times they waſh their whole Bodies. They are very ingenious in Mathematical Inventions and in Building.

Sincerity. Some Latin Authors do 'em injuſtice in charging them with Fraud and Guile, for they are very honeſt and ſincere, and great Lovers of Simplicity and Truth in others, and for their own part will rather dye than break their Promiſe. No Nation in the World is ſo ſubject to Jealouſy, for they will rather looſe their Lives, than ſuffer any Affront upon the ſcore of their Women. Riches and Honour they covet inſatiably.

They travel all the World over, and trade in *Egypt*, *Arabea*, *Ethiopia*, *Perſia*, *India*, and *Turkey*, meeting every where with eſteem; for they never profeſs any Art without being perfectly well verſ'd in it.

Modeſty. Baudy and Indecent Expreſſions are heinous Crimes among them. They will not ſuffer a Youth to ſpeak or hear any thing of Love Matters, eſpecially in the Company of his Superiours.

Integrity. As for the *Arabians* which dwell in Tents and bring up Cattle, Their Devotion, Valour, Civility, Hoſpitality, Veracity, and Integrity of Life, is inferiour to none. And the ſame is the Character of the *Mores* and *Arabians* that inhabit *Libya*. The white or tawny *Mores* are ſteddy Friends, and all their aim is to lead a pleaſant eaſy Life, upon which ſcore they are as happy as any People of *Africa*. They give honourable Allowances to Profeſſours of Religion and liberal Arts. Such are the Vertues of the *Africans*; but their Vices are yet greater.

The Vices of the *Africans*. The Inhabitants of the Cities of *Barbary*, are very proud, cholerick, needy, and covetuous, and never forget Injuries. They always ſpeak with an angry loud Voice, and are always quarreling with one another. They are ſo unmannerly and clowniſh, that no Stranger can obtain their Familiarity or Friendſhip.

Credulity. Their Credulity is ſuch, that they'll believe Impoſſibilities; and ſuch is their Ignorance of Natural Philoſophy, that they impute all Natural Phænomena's to a Divine Power. They are Men of no reach or head, and are ty'd to no Laws or Rule of Life, being without either Judges or Lawyers. Their Governours treat 'em like Dogs; and for want of Money-Changers, no Merchant can trade with them at a diſtance.

Peeviſh Gueſts. They vouchſafe no Entertainment to Strangers, upon any Conſideration whatſoever; and are very apt to forget Benefits.

Ingratitude. In fine, they are ſo avaritious and covetuous, that they are eternally peeviſh and uncivil. The Shepherds of that Country are a miſerable, poor, wretched Crew, addicted to nothing but Theft, Deceit, and brutiſh Cuſtoms. Their Batchelours keep company with ſeveral Ladies, till they light upon one that they like for a Wiſe; ſo that few can pretend to marry a Maid.

Irreligion. This People have no Religion; Churches or Prayers they know nothing of; In a Word, they lead a ſavage and brutiſh Life.

Robbery. As for the *Numidians*, all of 'em are quite deſtitute of any ſociable Principles; Treaſon, Treachery, Murder, Theft, and Robbery, are the Buſineſs of their Life. Their mean ſlaviſh Temper prompts 'em to ſerve the *Barbarians*, as Dung Farmers, Scullions, Oſtlers, or in any other other Servile Capacity. In like manner, the Inhabitants of *Libya*, neglecting all Arts and Sciences, apply their Minds only to Theft and Violence. The ſcene of their Lives is only miſerable, lawleſs, and diſorderly. There is no Villany ſo black, that they will not undertake upon the Proſpect of Gain. They ſpend their Days in Hunting, Warfare, or lewd Practiſes; and uſe neither Shooes nor Garments. The Negroes are likewiſe Strangers, not only to Arts, but to Senſe and Reaſon: Their Life is a Copy of that of the wildeſt Beaſts, moſt of their Women being common, unleſs it be in the Principal Towns and Cities, where, 'tis probable, Civility may in ſome meaſure take place.

Additions to Chap. I.

Containing a Deſcription of the Rivers of Africa. *Taken from* Marmol.

The famouſeſt Rivers of *Barbay.*
Sus River.

SUS, the firſt River of *Barbary*, lies on the Weſt ſide of that Kingdom, and the Province of *Sus* takes its Name from it, which ſome take for the Iſland in which the Palace of *Autheus* and the Gardens of the *Heſperides* were ſeated: However it ſeems very probable, that this was *Ptolomy*'s *Una*, which he places in eight Degrees Longitude, and 28 Degrees 30 Minutes Latitude. This River riſes out of the great *Atlas*, between the above-mention'd Province and that of *Hea*, and gliding to the Southward, traverſes the Plains of *Sus*, from whence it repairs to the Sea near *Guerteſſen*. It waters the moſt fertile and moſt populous places of that Country, and ſupplies the Inhabitants with Trenches or Ditches, with which they moiſten the Sugar-cane Fields. In Winter it ſwells to that height, that 'tis ſcarce fordable in any part; tho' in Summer 'tis fordable almoſt every where.

Tenſift River.

Near to the City of *Animmey*, in the Province of *Morocco*, there ſprings from the great *Atlas* another River, call'd *Tenſift*, which traverſes the Province of *Duquela*, and falls into the Ocean near *Safi*, being firſt join'd by ſeveral Rivers from the Mountains, namely, *Ecifelmel*, *Hueduefuſa*, and *Agmet*. The *Tenſift* is deep, but in Summer is fordable in ſome places not far from *Morocco*, 'tis cover'd with a Stone Bridge, which has fifteen great Arches, and is one of the ſtatelieſt Structures in all *Africa*, being built (as'tis ſaid) by *Jacob Almanſor*, King and Pontiff of *Morocco*. *Budobus*, the laſt King of the *Almohade* Family, pull'd down three of theſe Arches, with a Deſign to prevent *Jacob* the firſt King of the *Benemerinis*, from beſieging *Morccco*, tho' it did not avail him; and thoſe Arches are not yet rebuilt. *Ptolomy* calls the Mouth of this River *Aſama*, and places it in ſeven Deg. Long. and 32 Deg. Lat. In Mount *Gugidrine*, a part of the great *Atlas*, there ſprings two Rivers, which traverſing the Plains of *Eſcura*, diſembogues in the River call'd *Huedela-Abid*. Each of theſe Rivers is call'd *Teceut*, and when they join, they aſſume the Name of *Tevecin*, i. e. *Limits*. The Gutters and Ditches drawn from 'em, render the adjacent Fields very fertile.

Tevecin River.

Huedala-Abid River.

Huedala-Abid, i. e. The *River of Negroes* or *Slaves*, ſprings from *Animme*, a Mountain of the great *Atlas*, between the Provinces of *Eſcura* and *Tedla*, and traverſing rugged Rocks, and deep dark Valleys, runs to the Northward, where its Chanels ſinks ſo low, that it affords no moiſture for the adjacent Fields. After that, 'tis ſwell'd by the Acceſſion of the *Tevecin*, and other ſmall Rivers, and diſembogues in the *Ommirabi*, not far from a very broad Ditch call'd *Megerat Eſſa*, i. e. The *Flat Ditch*. This River is very deep, eſpecially in *May*, when the Snow melts off the Mountains.

Ommirabi.

Between the Province of *Tedla* and the Kingdom of *Fez*, there riſes from the great *Atlas*, a great River call'd *Ommirabi*, which runs thro' the Plains of *Adacſam*, and paſſing thro' a narrow Valley, is adorn'd with a Bridge built by *Abuchaſten*, the fourth King of the *Benemerina*. After that it turns to the Southward, and traverſing the Fields which ſeparate the Province of *Tremeſen* from thoſe of *Tedla* and *Duguela*, empties it ſelf in the Ocean near *Azamor*, being firſt join'd by the River of *Negroes*, and by *Derna*, another River that falls likewiſe from the Mountains. This is only fordable in Summer, and that where it ſpreads out upon the Plains; in other places the Inhabitants ſwim a-croſs it upon bundles of Reeds bound up with blown Balls of Leather, for there's no Bridge upon it. It affords ſuch plenty of Shad-fiſh, as ſerves to ſupply the City of *Morocco* and the adjacent Provinces, beſides what is exported to *Andaluſia* and *Portugal*. The Seaſon for fiſhing in this River, falls commonly upon the middle of *May*: and it turn'd to a great account to the King of *Portugal*, while he was Maſter of *Amazor*. But at preſent the *Xeriff* appropriates the Right of that Fiſhery to the Chriſtian Merchants. *Ptolomy* calls this River *Ruſibides*, and places its Mouth in 6 Deg. 40 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 30 Min. Lat. The Entry of it is ſo difficult, that it oblig'd the King of *Portugal* to abandon *Azamor*.

Barregreg River.

Barregreg, a great River, ſprings from the great *Atlas* in the Kingdom of *Fez*, and falls into the Ocean near *Gibraltar*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Sala*, and places it in 6 Deg. 10 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 10 Min. Lat. Its Mouth is ſo foul for Ships, that it ſerves for a Barriar to guard the Inhabitants from the Chriſtians.

Beht and *Bebet* Rivers.

From the great *Atlas* in the Kingdom of *Fez*, there ſprings two Rivers, call'd *Beht* and *Bebet*, which fall with a rapid Current over ſteep Mountains into the Plains of *Azgar*, and there are turn'd into Lakes full of Fiſh. Upon the ſides of theſe Lakes great numbers of *Arabians* feed their Cattel, and by the frequent eating of Butter and Fiſh, which they have in great plenty, are cover'd with a ſort of Leproſy. Several of the Inhabitants of *Fez* and *Mequinez* reſort to theſe Lakes to drink of the Water, which is of excellent uſe againſt the Stone.

Sulu River.

Sulu, one of the greateſt Rivers in all *Barbary*, derives its Source from *Cililgo*, a Mountain of the great *Atlas* in the Province of *Cus*. After its Deſcent into the Plains, it paſſes at the Diſtance of a Mile and half from *Fez*, and having ſever'd the Provinces of *Habat* and *Azgar*, falls into the Ocean near the City of *Mamor*, not far from the Streight of *Gibraltar*.

Guarga River
Ador River.

It is join'd by ſeveral Rivers, particularly *Guarga* and *Ador*; but thoſe who aſſert, that it receives the River *Fez*, and ſeveral others, from the Country of *Tezar*, are much miſtaken; for they ſalſely ſuppoſe, that the *Sulu* takes its Riſe from the Mountains of *Gaiaſa* and *Zarahamuni*. Tho' the *Sulu* be a very great River, yet 'tis fordable in ſome places, unleſs it be in Winter and Spring, at which time the Inhabitants croſs it in Barks. This River affords ſuch plenty of Fiſh, eſpecially Shad-fiſh, that it ſupplies *Fez*, and ſeveral other Towns in that Province. Its Mouth is capable to receive very large Veſſels, and if the Inhabitants of that Country were induſtrious, they might make it navigable up to *Fez*, and ſo ſink the Price of their Corn, which is now brought over land from *Azgar*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Subura*, and places its Mouth in ſix Degrees 20 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 28 Min. Lat.

Lucus River.

Lucus, a great River, ſprings from the Mountains of *Gomera*, and turning to the Weſtward, traverſes the Provinces of *Aſgar* and *Habar*, after which it runs near *Aſcaſar-Quivir*, and after forming Lakes that abound in Fiſh, falls into the Ocean near *l' Arays*, where theſe two Provinces join. The Port of *Arays* lies in its Mouth, and is reſorted to by the Chriſtians, who import thither European Commodities; but the Entry is ſo difficult, that they run a great riſque, unleſs they have a very expert Pilot. *Ptolomy* calls this River *Liſſa*, and places its Mouth in ſix Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. 15 Min. Lat.

Melulo River.

Melulo, another great River, riſes out of the great *Atlas* near the Town of *Dubudu*, and traverſing the parch'd Deſart of *Teoreſt* and *Tafrata*, falls into the *Mulucan*, which is likewiſe a great River which ſprings from the great *Atlas* in the Province of *Cus*, and paſſing to the Weſtward of *Taſaſa*, falls into the Ocean not far from that place. This laſt River is very broad, but eaſily fordable in Summer in ſeveral places. The Chriſtians were wont to row up this River in Barks cover'd with Leaves, in order to ſurpriſe the Mooriſh Fiſher-men, for its Mouth is plentifully ſtock'd with excellent Fiſh. *Ptolomy* call's it *Molocat*, and makes it to lie in ten Deg. 45 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 45 Min. Lat.

Mulucan River.

Muluya.

Muluya ſprings from the *Atlas*, and directing its courſe Northward, diſimbogues in the Mediterranean Sea near *Onus*; *Ptolemy* calls its mouth *Mala*, and places it in 11 d. 10 m. Long. and 35 d. 50 m. Lat.

Ziz and *Hued-babra* Rivers.

Ziz and *Hued-babra* are two Rivers, the firſt of which ſprings from the great *Atlas*, and the ſecond riſes in the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*, near *Mobeſcar*: they fall with a joynt Stream into the Mediterranean, near the Ruins of the ancient *Arzea*, and aſſume the name of *Sirat*, from the Plain thro' which they paſs. The puiſſant *Arabs*, call'd *Bemamir*, live upon the Banks of *Sirat*, and frequently make Excurſions as far as *Oran*.

Feſue River.

A ſmall River call'd *Feſue* ſprings from the great *Atlas* near the ancient *Numidia*, and joyns the Mediterranean about ſeven leagues to the Weſtward of *Oran*. It affords very few Fiſh, and at preſent is call'd *Areſgol*. *Ptolemy* gives it the name of *Siga*, its mouth being ſeated in 21 d. Long. and 34 d. 40 m. Lat.

Mira River.

Mira is a pretty great River, which runs from its ſource in the great *Atlas* thro' the barren Plains in the neighborhood of *Bathaba*, and turning Northward, falls into the Mediterranean not far from *Arzea*. Of late years the Moors call it *Cena*, from the name of a *Moabite* that repeopled *Bathaba* after its being deſtroy'd by the *Benimerims*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Quilemat*, and allots to its mouth 13 d. of Long. and 34 d. of Lat.

Chilef River.

Chilef is a great River, that runs from its ſource in the Mountains of *Guanceris*, thro' the Deſart-Plains between *Tenes* and *Tremeſen*; and turning Eaſtward, joyns the Mediterranean near *Moſtagan*. There's very good fiſhing in its mouth, which *Ptolemy* ranks in 14 d. 15 m. Long. and 33 d. 40 m. Lat. under the name of *Cartena*.

Celef River.

Celef is a great River, that ſprings from the great *Atlas*, and grazing along the Fields of *Metigia*, falls into the Mediterranean about five leagues to the Weſtward of *Algiers*. It aſſumes the name of *Aſafran*, near its mouth, which *Ptolemy* places under the name of *Quinalak*, in 16 d. 40 m. Long. and 33 d. 20 m. Lat.

Ceſaya River.

Ceſaya, another River in *Barbary*, takes its Riſe from the great *Atlas*, and traverſing the Fields of *Metigai*, enters the *Mediterranean* on the Eaſt ſide of *Algiers*, not far from the Ruines of *Mitafus*, call'd by the *Africans* *Temendafuſt*. *Ptolomy* ranks its Mouth, under the Name of *Sava*, in 18 Deg. 10 Minutes Long. and 33 Deg. 20 Min. Lat.

Hued Iter River.

Hued-Iter, is a great River that riſes out of the great *Atlas*, upon the Frontiers of *Numidia*, and running from thence Northward, enters the Mediterranean Sea, on the Eaſt ſide of the Ruines of *Metaſus*, and affords very good Fiſhing. *Ptolomy* calls it *Serbet*, and places its Mouth in 19 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 32. Deg. 50 Min. Lat.

Hued-el-Quivir River.

Hued-el-Quivir, ſprings likewiſe from the great *Atlas* in the Province of *Zeb*, and paſſing thro' very high Mountains, falls into the Mediterranean near *Bugia*. When it rains, or when the Snow melts, it ſwells very much. 'Tis full of Fiſh, but the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country love the Sea-fiſh better. The Chriſtians call it *Zinganor*, and *Ptolemy* gives it the name of *Naſaova*, placing its mouth in 22 d. 10 m. Long. and 32½ d. Lat.

Sef-Gemar River.

Among the remaining Rivers of *Barbary*, we meet with *Sef-Gemar*, a great River that ſprings from Mount *Aouraz*, in the Province of *Bugia*; and after waſhing the Walls of *Conſtantina*, falls Northward into the Mediterranean Sea. This River ſeparates *Mauritania Cæſariana* from the Province of *Africa*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ampſagus*, and places its mouth in 26 d. 15 m. Long. and 31 d. 45 m. Lat.

Tadock River.

Tadock is another River that riſes out of the *Atlas* near *Conſtantina*, and falls into the Mediterranean about a league to the Eaſtward of *Bona*. About a quarter of a league above its mouth we meet with ſome Remains of *Hippona*, of which St. *Auguſtine* was Biſhop, and which *Ptolemy* places in 30 d. 20 m. Long. and 32 d. 25 m. Lat.

Hued-yl-Barbar River.

There's another great River in *Barbary* that goes by the name of *Hued-yl-barbar*, and ſpringing from the great *Atlas* near *Lorbus* in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, makes ſo many windings and turnings thro' theſe Mountains, that thoſe who travel from *Bona* to *Tunis* are oblig'd to croſs it twenty five times, without the conveniency of either Bridge or Boat for ſo long a courſe; at laſt it falls into the Mediterranean near the Port of the *Taburc*, about ſix leagues from *Bugga*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Rubricata*, and places its mouth in 30 d. 45 m. Long. and 35 d. 20 m. Lat. Great quantities of Coral are found upon the brinks of this River.

Megerada River.

To conclude our Account of the Rivers in *Barbary*, we ſhall mention only three more, namely, *Megerada*, *Capes*, and *Magro*. *Megerada* is a very great River; its Source lies in the great *Atlas*, upon the Confines of *Zeb*, not far from *Tebſa*; it runs with many windings to the Northward, and falls into the Mediterranean thirteen leagues to the Weſtward of *Tunis*: in the time of Rain it ſwells mightily, which ſtops Travellers ſometimes for five or ſix days, for there's neither a Bridge nor a Boat upon it. *Ptolemy* gives it the Name of *Bragada*, and places its mouth in 38 d. 40 m. Long. and 30 d. 45 m. Lat.

Capes River.

Capes takes its riſe from Mount *Bacaliſa*, in the Deſarts of *Libya*, and falls into the Sea near the City of *Capes*: The Water of this River is ſalt, and when 'tis drawn up is ſo hot, that it muſt ſtand in the Air to cool for above an hour before 'tis drinkable. *Ptolemy* calls it *Triton*, and aſſigns to its mouth 38 d. 40 m. Long. and 30 d. 45 m. Lat.

Magro River.

Magro deſcends from the great *Atlas* near Mount *Meyes* and croſſing the ſandy Deſarts, diſimbogues in the Sea near *Tripoli* in *Barbary*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Cinifa*, and places its mouth in 42 d. 25 m. Long. and 31 d. 30 m. Lat. So much for the Rivers in *Barbary*.

The Rivers of Biledulgerid.

The moſt noted Rivers in *Biledulgerid* (alias *Numidia* or *Getulia*) are *Dara*, *Ziz* and *Guir*.

Dara River.

Dara is a very great River; it ſprings from the great *Atlas* upon the Confines of the Province of *Eſcura*, and directing its courſe to the South, traverſes the Province of *Dara*, to which it owes its Name, being pleaſantly ſhaded on each ſide with very tall Date-trees; after that it enters the Deſart of *Sahara*, and ſpreads out into great Lakes, round which the *Numidiæ* ſtraggle with their Cattle in the Spring-time, upon the account that their Camels find there a great deal of very good Graſs. In Summer this River becomes ſo dry, that one may paſs it on foot in ſeveral places without being wet; but after Rain it ſwells ſo high, that 'tis not fordable by either Foot or Horſe, and runs ſo rapidly, that a Boat cannot croſs it. Its Chanel is very hollow and uneven, and in the time of the great heat the Water is bitter and brackiſh.

Ziz River.

Ziz is another great River, that ſprings from the ſame Mountains, and paſſing from thence to the neighborhood of *Garci-luyn* in the Kingdom of *Fez*, traverſes the Territories of *Quenena*, *Matagara*, *Reteb* and *Segelmeſſe*; after which it enters the Deſarts of *Sahara*, and runs thro' the Palm-trees, till it comes near the City of *Sugaybila*, where it makes a freſh appearance, and forms a great Lake in the middle of the Sands. This Lake has no Habitation round it, but is reſorted to by wild Beaſts.

Guir River.

Guir is likewiſe a great River that ſprings from Mount *Atlas*, and paſſing thro' the ſandy Deſarts of *Libya* and *Sahara*, is there converted into a Lake, round which a great many Societies of *Arabs* and *Africans* are wont to ſtraggle with their Flocks.

The Rivers of Negro-land.

Niger River.

Sahara, the third part of *Africa* has no Rivers. As for the fourth, *viz.* *Negro-land*, we there met with the famous River of *Niger*, call'd in Arabick *Hued-Nichar*, or the *black River*. Some alledge, that the *Niger* and the *Nilus* are two Branches of the River *Geen*, which deſcends from the terreſtrial Paradiſe; and that the firſt of theſe Branches deriv'd its Name from the Negroes, among whom it paſſes: But the *Arabians* take the *Niger* to be a part of *Nilus*, which runs under-ground to the Lake of *Nubia*, and then turning Weſtward, forms another Lake call'd *Nigritis*; after which it is ſwell'd by the acceſſion of ſeveral Rivers, and marches with great windings to the Weſtern Ocean, into which it falls by two Chanels, the one call'd *Senega*, and the other *Gambra*. The firſt of theſe ſeparates *Sahara* from the Negroes on the Weſt ſide; and, which is very wonderful, the People that live on the South ſide are black, robuſt and proper Perſons, and the Country is fertile and admirably well ſhaded with Trees; whereas on the North ſide the Inhabitants are little and Mulattoes, and ſome of 'em white and puny, the Soil being nothing but a barren dry Sand. The mouth of the firſt Branch (namely, *Senega*) is very deep, and above half a league broad, but the other is ſomewhat ſmaller. Theſe two Branches form an Iſle, which has great Banks of Sand before it, that ſhoot out a league into the Sea. The Tide, which flows and ebbs every ſix hours, runs above twenty five leagues up the Country, and no Ships can come up without the Flood, becauſe the Sand-beds are then cover'd. The moſt conſiderable Negroes live upon the brinks of this River, and of the other Rivers which fall into it. It overflows and decreaſes at the ſame time and after the ſame manner with the *Nilus*; and when the overflowing ſeaſon comes, the Negroes go up and down in Barks, which are neither ſo well built nor ſo ſtrong as thoſe of *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* affirms, that the *Niger*, in conjunction with the *Mandrus* and *Thalamantis*, forms the Lake *Nigritis*; and that it divides to the Northward into two Arms, that march towards the Mountains of *Uſſegula* and *Sagapula*; after which it forms (according to him) a third Arm, which runs to the Eaſtward above the Lake of * *Libya*: But *Leo Africanus* affirms the contrary, and his relation is confirm'd by the Merchants that go up this River from *Gualata* and the *Geloſes* to *Grand Cairo*, for they aſſure us that all its Branches run to the Weſtward.

The Country of the Negroes is water'd by ſeveral other Rivers, moſt of which were diſcover'd by the *Portugueſe*, who ſail two or three hundred leagues up the Country, in order to traffick. Of theſe elſewhere.

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* This Lake is 15 d. Long. and 16 d. 10 m. broad.

Nilus River.

Nilus retains the ſame Name both in *Africa* and *Europe*; 'tis the greateſt of all the *African* Rivers, and for that reaſon the *Ethiopians* call it *Abanhi*, i. e. *Father of Rivers*. The Ancients took it for a Branch of *Gehon*, which deſcends from the terreſtrial Paradiſe; and indeed that Opinion is countenanc'd by ſeveral Authors, particularly by *Lucan*, *lib*. 10. who brings in the *Egyptian* Prieſts diſcourſing at large upon that Head; but, it ſeems, the Ancients were not well acquainted with its Source; for ſome pretend that the Lakes from which it ſprings derive their Original from the Snow that falls from the Mountains of the Moon; others alledge, that theſe Lakes riſe at a great diſtance from each other in the Deſart; others again maintain, that the Head of the River comes from the above-mention'd Mountains, and falling off the ſteep Rocks with a violent ſhock, makes a Gap in the Earth, and conveys it ſelf to theſe Lakes by ſubterranean Chanels. But Experience baffles all theſe Opinions, and our modern Diſcoveries make it out, that the Water which falls from the Mountains of *Luna* are the true ſource of the *Nile*, and that the Snow and Rain is the occaſion of its Inundation.

Theſe Mountains are at preſent call'd the Mountains of *Beht*, i. e. *a Confluence of Waters*. They are a ridge of Mountains, extending from the Equinoctial Line to the Kingdom of *Eſceva*, and running acroſs the Kingdom of *Gogiana*, both of which Kingdoms lie in upper *Ethiopia*: They are higher than any other Mountains, whether in *Africa* or *Europe*, and are perpetually cover'd with Snow and Ice: Foraſmuch as they lie under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, when the Sun ſhines upon 'em in a perpendicular line, the Snow and the Ice melts, and falls with a precipitant current into the abovemention'd Lakes. Now the acceſſion of this Water joyn'd to the Rain that falls very plentifully in upper *Ethiopia* in the Month of *May*, occaſions the overflowing of the *Nilus*; but the Inundation does not appear in *Egypt* till towards the middle of *June*, by reaſon (as the *Abyſſins* ſay) that this acceſſory Flood muſt have ſo much time before it can reach *Egypt*. The *Ethiopian* Merchants that trade to *Nubia* and *Egypt* tell you, that the exact Source of this River cannot be found out, by reaſon that Mount *Beht* and the adjacent Fields are ſurrounded by large buſhy Foreſts, and Deſarts repleniſh'd with wild Beaſts; ſo that one cannot approach 'em without the hazard of their Lives. They add, that the Waters run from that Mountain to the Southward with a continued encreaſe, and form a great Lake that ſeems to have no current: That ſeveral Rivers iſſue from the South ſide of this Lake, ſome of which direct their courſe to the Eaſt, and others to the Weſt, and form ſo many Arms and Lakes, that one would wonder from whence ſuch a quantity of Water ſhould ſpring: That the *Ethiopians*, upon the loſs of their Camels in thoſe Deſarts, purſue 'em ſometimes two or three hundred leagues to the Southward, and ſtill find the Rivers ſpread out into Arms and Lakes after the ſame manner. Upon this purſuit the *Ethiopians* meet with deſart and barren Mountains, in which (according to *Moſandi*) they find the richeſt Emeraulds, call'd by them *Dubenis*, and Savages that avoid the converſation of other Men.

Catadupes.

The firſt Lake form'd by the *Nile* is call'd *Safa*, and has above twenty Iſlands, inhabited by *Abyſſins*, who are Vaſſals to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*. The *Nile* glides gently from this Lake, and afterwards with a rapid current traverſes the whole Country of that Emperour, and grazes upon *Negro-land*, without being confin'd to a Chanel, till it arrives at certain Mountains where the Cataracts of *Meſar* or the ancient *Catadupes* are plac'd: Each ſide of it is inhabited by ſeveral Nations of Negroes, who ſow upon its Banks the Grains of *Binque*, commonly call'd the *Nile Grains*, and by the *Arabians*, *Baladur*.

After the paſſing of the abovemention'd Cataracts, the *Nile* ſpreads out in breadth, and runs with a gentle ſtream, but is not either fordable or navigable in any place, till it arrives at the Iſland of *Meroe*, call'd by the *Egyptians*, *Naulebaal*, i. e. *the Mother of good Ports*; by the Natives *Seula*, and the *Abyſſins*, *Saba*; in which place ('tis ſaid) the Queen of *Sheba*, that viſited *Solomon*, had her reſidence. Some Authors alledge, that ſhe could not reign here, becauſe there was a Law in *Ethiopia* againſt the Succeſſion of Females to the Throne; [for this reaſon, 'tis probable, ſhe was not of *Ethiopia*, but of *Arabia*, which goes by the name of *Ethiopia* in Scripture; and hence 'tis that *Moſes*'s Wife is call'd an *Ethiopian*:] but 'tis anſwer'd, that ſhe might be a Queen by Marriage, and not by Succeſſion. The Queen of *Candaces* was likewiſe Soveraign of this Country, and ſent her Eunuch with Offerings to *Jeruſalem*, where St. *Philip* baptiz'd him.

Iſle of *Meroe*.

The Iſland of *Meroe* is very large, and contains at preſent three Kingdoms, the Soveraigns of which differ from one another in their Religion and Cuſtoms, and ſometimes wage War one againſt another with incredible Cruelty. The moſt puiſſant of theſe Kings is a *Mahometan*, and has his reſidence on the Weſt ſide of the Iſland; the ſecond, being a Negro and a follower of Idolatry, lives on the North ſide; and the third, who reigns on the South ſide, is an *Abyſſinian* Chriſtian, ſubject to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*.

Siena.

After the *Nile* paſſes this Iſland 'tis navigable, and in the ſpace of fifteen days the Boats go from thence to the City of *Guaguera*, call'd by the Ancients *Siena*, where, according to the allegation of the Poets, the Rays of the Sun fall in a perpendicular line, and caſt no ſhadow at Noon. This is the firſt Frontier of *Egypt* upon the Confines of *Nubia*, below which the *Nile* affords a very ſafe Navigation. In fine, the *Nile* falls into the Mediterranean by ſeveral Chanels, oppoſite to the Iſland of *Cyprus*. As for the Inundation of the *Nile*, and the other circumſtances that attend it, we refer the Reader to *John Leo*'s Deſcription of *Egypt*.

CHAP. II.

Containing a particular Account of the Kingdom of Morocco; *from* John Leo.

The Limits of *Hea*.

IN deſcribing the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Africa*, we ſhall ſet out from the Weſt, and ſo advance Eaſtward. The moſt Weſtern Province of *Morocco* is bounded with the Ocean on the Weſt and North, with the Mountains of *Atlas* on the South, and on the Eaſt with the River *Effinalo*, which ſprings out of the 'foreſaid Mountain, and falls into the River *Tenſift*, dividing *Hea* from the next Province.

Its Soil.

Product.

This Country is uneven and rugged, full of rocky Mountains, Woods and Rivers; 'tis very rich, and well Peopled, and affords plenty of Deer, Hares, Goats and Aſſes, but few Sheep, Oxen or Horſes, and very little Fruit:

The Inhabitants, their Food, Attire, and Qualities.

The Inhabitants feed upon unleaven'd Barly-bread, baked in a ſort of an Earthen Pan in the form of a Cake. Their Cloathing for the moſt part is a Woollen Coverlet (call'd *Elchiſe*) not unlike the *Italian* Blankets, wrapt about 'em, and girt with a Woollen Girdle about their Hips. The Batchelors always keep their Beards ſhaven, but the married Men ſuffer their Hair to grow. Here is nothing to be found of Virtue or Learning, unleſs it be ſome ſmall knowledge of the Laws of the Country, which ſome few pretend to. They have neither Phyſician nor Surgeon, unleſs it be a ſort of Surgeons who are imploy'd in circumciſing their male Children: When any illneſs ſeizes 'em, they cauterize the affected part with red-hot Irons. They have no regard to Juſtice, and when any of 'em travels abroad, he takes along with him a Wife or a Whore, or a religious Perſon of the Country he goes to. The few Horſes this Country affords are ſo nimble and mettled, that they will climb like Cats over the ſteep and craggy Mountains; they are always unſhod, and together with the Aſſes ſerve to till the Ground.

Tedneſt a City of *Hea*.

Its Hoſpitality.

The ancient City of *Tedneſt* (one of the Cities of *Hea*) was built by the *Africans* upon a moſt beautiful large Plain, and ſurrounded with a lofty Brick Wall. It affords no Inns or Publick Houſes, ſo that a Stranger (being a Merchant, muſt find out an Acquaintance to lodge with, or if he has none, the Inhabitants caſt lots who ſhall entertain him; and let his Condition be never ſo mean, he meets with a hoſpitable and honourable Reception; only upon his Departure he muſt beſtow a Compliment upon his Landlord, to make him the more welcome at his next Return. A Stranger that is not a Merchant, may pitch upon any great Man's Houſe to lodge in, and is oblig'd to make no Compliment at his Departure. If a Beggar or Pilgrim paſſes that way, he is entertain'd in a Hoſpital, built at the publick Charge, for the Relief of the Poor.

Its Temple.

In the midſt of the City there ſtood an ancient magnificent Temple of a huge bigneſs, which is ſaid to have been founded when the King of *Morocco* was Soveraign over that Country. This Temple has a great Ciſtern in the midſt of it, and a great many Prieſts and Religious People belong to it. There are ſeveral other Temples in this, which are but little, but withal very neat and clean. About 100 Families of *Jews* liv'd in it; but in the 920th Year of *Hegeira*, it was ſeen to lie in ruines, being only reſorted to by Ravens and other Birds.

Teculeth.

At the Foot of an Hill, 18 Miles Eaſtward from *Tedneſt*, ſtands *Teculet*, a Town containing about 1000 Houſes, a ſtately Temple, four Hoſpitals, and a Religious Monaſtery. It has a famous Port upon the Ocean, call'd *Gos*, which renders it richer than *Tedneſt*. The adjacent fertile Fields ſupply it with great plenty of Corn and Pulſe: 'Twas deſtroy'd by the *Portugueſe* in the Year 1514.

Hadecchis.

Eight Miles ſouthward of *Teoulet*, ſtands the City of *Hadecchis* upon a Plain, containing 700 Families. Its Walls, Churches, and Houſes, are all built of Freeſtone. It has yearly Fairs, laſting for 15 Days, at which they ſell great ſtore of Cattle, Butter, Oil, Iron and Cloth to the neighbouring Nations. The Women of this City are white, fat, and very comely; and their Husbands are ſo brutiſhly jealous, as to attempt to murder whoſoever does but talk with 'em. They have no Judges, no Learning, nor any Diſtinction of Worth among the Citizens; ſo that he who is richeſt rules as a King. Their Religious Matters are manag'd by *Mahometan* Prieſts, who are exempted from all Taxes. The *Portugueſe* ſack'd this Town in the 922 of the *Hegeira*.

Sack'd 1513.

Ilenſugaghen.

Eight Miles to the South of *Hadecchis*, on the top of a high Mountain, ſtands *Ilenſugaghen*, containing 200 Families, which carries on a perpetual War with its Neighbours in a moſt bloody and barbarous manner. 'Tis utterly a Stranger to Juſtice and Honeſty; for it has neither Prieſts, Judges, nor Lawyers. In a word, no People under Heaven are more treacherous and wicked, Their Mountains, tho' deſtitute of Fruit, afford great plenty of Honey, which ſerves 'em both for Food and Traffick, but the Wax of it they throw away, being ignorant of its Uſe.

Teſegdelt.

Twelve Miles to the South of *Teyent*, ſtands *Teſegdelt* upon the top of a Mountain, fortified naturally with a high Rock inſtead of a Wall, and containing above 800 Families. 'Tis ſurrounded with moſt pleaſant Gardens and Orchards, repleniſh'd with all ſorts of Trees, eſpecially Walnut-Trees. The Inhabitants are rich, and pay no Tribute to the *Arabians*, with whom they wage eternal War. They have great plenty of Horſes. For Civility and Hoſpitality, they come ſhort of no People whatſoever, there being Watchmen ſet at every Gate, to conduct all the Strangers that come, either to the Houſe of their Acqaintance, if they have any, or to a publick Inn, where they are entertain'd according to their quality, upon the publick Charge. They are religious Obſervers of their Words, but mightily ſubject to Jealouſy. In the midſt of the Town they have a ſtately Temple, to which a certain number of *Mahometan* Prieſts belong. The neighbouring Villages lodge their Corn in this City, where 'tis defended from the Excurſions of their Enemies.

Tagteſs.

Having paſs'd *Teſegdelt* 14 Miles, we come to *Tagteſs*, an ancient round City, ſtanding upon the top of a Hill, which has winding Steps hewn out of the hard Rock, upon its Sides. The Inhabitants have no other Water, but what their Women fetch from a River that runs by the Foot of the Hill about ſix Miles off, tho' when view'd from the City, it ſeems to be not above half a Mile off. The way leading to this River is very narrow, being cut out of the Rock in the form of a pair of Stairs. This Country is much infeſted with Locuſts, which devour their Corn, and ſometimes cover the whole Surface of the Ground.

Eitdeuet.

Fifteen Miles to the South of *Tagtes*, ſtands *Eitdeuet*, a Town inhabited by *Jews*, who derive their Extraction from King *David*, tho' they have exchang'd their own Law for the *Mahometan*. The Lawyers of this place are admirably well vers'd in their Laws and Conſtitutions, which are collected into one Volume, call'd *Elmudeuana*, and commented upon by a famous Author, call'd *Melic*.

The Caſtle of Hea.

Eighteen Miles from *Eitdeuet*, and about half a Mile from *Teſegdelt*, there ſtands a Caſtle call'd *Culeihat Elmurid*, i. e. *The Rock of Diſciples*, built on the top of a Mountain, which is ſurrounded with divers other Mountains, of equal height with it ſelf, and cover'd with craggy Rocks and huge Woods. The Caſtle is only acceſſable by a narrow Path upon one ſide of the Mountain. 'Twas built but lately by *Hemar Seyeff*, a *Mahometan* Preacher, who by making ſeveral Innovations in Religion, drew after him a great number of Diſciples and Sectaries, and at laſt became a cruel Tyrant. His Government laſted twelve Years, and at the end of which he was ſlain by his own Wife, for lying with her Daughter by a former Husband. Upon that his Ignorance and Wickedneſs was detected, and the Inhabitants of the Country ſlew all his Diſciples and Sectaries, excepting his Grand-ſon, who defended the Caſtle, notwithſtanding a whole Year's Siege, and to this Day (ſays *Leo*) moleſts the People of *Hea* with continaal War, living upon Robbery and Spoil, which he affects, partly by ſome Horſe-men, who purſue the Travellers that paſs by the Caſtle, and partly by Gunners, who fire upon 'em at a diſtance, the High-way being almoſt a Mile off from the Caſtle. However he is ſo hated by the People, that he has no footing without the above-mention'd Mountain. He has carry'd his Grand-father's Body to be honourably inter'd in the Caſtle, and ador'd by his People as a God.

A noted Mahometan Apoſtat.

The Inhabitants of the Mountains of Hea.

A Ridge of the Atlas.

The greateſt part of the People of *Hea* dwell upon Mountains. One part of 'em (call'd *Idenacal*) inhabit that part of *Atlas*, which runs from the Ocean Eaſtward to *Igilingigil*, and divides *Hea* from *Sus*. The breadth of this Ridge is three Days Journey. 'Tis well ſtock'd with Country Villages and Inhabitants, who feed upon Barley, Goats-Fleſh, and Honey; and wear neither Shirts nor any ſew'd Garments, being altogether unacquainted with Needle Work. What Apparel they have hangs by a Knot upon their Shoulders, being faſten'd with Silver Buttons of an Ounce weight. Their Women wear three or more Silver Rings upon their Ears The richer ſort of People wear Silver Rings on their Fingers and Legs, but the poorer have only Rings of Iron or Copper. This Country affords Horſes, of a ſmall ſize, but wonderfully ſwift; and great ſtore of Wild-Goats, Hares, and Deer; and yet the Inhabitants are not given to Hunting. It abounds with Fountains and Trees, eſpecially Walnut Trees. The Inhabitants frequently ſhift their Seats, for moſt of 'em live after the *Arabian* Way. Their Arms are broad crooked Daggers, and Swords as thick as Sythes. 'Tis ſaid they are able to lead 20000 Men into the Field upon occaſion. They have neither Judges, Prieſts or Temples; and being altogether unacquainted with Learning, perſue nothing but Lewdneſs and Villany.

Demenfera.

Another Mountain in the Country of *Hea*, call'd *Demenfera*, is likewiſe part of *Atlas*, and runs Eaſtward from the above-mentioned Ridge about 50 Miles, dividing part of *Hea* from *Sus*. 'Tis well ſtock'd with moſt barbarous Inhabitants, who have Horſes in great plenty, and frequently wage War with the neighbouring *Arabians*. They have a great many Noblemen or Governours, to whom the reſt are very obedient. They have no Towns nor Caſtles, but only ſome Villages or Cottages, where the better ſort reſide. The whole Country abounds with Springs, which run into a River call'd *Siffaia*. Their Apparel is decent; and they are very induſtrious. They poſſeſs great Quantities of Iron, which is exported to other places. There are a great many *Jews* in this Country, who ſerve as mercenary Souldiers, and are call'd by the other *Jews* in *Africa*, *Carraum*, i. e. *Scripture-men*, for they rejected Tradition. It affords plenty of Box, Maſtich, and high Walnut-trees. They have a kind of Olives, call'd *Argans*, from which, together with Walnuts, they expreſs a very bitter Oil, and uſe it both in their Lamps, and by way of Sauce to their Meat. 'Tis ſaid this People can lead into the Field 25000 expert Soldiers.

Gebelelbadith.

The Mountain of *Iron*, commonly call'd *Gebelelbadith*, and lying within the Territory of *Hea*, is not to be accounted any part of *Atlas*. It extends from the Ocean Southward to the River *Tenſift*, and divides *Hea* from *Duccala* and *Morocco*: The Inhabitants are call'd *Regraga*. This Hill, which is full of waſte Deſarts, abounds with clear Springs, Honey, and Oil *Arganick*; but it affords little Corn or Pulſe. The Inhabitants are all very devout and religious, but few of 'em are rich. A great many *Hermites* live upon the top of the Mountain, who drink Water, and feed only on the Fruit of ſome Trees; and whatever theſe *Hermites* do, is eſteem'd a Miracle. Their Puniſhment of Theft or any other Crime, is immediate

mediate Baniſhment for a certain ſpace of Years. Being of a quiet peaceable Temper, they chooſe rather to pay Tribute to their Neighbours the *Arabians*, than to repulſe their Invaſions by War. So much for the Region of *Hea*.

The Limits of *Sus*.

Next in courſe is the Province of *Sus*, beginning Weſtward from the Ocean, Southward from the ſandy Deſarts, Northward from the utmoſt Town of *Hea*, and Eaſtward from the River *Sus*. To begin from its Weſtern Point. Upon the Sea-ſhore, where *Atlas* takes its Riſe, the ancient *Africans* built three ſmall Towns, at the diſtance of a Mile from one another, which were all call'd by one Name, viz. *Meſſa* (i. e. *Houſe of Prayer*) and ſurrounded with a white Stone Wall.

Meſſa.

Sus River.

Through theſe three runs a great River call'd *Sus*, which gives name to the Country, and in Summer is ſo low, that one may paſs it on foot. The greateſt Wealth of the Inhabitants of this Country (where the three Towns ſtand) conſiſts in Dates; for they have plenty of Palm-trees; but their Dates are not worth much, becauſe they will not keep above a Year. They all apply themſelves to Husbandy in *April* and *September*, at which times the River ſwells, or if it does not, their Harveſt is good for nothing. Their Corn is ripe in *May*: Their Grounds are very ſandy, ſo that Cattle is very ſcarce among 'em.

Its Temple much eſteem'd.

Not far from the Sea-ſide they have a Temple, the Rafters and Beams of which are made of Whale Bones; for Whales of a monſtrous ſize are oftentimes caſt up dead upon that Shore. The common People imagine, that by a ſecret Power beſtow'd by God upon the Temple, no Whale can paſs by it without immediate Death: But the Truth of the Matter is, that on either ſide of the Temple, there are Rocks that ſhoot two Miles into the Sea, and wound the Whales when they light upon 'em. They keep a Whale's Rib of an incredible length for a Miracle, which lying upon the Ground with its convex part uppermoſt, makes an Arch, the Head of which cannot be reach'd by a Man upon a Camel's Back. This Rib (ſays *John Leo*) is ſaid to have layn there a hnurded Years before I ſaw it. Their Hiſtorians affirm, that a Prophet who propheſy'd of ***Mahomet***, came from this Temple; and ſome do not ſtand to aſſert, that the Prophet *Jonas* was caſt forth by the Whale upon the Shoar of *Meſſa*. Upon this Shore there is great ſtore of Amber to be found, which the *Portugueſe* and *Feſſan* Merchants buy very cheap (i. e. leſs than a Ducat *per* Ounce). Some ſay 'tis made of Whales Dung, and others of *Sperma Ceti*, which being harden'd by the Sea, is caſt upon the next Shoar.

Monſtrous Whales.

The Original of *Amber*.

Teyent.

Not far from *Sus*, ſtands *Teyent*, which contains 4000 Families. The adjacent Country produces plenty of Grain, Barley, Pulſe and Dates, as alſo of Sugar, only for want of the being acquainted with the way of preſſing, boyling and preparing it; what they have is black and unſavoury, and the *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Negroland* Merchants buy up what they can ſpare. The only Money they uſe, is the Gold dig'd out of their own Grounds; for they have no Silver but what goes towards their Womens Ornaments: The leaſt Iron Coin they have weighs almoſt an Ounce. Figs, Grapes, Peaches, and Dates, are the only Fruits that thrive upon that Soil.

Cordouan Leather of *Morocco*.

The famous *Cordouan* Leather of ***Morocco***, is dreſs'd here, where 12 Hides coſt ſix Ducats, and eight at *Fez*. The South part of this Country is diſpeopl'd, and ſubject to the neighbouring *Arabians*; but the North part lying towards the *Atlas*, is well ſtor'd with Towns, Villages, and Hamlets.

A River running thro' a Temple.

In the midſt of this City, there ſtands a ſtately Temple, call'd *The Greateſt*, or *The Chiefeſt*, thro' which runs a branch of the River *Sus*. Each quarter of the City has its peculiar Governour, choſen every three Months; and theſe Governours act as States of a Commonwealth. They are perpetually engag'd in War, which renders 'em rough and unpoliſh'd.

Tarodant.

The next Town in *Sus* is *Tarodant*, which contains above 3000 Houſes. When the Family of *Marin* ſway'd the Scepter of *Fez*, this was the Seat of the King of *Fez* his Vice-roys. Their preſent Government is lodg'd in the Hands of four Noble-men, elected every ſix Months.

Tedſi.

At the diſtance of 30 Miles Eaſtward from *Tarodant*, 60 from the Ocean, 20 from *Atlas*, and three from the River *Sus*, we meet with *Tedſi*, a very great Town, built many Years ago by the *Africans*, in a moſt pleaſant fertile place, abounding in Corn, Sugar, and wild Wood, and reſorted to by many of the *Negroland* Merchants. The Citizens cultivate Peace and Civility, and have a very flouriſhing Commonwealth, govern'd by ſix Magiſtrates, who are choſen by lot every ſixteen Months. There are a great many *Jews* in this City, who are very expert in the Goldſmith, Carpenter, and ſuch like Trades. It has a weekly Market every Munday, which draws in great numbers of *Arabians*, both from the Valleys and Mountains. It is adorn'd with a ſtately Temple, and maintains at the publick Charge, many Prieſts and Doctors of the Law.

Taganoſt.

The greateſt City in *Sus* is *Taganoſt*, containing above 8000 Families, ſurrounded with a rough Stone Wall, and lying 60 Miles from the Ocean, 50 to the Southward of *Atlas*, and ten Miles of the *Sus* River. 'Tis ſaid the *Africans* built it. 'Tis never without Civil Wars, the Inhabitants being divided into three Factions, one of which the *Arabians* always ſide with, according as their Pay goes. They have great plenty of Corn and Cattle, but their Wool is very coarſe. They make a ſort of Garments, which are exported once a Year to *Tombute*, *Gualata*, and other places in *Negroland*: They have a Market twice a Week. Their Attire is in ſome meaſure decent; and their Women are beautiful; but the Men being deſcended of black Fathers and white Mothers, are of a tawny ſwarthy Complexion.

The Mountains of *Sus*. Mountain *Hanchiſa*.

As for the Mountainous parts. The Mountain *Hachiſa*, ſtretching from the *Atlas* almoſt 40 Miles Eaſtward, is inhabited by valliant Foot-men, one of whom will encounter with two Horſe-men. It produces Barley, and plenty of Honey, but no Corn. 'Tis never without Snow, and yet the Inhabitants are ſo hardy as to wear but one ſingle Garment all the Year round. The Mountain *Halem* beginning Weſtward from that Mountain, runs Eaſt to the Region of *Guzula*, and South to the Plains of *Sus*. 'Tis furniſh'd with plenty of Horſes, and inhabited by a valliant People, who wage eternal Civil Wars, upon the account of ſome Silver Mines, out of which the prevailing Party digs Silver, and diſtributes it equally among the Partiſans.

Mountain *Halem*.

The Limits and Soil of *Morocco*. Its Cities.

The third Province of the Kingdom of *Morocco*, is that call'd *The Region of Morocco*, extending Eaſtward from the Mountain of *Neſiſa* to the Mountain *Hadimes*, and Northward to the Eaſt Border of *Hea*: Its Form is almoſt triangular. The whole Country is a moſt fertile green Plain, well ſtock'd with Cattle. As for its Towns and Cities.

Teneſſa.

About eight Miles to the Eaſt of the River *Aſiſinual*, ſtands *Teneſſa*, upon a Hill of *Atlas*, call'd *Ghedmin*. The Inhabitants till the Ground upon the ſide of the Mountain, and pay a third part of the Product by way of tribute to the *Arabians*. But they dare not till the excellent fertile Plain at the Foot of the Hill, for fear of the plundering *Arabs*.

New Delgumuba.

A large and impregnable Fort lately built, call'd *New Delgumuchn*, ſurrounded on all hands with Mountains, ſtands about 40 Miles from *Morocco*, upon the top of a Mountain, under which ſprings *Aſiſinual*, i. e. *The River of Noiſe*, ſo call'd, becauſe it breaks out of the ſide of a Hill with a hideous Noiſe, and makes a very deep Gulf. This Fort contains almoſt 1000 Families, being well ſtock'd with a civil People, that wear decent Apparel, and cultivate Mechanick Arts. About 14 Miles to the Weſt of *Delgunnuba*, upon a part of *Atlas*, ſtands a City call'd *Imizmizi*, near to which lies the Road over the Mountains to *Guzula*, known by the Name of *Burre*, i. e. *A Way ſtrew'd with Feathers*, alluding to the Snow that often falls there, apparently in the form of Feathers rather rather than Snow.

Imizmizi.

Burre.

Not far from hence there's a fair large Plain, of 30 Miles extent, producing incomparable Corn, but a great part of it is uninhabited, by reaſon of the Depredations of the *Arabians*, and the Souldiers of *Morocco*.

The City of *Morocco*.

About 14 Miles from *Atlas*, and ſix from the River *Tenſift*, upon a very large Field, ſtands *Morocco*, one of the greateſt Cities in the World; founded (as 'tis ſaid) in the 424 Year of the *Hegeira*, by *Joſeph* the Son of *Teſfin*, King of the Tribe of *Luntuna*, when he march'd to the Region of *Morocco*. The Buildings of this City are ſtately and artificial beyond expreſſion. In the Reign of King *Hali*, the Son of *Joſeph*, it contain'd above 100000 Families, being adorn'd with 24 Gates, and a very thick ſtrong white Stone Wall, beſides a great many Temples, Colleges, Bathing Places, and Inns, built after their own Faſhion.

The great Temple of *Hali*.

The moſt magnificent of all their Temples, is that in the midſt of the City, built by *Hali* the Son of *Joſeph*, the firſt King of *Morocco*, whence 'tis commonly call'd the Temple of *Hali ben Joſeph*. *Abdul-Mumen* his Succeſſour pull'd down this ſtately Edifice, and rebuilt it more ſumptuouſly than before, in order to ſink his Predeceſſour's Fame, and eternize his own; but he miſs'd his aim, for it ſtill bears the name of *Hali*. The ſecond Tyrant built another Temple near a Rock in the City, which his Grandſon *Manſor* enlarg'd to the extent of 50 Cubits every way, and adorn'd with Pillars imported from *Spain*. The Roof of this Temple was cover'd with Lead, and at every Corner were Leaden Pipes, which convey'd the Rain Water down to a Ciſtern or Vault below the Temple, of equal bigneſs with the Temple it ſelf. The Steeple is built of hard ſmooth Stone, in the form of an Amphitheatre, being above 100 Ells round, and higher than the Steeple of *Bononia*. The Stairs of the Steple are ſeven Hands broad, and well lighted with Windows, that are contriv'd to be wider within than without. The Steeple riſes to a Spire, in the form of a Sugar-loaf, about two Spears long and 25 Ells in compaſs, which has three Galleries that they get up by wooden Ladders. On the top of a Spire ſtands a Gold Half-moon, upon an Iron Bar, with three Golden Balls of different ſizes underneath, the greateſt of which is plac'd loweſt and the leaſt higheſt. From the top of this Steeple one may deſcry the Promontory of *Azaphi*, which lies 130 Miles off, and carry his Eye above 50 Miles into the plain Country. The inſide of this Temple is but ordinary, but the Arches of the Roof is very artificial. This great Temple is never frequented by the People but on *Fridays*; and that part of the City where it ſtands is now uninhabited, whereas in former times (as 'tis reported) there were above 100 Bookſellers Shops under its Porch. In fine, the third part of the City is at preſent uninhabited, and there is not now one Bookſeller in the whole Town.

The occaſion of the decay of *Morocco*.

Tho' 'tis not above 500 Years ſtanding, yet the Inconvenience of continual Wars, and the frequent Alterations of their Magiſtrates, have brought it to decay. In the Reign of *Abraham* King *Hali*'s Son, one *Elmabeli*, a Highlander, and a *Mahometan* Prieſt, rebell'd againſt his Natural Sovereign, and having levy'd his Army, intercepted his Return to the City of *Morocco*, and oblig'd him to fly to the Mountains of *Atlas*. After which the King came to *Oran*, and finding no Relief there, mountted his Horſe, and taking his Queen behind him, fled to a Rock upon the Sea-ſhore, where he threw himſelf, his Queen and his Horſe headlong. In the mean time *Elmabeli* dy'd, and *Abdul-Mumen* his Succeſſour beſieg'd the City of *Morocco* for a whole Year, and at laſt took it, upon which he kill'd *Iſaac* the Son of King *Abraham*, with his own Hands, and order'd all the Souldiers and a great part of the Citizens to be put to the Sword. This Man's Poſterity reign'd from the 516th to the 668th Year of the *Hegeira*, at which time they were diſpoſſeſs'd by a King of the Tribe call'd *Marin*. This Family of *Marin* kept their Court at *Fez*, and govern'd *Morocco* by Vice-roys. They continued in the Government till the 785 yeat of the *Hegeira*. This City of *Morocco* has Vines, Palm-trees, large Gardens, and very fruitful Corn Fields within the Walls; but the Ground without the Walls lies unmanur'd, upon the account of the Excurſions of the *Arabs*.

The King and Queen thrown headlong over a Rock.

The Caſtle of *Morocco*.

It has an impregnable large Caſtle within it, the Walls, Towers and Gates of which, are of pure Marble. Within this Caſtle ſtands a ſtately Temple, with a lofty Steeple, and a Golden Half-Moon, with three Golden Spheаrs on the top of it, weighing together 130000 Ducats. Some Kings have attempted to take down theſe rich Spheаrs, but their Deſign was always baulk'd by ſome great Misfortune or other. This Caſtle contains likewiſe a great Colledge, that has 30 Halls belonging to it, one of which ſtanding in the middle, is very large, and admirably well painted and carv'd, being the place allotted for the publick Lectures, while Learning flouriſh'd among 'em. All their Porches and Roofs were of painted glittering Stone, call *Ezzulleia*. In the midſt of this Colledge they have a moſt pleaſant clear Fountain, encloſ'd with Walls of white poliſh'd Marble. In former times there were a great many Students in it, who had their Diet and Cloathing given them *gratis*, and ſeveral Profeſſours, who had, ſome 100, ſome 200 Ducats a year, and admitted of no Hearers, but ſuch as were perfectly well verſ'd in the Arts they profeſs'd Further, The Caſtle has likewiſe twelve Courts of curious Buildings within it. The firſt was the Apartment of above 500 Chriſtians, who always attended the King, carrying Croſs-bows before him. The ſecond was call'd *The Houſe of Affairs*, being the Lodgings appointed for the Lord Chancellour and the King's Privy Council. The third was call'd *The Court of Victory*, in which the Armour and Ammunition was lodg'd. The fourth was allotted to the King's Maſter of Horſe, having three Stables adjoining, each of which contain'd 200 Horſe, and large Conveniencies for the keeping of Straw, Barley and Corn. The Corn is lodg'd in ſeveral Rooms, each of which will contain above 300 Buſhels. Theſe Rooms have a whole in the Roof, to which the Beaſts laden with Corn, aſcend by Stone Steps, and ſo the Corn is put in at that hole; and when they want to take out any Corn, there are other holes below, out of which it runs upon the firſt opening. The other Courts are employ'd for the lodging of the King's and Noblemens Sons, the King's Concubines, and other Ladies of Honour, and the King's Guard, the Reception of Ambaſſadours, &c. Among theſe there's a ſquare Building, containing ſeveral Galleries with ſtately Glaſs Windows, in which ſeveral Hiſtories are curiouſly painted. Upon that ſide of the Caſtle that is next the Fields, you have the proſpect of a very pleaſant large Garden, adorn'd with all ſorts of Trees. Not far from the Garden there's a Park wall'd round, in which Elephants, Lions, Stags, and all kinds of wild Beaſts were kept, only the Lions had a peculiar Apartment, call'd to this Day, *The Lions Den*. This ſumptuous Structure had a Magnificent Porch of excellent Marble, in the midſt of which a Lion of Marble ſtood upon a Pillar, and threw out of his Mouth clear Chriſtal Water into a Ciſtern. Each corner of the Porch was adorn'd with a Leopard of party colour'd Marble, that naturally repreſents its ſpots. This ſort of Marble is not to be found any where but in a certain place of *Atlas*, about 150 Miles off. Such was the Magnificence of this noble Structure, in the time of *Manſor*, who built it, which at this day affords only Neſts to the Fowls of the Air. Such an Edifice became ſo great a Prince as *Manſor*, whoſe Dominions reach'd from *Meſſa* to *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, and who was Lord, not only of all the Kingdom of *Granada* in *Spain*, but of a great part of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*. 'Twas in his Son's time that the Succeſs of the Chriſtians made way for the decay of *Morocco*; and after his death the Civil Diſſentions between his ten Sons, gave the People of *Fez*, call'd *Marini*, an Opportunity of uſurping the Government, and leaving this famous City expos'd to the Inſults of the *Arabs*, who have reduc'd it to extream Miſery.

A noble Colledge within it.

The Porch of the Caſtle.

The Greatneſs of King *Manſor*.

Agmet.

Another Town in the Region of *Morocco*, is that call'd *Agmet*, built by the ancient *Africans*, upon the top of a Hill, about 24 Miles off *Morocco*. While *Muachidin* was Prince of it, it contain'd 6000 Families; the People were noted for Civility, and the Town boaſted of Plenty and Magnificence, having in its Neighbourhood plenty of Vines, pleaſant Gardens, a River at the Foot of the Hill, the Water of which looks always white, and a Field by it that yielded a fifty fold Increaſe every Year. But now it's only Inhabitants are Wolves, Foxes, Deer, and other wild Beaſts.

The Mountains of *Morocco*. *Niſiſa*.

The moſt Weſtern Part of the Region of *Morocco*, is the Mountain of *Niſiſa*, which divides it from *Hea*, and which is both well peopled and exceeding fertile in Barley, notwithſtanding that its top is continually cover'd with Snow. The Inhabitants of this place are Strangers to Civility; they gaze at any Stranger that comes among 'em. I ſtay'd there two Days (ſays our Author) and being clad in white, which is the uſual Garb for the Learned Men of our Country, the Mob came about me, and being ſurpriz'd at the white Garment, handled it ſo often, that inſtead of white it became black in a little time.

M. *Semede*.

This Mountain is ſeparated by the River *Seſſana* from another Mountain of 20 Miles extent Eaſtward, call'd *Semede*, inhabited by a People unacquainted with good Laws, Civility or Honeſty. It enjoys plenty of Springs, and is always cover'd with Snow. In this Country (ſays our Author) I was forc'd to eat Barly-meal mingled with Water, and ſtale tough Goats Fleſh, and to lye upon the bare Ground; and it being the Cuſtom there, that whatever Stranger comes amongſt 'em, he is conſtrain'd to decide the Controverſies of the Inhabitants. I was forc'd to ſtay there nine Days to decide their Quarrels, after which, by way of Recompence, they plac'd me in a Church Porch, and after a ſhort Prayer, preſented me, ſome with a Cock, ſome with Nuts and Onions, ſome with a handful of Garlick, and the richer ſort with a Goat, for there is not a farthing of Money in the Country. This done, they ſent 50 Horſe to conduct me upon the Road, and defend me from Robbers.

Strangers Judges.

M. *Seuſana*.

Where *Semede* ends, the Mountain *Seuſana* begins, the top of which was never without Snow: It ſends forth a River of the ſame name. The brutiſh Inhabitants wage eternal War with their Neighbours, but their only Arms are Slings, out of which they throw Stones with a wonderful dexterity. They feed upon Barley, Honey, and Goats-Fleſh. The Walls of their Houſes are of rough Stone and Lime, and the Roofs are thatch'd. A great many *Jews* live among 'em, and exerciſe Mechanick Trades, ſuch as Maſon Work, making of Soap, Iron Hooks, and Horſe-ſhooes. Neither do they want learned Men and Lawers, whoſe Counſel they uſe at all times. This Mountain is much infeſted with Robbers as well as the laſt I mention'd.

M. Hantea. The higheſt Mountain I ever ſaw, is that call'd *Hanteta*, which at the firſt view I took to be Clouds. Its top is always cover'd with Snow. The ſides of it are deſtitute of Herbs or Trees, and might afford plenty of excellent white Marble, if the ſloathful ignorant Inhabitants knew but how to hew and poliſh it. Here are many ſumptuous Pillars and Arches deſign'd by the King's of *Morocco*, for ſupporting Water Conduits; but the Violence of the Wars hinder'd 'em to put their Deſigns in execution. Many of the *Carrain Jews* follow Mechanick Trades in this place, and pay great Sums to the Governour of the Mountain for their Licence.

The Province of *Guzzula.* The fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Morocco* is *Guzzula*. Its Limits are *Ilda* a Mountain in *Sus* to the Eaſt, *Atlas* to the North, and *Hea* to the South. 'Tis inhabited by a numerous ſavage People, that abound in Cattle, but want Money. Some Villages in this Province contain above 1000 Families. It has excellent Iron and Copper Mines. Having no King nor Laws, nor form of Government, they are continually at war one with another; only they obſerve three Days truce every Week, which a Hermite that they rever'd, enjoyn'd to 'em; and once a Year they have a Fair for two Months, during which time they give free Entertainment to all Merchants that come either to ſell or buy, and obſerve a Truce among themſelves, appointing Captains out of each Faction, to preſerve the Peace and Security of the Fair, and to puniſh Thieves who immediately upon their Conviction, are ſlain like Bruits, and their Carcaſſes are thrown out to the Dogs and Fowls.

Province of *Duccala. Azapi.* We come next to the Province of *Duccala*. Its Towns are *Azapi*, upon the Shore of the Ocean, containing 4000 Families, of a barbarous ignorant People, that know not how to till, ſow or plant the fertile Soil they poſſeſs.

Centum Putei *Centum Putei*, ſtanding upon a Rock of excellent Marble, ſo call'd from the number of Pits or Caves in its Suburbs, which preſerv'd Corn 100 Years from corruption; and inhabited by a ſloathful People, there being no Mechanicks among 'em, excepting a few *Jews*.

Azamur. And *Azamur*, ſeated on the Mouth of the River *Ommirabib*, by the ſide of the Ocean, containing 5000 civil and decently apparell'd Families, who live in peace one with another. The Inhabitants of *Azamur* are mightily given to Sodomy. The *Jews* ſurrender'd this City to the King of *Portugal*, upon the Condition of Security to themſelves; ſo that this is now the Reſidence of the *Portugueſe* Merchants. Tho' the Gardens and Orchards about it bring forth nothing but Figs, yet they have plenty of Pulſe and Corn, and ſuch abundance of Fiſh, as brings 'em in 6 or 7000 Ducats a Year. Their Seaſon of Fiſhing laſts from *October* to *April*.

The Green Mountain. In this Province we meet with a very high Mountain, call'd *The Green Mountain*, which extends from the River *Ommirabib* to the Hills of *Haſara*, and ſeparates *Duccala* from ſome part of *Tedles*. 'Tis rough and woody, and affords great ſtore of Acorns, Pine-apples, and a red Fruit, call'd *Africano*. It ſhews a great many Fountains, Mahometan Altars, and the Ruins of ancient Houſes, built by the *Africans*. Several Hermites live upon this Mountain, and feed only upon what the Woods afford, for they lie at the diſtance of 25 Miles from any Town.

The Province of *Hazcora. Tagodaſt.* The ſixth Province of this Kingdom is *Hazcora*, in which we meet with *Tagodaſt*, a Town ſtanding upon the top of a Mountain, ſurrounded with other four, the ſpace between theſe and the Town being full of large, pleaſant and fruitful Gardens. Here the Quinces are incredibly big, and the Vines ſhooting round the Boughs of Trees, make moſt delicious Walks. The Grapes are red, and for their bigneſs are call'd Hens Eggs, in the Language of the Country. They have plenty of Oil, which they export to the adjacent Cities, and excellent Honey, both white and yellow. Their Fountains are very numerous, and joining in one Stream, ſerve their Water-mills. The Inhabitants have ſome meaſure of Civility. Their Women are handſome, and ſet out with Silver Jewels. They have among 'em Judges, Prieſts, great numbers of Gentlemen, and a great many Tradeſmen. Their Leather, of which they have abundance, they export to *Fez* and *Mecnaza*. Under the Town lies a fertile Plain, almoſt ſix Miles long, for which they pay tribute to the *Arabians*.

Within five Miles of that Town, ſtands *Elgiumuah*, on the top of a high Mountain, containing 500 Families, beſides as many more in the Villages upon the Mountains. 'Tis enrich'd with innumerable Springs, pleaſant Gardens, tall Walnut-trees, and excellent Iron Mines, which afford 'em plenty of Horſe-ſhooes. A great many Trades-men live in this Town, ſuch as Smiths, Leather-dreſſers, *&c.* The adjacent Hills yield Barly and Olives in great abundance. Elgiumuha

As for *Tedles*, the laſt Province of *Morocco*; its chief Town is *Tefza*, built by the *Africans* upon the ſide of Mount *Atlas*, about five Miles off the Valley, and taking its Name from the excellent Marble (*Tefza*) of which its Walls are built. Many rich Merchants reſide in it, beſides 200 Families of Jewiſh Tradeſmen and Merchants. Several outlandiſh Merchants trade to it for black Mantles with Hoods, call'd *Ilburnus's*. It entertains many Judges and Prieſts, and has ſeveral Mahometan Temples. The Inhabitants are decently cloath'd; their Women are handſome and graceful; their Coins of Gold, bears no Image or Superſcription. They pay the King of *Morocco* 20000 Ducats a Year. The Province of *Tedles. Tefza.*

In this Province is Mount *Magran*, having the Region of *Farcali* on the South, Mount *Seggheme* on the Weſt, and Mount *Dedes* on the Eaſt. Tho' 'tis always cover'd with Snow, the Inhabitants have ſuch Droves of ſmall and great Cattle, that they are oblig'd to move from place to place, and carry their Houſes along with 'em upon Mules, for they are made of the Bark of Trees, ſupported with ſlender Spares: Only during the Spring they continue in one place, and to defend their Cattle from the cold, lodge 'em in the night time in Cottages cover'd with the Boughs of Trees, near which they kindle great Fires, and if the Wind blows hard, the Cattle are ſometimes endanger'd by the Fire. Lions and Wolves never ceaſe to moleſt 'em. M. *Magran.*

Another high and cold Mountain in this Province, is Mount *Dedes*. It extends from Mount *Magran* on the Weſt, as far as Mount *Adeſan*, and on the South Borders upon the Plains of *Todga*, being almoſt 80 Miles long; 'tis full of Fountains and Woods. The Ruines of an old City are to be ſeen upon the top of it, with ſome Inſcriptions upon the Stones that the Inhabitants do not underſtand. This I take to have been the ſame City, that *Seriſſo Eſſacalli*, an Hiſtorian, calls *Tedſi*, and places near to *Segelmeſſe* and *Dara*. The Inhabitants of this Mountain are very barbarous. Moſt of 'em dwell in Caves under ground, and likewiſe lodge their Cattle in Caves, which are full of Salt Petre, but they know not the uſe of it. Some of 'em have Houſes built by pailing one Stone above another, without any Morter; but there's no Town or Caſtle in all the Country. They have nothing to feed upon but Barley Meal boyl'd with Water and Salt, which they call *Elbaſid*. They have large numbers of Aſſes and Goats, and their very Houſes are tainted with the ſtench of Goats Their Garments ſcarce cover half their nakedneſs. They are wonderfully haunted by prodigious ſwarms of Fleas. Having neither Judge, Prieſt, nor Governour, they ſteal from one another, and quarrel upon the leaſt occaſion. Few Merchants viſit 'em, becauſe they have no Commodities to ſell; and if any one imports Goods among 'em, he muſt pay a fourth part for Cuſtom, and runs the riſque of having all taken from him, unleſs he be conducted ſafe by their Captain. Their Women are a ſlovenly miſerable crew, and their Toil and Slavery is greater than that of *Aſſes*. M. *Dedes*,

Additions to Chap. II.

Collected out of Marmol.

The Province of *Hea.*

Morocco, the moſt Weſtern Kingdom of all *Barbary*, is bounded by the Ocean on the Weſt, the River of *Sus* on the South, Mount *Atlas* on the Eaſt, and the River of *Ommirabi* on the North.

Hea, the moſt Weſtern Province of *Morocco*, is ſo craggy and mountainous, that it nouriſhes few other Beaſts beſides Goats, very large Hares, and Aſſes, which are very numerous there.

Its Products.

It produces great quantities of Barley, but no Corn. What traffick the Inhabitants have, is owing, not only to their Goats, but to their Bees, from which they gather a great quantity of Wax, and ſell it to the *Europeans*. The Natives are a warlike People, but withal very brutiſh and uncivil. Tho' their Valleys being well watered with Springs and Rivers, might make good Vineyards and Gardens, yet they neglect both. Neither do they plant Olive-Trees, for what Oil they uſe is made of the Kernel of a certain Fruit that grows upon a thorny Tree call'd *Erquen*. This Fruit is as big as a large Apricock; it contains nothing but a Stone cover'd with a Skin, and when 'tis ripe, ſhines like a Star in the Night-time. The Goats feed upon it, but are not able to break the Stone; ſo that the Natives gather the Stones in their Folds, and from the Kernels draw an Oil, that both ſtinks and taſtes very rank. The Inhabitants are ſo brutiſh, that not one among 'em can read, excepting a few *Alfaqui's*, whoſe Example and Precepts are a ſtanding Law to the reſt; for tho' they are all *Mahometans*, yet they know nothing either of *Mahomet* or his Sect. They wear no Shirts, becauſe they have no Linen, but what is bought up at *Morocco* or *Safi*, for the uſe of the Courtiers and Ladies of Quality. They have neither Hats nor Caps upon their Heads, but only woolen Rowlers about half a Foot broad, which they run five or ſix times about their Heads, in the form of Turbants. The fineſt of theſe Welts or Fillets are of Cotton-Cloth ſtrip'd with red, with Taſſels hanging down on each ſide like a Fringe, but the *Alfaqui's* wear, by way of diſtinction, red Caps imported from *Toledo* or *Cordoua*. The young Men ſhave their Face and Head, but married Men ſuffer not only their Beards to grow, but likewiſe a Tuft of Hair upon the Crown of the Head, by which (ſay the *Arabians*) the *Mahometans* will be diſtinguiſh'd on the Day of Judgment. Thoſe who live in Cities have a decenter Garb than the reſt; for they wear Doublets of colour'd Cloth, with long Skirts and half Sleeves, with a great many Buttons upon the Breaſt, and over it a Caſſock that's ſomewhat finer. Their Women have long and large Linen Shifts, and a ſort of Veil or Mantle, call'd *Haygue*. Within doors, if they are Ladies of Quality, they cover themſelves with a Cloth that's half Linen half Silk, and faſten it upon their Breaſts with a Silver Buckle. Upon their Arms they have Silver Bracelets, and large Silver Rings upon their Ankles, beſides three or four large Ear-rings of Gold, or Silver, or Iron, according to their Ability. The People of Faſhion lie in Coverings of ſhag'd Tapiſtry, lying ſeveral Plaits of it underneath 'em, and leaving a piece to cover 'em: But the common People have nothing to lye upon but Mats made of Bulruſhes, or ſome Goats Skins, and cover themſelves with their Cloaths. The Men are of a robuſt Conſtitution, and infinitely jealous of their Wives, who are commonly handſome, and of a clean, white and amorous Complexion.

Oil of *Erquen*

The Habit of the Country

Their Diet.

Their ordinary Food is Barley Meal, which they either bake into Cakes, either in an Oven or in an earthen Pan, and eat it hot with Butter or Honey, or the Oil of *Erquen*, or ſometimes with Goats Fleſh ſtew'd. Sometimes they boil the Meal with Milk or freſh Butter, and ſo eat it, calling it *Hacua*: But their *Hacida* is a piece of Paſte or Dough boil'd with Water and Salt, and having a hole in the middle of it, fill'd with Butter or Oil, in which they dip their Bread when they eat it, and then drink up the Broth.

They eat with their Right-hand, and why.

When they eat, they ſit down, both Men and Women, upon the Ground, and the earthen Veſſels being plac'd in the middle, grapple up the Victuals with their Right-hand, accounting it unlawful to eat either with Spoons or with the Left-hand, that being the Hand with which they waſh themſelves when they go about their Devotion; when they have done eating, they wipe their Fingers by rubbing 'em againſt the other Hand or their Arms; for they uſe neither Napkins, nor Towels, nor Handkerchiefs; and when they waſh their Hands, they hold 'em in the Air till they dry of themſelves. Their Women are commonly imploy'd in grinding their Meal in little Stone Hand-mills; for notwithſtanding the Advantage of excellent Rivers falling down from the Mountains, they have no ſuch thing as Water-Mills. They know no ſuch thing as Soap, for they whiten their Linen with a ſort of Herb call'd *Gazul*.

All this Province is very well peopled, being full of large Villages ſtock'd with a turbulent ſort of People, who liv'd in eternal war with one another, till the Government fell into the Hands of the *Xeriffs*; for they liv'd at large, and neglecting the Meaſures either of Law or Juſtice, were impatient under Controul.

Their Arms.

Their Arms are three or four Darts with ſharp Steel Points, and a ſharp Poinard bow'd like a Sickle, which cuts on the inner ſide, and three or four Slings ty'd about their middle. They knew nothing of Guns or Croſs-bows, till within theſe few Years, that the *Xeriff* call'd them to aſſiſt him in the Wars. Their Horſemen carry Spears with Leathern Targets, and Cutelaxs's made like Sickles.

Their way of fighting.

In fighting they always betake themſelves to ſteep and unacceſſable places, from whence they tumble down Stones upon their Enemies; and upon an Attack they make ſuch a noiſe, that one would take 'em to be much more numerous than they are. What has been ſaid of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of *Hea*, may be apply'd to all the Mountaneers of *Barbary*.

The City of *Tedneſt*.

The Metropolitan of all *Hea*, is the City of *Tedneſt*, waſh'd by a River that riſes in its Neighbourhood, the Banks of which are beautify'd with fruitful Trees and all ſorts of Kitchin Herbs. Both its Houſes and Walls are built of Wood and ſquare Lays of Earth, cemented with Plaiſter.

Moſt of the Inhabitants of this City are Shepherds and labouring Men, who ſpend their time in the Fields. The reſt are Trades-men, particularly Shooe-makers, Taylors, Carpenters, Lock-ſmiths, to which we may add ſome Jews that are Gold-ſmiths, and ſome Merchants, who ſell the coarſe Cloth made in the Country, and trade in the Linen Cloth imported from *Safi*, where the *European* Merchants exchange it for Wax and Leather. This City has leſs Polity than any other City in all *Barbary*, for it has neither Baths, Inns, Colleges nor Hoſpitals, excepting one for the poor People that paſs that way.

Severe Taxes upon the Jews.

About 200 Families of *Jews* live in a ſeparate quarter of the City, where they are allow'd to obſerve the Meaſures of their own Law, and pay a Ducat a Head to the Governour, beſides the extraordinary Taxes which are ten times heavier upon each of them, than upon the richeſt Merchant of the City; and after all, they are uncapable of being the Proprietors of Houſes or Lands, or any other immoveable thing. *Tedneſt* has been deſtroy'd ſeveral times, particularly when the *Almuhades* maſter'd *Morocco* and *Abdulmumen*, after an obſtinate Siege, reduc'd it to ſuch extremity, that it became a Receptacle to wild Beaſts. But the adjacent Country being fertile and pleaſant, 'twas ſoon after rebuilt and repeopled, and render'd it ſelf famous by declaring firſt for the *Xeriffs*. Upon which *Xeriff Mahomet* pitch'd upon it for the place of his Reſidence, and adorn'd it with a ſumptuous Palace, with fine Gardens and Water-works adjoyning. 'Twas his place of Arms againſt the Chriſtians of *Safi* and *Azamor*, who infeſted his Provinces under the conduct of *Tacaya Aten Tafuf*, an *African* Captain, and Vaſſal of the King of *Portugal*.

The Portugueze take Tedneſt. A. D. 1514

This Captain being a mortal Enemy to the *Xeriffs*, and a particular Friend to *Nugno Fernandez de Atayde*, General of the *Portugueze* Army, and the braveſt Officer of his time, join'd with him (*A. D.* 1514) in marching againſt *Xeriff Mahumet*, who was then at *Tedneſt*, accompany'd by his two Sons, and the Flower of his Army. Upon their Approach at the Head of 400

The Xeriff retakes it.

Chriſtian Horſe, 3000 Moriſh Horſe, and 800 *Arabian* Foot; the *Xeriff* march'd out of *Tedneſt* with 4000 Horſe, and meeting the Van-guard, commanded by the *African* Captain, was routed before the *Portugueze* General come up with the Rear. In this Battle he loſt 800 Men, beſides 200 Priſoners, and upon that, he and his two Sons betook themſelves to flight. The Victors having poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Booty of 3000 Head of Cattle ſmall and great, beſides a great many Horſes, Camels and Mules, march'd up to the City, and took it without any Oppoſition. After that it continued in the Hands of the King of *Portugal*, as well as many other places in that Country, till the *Xeriff* having drawn together an Army, recover'd it; ſo that his Poſterity enjoys it to this Day.

The Town of Agobel.

Agobel, a ſmall fortified Town, not far from *Tedneſt*, was likewiſe taken by the above-mention'd General, who was the firſt that ſcal'd the Walls, and by his Perſonal Braveries, not only animated his Men, but aſtoniſh'd his Enemies: But the *Xeriff* has ſince retaken it, for it always follow'd the Fortune of *Tedneſt*.

Alguel a Town.

Alguel, a ſtrong Town in this Country, ſtanding on the top of a ſteep Mountain, was attack'd by the *Portugueſe*, but they did not carry it.

Teculeth.

Teculeth, another City in this Country, has a ſmall Harbour, with an old Caſtle call'd *Aguz*, upon the Mouth of the *Diura*, which *Ptolomy* places in 7 Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 40 Min. Lat. Both the Houſes and Walls of this Town are built of Earth. 'Twas firſt ſack'd and diſpeopled by *Abduimumen*, and afterwards (*A. D.* 1514) by the *Portugueſe*. But ſince that the *Xeriff* have repeopled it, and indeed the Inhabitants are both civiler and richer than thoſe of *Tedneſt*; for the adjacent Plains are very fertile, and the Mountain affords great Hives of Bees, the Wax of which they ſell to the *European* Merchants.

Teſgdelt.

Teſgdelt is look'd upon as the Key of the whole Province; and the Governour appointed by the *Xeriff*, to collect his Revenues and adminiſter Juſtice, reſides in it.

Culeybat Elmuhayden.

The Caſtle call'd *Culeybat Elmuhayden*, built by *Omar* the *Mahometan* Preacher, was a great annoyance to the Neighbours, by reaſon of the Robberies and Excurſions of his Grandſon, till at laſt he came to an Accommodation with the *Xeriffs*, and paid 'em homage.

Teſtana.

Upon the point of the Promontory of *Hea*, that ſhoots out into the Ocean, there ſtands a little Town call'd *Teſtane*, with a pretty good Habour, where the *European* Merchants uſe to land. 'Twas formerly call'd *Hercules*'s Port, which *Ptolomy* places in 7. Deg. 30 Min. Lon. and 30 Deg. Lat. It has Walls and Towers built of Brick and Free-ſtone, and was once a Sovereign Republick, and maintain'd a Garriſon upon the Cuſtom of 10 *per Cent.* of the Wax, untann'd Leather, Indigo, and other Goods that were exported or imported. At preſent 'tis ſubject to the *Xeriff*, and kept under by a Governour and a Garriſon. The Inhabitants are very white, and liberal to Strangers. They have large places ſet apart for Bee-hives.

The Province of Sus.

The ſecond Province of *Morocco* is *Sus*, which contains the greater part of the whole Kingdom. The beſt part of this Country is a Plain, lying to the Weſtward along the River *Magarib*, which waters it, and is convey'd by Conduits to the reſpective Villages.

Its Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants of this Province are richer and more civiliz'd than thoſe of *Hea*; for beſides their large ſtocks of Corn and Cattle, they have dealt in Sugars, being provided with Sugar Mills ever ſince the Reign of the *Xeriffs*, which is the moſt profitable Trade in all *Morocco*. When the *Xeriffs* conquer'd *Mauritania Tingitana*, the eldeſt Brother gave the Kingdom of *Sus* to the younger, upon the condition of paying homage; which he did for a while, till at laſt he outed his elder Brother, and made himſelf Maſter, not only of all *Mauritania Tingitana*, but of ſeveral Provinces in *Numidia* and *Libya*.

Commodities

This Country affords good Indigo, Allum, and the beſt ſort of Lattin, which goes by the name of *Suſi*, not to mention the *Geneova* Slaves, and the *Tibar* Gold, call'd by the Negroes *Narnaqui*, which are brought from thence by Caravans every Year.

Tejent.

Among the remarkable places of this Province, we muſt take notice of *Tejent*, or *Techeit*, where they make great quantities of fine Sugar, ever ſince a *Jew* that was turn'd *More*, taught 'em how to prepare it, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Priſoners that the *Xeriff* had took at Cape *d' Aguer*. The Inhabitants of this place are very proud, and were always quarreling among themſelves while they enjoy'd their Liberty. But about 100 Years ago ſome of 'em uſurp'd the Government, and upon the Commencement of the *Xeriffian Adventures*, the then Governour married his only Daughter to a *Genoueſe* Merchant that had turn'd *Mahometan*; and this Merchant was ſo much belov'd by the People, that after the Death of his Father-in-Law, he ſucceeded to the Crown, and being a Friend to the *Xeriffs*, allow'd 'em to paſs thro' his Country upon their march to *Hea*. The eldeſt Son and Succeſſour of this Merchant was the braveſt alive that the *Xeriffs* had, and they confided moſt in him. His Grandſon is at preſent Lord of *Chechuan*. Theſe Princes imbelliſh'd the City very much, and at this Day the Inhabitants are very rich, and live at their eaſe. However they have among 'em above 200 Jewiſh Merchants and Trades-men.

Tarudant.

Twelve Leagues to the Eaſt of *Tejent*, we fall in with *Tarudant*, call'd by the Mores *Teurant*, which is not inferiour to the reſt in Magnificence and Commerce. When the *Benimerins* maſter'd *Mauritania Tingitana*, they imbelliſh'd it, and made it the Seat of their Viceroys. After their fall, it recover'd its Liberty, and was govern'd by four Magiſtrates elected every ſix Months, till the *Xeriffs* poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, under the Pretence of waging War with the Chriſtians at Cape *d' Aguer*. At preſent (ſays our Author) 'tis well fortified, and one of the principal Cities in all *Africa*; in which the *Xeriff* lodges his Magazines, his Arſenal, and the greateſt part of his Treaſure, as being the ſecureſt place in the Country. Some ſay the *Xeriffs* were the Founders of it, but the Antiquity of its Walls and Buildings, and the Teſtimony of Hiſtorians, are ſufficient Evidence that it was built by the ancient *Africans*.

Tedſi.

Tedſi was likewiſe much improv'd by the *Xeriffs*; for it ſubmitted voluntarily to them, when it was govern'd by ſix Magiſtrates choſen every ſixteen Months, upon which they eſtabliſh'd a Court of Judicature in the City, and render'd it one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Towns on that ſide the *Atlas*. The ſame was the Fate of the great City of *Taganoſt*.

Cape d'Aguer

Within theſe few Years there was a ſmall Town built at the Foot of the Cape of Mount *Atlas*, call'd *Cape d' Aguer*, and formerly *Cape d' Uſagre*, which *Ptolomy* places in ſeven Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 29 Deg. 15 Min. Lat. This place has a good Harbour, where large Ships may ride. It owes its Original to *Diego Lopez de Seguera*, a *Portugueze* Gentleman, who built a Caſtle there to ſecure his Fiſhery. This Caſtle was call'd *Saint Croix*, and by the Mores *Dar Kumia*, i. e. *The Houſe of a Chriſtian.* But K. *Dom Manual* perceiving that this Caſtle might be of great importance in ſecuring the Navigation of thoſe Seas, and carrying on the Conqueſt of *Africa*, bought it of the Gentleman, and having enlarg'd it, fortified it like a City, with Stone Walls and Bulwarks. Here the *Portugueze* kept a Garriſon, which aſſiſted by their *Arabian* and *African* Vaſſals, made many ſucceſsful Excurſions into the Country: And indeed nothing has contributed more towards the aggrandiſing of the *Xeriffs*, than the *Portugueze*, their looſing this and their other Poſſeſſions in *Africa*. *Muley Hameh* laid ſiege to this place, in the Year 1536 for ſeven Months together, and after the Loſs of 13000 Men, took it upon the accidental blowing up of a Barrel of Powder, which was under a Bulwark, and made a great breach in the Wall. At that time the *Portugueſe* Governour had a Daughter that was married to one *Don Jon de Carval*, a Man who ſignaliz'd his unparell'd Courage, by killing 30 *Mores* with his Sword in one Engagement, and fighting upon his Knees after he was wounded in both his Legs, inſomuch that the *Mores* were forc'd to kill him at a diſtance with Darts, for no body durſt venture to come near him.

Taken by the Xeriff.

The Venture and Conſtancy of a Portugueſe Lady.

When the victorious *Xeriff* ſaw his Lady (*Dogna Mencia* by Name) he was ſo charm'd with her Meen and Beauty, that he inſtantly offer'd to lie with her; and upon her refuſing to grant that Liberty, he threatn'd to make two Negroes hold her by force till he ſatisfied his Paſſion. In this Extremity the Lady conſented, upon condition that he ſhould marry her, and allow her to continue a Chriſtian. After that, the *Mores* were uneaſy upon her enjoyment of the Priviledges of a Chriſtian, inſomuch that he was forc'd to deſire her to pretend to be converted to *Mahometaniſm*. She being then big with Child comply'd with his Requeſt; and after her Delivery (as the Report goes) both ſhe and her Child were poyſon'd by the *Xeriff*'s other Wives. But before her Death, ſhe proteſted in the preſence of ſome Chriſtian Slaves, that ſhe dy'd a Chriſtian, and had ever been ſuch, but that ſhe could not refuſe to make a Shew of the contrary, upon ſeveral Conſiderations tending to the Benefit of the Chriſtians, and eſpecially of her Father who was then in priſon. This ſhe deſir'd them to make known to the World: And ſince her Death, the *Xeriff* ſent her Father-in-Law and ſome Chriſtian Slaves back to *Portugal*, and furniſh'd him with Horſes, Equipage and Money.

The Province of *Morocco*.

The third Province of *Morocco* bears the Name of the whole Kingdom, but formerly 'twas call'd *Bocano Emero*, and its Capital City was *Agmet*, before the building of *Morocco*, which is now the Metropolitan, not only of that Province, but of all Weſt *Barbary*. The Inhabitants of this Province who live in Towns and Villages, are a cunning People; they carry on a ſort of ſmall Traffick,, and are cloath'd decently enough in their way. They have numerous Troops of Horſe, beſides Muſkateers and Croſs-bowmen on foot. But the Inhabitants of the Mountains are of the ſame Kidney with thoſe of *Hea*.

Agmet.

Agmet, which was once the Metropolitan, and is now a heap of Ruines, is call'd by *Ptolomy Emere*, in his Map of *Libya*, and plac'd in 9 Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 29 Deg. 30 Min. Lat. The moſt remarkable thing about that place, is a Lake that receives all the Water that deſcends from the Mountain, and is equally deep all over, notwithſtanding that 'tis prodigious large and extream deep, which renders it very obnoxious to Storms.

The City of *Morocco*.

The City of *Morocco* is the pleaſanteſt and beſt ſituated City in all *Africa*.

The Original and Antiquity of the City.

In ſome of its ancient Buildings we find Tables of Alabaſter, with Inſcriptions in *Arabick* Letters, importing, that they were built by the Tribe of *Luntuna*, in the Reign of *Joſeph Abu Techifien*, who to carry on the Work with more expedition, imploy'd 30000 Slaves in the building of it, and made it the place of his reſidence. 'Tis ſurrounded with delicate Walls made of Chalk and Sand mix'd with a fat ſort of Earth, which renders the Cement ſo hard, that if you ſtrike upon it with a Pickax, it caſts fire like Flint: And conſidering the uncommon height of theſe Walls, 'tis very remarkable, that there is not ſo much as one breach in 'em, notwithſtanding that the City has been ſeveral times ſack'd. The Contrivance of this Town ſpeaks the Skill and Ingenuity of its Architects. It has 24 Gates, and once contain'd 100000 Inhabitants. In a word, in the Reign of the *Luntunes* and *Almohedes*, 'twas, without diſpute, the greateſt and richeſt City in all *Africa*. I have ſeen (ſays our Author) a piece of Alabaſter as high as a Man, plac'd upon an ancient Tomb, with this Inſcription in *Arabick*. *I was* Ali *the Son of* Atia, *who commanded 100000 Men, poſſeſe'd 10000 Horſe, and in one Day cauſed 101 Pits to be digged for watering of them. I married 300 Girls, and always faithful and victorious; being of* Jacob Almanſor's *24 Generals. The 40th Year of my Age put an end to my Life. May whoever reads this Epitaph, pray to Gad to pardon me.*

The Puiſſance of the ancient *Mores*.

This juſtifies what Hiſtorians aſſert of the Puiſſance of thoſe Princes, who have croſs'd over ſo often to *Spain* with ſuch numerous Armies; for here we ſee one General commands 100000 Men.

A ſtately Temple.

Not to mention the great Temple of *Hali* and the King's Palace; there's a large magnificent Temple in this City, which was built by *Abdulmumen*, and much improv'd and beautify'd by *Jacob Almanſor* his Grandſon, who carry'd the Gates, and ſeveral other Ornaments of the great Church at *Seville* as Trophies to *Morocco*, and adorn'd this Temple with 'em, as well as with two Bells that he brought out of *Spain*; for the *Mores* uſe no Bells. The Spire of this Temple has upon it four Balls of Gold faſten'd upon an Iron Spike, the loweſt and largeſt of which will hold eight Meaſures of Corn, the next four, and ſo on in proportion. The Body of the Ball is of Copper, which is cover'd with a thick plate of *Fibar* Gold; and the *African* Hiſtorians alledge, that one of *Jacob Almanſor's* Wives ſold her Jewels, in order to make 'em. But the vulgar People fancy, that ſome Spirits brought them thither, and ſtill guard 'em, which has ſcar'd ſeveral of their Kings from medling with 'em in Caſes of Extremity. When King *Nacer Bucheritus* was attack'd on all hands by the *Arabians*, the *Portugueſe* and the King of *Fez*, he would fain have taken 'em down, and pay'd his Troops with 'em; but the Inhabitants remonſtrated, that rather than the Honour of their City ſhould be ſo far ſunk, they and their Children ſhould be expos'd to ſale. However the *Xeriff Muley Hamet* took down the uppermoſt Ball but lately, and ſold the Gold of it for 25000 Piſtols of pure Gold; after which, to appeaſe the People, he caus'd the Copper Body to be guilt, and put up in its place, and hang'd up upon the Spire of the Steeple, the Jewiſh Goldſmith who had taken off the Gold by his Orders. But the *Alfaqui's* gave it out, that 'twas the Guardian Spirits of the Golden Balls that had taken up the Jew and hang'd him there. Not long after, that Prince loſt both his Crown and his Life, and the People imputed his Misfortune to his Sacriledge, ſo that no body has ſince offer'd to touch 'em.

The Avarice of the *Xeriff*.

The Superſtition of the People.

The Hiſtory of the *Muſarabians*.

In ancient times there were two large Apartments in this City, which were ſet apart for the Chriſtians that they call'd *Muſarabians*, whom the King of *Morocco* imploy'd to ſerve him as Souldiers, and allow'd to live there with their Wives and Children, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion. Theſe Chriſtians were call'd *Muſarabians*, not from their ſerving *Muſa* after the defeat of King *Roderick*, but from their Knowledge of the *Arabick* Tongue. They were brought from *Spain* by *Jacob Almanſor*, for a Guard to his Perſon, and commonly their number amounted to 500 Horſe, well mounted and well paid. They continued a long time in this Service, till *John* I. King of *Caſtile*, recall'd 'em to *Spain*, and beſtow'd on 'em large Poſſeſſions and Priviledges. The Name of *Muſarab* is ſtill made uſe of in ſeven Pariſh Churches at *Toledo*, where the *Muſarabian* Service and the *Gothick* Ceremonies do ſtill take place.

Several Saints ſuffer Martyrdom.

In the Year 1219, *S. Belaid* and five more went to *Morocco* to preach in this place, but the *Mores* condemn'd 'em to martyrdom, becauſe they inveighed againſt the *Mahometan*. And *Don Pedro*, the King of *Portugal's* Son, being then at *Morocco*, carry'd their Reſiques to *Caimbra*. Since that, the *Muſarabians* had ſuch an Intereſt with the King, that they obtain'd leave for erecting a Convent of Grey Friars; upon which, ſeveral *Franciſcans* came from *Spain*, and preach'd there; but by the Inſtigation of the *Alfaqui's*, they all ſuffer'd martyrdom.

The King's Magazine.

In the ſame place where theſe two Palaces ſtood, are the preſent *Xeriff's* Magazines, where they make 4600 weight of Powder, and ſeveral ſorts of Arms, every Month. But in the Year 1569, a clap of Thunder ſet fire to the Powder, and burnt, not only the Magazine, but ſeveral Neighbouring Houſes.

The *Jews* ſeparated from the *Mores*.

Formerly the *Jews* had a place allotted 'em to live in, near the heart of the City, but the preſent King tranſported 'em to a remoter corner, in order to ſeparate 'em from the *Mores*. The place of their preſent Reſidence is wall'd round, having only one Gate that leads to the City, and another that leads to their Church-yard. Moſt of theſe *Jews* are Gold-ſmiths, and ſome are Merchants and other Tradeſmen. The richeſt among 'em are thoſe that manage the Revenues of Governours and of the King's Children; for the *Mores* love to entruſt the management of their Incomes to the *Jews*, and find their account in it. All the *Jews* pay a Ducat a head, beſides the ordinary Taxes.

The Place and the Manner of Execution.

About the middle of the City we meet with a large wide place, with a Plot of Earth in the middle of it, rais'd higher than the adjacent Shops and Houſes. This is the place where the Criminals are executed, and 'tis never without ſeveral Gybits, upon which ſome hang by the Feet with their Throats cut, ſome are left to dye in that poſture without cutting their Throats, and others are hung up by one Arm with their Bellies ripp'd open. This is the way of puniſhing Criminals when there is no Plaintiff; but if there be any Plaintiff, he executes Juſtice himſelf, either by ſmothering the Criminal, or cutting his Throat, or running him thro with a Spear, or ſelling him for a Slave, or ſuffering him to buy his Life for a ſum of Money.

Noble Aquæducts.

One of the moſt remarkable things in this City, is a lofty Edifice, containing a general Ciſtern for Water, which ſhews how puiſſant theſe Infidels have been in former times. It receives 400 Aquæducts, which lye very deep in the Earth, and were digg'd (as ſome ſay) by 20000 Chriſtian Slaves. Some ſay, the Water of theſe Aquæducts come ſix Leagues off, from a River that ſprings out of Mount *Atlas*, the Channel of which is cover'd all the way to the City, ſo that no body can diſcover whence the Water comes. To diſcover the truth of the matter, ſeveral Kings have put Men into the Aquæducts with Lights in their Hands, in order to trace the ſource, but all of 'em pretended they could not get along, ſome for one obſtacle, and ſome for another. However the preſent *Xeriff* has within theſe few Years digg'd great Pits about two or three Leagues off the City, where the Ground begins to riſe; and having gather'd all the Water into a Ciſtern, conveys it by an Aquæduct into the City, the Pits and their Avenues being ſhut up; ſo that in caſe of a Siege, no body can trace the Aquæduct, or know whence the Water comes, in order to cut it off; and probably all the former Aquæducts were of the ſame nature. The *Xeriff* that now reigns, has lately drawn a Canal upon the Eaſt ſide of the City, from Mount *Agmet* to *Morocco*, which ſerves above 50 Mills in a plain one after another, and Waters ſeveral Gardens kept by the *Andaluſian Mores* on its Banks. For the *Xeriff* parcell'd out Lands to 'em upon that

The *Andaluſian Mores*.

quarter, allowing 'em pay like Souldiers; and 'tis from thence that they come to *Salè*, and infeſt the Spaniſh Coaſt with the light Galleys that are commonly in that River. Their Leader is an *Andaluſian More*, call'd *Dogali*, i. e. The Cheat; and at *Morocco* they have a ſeparate quarter for themſelves, which is call'd *New Orgive*, becauſe the firſt that came thither were of that City.

The Humour and Cuſtoms of the Citizens.

The Inhabitants of *Morocco* are a proud ſort of People, and mortal Enemies to the Chriſtians. They ſpeak the *Bereberes* Language. They wear Caſſocks of colour'd Cloth, embroyder'd down to the Feet with ſmall pieces cut out like Lozenges; over theſe they have Veſts of fine Camlet or Silk, and worſted Stuffs. They have Shirts and Drawers of white Cloth, and Scarlet Caps with ſmall Turbants. The Women are very civil and airy. Their Garments are either of Silk, or of fine Linen, and reach down to their Feet. They wear no Drawers as the Women of *Fez* do, and never ſtir abroad, unleſs it be to Church, or upon a Viſit; and when they go to a Bath, they cover their Faces very carefully, that they may not be ſeen. But after all, they are very coquette, and their Husbands are very jealous. The Citizens feed higher than thoſe of *Sus*; for beſides plenty of Corn, Meat, Butter, and Dates, they have great ſtore of Fowls and Veniſon, and all the Niceties that *Europe* affords. At preſent the Town is very populous, and improves every Day, by vertue of the Prince's Favour.

The Province of *Geſula*. A celebrated Fair.

The next Province is that call'd *Geſula*, the Inhabitants of which are a barbarous quarrelſome crew.

They have a celebrated Fair once a Year, that commences on *Mahomet's* birth-day, and laſts for two Months. During this Fair, they entertain above 10000 foreign Merchants, and obſerve a very regular Order, notwithſtanding, that at other times they are the moſt bruitiſh turbulent People in all *Africa*. They are moſtly Copper-ſmiths and Tinkers, and were the firſt that diſcover'd to the *Africans* the way of melting and caſting Iron. They liv'd formerly without any form of Government, but at preſent they are ſubject to the *Xeriffs*, who favour 'em upon the account of their faithful Services, and their keeping Foot-Guards which carry Firelocks. Their Cuſtoms are much of a piece with thoſe of *Hea*.

The Province of *Duguela*.

The fifth Province of *Morocco* is *Duguela*, which is 30 Leagues long and 24 broad. Its Limits are the River of *Tanſift* on the Weſt, the River of *Ommirabi* on the Eaſt, the Ocean on the North, and *Morocco* on the South. It affords plenty of Corn and Cattle. Moſt of it lies in Plains, inhabited by wrandring *Arabians*, and by *Bereberes*, ſome of whom likewiſe wander from place to place, and others fix in Houſes and Villages.

Safia a *Liby-Phœnician* City.

Poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueſe*, who afterwards abdicate it.

One remarkable City in this Province is *Safia*, call'd by the *Africans*, and by the *Portugueſe Aſaphi*. Some affirm, that 'tis one of thoſe Cities which *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* General built in *Libya*, by the Senate's Order, and which from thence were call'd *Liby-Phœnician* Cities. It has very good Walls, but is of no great Strength, by reaſon that it lies under the view of ſeveral riſing Grounds. In ancient times it was ſubject to the Kings of *Morocco*, and in that State its Trade was better than afterwards, for the *Spaniſh* Merchants imported Cloth, Linen, and other Goods, in exchange for their Wax, Indigo, Gums, and other Commodities. But upon the Declenſion of the Reign of the *Menimerini*, it ſhook off their Yoak, and one of their own Citizens uſurp'd the Government; upon which they fell into Civil Wars, and one of the Factions calling in the *Portugueſe* to their aſſiſtance, occaſion'd their Subjection to the Crown of *Portugal*. Tho' the Garriſon of this place reduc'd a great part of the adjacent Country, and carried ſeveral important Victories, yet the *Portugueſe*, after the loſs of Cape *d' Agner*, being apprehenſive of the growing Power of the *Xeriffs*, thought fit to abandon it, eſpecially conſidering that 'twas a place commanded by the neighbouring Mountains, and that it could not be well reliev'd by Sea, by reaſon of its bad Harbour; and not to mention that it coſt more than 'twas worth. While the *Portugueſe* were Maſters of *Safia*, they deſtroy'd *Cernu Miatbir*, and ſeveral other Villages and Caſtles in this Province, that depended upon *Safia*.

Azamor taken and abdicated by the *Portugueſe*.

Azamor, another City in this Province, is by ſome reckon'd one of the *Liby-Phœnician* Cities. 'Twas formerly call'd *Cuſa*, and plac'd by *Ptolomy* in ſix Deg. 40 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 45 Min. Lat. Before the *Portugueſe* were Maſters of it, 'twas a rich neat Town; for it drove a great Trade, eſpecially in Fiſhing. It continued in the *Portugueſe* Hands 32 Years; after which they deſerted it, and remov'd their Troops, Artillery, and Ammunition to *Mazagan*. Their Plea for their Abdication was, that 'twas over-aw'd by an adjacent Hill, and the Mouth of the River was very dangerous for their Shipping; beſides, that the keeping of it was very chargeable. Upon their Removal, the *Xeriff* repeopled it by ſending two *Alfagui's* to dwell in it that were in great repute for their Sanctity. But ſoon after the Governour of *Mazagan* ſurpriz'd it in the Night-time, and ſent the two *Alfagui's* and the Governour Priſoners to *Portugal*. From that time the *Mores* durſt not offer to replant it; ſo that it became a Receptacle for wild Beaſts. At this Day the *Xeriff* farms the Fiſhery of the Shads to ſome Chriſtian Merchants at a very dear rate, but they are not in ſafety if they come aſhoar.

Mount *Benimager*.

About four Leagues to the Eaſt of *Safia*, there's a high Mountain, call'd by the Ancients the Mountain of the *Sun*, at preſent *Benimager*, where 300 *Mores* upon Horſeback ſhelter'd themſelves for ſome time, when the *Portugueſe* were Maſters of *Safia*, and made Excurſions upon the Chriſtians; but at laſt they were reduc'd. At this Day the Inhabitants of the Mountain are ſubject to the Governour of *Safia*.

The Green Mountain.

Another Mountain in that Province, is that call'd *Julel Hadra*, or the Green Mountain, which was very well peopled in the time of the *Almohades*, but ſince the Devaſtations of the *Benimerini's*, is only inhabited by Hermites and viſited by Pilgrims. The many Springs that iſſue from its Rocks, form a great Lake at the Foot of the Mountain, which is wonderfully ſtock'd with Eels, Trouts, Barbels, and a ſort of large white Fiſh call'd *Bognes*, which taſts very ſweet. But the moſt remarkable thing of all, is the multitude and diverſity of Fowls and Veniſon, for certainly there is not ſuch plenty of Game in all *Africa*, as upon this Mountain.

The Province of *Hazcora*.

Having diſpatch'd *Duguela*, we proceeded in order to *Hazcora*, the next Province, which was formerly call'd *Dominet*. Its Limits are the Green Mountain on the North, the River *Animmey* on the Weſt, the *Negroland* River on the Eaſt, and on the South ſome Mountains of the *Atlas*, which it receives into its Boſom, and which furniſhes the City of *Morocco* with Vines, Olives, and all ſorts of Fruits, that City being 20 Leagues diſtance to the Weſtward. 'Tis inhabited by *Africans*, who are deſcended of one of the Branches of the Tribe of *Muſamoda*, from whom it took the Name of *Hazcora*. The Inhabitants are richer than thoſe of *Duguela*, as being leſs diſquieted by the *Arabians*; and cultivate a fertile Country, abounding with Corn and Cattle. They carry on a conſiderable Traffick; for they make good Cloth, and dreſs Leather very well. They uſed the ſame Arms with the *Berebers* upon the Mountains of *Hea*, till of late, that they have learn'd the Uſe of Croſs-Bows and Fire-locks. Such of 'em as live in Towns, reſemble the Citizens of *Morocco* in their Habit, Cuſtoms, and way of living; But the Inhabitants of the Mountains are more brutiſh. Upon the Declenſion of the Empire of the *Benemerini's*, the Towns of *Almedine* and *Elemedin*, (both in this Province) ſet up for two Soveraign Republicks, and wag'd continual War with one another, till the Year 1516, at which time they ſubmitted to the King of *Fez*, who put an end to their mutual Jars.

Almedine. *Elmedin*.

The Province of *Tedla*.

Tedla is the laſt and moſt Eaſtern Province of *Morocco*. Tho' 'tis ſmall, yet 'tis enrich'd with good ſtore of Corn, Oil, and Cattle, and wealthy Inhabitants. Thoſe who inhabit the Mountains, are *Bereberes* of the Tribe of *Muſamoda*; but the Valleys are poſſeſs'd by two Lines of *Arabians*, each of which will raiſe 9000 Horſe. The Province is of a triangular Figure, and lies between the River of *Negroes* and the River *Ommirabi*. 'Twas ſubject to the *Benemerini*, while they were Maſters of *Mauritania Tingitana*; but upon the declenſion of their Reign, it fell into the Hands of the King of *Fez*, tho' at the ſame time it belong'd to the Kingdom of *Morocco*. At preſent it peaceably obeys the *Xeriffian* Family.

CHAP. III.

Containing John Leo's *Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Fez.

The Limits and Diviſion of the Kingdom of *Fez.*

THE Limits of the Kingdom of *Fez*, are the River *Ommirabih* on the Weſt, the River *Mulvia* on the Eaſt, the Ocean and Mediterranean on the North, and the Ridge of *Atlas* on the South. It owes the Title of a Kingdom to the Family of *Marin*, who getting the upper hand, fix'd their Reſidence in the City of *Fez*. This Kingdom is divided into ſeven Provinces, namely, *Temeſne*, the Territory of *Fez*, *Azgar*, *Elhalet*, *Erna*, *Garet*, and *Elchanz*, of theſe in order.

The Limits and Revolutions of *Temeſne*

The Frontiers of *Temſne*, are, the River *Ommirabib* on the Weſt, the River *Baragrag* on the Eaſt, the *Atlas* on the South, and the Ocean on the North. 'Tis all over a plain Country, being in length from Weſt to Eaſt 80 Miles, and in breadth 60. It contain'd 40 great Towns and 300 Caſtles; and was always reckon'd the head of the ſeven Provinces of *Fez*. In the 323d Year of the *Hegeira*, one *Chenlim* a Mahometan Apoſtate, ſetting up for a Prophet, perſwaded the People to pay no Homage to their Prince; and after a War with the King of *Fez*, had his Title to the Province confirm'd by a Treaty of Peace. Accordingly he and his Succeſſours govern'd it almoſt 135 Years; till *Joſeph* King of the Tribe *Luntuna*, having built *Morocco*, ſent *Mahometan* Doctors to retain the Governour and his People, and perſwade 'em to pay Homage to the King of *Morocco*. For upon that, the People ſlew the Ambaſſadours, and the Governour march'd with 50000 Men againſt *Joſeph*; but *Joſeph* in the mean time invaded *Temeſne*, where he put Man, Woman and Child to the Sword, and levell'd all their Towns and Caſtles with the Ground. On the other Hand, the Governour of *Temeſne* with his 50000 Men fled to *Fez*, upon the News of which, the King of *Fez* ſurrounded 'em near the River *Buragrag*, and they being conſtrain'd to run up the craggy Mountains and Rocks, moſt of 'em were either drown'd in the River or thrown head-long from the Rocks, the havock laſting for the ſpace of 10 Months. *Temeſne* being thus bereft of her People, became the Habitation of wild Beaſts, and continued ſuch, till 150 Years after that King *Manſor* returning from *Tunis*, gave the Poſſeſſion of it to ſome *Arabians* that he had brought with him. Fifty Years after, King *Manſor* being outed of his Kingdom, theſe *Arabians* were diſpoſſeſs'd of *Temeſne* by the Tribe of *Luntuna*, and reduc'd to extream Miſery. Afterwards the Kings of the Family of *Marin* gave it to the People of *Zenete* and *Haoara*, who enjoy it to this day.

The Cities of *Temeſne*, viz. *Anfa*.

Among the Towns of this Province, the moſt famous is *Anfa*, the moſt pleaſanteſt Town in all *Africa*, built by the *Romans* on the Coaſt of the Ocean, 60 Miles North of *Atlas*, and Eaſt of *Azamur*. The Inhabitants are civil and wealthy. They wear a decent Apparel, and trade with the *Portugueſe* and *Engliſh*. The adjacent Country is very fertile, the Plain round it being almoſt 80 Miles over. In ancient times it had many learned Men, and was adorn'd with ſtately Temples and Palaces, rich Shops and Ware-houſes, and charming Gardens, which to this day yield great plenty of Melons and Citrons, and theſe being ripe by the middle of *April*, are carried to *Fez*, where the Fruits do not ripen ſo ſoon: But now the *Portugueſe* have laid it waſte.

Rebat.

The next Town is *Rebat*, ſeated on a Rock upon the Coaſt of the Ocean, juſt by the Mouth of the River *Baragrag*; ſo that it has the Ocean on one ſide, and the River on the other. 'Twas built but lately by *Manſor* King of *Morocco*, while he poſſeſs'd *Granada* and a great part of *Spain*, as being a convenient Frontier, from whence he might, upon occaſion, pour in Forces upon the Chriſtians, from whom *Morocco* lay at a great diſtance. He adorn'd it with Temples, Palaces, Colleges, Hoſpitals, Baths, Shops, &c. and built a Tower without the Walls on the South ſide, the height of it exceeds that of any Building I ever ſaw; ſo that from the top of it, Ships may be deſcry'd at a vaſt diſtance. 'Tis built after the faſhion of the Tower of *Morocco*, only its winding Stairs are broader, for three Horſes may go up abreaſt. He gave all Trades-men and Merchants a yearly Allowance proportion'd to their Buſineſs, by which means *Rebat* came in a little time to be better furniſh'd with Artiſans and Merchants, than any other Town in *Africa*. Here us'd *Manſor* to remain with his Troops from *April* to *September*, and in regard the Sea runs ten Miles up the River, which makes all the Water in the Town brackiſh, he ſupply'd the Town with freſh Water from a Fountain 12 Miles off, raiſing the Aquæducts archwiſe like thoſe of *Rome*, and diſperſing the Water over the Town in ſeparate Pipes. But after *Manſor*'s death, this noble Water-work was demoliſh'd in the Wars between the *Marin* Family and *Manſor*'s Succeſſors, and the Town has dwindled ever ſince, inſomuch, that ſcarce the tenth part of it is now ſtanding. The ſame *Manſor* caus'd *Sella* to be wall'd round, and for the conveniency of his Army, built in it a noble Hoſpital, a ſtately Palace, and a magnificent Temple, within which was a pretty Chapel, where he order'd his Corps to be inter'd. Accordingly he was buried there, and not only the honourable Branches of his own Family, but even the Kings of the *Marin* Family lie inter'd in the ſame place.

A noted Water Conduit.

Thagia.

The next Town in this Province is *Thagia*, which is famous for the Sepulchre of one that is ſaid to have wrought many Miracles againſt the fury of Lions, and was accounted a great Prophet. After the ſolemnizing of Eaſter, the People of *Fez* make an annual Viſit to this Tomb, which lies at the diſtance of 120 Miles from *Fez*. They perform this Pilgrimage in 15 Days, carrying their Tents and other Neceſſaries along with 'em; and the Pilgrims are ſo numerous, that one would take 'em for an Army.

The Territory of *Fez*.

The ſecond Province of this Kingdom, is that call'd *The Territory of Fez*. It extends almoſt 100 Miles in length, from the River *Buragrag* Eaſtward, to the River *Inauen*. Its Northern Limit is the River *Subu* or *Cebu*, and the Southern is the *Atlas*. It abounds in Corn, Fruit, and Cattle, as much as any other Country.

Sella.

In this Province the firſt Town we meet with is *Sella*, the Buildings of which have a ſtately ſhew of Antiquity, being ſupported by Marble Pillars: The Temples are very magnificent, and the Shops are built under large Porches, with an Arch at the end of every row, to divide (as 'tis reported) one Trade from another. The *Genouſe*, *Venetians*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*, are wont to trade with them. The adjacent Grounds being ſandy and unfit for Corn, yield plenty of Cotton, and the Inhabitants weave it very fine. Fine Combs are likewiſe an uſeful Commodity in this place; for they have a great deal of Box and other Wood fit for that Purpoſe. They have Judges, Arbitrators, and a very regular form of Government.

The City of *Fez*.

The principal City of this Territory, and indeed of all *Barbary*, is *Fez*, which was built *An. Dom.* 786. by one *Idris Antimahumitan*. Some think the occaſion of its Name was the finding of Gold (in Arabick *Fez*) where its Foundation was laid.

Idris its Founder.

Idris the Founder, liv'd in the time of *Aron*, a *Mahometan* Patriarch, and deriv'd his Extraction from *Mahomet* himſelf, both by the Father and the Mother's ſide: For after the death of *Mahomet*, when the War commenc'd between *Umene* and the Family of *Hali*, one of the laſt Family continued at *Elmadina*, and left behind him two Sons, who growing into favour with the People of *Elmanin*, were thereupon perſecuted; and the one being taken and hang'd, the other (whoſe name was *Idris*, made his eſcape into *Mauritania*). This *Idris* dwelt upon Mount *Zaron*, about 30 Miles from *Fez*, and govern'd that Country both in Civil and Religious Matters. *Idris* dying without lawful Iſſue, left one of his Maids big with Child, who had been converted from the *Gothick* to the *Mores* Religion. The Maid being brought to bed, the People chriſten'd him *Idris*, after his Father, elected him for their Prince, and took care of his Education. The Child being train'd up by a ſkilful Captain, came to be famous for valiant Exploits when he was but fifteen Years of Age. This enlarg'd his Dominions and Family, upon which he took up a Reſolution to build a City, and for that end pitch'd upon the Ground where *Fez* now ſtands, by reaſon of its plenty of Springs, and the Conveniency of an adjacent River and Wood. Accordingly upon the Eaſt Bank of the

River a Town was built, that might contain 3000 Families. After the death of this *Idris*, his Son built another Town on the oppoſite Bank of the River. About 180 Years after, a Civil War broke out between the two Towns, that laſted 100 Years, at the end of which, *Joſeph* King of *Morocco*, put the two Princes to death, ſlew 30000 of the Inhabitants of the two Towns, and having demoliſh'd their Walls, united 'em into one by a Bridge. This being the Metropolitan of all *Africa*, 'twill be proper to give a particular Account of the State 'tis in at this day, i. e. *A. D.* 1526.

A particular Account of the Town of *Fez*.

It ſtands upon great and little Hills, without any Plain round it. The River enters the Town by two Branches, one on the South ſide, the other on the Weſt. Thus it diſperſes it ſelf all over the City, and is convey'd in Conduits and Pipes, to every Temple, Colledge, &c.

Their Houſes.

And moſt of the Houſes are built of fine Bricks and Stones curiouſly painted. Their Portals and the ſides of the Windows are made of party colour'd Brick, like *Majorca* Stone. The Roofs of their Houſes they adorn with Gold, Azure, and other fine Colours. The Roofs are of Wood, and ſquare, ſo that Carpets may be laid upon 'em in Summer. Some Houſes are two, and ſome three Story high; the middle part is uncover'd, and the Chambers are built on every ſide with fine Stair-caſes. The Chamber Doors are very high and wide, and in great Houſes are made of fine carv'd Wood. Each Chamber hath a Preſs or Cabinet contriv'd in the Wall, and curiouſly painted. In like manner, the Beams and Joyces of the Chambers are all curiouſly painted.

Water Conduits.

Some Houſes have ſquare Ciſterns of Brick, about ſeven Cubits broad, twelve Cubits long, and ſeven Hands high; upon the ſides of which are Cocks that convey the Water into Marble Troughs. When the Conduits are full, the overflowing Water runs by certain Pipes into theſe Ciſterns, and when the Ciſterns are full, 'tis carry'd by other Paſſages to the Common Sewers, and ſo to the River. Theſe Ciſterns are always kept ſweet and clean, and are never cover'd but in Summer, at which time Men, Women and Children bath in 'em. Upon the tops of their Houſes, commonly they have Turrets, with pleaſant Rooms in 'em, where the Women divert themſelves in having a view of almoſt the whole City.

Mahometan Temples.

In this Town there are 700 *Mahometan* Temples and Chapels, fifty of which are very ſumptuous and ſtately; their Roof are of Joyces and Planks, like thoſe of the *European* Churches; the Floor is cover'd with Mats, neatly ſew'd together, as well as the Walls for a Man's height. Each Temple has a Steeple, where a Man ſtands and calls the People to Prayers. Thoſe that call to Prayers in the Day-time have no Profit, but that of being exempted from Taxes; but they who call in the Night-time, receive Wages from the Prieſt of the Temple, as well as the Door Keepers. For the Prieſt of the Temple (who is always but one) receives all the Revenues, and defrays the occaſional Charges of Lamps and Servants.

The chief Temple.

The chief *Mahometan* Temple, call'd *Caruven*, is a Mile and a half about, including the Buildings that retain to it. It has 31 very large and high Gates. Its Roof is 150 *Florentine* Cubits long, and 80 broad. The Steeple, which is very high, is ſupported bp 20 Pillars in the breadth, and 30 in length. It has Galleries on the Eaſt, Weſt, and North ſides, which are 40 Cubits long, and 30 broad; and under theſe Galleries is the Storehouſe for Oil, Candles, Mats, and other Neceſſaries. There are 900 Lights in it every Night, and ſome Braſs Candleſticks, that have Sockets for 1500 Candles, which are ſaid to be made of the Bells that the King of *Morocco* took from the Chriſtians. Several Pulpits are ſet round the Walls of the Temple, from which the *Mahometan* Doctors inſtruct the People, not only in *Mahomet*'s Law, but in Moral Philoſophy. The Winter Lectures begin ſoon after Sun-riſe, and continue for the ſpace of an Hour. The Summer ones continue from the going down of the Sun, till within an hour and a half of Night. None read in Winter but the noted Doctors, but in Summer private obſcure Perſons read. All theſe Lecturers or Profeſſours have yearly Salleries. The Prieſt of this great Temple, his Buſineſs is only to read Prayers, and diſtribute Corn and Money to the Poor every Feſtival Day. The Treaſurer of this Church has a Ducat a Day allow'd him, and eight Clerks under him, with the Allowance of ſix Ducats a piece *per* Month. There are other ſix Clerks, who receive the Rents of the Houſes, Shops, &c. retaining to the Temple, and have the 20th part of what they collect for their Pains; beſides 20 Bayliffs, who overſee the manuring of the Grounds, and managing the Lime Kilnes, and Brick Kilnes, &c. belonging to the Temples without the City Walls, who have three Ducats a Month.

Its Revenues.

The Revenues of this Temple amount to 200 Ducats a day, a great part of which is laid out upon the Particulars abovemention'd, and upon the Reparation of the Temple and its adjoining Houſes. The Surpluſage is imploy'd in the maintenance of the other Temples that want Livings, and promoting the good of the Common-wealth. In our time the King demanded an immenſe Sum of the Prieſt of that Temple, and never repay'd it.

The Colleges in *Fez*.

There are ſeveral ſtately Colleges in this City, the Walls of which are of Marble and Free-ſtone, and the Inſide curiouſly painted and carv'd. One of theſe, erected by King *Habutlenen*, has an excellent Marble Fountain, with a large Ciſtern, and a ſtream of Water running thro' a Court in a Channel of Marble and *Majorca* Stone. The Gates of this College are of Braſs curiouſly grav'd, and the Doors are of Wood well carv'd. Near that are three cover'd Walks, with ſquare Piazza's overlaid with Gold, Azure, and other Colours. In ſome places there are Verſes in great black Letters, ſetting forth the Antiquity of the College and the Merit of its Founder. The Chapel has a Pulpit, with nine Steps or Stairs made of Ivory and Ibony. 'Tis computed that this noble Structure ſtood the King in 480000 Ducats. The other Colleges are ſomewhat like this, each of 'em being furniſh'd with Lecturers and Profeſſours, who read, ſome in the Forenoon and ſome in the Afternoon. In former times the Students had Diet and Cloth for ſeven Years, but now they have nothing *gratis* beſides their Chamber, for the War of *Sahid* deſtroy'd many Poſſeſſions, by which Learning was encourag'd; ſo that now the greateſt College has not 200, and the next 100 Ducats a Year, for the maintenance of the Profeſſors. And 'tis probable the Suppreſſion of Learning is the occaſion of the irregular Government, not only of this, but of all the Cities in *Africa*. At preſent the Colleges have no Students but Strangers, and ſuch as live upon the Charity of the City. When the Profeſſours goes to read, one of the Audience reads a Text, and he harangues upon it. Sometimes the Students have Diſputes before the Profeſſours.

The Hoſpitals of *Fez*.

Both the Town and Suburbs have noble Hoſpitals, in which every Stranger is entertain'd upon the publick Charge. The Incomes of theſe Hoſpitals were very large, till the War with *Sahid*, at which time the King ſold their Properties, alledging, that they were the Gifts of his Predeceſſors, and promiſing to make Reparation upon the concluſion of the War; but the King dying ſuddenly, there was no Reparation made: So that at this Day there are no Strangers entertain'd, but ſuch as are Scholars or Gentlemen; and 'tis only the poor decay'd Citizens that meet with any Relief from the Hoſpitals. There is one Hoſpital indeed for ſuch Strangers as are ſick, where they have their Diet and Women to attend 'em, but no Phyſician and no Medicines; and one Apartment of this Hoſpital is allotted for Lunaticks and Mad-men, where they are bound in ſtrong Iron Chains, and ſeverely laſh'd when they offer any Extravagance.

Their Baths.

The next thing remarkable in this City is their Baths, which are both pretty and magnificent, being all of one form, tho' not of equal bigneſs. Here are two Baths, each of which has four Halls, with Galleries without, rais'd four or five Steps higher, where the People ſtrip themſelves. When any Perſon bathes, he goes firſt thro' a cool Hall, where the Water is luke warm, then thro' a hotter Room, where he is cleans'd and waſh'd, and at laſt is put into a third Hot-houſe, where he ſweats as long as he pleaſes. The fire that heats the Water, is made only of the Dung of Beaſts parch'd in the Sun. The Womens Baths are ſeparate from thoſe of the Men; or if they both uſe the ſame Bath, 'tis at different Hours; for while Women are bathing, a Rope is hung out at the outer Door, ſignifying that no Man muſt enter; nay, a Husband is not admitted to ſee his Wife in the Bath. When Men enter, they cover their Privities with a Linen Cloth. Before any one baths, he is laid upon the Ground (or a Carpet for the richer ſort) and anointed with a certain Ointment, his Body being clean'd with Inſtruments made for the Purpoſe. After bathing, the Men and Women together divert themſelves with Muſick, Singing and Feaſting. Theſe Baths belong to the Temples and Colleges, and raiſe, ſome 100, ſome 150 Ducats a Year. The Servants and Officers attending the Baths, have a peculiar Cuſtom of marching on a certain Feſtival Day out of Town, with Trumpets and Pipes, and there gathering a wild Onion, which they put into a Brazen Veſſel, cover'd with a Linen Cloth dip'd in Lee, and ſo carry it to the Hot-houſe, and hang up the Veſſel, over the Door, as a lucky Omen to the Bath. This I take to be the Remains of ſome ancient Sacrifice, among the uncivilis'd *Mores*,

The Inns of *Fez.*

This City contains almoſt 200 Inns; the greateſt of theſe are in the principal part of the City, near the great Temple; each of which is three Story high, and contains above 120 Chambers, with a Gallery to each Chamber. Every Inn is accommodated with a Fountain, Water-pipes, and Sinks to carry off the Filth. But after all, the Entertainment they give to Strangers is but very ſorry, for they have no Beds, unleſs it be a coarſe Blanket and a Mat, and no Victuals, unleſs the Stranger goes to the Market and buys it. The Office of Chamberlain and Cook is perform'd by Poor Citizens Widows, who are entertain'd in the Inns upon Charity. The Inn Keepers are all of one Family, call'd *Elchera.* They ſhave their Beards, and not only wear the Habit of Women, but imitate them in their Speech and Actions. Every one of theſe has a Concubine, that he entertains as a lawful Wife: Theſe Concubines are not only ugly, but notoriouſly lewd, and none but lewd Perſons do either frequent the Inns, or keep company with the Inn Keepers; for they buy and ſell Wine openly, and are prohibited to enter the Temple or Exchange, or any Bath.

The Mills.

There are ſome thouſands of Mills in this City, which do all belong to the Temples or Colleges; every Mill ſtands in a large Room upon a ſtrong Poſt.

The Trades and Shops.

Each Trade has a peculiar place allotted to it, and that moſtly about the great Temple. There you may ſee 80 Scriveners Offices together, 30 Book-ſellers Shops, 50 Fruit Shops, where all ſorts of Fruit are to be had, 50 Shoe-makers, beſides Shoe Merchants, ſeveral Braziers, and Wax Merchants, who are very ingenious in their way. Here are a few Merchant Factors, and next to them is the Herb Market, where moſt of the Taverns are, becauſe People love to drink Wine under the green and ſhadie Boughs; after them come the Milk-Sellers, who vent 25 Tuns of Milk a day; then the Cotton Sellers, then thoſe who deal in Hemp and Ropes, then the Girdlers, the Sadlers, (who cover Saddles with incomparable Leather) and the Sword-cutlers, next are the Potters, and thoſe who ſell Salt and Lime; paſſing theſe you come to the Porters Street. Theſe Porters are ſo loving a Corporation, that they maintain the Widows and Orphans of their own Members. They have a Conſul or Governour, who parcels out ſome ſet Buſineſs to part of 'em every Week, and at the Weeks end, the Profit of the Work is equally divided among the Work-men. The Cooks and Victuallers are next. Then you come to a ſquare Houſe covered with Reeds, where 500 Sacks of Peaſe and Turnips are ſold in a day. Every one cannot buy theſe of the Country People, there being a particular number qualified for that Office, who pay Tole and Tribute to the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers. On the North ſide of the Temple, they ſell Fritters and Cakes fry'd in Oil, whence the place is call'd, *The Place of Smoak.* At the ſame place they ſell roaſted Fleſh, fry'd Fiſh, and a ſort of Bread bak'd with Honey. The Fleſh is not roaſted upon a Spit, but in an Oven, with another Oven underneath it, in which the Fire lies, ſo that the upper Oven is free from ſmoak and exceſſive heat. They ſell of theſe Fritters and Cakes to the value of above 200 Ducats a Day. Then follow the Shambles, where the Butchers ſell their Fleſh by weight. They kill no Beaſts within the Shambles, there being a place alloted for that uſe near the River; and after the killing, they cannot bring it to the Shambles, till they have ſhewn it to the Governour of the Shamblers, who ſets down the Price of each Joint in a piece of Paper, the Butcher being oblig'd to ſhew that Paper when he ſhews his Meat, and not to ask more. Then you paſs on to the Market for coarſe Cloth, there being 60 Criers, who carry the Cloth about, telling the price of it, as 'tis adjuſted by the Cuſtom Houſe Officers, who receive Cuſtom for it. After that to the Cage Makers, who make Coops and Cages for Poultry, of a certain hard Reed; for every Citizen brings up a great many Hens and Capons, which are always pen'd up in Coops, to prevent the fowling of their Houſes. Next to them is the Market for Thread and Linen Cloth. On the Weſt ſide of the Temple, are 150 Taylors Shops, ſeveral Laundreſſes, Stirrup-makers, Spur-makers, Pipe-makers, *&c.* Beyond them there ſtands a Rock or Mount, with a Walk leading from thence to one of the King's Palaces, where the King's Siſters or ſome of his Relations are wont to live. In the next place you advance to the Exchange, which may well be call'd a City, for 'tis wall'd round, and has twelve Gates, with an Iron Chain before every Gate, to keep out Horſes and Carts. 'Tis divided into ſeveral Parts or Wards, two of which are allotted to ſuch Shoe-makers as ſerve only Noble-men and Gentlemen with Shooes, and two to the Silk Merchants and Haberdaſhers of ſmall Wares. The other parts are taken up by thoſe who ſell European Linen or Woolen Cloth, Silk, Stuffs, Caps, Mats, Cuſhions, *&c.* and eſpecially by thoſe who ſell Smocks, and other things for Women, who are reckon'd the richeſt Merchants in all *Fez.* On the North ſide of the Exchange, there's a Palace appointed for the Grocers and Apothecaries, fortified on both ſides with two ſtrong Gates, and guarded in the Night-time by armed Watch-men with Lanthorns and Maſtives. The Apothecaries can make neither Syrups, Ointments nor Electuaries, thoſe being made and ſold by Phyſicians, whoſe Houſes for the moſt part join to the Apothecaries; but few People mind either the Phyſician or his Medicines. However the Apothecaries Shops are the gloriesteſt Shops I ſaw any where. Juſt by the Apothecaries, follow the Comb-makers, Turners, Upholſterers and Poulterers, who, tho' they are but few, are provided with all ſorts of Fowl; then the Makers of Cork Slippers for the great Men to walk abroad in when 'tis foul weather; theſe Slippers have very fine upper Leathers, and being trim'd with Silk, will coſt, ſome one, ſome ten, ſome twenty five Ducats a pair. Their fineſt Slippers are made of the black and white Mulberry Tree, of the black Walnut Tree, and the Jujuba Tree; but the Cork ones laſt longeſt. Adjoining to theſe are ten Shops of *Spaniſh Mores,* who make Croſs-Bows; and thoſe who make Brooms of a certain wild Palm Tree, which are carried about Streets and exchang'd for Bran, Aſhes and old Shooes; the Bran is ſold again to Shepherds, the Aſhes to the Blechers of Thread, and the old Shooes to the Coblers. The next are the Smiths and the Coopers, who make and ſell great Veſſels in the form of a Bucket, and Corn Meaſures. The Corn Meaſures muſt be try'd and approv'd by an Officer appointed for the Purpoſe, who receives a Farthing a piece as his due: Then you come to the Makers of certain Langols or Withs, which the *Africans* put upupon their Horſes Feet. The Dyers live by the River ſide, and have each of 'em a clear Fountain or Ciſtern to waſh their Silk Stuffs in. The Makers of Bulwarks and Trenches, live over againſt the Diers in a very large place, which being planted with ſhady Mulberries, is very pleaſant in Summer. Next to them are the Farriers, then the Black-Smiths, and at laſt the Whitſters of Linen Cloth. And here ends the Weſt part of the City, which in former times was a ſeparate City from that on the Eaſtern Bank of the River, that was firſt built.

An Account of the Eaſtern part of *Fez.*

The Eaſtern part of *Fez* is beautify'd with noble Palaces, Temples, Colleges and Houſes; but it has not ſo many Shops and Trades-men as the Weſtern part. Some it has, but then they are of the meaner ſort, and are diſpers'd all over the City. Here is a Corn Market with divers Granaries for Corn, and 520 Weavers Houſes handſomely built, which yielded great Rents. By report, there are 20000 Weavers and as many Millers in it, and a great many Houſes for the ſawing Wood, in which Service the Chriſtian Captives are employ'd, their Earnings being return'd to their Owners. Theſe Chriſtian Slaves have no Days of reſt but *Fridays,* and eight Days of the Year, on which the *Mores* ſolemnize their Feaſts. In this Eaſtern part there are ſeveral publick Bawdy Houſes, which the great Men, and ſometimes the Governours of the City countenance; and great Taverns, where Whores are kept for occaſional Service. It has above 600 clear Fountains, wall'd round, and carefully kept up, the Water of which is convey'd by Pipes to each Temple, College, Hoſpital, and Houſe. This Fountain Water is preferrable to that of the River; for oftentimes in Summer the River Ciſterns are dry, and when the Conduits are cleans'd, the River Water muſt of neceſſity be turn'd off. Beſides, 'tis cooler and pleaſanter in the Summer-time, tho' in the Spring 'tis quite otherwiſe. Theſe Fountains have their Source for the moſt part from the Weſt and South. The North part is Mountainous and full of Marble Rocks, in which are Caves where Corn may be kept for many Years; ſome of 'em being ſo large as to contain 200 Buſhels. The Proprieter of theſe Caves lets them out every Year, for one *per Cent.* of the Corn they'll hold.

Pleaſant Gardens in the South part.

As for the South part of *Fez,* 'tis not half inhabited, but its Gardens abound with Fruits and Flowers of all ſorts, and the Noble-men chooſe to live here from *April* to *September*; for every Garden has a Houſe belonging to it, and a Chryſtal Fountain encompaſs'd with Roſes and odoriferous Flowers.

Weſt-

The Caſtle.

Weſtward, that is, towards the King's Palace, there ſtands a noble Caſtle, built by the King of the *Luntune*'s Family, where the Kings of *Fez* kept their Court before that Palace was built; but now 'tis the Reſidence of the Governour of the City.

The Priſon.

In this Caſtle there's a large Priſon for Captives, ſupported by many Pillars, which will hold 3000 Men in one Room; for in *Fez* one Priſon ſerves for all, without any diſtinction of Rooms.

The Government of the City. Their Judges.

To give ſome Account of the Government, Conſtitution, and Cuſtoms of this great City. The Governour of the City is Judge both in civil and criminal Matters, and pronounces the Sentence by word of mouth, for he has no Clerk. Beſides him, there's a Judge of the Canon Law, who adjuſteth what relates to the *Mahometan* Religion. A third Judge ſits and gives Sentence upon Marriage and Divorce; from theſe there lies an Appeal to the High Advocate. The Criminal is puniſh'd in this manner, After he has receiv'd 100 or 200 Stripes before the Governour, the Executioner puts an Iron Chain about his Neck, and leads him ſtark naked (his Privities only excepted) thro' all parts of the City, from midnight till two a-clock in the Morning, and a Serjeant follows the Executioner, proclaiming his Crime to the People. This done, they put on his Cloths and bring him back to Priſon; Sometimes ſeveral Offenders are led thro' the City together. For every Criminal the Governour receives a certain Duty upon his firſt Impriſonment, and one Ducat and a half upon his Condemnation; ſo that he gets a great deal of money by condemning Priſoners. Beſides theſe Perquiſites, he has ſeveral Poſſeſſions, one of which yields him 7000 Ducats a Year; upon which account he is oblig'd upon occaſion, to levy and maintain 300 Horſe for the King's uſe. The Judges and Barriſters of the Canon Law, are prohibited by the Law of *Mahomet* to take any Fee, or to earn Money otherwiſe than by their Prieſthood and the reading of Lectures. A great many Advocates and Proctors of this Profeſſion are very dull and illiterate. The Serjeants or Officers who lead the Criminals about the City, are but four in number, and have no other Sallery but a certain Fee from the Criminal, proportion'd to the Crime, bating that they are allow'd to ſell Wine and keep Whores.

The Puniſhment of Criminals.

The Cuſtoms and Taxes.

The Cuſtoms and Taxes of the City are collected only by one Man, who pays the King 30 Ducats a day, and has his Subſtitutes to watch at every Gate, and ſometimes to go out and meet the Carriers; ſo that nothing can paſs without paying the Cuſtom. If any thing be catch'd upon concealment, the Owner pays double. The general proportion of the Cuſtom is two *per Cent.* of the intrinſick Value; But Onyx Stones, great quantities of which are brought hither, pay a fourth part, and Wood, Corn, Oxen, and Hens, pay nothing. The ſame Collector is Governour of the Shambles, and if he finds any Bread ſhort of the due weight, he cauſes the Baker to be ſoundly drub'd, and led in contempt up and down the City.

The Cuſtom of the inhabitant. Their Apparel.

The Citizens of *Fez* wear a decent Habit. Over their Shirts they have narrow half ſleev'd Jackets, and over theſe a wide Garment cloſe before, which in the Spring is commonly made of outlandiſh Cloth. Upon their Heads they have thin Caps, which do not cover their Ears; theſe Caps are cover'd with a Scarf, which is twice wreath'd about, and then hangs down in a Knot. They wear neither Stockings nor Breeches, but when they ride a Journey in the Spring, they put on Boots. The Doctors and ancient Gentlemen wear a Garment with wide Sleeves, not unlike that of the Gentlemen of *Venice*. The common ſort of People are for the moſt part clad in coarſe white Cloth. The Women have nothing but their Smocks on in Summer, but in Winter they wear a wide Garment like the Mens. When they go abroad they put on long Breeches that cover their Legs, and have a Veil hanging down from their Heads, that covers their whole body. Their Faces are mask'd, their Ears adorn'd with Gold Earings and precious Jewels, and their Arms and Legs with Bracelets and Rings of Gold or Silver, according to their quality.

Their Diet.

As for their Diet. The Gentlemen have freſh Meat every Day, and the common People twice a week. They take three Meals a day; they breakfaſt upon Fruit and Bread, or upon a thin Pap made like Furmety, or in Winter upon the Broth of ſalt Fleſh thicken'd with coarſe Meal. For Dinner, they have in Winter, Meat, Salleds, Cheeſe and Olives, but in Summer they have better Cheer. They ſup in Summer upon Bread, Melons, Grapes and Milk, in Winter upon boyl'd Meat, and upon *Cuſcuſu*, i. e. a lump of Dough ſet firſt upon the Fire in Veſſels full of Holes, and then temper'd with Butter and Pottage; ſome have roaſt Meat. When they eat, they ſit upon the Ground at a low uncover'd naſty Table, and uſe neither Knives nor Spoons. Tho' their *Cuſcuſu* is ſerv'd up all in one Diſh, they take it out with their ten Talons. They tear and devour their Victuals like hungry Dogs. They ſeldom drink till their Paunch is well ſtuff'd, and then they'll ſwill down a whole Bowl full of cold Water. The Doctors are a little more orderly at their Meals, but not much.

Ceremony of Marriage.

In the Buſineſs of Marriage, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with their Parents and Relations, and two Notaries go to Church, where the Nature of the Dowry and the Particulars of the Contracts are ſet forth before all that are preſent. Then the Bridegroom entertains all the Gueſts with a noble Feaſt of Fritters, or Bread fry'd with Butter, and temper'd with Honey and of roaſt Meat. After that, the Bride's Father makes ſuch another Entertainment.

The Bride's Dowry.

As for the Bride's Dowry, among the meaner ſort, her Father uſually gives her 30 Ducats, a Woman Slave of 15 Ducats price, a party colour'd Garment embroyder'd with Silk, ſome Silk Scarfs or Jags to wear upon her Head inſtead of a Hood or Veil, a pair of fine Shooes, two pair of fine Startups, and a great many little Trinkets made of Silver and other Metals, ſuch as Combs, Perfuming Pans, Bellows, &c. Tho' the Father promiſes but 30 Ducats for her Dowry, yet ſometimes they'll give her the Value of 200 or 300 Ducats in Cloth and other Ornaments, for Houſes, Fields and Vineyards are ſeldom diſpos'd of that way. Beſides the above-mention'd Particulars, they beſtow upon the Bride three Gowns of fine Cloth, three Gowns of Silk or Camlet, or ſome other valuable Stuff, Smocks curiouſly wrought, fine Veils, and other embroyder'd Garments, beſides fine Pillows and Cuſhions, four fine Carpets or Coverlets, to ſpread upon the Preſſes and Cup-boards, two coarſe ones for Beds, and two of Leather to lay upon the Floor of the Bed Chambers; ſome Rugs 20 Ells long, and three Quilts ſtuft with Flocks, about 10 Ells long, one half of which they lay under 'em in the Night-time, and cover themſelves with the other half. To theſe add eight Silk Coverlets, embroider'd on the upper ſide, and lin'd underneath with Linen and Cotton, and ſome woolen Hangings, with pieces of gilt Leather, and Jags of party colour'd Silk ſow'd upon 'em, and a Silk Button on every Jag to faſten the Hangings to the Wall. In fine, they ſtrive to out-do one another in making rich Preſents to their Daughters, and ſome Gentlemen have ruin'd themſelves by ſo doing.

The Manner of her going home.

When the Bridegroom is ready to carry home his Bride, they put her into a large wooden Cage cover'd with Silk, in which ſhe is carry'd by Porters, the Bridegroom's Relations going before her with Torches, and the Bride's Kins-folks following after her with the ſound of Trumpets, Pipes, Drums, and a great number of Torches. Having thus made a Proceſſion thro' the Market-place, and paſs'd the great Temple, the Bridegroom ſheers off and makes the beſt of his way home. Upon the Bride's arrival, her Father, Brother, and Uncle conduct her to the Bridegroom's Chamber Door, where they deliver her to his Mother. As ſoon as ſhe enters the Bed-Chamber, the Bridegroom toucheth her Foot with his, and ſo they go together.

The Tryal of her Virginity.

In the mean time a Woman ſtands at the Chamber Door, to whom the Bridegroom reaches a Cloth ſtain'd with the Blood of the Bride's Virginity, as ſoon as he has enjoy'd her. This Cloth ſhe ſhews to all the Company, proclaiming the Bride's Purity and Innocence; upon which ſhe and her Companions are honourably entertain'd, firſt by the Bridegroom's Parents, and then by the Bride's. But if no Marks of Virginity appear, the Bride is turn'd home to her Father with diſgrace, and the Marriage declar'd *Null*. As ſoon as the new married Man goes abroad (which commonly happens on the ſeventh Day after marriage) he buys a great many Fiſhes, which his Mother or ſome other Woman ſuperſtitiouſly caſts upon his Wife's Feet. The next Morning after the Bride's going home, a Company of Women dreſſes and combs the Bride, and paints her Cheeks with Vermillion, and her Feet with a black Dye. Then another Feaſt inſues, the Bride being ſeated on a high place, in view of all the Company. The preceding Night is ſpent in dancing, the Women dancing alone, and all of 'em one by one. At the end of each Dance they reward the Muſicians; and if any one means to honour the Dancer, he bids him kneel down, and faſtens pieces of Money all over his Face, which the Muſicians take off for their reward. At the ſame time there are Minſtrels and Singers preſent, who entertain the Company, ſometimes with Inſtrumental and ſometimes with Vocal Muſick;

ſick; but if the Bride be a Widow, the Solemnity is not near ſo great.

The Circumciſion of their Children.

They likewiſe make ſolemn Feaſts at the Circumciſion of their Male Children, which is on the 7th day after their Birth; upon that Occaſion every one gives a Preſent to the Circumciſioner, by laying Money on a Lad's Face that comes along with him; after which, the Youth calling every one by his name, returns 'em thanks; this done, the day is ſpent with all the Mirth imaginable; but at the birth of a Daughter they are not ſo much mov'd. The People of this Country, on their Feſtival Days obſerve a great many Ceremonies inſtituted by the Chriſtians, without knowing their Original or meaning.

Their other Feaſts.

Upon Chriſtmas they eat a Sallad made of divers Herbs; and that night boil all ſorts of Pulſe, which they feed upon as nice Food. Upon New-Year's-Day the Children ſing at Gentlemens Doors in Masks, and have Fruit given 'em for a Reward. On St. *John* the Baptiſt's Day they make Bonfires of Straw. When the Childrens Teeth begin to grow, they ſolemnize a Feaſt call'd by the Latines *Dentilla*. Inlike manner their Rites of Divination and Soothſaying ſeem to be borrow'd from the Chriſtians.

Their Funerals.

When Husband, Father, Brother or Relation dies, a Company of Women related to the Perſon deceas'd, put on Sack-cloth and cover their Faces with Dirt; then having call'd ſome Men dreſs'd in Womens Apparel, with four ſquare Drums, they ſing at the noiſe of theſe, a Funeral Song in praiſe of the deceas'd, giving hideous Screeks at the end of every Verſe, and tearing their Hair, and beating their Cheeks and Breaſts, till they are cover'd all over with Goar. This Superſtition, which prevails more among the common People than the Gentry, continues for ſeven Days together, at the end of which, they intermit Mourning for forty Days, and then renew it in the ſame manner for three Days more. In the mean time the Widow's Friends come to comfort her, and ſend her divers Diſhes of Meat, for they dreſs no Meat in the Mourning Houſe, till the Corps are carried off. The Woman her ſelf that looſeth Husband, Father, or Brother does not attend the Funeral.

Their Games.

The moſt uſual Game among the Citizens of *Fez* is the Cheſſe, which they have had time out of mind.

Their Poets.

They have very good Poems in their own Language, moſt of which treat of Love. Their Poets write commentary Verſes upon *Mahomet* every Year, eſpecially upon his Birth-day, on which, early in the Morning, they recite their Verſes to a numerous Audience from the Governours; and he whoſe Verſes are moſt applauded, is proclaim'd Prince of the Poets for that Year. During the Proſperity of the *Marin* Family, the King us'd to regale all the learned Men of the City, and hear the Recital of their Verſes, upon which they gave 50 Ducats apiece to all the Poets, excepting the very beſt, who received as a Royal Gify 100 Ducats, a fine Horſe, a Woman Slave, and the Robes that were then upon the King's Back. But that Cuſtom fell, together with the Splendour of the *Fezzan* Kingdom, 150 Years ago.

Their Grammar Schools. The *Alcoran* learn'd by heart.

In this City there are almoſt 200 Schools, like great Halls, for the Inſtruction of Children; there they are taught to write and to read, not only out of a Book, but out of a certain great Table, and go over the *Alcoran* again and again, till they have got it by heart, which they uſually compaſs in the ſpace of ſeven Years. Then their Maſters read to 'em ſome part of *Orthography* and Grammar; but this is better taught in the Colleges. When a Boy has perfectly learn'd the whole *Alcoran*, his Father invites all the Boy's School-fellows to a Treat, and his Son rides thro' the Streets to the Banquetting Houſe, in rich Cloaths, upon a fine Horſe, accompanied by the reſt of his School-fellows on Horſe-back, who ſing divers Songs to the Praiſe of God and *Mahomet*. The Governour of the Royal Cittadel is oblig'd to lend his Father the Horſe and the rich Apparel. The Father's Relations are all preſent at the Feaſt, and every one of 'em makes ſome ſmall Preſent to the School Maſter, but the Father gives him a new Suit of Cloths; for the School-Maſters have but ſmall Salleries; and even when the Children have learn'd but part of the *Alcoran*, their Fathers reward their Maſters according to their Quality. The Boys of theſe Schools uſe likewiſe to celebrate a Feaſt upon *Mahomet*'s Birth Day, upon which occaſion every one brings a Torch to the School. Theſe Torches, ſome of which weigh 30 Pound, are ſet round with divers ſorts of Wax, and being lighted betimes in the Morning, burn till Sun-riſing. In the mean time the Praiſes of *Mahomet* are celebrated in Songs, and as ſoon as the Sun riſes, the Solemnity is at an end. This Day's Solemnity turns to a good account to the School-Maſters, for ſometimes they ſell the remaining Wax of the Torches (which the Boys Fathers provided) for 100 Ducats, and ſometimes for more. Both theſe Schools and the Colledges have two Holy Days every Week. The Maſters pay no Rent for their Schools, they being erected for that uſe many Years ago.

Three ſorts of Diviners.

The Fortune-tellers and Diviners are very numerous in this City. There are three ſorts of 'em, one ſort uſes Geomantical Figures, others pour a drop of Oil into a Glaſs of clear tranſparent Water, in which they pretend to ſee whole Armies of Devils, ſome travelling, ſome fighting *&c.* and to receive Reſponſes from theſe Devils, by a nod of their Head, or ſome motion of their Hands or Eyes. Many of the Citizens are ſo infatuated with theſe Vanities, that they ſpend great Sums upon 'em. The third ſort are Witches, who pretend to Familiarity with Devils, calling ſome of 'em red, ſome white, and ſome black; and when they read ones Fortunes, perfume themſelves with certain odoriferous things, alledging, that then they are poſſeſs'd with the Devil they call'd for. After which, they change their Voice, and counterfeit the Devil ſpeaking within 'em. Theſe Cheats are by the wiſer ſort of People call'd *Sabacat*, i.e. ſuch as commit unnatural Venery with thoſe of their own Sex; for they make it their buſineſs to inveigle handſome Women, and perſwade 'em to receive their unnatural Embraces, upon the Plea of obeying the Devil's Command. Nay, ſome Women are ſo taken with the abominable Vice, that they'll feign themſelves ſick, and ſend their Husbands for theſe Monſters, under the Pretence of having their Deſtiny read to 'em: And oftentimes the Witches will perſwade the Husband that his Wife is poſſeſs'd with a Devil, and cannot be cur'd without entring into their Society; upon which the credulous Husband entertains the damn'd Crew at a ſumptuous Feaſt, and with a Solemnity forſooth, commits his Wife to their brutiſh Management. But other Husbands are ſo wiſe, as to beat the Devil out of their Wives with a good Cudgel, and under the pretence of Poſſeſſion, to deceive the Witches themſelves.

Witches.

Conjurers.

There is yet another kind of Juglers or Conjurers, call'd *Muhazzaim*, who are ſaid to caſt out Devils with great ſucceſs, and in performing it, to repeat theſe Words, *It is an Airy Spirit.* They draw certain Characters upon a heap of Aſhes, or ſome ſuch place, then they draw certain Signs upon the Hands and Forehead of the Party poſſeſs'd, and perfume him after a ſtrange manner. This done, they enquire of the Devil how he enter'd the Perſon, what he is, and by what name he is call'd, and at laſt commands him to come forth.

Cabaliſts.

There are others that work by a certain Cabaliſtical Rule, call'd *Zairagia*, which is thought to be natural Magick. They draw many Circles within a great one, and drawing the Diameters of the firſt Circles, mark down the two Poles and the Eaſt and Weſt quarters. About the circumference of the firſt Circle, they paint the four Elements, then having divided this Circle and the next into four parts, they divided each four parts into ſeven, diſtinguiſh'd with certain *Arabick* Characters. In the third Circle they mark down the ſeven Planets, in the fourth the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*, in the fifth the twelve Latine Names of the Month, in the ſixth the 28 Houſes of the Moon, and in the ſeventh the 365 Days of the Year, and about the convexity thereof, the four Cardinal Wines. Then they take one Letter of the Queſtion propos'd, and multiply it by all the above-mention'd Particulars; the Product of all they divide after a certain manner, placing it in ſome Room or other, according to the quality of the Character, and as the Elements requireth wherein the ſaid Character is found without a Figure; this done, they mark that Figure which ſeemeth to agree with the ſaid Number or Product, and proceed with it as they did with the former, till they have found 28 Characters, of which they make one Word, and of this Word the Speech is made that reſolveth the Queſtion. The Speech always turn'd into a Verſe of the firſt kind, which the *Arabians* call *Ethauil*, conſiſting of eight Stipites and 12 Chords, according to the *Arabian* Metre. This Art of the *Cabbala* (ſays our Author) never errs, and tho' it be accounted natural, yet I never ſaw any thing that has more affinity with ſupernatural Knowledge. However the Cabbaliſts are in great eſteem, and their Art is very difficult to be learn'd. I ſaw (continues our Author) two thirds of a pav'd Marble Court, (in King *Abulaman*'s College at *Fez*) that was 50 Ells ſquare, taken up with one of their Figures; and at *Tunis* I met with juſt ſuch another Figure. I never ſaw but three Profeſſours of this wonderful Art, one at *Tunis* and two at *Fez*. Indeed I have ſeen

Books of the Cabbaliſtick Art.

two Expoſitions of the Precepts of the Art, with a Commentary writ by one *Margian*, and another by *Ibnu Callim* an Hiſtorian.. Any of theſe Men may ſee it if he will but go to *Tunis*. However the Law of *Mahomet* prohibits this and all other kind of Divination, and the Cabbaliſts are perſecuted by the *Mahometan* Inquiſition.

A noted Mahometan Sect.

In this City we meet likewiſe with ſome learned Men, that call themſelves Wizards and Moral Philoſophers; and are rever'd by the common People as Gods, notwithſtanding that they depart from *Mahomet*'s Law in ſeveral things, for inſtance, in allowing the Expreſſion of Love Matters in Songs. This Sect (which is but one of a great many among the *Mahometans*) ſprang up about 80 Years after *Mahomet*. The Author of it was *Elheſen Ibnu Abelhaſer*, born in *Baſra*, who gave his Followers certain Precepts, but left no Writings behind him. about 100 Years after, one *Elharet Ibnu Eſed*, of *Bagaded*, a famous Doctor of that Sect, left his Diſciples whole Volumes of Writings: upon that the *Mahometan* Patriarchs condemn'd his Followers. About 60 Years after, a famous Profeſſour that headed the Sect, being condemn'd to die as well as all his Followers, wrote to the Patriarch, deſiring Leave to diſpute the Caſe with the Doctors of the Law, and offering to undergo Death willingly if they convicted him of an Errour. Accordingly a Free Conference was granted, and the Profeſſour put the Doctors to ſilence; upon which the Patriarch revers'd the Sentence, and caus'd Colleges and Monaſteries to be erected for him and his Followers; But after 100 Years, the Emperour *Mabicſah* of the *Turkiſh* Line came thither, and perſecuted the whole Sect. Upon which they fled to *Cairo* and *Arabia*, and were diſpers'd here and there, till the Reign of *Caſelſah*, Grandſon to *Malicſah*, whoſe Favourite *Nidam Elmule* reſtor'd 'em, and by the help of one *Elgazzuli*, a very learned Man, who had written upon that Controverſy, reconcil'd 'em with the Lawyers upon theſe Terms, That the Lawyers ſhould be call'd the *Preſervers* of *Mahomet*'s Laws, and the Sectaries the *Reformers* of the ſame. This Union laſted till the 756 Year of the *Hegeira*, when *Bagadel* was ſack'd by the *Tartars*, at which time thoſe Sectaries ſwarm'd over all *Aſia* and *Africa*, and had ſtrengthen'd their Party, by admitting none into their Society but Men of learning, but now the Caſe is alter'd. They deſpiſe all Learning as ſuperfluous, deriving the Knowledge of the Truth from Revelation alone; and departing from the Meaſures of their Anceſtors, who obſerv'd the Law very ſtrictly, purſue Feaſting, Laſcivious Songs, and all ſenſual Pleaſures. 'Tis true, they'll tear and rend their Garments, pretending to be raviſh'd with a fit of divine Love; but that's rather owing either to their Gluttony, for every one of 'em devours more Meat at a time, than is ſufficient for three Men; or elſe to their unlawful and filthy Paſſions, which they diſplay too openly when invited to Feaſts; for if any one happens to fall down drunk, their Diſciples preſently take him up, and ply with him laſcivious Kiſſes. Hence the *Hermits Feaſt* became a Proverb among the People of *Fez*, pointing at thoſe Maſters who make their Diſciples their Minions.

Mahometan Hereticks.

There are ſome *Mahometan* Sects, that depart not only from the Law but from the Creed of the other *Mahometans*, who brand them for Hereticks. Some aſſert, that a Man by good Works, Faſting, &c. may attain to the nature of Angels, and purify himſelf beyond all poſſibility of ſinning any more. This Pitch of Purity they do not pretend to reach, till they have run the rounds of 50 Diſciplines or Sciences; alledging, that God will not impute to 'em what Sins they commit, before they arrive at the fiftieth Degree. This Sect upon its firſt appearance, waſted themſelves with faſting and Pennance, but ſoon after they gave way to licentious Humours. *Iſſebrauar de Sebranard*, one of their own Party, has publiſh'd their form of living, which is very ſevere: And *Ibnul Farid* has given an account of their Religion, by way of Allegory, in excellent Verſes, which they always repeat at their Feaſts, and which are reckon'd the moſt refin'd piece that has appear'd in their Language theſe 300 Years. They take the Heavens, the fix'd Stars, the Elements, and the Planets, to be one God; they allow every Man to worſhip what he pleaſes, pleading, that no Religion whatſoever is erroneous. They alledge, that God pitch'd upon one Man call'd *Elcorb*, and by infuſion, made him equal to himſelf in Knowledge. When this *Elcorb* dies, another is choſen in his room, out of a Company of 40 Men, whom they call *Elauted*, i. e. *A Stock of a Tree*. There are 70 Electors appointed for this Purpoſe, and 765 Candidates, who are capable of being qualified as Electors, when vacancy happens among the 70.

Unaccountable Lewdneſs.

By an order of the Sect, theſe 765 are oblig'd to live incognito; ſo they range almoſt all the World over in a naſty beggarly Habit, as if they were Strangers to all Humanity; and without any regard to Shame or Modeſty, raviſh Women in publick Places, tho' at the ſame time their Holineſs is cry'd up by the People; *Tunis* and all *Egypt* is full of theſe Miſcreants. In *Alcair*, I ſaw one of 'em raviſh a very handſome Woman in the Market-place, as ſhe was coming out of a Bath; upon which the infatuated Mob poſſeſs'd with a notion of the Adulterer's Sanctity, who, as they thought, did not commit, but ſeem'd to commit the Sin, crowding about the Woman to touch her Garment as a holy thing, and even the Cuckold her Husband return'd thanks for the Adventure to his falſe God, in feaſting and Acts of Charity. The Magiſtrates would have puniſh'd the foul Adultery, but they were afraid of the Mob.

Strange Credulity.

Another Sect.

There are other Sectaries, who may be properly call'd Cabbaliſts; theſe faſt very ſtrictly, and abſtain from the Fleſh of Animals, confining themſelves to a particular Food and Habit. They have very ſet Prayers for every Hour of the Day and Night, calculated according to the variety of Days and Months; and theſe they are oblig'd to rehearſe. They carry about with 'em ſquare Tables, with Characters and Numbers engraven upon 'em; and pretend to derive the Knowledge of all Things from the Angels, with whom they have daily Conferences. They have among 'em a Catalogue of 99 Vertues, which they are contain'd in the Name of God.

Hermites.

Another Sect among the *Mahometans*, are Obſervers of a Rule call'd *Suvach*, i. e. *The Rule of the Hermits*. Theſe inhabit Woods and ſolitary places, and have no other Food than what the wild Deſarts afford. In fine, *Elefacni* has publiſh'd a particular Account of all the principal *Mahometan* Sects, which are 72 in number. At this Day, there are but two principal Sects of *Mahometans*, namely, that of *Leſhari*, diſpers'd over all *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Turkey*, and that of *Inianía*, which the *Sophi* of *Perſia* has eſtabliſh'd in his Country by force of Arms.

Seventy two Mahometan Sects.

Searchers for Treaſure.

In this City of *Fez*, there is a ſet of Men that make it their Buſineſs to ſearch for Treaſure under the Foundations of old Houſes. They are continually at work about the Caves and Dens without the City Walls; for they are perſwaded, that when the *Romans* were forc'd to retire from *Africa* to *Spain*, they hid much of their Treaſure in the Bowels of the Earth, becauſe they could not carry it off; only they apprehend, that this hidden Treaſure is ſo enchanted by the Art of *Magick*, that without that Art it cannot be found out. They'll tell you they ſaw Gold or Silver in ſuch a Cave, but could not dig it out for want of Perfumes and Enchantments fit for the Purpoſe. Upon the Influence of this Deluſion, they turn up the Foundations of the old Houſes and Sepulchres, paying for what Damage they do, and look upon all Books of the Art of digging Gold, as divine Oracles.

Alchimiſts.

The Alchymiſts in like manner make a noiſe in this place. They are a parcel of naſty Fellows, that ſtink of Sulphur and other Steams; they aſſemble every Night at the great Temple, where they diſpute of their falſe Opinions. A great many learned Books of their Arts are in great eſteem, particularly the Works of one *Geber* a *Grecian* by birth, who lived 100 Years after *Mahomet*, and renounc'd his own Religion. This Author has a dark allegorical way of writing, Another Author of that Faculty, who was Secretary to the *Soldan* of *Bagaded*, has publiſh'd a large Volume, entituled *Albegrebi*, and one *Muhairibi* of *Granade*, has writ the Principles of their Art, upon which a learned *Manmuluch* of *Damaſcus* wrote a Commentary more intricate than the Text it ſelf. There are two Families of theſe Men at *Fez*; one beats their Bains for the *Eliſſir*, i. e. a Matter which colours Braſs and other Metals; the other ſeeks after the multiplications of Metals.

Coiners.

But their true Trade is coining of falſe Money, and for that Reaſon there are but few Alchimiſts in *Fez*, that have not their Hands cut off.

Mountebanks.

There is yet another ſort of raſcally Fellows about this Town, whom the *Italians* call *Curmatori*, who ſing comical Songs in the Streets, accompanied with Drums, Harps, and Citterns, and ſell *Charms* to the People under the Notion of Preſervatives.

Of the ſame Kidney are another Gang in this Town, who carry dancing Monkeys up and down, and have Snakes round their Necks and Arms: They likewiſe pretend to foretel Fortunes, and lead Stone Horſes up and down the City, which they allow to cover Mares for a certain price.

Such is the State of this beautiful City, in which the Gentlemen, Doctors and Judges, keep at a great diſtance from the common Citizens. The City is moſt commodiouſly ſituated; for, tho in Winter the Streets are ſo durty that one cannot walk in 'em without Startups, yet their Conduits throw in abundance of Water to waſh off the Dirt; and where there are no Conduits, the Dirt is carry'd off to the River in Carts.

The Suburbs of *Fez*.

The chief Suburb of this City lie at the Weſt end, and contain almoſt 500 Families of poor Trades-men, Day Labourers, Water-bearers, Mountebanks, and Whores. In this place there are above 150 Caves or Cellars of fine Marble, where the Noblemen of *Fez* us'd to lay up their Corn; for the leaſt of 'em will contain above 1000 Meaſures of Corn: But at preſent they lie empty and open, and Walls are built before 'em to prevent the Peoples falling into 'em. This Suburb is the very Sink of the City; for there any one may freely ſell Wine or keep a Baudy-houſe. After the 20th Hour the Tradesmens Shops are ſhut up, and every one goes to ſot in the Tavern.

An Appartment for Lepers.

There is another Suburb ſeparate from this, where 200 Families of Lepers live, under the management of a Governour, who collects ſome yearly Revenues from the Noble-men for their Uſe, and ſuffers 'em to want for nothing. This Governour is by his Office oblig'd to purge the City of all Leprous Perſons, and ſhut 'em up there. A Leper's Children enjoy his Eſtate after his Death, but if he dies without Iſſue, part of his Eſtate goes to the Lepers common Stock, and part to the Governour.

Places for Burials.

There are likewiſe without the Walls of the City, ſeveral Fields, appropriated by ſome Noble-men for the burial of the Dead. The common Graves have a long triangular Stone upon 'em, but the Noblemens has one Stone at his Head and another at his Feet, with Epitaphs inſcrib'd upon 'em.

Tombs of the Kings of Fez.

The Tombs of ſeveral Kings of the *Marin* Family, artfully made of fine Marble, with Epitaphs upon 'em, are to be ſeen in a Palace that ſtands upon a Hill on the North ſide of the City, and indeed they are Majeſtick and Pretty beyond expreſſion.

New Fez.

New Fez, is a place added to *Old Fez* by King *Jacob*, for the accommodation of his Court. 'Twas divided by King *Jacob* into three parts; one contain'd his own Palace and the Noble-mens Houſes, to every one of which he allotted a pleaſant Garden; not far from his Palace he built a ſtately and ſumptuous Temple; in another part of the City he built a large and fair Stable for the King's Horſes, and appointed a Market place, extending from the Weſt to the Eaſt Gate, which is a Mile and a half, Shops being plac'd on each ſide.

Goldſmiths.

The third part is now the apartment of the *Jews*; for moſt of the Goldſmiths in *New Fez* are *Jews*, who carry their Plate to *Old Fez*, and there ſell it at a higher rate than the Weight, which is a Priviledge not allowed in *Old Fez* to *Mahometans*, as being uſury.

Jews.

Theſe *Jews* dwelt once in *Old Fez*, but being all robb'd by the *Mores* upon the death of one of their Kings, King *Abuſabid* order'd 'em to remove to *New Fez*, and doubled their yearly Taxes. Accordingly they at this Day poſſeſs a long Street in *New Fez*, and have many Shops and Synagogues, their number being wonderfully enlarg'd ſince they were expel'd *Spain*. The Street where they now live, was the place allotted for the King's Guard in former times, but now the Kings have no Guards. Theſe *Jews* are diſpis'd by every body; they are not allow'd to wear Shoes, but only a ſort of Socks of Sea Ruſhes. They wear black Turbants on their Heads; or if they uſe a Cap, they muſt tack a piece of red Cloth to it. They pay the Kings of *Fez* 400 Ducats a Month. About 140 Years after the building of this new City, it was ſurrounded with impregnable Walls, and adorn'd with Temples, Colleges, Palaces, and other Buildings

Water-Engines.

Without the Walls, the River Water is rais'd by huge Wheels and Engines, invented by a *Spaniard*, which turn round but once in 24 Hours. By this means 'tis carry'd over the Walls into Ciſterns, from whence 'tis convey'd in Pipes to the Temples, Palaces and Gardens. This was effected ſcarce 100 Years ago; for before that the City was ſupply'd with Water from a Fountain ten Miles off, by the means of a Conduit invented by a *Genoueſe*, that was the King's Favourite. To conclude, there are few Gentlemen in this new City, excepting ſuch as retain to the Courts; for the bulk of the Inhabitants are Tradesmen, who contemn the Courtiers ſo much, that they will by no means ſuffer them to marry their Daughters.

Having thus diſpatch'd the City of *Fez*, and what relates immediately to it, 'twill be proper, before we diſmiſs this Subject, to give a brief Account of the Kings of *Fez*, and their Court, which is kept in *New Fez*.

Africa knows no ſuch thing as Elective Princes, or the calling of a foreign Prince to a Throne. *Mahomet's* Law confin'd all ſecular Power to the *Mahometan* Patriarchs and Prelates; but in proceſs of time, the Authority of the Patriarchs declin'd: and the Ringleaders of the People, that ranged up and down in Deſarts, invaded civiliz'd places, and by force of Arms, gave 'em Princes contrary to *Mahomet's* Law. The Families of *Zenzta*, *Luntuna*, and *Marin*, are Inſtances to this Purpoſe.

The Officers of the King's Court.

As for the Kingdom of *Fez*, as ſoon as any Prince is proclaim'd King there, he ſingles out one of his Peers for a Chief Counſellour, and beſtows on him one third of all the Revenues of the Crown. Then he nominates another to be Secretary, Treaſurer and High Steward of his Houſhold. After that, he appoints a Captain of the Horſe or of the Guards, who commonly live with their Horſes in the Fields: In the laſt place he nominates a new Governour of the City. Some time after, he ſends Commiſſioners and Deputies to govern the *Highlanders* and *Arabians* that are ſubject to him; and appoints Collectors of the Revenues of the Crown; and nominates a certain number of *Keepers* or *Guardians* (as they call 'em) giving to every one of 'em a Caſtle or Village, by which they may maintain themſelves in Peace, and be ſerviceable to him in time of War. This King maintains, beſides his Guards, a Troop of Light Horſe-men, who live upon the King's Proviſions while they ſerve in the Field; but in time of Peace, the King gives 'em Corn, Butter, and powder'd Fleſh for the whole Year. Money they ſeldom finger; but the King provides entirely for their Horſes, and Cloths them once a year. Thoſe who look after their Horſes, are Chriſtian Captives, who go ſack'd in great Chains and when the Army removes, are carry'd upon Camels Backs. The Camels are taken care of by an Officer appointed for the Purpoſe, who diſpoſes of the Paſture as he pleaſes, and looks after the King's Furniture, that's carry'd upon their Backs. Another Officer is the Purveyor, who provides and diſtributes Corn to the King's Houſhold and his Army. In time of War he has ten or twelve Tents to lay up Corn in, and ſends every Day freſh Camels for new Corn. Another Officer is the Groom of the Stables or Maſter of Horſe, who provides for the King's Horſes, Mules, &c. being furniſh'd with all Neceſſaries by the Steward. There is likewiſe an *Overſeer of the Corn*, who provides Provender for the Beaſts, and being accountable to the High Steward as Clerk under him, who keeps an exact Account of what is laid out. The King of *Fez* has alſo a Captain over 50 Horſe-men, who may be call'd Purſuivants, for they execute the King's Orders; an Officer of great Authority, who in the King's Name, can force the Judges to do juſtice, and put their Sentences in execution, and can both impriſon and puniſh the Principal Noble-men. A Chancellour, who keeps the great Seal, and writes and ſigns the King's Letters. A Governour of the King's numerous Footmen, who always attends him. A Commiſſary for the Baggage of the Army, who takes care to carry the Tents of the Light Horſe-men upon Mules, and the Tents of the other Souldiers on Camels. A Maſter of the Ceremonies, who ſits at the King's Feet in the Senate Houſe, and commands each Member to ſpeak according to his Dignity. Add to theſe a Company of Standard Bearers, who upon a March, carry their Colours wrap'd up, only he that goes before the Army, has his Banner diſplay'd. Every one of this Company is particularly well acquainted with the Fords of Rivers, and the Paſſages thro' Woods; for which Reaſon they are for the moſt part the Guides of the Army. There are a great many Drummers in the Army, who beat with a Bull's Pizzle, upon certain Drums of Braſs as big as a great Kettle, the lower part of which is narrow, and the upper broad, being cover'd with a Skin. Theſe Drummers ride on Horſe-back, having always a great weight on one ſide to counterpoiſe the weight of the Drum on the other. Their Horſes are very ſwift, for the *Mores* account it a great diſgrace to loſe a Drum; and the Drums make not only a lould but a terrible noiſe, ſuch as affects both the Men and the Horſes. The Muſicians that attend the Army are not pay'd by the King; for the Cities are bound to ſend a certain number of 'em to the Wars, who are admitted or not admitted to the King's Table, according to their Behaviour in the Field. All the Women Servants in the King's Houſhold are Negro Slaves, tho' the Queen is always a White. Some *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Women Captives, are likewiſe kept about the Court, having Eunuchs who are Negro Slaves, that

The Revenues of the Crown.

watch 'em very narrowly. Notwithſtanding the King of *Fez* his large Dominions, his Revenues will ſcarce amount to 300000 Ducats a Year, the fifth part of which does not come to him. Moſt of his Incomes are paid in Corn, Cattle, Oil and Butter, which fetch but little Money. In ſome places they pay 1 ¼ Ducat *per* Acre, in other places a whole Farm pays no more. In ſome Regions every head pays as much as a whole Families does in another: And indeed the Citizens of *Fez* are more diſſatisfied at the Payment of the Taxes than at any thing elſe. By the Law, a *Mahometan* Prince (unleſs he be a Prieſt) can exact no more than what was ſettled by *Mahomet*, viz. 2 ½ *per Cent.* of the ready Money, and $\frac{1}{10}$ of all their Corn: And of that a part is to be imploy'd in relieving the Poor, and carrying on neceſſary Wars. But the ſecular Princes neglect *Mahomet*'s Model, have not only conſum'd theſe Taxes, but exacted greater; and at this Day all the Inhabitants of *Africa* are ſo oppreſs'd with daily Exactions, that they ſcarce have where withal to feed and cloth themſelves; and upon that Conſideration no Man of Senſe or Honeſty will either converſe or entertain a Courtier, or accept of a Preſent from him, preſuming that all his Poſſeſſions are the Product of Theft and Bribery. In time of Peace, the King maintains 6000 Horſe, 500 Croſs-bows, and as many Musqueteers, who lie within a Mile of his Perſon when he goes a Progreſs; but at *Fez* he has no occaſion for ſo ſtrong a guard. When he wages War with the *Arabians*, he obliges the *Arabians* that are ſubject to him to find him a great Army of Men upon their own Foot, and theſe Men are better Souldiers than his own. There is but little Pomp or Ceremony about his Perſon; neither does he care for it, unleſs it be upon Feſtival Days, or when neceſſity requires it.

When the King is to ride out, the Maſter of the Ceremonies ſend Meſſengers to give notice to his Relations, his Nobility, Senators, Captains, Guardians, and Gentlemen, who immediately draw up in a Body before the Palace Gate.

The order of the King's Retinue.

Upon the King's coming out of doors, the Meſſengers put the Retinue in the following Order. The Standard Bearers go firſt, then the Drummers, then the chief Groom of the Stable with his Attendants, then come the King's Penſioners, his Guard, his Maſter of Ceremonies, his Secretaries, his Treaſurer, his chief Judge, his Captain-General, three Officers, one carrying his Sword, another his Shield, and a third his Croſs-Bow, and at laſt the King himſelf, accompanied by his Chief Counſellor and ſome other Peer; his Foot-men march on each ſide of him, one carrying a pair of Stirrups, another his Partiſan, the third a Covering for his Saddle, the fourth a Halter for his Horſe, another his Slippers, which are very fine; and as ſoon as the King diſmounts, the Cover and Halter are put upon his Horſe. After the King follows the Captain of the Foot-men, then the Eunuchs, the King's Family, the Light-horſe, and in the Rear of all the Croſs-Bows and Fire-locks. Upon ſuch Occaſions, the King's Cloths are but very thin and ordinary, but his Retinue is very fine; Beſides, the Law of *Mahomet* prohibits any Prince to wear a Crown, Diadem, or any ſuch like Ornament upon his Head.

The manner of his Encampments.

When the King encamps with his Army, his own great Tent, which is 50 Ells ſquare, is firſt pitch'd. This Royal Pavilion has four Gates kept by Eunuchs, and on each corner of the ſquare a Spire of Cloth, with a gliſtering Ball on the top of it. There are divers other Tents within the Pavilion, particularly one for the King, ſo contriv'd, that it may be eaſily remov'd from place to place; next to the Pavilion are the Tents of the Noble-men and the King's Favourites, then the Lodgings of the chief Guard, made of Goats Skins after the *Arabian* Faſhion, and in the midſt of all, the King's Kitching and his Pantry. The Light Horſe-men lie near the Pavilion; and next to them are the Stables, where their Horſes are wonderfully well fed; without the Circle are the Baggage-men, Butchers, Victuallers, &c. Whoever comes to the Camp, muſt come no farther than the quarter for the Baggage-men; for the Royal Pavilion is ſo environ'd on all Hands by the Lodgings of the Guard and other Tents, that 'tis very hard to get at it. Some Watch-men are ſet to guard the King's Pavilion all night long, as well as the Stables, but they are ſorry helpleſs Fellows without Arms, and ſometimes ſo negligent, that not only Horſes have been ſtole, but Enemies have been taken in the King's Tent that came with a Deſign to murder him. The King lives the greateſt part of the Year in the Fields, both for the ſafe guard of his Kingdom, and for keeping his *Arabian* Subjects in obedience. His Diverſions are Hunting and playing at Cheſs.

Mount Zarbon.

To return. About ten Miles from the City of *Fez*, lies a noted Mountain call'd Mount *Zarbon*, which is ten Miles broad and 30 long. It bears plenty of Olives, but at the ſame time is crowded with wild Woods. There are about 50 Sheep-folds and Caſtles upon it, and the Conveniency of its ſituation between *Fez* on the Eaſt and *Mecnaſe* on the Weſt, renders the Inhabitants very rich. The Women of that Country are clad in Wolen, and adorn'd with many Silver Rings and Bracelets. The Men are brave, and noted for the taking of Lions, of which they ſend a great many to the King of *Fez*, and theſe the King hunts in this manner.

Hunting of Lions.

Several little Cells in which a Man may ſtand upright, are made in a large Field, and ſecur'd with ſtrong Doors. In each of theſe an armed Man is plac'd, who ſhewing himſelf to the Lion, and upon the Lion's approach ſhutting himſelf up, inflames his Fury; upon which a Bull is let looſe upon him, and if the Bull kills the Lion, the Sport is at an end, but if the Lion kills the Bull, all the Men in the Cells (who are commonly tweve in number) jump out upon him, being armed with a Javelin and a Pike of a Cubit and a half long. If the armed Men ſeem to be too hard for the Lion, the King orders their number to be diminiſh'd; and if they appear to be too weak, he and his Company ſhoots at the Lion with their Croſs-bows, from a high Hill where they ſtand to ſee the Show. But it oftentimes happens that ſome of the Men die, and all are ſeverely wounded before their Croſs-bows kill the Lion. Thoſe who encounter the Lion, receive ten Ducats apiece, and a new Garment; but 'tis only the Men of known Valour, and ſuch as come from Mount *Zelagi*, that are honour'd with the Employment.

Gualili.

A Town call'd *Gualili*, ſtands upon this Mountain, which became very populous after it was repair'd and replanted by *Idris* the Elder, who lies buried there, and whoſe Sepulchre is ſuperſtitiouſly viſited by almoſt all the People of *Barbary*; for they look upon him as a great Patriarch. Afrer the death of that *Idris*, his Son being wholly bent upon the building of *Fez*, neglected *Gualili*.

Pietra Roſſa.

Upon the ſide of the Mountain, there's a ſmall Town call'd *Pietra Roſſa*, which ſtands ſo near the Foreſt, that the Lions come tame in, and pick Bones off the Street, without hurting any body.

Caſtle *Shame.*

At the Foot of the Mountain near the high Road, leading from *Fez* to *Macneſe*, there ſtands Caſtle *Shame*, ſo call'd from the ſhameful covetuouſneſs of the Inhabitants. 'Tis reported, that the Inhabitants invited the King to diner as he was paſſing by, in order to get the ignominious Name alter'd, and next Morning prepar'd for his Breakfaſt a couple of Rams, and ſome large Veſſels full of Milk and Water, preſuming that the King would not know but that it was all Milk: Upon which the King perceiving the Milk to be half Water, ſmill'd and ſaid, *What Nature hath given no Man can take away.*

Province of *Azgar.*

The third Province is that of *Azgar*, in which are many Lions, and thoſe ſo timerous, that the Voice of a Child will fright 'em; whence *The Lion of Azgar* became a Proverb, ſignifying a cowardly *Braggadocia*.

Province of *Habat.*
Arzilla.

As for the Province of *Elhabet* or *Habat*, it contains within its Bounds the great City of *Arzilla*, built by the *Romans* upon the Shore of the Ocean, about 70 Miles from the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and 140 from *Fez*. In ancient times it was ſubject to the Prince of *Ceuta*, who was tributary to the *Romans*, and afterwards was taken by the *Goths*, who reſtor'd the Prince of *Ceuta* to his former Government. But in the 94th Year of the *Hegeira*, the *Mahometans* took it, and kept it 200 Years, till the *Engliſh* (a) upon the Sollicitation of the *Goths*, beſieg'd it with a huge Army, and put all the Citizens to the Sword. The Deſign of the *Goths* was only to draw the *Mahometans* out of *Europe*, for they being Chriſtians, were Enemies to the *Engliſh*, who worſhip'd Idols. Some time after this Diſaſter, the *Mahometan* Patriarchs of *Cordoua* being Sovereigns of *Mauritania*, rebuilt, enlarg'd, enrich'd and fortified *Arzilla*; the Inhabitants of which diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Riches, Learning and Valour. The adjacent Fields are fertile, only their diſtance from the Mountains, occaſions a great want of Wood, which is in ſome meaſure ſupply'd by Coals brought from *Harais*.

(a) Theſe ſeem to be *Danes*, who in thoſe times infeſted *England*, *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, and being at that time beaten out of *England*, were call'd *Engliſh*.

Taken by the *Portugueſe.*

In the 882 Year of the *Hegeira*, this City was ſurpriz'd and taken by the *Portugueſe*, who carry'd the Inhabitants Priſoners to *Portugal*, and among the reſt, *Mahumet* the preſent King of *Fez*, together with his Siſter, both of 'em being Children. *Mahumet* continu'd ſeven Years in *Portugal*, and learn'd the *Portugueſe* Language perfectly well; at laſt his Father ranſom'd him for a great ſum of Money, and the Son being afterwards preferr'd to the Throne, endeavour'd to retake *Arzilla* from the *Portugueſe*, and gain'd his Point ſo far as to maſter the Town, and oblige the *Portugueſe* to retire to the Caſtle and promiſe to ſurrender in two Days. But in the mean time *Pedro de Navarro* came up with a potent Fleet and rais'd the Siege. After that the *Portugueſe* fortified the City on all ſides, ſo that the King of *Fez*, who often attack'd it, was always repuls'd.

Tangier.

The next Town that comes in our way, is the great and ancient City of *Tangia*, call'd by the *Portugueſe Tangiara*, which the *Romans* built upn the Shoie of the Ocean, when they; ſubdu'd the Kingdom of *Granada* or *Boetica*.

Ceuta.

Then comes *Septa*, call'd by the Latines *Civitas*, and by the Portugueſe *Ceuta*, and built by the *Romans* upon the Streights of *Gibraltar*. In former times it was the Metropolitan of all *Mauritania*, and being much valued by the *Romans*, was both civiliz'd and well peopled in their time. After that, the *Goths* maſter'd it, and kept it, till the *Mahometans* invading *Mauritania*, ſurpriz'd it, at the ſame time that the *Mores* conquer'd *Spain*. After that, it came to be the famouſeſt City of all *Mauritania*, both for Civility and number of Inhabitants. It was adorn'd with Temples and Colleges, and reſorted to by Men of Learning, Students and Trades-men. Their Mechanicks, eſpecially the Braziers, went beyond all others. The adjacent Fields are but barren, which makes the Corn dear: but they are well ſtor'd with pretty Villages, eſpecially in that part which from the abundance of Vines, is call'd *The Vineyards*. From hence you have a noble Proſpect of the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and may even diſcern moving Animals there, the diſtance being but 12 Miles.

Taken by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*.

But in late times this noble City was raz'd by *Habdulmumen*, the King and Patriarch, who likewiſe baniſh'd the principal Inhabitants; and not long after it was ſack'd by the King of *Granada*, who carry'd the Nobles and chief Citizens in captivity to *Granada*; and at laſt, in the 818 Year of the *Hegeira*, 'twas taken by the *Portugal Armada*, and all the Citizens abandon'd it. The cowardly and unactive King of *Fez*, who neglected to ſuccour it, was by the juſt Judgment of God, brought to condign Puniſhment, he and his ſix Sons being murther'd ſoon after by his own Secretary, whoſe Wife he had endeavour'd to debauch; and the Baſtard Son, who was ſpar'd and ſucceeded him, was in like manner ſlain by his own People, and was the laſt of the *Marin* Line.

The King of Fez and his ſix Sons murder'd.

Mount *Quadres*.

Mount *Quadres*, in this Kingdom, is famous for the birth of *Hellul*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his valiant Exploits againſt the *Spaniards*, and at laſt was kill'd in *Catalonia*, *A. D.* 1160. at a Battle, in which 60000 *Mores* fell, and none eſcap'd but the King and a few Noblemen. After that Battle, the *Spaniards* were ever ſucceſsful againſt the *Mores*.

60000 *Mores* kill'd.

Province of *Erif*. *Velles de Gumera*.

We come next to the Province of *Erif*, the ancient Town of *Bedis*, call'd by the *Spaniards*, *Velles de Gumera*, ſtands upon the Shore of the Mediterranean in this Province, and contains 600 Families. It has no drinking Water, but one Well in the Suburbs, juſt by the Sepulchre of one that was once very famous among them; and this Well they dare not make uſe of in the Night-time, becauſe 'tis full of Leeches. However 'tis adorn'd with a ſtately Temple, and ſo overſtock'd with Fiſh, that they give 'em away *gratis*, eſpecially to any one that helps to draw up a Net, for one Man is not able to do it. The Fiſh they take are Pilchards, and theſe they ſalt and ſend to the Mountains to be ſold. A long Street in this Town is inhabited by *Jews*, many of whom ſell excellent Wines; nay, in a calm Evening the Citizens are wont to divert themſelves with ſinging, and the drinking of Wine in their Pleaſure Boats upon the Sea.

A Iſle poſſeſs'd by the *Spaniards*.

Being expos'd to the fire of a Fort that King *Ferdidando* of *Spain*, built upon an Iſland within a Mile of the Town, they implor'd the aid of the King of *Fez*, who accordingly ſent out an Army, moſt of which never return'd. The *Spaniards* kept the Iſle for ſeveral Years, till the Year 1520, in which a *Spaniard* provok'd by the Governour, who had taken his Wife from him, betray'd it into the Hands of the *Mores*, and all the *Spaniards* were put to the Sword, excepting the Traytor, who was well rewarded.

Province of *Garet*.

The Province of *Garet* is divided into three parts; the firſt contains the Towns and Cities, the ſecond the Mountains, and the third the Deſarts.

Mount *Beni-* [illegible]

The Mountains are Mount *Beniguazenal* and Mount *Beni Meſgalda*. The former has a Town upon it indifferently well peopled, and provided with many Judges and Lawyers, and all ſorts of Trades-men, particularly Linen Weavers. The adjacent Fields are wonderfully fertile in Grapes, Quinces and Citrons, which are all ſold at *Fez*. This Town has a good Market, frequented by the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Mountains. On the top of this Mountain, there's a Cave that perpetually throws up Fire, and conſumes Wood to Aſhes.

Mount *Beni-meſgalda*.

The Inhabitants of Mount *Beni Meſgalda* maintain many Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, and ſeveral inferiour Students, for which Reaſon their Taxes are but very ſmall in compariſon with their Neighbours. Theſe Doctors drink all the Wine themſelves, and perſwade the People that 'tis unlawful for them to drink it.

Melila.

Among the Towns of this Province, we muſt take notice of *Melila*, the Inhabitants of which being threatned by the *Spaniſh Armada*, and finding the King of *Fez* his Succeſſours but weak, deſerted the Town, and fled with their Effects to the Mountains of *Buthein*; upon which the Feſſon General, in reſentment of their cowardice, and in order to leave nothing for the *Spaniards*, burnt down all the Houſes and Temples. However the *Spaniards* poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Town, waſte as it was, *A. D.* 1487, and built a ſtrong Caſtle upon it, ſince which time they have repaird the Walls and continue in poſſeſſion of it to this Day.

The Deſart of *Garet*.

The Deſarts of *Garet* are bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the North, the Deſarts of *Chauz* on the South, the Mountains I mention'd but now on the Weſt, and the River of *Mulvia* on the Eaſt, being 60 Miles long and 30 broad. There's no Water in theſe Deſarts, but that of the River *Mulvia* us'd to retire in Summer, upon which many *Arabians* as well as a fierce People call'd *Batalisa*, have great ſtore of Horſes, Camels and other Cattle, and wage perpetual War with the *Arabians* that border upon 'em.

Province of *Cheuz*. *Dubdu*.

The laſt Province in this Kingdom is that of *Cheuz*. The Town of *Dubdu* ſtanding in this Province, was poſſeſs'd by one *Mahumet*, who adorn'd it with many fine Buildings, and reform'd the Government of the Town, being diſtinguiſh'd by his Civility to Strangers. This *Mahumet* having a Deſign to wreſt *Fezza* out of the Hands of the King of *Fez*, and to go diſguis'd in a Country Habit to the Market-place of that Town, in hopes that the Towns-men would make an Inſurrection, the King of *Fez* came to know of the Plot, and marching againſt *Dubdu* with a vaſt Army, encamp'd at the Foot of the Mountain. In the mean time 6000 of the Inhabitants of the Mountain lay in ambuſh among the Rocks, and after the *Fezzan* Souldiers had gone up the difficult Paſſages of the Mountain a pretty way, ſo that they could not conveniently get back again, ſallied out and kill'd 3000 of 'em. But the King of *Fez* not mov'd, advanc'd with 500 Croſs-bows and 300 Firelocks to make a new Attack: Upon which *Mahumet* finding himſelf not able to ſtand out any longer, diſguis'd himſelf in the Habit of an Ambaſſadour, and went and deliver'd a Letter with his own Hand to the King. Being ask'd by the King what he thought of *Mahumet* the Governour of *Dubdu*; he anſwer'd, that he thought he was mad in offering to withſtand his Majeſty. Then the King threatned to tear him in pieces as ſoon as he was Maſter of the Town; upon which the feign'd Ambaſſadour ask'd if his Majeſty would not receive him into favour upon a ſubmiſſive Acknowledgment of his Offence. His Majeſty promis'd upon that Condition, not only to forgive him, but to give his two Daughters in marriage to his Sons, and for his further Security, back'd his Promiſe with a ſolemn Ooath, in the preſence of four of his Principal Nobility. Upon this, *Mahumet* fell down at the King's Feet, and diſcovering himſelf, humbly beg'd Pardon for his Offence, and the King made good his Promiſe. This happen'd *Anno Dom.* 1495.

Fezza.

Fezza is another City within this Province, which ſtands upon the Road from *Garet* to *Caſaſan*, at the diſtance of 50 Miles from *Fez*, 130 from the Ocean, and ſeven from the *Mediterranean*. In former times it contain'd 5000 Families. Its Palaces, Temples, and Colleges are in ſome meaſure pretty, but the other Buildings are very ordinary. A ſmall River runs thro' the chief Temple, that ſprings out of the *Atlas*; and ſometimes when the Citizens quarrel with their Neighbours, theſe incommode 'em very much, by cutting off this River, and turning it into another Channel, for then they have nothing but ſtinking Water, and are forc'd to ſtrike up a Peace. For Riches, Civility and Populouſneſs, this City is reckon'd the third City of the Kingdom. The Chief Temple is greater than that at *Fez*; beſides which it has three Colleges, ſeveral Baths, and a great many Hoſpitals. Each Trade in this place has a peculiar place allotted to it, as well as in *Fez*. The Inhabitants go beyond thoſe of *Fez*, in Valour and Generoſity; and there are a great many learned and rich Men among 'em. The adjacent Fields are extream fertile. The Plains without the City Walls are very large, and enrich'd rich'd with many pleaſant Brooks, that ſerve to water their Gardens, which are ſtock'd with all ſorts of Fruit.

Their Vines produce great plenty of ſweet Grapes, of which the *Jews* (there being 500 Families of 'em in this City) make as good Wine as any in *Africa*.

An old Man rever'd.

In this place, ſays our Author, I ſaw a very ancient Man, that they rever'd as a God, inſomuch, that the People of *Fez* came 50 Mile off to ſee him; and this old Gentleman, who had the Art of deluding the People, was prodigiouſly rich in Fruits, Grounds, and other Commodities that they had given him.

Soffroi. Tame Lions.

Soffrei is another Town in this Country, which has a Temple with a River running thro' it, and an excellent Fountain at the Door. There's a Foreſt juſt by it, where the Lions are very tame.

Ham-Liſnan.

Publick Adultery in a Temple.

There's a Town in this Country call'd *Ham Liſnan*, near to which the *Africans* had a Temple, that in the time of their Idolatry, they reſorted to in whole Shoals in the Night 'time; and after the Performance of Sacrifice, us'd to put out the Lights, and divert themſelves with promiſcuous Embraces. The Children that were begotten in this adulterous way, were brought up by the Prieſt of the Temple, and ſet apart for ſacred Service: But the Women that acted a part in this foul Action, were prohibited to lye with any Man for a Year after.

Numen Giunaibe a Dancing-road.

Not far from another Town call'd *Numen Giunaibe*, there's a Road, which whoever paſſes without dancing and leaping, falls into an Ague.

Mount *Beni-Jeſſenten.*

The Mountain jubject to the Governour of *Dubdu*, is call'd *Bemi Jeſſenten*, and is inhabited by a unhuman, baſe, beggarly crew. Their Houſes and Shoes are made of Sea-ruſhes. *Panick* is the only thing that grows upon the Mountain, of which they make Bread and other Victuals; but at the Foot of it Grapes, Dates, and Peaches grow plentifully in Gardens. They dry their Peaches in the Sun, cutting 'em into quarters, and throwing away the Stones; and theſe are accounted a choice Rarity after a Years keeping. They have ſome Iron in Mines, of which they make blunt pointed Daggers and Horſe-Shooes, which ſometimes ſerves 'em for Money, for that's a ſcarce Commodity upon the Mountain. Their Women are proud of Iron Rings on their Fingers and Ears, and are ſcandalouſly rigg'd; for they ſtay moſtly in the Woods, where they keep Goats and gather Fuel.

Mount *Selelgo.*

Another Mountain in this Province, call'd *Selelge*, is inhabited by a People who deſcend to the Valleys every Spring, carrying their Houſes of Sea-ruſhes along with 'em, and continue there till about the end of *May*, at which time the *Arabians* coming from the Deſarts in queſt of Fountains and moiſt places for their Cattle, diſlodge 'em. But in the Winter theſe *Arabians* reſort to Woods, and warm places to ſhelter their Camels, which cannot bear cold. This Mountain is well ſtock'd with Lions, Leopards, and Apes. It gives riſe to *Subu* the greateſt River in all *Mauritania*, and has a ſtream of Water that runs ſo rapidly, as to carry a Stone of 100 weight along with it.

Mounts *Beni-Jaſga.*

The River *Subu* ſeparates Mount *Selelgo* from Mount *Beni Jaſga*, the Inhabitants of which are a rich and civil People. They have a way of pullying People over from one Mountain to the other, in a great Hamper that will hold ten Men, that being faſten'd to a Rope which runs from a ſtrong Poſt on one ſide, to another on the oppoſite ſide; but this airy Bridge is not always very ſafe. This Mountain affords plenty of Oil, great ſtore of Cattle, and very fine Wool, of which the Women make Cloth as fine as Silk, and ſell it at *Fez* for a great Price.

Mount *Centopozzi.*

Mount *Centopozzi*, boaſts of a great many ancient Houſes, and a bottomleſs dry Pit, into which ſome People have been let down by a Rope with Torches in their Hands, who report, that below 'tis divided into a great many Rooms, and that at laſt they come to a large artificially hewn out of a Rock, and encompaſs'd with a Wall that has four Doors leading to ſome narrow places, where are Springs of Water. Some of theſe bold Adventurers have loſt their Lives, in the Diſcovery; for if their Lights happen to be put out by any ſudden blaſt of Wind, they can by no means find the place where the Rope hangs, and ſo die by famine. 'Tis ſaid that three Men being let down, came to the four Doors above-mention'd, where they parted, one going one way, and the other two another. After the two that kept together had gone on one fourth of a Mile, one of their Lights was put out by ſwarms of Bats; at length they came to the Springs, where they found the Whites of Dead Men, and five or ſix Candles, ſome of which were freſh and ſome waſted with long lying. Then they return'd the ſame way they came, and were ſcarce gone half way, when a ſudden blaſt put out their other Light, upon which they were ſcrambling among the Ropes, and after many fruitleſs Attempts, loſt all Hopes of finding their way. In the mean time their Companions that tarry'd at the Mouth of the Cave expecting their return, let down ſome of their own number to ſee what was become of 'em; and theſe Men having Lights in their Hands, and making a great Noiſe, found 'em out at laſt, and brought 'em up. But the third that went by himſelf was not found at that time; he wander'd up and down in a forlorn Condition, and at laſt hearing a noiſe like the barking of Dogs, made up to 'em, and met four ſtrange new-born Beaſts, with a Dam not unlike a ſhe Wolf, which fawn'd gently upon him with her Tail. Soon after that he began to perceive a glimmering of light, and ſo found his way out. But now-adays this famous Pit is fill'd with Water to the very Mouth.

Mount *Gunaigel Gherben*,

Near this Mountain is Mount *Gunaigel Gherben* (the Mountain of Ravens) which is full of Woods and Lions, and has no Inhabitants, perhaps by reaſon of its extream coldneſs. Here is a very high Rock, the top of which is frequented by infinite numbers of Crows and Ravens, whence 'tis thought, the Mountain deriv'd its Name. Sometimes the terrible northerly Wind bring ſuch abundance of Snow upon this Mountain, that thoſe who travel from *Numidia* are loſt in it. Every Summer the Neighbouring *Arabians*, call'd *Beni-Eſſen*, reſorted to this Mountain for the Benefit of its cool Water and pleaſant Shades, notwithſtanding its being over-run with Lions and Leopards.

Mount *Ziz.*

The laſt Mountain I ſhall mention, is Mount *Ziz*, inhabited by a parcel of Thieves and Robbers, who are continually moleſting the *Arabians*, and are ſo ſpiteſul as to throw their Camels over the Rocks.

Tame Serpents.

In this place the Serpents are ſo inoffenſive, that they come to peoples Houſes at dinner-time, and gather the Crumbs under the Table, without offering any violence, unleſs they be injur'd.

Additions to CHAP. III.

Out of Marmol.

THE Kingdom of *Fez* is the ſecond or eaſtern part of *Mauritania Tingitana*, being ſever'd from *Morocco* or the Weſtern part, by the River *Ommirabi*. It contains ſeven Provinces, the moſt weſtern of which is *Temeſen*, a Province, that after many Revolutions, came to be poſſeſs'd by the People of *Zenete* and *Haoara*, who are commonly call'd *Chavians*, and not only live in Tents like the *Arabians*, but ſpeak broken *Arabick*, tho' at the ſame time they are an *African* Nation. In former times this People were ſo powerful, that they could bring into the Field 50000 150000 Foot; but their continual Wars with the Kings of *Fez*, and of *Morocco*, and with the *Portugueſe*, added to a three Years Plague and Famine, have reduc'd 'em to that extremity, that at this day they are Vaſſals to the *Xeriff*, and cannot raiſe above 8000 Horſe and 50000 Foot: Their Cavalry is good, but their Infantry does but little. However they are ſo proud, that they ſit uneaſily under the Yoak, and take all Occaſions to revolt, skipping from one Kingdom to another with their Tents and Flocks. Their Women are white, and proud of their Beauty and gay Apparel, particularly of Jewels and Trinkets of Gold and Silver hanging about their Neck, Ears, and Arms. The Country is very well qualified both for Corn and Paſture, but the Inhabitants manure only what lies juſt by their Inhabitations.

Behima a fattening Herb.

In the Fields there grows an Herb call'd *Behima*, that fattens Horſes and Cattle in 12 or 15 Days, but kills 'em after it ſhoots forth a bearded Ear, for which reaſon they keep their Cattle from it in that Seaſon. This Province was once beautified with numerous Towns and Caſtles; but now there remains nothing but the Walls of ſome Towns without any Houſes, within which the Inhabitants incamp in Winter.

The Province of Fez.

The Province of *Fez*, is the next in order, purſuant to our wonted Method, by proceeding from Weſt to Eaſt. Both the Mountains and Valleys between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, are inhabited by *Bereberes*, and by *Holots*, which is a mixture of *Africans* and *Arabians*, and not to mention the other puiſſant *Arabians*, who poſſeſs all the Fields between *Fez* and the Sea, where they wander up and down, and find excellent Paſture for their Flocks. The Country that lies between the City of *Fez* and the *Great Atlas*, is not ſo well peopled, being inhabited only by poor *Arabs*, who pay ſome Acknowledgment to the King and the Citizens of *Fez*, for what Lands they poſſeſs.

Sala.

Fez is now the Metropolitan of this Province, but in the time of the *Goths*, *Fella* or *Sala* was entituled to that Honour. The latter was built either by the *Romans*, or by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and is enrich'd with a tolerable Harbour, the Mouth of which is ſomewhat dangerous. It has been famous for Galleys or Rovers that infeſt the European Coaſt, ever ſince a *Granada More* retir'd thither. In former times 'twas very rich and populous, and committed ſeveral Ravages upon the *Europeans*, which provok'd *Alphonſus* the Wiſe, King of *Caſtile*, to take it *A. D.* 1263. But ſoon after 'twas retaken by the firſt King of *Fez*, of the *Benemerini* Family. However theſe ſudden Revolutions brought it ſo low, that it never recover'd its ancient ſplendour. At preſent 'tis defended by a Governour, with 300 Horſe and ſome Firelocks.

Tifelfet.

About four Miles from the Ocean, we met with the Ruines of the ancient City of *Tamiſidis*, now *Tifelfet*, which *Ptolomy* places in 7 Deg. Long. and 34 Deg. 15 Min. Lat. It has thick Foreſts in its Nighbourhood, where furious Lions reſort, and attack Paſſengers, eſpecially in the Night-time; for which Reaſon there is a Houſe cover'd with Earth upon the Road, where the purſued Traveller may be ſhelter'd from their fury.

Mequinez.

At the diſtance of 17 Leagues from *Sella*, not far from Mount *Atlas*, lies a large City, which containing above 8000 Inhabitants, which is now call'd *Mequinez*, and which *Ptolomy* places under the Name of *Silda*, in ſeven Deg. 50 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 15 Min Lat. It has good Walls and large Streets, and ſtands in a very fertile Country. The Inhabitants are proud and ſtout, and mortal Enemies to the *Fezzans*. They derive their Extraction from *Mecca*, and apply themſelves for the moſt part to Traffick. The Kings of *Fez* are wont to beſtow this place as a Portion upon the Cadets of their Family, tho' ſometimes they have had occaſion to repent it.

The City of Fez.

Fez, the Metropolitan of all *Africa*, is call'd the Court of the Weſt, as *Conſtantinople* is entitled that of the Eaſt. 'Twas call'd *Fez* from the River it ſtands upon, which has ſuch rich and verdant Banks, that it merited the Name of *Huet-Fez*, i. e. *The Golden River*.

Bulibilis.

That part of it which was firſt built, and ſtands upon the Eaſt Bank of the River, is the ſame with what *Ptolomy* call'd *Bulibilis*, and plac'd in eight Deg. 15 Min. Long. and 33 Deg. 40 Min. Lat. But that part which was built ſince upon the Weſtern, is the chief Body of the City. It has ſeven Gates, and is divided into twelve Wards, each of which is commanded by one of the principal Citizens, who like a Colonel, takes to ſee them provided with Arms, at the Peoples Charge.

Its Force.

Upon occaſion they can raiſe 30000 Soldiers, among whom the *Mooriſh Spaniards* that retir'd from *Granada* and *Andeloufia*, are much the braveſt, for the reſt mind nothing but their Eaſe and Pleaſure.

Its peculiar Priviledge.

The firſt King of *Fez* vouchſaf'd to the City the diſtinguiſhing Priviledge of not being oblig'd to ſtand out againſt an Enemy, when the King is not able to keep the Field; ſo that they are not ty'd up to a vain and dangerous Fidelity to a Prince that is not able to defend 'em, but may prevent the Ruin of their City by an early Surrender. For this Reaſon, their Kings are always very ſtrong in Horſe, that they may be able to keep the Field upon all Occaſions.

Temples.

This great City has many fine Temples, Colleges, and other Structures. The principal Temple, call'd *Caruvin*, is the richeſt and greateſt in all *Africa*. Within its compaſs, there's a College, where they teach their Theology, and the other Arts and Sciences.

The Great Mufti.

The Rector of this College, is commonly the moſt learned Man in the Country; his Title is *Mufti*, and all other *Alfagui's* receive their Orders from him as from a Biſhop, and depend upon him for the Solution of their Doubts and Difficulties. He us'd to receive the Revenues of the Church, which amount to 80000 Ducats a Year; but the *Xeriff* that now reigns, ſaves him that Trouble, in taking up the whole Revenue, and providing him with what is neceſſary for himſelf and the other Officers of the Temple.

Colleges.

There are ſeveral other Colleges in *Fez*, in which they teach Grammar, Rhetorick, *Mahometan* Theology, Philoſophy, Orthography, Mathematicks, and other Sciences: In former times they taught *Negromancy*, but that has been prohibited theſe ſeveral Years.

Schools.

There are above 200 Schools in the City, where they learn to read, notwithſtanding that the *Arabick* Grammar and Orthography are taught in the Univerſities.

Inns.

Not to mention their Hoſpitals; their Inns for the Accommodation of Strangers, are very large and well built; The beſt of 'em are near the great Temple, where the Chriſtian Merchants and the honeſter ſort of People are lodg'd, but the reſt are Houſes of notorious lewdneſs; their Keepers are diſſolute Ruffians, and entertain Whores, Boys, Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and all the Miſcreants of the City; nay, which is very ſtrange, they are free in thoſe places from the Hands of Juſtice. The Inn-Keepers, who go by the Name of *Bedis*, pay a round Sum every Year to the Governour for his Licence, and as often as the Army marches under the command of the King or the Prince, they are oblig'd to ſend ſome of their number, to attend the Officers of the Retinue, and dreſs their Meat.

Mills.

The River which paſſes thro' *Fez*, has a great many Mills upon it, out of which the King has half a Rial for every Mine (or two Buſhels) of Corn that is ground there.

East Fez.

So much for the Weſtern part of *Fez*; The Eaſtern is chiefly conſiderable for its Manufacture of Linen Cloth, and Silk.

New Fez.

As for *New Fez*, or the King's Court (which may be call'd a third part of this great City) 'twas chriſten'd the *White City* by King *Jacob*, its Founder; tho' now it has aſſum'd the Title of *New Fez*. All the Inhabitants beſides the King and his Court, are Perſons of no great Figure; for thoſe who have either Riches or Quality, are not very fond of being known at Court. The Prince who built this place, has ſpar'd nothing to render it a place of Conveniency and Safety, tho' after all it might eaſily be taken, partly becauſe it lies expos'd to eaſy Attacks in ſeveral places, and partly becauſe it wants Ramparts and Platforms for planting the Artillery, not to mention that it contains ſuch a number of uſeleſs Mouths as would quickly reduce it to famine in caſe of a Siege. At preſent 'tis conſtantly guarded by 2000 Firelocks on Foot, and 1500 Horſe well mounted, and provided with Artillery and Ammunition.

The Suburbs of Old Fez.

The Weſt end of *Old Fez* is join'd by a Suburbs, containing about 300 Families, where Ruffians and Debauchees reſort, and eſcape juſtice; for the Houſes are built juſt upon the brink of the River, and as ſoon as a Magiſtrate or Officer appears, they croſs over and get into a thick Wood on t'other ſide of the River, where 'tis impoſſible to find 'em.

Not far from this place, there's an Apartment of 60 Houſes, with an Hoſpital for leprous Perſons; for Lepers, and indeed all Perſons that are ill of incurable Diſeaſes, are prohibited to walk the Streets; nay, the Lepers are not ſuffer'd to continue at their own Houſes, but forc'd into the Hoſpital.

Above 120 Families of Whites live at a ſmall diſtance from thence upon the ſide of the River, where they have an admiral Green for bleeching Cloth, which is green all the Year round, and waſh'd by a Cryſtal Stream, for the Water of the River is ſo clear, that in Summer one may count the ſmall Flints at the bottom.

Mount Zalag.

At the diſtance of a League from *Fez*, there's a fertile Mountain call'd *Zalag*, which produces the beſt Grapes in all *Africa*. Moſt of the Citizens of *Fez* have their Eſtates upon this Mount, and the Inhabitants are very rich, being for the moſt part Husband-men and Gardeners.

Lampta.

The chief Town is *Lompta*, which ſtands juſt under the Ruines of an ancient City, that ſeems to have been built by the *Romans*, and probably was *Ptolomy's Aebrifis*, which he places in nine Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 15 Min. Lat.

M. Zarhon.

Darel Hamara.

Zarhon is another large and well peopled Mountain in the Neighbourhood of *Fez*, where we meet with a Town built by the *Romans*, call'd *Darel Hamara*, that ſeems to be *Ptolomy*'s *Septicenna*. In this place (ſays our Author) I ſaw a Lion come into the Town and ſnatch up a little Child; upon which the Child's Siſter, that was not above twelve Years of age, run after him, and beat him till he drop'd the Child; So great is the Influence of Cuſtom as to tame the fierceſt of Creatures, and render Men fearleſs of any Hurt from 'em.

Gemaa.

Upon the Road between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, there was a ſmall Town, call'd by the Inhabitants *Gemaa*, and by *Ptolomy Gontiana*, which was ſtrong both by Art and Nature, but was diſpeopl'd and demoliſh'd by the laſt King, but one of the *Benemerini*'s Family, as being only a Neſt of Robbers and profligate Scoundrels.

M. Tagat.

Tagat, a ſtrong and narrow Mountain, to the Weſt of *Fez*, is the laſt place I ſhall take notice of in this Province. That ſide of it which faces the City of *Fez*, is cover'd with Vines, moſt of which belong to the Citizens of *Fez*.

Finding Treaſure by Magick.

Some poor *Fezzians* come every Winter and dig in this Mountain in queſt of ſome Treaſure that they imagine the *Romans* to have left behind 'em. They alledge, that this Treaſure is enchanted, and cannot be had without Magick, and are great Admirers of ſuch Books as treat upon that Subject. So much for the Territory of *Fez*.

The Province of *Aſgar*.

Aſgar is the third Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*. Its name ſignifies, *Flying the Sea*; for 'tis alledg'd, that 'twas once cover'd with the Sea, which has ſince retir'd. It extends from the River *Burregreg* on the Weſt, to the Mountains of *Errif*, *Zarkon*, and *Zalag*, on the Eaſt, and from the Ocean on the North, to the River of *Bunacer* on the South, being in length 27 Leagues, and in breadth 20. 'Tis the richeſt Province in *Africa* for Corn, Cattle, Wool, Butter and Leather, and provides the City of *Fez* with theſe Commodities. In former times it had ſeveral rich Towns and Villages, which are now demoliſh'd; and is inhabited at preſent by two puiſſant Races of the *Arabians* of *Mauritania Tingitana*, who are the King of *Fez* his Vaſſals, and oblig'd to furniſh him with a certain number of Troops. Their Cavalry is very brave, but if the Campagn be tedious, and plunder ſcarce, they commonly take the firſt opportunity of ſliding home.

El Arays.

El Arays, an ancient Sea-Town in this Province, was very populous before the Chriſtians were poſſeſs'd of *Arzilla*, at which time the Inhabitants deſerted it, till 'twas fortified by *Muley Nacer*, for a Frontier againſt the Chriſtians of *Tangier* and *Arzilla*. It has a good Harbour for ſmall Ships, in which the *Portugueze* Governour of *Arzilla* burnt, and took ſeveral Mooriſh Veſſels, *A. D.* 1504. Moſt of the Inhabitants are Colliers, and the chief Traffick of the place conſiſts in Coals, Cotton and Shads, taken in the River *Liſſe*, upon the Mouth of which the Town ſtands.

Alcaſ. Quivir, or the Great Palace.

Alcaſar-Quivir, another Town in this Province, ſignifying in *Arabick The great Province*, was built by the fourth King of the *Almohada* Family. The occaſion was this: The King loſt his way in hunting among a great many Lakes and Moraſſes, and was forc'd to ſtand under a Tree with his Horſe in his Hand a great part of the Night; at laſt he ſpy'd an Eel Fiſher-man, who ſhelter'd him under his ſhead, and conducted him thro' the Marſhes, to the great danger of his life. Upon this the King ask'd him what reward he would have; The Fiſher-man reply'd, that the moſt agreeable Reward to him, would be a Houſe built in that place, where he and his Family might be lodg'd. Accordingly the King built a rich Palace upon the ſpot, where he came ſometimes to divert himſelf with hunting, and made the poor Man Houſe-keeper. At the ſame time he gave ſuch Priviledges and Immunities to all that would build about it, that in a ſhort time 600 Inhabitants ſettled there, and the Town was fortified. 'Twas call'd *Alcaſar-Quivir*, i. e. *The Great Palace*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Alcaſar-Saguer*, i. e. *The Little Palace*. The Inhabitants are a good humour'd ſort of People, and ſince the Abdication of *Arzilla* by the *Portugueſe*, are poſſeſs'd both of Peace and Riches. The River *Liſſe* runs ſo near the Town, that ſometimes upon an Inundation, it ſweeps away the Houſes.

The Province of *Habat*.

Habat, the fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*, extends from the Fens of *Aſgar* on the Weſt, to the Mountains of *Erriff* on the Eaſt, and from the Ocean on the North, to the River *Erguile* on the South, being in length (*i. e.* from Eaſt to Weſt) 27 Leagues, and in breadth 35. The plain Country lies all upon a level being rich in Corn and Cattle, and water'd with ſeveral great Rivers that ſpring from the Mountains and diſembogue in the Ocean. The *African* Hiſtorians take great notice of this Province, as being the moſt noted Diſtrict of the whole Country, and known formerly by the name of *Tianitena*, where the *Romans* and *Goths* built more Cities than in any other part. But ſince the building of *Fez*, the better ſort of the Inhabitants are remov'd thither, in order to avoid the laſh of the War, the *Portugueſe* having poſſeſs'd themſelves of the principal Towns all along the Coaſt.

Amergue.

At the diſtance of three Leagues from the ſide of *Erguile*, there ſtood a Town call'd by the Inhabitants *Amergue*, and by *Ptolomy*, *Tocoloſia*.

Tenzert.

Tenzert or *Tebart*, another Town in this Province, plac'd by *Ptolomy* under the name of *Triſidis*, in nine Deg. Long. and 33 Deg. 20 Min Lat. was built by the *Romans* upon a riſing Ground. *Aben Gezar* ſays in his Geography that 'twas founded by the Giants, and that in his time, they found in ſome ancient Tombs, ſeveral Skulls that were two Foot every way.

Beſara.

Another Town in this Province was *Bezat*, *Beſia*, or *Beſara*, where the Kings of *Fez* us'd to ſpend the Summer, upon the account of its cool Waters and ſhady Woods, and its lying conveniently for Hunting. But this and the two foregoing Towns were level'd with the Ground by *Caim*, the Schiſmatick Califa, in the Wars with *Idris*.

The Agreeable.

About three Leagues from the Ocean, we meet with an Iſland in the *Liſſe*, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *The Agreeable*, upon which the King of *Portugal* built a Fort, but was afterwards oblig'd to abandon it, when the King of *Fez*, purſuant to the Advice of a Deſerter, ſtopp'd the courſe of the River, by cutting down the Wood that grew on its Banks, and throwing it in, and turn'd the Water into another Channel that join'd the old one about half a Mile below the Fort.

Arzilla.

Arzilla, a very ancient ſtrong and well ſituated City, belonging to this Province, is placed by *Ptolomy* under the name of *Zilia*, in ſix D. 30 Min. Long. and 35 D. 10 Min. Lat. 'Twas a ſtrong Frontier for the *Portugueſe*, while they kept their Footing in *Africa*.

Tangier.

The next place we come at is the ancient City of *Tangier*, call'd by the *Romans Tingidin*, which was built by the *Romans*, upon the Mouth of the Streights, and afterwards taken by the *Goths*, who annex'd it to the Government of *Ceuta*. It continued in their Hands till the taking of *Arzilla* by the *Mahumetans*. During that ſpace of time, 'twas a ſplendid place, adorn'd with an Univerſity, and reſorted to by a great many Noblemen and Gentlemen. Its Houſes are very fine, and ſeveral Governours of *Mauritania Tingitana*, choſe it for the place of their Reſidence. The adjacent Valleys being admirably well water'd, were imbelliſh'd with Gardens, Vineyards, and Houſes of pleaſure. The Inhabitants being a warlike People, infeſted the Coaſt of *Europe*; upon which account the King of *Portugal* ſent his Son, (*A. D.* 1437) to beſiege it. But the King of *Fez* coming to relieve it, and great numbers of the *Portugueſe* Gentry being loſt in ſeveral Engagements before the Town, the Prince was forc'd to come to a Treaty with the Mooriſh King, and promiſe to ſurrender *Ceuta*, upon the Condition, that the King of *Fez* ſhould releaſe all the Chriſtian Priſoners. At the ſame time he could not avoid the delivering himſelf as an Hoſtage, till the King of *Portugal* ſhould ratify the Treaty. However 'tis ſaid, he privately diſſwaded the King from ratifying it, chooſing rather to die in captivity than to ſee Chriſtendom bereft of the Key of the Streights. For this Reaſon the King of *Fez* us'd him very roughly, upon which he ſicken'd and died. After that *Alfonſus* King of *Portugal* went in Perſon to beſiege *Tangier* (*A. D.* 1463.) and after ſeveral unfortunate Engagements, was forc'd to return without compaſſing his end. But in the Year 1471. the King of *Fez* being diverted by Wars in his own Country, and King *Alfonſus* being Maſter of *Arzilla*, the Citizens of *Tangier* ſaw themſelves expos'd, and dreaded that King *Alfonſus* would take that Opportunity to revenge upon them the many Loſſes and Miſadventures he had ſuffer'd before their City. Upon this Apprehenſion they privately abdicated *Tangier*, and ſo the King of *Portugal* became the peaceable Poſſeſſour of a place that had coſt him ſo much Blood and Pains, for ſo many Years together. From that time the Kings of *Portugal* aſſum'd the Title of Kings, both of this and the other ſide of the Sea; and the important Conqueſt was celebrated by Proceſſions, not only in *Portugal*, but in *Andalouſia*, *Granada*, and *Caſtile*.

Alcaſar-Saguer.

Alcaſar-Saguer, is another Town in this Province, ſtanding upon the narroweſt part of the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and enrich'd with a convenient Harbour. *Jacob Almanſor* built it for the conveniency of croſſing from thence over to *Spain*, which is but three Leagues ſailing. Being provided with Woods all about it, the Inhabitants us'd to fit out Rovers that infeſted the Coaſt of *Europe*, and were very troubleſome to the Ships that paſs'd the Streights. In the Year 1458, *Alphonſus* King of *Portugal* took it after an obſtinate Siege; and tho' the King of *Fez* laid Siege to it twice with great vigour, continued ſtill Maſter of it, till he thought fit upon the conſideration of the Charge and the ſmall Profit that attended ſuch Conqueſts, to quit this and all his other Poſſeſſions in this Country, excepting *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, and *Mazagan*.

Near to this place a River diſcharges it ſelf into the Sea, which *Ptolomy* calls *Valona*, placing the Mouth of it it ſeven Deg. Long. and 35 Deg. 50 Min. Lat.

Ceuta.

As for *Ceuta*, which was once the moſt conſiderable City, not only in this Province, but in all *Mauritania Tingitana*. Some take it to be the ſame with *Ptolomy*'s *Eſſiliſſa*, plac'd by him in ſeven Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. 56 Min. Lat. Hiſtorians ſay, that 'tis the beſt air'd place in all *Africa*, and upon that Conſideration the richeſt Families repair to it from all quarters. There are ſeveral Mountains in this Province, inhabited by *Bereberes* of the Tribe of *Gomera*, who live after the ſame manner with their Neighbours, bating, that they drink Wine, contrary to *Mahomet*'s Law. Theſe are a hardy robuſt ſort of People; but their heavy Taxes keep 'em miſerably poor. They are mortal Enemies to the Chriſtians, and were the beſt Troops that the Kings of *Granada* had in the *Spaniſh* Wars.

The Province of *Errif*.

The next Province in order is that of *Errif*, extending from *Tetuan* on the Weſt, along a Plain, above 50 Leagues long, to the River *Nocer* on the Eaſt, and from the Mediterranean Sea on the North, to the Province of *Fez* on the South. This Country is inhabited by *Bereberes*, who are very proud of their Valour, and enrich'd with fine Gardens, Olives, and all ſorts of Fruit. There are but ſix Towns in the whole Province; for moſt of the Inhabitants live in ſmall Villages and Hamlets ſcatter'd here and there, among the Rocks and Mountains, which are unſufferably cold, in ſo much, that both the Men and Women that live there, have great ſwoln Chops occaſion'd by the cold. Their Houſes are built of Earth, and cover'd with the Leaves or Rinds of Trees.

Targat.

Targat is one of the Cities of this Province, which *Ptolomy* call'd *Tagat*; and which is environ'd by rugged cold Mountains, and Forreſts repleniſh'd with Apes. The Inhabitants of this place are great Drunkards and very brutiſh. They live by fiſhing, and ſome ſay they have Fiſh enough to ſupply half the Kingdom of *Fez*. It ſtands upon the Mediterranean Shore, but has no Harbour, the whole Coaſt being nothing but an open Road.

Vellez de Gomera.

The next Town is *Vellez de Gomera*, inhabited by a drunken barbarous Crew, who being well accommodated with Wood and a good Harbour, us'd to fit out Galleys to infeſt the Coaſt of *Europe*.

Pegnon de Velez.

To prevent their Excurſions, the *Spaniards* built a Fort call'd *Pegnon de Velez*, upon a Rock in the Sea, within 700 Paces of the Shore. This Fort was afterwards betray'd into the Hands of the *Mores*, who continued in Poſſeſſion of it till the *Turks* maſter'd it, at the ſame time that *Salarraes*, Governour of *Algiers* poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Fez*. After that, the *Spaniards* attempted to retake it, and after one or two ſucceſleſs Expeditions, took it at laſt, in the Year 1564; ſo that 'tis now in the *Spaniſh* Hands, and defended by a good Garriſon, who are well provided with Artillery and Ammunition.

Tellez.

The other Towns in this Province are *Tellez*, inhabited by poor Fiſher-men, who fly to the Mountains upon the leaſt apprehenſion of an Invaſion.

Tagaza.

Tagaza ſtanding upon a River of the ſame name, the Mouth of which *Ptolomy* places under the name of *Talud*, in eight Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. Lat.

Gebha.

Cape of Olives.

Gebha, a ſmall wall'd Town upon the Mediterranean Shore, near to which the Cape of *Olives*, ſo call'd from the multitude of wild Olives that grow upon it, and plac'd by *Ptolomy* in nine Deg. Long. and 34 Deg. 56 Min. Lat.

Megeyma.

And *Megeyma* or *Mezemme*, call'd by *Ptolomy Acrat*. There are many Mountains in this Country, the Inhabitants of which are all *Bereberes*, of the Tribe of *Gomera*.

Mount *Chechuan.*

The moſt remarkable of theſe Mountains is that call'd *Chechuan* or *Seſavon*, the pleaſanteſt Mountain in all *Africa*, and adorn'd with a Town of the ſame name, which is ſurrounded with ſeveral Springs, Gardens, and fertile Fields. This place is famous for the Exploits of *Ali Barrax*, who by his Valour, render'd himſelf Maſter of this and the neighbouring Mountains, and bore the like of King of *Cherchuan*. He made ſeveral Inroads upon the *Portugueſe* Frontiers, and having obtain'd frequent Victories, lodg'd all the Spoil in the Town of *Chechuan*. In his time the People (who are of a warlike and brave Temper) were exempted from Taxes; and he was confirm'd in the Poſſeſſion of that State, by *Abu Sayd* King of *Fez*; but his Poſterity was confirm'd by *Abdala* to *Morocco*, where they live miſerably, and the Seignory was beſtow'd upon the Grandſon of *Mumen Belelche*, who ſtill poſſeſſes it under the Title of *Xeriff*, and obliges the People to pay Tribute.

The Province of *Garet.*

Garet, the ſixth Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*, are the Province of *Erriff* and the River *Melula* on the Weſt, the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*, and the ſame River on the Eaſt (This River ſevers *Mauritania Cæſariana* from *Tingitana*) the Mediterranean on the North, and the Mountains in the Deſarts of *Numidia* on the South. 'Tis a dry barren Country, not unlike the Deſarts of *Libya Interior*.

Melila.

It has but few Towns, the moſt remarkable of which is *Melila* or *Milila*, taking its name from the plenty of Honey and Wax. It ſtands upon a Plain at the bottom of a Gulph, being commanded by a Mountain on its Weſt ſide, and was call'd *Ruſſadira* by *Ptolomy*, who allots it 10 Deg. 10 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 45 Min. Lat. It has large Territories and very conſiderable Iron Mines, and was once a very rich and populous City. 'Twas render'd famous by the *Romans*, while they were Maſters of *Mauritania Tingitana*. After their departure, the *Goths* poſſeſs'd it, till the arrival of the *Arabians*, who enlarg'd its former Splendour, by ſettling a great many Merchants and Trades-men in the place. Many Years after the Schiſmatick *Califa* of *Carouan* took it by Capitulation. And in the Year 1482, His Catholick Majeſty perceiving that the Citizens fitted out Privateers and Galleys that infeſted the Coaſt of *Europe*, ſent the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* to take poſſeſſion of the Town, which accordingly he did, and built a Cittadel to defend it. It continued in the *Spaniſh* Hands till of late, that it return'd to the King of *Fez*.

About half a League off to the Eaſt of *Melila*, there's a Lake ſeven Leagues round, where 1000 Galleys may ride very ſafely. About 18 Years ago (ſays our Author) there was a Paſſage made between this Lake and the Sea, at the Foot of a Rock that makes a Barr, which in ſome places is pretty broad. When the Tide flows, ſeveral Galleys abreaſt may enter here; but when 'tis low Water they muſt enter one by one, and be conducted by an experienc'd Pilot. When the Eaſt or North Wind blows hard, they ſometimes riſe above the Bank, and leaves Water in ſome hollow places upon the top of the Rock, of which the Chriſtians are wont to make Salt Pits.

About half a League from the Lake there's a place of Strength call'd *Zangaran*, where the preſent *Xeriff* keeps three or four hundred Firelocks to ſecure the *Arabians* that feed their Flocks along the Lake, from the Invaſion of the Chriſtians, and from the Turkiſh Pyrats.

Caſaſa.

The next Town in this Province is *Caſaſa*, built upon a Cape of the ſame Name, which *Ptolomy* calls *Metagonita*, and places in 13 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 56 Min. Lat. It has a good Habour, where the *Venetian* Galleys us'd to touch; and the Merchants of this place carry'd on ſo great a Trade, that the King of *Fez* was conſiderably enrich'd by its Cuſtoms. 'Twas taken by the *Spaniards*, and afterwards betray'd into the Hands of the *Mores*, by three of the Garriſon that the Governour had diſoblig'd. Upon the News of which, the Governour of *Melila* ſent ſome Troops by Sea to recover it, but the *Mores* having put the *Spaniſh* Gariſon to the Sword, put on their Coats, and ſo march'd out in diſguiſe to meet the Recruits, who taking them for *Spaniards*, came on ſhore, and were all cut to pieces. At preſent 'tis level'd with the Ground, and there remains nothing but a ſtrong Caſtle ſtanding upon a Rock, that cannot be undermin'd.

Tezote, a ſmall Town, ſtanding upon the point of a ſteep Rock, about three Leagues from *Melila*, is now the head Town of the Province, and guarded by 300 Foot and 60 Horſe, under the command of a Governour; for if the *Turks* ſhould take it, they would maſter the whole Province.

The Province of *Cutz.*

The laſt or moſt eaſtern Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*, is that call'd *Cutz*, i. e. *Much*. It contains a larger Tract of Ground than any two Provinces in the Kingdom, and perhaps derives its Name from thence, being 80 Leagues in length from the River *Gureygure* to that of *Eſaga*; for it includes all the Mountains of *Great Atlas* that lie between theſe Rivers, together with a great part of the Plains of *Numidia*, and the Mountains that border upon *Libya Interior*. Some ſay this Province was divided into three parts, which were confer'd by the firſt Kings of *Fez*, upon three Branches of the *Benemerini's* that were their Allies, and ſince that, have defended themſelves againſt the *Turks* and the Power of the *Xeriffs*. However 'tis certain, that of late they have made themſelves Allies, or rather Vaſſals to the Kings of *Fez*, who has a particular reſpect for 'em, upon the account of their brave Nobility, that has all along kept up the Independency of the Province, in oppoſition to the Lords of *Tremeſen*. The whole Province lies among Mountains, and does not touch upon the Sea.

Teurert.

It contains ſeveral Cities, particularly *Teurert*, an ancient Town built by the ancient *Africans* on the top of a Mountain, ſurrounded with fertile Fields, which was formerly one of the Principal Cities in *Mauritania*, and receiv'd Tribute from all the *Arabians* in the adjacent Deſarts, but is ſince diſpeopled by the Wars of *Tremeſen*.

Hadagia.

Hadagia, a large City, ſtanding upon an Iſland, made by the Rivers *Mululo* and *Mulucan*, which was deſerted by the Inhabitants, when oppreſs'd by the *Mahometan Arabians* on one hand, and the Armies of *Fez* and *Tremeſen* on the other.

Gafaſa.

And *Garcis* or *Gafala*, a Town ſtanding upon a Rock, in which the *Benemerini's* lodg'd their Magazines before their Acceſſion to the Imperial Crown, and which they have ſince ruin'd upon a Revolt of the Citizens. *Ptolomy* places the laſt in the Maps of *Libya*, in 11 Deg. Long. and 32 Deg. 40 Min. Lat.

Dubudu.

Dubudu, a great ſtrong City in this Province, was built by the *Benemerini's*, upon the ſide of a high Mountain, being only acceſſable by a ſteep and difficult Road; and was govern'd by the Deſcendants of that Family, till 1563, at which time the *Xeriff* that now reigns, poſſeſs'd himſelf of it.

Tezza.

The chief City of this Province is *Tezza*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Teyſor*, allotting it nine Deg. Long. and 33 Deg. 10 Min. Lat. Not to mention *Soffroy*, which is enrich'd by its Oil, and *Umen Genuabo*, which was built for the Security of the Road, from *Fez* to *Numidia*.

The remaining Towns in this Country are *Mezdaga*, call'd by *Plini Mululeca*, and by *Ptolomy Molocat*. *Benibuhalul*, call'd by *Ptolomy Ceuta*; and *Mehidia*, founded by *Mehedi*, a famous *Mahometan* Preacher. As for the Mountains in this Province, they are all inhabited by the *Zeneta's* who have all along wag'd War with the *Turks* of *Tremeſen*.

CHAP. IV.

Containing John Leo's *Deſcription of the Kingdom of* Tremeſen.

The Limits of *Tremeſen.*

THE Limits of *Tremeſen*, call'd by the *Romans Cæſaria*, are, the Rivers *Zha* and *Mulvia* on the Weſt, the Great River on the Eaſt, the Deſart of *Numidia* on the South, and the Mediterranean on the North; being 380 Miles long, and 25 broad. It was poſſeſs'd for ſome time by the *Romans*, but afterwards return'd to its ancient Sovereigns, call'd *Bien Habduguad*, who continued in poſſeſſion of it for 300 Years, after which time the Poſterity of *Zeyen* injoy'd it for almoſt 380 Years, but not without frequent Moleſtations from the King's of *Fez* and *Tunis*. Its lying ſo near the *Numidian* Deſarts, exposes it to the Inroads of the *Arabians*; and tho' the Kings of *Tremeſen* have frequently endeavour'd by great Gifts, to procure the Friendſhip of the *Numidians*, yet they could never ſatisfie the *Numidian* Avarice. Tho' 'tis not ſafe travelling thro' this Country, yet a great many Merchants reſide in it, either becauſe 'tis the Road to *Negroland*, or becauſe it joins to *Numidia*.

Its former and preſent State.

It has two famous Ports, viz. *Oran* and *Merſalcabir*, which were much frequented by the *Venetians* and the *Genouſe*, and which were both taken by *Ferdinend* King of *Spain*. This provok'd the Inhabitants to dethrone *Abuchemmeu*, who reign'd then, and prefer another, who was afterwards miſerably ſlain by *Barbaroſſa* the *Turk*, that conquer'd the whole Kingdom. However *Abbuchemmu* receiving Succours from the Emperour *Charles* V. diſpoſſeſs'd *Barbaroſſa*, and retriev'd his Crown, allowing liberal Rewards to the *Spaniſh* Officers, and a large yearly Revenue to the Emperor as long as he liv'd. But *Habdulla* his Brother and Succeſſour, confiding in *Solyman* the *Turk*, refus'd to pay the Emperours Tribute, and continues to this Day (*A. D.* 1526.) in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. The Sea-Coaſt of this Country is in ſome meaſure fertile, but the Southern and greater part of it is dry, barren and unmanur'd. The Deſart of *Angad*, its Weſtern Frontier, is eighty Miles long and five broad, being well ſtock'd with Roes, Deer, and Oſtriches.

Ned Roma.

To give ſome account of the Towns and remarkable places in this Country. *Ned Roma* (i. e. *like Rome*) an ancient City, built by the *Romans* while they were Maſters of *Africa*, ſtands upon a large Plain, about 12 Miles from the Mediterranean Sea. Hiſtorians ſay it reſembled *Rome* every way, and from thence deriv'd its Name: But at this Day the Ruines of the *Roman* Buildings are ſcarce to be ſeen; the Wall indeed is yet ſtanding, and ſome places of the Town are lately rebuilt, there being in it a tollerable number of Inhabitants, particularly Weavers of Cotton-Cloth, who are exempted from all Taxes. 'Tis ſurrounded with fertile Fields, and a great many Gardens planted with the Trees, that bear the *Carobs*, which is a Fruit not unlike *Caſſia Lignea*, that the Inhabitants of the Suburbs feed upon.

The City of *Tremeſen.*

Suffers a ſeven Years Siege.

Their King taken Priſoner.

The great City of *Tremeſen*, the Seat of the Kings, was once very regularly govern'd. It ſtood out a ſeven Years Siege carry'd on by *Joſeph* King of *Fez*. In the time of that Siege, the Citizens being reduc'd to the greateſt Extremities by Famine, petition'd the King to ſurrender; but the King ſhewing them what his own Fare was, *viz*. boil'd Horſe-fleſh and Barly, they were ſatisfied, and the next Day reſolved to ſally out upon the Enemy, accounting it more honourable to die in battle for the defence of their Country, than to live ſuch a miſerable life. In the mean time they receiv'd the unexpected News of *Joſeph* his being kill'd by one of his own Men; upon which they march'd with greater courage againſt the Enemy, who was then in confuſion, and defeated 'em. About 40 Years after, *Abulheſen* King of *Fez* built a Town within two Miles of the Weſt end of *Tremeſen*, and after a Siege of 30 Months, took it, and carried their King to *Fez*, where his Head was cut off, and his Carcaſe thrown upon a Dunghil. But after the Declenſion of the *Marin* Family, *Tremeſen* was recruited, and the number of its People enlarg'd to 12000 Families. The Buildings of this place are not ſo ſtately as thoſe of *Fez*, but every Trade has a ſeparate place allotted to it as well as at *Fez*. It has many fine Temples, to which *Mahometan* Prieſts and Preachers belong; beſides five very ſumptuous Colleges, a great many Inns, and ſeveral handſome Baths, tho' indeed Water is not ſo plentiful here as at *Fez*. There are many Conduits in it, but their Fountains, which are not far from the City Walls, may eaſily be ſtop'd by an Enemy.

Jews in it.

A great part of the City is inhabited by *Jews*, diſtinguiſh'd from the other Citizens by Turbants upon their Heads, who were formerly very rich, but now are extream poor, by reaſon of their being robb'd of all they had upon the death of King *Abubaddilla*, in the 923 Year of the *Hegeira*. The City Wall is very high and ſtrong, having five great Gates upon it, with a Guard of Soldiers and Cuſtom Houſe Officers at each Gate.

The King's Palace.

The King's Palace, ſtanding upon the South ſide of the City, has two Gates, one leading to the Fields, the other to the City, at which the Captain of the Guard ſtands. This Palace, which is very large, is ſurrounded with high Walls, and beautified with Fountains and pleaſant Gardens. The South part of the City is inhabited by Jews, Lawyers, and Notaries, beſides a great many Students and Profeſſours, which have Allowances from the five Colleges.

Four ſorts of Citizens.

In fine, the Citizens are divided into four Claſſes, *viz*. The Trades-men, who live a ſecure, quiet, and merry life; The Merchants, who are juſt, generous and publick ſpirited

Men, and very genteel in their Cloaths, and trade for the moſt part with the Negroes: The Souldiers, who are perſonable brave Fellows, and honourably paid; for they have three ! *Italian* Ducats *per* Month; And Scholars, who live meanly while they are Students, but after the obtaining a Doctor's Degree, are preferr'd to be either Profeſſours, Notaries, or Prieſts. The adjacent Country is beautified with charming Seats, where the Citizens retire in Summer. There they enjoy all the Pleaſures that fine Paſtures, clean Fountains, and all ſorts of Fruit can give. Almonds, Peaches, Melons, and Citrons, are very plentiful. As for the Figs, they dry 'em in the Sun, and keep 'em till Winter.

The magnificence of the King's Palace.

The King of this Country is not to be ſeen or ſpoken with by any, but his principal Noble-Men, who ſerve in Offices proportion'd to their Dignity. The King's Lieutenant is the principal Officer, who levies the King's Armies, and ſometimes heads 'em. The ſecond is chief Secretary, the next is the High Treaſurer, then the Almoner, then the Captain of the King's Guard, who draws up the Guard at the Palace Gate, as often as the Noble-men are admitted to his Preſence. The meaner Officers are, the Maſter of the King's Stables, the Overſeer of his Saddles and Stirrups, and his Chamberlain, who never attends but when the King gives Audience to any of his Courtiers, for at other times his Office is perform'd by the King's Wives, together with ſome Chriſtian Captives and Eunuchs. Sometimes the King rides out upon a ſtately Horſe, with coſtly Furniture; but, unleſs it be in time of War, he has not above 1000 Men with him. Tho' his Dominions are but ſorrily peopled, yet he reaps great Profit of the Goods of that paſs thro' his Country, from *Europe* to *Æthiopia*.

Hubbed.

The next Town is *Hubbed*, where the numerous Inhabitants are for the moſt part Cloath Dyers. One *Sidi Bu Mediam*, a Holy Man, to whom they pay Divine Reverence, was buried here, and has a Monument over him, to which they aſcend by Steps. One of the Kings of *Fez*, built in this place a ſtately College and a Hoſpital, for the entertainment of Strangers.

Baltah. A famous Hermite.

The Plain of *Baltha*, which lies likewiſe in this Country, was inhabited till lately, that a famous *Hermite* ſettled there, who pays no Taxes, and yet has in his Poſſeſſion 500 Horſe, 10000 ſmall Cattle, 2000 Oxen, and reaps every Year 8000 Buſhels of Corn, beſides four or five thouſand Ducats, that are ſent him every Year from divers parts of the World. He maintains 500 Diſciples at his own Charge, who have nothing to do but to read a few Prayers a day; for which Reaſon Diſciples come to him from all parts of *Africa* and *Aſia*, and return home after they are inſtructed in ſome Ceremonies. He has about 100 Tents ready pitch'd, ſome of which are deſign'd for Strangers, others for Shepherds, and the reſt for his own Family; for he has four Wives, and a great many Women Slaves that go very fine; and in like manner his Sons have their Wives and Families; ſo that the whole Family may amount to 500 Perſons. He is much reſpected by the King of *Tremeſen*, and by the *Arabians*, and is a great Admirer of Magick, tho' he does not practice that Art.

Oran.

The Town of *Oran* was built many Years ago by the *Africans*, upon the Mediterranean Coaſt, about 140 Miles off *Tremeſen*. 'Tis grac'd with many ſumptuous Temples, Colleges, Hoſpitals, Baths and Inns; being ſurrounded with high impregnable Walls, and having a noble Plain on one ſide, and Mountains on the other. Moſt of the Inhabitants were Weavers, and the reſt liv'd upon their Eſtates, being a courteous hoſpitable ſort of People. They make all their Bread of Barly, becauſe the adjacent Country produces but little Corn. In former times it was much frequented by the Merchants of *Catalonia* and *Genoua*. The Citizens were always quarrelling with the King of *Tremeſen*, and would not accept of any Governour, for they choſe one of their own Burgo-maſters, to be the chief Judge of Civil and Criminal Cauſes. The Merchants of the Town fitted upon their own Charge, out ſeveral Brigandines, which committed many Pyracies upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, *Genoua*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*; ſo that *Oran* was crowded with Chriſtian Captives.

Taken by Spain.

In order to ſet theſe Captives at liberty, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* laid ſiege to the Town, and while the *Mores* ſallied out upon him and left the Town deſtitute, his Men got into it, and put moſt of 'em to the Sword, in the 916 Year of the *Hegeira*.

Merſalcabir, a great Harbour.

The next Town we meet with, is *Merſalcabir*, i. e. *A Great Haven*, where an infinity of Ships may ride ſafely in the greateſt Storm; perhaps there is not ſuch another Harbour in the World. Upon the Apprehenſion of a Storm, the *Venetian* Merchants us'd always to put in here, and ſend their Goods to *Oran* in other Veſſels. The *Spaniards* maſter'd it at length as well as *Oran*.

Breſch.

Another Town call'd *Breſch*, is well ſtock'd with Inhabitants, who are moſtly Weavers, and commonly paint a black Croſs upon their Cheeks, and two upon the Palms of their Hands; which as I ſaid before, is a Cuſtom as ancient as the Gothiſh Invaſion.

Serſel.

Serſel, built by the *Romans* upon the Mediterranean Coaſt, was afterwards taken by the *Goths*, and at laſt by the *Mahometans*. Its Wall which is very high and ſtrong, is eight Miles round. The *Romans* built a magnificent Temple in that part of it which faces the Mediterranean, the inſide of it being all Marble.

Algiers.

Became tributary to Spain.

The City of *Geſeir*, i. e. *an Iſland*, ſo call'd from its nearneſs to the Iſles of *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Jeniza*, was founded by the *African* Family of *Meſgano*, whence in former times 'twas call'd *Meſgana*; the *Spaniards* call it *Algier*. It contains 4000 Families, every Trade living apart from the other. It has noble ſtrong Walls and ſumptuous Buildings. The Temples, Baths and Inns are all very fine; but the nobleſt Structure of all is the Temple upon the Shore. The Waves of the Sea beat upon a part of the Town Wall, upon which there's a very pleaſant Walk. The Gardens in the Suburbs are clad with all ſorts of Fruit. The Water they uſe is deriv'd from a River that runs by the Eaſt end of the Town, and has a great many Mills upon it. This City has a glorious Proſpect of plains about it, eſpecially of one call'd *Meteggeia*, which is 45 Miles long and almoſt 30 broad, and abounds with all ſorts of Grain. 'Twas many Years ſubject to the King of *Tremeſen*; but the Citizens perceiving that the King was not able to defend 'em, and that the King of *Bugia*, who lay nearer them, was more capable of doing 'em either an Injury or a Kindneſs, offer'd him a voluntary Tribute. Some Years after they began to commit Pyracies upon the adjacent Iſlands in the Mediterranean; upon which *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* fitted out a Fleet, and built a Fort upon a Rock within Gun-ſhot of the City. Then the *Algerines* ſent an Embaſſy to the King, and obtain'd a ten Years truce upon the Condition of paying him a yearly Tribute. But not long after, *Barbaroſſa* the *Turk* being oblig'd to break up a Siege of *Bugia*, becauſe the approaching Seaſon of Sowing made all the Husband-men of his Army deſert him, ſet on fire 12 Galleys with his own Hands, that lay in the River but three Miles from *Bugia*, and retir'd to the Caſtle of *Gegel*, in their Neighbourhood; And it happen'd at the ſame time that *Ferdinand* died. Upon this, the *Algerines* perceiving *Barbaroſſa* to be a brave General, and an Enemy to the Chriſtians, refus'd to pay any more tribute, and choſe *Barbaroſſa* to be Captain General of all their Forces. *Barbaroſſa* being thus entruſted, privately murder'd the Governour of the City, and uſurp'd the whole Government himſelf. Some time after, the Emperour *Charles* V. ſent two Armies to take *Algiers*, the firſt of which was deſtroy'd upon the Plain of *Algiers*, and the ſecond far'd but little better. But ſince that *Barbaroſſa* was kill'd at *Tremezen*, and his Brother *Cairadin* ſucceeded to the Government of *Algiers*.

Temendfuſt.

The *Algerine* Ships ride ſafeſt in the Harbour of *Temendfuſt*, that being a commodious Haven for them. The Town of that Name was deſtroy'd by the *Goths*, and the greateſt part of the Wall of *Algiers*, was built with the Stone which came from the Wall of that Town.

Medua.

As for *Medua*, 'tis inhabited by a People of no learning, who give a very honourable Reception to any learned Man that comes among 'em, and oblige him to decide all their Differences. In that Town, ſays our Author, I got above 200 Ducats in the ſpace of two Months, and was ſo charm'd with the pleaſantneſs of the place, that if my Buſineſs had not call'd me away, I had continued there all my life time.

Additions to CHAP. IV.

Taken from Marmol.

The Limits of *Tremeſen.*

TRemeſen the third Kingdom of *Barbary*, is divided into four Provinces, namely, *Tremeſen*, *Tenez*, *Algiers*, which is the proper *Mauritania Cæſariana*, and *Bugia*, which ſome throw in to the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

The nature of the Country.

Moſt of the Country is dry, barren and Mountainous. The City of *Tremeſen* is encompaſs'd with wide Deſarts, only on the North ſide, or between the Town and the Sea, there are good Fields which are fertile in Corn, Paſture and Fruits. The Weſt of all the four Provinces is crouded with Mountains abounding in Corn and Cattle, and inhabited by a valiant People.

A Character of the Inhabitants.

The Cities of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen* are few in number, but well ſituated; and the Citizens live very honourably, having a great trade with *Guinea*, *Numidia*, and other places. The *Arabians* in the Deſarts are very numerous, and care but little for the Kings of *Tremeſen*, for they retire at pleaſure to the *Numidian* Deſarts, where the King cannot purſue 'em: So that they live independantly, and receive a Penſion from the King for keeping the Country in peace: and when they have a mind to't, they make an Inſurrection, and ſide with the Party that bids higheſt. The Inhabitants of the Mountains are Men of Bravery; their Arms, Habit, and way of living, are better than thoſe of *Mauritania Tingitana*; they are more acquainted with Muſquets, and leſs inveterate againſt the Chriſtians, with whom they have more commerce; neither are they ſo bigoted and ill natur'd as the Mountaneers of *Morocco*. Theſe Provinces were always plagu'd by the *Arabians* of the Deſarts, and the Kings of *Tunis* and *Fez*; but at this Day almoſt all of 'em are ſubject to the *Turks*.

The Province of *Tremeſen.* *Angad* a Deſart.

To begin with the Province of *Tremeſen*; Its Weſtern Frontier is a large barren Deſart call'd *Angad*, which is 28 Leagues long and 18 broad. This Deſart (being the Road from *Tremeſen* to *Fez*) is frequented by ſome vagabond *Arabian* Robbers, and whoever paſſes that Road, muſt bribe the Captain of the firſt Gang he meets with, who will give him a Spear with a ſmall Standard for a Paſport. In Summer the King of *Tremeſen* hires ſome of 'em to keep the Road clear; but in Winter they retire with their Flocks to *Numidia*, and go to gather Dates in *Zahara*, upon which the other Inhabitants of the Deſarts have an uncontroul'd range, and render the Paſſage very dangerous.

Zezil.

At one ſide of this Deſart, there's a Town call'd *Zezil*, or *Izli*, which is ſaid to be built by the *Romans*, and which *Ptolomy* places under the Name of *Giva*, in 14 D. 30 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 30 Min. Lat. *Joſeph* the firſt Prince of the *Benemerini* Line, raz'd and diſpeopled it; after which, 'twas repeopled by ſome *Moravites*, to whom, both the King of *Fez* and the *Arabians* are ſo kind, as to demand no Contribution; but after all, the Country is ſo very barren, that they have but a miſerable life.

Ned Roma.

Ned Roma, an ancient City in this Province, is ſaid to be the ancient *Salema*, to which *Ptolomy* allots 12 Deg. 10 Min. Long. and 33 Deg. 20 Min. Lat.

One.

One was a Sea-port in this Province, where the *Venetian* Merchants us'd to touch as they went to *Tremeſen*; but in the Year 1533, the Emperour *Charles* V. laid it in Aſhes for harbouring the *Corſairs* that infeſted the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. It ſtood in the Neighbourhood of a Mountain that affords good Iron Mines.

Cape *One.*

The Cape of this Mountain, which goes now by the name of Cape *One*, was by *Ptolomy* call'd the *Great Cape*, and plac'd in eleven Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. Lat.

Areſgol.

Areſgol, another Sea-port, was once the Metropolitan of *Tremeſen*, being built upon a high Rock, almoſt ſurrounded with the Sea. *Ptolomy* calls it *Siga Colonia*, and moſt Authors agree that this is the ancient *Cirta*, ſo often mention'd in the *Roman* Hiſtory. 'Twas firſt demoliſh'd by the Schiſmatick *Califa* of *Carnan*; after which, the brave *Almanſor* rebuilt it as a convenient Poſt for the paſſage of his Armies. When the *Almoravides* came to be great both in *Africa* and *Spain*, they laid it in rubbiſh again; after which the *Almohades* rebuilt it, and at laſt the *Benemerini's* compleated its Ruin.

Tremeſen.

The Ruins of *Algeroſſe* gave riſe to the great City of *Tremeſen*, call'd by *Ptolomy Tenriſi*, and by the Natives *Telimicen*; for before the fall of *Areſgol*, 'twas only a ſort of a Fortreſs to oppoſe the Inhabitants of the Deſarts. 'Tis pleaſantly ſituated upon a noble Plain, and its Streets and Houſes are very regularly rang'd; for which reaſon the Kings of *Tremeſen* pitch'd upon it for a place of their Reſidence. The Government of this City is much of a piece with that of *Fez*. The Merchants trade chiefly to *Guinea*, from whence they import *Tibar* Gold, Ambergrice, Muſk, Civet, and other Commodities, and commonly get Eſtates in two or three Voyages. The Trades-men make rich Tapeſtry, Caſſocks, Jackets and Mantles, ſome of which are ſo fine, that they do not weigh above ten Ounces; beſides the beſt Harneſs and Furniture for Horſes that *Africa* affords: By this means they earn a very handſome Livelyhood. Their Habit, Diet, Feſtivals, and other Cuſtoms, are the ſame with thoſe of *Fez*. In former times the Kings of this Country liv'd very magnificently, and were the ancienteſt and moſt conſiderable Princes in all *Africa*. They never expos'd themſelves to publick view but on *Fridays*, when they went to the Temples.

The King of *Tremeſen* his Revenues.

They never kept a ſtanding Army but in time of War, for their Revenues were ſo ſmall, that three Years Incomes would not maintain one Year's War. The Cuſtoms were the chiefeſt Article of the Revenue, which they ſcrew'd beyond the Precepts of their Religion; for whereas the firſt *Califa's* demanded only two ½ *per Cent.* upon all Goods, and ten *per Cent.* if they were Jews or Chriſtians, theſe Princes pleading Poverty, and the Neceſſity of maintaining a War with the Chriſtians, laid ſeveral Impoſts upon the Import and Export of Goods. While the *Venetian Galeaſſes* us'd to unload at *Oran*, their Revenue amounted to above 600000 Crowns a year, one half of which was imploy'd in paying the Troops, and the other in defraying the Charges of the King's Houſhold; and the Surpluſage was laid up to ſupply the occaſional Neceſſities of War. But of late the Revenues is wonderfully encreas'd; for tho' the Cuſtoms of *Oran* are ſunk, thoſe of *Algiers* have roſe ſo prodigiouſly, that the Incoms of that Port alone, amount to above a Million of Gold every Year; for all the rich Commodities of *Barbary*, *Numidia*, *Libya* and *Negroland*, are imported thither by land upon Camels; and the Harbour is always crouded with European Veſſels brought in by the *Corſairs*.

The Revolutions of *Tremeſen.*

The Kings of this Country pay'd Homage to the Emperour *Charles* V. till King *Abdala* being over perſwaded by the *Turk* and ſome *Califa's*, diſcontinued the Payment of the uſual Tribute. After the death of *Abdala*, his youngeſt Son *Hamet* being declar'd King by the People, the eldeſt implor'd the Emperour's aid, in reſtoring him to the Throne of his Anceſtors, offering the ſame Terms of Vaſſalage as were before. Accordingly the Emperour accompliſh'd his Reſtoration; but the Inhabitants of the City were ſo diſoblig'd by the Ravages of the *Spaniards*, that they took occaſion to ſhut the Gates upon him, after he had march'd out to meet his younger Brother, who approach'd at the Head of an Army: Thereupon *Hamet* was again declar'd King, who refus'd to pay tribute to the Emperour. But in the Year 1546, the *Turks* of *Algiers* having taken poſſeſſion of *Tremeſen*, the King was forc'd to ask Succours of the Emperour, which he obtain'd after giving up his two Daughters as Hoſtages for the Performance of the Condition. The *Spaniſh* Succours having diſlodg'd the *Turks*, *Muley Hamet* return'd to his Throne, and enjoy'd it peaceably. After his Death *Muley Haſcen* his Brother, was ſet upon the Throne by the Aſſiſtance of *Salbarraes*, Governour of *Algiers*, who had ſtipulated, that all the Forts in the Country ſhould be put into his Hands. But in four Years time the Inſolence of the *Turks* mov'd *Muley Haſcen* to beg the Emperour to diſlodge 'em; upon which, the *Turks* perceiving his Deſign, rais'd the *Arabians*, and the Inhabitants againſt him, and expell'd him the Kingdom. Since that time the *Turks* have continued Maſters of this Country.

Tremeſen ſubject to the *Turks.*

To return to the Cities and Towns in the Province of *Tremeſen*. Here we meet with *Hilbet*, call'd by *Ptolomy Emmeniaria*, and built by the *Romans*.

Tefezara, to which *Ptolomy* gives the Name of *Eſtazila*.

Beni-Araz, which is the ſame with *Ptolomy*'s *Villebourgh*.

Tezela, known formerly by the Name of *Ariana*.

Agobel, which is *Ptolomy*'s *Victoria*.

Miſtagna.

Miſtagan, an ancient Sea-port Town, ſtanding upon the ſide of a Hill, which Count *d' Alcandete*, the *Spaniſh* General attack'd thrice, as being the Key of the Country, and in the laſt Attack loſt his life; and *Arzel* alias *Arcenaria Colonia*, built by the *Romans*.

Oran.

Oran, one of the ancienteſt and richeſt Cities in all *Mauritania Cæſariana*, ſtands upon the Shore. 'Twas call'd by the *Africans Guabaran*, and by the *Romans Unica Colonia*, lying in 12 Deg. 30 Min. Long and 34 Deg. Lat. Since the *Spaniards* took it, they always repuls'd the *Turks*, who attack'd it ſeveral times, and have made it a very uſeful Frontier.

The Province of *Tenez.*

The ſecond Province of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*, is that of *Tenez*. Its Limits are the Province of *Temeſen* on the Weſt, that of *Algiers* on the Eaſt, *Mount Atlas* on the South, and the Mediterranean Sea on the North. The whole Country is well ſtock'd with Corn and Cattle.

The City of *Tenez.*

The Capital City bears the Name of the Province, and ſtands upon the ſide of a Mountain, at the diſtance of half a League from the Sea, being half way between *Oran* and *Algiers*. The Inhabitants are a ruſtick groſs ſort of People; however they ſupply *Algiers* and other places with Corn, Barley, Wax, Honey, &c. When *Mahumet Benizeyen*, King of *Tremeſen*, his eldeſt Son ſucceeded to the Crown, and the two younger Brethren rebelling againſt him, the youngeſt poſſeſs'd himſelf of this City, and aſſum'd the Title of King of *Tenez*: But his Succeſſour was outed by *Barbaroſſa*, and the *Turks* are ſtill Maſters of it; for 'tis one of the Dependencies of *Algiers*, and enlarges its Revenue conſiderably.

King of *Tenez.*

Breſcar.

Breſcar, another City in this Province, call'd by *Ptolomy Campi Germani*, was founded by the *Romans*. The Inhabitants of this place maintain'd their Liberty above 100 Years, in oppoſition to the Lords of *Tenez*, till *Barbaroſſa* ſubdued 'em, ſince which time they have been ſubject to the *Turks*. The adjacent Country is well ſtock'd with Cattle, Corn, Barley and Lintſeed, and produces the beſt Figs in *Africa*.

Sargel.

The remaining Cities in this Province, are *Sargel*, or *Ptolomy*'s *Camichi*, the Revenue of which riſes for the moſt part from their Silk Worms, and which is famous for the having *Barbaroſſa*'s Fleet burnt in their Harbour by the *Spaniards*, in the Reign of *Charles* the Vth.

Miliana.

Miliana, alias *Magnana*, built by the *Romans*, and enrich'd with numerous Springs, and great plenty of excellent Walnut, Citron and Orange Trees.

Mezuna.

Mezuna, or *Ptolomy*'s *Colonia novi Caſtri*, where ſeveral *Roman* Antiquities and Inſcriptions are to be ſeen, and which was reduc'd from a rich to a very low Condition, by the Schiſmatick *Califa* of *Carouan*.

Cæſaria.

And *Cæſaria*, call'd by the Natives *Tignident*, which was much imbelliſh'd by the *Roman* Emperours, and was once one of the moſt populous Cities in *Africa*, the Track of its Walls being three Leagues in Circumference. While the *Arabs* lorded over *Africa*, *Cæſaria* was much reputed for its riches, and for its Univerſities, which produc'd great Poets and excellent Philoſophers. After that it fell into the Hands of *Idris*'s Family, who poſſeſs'd it 150 Years, till the Year 959, in which *Abdala* demoliſh'd its Houſes, Walls and Temples, and cruelly put to death all the Citizens that were of *Idris*'s Opinion; ſo that there's nothing of it now ſtanding, but two ancient Temples, one of which has a very high Stone Monument, call'd *Coborummia*, i. e. The Sepulchre of the *Roman*, where 'tis ſaid Count *Inlian*'s Daughter was interr'd. From the top of this Monument one may deſcry a Ship 20 Leagues off. In the Year 1555 *Salbarraes* attempted to pull it down, hoping to find ſome Treaſure in it, but when they lifted up the Stones, there came a ſort of black poiſonous Waſps from under 'em, which caus'd immediate death wherever they ſting'd, and upon that *Barbaroſſa* drop'd his Deſign.

The Province of *Algiers.*

The third Province of this Kingdom, is that of *Algiers*, bounded by *Tenez* on the Weſt, *Bugia* on the Eaſt, the great *Atlas* on the South, and the Mediterranean Sea on the North: This Country abounds with Corn and Cattle. The Valleys are inhabited by puiſſant and rich *Arabians*, and the Mountains by warlike *Berebers* and *Azuagues*, who have ſeveral Firelocks and a great many Horſe among 'em. There are but few Cities in this Province that we can give any account of; for the ancient Cities were demoliſh'd in their Wars with the *Arabians*, and with ſome private Princes; and tho' the Ruins of 'em are ſtill viſible in ſome Places, yet we are at a loſs to know ſo much as their Name.

The City of *Algiers.*

The Metropolitan is *Algiers*, which, as ſome ſay, the *Romans* chriſten'd *Julia Cæſaria*, for the honour of *Julius Cæſar*. This was a famous City in all times; the *Romans* imbelliſh'd it mightily, and the *Turks* have ſince enrich'd it with the Spoil of Chriſtendom. *Paul Diacre* affirms, that in the time of the *Vandals*, 'twas demoliſh'd by a Tyrant, and ſoon after rebuilt: It ſtands upon the ſide of a very high Mountain. Its Walls, which are of Stone, and ſurrounded with a very deep Ditch and Bulworks, riſe gradually along the ſide of the Hill, and run to a point upon the South end, where an old Caſtle ſtands that is deſcry'd at Sea at a great diſtance. Paſſing this Caſtle you ſtill aſcend about one fourth of a League, till you come at a Fort with four Baſtions, built by the *Turks*, where they have always a Governour and 300 Men. The Houſes of this City begin at the Sea ſide, and riſe by degrees upon the aſcent of the Mountain, which makes a noble ſhew; for one does not intercept the view of the other. They are very well built, and the Streets are very regular. Upon the Land ſide the City is ſurrounded with rugged Rocks, the South ſide of which gives a noble Proſpect of wide fertile Plains. Juſt by the Harbour there was a ſmall Iſland, upon which *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, built a Fort call'd *Pegnon*; but to render the Harbour ſafer and larger, *Salbarrees* has ſince join'd that Iſle to the Continent by a Peer, built of the Stones of ſome ancient Buildings brought from *Metafus*. At preſent *Algiers* is the richeſt City in all *Africa*, and improves every Day upon the wreck of the *Spaniſh* naval Forces, and the Spoil of Chriſtendom; for the very Cuſtoms of its Port amount to an immenſe Sum, more than all the Revenues of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*.

There are ſeveral Mountains in this Province, inhabited by a warlike People, who being rich in Corn, Cattle and Horſes, own no Soveraign, and pay tribute to none.

The Mountain and Town of *Cuco.*

Among theſe Mountains, which are all deriv'd from the *Great Atlas*, that call'd *Cuco* alias *Eguiliandalus*, is the moſt celebrated. 'Tis only acceſſable by one Paſs, which may be defended with Stones againſt a whole Army. It has a ſtrong wall'd Town about it, that gives name to the whole Mountain; and ſeveral other Villages inhabited by ſeveral Clans, which are only ſo many Branches of one Line, and have each of 'em their reſpective Heads. One of theſe leading Men being deſcended of a good Family, and allied to that Governour of *Algiers* that *Barbaroſſa* kill'd, proclaim'd himſelf King of *Cuco*, and wag'd perpetual War with the *Turks*, till *Barbaroſſa* married one of his Daughters. After that he made Peace with the *Turks*, and became very powerful; for he maintains 500 Firelocks, and 1500 Horſe, beſides a great many Foot-Souldiers, arm'd after the faſhion of the Country. The Inhabitants of this Mountain have a particular averſion to the *Jews*. It affords good Salt-Petre Mines, from which the Natives make Powder, being ſupply'd with Brimſtone from *Europe*. They have likewiſe good Iron Mines, and make Swords, Spears, &c. only they have no Steel, no more than the reſt of *Barbary*. Several Monkeys frequent the Woody parts of the Mountain.

A King of *Cuco.*

Bugia, is (according to ſome) the fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*; for the Deſcription of which, we refer the Reader to the Additions to the enſuing Chapter.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

Containing John Leo's *Deſcription of the Kingdoms of* Bugia *and* Tunis.

The Revolutions of *Bugia*.

IN ancient times *Bugia* was under the Government of the King of *Tunis*, who at his death, left *Bugia* to one Son, *Tunis* to another, and *Biledulgerid* to a third. *Habdulhaziz* (ſo the Son that inherited *Bugia* was call'd) reign'd for many Years in *Bugia*, till *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* diſpoſſeſs'd him.

The City of *Bugia*.

The ancient City of *Bugia* was built by the *Romans* (as ſome think) upon the ſide of a high Mountain near the Mediterranean Sea, and ſurrounded with high majeſtick Walls. If it were all inhabited, it might contain 24000 Families, whereas the part that is now inhabited has not above 8000. The Houſes, Temples and Colleges have a ſtately aſpect, and the Town maintains a great many Profeſſours of Law, and of natural Philoſophy. They have a large fair Market-place, and Monaſteries, Inns and Hoſpitals, built after their faſhion. The Streets are all upon the aſcent and deſcent; and at the uppermoſt part of the Town there ſtands a ſtrong Caſtle, well wall'd, with ſuch curious carving upon the Paiſter and Timber work, as is ſaid to have coſt more than the Wall it ſelf. The rich Citizens us'd to fit out Galleys that infeſted the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, which provok'd the King of *Spain* to ſend *Pedro de Navarra* with a Fleet of 14 ſail againſt them. Upon his arrival, the People, together with their King, being diſſolv'd in luxury, and unacquainted with War, deſerted the City, and left all its Riches and Plenty for an eaſy Booty to the *Spaniſh* Admiral.

Taken by the *Spaniards*.

Gegel.

The Town of *Gegel* ſtands upon an impregnable Mountain, by which means the Inhabitants always avoided the paying of Tribute to the Kings of *Buga* and *Tunis*; but at length they ſurrender'd themſelves to *Barbaroſſa*, who demanded no other Duty of 'em, than the Tenths of their Corn and ſome particular Fruits.

Nicaus.

Nicaus, another Town in this Country, is inhabited by a rich generous People, that go very neat in their Cloaths. They have a magnificent Temple, a publick Hoſpital for the Entertainment of Strangers, and a College, the Students of which have their Diet and Apparel *gratis*. Their Women are black hair'd, and have delicate ſmooth white Skins, by vertue of their frequent uſe of Baths. Their Houſes, which are but one ſtory high, are very neat, and have each of 'em a Garden water'd with pleaſant Fountains, and adorn'd with Damask-Roſes, Myrtles, Camomil, and other Herbs and Flowers, beſides ſhady Arbours.

Conſtantina.

The City of *Conſtantina* ſtands upon the South ſide of a very high Mountain, and is ſurrounded with ſteep Rocks, under which runs the River *Suſegmare*, that ſerves for a Town Ditch. The ſtrength, height, antiquity and beauty of the Walls, is ſufficient proof that the *Romans* were the Founders of the City. It contains above 8000 Families, and has large ſtately Gates; but 'tis only acceſſable by two narrow Paſſages, one on the Eaſt and another on the Weſt ſide. It has a great Temple, two Colleges, and three or four Monaſteries that are built very ſumptuouſly. The Inhabitants are a frank ſort of Men; they aſſign a ſeparate place for every Trade, and have among 'em a Company of Merchants, ſome of whom ſell Cloth and Wool, others ſend Oil and Silk to *Numidia*, and others truck Linen-Cloth and other Goods for Slaves and Dates; for this laſt Commodity is cheaper here than in any other part of *Barbary*. The Kings of *Tunis* commonly confers the Government of *Conſtantina* upon his eldeſt Son.

Triumphal Arches taken for Caſtles of Devils.

About a Mile and a half off the City, there's a Triumphal Arch, of the ſame form with thoſe at *Rome*, which the vulgar People take for a Caſtle where Devils had their reſidence, till the *Mahometans* came and expell'd 'em.

Snails taken for Devils.

There's likewiſe a hot Bath among the Rocks, in the Neighbourhood of the City, which is full of Snails (*Marmol* calls 'em Tortoiſes) and theſe Snails the credulous Women take for Devils, imputing all Diſeaſes whatſoever to their influence; and pretend to avert their malign Influence, by killing a white Hen, and carrying it on a Platter with the Feathers on to the Bath, where they leave it. But ſome that are ſharp ſet will watch till the Women are gone, and rob the pretended Devils of their Hen.

Another remarkable thing is a Fountain of cold Water, a pretty way out of the Town to the Eaſtward, with a Marble Monument juſt by it, that has ſuch Hieroglyphical Emblems upon it, as are to be ſeen at *Rome*. This the Mob takes to have been a Grammar School transform'd into Marble, upon the account of the Vices and Lewdneſs both of the Maſters and *Boys*. From the City to the River they deſcend by Stairs hewn out of the Rock; and juſt by the River there's a little Houſe cut out of the Rock ſo artfully, that the Roof, Walls and Pillars are all one continued Subſtance; and here the Women of *Conſtantina* waſh their Linen.

Hippo.

After *Conſtantina* we come to *Bona*, alias *Hippo*, where St. *Auguſtine* was Biſhop. 'Twas ſubdued by the *Goths* and afterwards laid in Aſhes by *Hutmen*, the third Patriarch after *Mahomet*.

Beld-Elhuneb

After many Years, the Ruins of this City furniſh'd Stones for the building of a new Town, about two Miles off, call'd *Beld-Elhuneb*, i. e. *The City of Jujubes*, for that Fruit is very plentiful thereabouts, and the Inhabitants dig it in the Sun and keep it till Winter. It contains almoſt 300 Families, but all the Buildings are very pitiful excepting one Temple which ſtands next the Sea. The Inhabitants are Merchants and Tradesmen, and have a weekly Market every *Friday* without the Walls, which is well frequented. Here is a great deal of Linen-Cloth wove, moſt of which is carry'd to *Numidia*. There's a place in the Sea not far from this Town, that affords great quantities of Coral, which the *Genoueſe* procur'd liberty to fiſh for from the King of *Tunis*, upon the Conſideration that this People knew not how to fiſh for it; but they would never ſuffer the *Genoueſe* to build a Caſtle near the place to defend 'em from the Pyrates, which the King had allow'd 'em to do; for it ſeems the *Genoueſe* did once before maſter the Town by ſuch a Stratagem as that.

Tedeſſa.

The next Town is *Tedeſſa*, the Buildings of which are very ſorry, tho' it has the beſt high Wall I ever ſaw, the Stones of it being much like thoſe upon the *Coloſſa* at *Rome*. A great River runs thro' part of the City; and there are Marble Pillars in divers places, with Inſcriptions in Latin Letters, beſides other ſquare Pillars of Marble that are cover'd with Roofs: The adjacent Plains are dry, but very fertile in Corn. There's a Hill near the Town, which is full of great Caves: and theſe the common People take for the ancient Habitations of the Giants: But 'tis certain the *Romans* made theſe Caves by taking the Stones of the City Walls out of the Rock. Walnut-trees grow as thick as a Wood within five Miles of the place. The Inhabitants are an unhuman, covetous, brutiſh Gaug; for which reaſon *Eldabag* an elegant *Arabick* Poet, falls very foul upon 'em with Satyrical Invectives. They ever rebell'd againſt the King of *Tunis*, and kill'd all the Governours he ſent 'em. For which Reaſon, the preſent King, upon his Journey to *Numidia*, ſent Ambaſſadours to ſee how they ſtood affected with him; and they inſtead of ſaying, *God ſave the King*, anſwer'd, *God ſave our City Walls*. This provok'd the King ſo far, that he ſack'd the City, put ſeveral of the Inhabitants to death, and made ſuch havock, that it has remain'd deſolate ever ſince.

Urbs full of *Roman* Antiquities.

The Town of *Urbs* in this Province, is likewiſe full of *Roman* Antiquities, i. e. Images of Marble, and Inſcriptions in Latin Characters. Tho' it had excellent Walls, and was a place where the *Romans* lodg'd moſt of their *African* Treaſure, yet the *Goths* aſſiſted by the *Mores* took it, and laid it waſte. 'Tis now inhabited again, but deſerves rather the Name of a Village than a Town.

The City of *Carthage*.

Here we meet with the famous and ancient City of *Carthage*, built, according to ſome, by the People that came out of *Syria*, according to others, by a Queen, or, as ſome will have, by a Colony that came from *Barca*. The principal *Romans* and *Goths*, together with the

Inhabitants of *Tripoly* and *Capes*, retir'd to *Carthage*, when the *Mahometans* maſter'd theſe two places; and after many Skirmiſhes it was taken. After that it continued deſolate, till one *Elmahdi* a *Mahometan* Patriarch brought in a new Colony, which did not take up the 20th part of that vaſt City. The Ruines of its Walls are ſtill to be ſeen, as well as a Conduit that conveys Water to the City from a Mountain 30 Miles off. The Gardens on the Weſt and South part of the City are numerous, and clad with all ſorts of Fruit, which is vented at *Tunis*. The adjacent Plains are very fertile, but not large; for the North ſide is hem'd in with a Mountain, the Sea, and the Gulph of *Venice*; the Plains of *Benſart* give bounds to the Eaſt and South ſides. At preſent (i. e. *A. D.* 1526) this City is mighty low, containing about 500 ſorry Houſes, and not above 25 Shops. The miſerable Inhabitants, who are oppreſs'd with ſevere Taxes, are great Pretenders to Religion, and withal unſufferably proud, moſt of 'em being either Gardeners or Husband-men.

The City of *Tunis*.

The decay of *Carthage* occaſion'd the riſe of *Tunis*, in Latin *Tunetum*, which was built by the *Africans* upon a Lake, at the Diſtance of 12 Miles from the Mediterranean: In ancient times 'twas call'd *Tarſis*, after the name of a City in *Aſia*.

Its Revolutions.

Soon after the *Carthaginians* had remov'd to *Tunis*, upon the Aprehenſion of an Invaſion from *Europe*, they were over-perſwaded by *Hucba Utmen*, the fourth *Mahometan* Patriarch, to ſubmit to the Prince of *Cairon*. After a great many Years it ſubmitted to *Abdul-Mumen* King of *Morocco*, and continued peaceably under the Government of the Kings of *Morocco*, till the death of King *Joſeph*, the Son of *Mahumet Ennaſir*, who was defeated by the King of *Spain*. At that time 'twas beſieg'd and half deſtroy'd by the *Arabians*; upon which Occaſion the King of *Morocco* ſent one *Habduluahidi*, a brave General, born at *Seville* in *Spain*, who reliev'd 'em, and receiv'd their yearly Tribute. His Son *Abu Zaccheria*, an eloquent wiſe Man, ſucceeded him, and built a Caſtle upon a high Ground, in the Weſt part of the City, which he adorn'd with fair Buildings and a beautiful Temple. This Prince left great Riches to his Son *Abu*, who inſolently refus'd to be tributary to the Kings of *Morocco*, becauſe he ſaw 'em decaying, there being at that time mutual Diſſenſions between the Kingdoms of *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Tremeſen*; nay, he march'd to *Tremeſen* and demanded Tribute of the Inhabitants, and upon the earneſt Sollicitation and large Preſents of the Kings of *Morocco*, enter'd into a league with him.

The King of *Tunis* ſaluted King of *Africa*.

Upon that he return'd to *Tunis* in great triumph, and was ſaluted King of all *Africa*, there being no *African* Prince equal to him at that time: And ever ſince, *Tunis* has throve ſo well, that 'tis now accounted the richeſt Town in all *Africa*. The Son and Succeſſour of this King, added lofty Buildings to the Suburbs, and built two Streets, one without the *Suvacca* Gate, containing 300 Families, and another without the *Bedel manera* Gate, in which the Chriſtians of the King's Guard have their abode, and which contain'd above 1000 Families. Without the Gate call'd *Bebel babar*, which lies next the Sea, there's a third Street, where the *Genoueſe*, *Venetians*, and all other Chriſtian Merchants reſort.

The number and Cuſtoms of the Citizens.

The number of the Inhabitants of this populous City amounts to 10000 Families (*Marmol* makes 'em 20000) each Trade having a peculiar place allotted to it, but few of 'em are rich. Here the Linen Weavers are very numerous, and their Linen is much valued all over *Africa*. The Women have a ſtrange way of Spinning, for they let down their Spindle at a Window, or thro' a hole in the Floor of an upper-Room, and the weight of the Spindle makes the Thread very clean and even. The Merchants, Prieſts, and Doctors, are decently cloath'd with Turbants upon their Heads, cover'd with Linen Cloth, but the Courtiers and Souldiers have no Linen upon their Turbants. All ſorts of Grain are very ſcarce in this place, becauſe the Incurſions of the *Arabians* ſcare the Inhabitants from tilling the adjacent Grounds, and they are ſupply'd with Corn from *Urbs*, *Beggia*, and *Bona*. They ſow a ſmall quantity of Barley and Corn on ſome few Fields in the Suburbs that are wall'd round; but the Ground is ſo dry, that they are forc'd to raiſe Water out of Pits, with a Wheel turn'd round by a Mule or a Camel, and diſperſe it over the ſurface of the Ground by Troughs and other Conveyances. They bake excellent Bread in Mortars, leaving the Bran and the Flower together. All the Water in the City is rain Water; in the Suburbs indeed there's a Fountain of ſalt Water, which is ſold up and down the City, and reckon'd wholſomer and fitter to be drank than rain Water; and ſome other Wells of good freſh Water, which are reſerv'd only for the uſe of the King and his Courtiers.

Their Buildings.

Here's a ſtately Temple richly endow'd, beſides ſeveral other Temples that have ſmaller Revenues, and Colleges and Monaſteries maintain'd at the publick Charge. One of theſe Monaſteries was built and provided with large Revenues by the King of *Tunis*, for the Benefit of a holy Society, call'd *Sidi el Dabri*, who go up and down the Streets bareheaded and barefooted, carrying Stones about with 'em. Their Houſes are well painted and carv'd, and built of excellent Stone; but Wood to carve upon being very ſcarce, moſt of their Painting is done upon Plaiſter, and their Chamber Floors are pav'd with a ſhining ſort of Stone. They are but one ſtory high, and have all of 'em two Gates, one leading to the Street, and the other to the Office Houſes, with a large Court between, where the Merchants receive their Friends and talk of Buſineſs. Their Women have a decent Habit, and when they go abroad, are veil'd or mask'd, having their Fore-heads cover'd with a Linen Cloth, which is join'd to another that they call *Setfari*. They wrap ſo much Linen about their Heads, that they ſeem like Giants Heads. Whatever they have or can earn, they beſtow it upon Perfumes and ſuch other Vanities: Some of 'em are forc'd by poverty to turn Whores. The Inhabitants of this place make frequent uſe of a compounded Confection, call'd *Lhaſis*, an Ounce of which is a great incentive to Venery, and ſets 'em a laughing and dallying as if they were half drunk.

The King of *Tunis*'s Court.

Before we diſmiſs this Subject, 'twill be proper to take ſome notice of the Court of *Tunis*. As ſoon as the King dies, his Son or next Heir ſucceeds to the Crown, and all the Noble-men, Prieſts, Doctors, and Judges, take an Oath of Allegiance to him. Then the chief Officer of the Court, who goes by the Title of *The Munaſide*, i. e. *The Vice-roy*, gives to the new King, an Account of all that he did in his Predeceſſour's Reign; upon which the King orders him to beſtow Offices upon the Noble-men, according to their reſpective Dignity. Another principal Officer is the *Meſuare* or General, who at his own pleaſure, raiſes, pays, and heads the Army. The next is the *Caſtellan* or Governour of the Caſtle, who guards the King's Perſon, and inflicts Puniſhment on the Priſoners in the Caſtle, as if he were King himſelf. The fourth Officer is the Governour of the City, who adminiſters Juſtice, and puniſhes Criminals. The fifth is the *Secretary*, who writes and gives Anſwers in the King's Name, and has the Privilege to open all Letters, excepting ſuch as are ſent to the *Caſtellan*, or to the Governour of the City. The ſixth is the *Chief Chamberlain*, who provides Furniture for the Palace, gives Orders to all the Houſhold, calls the Counſellours by a Meſſenger, and has acceſs to the King when he pleaſes. The ſeventh is *The High Treaſurer*, who receives the Revenues of the Crown, and with the King's Conſent, pays 'em in to the *Munaſide*. The preſent King has many Devices to ſcrew Money out of his Subjects: He lives ſometimes in his Palace, and ſometimes in Gardens among his Concubines, Muſicians, Stage-Players, *&c.* but the Muſicians are always brought into his preſence hood-wink'd like a Hawk.

El-Mahdia.

Paſſing *Tunis*, we arrive at *El-Mahdia*, a Town upon the Mediterranean, founded in our time by *Mahdi*, the firſt Patriarch of *Cairaon*, with a noble Harbour, and fortified with ſtrong Walls, Towers, and Gates. This *Mahdi*, pretending to be deſcended of *Mahumet*, ingratiated himſelf ſo much with the People of this Country, that by their aſſiſtance he was made Prince of *Cairaon*, after which, perceiving that ſome were uneaſy under his tyranny, and ready to conſpire againſt him, he built this Town for a ſafe Refuge in caſe of neceſſity. Accordingly, when *Beiezid*, a *Mahometan* Prelate appear'd before *Cairaon*, he fled to this new Town, where he made a brave defence, and kill'd *Beiezid*.

Cairaon.

Now *Cairaon* alias *Careen*, is a great City, ſtanding upon a ſandy Plain that bears neither Trees nor Corn, at the diſtance of 36 Miles from the Mediterranean, and 100 from *Tunis*. 'Twas built by *Hucba*, General of the Army that *Hutmen*, the third *Mahometan* Prelate, ſent out of *Arabia Deſerta*; and was deſign'd for a place of ſafety where the *Arabians* might lodge their ſpoil. That General ſurrounded it with a very ſtrong Wall, and adorn'd it with a ſumptuous Temple, the Pillars of which are very ſtately. He govern'd *Cairaon*, till *Qualid* the *Califi*, who then reign'd at *Damaſco*, ſent *Muſe* in his place. *Muſe*, after many ſucceſsful Adventures againſt the *Africans*, and againſt the *Goths* in *Spain*, who was turn'd out upon the death of that *Calife*, and one *Jezul* ſucceeded him; after whom, his Son, Brother, and Nephews ſucceeding in order, govern'd *Cairaon*, till the Family of

Qualid were deveſted of the *Califa* Dignity, at which time the *Mahometan Califa's* remov'd from *Damaſco* to *Bagaded.* In that Juncture, one *Elagleb* was appointed Governour of *Cairaon*, and his Poſterity enjoy'd that Government for 170 Years. In *Elagleb's* time *Cairaon* became ſo populous, that a Town call'd *Recheda* was built juſt by it, in which he and the Court reſided.

Sicily conquer'd by the Governour of *Cairaon.*

The ſame Prince added the Iſland of *Sicily* to the Dominions of *Cairaon*; ſo that in his time 'twas a redoubled City. This City was once very famous for the ſtudy of the *Mahometan* Law, and produced the greateſt Lawyers in *Africa*; but at laſt 'twas deſtroy'd, and tho' 'tis now rebuilt, yet 'tis far ſhort of its former ſplendour; for its only Inhabitants are Leather-Dreſſers, who ſend Leather to the *Numidian* Cities, and truck it for *European* Cloth.

Elhamma. A Hot River. The Lake of Lepers.

Another remarkable place in this Country is *Elhamma*, thro' which there runs a River of hot Water, that makes a Lake not far from the Town call'd the *Lake of Leapers*, from its ſovereign vertue in curing all ſorts of Leproſies. This Water has a ſulphureous taſte, and does not at all quench thirſt; however the Inhabitants uſe it for drink, having ſet it a cooling almoſt a whole day. The ſource of this River lies a Mile and a half to the South of the Town.

The Iſle of *Gerbi.*

Here we muſt take notice of the Iſland of *Gerbi*, which is a plain ſandy Ground, about 18 Miles in compaſs, lying near the *African* Continent, and producing great plenty of Dates, Vines, Olives, and other Fruit.

Old Tripolis.

We proceed in order to *Old Tripolis*, which was built by the *Romans*, and afterwards taken by the *Goths*. At laſt the *Mahometans* took it after a Siege of ſix Months, and the Citizens were either kill'd or carry'd Priſoners to *Egypt* and *Arabia*.

New Tripolis.

Old Tripolis being thus deſtroy'd another City of that name, was built upon a ſandy Plain, that bears great plenty of Dates, and ſurrounded with a Wall. In this new City the Houſes exceed thoſe of *Tunis*, and a peculiar place is aſſign'd to each Trade. Here Corn is extream dear, by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the adjacent Fields; and they have no other Water than rain Water. They have ſeveral ſtately Temples and Colleges, and an Hoſpital for the entertainment of Strangers as well as their own Poor. Their Fare is only Dumplings made of Barley Meal; for he's a rich Man there that can command a buſhel or two of Corn. The Citizens are moſt of 'em Merchants; for its nearneſs to *Numidia*, *Tunis*, *Sicily* and *Malta*, renders it a convenient place for trade: It has likewiſe a great many Weavers.

This City has always been ſubject to the King of *Tunis*; but at the ſame time that the King of *Fez* forc'd the City of *Conſtantina* to open their Gates to him, and carry'd the King of *Tunis* Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Ceuta*, the *Genoueſe* ſack'd *Tripolis*, and cary'd off the Inhabitants in captivity. Upon this the King of *Fez* gave the *Genoueſe* 50000 Ducats for the Town; but after they had ſurrender'd the Town to the King, they found moſt of their Ducats to be Counterfeit. After that *Abuſelim* King of *Fez* reſtor'd the King of *Tunis* to his Throne, and his Poſterity enjoy'd it, till King *Abubar* was kill'd in the Caſtle of *Tripoli* by his own Nephew, who afterwards uſurp'd the Government, till he was kill'd in a Battle with *Habdul Mumen*, who thereupon became Lord of *Tripolis*. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Zacharias*, who within a few Months dy'd of the Plague; and after him came his Couſin *Mucamen*, whom the Citizens expell'd upon the account of his tyranny, and prefer'd to the Throne a Citizen. This Citizen govern'd for a time with a great deal of diſcretion and modeſty, but at laſt prov'd a Tyrant, and was murther'd by his own Relations.

Then the Citizens forc'd the Government upon a certain Noble-man that had retir'd from the World and liv'd like a Hermit, and his Poſterity continued in it, till *Pedro de Navarra* the *Spaniſh* General, took the City, and ſent the Governour and his Son-in-law Priſoner to *Meſſina*. After ſome years impriſonment, the Emperour *Charles* V. reſtor'd the Government to his former liberty: But ſince that the Chriſtians have deſtroy'd the Town.

Additions to CHAP. V.

Taken from Marmol.

The Kingdom of *Bugia.*

BUgia, the moſt Eaſtern Province of *Mauritania Cæſariana*, is bounded by *Algiers* on the Weſt, the Province of *Africa* on the Eaſt, the Mediterranean Sea on the North, and *Numidia* on the South. *Ptolomy* and ſeveral other noted Authors, make it a Province of *Tremeſen*; and others again, upon the conſideration that the King of *Tunis* gave the Crown of *Bugia* to his Son, look upon it as an Appendage of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. The bulk of the Country is mountainous, and moſt of the Inhabitants taking the Advantage of their ſteep and almoſt inacceſſible Seats, maintain an independant liberty. They are not only ſtout, and Affecters of Magnificence and Honour, but likewiſe rich in Cattle, and have a great many Firelocks and Horſemen among 'em. The Valleys are poſſeſs'd by the *Arabians*, who ſtraggle up and down with their Tents, and have many Fire-arms.

The City of *Bugia.*

Bugia, the Metropolitan of the Kingdom, contain'd in the time of its ſplendour, above 20000 Families. 'Twas firſt deſtroy'd by *Caim* the Schiſmatick *Califa*; after which 'twas repeopled, but could never arrive at its primitive ſplendour. However the Citizens liv'd in peace and eaſe while *Abdulazis* (the King of *Tunis's* Son) was their Sovereign, till they provok'd the King of *Spain* to take poſſeſſion of the City. The *Spaniards* continued Maſters of it for 35 Years; but *A. D.* 1555, *Salbarraes* Governour of *Algiers*, took it by capitulation, for which the *Spaniſh* Governour was beheaded when he return'd to *Spain*. Since that time the *Turks* have ſtill kept a Governour and a good Gariſon in the place.

Nazava River.

On the Eaſt ſide of *Bugia* a ſmall River enters the Sea, call'd by *Ptolomy Nazaava*, and by *Pliny Navar*. This River paſſes between the Mountains of *Cuco* and *Abez*, and upon the melting of Snow, ſwells prodigiouſly. 'Tis well ſtock'd with Fiſh, but the People have ſuch plenty of Fiſh upon the Sea-ſide, that they do not mind theſe. While *Bugia* was in the *Spaniſh* Hands, no Veſſel could enter the River, by reaſon of a Bank of Sand in its Mouth: But the very ſame Year that *Salbarraes* took the Town, it rain'd ſo violently, that the Waters ſweep'd off the Bank, ſo that large Veſſels may now ſail up the River, and be ſhelter'd from all Winds excepting the North Wind.

Necaus.

Necaus, another City in this Province, ſo well ſituated and adorn'd with Gardens, Fountains, and all ſorts of Fruit-Trees and Flowers, that 'twould be one of the pleaſanteſt Cities in all *Barbary*, if the tyrannizing *Turks* did not oppreſs it in an outragious manner. *Ptolomy* plac'd it under the name of *Vaga*, in 18 Deg. Long. and 31 Deg. 40 Min. Lat.

Mount La-Abes.

Among the Mountains of this Kingdom that call'd *La-Abes* is moſt noted, which derives its name from the plenty of Ruſhes that grow upon it. In the Year 1550, this Mountain was commanded by one *Abdelaſis* alias *La-Abes*, who was one of the braveſt Warriours in all *Africa*. There being an everlaſting hatred between the Inhabitants of Mount *Cuco* and thoſe of *LaAbes*, *Abdelaſis* join'd with the *Turks* at the time that *Cuco* declar'd againſt 'em; and his Aſſiſtance prov'd of great Importance to them. At laſt the *Turks* being inform'd by *La-Abes* his Vaſſals, that he mean'd to revolt and make an Inſurrection, deſign'd to empriſon him; but he ſeeing thro' the Deſign, made his eſcape upon a very ſwift Horſe. After that he made head againſt the *Turks*, and fortified the Avenues of his Mountain, and after ſeveral ſucceſsful Engagements, was at laſt kill'd in battle, by the united Forces of the *Turks* and the King of *Cuco*. Such was the end of that brave *African*, who always wore two Coats of Mail one above another, with a Spear, a Buckler, and a Cutelax. He was ſucceeded by his Brother *Mocoran*, who at this day puts his Neighbours the *Arabians* under contibution in ſpite of the

Turks and the King of *Cuco*, with whom he wages perpetual War.

The King-dom of *Tunis*.

The fourth and moſt eaſtern Kingdom of *Barbary*, is that of *Tunis*. If you exclude *Bugia*, its Limits are *Mauritania Cæſariana*, the Province of *Bugia*, and the River *Amſaga* on the Weſt, *Egypt* on the Eaſt, the Mediterranean on the North, and Mount *Atlas* on the South. 'Tis divided into four Provinces, namely, *Conſtantina*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli* of *Barbary*, and *Zeb*, which includes part of the ancient *Numidia*. The greateſt part of the Country, is only a wide extended Plain, upon which ſeveral powerful Societies of *Arabians* and *Africans* follow a vicious life. The Kings and Lords of the above-mention'd Provinces, have always endeavour'd to keep up an Alliance with theſe Strowlers, and have enough to do to ſatiſfie 'em, by giving them part of their Revenue. To take a view of the Provinces in order.

The Province of *Conſtantina*.

If we ſet out from the Weſt, the firſt Province of the four is *Conſtantina*, called by *Ptolomy New Numidia*, and bounded by *Bugia* on the Weſt, *Africa*, properly ſo called, on the Eaſt, the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf of *Numidia* on the North, and Mount *Atlas* on the South.

The remarkable Cities in this Province are theſe following.

Col.

Col, an ancient City built by the *Romans*, called by *Ptolomy Coloſſus*, and inhabited by a courteous civil People, who trade with the *Europeans* in Wax, Leather, and other Commodities.

Eſtora.

Eſtora, or *Ptolomy*'s *Ruſicada*, the Port of *Conſtantina* ſtanding upon the Gulph of *Numidia*.

Sucaycada.

Sucaycada, built by the *Romans* upon a high Mountain, between which and *Conſtantina* there's a Cauſey twelve Leagues long, pav'd with black Stones.

New Bona.

New Bona, or *Bedel el Agneb*, where *Charles* V. kept a Garriſon, and which is now ſubject to the *Turks*.

Biſert.

Biſert or *Beuſert*, called by *Ptolomy Utica*, ſtanding upon a Lake or Bay, and inhabited by Fiſher-men, who are very poor, but at the ſame time ſtubborn, proud and rebellious, which has frequently occaſion'd their ruin. When *Barbaroſſa* took *Tunis*, they revolted from their King, and receiv'd a *Turkiſh* Gariſon; upon which the Emperour *Charles* V. being ſollicitated by their King, beſieg'd 'em both by Sea and Land, and puniſh'd 'em ſeverely for their Rebellion. *Muley Haſcen* ſaid of them, that neither Love nor Fear could influence them to be faithful.

Tedeſſa.

Tedeſſa, an inland Town, goes beyond all the Towns of *Barbary* in good Walls, plenty of Walnuts, and excellent Fountains, and is valuable for nothing elſe.

The City of *Conſtantina*.

The chief City of this Province is *Conſtantina*, which revolted frequently from their Governours, appointed by the King of *Tunis*, and in the Year 1568, reſented the Inſolence of the *Turks*, by cutting the *Turkiſh* Governour and Gariſon in pieces. After that, the Governour of *Algiers* took it by ſtorm, and oppreſſed them more than ever.

The Mountains of *Conſtantina*.

The Mountains of this Province are inhabited by a brave warlike People, that have always maintained their liberty, but are never without Wars among themſelves, occaſioned by a Cuſtom allowed of by their Religion, of unmarrying Women in one Mountain, and marrying them again in another. They are able to bring 40000 brave Fellows into the Field, and if they were unanimous, might conquer a great part of *Africa*.

The Province of *Tunis*.

The Province of *Tunis*, or *Africa*, properly ſo called, is bounded by *Conſtantina* on the Weſt, *Tripoli* on the Eaſt, Mount *Atlas* on the South, and the Mediterranean Sea on the North. This is a large Province, and contained ſeveral Towns and Villages, moſt of which were deſtroyed by the *Arabians* when they invaded *Africa*.

Utica.

Near to a Port called *Porto Farina*, where the Emperour *Charles* V. his Army landed when he attacked *Tunis*, we perceive the Ruins of an ancient City, which ſome take to have been *Utica*, ſo famous for the death of *Cato*.

Carthage.

Upon the ſame Coaſt are the Ruines of *Carthage*, which ſtood upon a Plain, but included within its Bounds a Mountain, where the chief Fortreſs ſtood, and where there is now a Tower, called by the Chriſtians *The Rock of Maſtinaca*, and by the *Africans Almenare*. The *Greek* and *Latin* Authors give ſuch jarring Accounts of the time and manner of its Foundation, that it can ſcarce be determined. It was deſtroyed by *Scipio Africanus*, and afterwards by *Genſerick* King of the *Vandals*. In the proceſs of time the Succeſſours of *Mahomet* razed it again, after which, it was repeopled in ſome meaſure by a *Mahometan* Patriarch, and at laſt totally ruined by the *Arabians*, in their Wars with the Kings of *Tunis*: So that now there remains nothing of that ancient and glorious City, but a pitiful Village called *Marſa*, which one of the Kings of *Tunis* has lately adorned with a ſtately Temple and a College, there being in the Neighbourhood of it a Palace and Gardens, where the Kings of *Tunis* divert themſelves in Summer.

The City of *Tunis*.

The great and ancient City of *Tunis*, the Metropolitan of the Kingdom, was built by the *Arabians* that firſt invaded *Africa*, under the conduct of *Melec Ifriqui*. The Inhabitants are very civil and tractable, but few of them are rich. They feed commonly upon Barley Meal kneeded and boiled with Water and Salt, and afterwards ſoaked in Oil or Butter. About this City there are great Nurſeries of Olive, Citron, and Orange Trees. The Kings of *Tunis* had a very ſplendid Court, and many Officers of the Houſhold: Within the Palace they were ſerved by Women and Eunuchs. Their Life Guard conſiſted of 1500 Horſe, and 100 Firelocks, moſt of them *Muſ-Arabians* or Renegadoes, whom they truſted and encouraged very much. They were likewiſe by 150 old Gentlemen, experienc'd both in Civil and Military Affairs, of whom the King took advice in Matters of Importance, and who ſerved in the Army in the quality of *Maſhals de Camp*. Their way of eating, giving Audience, and other Cuſtoms, are the ſame with thoſe of the Court of *Fez*. But the ſplendour and grandeur of this Court was extinguiſh'd by *Barbaroſſa*, when he took poſſeſſion of *Tunis*; for after that, when *Muley Haſcen*, by the aſſiſtance of the Emperour *Charles* V. recover'd his Throne, he was ſcarce able to ſatisfie the *Arabians*; and now that the *Turks* are again poſſeſs'd of *Tunis*, his Son *Hamida* is forc'd to retire to the Fort, upon the Neck of the Lake call'd *Golett*, and ſolicit *Philip* II. to reſtore him to his Throne. The Lake upon which *Tunis* ſtands, receives the Sea by a narrow Neck, that a Galley cannot paſs with her Oars ſpread. Upon the mouth of this Channel, there was a ſquare Tower or Cuſtom-houſe, which *Barbaroſſa* fortified when the Emperour *Charles* V. appeared before *Tunis*: But the City it ſelf is expos'd on ſeveral quarters, eſpecially to the Weſt, and its chief ſtrength conſiſts in the number of the Inhabitants. The Lake is three Leagues long, and two Leagues broad, and is full of Banks of Sand.

Suſa.

Suſa, another Sea Town in this Province, ſtands upon a riſing Ground, and is cover'd by a ſtrong Caſtle upon the Land-ſide. Some ſay 'twas founded by the *Romans*, and was formerly a very populous and noted place, known by the name of *Sagul*, to which *Ptolomy* allots 36 Deg. Long. and 32 Deg. 20 Min Lat. 'Twas the reſidence of *Occuba* the *Mahometan* General; and his Palace, with ſeveral other noble Edifices, and a magnificent Temple, are ſtill ſtanding. When *Barbaroſſa* took *Tunis*, it ſubmitted to the *Turks*, and afterwards refus'd to obey *Muley Haſcen*, when *Barbaroſſa* was diſlodg'd. Upon this the Emperour *Charles* V. ſent out a Fleet that beſieg'd and took *Suſa*, and reduc'd it to the King's obedience. Soon after, the light unſteaddy Inhabitants revolted, and being once more reduc'd, revolted a ſecond time, till the arrival of the *Spaniſh* Fleet upon that Coaſt, upon which they expell'd the *Turks*, tho' they afterwards receiv'd them again, and are now ſubject to them.

Moneſter.

Coaſting along from *Suſa* to the Eaſt, we fell in upon *Moneſter*, an ancient City, built by the *Romans*, upon a pleaſant ſpot of Ground, and defended by noble high Walls. Its frequent Revolts from the Kings of *Tunis*, occaſion'd its being ſack'd by the *Spaniards*; and the repeated Depredations of the *Mores*, *Turks*, and *Chriſtians*, have reduc'd it to a poor condition. At preſent 'tis ſubject to the *Turks*, as well as the other places upon that Coaſt.

Mehedie.

The great and famous City of *Africa* ſtands upon the ſame Coaſt, at the diſtance of eight Leagues from *Moneſter*. 'Twas fortified by the Chiſmatick Califa of *Carouan*, who chriſten'd it *Mehedie*, and is the ſame with the *Adrumettum* of the *Romans*. It ſtands upon a point of Land that ſhoots out into the Sea, and joins the Continent by a ſmall Neck, which is but 350 Paces over, and has a Caſtle upon it, with ſix Towers; the Walls of this City are 40 Foot thick. While the *Romans* poſſeſs'd it, 'twas a place of great ſplendour; after which, the Succeſſours of *Mahomet* raz'd it to the Ground, and rebuilt it, and adorned it with the above-mentioned Fortifications. Upon the Declenſion of the Califa's of *Carouan*, the *Sicilian* Pyrates took poſſeſſion of it, and chriſtened it *Africa*. Then the Chriſtians were Maſters of it, till it was conquered by a *Morocco* King, of the *Almohada* Line: After which, it was ſubject to the King of *Tunis*, but frequently

quently revolted, and had actually ſhaken off the Yoak when *Dragut* the famous Admiral of the Pyrates ſurprized it, and was received as their Prince. Upon this, the Emperour *Charles* V. finding that the Pyrates were much encouraged by having *Mebedia* for a place of ſhelter, ordered his Generals to beſiege it; accordingly they took it, and laid both the Town and its ſtrong Fortifications in Aſhes.

Carouan.

The laſt City we ſhall take notice of in this Province, is *Carouan*, call'd in *Arabick Cayraven*, which is not only the fineſt City in all *Africa*, but the firſt that the *Mahometans* built in it, for which reaſon the Kings of *Tunis* are inter'd there in the Great Temple. When *Barbaroſſa* took *Tunis*, this City being miſerably oppreſs'd by the King of *Tunis*, receiv'd a *Turkiſh* Gariſon; and when *Barbaroſſa* was worſted, choſe the chief *Alfaqui* of the Great Temple to be their King. This new King contracted an Alliance with the King of *Tunis*, and aſſiſted the Emperour's Forces in taking *Mebedia*, and refus'd to aſſiſt *Dragut*. In reſentment of this Affront, *Dragut* with ſome of the *Alfaqui's* and Citizens, conſpir'd together, and having kill'd the King, brought the City into ſubjection to the *Turks*, whom it now obeys.

The Province of *Tripoli.*

Tripoli, the thir'd Province of this Kingdom, is bounded by *Tunis* on the Weſt, the Mediterranean on the North, the Province of *Ceyret* on the Eaſt, and *Numidia* on the South. Moſt of this Province is nothing but ſandy Deſarts, tho' indeed it has ſome Mountains inhabited by *Berebers*: The whole is now ſubject to the *Turks*. To give ſome Account of the moſt remarkable Towns.

Capez.

Capez, the firſt City that the *Romans* built in *Africa*, ſtands upon a Gulph of the Mediterranean Sea, near the Mouth of a River of hot Water, which *Ptolomy* ſettles in 38 Deg. 40 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 45 Min. Lat. 'Twas ruin'd, firſt by the Succeſſours of *Mahomet*, and afterwards by the Califa of *Carouan*, and ſince that, 'twas ſtill kept under, by the Excurſions of the *Arabs*. At preſent 'tis inhabited by a few Fiſher-men and Day-labourers.

Tripoli.

Tripoli, alias *Trebeliz*, or *Tarabilis*, the Metropolitan of this Province, was built, as ſome ſay, by the *Romans*, or, as others will have it, by the *Phœnicians*, in memory of a Town in *Syria* of the ſame Name. The *Arabians* raz'd it after a Siege of ſome Months; and a great many Years after, the *Africans* built *New Tripoli*, which is ſaid to ſtand more to the South than the old: for it is alledged, that the Sea being higher than the Land, has encroached upon all the Coaſt of *Tunis*, and overflowed large Tracts of Ground that were formerly cover'd Houſes, and a fertile Product. Upon the ſame Plea it is affirm'd, that tho' the Country round *Tripoli* is now ſo barren and ſandy, that it produces nothing but Dates, yet in former times, the Banks of Sand to the South, were fertile Plains. After *Charles* V. had taken *Tripoli*, he gave it to the Knights of *Malta*, who were then diſpoſſeſs'd of *Rhodes*: and in a few Years the *Turks* took it from them, and are ſtill Maſters of it. While this City was in its ſplendour, it was reckoned equal to *Tunis* in riches. *Ptolomy* places it under the Name of *Great Leptis*, in 41 Deg. 25 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 40 Min. Lat.

Tachore.

About four Leagues to the Eaſt from *Tripoli*, there's a large Plain call'd *Tachore*, which is repleniſh'd with ſeveral Villages and Fruit-trees. When the Chriſtians maſtered *Tripoli*, the Citizens fled to this Plain, and one *Morataga* a *Turk*, declared himſelf King of it. At preſent it is one of the Dependancies of the Government of *Tripoli*.

Mecellat.

Another Province annexed to *Tripoli*, is *Mecellat*, called by the Ancients *Great Syrtis*, and by the *Arabians Ceyret el quivir*. Add to that *Meſrate*, called by the Ancients *Cyrenaica*, or *Pentapolis*, which runs along the Coaſt of the Mediterranean.

Iſle of *Querquenes.*

Before we take leave of this Province, we muſt take notice of the Iſlands of *Querquenes* and *Gelves*. The former is a dry Soil, and the Current about it is ſo ſtrong that a Galley with Oars can ſcarce put in into the Shoar. Count *Pedro de Navarre* the *Spaniſh* General, put in here after a violent Storm, and having order'd a Detachment of Men to go aſhoar and clean ſome Wells, in order to draw Water out of 'em, one of the Men being beat by the Colonel who commanded the Party, made his eſcape in the night-time, and while the reſt were aſleep, brought down the *Mores* upon 'em, who cut in pieces the whole party, conſiſting of 450 choice Men.

Iſle of *Gelves.*

As for the Iſlands of *Gelves*, it was called by the Ancients *Meniſſa*, from a Town upon it of the ſame name, and *Ptolomy* places it under the name of *Lotofagina*, in 39 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 20 Min. Lat. The Succeſſors of *Mahomet* ruined this Iſland, at the ſame time that they deſtroyed *Tripoli* and *Capez*, which belonged to the *Romans*; and the Walls and Ruins of the two Cities (viz. *Guerra* and *Meniſſa*) beſides ſeveral Forts built by the *Romans*, are ſtill to be ſeen upon it. Since that time it was repeopled, and ſome Hamlets or Villages were built upon it; and in the Year 1284, *Roger de Lorie*, the King of *Arragon*'s Admiral conquered it, and his Poſterity, aſſiſted by the Kings of *Naples* and *Sicily*, continued Maſters of it for ſeveral Years, tho' not without frequent Moleſtations from the Natives, and from the Kings of *Tunis*. In proceſs of time, it became tributary to the Kings of *Sicily*; but the *Mores* aſſiſted by the *Genoueſe* and *Neapolitans*, took off that Yoak, and ſoon after became tributary to the King of *Arragon*: At laſt they revolted from the King of *Arragon*, and when the *Spaniards* took the City of *Africa*, *Dragut* the famous *Turkiſh* Pyrate retired to the Iſland, which is ſtill ſubject to the *Turks*.

As for the *Zeb*, the fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, which lies to the South of *Tunis*, and ſhoots into *Numidia*, we ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak of it under the head of *Numidia*; for tho' the greateſt part of it is ſubject to the Kings of *Tunis*, yet 'tis not properly any part of *Barbary*.

CHAP. VI.

Containing John Leo's *Deſcription of* Numidia *and* Libya.

The Towns of *Numidia.* *Teſſet.*

IN deſcribing the Cities and Towns of *Numidia*, I ſhall begin with *Teſſet*, an ancient Town not far from the *Libyan* Deſarts, containing 400 Families; it is ſurrounded with Brick Walls and ſandy Plains. Some few Fields juſt by the Town bear ſome Dates, Millet-ſeed, and Barley, which the wretched Inhabitants uſe for Food. They pay a heavy Tribute to the *Arabians* in the adjacent Deſarts, and trade with *Negroland* and *Guzula*, in ſo much that they are ſeldom at home. Their Men are Blacks, and void of all learning; indeed their Women, who are ſomewhat whiter, take care to teach their Children the firſt Rudiments of Knowledge, but before they can attain to any Perfection, they are put out to work: Some of the Women ſpin and card Wool, and the reſt live idly: The richeſt Men in the Country have but very few Cattle. All over *Numidia*, they plough the Ground with a Horſe and a Camel.

Guaden.

The next Town is *Guaden*, inhabited by a wretched barbarous People, who are black, and live in ſuch enmity with their Neighbours, that they cannot go abroad with ſafety. They eat no Fleſh but Oſtriches, and a certain wild Beaſt call'd *Elamth*, which they take by hunting; for they keep their Goats for the benefit of the Milk: The Ground produces nothing but Dates.

The Province of *Dara.*

In this Country we meet with the Province of *Dara*, which is very narrow, extending it ſelf from Mount *Atlas* almoſt 250 Miles Southward. The Inhabitants dwell upon the River *Dara*, which in Summer is ſo low, that one may paſs over it on foot, but ſometimes overfloweth like a Sea. If this Inundation happens in the beginning of *April*, it is a certain forerunner of great plenty, if otherwiſe, a great ſcarcity of Corn enſues. The Villages, Hamlets, and Caſtles upon the Bank of this River, are ſurrounded with Brick Walls; and all their Planks and Joyces are made of nothing elſe than the ſpungy flexible

Wood of Date Trees. The Fields on either ſide of the River, for the ſpace of 5 or 6 Miles, produce great plenty of Dates, ſome of which are worth a Ducat *per* Buſhel, and others with which they feed their Horſes and Camels, are ſcarce worth a quarter ſo much. 'Tis obſervable of Date-Trees, that ſome of them are Male and ſome Female; That the Male bear only Flowers, and the Female Fruit; and that the Date Trees prove ſtark naught unleſs the Boughs and Flowers of the Male be join'd to the Female. The Inhabitants of *Dara* eat no Bread but upon Feſtival Days, and feed only upon Barley and ſuch other courſe Meat, particularly the unpalatable Fleſh of Camels and Goats, and that of Oſtriches, which taſts not unlike our Cocks, only it is tougher and ranker. The Caſtles of this Province are inhabited by Goldſmiths and other Trades-men.

Beni-Sabib.

The principal Town called *Beni-Sabib*, and inhabited by a brave generous ſort of People, is divided into two parts, which are headed by their reſpective Governours, and oftentimes quarrel with one another, eſpecially when they moiſten their Arable Grounds, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Water. When they happen to fall out, they have the neighbouring *Arabians* to aſſiſt them, allowing them half a Ducat a Man *per* Day. In time of peace, they apply themſelves to the uſe of Guns and other Weapons, and indeed they are very expert Gunners. If a Merchant come among them, they'll entertain them for a whole Year, without asking any thing, only if he makes them a Preſent, they'll not refuſe it. Indico grows very plentifully in this Province, which is an Herb like wild Woad, that they exchange with the Merchants of *Fez* and *Tremeſen* for other Goods. Moſt of their Corn is imported from *Fez* and other Countries. They have a few Goats and Horſes, and feed the former with the Powder of Date-Stones, which fattens them, and increaſes their Milk. Their Horſes are fed with Dates, and a ſort of Herb, called by the Neapolitans *Farfa*. Their Women are fair, fat, and eaſily courted, and keep ſeveral Negro Slaves.

Province of *Segelmeſſe.*

We come next to the Territory of *Segelmeſſe*, extending it ſelf almoſt 20 Miles from North to South, along the River of *Ziz*, and containing, beſides Villages and Hamlets, about 350 Caſtles, one of which, call'd *Tenegent*, contains above 1000 Families, moſt of them Trades-men; another call'd *Tebuhaſen*, is the moſt populous place in all the Country, and much frequented by Merchants; and the third call'd *Mamun*, is reſorted to by ſeveral Merchants, both *Jews* and *Mores*. Theſe three Caſtles have three ſeveral Governours, who maintain a mutual enmity, calling ſome lewd *Arabians* to their aſſiſtance, and frequently deſtroy one anothers Water-Channels which water their Fields, and fell down their Date Trees. They coin both Silver and Gold Money; their Silver Coin weighing four Grains apiece, bears the Proportion of eighty to one of their Gold. The *Jews* and *Arabians* in this Country are burdened with heavy Taxes. Some of their principal Men are exceeding rich, and trade very much to *Negroland*, where they exchange the Commodities of *Barbary* for Gold and Slaves. Their chief Food is Dates, excepting ſome places where Corn grows. All this Country is over-run with Scorpions, but there are no Flies in it. In Summer it is exceeding hot, at which times their Rivers are ſo dried up, that they're forc'd to uſe ſalt Water drawn out of Pits.

After the Deſtruction of *Segelmeſſe*, they ſurrounded the whole Territory with a Wall that was 80 Miles in compaſs, to prevent the Incurſions of Horſe-men. While they were united among themſelves, they retain'd their liberty, but upon their ſpliting into Factions, their Wall was demoliſh'd, and each Party calling in the *Arabians* to their aſſiſtance, became ſubject to them by degrees.

The Town of *Segelmeſſe.*

As for the Towns of *Segelmeſſe*, it is ſaid that *Alexander* the Great, built it for the relief of his ſick and wounded Souldiers, but I cannot find that ever he came into this Country. It ſtood upon a Plain near the River *Ziz*, and was ſurrounded with ſtately high Walls. It had good Buildings, magnificent Temples and Colleges, and a great many Conduits for the River Water, which was raiſed by Wheels. The Air of this place is very moiſt in Winter, but otherwiſe it is temperate and wholſome enough. It was ſubject to the Family of *Zontena*, till King *Joſeph* of the Family of *Lantuna* diſpoſſeſs'd them. About 25 Miles from *Segelmeſſe*, upon the Road to *Dara*, there ſtands a ſorry Caſtle, built and guarded by the *Arabians*, who exact one fourth part of a Ducat for every Camel's Load, from all the Merchants that paſs that way.

The Caſtles of *Fighting.*

At the diſtance of 150 Miles from *Segelmeſſe*, are three Caſtles of *Fighting*, ſtanding upon a Deſart that abounds wonderfully with Dates. The Women of this place weave a kind of Cloth in form of a Carpet, which is ſo fine that a Man would take it for Silk, and this they ſell at an exceſſive rate at *Fez* and *Tremeſen*. As for the Men, who are very ingenious, part of them trade to *Negroland*, and the reſt ſtudy at *Fez* till they attain the Degree of a Doctor, upon which they return to *Numidia*, where they are made either Prieſts or Senators, and prove moſt of them Men of great Wealth and Reputation.

Province of *Tegorarin.*

The *Numidian* Deſart contains likewiſe the great and large Country of *Tegorarin*, in which there are 50 Caſtles, and above 100 Villages, and great plenty of Dates: The Inhabitants are rich, and trade to *Negroland*: Their Fields are very fit for Corn, but at the ſame time they are very much parcht, inſomuch, that ſcarce any Cattle can live upon them. A few Goats indeed are kept there for the benefit of their Milk; but there is no Fleſh in the Country, excepting that of Camels, which the *Arabians* import, and which the Inhabitants eat, after it is mingled with ſalt Tallow imported from *Fez* and *Tremeſen*. They allow Strangers Houſes to dwell in, requiring no other Rent but their Dung, which being voided within doors, is kept very carefully, as well as that of their Camels, *&c.* for the benefit of their Ground.

Techort.

About 300 Miles from *Tegorarin*, we fall in upon the ancient Town of *Techort*, built by the *Numidians* upon a Hill, by the Foot of which runs a River with a Draw-Bridge over it. 'Tis defended by a Rock on one ſide, and a Stone Wall on the other. All the Buildings, excepting a magnificent Temple, are of Brick dried in the Sun. The Inhabitants, amounting in number to 2500 Families, are moſt of them either Gentlemen or Trades-men. Having great plenty of Dates, they exchange them for Corn imported from *Conſtantina*. They entertain all Strangers *gratis*, and are very liberal in their Gifts to them; nay, they have ſuch reſpect for them, that they'll rather marry their Daughters to them than their fellow Citizens, allowing ſome portion of Land by way of Dowry. *Hubdulla* their preſent Prince, is a brave, generous and courteous Man.

Peſcara.

Peſcara (another Town in the *Numidian* Deſart) is remarkable for the abundance of Scorpions, which occaſion preſent death wherever they ſting, and upon that account the Inhabitants live out of town in the Country all Summer. The Kings of *Tunis* were Soveraigns of this place, till the death of *Hutmen*, upon which it fell into the hands of a *Mahometan* Prieſt.

Denſen.

Denſen is likewiſe remarkable for ſome Monuments of Antiquity, not unlike Sepulchres, in which pieces of Silver Money are found.

Capſa.

The laſt place I ſhall take notice of is *Caplſa*, an ancient Town built by the *Romans*, and headed by a peculiar Governour, till the Califa *Hutmen* ſacked it and demoliſh'd its Walls: But the Caſtle remains ſtill, and is a place of great ſtrength, for its Walls are 25 Cubits high, and five Cubits thick, and are built of fine Stone, ſuch as is in *Veſpaſian*'s Amphitheatre at *Rome*. At this day the Town, which is very populous, has nothing in it but ſorry Houſes, excepting the Temple and a few other Buildings. The Inhabitants are a barbarous unhoſpitable Crew, and upon that ſcore, deſpis'd by all the other *Africans*. They are not only oppreſs'd by the daily Exactions of the King of *Tunis*, but continually ſubject to Fevers, occaſion'd by their unhealthy Air: They wear Shooes made of Bucks Leather. The Streets are pav'd with black Stones like thoſe of *Naples* and *Florence*; and in the middle of the Town, there are ſeveral large and ſquare deep Fountains, the Water of which is ſo hot, that it is not fit to be drunk till it has ſtood two or three hours to cool. The adjacent Fields abound with Citrons, and the beſt Dates and Olives in the whole Province.

Libya.

Zanhaga.

Having thus diſpatch'd *Numidia* we proceed to *Libya*. The moſt weſtward of its Deſarts is that of *Zanhaga*, extending in length, from the Ocean to the Salt-pits of *Tegaza*, and in breadth, from *Sus* to *Negroland*. 'Tis ſo dry and barren, that in 100 Miles, you will ſcarce find a drop of Water, and what you have is ſalt, and drawn out of Wells.

Agadez.

Not far from a Town call'd *Agadez*, there is great ſtore of Manna, which the Inhabitants gather in ſmall Veſſels; they mingle it with Water, eſteeming that a noble Liquor, and put it into their Pottage, in which caſe its refrigerating Vertue is ſuch, that it prevents the Diſeaſes which the unhealthy corrupt Air would otherwiſe occaſion.

Tegaza.

In the Region of *Tegaza*, there is a great deal of Salt, whiter than Marble, which is dig'd by Strangers out of Pits, and ſold to Merchants, who carry it upon Camels to *Tombuto*, where Salt is very ſcarce. Theſe Miners or

Diggers live in little Huts plac'd at the Mouth of the Pits, and are oftentimes ſtarv'd if the Merchants happen to come too late with their Victuals, for they work at the diſtance of 20 Days Journey from any inhabited place. Sometimes the South Eaſt Wind blinds them, ſo that they are in great danger of their Lives.

Berdeoa. In the heart of the *Libyan* Deſart, we meet with a Region call'd *Berdeoa*, containing three Caſtles and five or ſix Villages, abounding with excellent Dates. Theſe three Caſtles were diſcover'd thus. A Caravan of Merchants having loſt their way, were conducted by a blind Man, who knew the ſeveral Countries by the ſmell of the Sand, and when he came within forty Miles of this Region, predicted by the ſmell, that they were not far from an inhabited place. Accordingly within three Days, they fell in with the three Caſtles, and forcing open their Gates, got a ſufficient quantity of Water to relieve their Neceſſity; for the Inhabitants were ſo aſtoniſh'd at the ſight of them, that they ſhut their Gates and refuſ'd them Water.

The moſt eaſterly part of the *Libyan* Deſart, is that call'd *Lenata*, extending from *Angela* to the *Nile*. *Lenata.*

Another Region of this Deſart, is *Alguechet*, lying at the diſtance of 120 Miles from *Egypt*, and inhabited by barbarous but very rich Blacks, for they dwell in the way between *Egypt* and *Gaoga*. They have three Caſtles and many Villages, abounding with Dates. Tho' they are tributary to the neighbouring *Arabians*, yet they have a Governour of their own. *Alguechet.*

Between *Numidia* and *Libya*, there's a Region call'd *Nun*, which borders upon the Ocean, and is inhabited by a beggerly People, in many Villages and Hamlets. It produces only an unſavoury ſort of Dates, for it bears neither Corn nor Barley. *Nun.*

Additions to CHAP. VI.

Collected from Marmol.

A Character of the Inhabitants of Numidia. THE Inhabitants of *Getulia* or *Numidia*, were call'd by the *Greeks Phœnicians*, and afterwards *Nomades*, among whom thoſe whole live on the weſtern ſide are moſt conſiderable; but there are ſeveral other Nations of *Berebers* and *Arabians* among them. Their riches conſiſt in Dates and Cattle, for they have very little Corn, the Defect of which is ſupply'd by their Dates, for they are the beſt in *Africa*, eſpecially upon the Eaſt Quarter. Perhaps *Homer* pointed to theſe Dates, when he ſpoke of a Tree in this Country call'd *Lotth*, the Fruit of which is no ſooner taſted, than it makes People forget their Country, and unwilling to return, like *Ulyſſes*'s Companions. The *Arabians* of *Numidia* frequent the Deſart of *Zahara*, and oftentimes make Incurſions into *Barbary*, for they live chiefly by robbery, and for that Reaſon the Kings of *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Tremeſen*, and *Tunis*, keep ſtrong Garriſons upon the Frontiers of that Deſart.

Upper Sus. The Weſtern part of *Numidia*, extending from Cape *Aguer* to Cape *Nun*, is call'd *Upper Sus*. This Country is inhabited by *Berebers*, divided into Tribes, who lodge themſelves in Forts and places of ſtrength, being a warlike People, and breed great numbers of Horſe and Cattle. It affords plenty of Corn and Barley, and in ſome places Citrons, Oranges, and other Fruits.

Teſſet. The ancient *Africans* built a ſmall Town call'd *Teſſet*, upon the Weſt of *Zahara*, in which the *Xeriff* that now reigns, maintains a Garriſon to defend the poor Inhabitants from the Incurſions of the *Arabians* in thoſe Deſarts, to whom they paid Tribute and Homage in former times.

To the North of *Zahara* they built four wall'd Towns, at the diſtance of a League one from another, upon a ſmall River, that never runs but in Winter. *Ufaran.* Theſe Towns are call'd *Ufaran*, and are not only in ſome meaſure civiliz'd by trading with the Chriſtians, but likewiſe inhabited by ſeveral Trades-men, who make excellent Copper and Lattin Veſſels; for the fineſt ſort of Lattin, that they call *Criny*, is made from ſome Copper Mines, in a Mountain of the *Great Atlas*, upon the South ſide of this place; and the preſent *Xeriff* has a Caſtle here, the Governour of which receives that Metal, and gives it out to the Work-men.

Aca. Upon the Frontier of the *Senegues*, there are three ſtrong Towns call'd *Aca*, and inhabited by the *Hibeles*, or a Race of *Arabians* that arriv'd in *Africa* in the Reign of *Carin* the *Califa* of *Carouan*. This quarter, which was formerly rich, was diſpeopled by Civil Wars, till a *Morabite* appeas'd their Heats, after which, he and his Poſterity govern'd it under the Soveraignty of the *Xeriffs*.

Dara. *Dara*, a noted Province of *Numidia*, was formerly overaw'd by the *Arabians* of *Uled Celim*, a rich and puiſſant People, that ſpend the Winter in the Deſarts, and ſtraggle up and down *Numidia* in the Spring; but at preſent 'tis ſecur'd from their Incurſions, by a Gariſon which the *Xeriff* keeps in *Beni-Sabih*.

Segelmeſſe. The Province of *Segelmeſſe*, which is above 40 Leagues long, is inhabited by *Berebers*, whoſe Eyes are always inflam'd in Summer, by reaſon of the extream heat. The Town of *Segelmeſſe* ſeems to have been built by a *Roman* Captain that conquer'd all *Numidia*, as far as *Meſſa*, and for that reaſon 'twas chriſtened *Sigillum Meſſa*, i. e. *The Seal of his Conqueſt*.

Upon a Sandy Plain in *Numidia*, we fall in with a wall'd City, call'd *Tafilet*, inhabited by a rich genteel ſort of People, who make the fineſt Leather or Buff Targuets, as well as Silk-Stuffs, and fine Tapeſtry; and trade with the *European* and *Barbary* Merchants, in Indigo and Goats Leather. All the Dates imported to *Spain*, come from this place, for the *Xeriff* does not allow their being exported from any other quarter. *Tafilet.*

The Province of *Tegorarin* was formerly inhabited by rich Jewiſh Merchants, whom the Natives maſſacred, *A. D.* 1492. When I was in *Africa* (ſays our Author) this Province was govern'd by its peculiar Governours, who were perpetually jarring with one another; for the *Xeriff* who had maſter'd the whole Country from *Nun* upon the Ocean to *Tegorarin*, had not then poſſeſs'd himſelf of it. *Tegorarin.*

Techort, was ſubject firſt to the Kings of *Morocco*, after that to the Kings of *Tremeſen*, then to thoſe of *Tunis*; at laſt it had a Prince of its own, namely, *Abdala*, whoſe Revenue came to 200000 Ducats a year; for this Town receives Contribution from all the Villages and Caſtles round it, to the extent of 30 or 40 Leagues. This Prince was taken off by an Inſurrection of ſome *Turks* whom he had taken into his Service; upon which they were ſubject to the *Turks*, till the *Xeriff Mahemet* reduc'd 'em to his former obedience. *Techort.*

Querquelen, a very ancient *Numidian* City, was firſt imbelliſhed and enriched by the firſt King of the *Lantuna's*, who ſet out from thence in purſuit of the Conqueſt of *Barbary* and *Spain*. The Inhabitants of this place are a very civil People, and acquainted with commerce; for the Commodities of *Barbary* are here exchang'd for thoſe imported from *Negroland*. Moſt of 'em are Blacks, not that the Climate occaſions it, but that they lye with *Negroe* Slaves, who bear black Children. *Querquelen.*

This City, and the Country between it and the Deſart of *Libya*, was the Kingdom of that *Juba*, who ſided with *Pompey* in oppoſition to *Cæſar*, and laid violent hands on himſelf, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Conquerour. *Juba's Kingdom.*

The City of *Zama*, in which that Prince lodg'd his Treaſure when he accompanied *Pompey* to the Field, is now call'd *Biſcara* or *Peſcara*, and pays Homage to the *Turks*. *Zama.* *Biſcara.*

And the Tract of ground, extending from *Biſcara* to the Iſle of *Gelves*, is the *Biledulgerid* properly ſo call'd, from which all *Numidia* derives its preſent Name, and which is a hot dry Country, affording a vaſt product of Dates, but no Corn. *Biledulgerid properly ſo call'd.*

The moſt remarkable City in *Biledulgerid*, is *Caſſa*, an ancient City built by the *Romans*, who defended it againſt the *Arabians*, till the arrival of *Occuba*, who ſtorm'd it and demoliſh'd its Walls.

The Province of *Zeb.*

The Province of *Zeb*, which we mention'd under the head of *Tunis*, as being a Dependancy of that Kingdom, is a part of the Deſart of *Numidia*. 'Tis bounded by the Deſart of *Mazila* on the Weſt, the Mountains of *Bugia* on the North, the Province of *Biledulgerid* on the Eaſt, and the Deſart between *Techort* and *Querquelen* on the South.

Meſzeb.

The Capital City was call'd *Meſzeb*, and ow'd both its Foundation and its Deſtruction to the *Arabian* Schiſmaticks. The Country is cover'd with burning Sands, and infeſted with Scorpions and other Serpents, the bites of which are mortal. *Biſcara*, which we mentioned but now, is one of the Cities of this Province.

The Kingdom of *Libya Interior*, or *Zahara.*

We come now to the third part of *Africa*, call'd *Libya Interior*, and by the *Africans Zahara*, which is a ſandy Deſart, producing neither Trees nor Fruit, and inhabited in ſome places by a few miſerable Savages, who feed upon Manna and Graſhoppers dry'd in the Sun. Theſe Graſhoppers are ſo numerous, that they darken the Skie like a Cloud, and leave neither Corn nor Verdure behind 'em; and when they mean to fly away, they lay their Eggs in the Ground, that give riſe to others without Wings, which were worſe than the former, for they gnaw the Barks of Trees, and occaſion a Famine wherever they reſort. They come from *Arabia*, from whence they paſs, firſt to *Egypt*, after that, they croſs the Deſarts of *Libya*, and invade *Numidia* and *Barbary*, and ſometimes *Spain*: But after all, *Libya* is not barren all over, it has ſome places and Lakes, upon which the *Halecbes* or *Abyſſins* dwell. The reſt of the Country is frequented by *Arabians*, who chriſten the ſeveral places they viſit, according to the nature of the Soil. They give the Name of *Sebel* to a Sandy Ground that bears no Verdure, and *Azgar* to that which affords Buſhes or Greens, and *Zahara* to the great ſtony Sands. The moſt populous part of the Country, is that towards the *Niger*, by reaſon of their Commerce with the Negroes, eſpecially thoſe of *Tombuto*. In former times the Inhabitants of *Libya* were call'd *Sabatheans* from *Zabatha* the Son of *Chus*, and Grand-child of *Noah*, and the ancienteſt of them are thoſe call'd by *Strabo*, *Abaches*, and by the Natives *Halaches* or *Habeches*; however they are a lazy brutiſh People. The Country is dry and parch'd, affording neither Rivers nor Fountains, nor indeed any Water, excepting that of ſome few Lakes and ſalt Wells, which are ſo ſcarce, that the Merchants who travel from *Numidia* to *Negroland*, have Camels along with them that carry nothing but Water; and oftentimes when they come to theſe Wells, they are cover'd and fill'd with Sand, upon which they are forc'd to kill their Camels, and drink the Water that's found within 'em; for a Camel drinks as much at a time as ſerves him for 12 or 15 Days. To prevent the filling of the Water-pits, the Merchants us'd to line them on the inſide with Camel Bones, and cover the Mouths with Camel Hides; and they have ſuch expert Guides, as can find out the Pits, tho' cover'd with great heaps of Sand; for ſometimes the Eaſt Wind blowing in the Summer, raiſes ſuch a Deluge of Sand, as drowns not only the Wells, but the Men and the Camels, to the height of a Pike. If it rains in this Country from the middle of *Auguſt* till *February*, the Graſs grows plentifully upon the ſides of the Lakes, and the Merchants have not only the Advantage of meeting frequently with Water, but likewiſe with Milk and Butter at eaſy rates; but if it be a dry Seaſon, both the Merchants and the Inhabitants ſuffer very much; for the Drought is always accompany'd with great Winds that toſs up Mountains of Sand.

Senega.

The People of *Libya* are divided into five Tribes or Societies, the firſt of which (ſetting out from the Weſt quarter) is that call'd *Senega*, an ancient and puiſſant People, who have reign'd in *Ethiopia*, and of whom ſome of the preſent *Negroland* Kings are deſcended. Theſe are black, and ſcorch'd by the Sun which paſſes thro' their *Zenith* when 'tis in the Tropick of Cancer; and feed for the moſt part upon Milk and wild Goats. The Country which they inhabit, lies upon a level, and affords neither Houſe, Mountain, Wood, nor River, by which Travellers ſhould take their Marks; ſo that they are oblig'd to follow the Conduct of the Winds, Stars, and Fowls, eſpecially Ravens and Vultures, which reſort to inhabited places for the ſake of Carion.

Cape Bojador.

Upon the Coaſt of this Country there's a Cape call'd *Bojador*, where the *Portugueſe* ſtop'd for a long time, when they purſued the Diſcovery of this Coaſt; for at the head of the Cape they met with an Ebb-Tide, that carry'd them ſix Leagues back, and the Water caſt up by the Banks of Sand, made a noiſe like that of a boyling Pot. At that time our Navigatours were but Coaſters, and durſt not keep ſo wide of the Cape as to avoid the Tyde; for which reaſon, when they meet with an inacceſſible Coaſt, they cry'd out, that the Sea was navigable farther; and the doughty Pretenders to the Knowledge of Nature, alledg'd forſooth, that theſe ſcorch'd Seas were not ſo deep as the frozen or cold ones, upon the Plea, that the Sun exhal'd the ſweet Water ariſing from the Centre of the Earth, and that the ſalt Water came from the North. This put a ſtop to all further Diſcoveries, till *John Gonſal* and *Triſtan Vas*, two *Portugueſe*, were driven by a Storm upon the Iſland of *Porto Sancto*; after which *Giles Yagnes* boldly doubled the Cape, which *Ptolomy* calls *Ganarien*, and which he chriſten'd *Bojador*, with reference to the Lands ſhooting back above 40 Leagues more to the North, than the Coaſt it leaves behind it. The Diſcovery of this Cape was in thoſe days reckon'd a mighty buſineſs.

The River of *Gold.*

At the diſtance of 54 Leagues beyond the Cape, the Sea ſhoots up a great way into the Land, and is call'd the *River of Gold*, becauſe the *Portugueſe* got ſome *Tiber* Gold in this place, by way of ranſome for ſome *Mores* they had taken Priſoners, and this was the firſt Gold they had met with in that part of the World.

White Cape.

Beyond that is the *White Cape*, which was diſcover'd *A. D.* 1441, being a point of Sand that appears white at a diſtance. From this place the Coaſt begins to take another Courſe, and makes a Gulf to which the Current tends.

Iſles of *Arguin.*

At the diſtance of 12 Leagues from the Cape, we meet with the Iſles of *Arguin*, ſo call'd from a Fort that the King of *Portugal* built upon one of them.

Senega River.

Paſſing farther we meet with the Mouth of the *Niger*, in 15 Deg. Lat. diſcover'd by the *Portugueſe A. D.* 1445. This is a Branch of that River that ſeparates the Whites from the Blacks, and the Deſarts of *Libya* from thoſe of *Benbays* and *Chelofes*. 'Tis call'd *Senega* at its Mouth, deriving its Name from a Lord among the Natives, with whom the *Portugueſe* had their firſt Traffick; but within the Country it has ſeveral Names given it by the ſeveral Inhabitants upon its Banks, particularly *Senedec*, *Dengnech*, *Maye*, *Colle*, *Tec*, which laſt it retains to its very Source. *Ptolomy* takes the riſe of this River from the Lake *Quelonides*, and that of *Nuba*; and, which is very ſtrange, notwithſtanding that it runs ſo far, it has not ſo large a Current of Water, as another Branch call'd *Gamber*, which runs by the way of *Cantor*, and has ſeveral Iſlands repleniſh'd with Animals and Reptiles, but is not navigable all over, eſpecially in one place about 150 Leagues from its Mouth, where there is ſo great a Water-fall, that one may paſs underneath without being wet. The *Senega* Water is white, but at a place call'd *Bufitembo* (i. e. White and Red) it is joyn'd by a River call *Labamar*, the Water of which is red: And the Negroes alledge, that theſe two Waters are of ſuch contrary qualities, that they prove Emetick when they're mix'd, tho' ſeparately they have no ſuch effect.

Tegaza.

Another *Libyan* Territory is that call'd *Tegaza*, in which there's a ſalt Quarry among Mountainous Rocks; and perhaps 'tis one of theſe Mountains that *Herodotus* points to when he ſpeaks of a Mountain between the *African Thebes* and *Hercules*'s Pillars.

Iguidi.

Iguidi is another, where *Cato* winter'd after his long Journey.

Angela.

Angela is the only *Libyan* Territory that ſtill retains its ancient Name, being plac'd by *Ptolomy* in 52 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 28 Deg. Lat. It extends it ſelf like a ſlip to the Mediterranean, over againſt the *Syrtes*, and 'twas there that *Cato* paſs'd with his Troops in queſt of *Juba* after *Pompey*'s death. *Herodotus* places his ſecond ſalt Pits in this Territory. It abounds with Palm Trees, and is mightily incommoded with Serpents, which ſome of the Natives can kill with their Spittle.

Pentapolis.

Upon the Frontier of this Region, facing towards *Egypt* and the Sea, we meet with the Province of *Cyrene* or *Pentapolis*, all the Cities of which are now deſtroy'd, excepting *Ptoleman*.

Cyrene.

Cyrene, which gives name to the whole Province, was built by the *Greeks* under the conduct of *Arceſilas* the Son of King *Batus*, who by the Aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*, ſubdued the *Carthaginians* that mean'd to expel him, and enlarg'd his Empire. This Province is now frequented by a puiſſant ſtock of *Arabians*, who make above 30000 Horſe and an infinite number of Foot, and deſtroy'd all the Cities and Villages. *Cyrene* was the firſt City that *Cato* took by ſtorm after the death of *Pompey*, but he did no injury to the place. The whole Province is now call'd *Libya Cyrenaice*, but in ancient times it went by the name of *Futheye*, from *Futh* the Son of *Cham*, from whom the Eaſtern *Libyans* derive their Original.

CHAP. VII.

Containing a Deſcription of Negroland: From John Leo.

The firſt diſcovery of *Negroland.*

MOST of *Negroland* lay undiſcover'd, till the 380th Year of the *Hegeira*, at which time a certain *Mahometan* made the Diſcovery. At that time 'twas inhabited by a numerous, barbarous, and brutiſh People, who were equally ignorant of Government and Husbandry, whoſe only Employment was to keep Cattle, whoſe Garments and Beds were the Skins of Beaſts, and who obſerv'd no Reſtraint upon promiſcuous Embraces: The Negroes keep at home and wage War with no other Nation. Some worſhip the Sun, others the Fire, and ſome (particularly the Inhabitants of *Gaoga*) approach nearer to the Chriſtian Faith. The firſt who brought 'em under ſubjection, was, *Joſeph* King of *Morocco*; after whom, they became ſubject to the five *Libyan* Tribes, and learn'd of them the *Mahometan* Law, and ſeveral Handicraft Trades, as well as the *Barbarian* Language, from the *Barbary* Merchants that traded thither. But the preſent King of *Tombuto*, being a *Negroe* by birth, ſlew the *Libyan* King, uſurp'd the Kingdom, and by a 15 years War, conquer'd large Dominions; after which, he concluded a League with his Neighbours, and exhauſted his Treaſure by a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. *Negroland* lies between two Deſarts, one towards *Numidia*, and another extending it ſelf ſouthward to the Ocean, which is inhabited (ſays our Author) by an infinity of Nations unknow to us. Our Knowledge of this Country extends only to 15 Kingdoms, which are theſe following.

Their Government.

Gualata a Kingdom.

Gualata contains only three great Villages, with ſome Granges and Date Fields. It lies 300 Miles South from *Nun*, 500 North from *Tombuto*, and 200 from the Ocean. 'Twas once the Reſidence of the *Libyan* Governours, and at that time frequented by the *Barbary* Merchants, who in the Reign of Prince *Heli*, remov'd to *Tombuto* and *Gago*, and upon that *Gualata* was reduc'd to extream miſery. At preſent it has a Prince of its own, who is tributary to the King of *Tombuto*. The Inhabitants are black, and very friendly to Strangers: They ſpeak a Language call'd *Sungai*, and cover their Heads, ſo that the Face in both Sexes is almoſt hidden: They have no Form of a Common-wealth, but lead a very miſerable life. Fleſh is very ſcarce among them, but they have plenty of Millet, and a ſort of round white Pulſe, the like of which I never ſaw in *Europe*.

Maiz.

Ghinea.

To the North of *Gualata*, lies the Kingdom of *Gheneoa*, alias *Genni*, or *Ghinea*, extending from the Mouth of the *Niger*, 250 Miles along it. It abounds with Barley, Rice, Cattle, Fiſh, and Cotton, which laſt Commodity they exchange for *European* Cloth, Armour, &c. Their Coin is moſtly of Gold, without any Inſcription; in the way of retail they uſe Iron Pieces, weighing, ſome a Pound, ſome half a Pound, and ſome a quarter. This Country produces no Fruit; for what Dates they have, is imported from *Gualata* or *Numida*. Here is neither Town nor Caſtle, but only a large Village, where the Prince and principal Men reſide, their Houſes being built of Chalk, and cover'd in the Roofs with Straw. The Inhabitants are clad in black or blew Cotton, with which they likewiſe cover their Heads; but white Cotton is the Garb of the Prieſts and Doctors of the Law. In *July*, *Auguſt* and *September*, the over-flowing *Nile* ſurrounds it as an Iſland; and during that Seaſon, the *Tombuto* Merchants import their Goods in Carous made of one Plank, which they row all day, and at night make faſt to the Shoar, lodging themſelves upon land.

Melli a Kingdom. Melli a Village.

To the Northward of *Guinea* lies the Region of *Melli*, which runs almoſt 300 Miles along a River that falls into the *Niger*. It takes its name from *Melli*, a large Village, containing above 6000 Families. The Country abounds with Corn, Fleſh, and Cotton, and is well repleniſh'd with Trades-men and Merchants, who are rich and well ſtock'd with Commodities: The King entertains all Strangers very honourably. There are a great many Temples in the Country, as well as Prieſts, and Profeſſours, who read their Lectures in the Temples, there being no Colleges in the Country. In fine, this People go beyond all the other *Negroes* in Senſe, Civility, and Induſtry; and embrac'd *Mahomet*'s Law, while they were ſubject to the Uncle of *Joſeph* King of *Morocco*, whoſe Poſterity continued in that Soveraignty, till *Izchia* put 'em under a ſevere tribute.

Tombuto.

Tombuto is another Kingdom in this Country, ſo call'd from *Tombuto*, a Town, founded (as they ſay) by King *Menſe Suleiman*, in the 620 Year of the *Hegeira*, at the diſtance of 12 Miles from one of the Branches of the *Niger*. At preſent this Town has no Houſes, but only Cottages built of Chalk, and thatch'd. Indeed it has a ſtately Temple built of Stone and Lime, and a Princely Palace, built by an excellent Work-man of *Granada*. 'Tis well ſtock'd with Merchants and Trades-men, eſpecially Weavers of Linen and Woolen Cloth, and even the *European* Cloth is imported hither by the *Barbary* Merchants. All the Women of this Country, excepting the Maid Servants, cover their Faces, and ſell all ſorts of Victuals. The Merchants are ſo rich, that the preſent King married both his Daughters to two of them. When the *Niger* overflows, they convey the Water of it by Conduits into the Town; however they have great plenty of freſh Water Wells. They have great plenty of Corn, Cattle, Milk and Butter, but very little Salt, that being imported by land carriage from *Tegaza*, which is 500 Miles off, inſomuch that a Camel's Load will coſt 80 Ducats. The rich King of *Tombuto* has a ſplendid Court, and a great many Plates and Scepters of Gold, ſome of which weigh 1300 Pound. When he goes abroad or to the Field, he rides upon a Camel led by one of his Noble-men, and all his Souldiers are on Horſe-back. Whoever is admitted to an Audience of the King, muſt fall down at his Feet, and throw Earth about his Head and Shoulders. His ordinary Guard is 3000 Horſe-men, and a great many Foot, that ſhoot poyſon'd Arrows. He not only baniſhes all *Jews* from his City, but confiſcates the Goods of the Merchants that deal with them. He gives large Allowances to Judges, Prieſts, Doctors and other learned Men; and the deareſt Commodity in the City is Manuſcripts brought from *Barbary*. His Coin is of Gold without any Inſcription, ſix pieces and ⅔ weighing an Ounce; but in petty Bargains they uſe Shells imported from *Perſia*, 400 of which are worth a Ducat. The Citizens are a jolly genteel ſort of People; they keep a great many Slaves of both Sexes, and ſpend a great part of the Night in ſinging and dancing up and down the Streets. The City is much expos'd to fire, for in five Hours time I have ſeen above half of it laid in aſhes: It has no Gardens nor Orchards round it.

Cabra a Village.

About 12 Miles from *Tombuto*, we fall in upon *Cabra*, a large unwall'd Town, ſtanding upon the *Niger*, where the Merchants imbark for *Guinia* and *Melli*. The Inhabitants and Buildings of this place are not inferiour to thoſe of *Tombuto*. They are govern'd by a Judge or Vice-roy, appointed by the King of *Tombuto*. The ordinary Food, both in this place and *Tombuto*, is a nauſeous mixture of Fleſh, Fiſh, Milk and Butter, which gives riſe to many Diſeaſes, and ſo leſſens the number of the People.

Kingdom of Gagoa. Gago.

About 400 Miles to the South of *Tombuto*, ſtands a large unwall'd Town call'd *Gago*, from which the Kingdom of *Gagoa* takes its Name. All the Houſes in this place, excepting the King's Palace, are very mean, but their Merchants are very rich, for they have a great Market for *Barbary* and *European* Cloth. Here Corn and Fleſh, Melons, Citrons, and Rice, are very plentiful; but Wine, Trees, and Fruit, are ſcarce: They have excellent Springs of ſweet Water. On the Market-Days they have a place appointed for the ſale of Slaves, where a Child or one of 15 Years of age will go for ſix Ducats. The King has a Guard both of Horſe and Foot, and entertains a great many Concubines and Wives in a private Palace, which are kept by Eunuchs. He decides all their Controverſies in Perſon; but at the ſame time has about him Treaſurers, Secretaries, Auditors, and other Officers. All ſorts of Commodities are imported thither in great quantities, and fetch great prices; an *European* Horſe bought for ten Ducats, will riſe to 40 or 50 in this place; the coarſeſt *European* Cloth will fetch four Ducats an Ell; and the *Venice* or

Turkey Scarlet Cloth is worth 30 Ducats. Swords, Spurs, Bridles and Spears, are likewiſe very dear; but above all, Salt is much the deareſt. Beſides this Town *Gagoa* contains nothing but Villages and Hamlets, inhabited by Husbandmen and Shepherds, who in Winter cover their Bodies with the Skins of Beaſts, and their Feet with Shoes of Camels Leather; but in Summer are all over naked, excepting their Privities. They are kept miſerable by heavy Taxes, and are unacquainted with Learning or Civility.

Guler.

The Kingdom of *Guler* lies almoſt 300 Miles to the Eaſt of *Gago*; 'tis ſurrounded with high Mountains, and inhabited by Shepherds. Here is great ſtore of Cattle, only they are ſmaller than in other places. Upon the Inundation of the *Niger*, the whole Country is under Water, and at that time the Inhabitants ſow their Seed in the Water. The chief place of this Kingdom, is a great Village, containing almoſt 6000 Families, and frequented by all ſorts of Merchants, where a certain King kept his Court, who in my time was ſlain by *Izchia* King of *Tombuto*.

The Kingdom of *Agadez.*

The Kingdom of *Agadez* is inhabited by Shepherds, who dwell in Huts made of Boughs, and carry 'em upon Oxen from place to place. Whoever pleaſes the Inhabitants of the Deſart beſt, is ſure to be King of this Country.

The Kingdom of *Cano.*

About 500 Miles to the Eaſt of the *Niger*, we come up with the large Kingdom of *Cano*, inhabited for the moſt part by Herds-men. It abounds with Corn, Rice, and Cotton, with Deſarts and wild woody Mountains, well ſtor'd with Springs of Water, and with Citrons and Lemons, which taſte much like thoſe we account the beſt. In the heart of the Kingdom there ſtands a Town of the ſame name, inhabited by rich Merchants and a civiliz'd People, the Houſes of which are for the moſt part built of Chalk. In ancient times their King was a Puiſſant Prince, but now he pays a third part of his yearly Revenue to the King of *Tombuto*.

The Kingdom of *Caſena.*

The next Kingdom is *Caſena*, lying to the Eaſt of *Cano*, which is a mountainous and barren Country, yielding nothing but Barley and Millet Seed. The Inhabitants of this Kingdom are very black, having large Noſes and blabber Lips. They are oppreſs'd with famine, and dwell in very ſorry Cottages, and have not above 300 Families in any one Village. Formerly they had a King of their own, whom *Izſchia* King of *Tombuto* ſlew, and upon that they became tributary to him.

The Kingdom of *Zegzeg.*

The Kingdom of *Zegzeg* lies at the diſtance of 150 Miles from *Caſena*; its South Eaſt part borders upon *Cano*. Tho' its Plains are intolerably hot, yet its Mountains are extream cold, inſomuch, that in Winter, the Inhabitants (who are a rich trading People) are forc'd to keep great fires under their Bedſteads when they go to ſleep. Their Fields being well water'd, are very fertile. They have been ſubject to the King of *Tombuto* ever ſince he kill'd their own King.

The Kingdom of *Zanfara.*

The Eaſt part of *Zegzeg* is join'd by the Kingdom of *Zanfara*, which abounds with Rice, Millet and Cotton; and is inhabited by a tall ſort of People, who are extream black, broad fac'd, and very barbarous. Their King was likewiſe kill'd by *Izchia*, to whom they are now tributary.

The remaining Kingdoms in the Land of *Negroes*, are *Guangara*, *Berno*, *Gaoga*, and *Nubia*, of which in order.

The Kingdom of *Guangara*

Guangara joins the S. E. part of *Zanfara*: Being infeſted by *Izchia* on the Weſt, and the King of *Borno* on the Eaſt, it has now loſt all its Trade with foreign Nations. However there lies to the South of it, a Country that affords great ſtore of Gold, from whence the *Guangara* Merchants bring large Burdens upon the Slaves backs, the Ways being unpaſſable by Camels. Theſe Slaves uſually travel ten or twelve Miles a day, and carry a prodigeous weight, not only of Merchandiſe, but of Proviſions for the Merchants and the Souldiers that guard them.

The Kingdom of *Borno.*

The large Province of *Borno*, extends Eaſt from *Guangara* 500 Miles, at the diſtance of 150 Miles from the ſource of the *Niger*, and joins the Deſart of *Set* on the South, and that towards *Barca* on the North. The Inhabitants of this Country have Garments and Beds of Skins in Winter, but in Summer they only cover their Privities with a piece of Leather. They are not diſtinguiſh'd from one another by Proper Names, but by Nick Names taken from their Stature, Fatneſs, or ſome other Quality; for they have no profeſſion of Religion: their Wives and Children are common, and in a word, the whole Scene of their Lives is brutiſh. They are govern'd by a puiſſant Prince, who is lineally deſcended from the *Libyan* People, call'd *Bardoa*, and is prodigious rich; for all the Veſſels at his Table, his Spurs, his Bridles, and the Collars of his Dogs, are all of pure Gold. He wages perpetual War with a certain People that live beyond the Deſart of *Sen*, who in former times invaded his Kingdom, and waſted a great part of it; but ſoon after the King made his Repriſals, by purchaſing great numbers of Horſes from the *Barbary* Merchants, at the rate of fifteen and ſometimes twenty Slaves in exchange for one Horſe; for then he invaded the Enemies Country, and brought off Captives enough to pay for his Horſes.

The Kingdom of *Gaoga.*

The Kingdom of *Gaoga* has for its Limits, *Borno* on the Weſt, *Nubia* on the Eaſt, *Egypt* on the North, and a Deſart extending to the *Nile* on the South. The Inhabitants, eſpecially the Mountaneers, cover nothing but their Privities, and are a very inhuman barbarous Crew. Their Houſes being made of Boughs and Rafters, are much expos'd to fire. They have great ſtore of Cattle, and attend them very carefully. The Prince of this Country pays a great deal of Reſpect to all learned Men, eſpecially thoſe deſcended from *Mahomet*. While I was at this Court (ſays our Author) a Noble-man of *Damiatia* preſented him with a fine Horſe, a *Turkiſh* Sword, a Royal Robe, and ſeveral other things, that coſt about 150 Ducats at *Cairo*; upon which, the King return'd him a Compliment of five Slaves, five Camels, 500 Ducats, and 100 very large Elephants Teeth.

The Kingdom of *Nubia.*

The Limits of *Nubia*, are *Gaoga* on the Weſt, the *Nile* on the Eaſt, the Deſart of *Goran* on the South, and *Egypt* on the North. The *Nile* is not navigable between this Kingdom and *Egypt*, for in ſome places a Man may wade over it on foot.

The principal Town in this Country is *Dangala*, which contains 10000 Families, and affords plenty of Civet and Saunders. The whole Country abounds with Ivory, being well ſtock'd with Elephants, as well as with Corn and with Sugar, which the Inhabitants know not how to uſe. It produces a ſort of ſtrong Poyſon, a Grain of which divided among ten Perſons, will kill them all in ¼ of an Hour. An Ounce of this Poyſon is ſold to foreign Merchants for 100 Ducats; but whoſoever ſells it without the King's Knowledge, is immediately put to death, and the Buyer pays not only as much to the King as to the Seller, but likewiſe is oblig'd upon an Oath not to uſe it in the Kingdom of *Nubia*. The Inhabitants are call'd *Bugiba*, and are a baſe miſerable People, living only upon Milk and the Fleſh of Camels, and of ſuch Beaſts as are taken in the Deſarts.

In former times they had a rich Town, with a convenient Haven upon the *Red Sea*, call'd *Zibid*, juſt oppoſite to the Harbour of *Zidem*, which is 40 Miles diſtant from *Mecca*. But about 100 Years ago the *Soldan* deſtroy'd it, upon the account of ſtopping ſome Goods that ſhould have been carried to *Mecca*.

Additions to Chap. VII.

Containing Marmol's *Account of* Lower Æthiopia *or* Negroland.

Æthiopia divided.

ÆThiopia ſurpaſſes all the other parts of *Africa*, not only in the extent of Provinces and multitude of Inhabitants, but likewiſe in the diverſity of Animals and plenty of Gold. The ancient Geographers repreſent monſtrous Men as the Inhabitants of this Country; but their Repreſentation is fabulous, unleſs they mean'd to point to the monſtrous Barbarity of their Humour. The *Hebrews* call it *Cus*, and the Ancients divided it into the *Lower* and *Upper Æthiopia*. 'Twas call'd *Æthiopia* rather from the black colour of its Inhabitants, than from *Ethiope Vulcan*'s Daughter, as the Poets alledge. In *Lower Æthiopia* or the Country of *Negroes* (which *Ptolomy* comprehends in *Libya Interior*) the *African* Geographers take notice only of *Quequin* and *Carnim*, from whence 'tis probable they had no perfect Knowledge of the reſt of the Country. All the Provinces adjoining to *Zahara* are at this day *Mahometans*, for in the Year 980, during the reign of the *Almoravides*, ſeveral *Mahometan* Doctors planted their Religion among them. The richeſt and moſt civiliz'd People among 'em, are thoſe call'd by the *Arabians Genevo*, who live along the *Niger*, and ſo have the Benefit of converſing with Foreigners that come thither to trade. Thoſe who live along the Coaſt, are likewiſe in ſome meaſure civiliz'd, ſince the *Portugueſe* have dealt with them, as well as the Inhabitants of *Manicongo*, who have embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion. But the Inland Provinces (many of which are unknown to us) are inhabited by a parcel of Brutes in a human Shape. Theſe multiply ſo prodigiouſly, that their Off-ſpring would in time cover the whole Face of the Earth, were it not for a Wind that viſits them once in 60 Years, and ſweeps off whole Shoals of them in Beds of Sand. Theſe *Negroes* are perpetually at war one with another, and whatever Priſoners they take, whether Men, Women or Children, they ſell them all to the *Africans*, *Arabians*, and *Portugueſe* that trade to that Coaſt, receiving in exchange, Horſes, Cloth, Linen, Oil, Wine, and other *European* Commodities.

The Nature of the Soil.

As for the Country it ſelf, 'tis hot and in ſome meaſure moiſt, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the *Niger*, and ſeveral other, which make large Lakes when they overflow. Along the *Niger* and towards the Frontiers of *Zahara*, there's neither Hill nor Mountain, but great Lakes ſurrounded with Woods, where Elephants and other wild Beaſts reſort in great numbers, and excellent Paſture along the Lake and River ſides. In theſe places the *Negroes* ſow a great deal of Millet, tho' indeed their chief Food is the Root call'd *Guame*. The Country produces no Fruit, ſuch as *Barbary* affords, tho' it has ſome very tall Trees, that bear a Fruit like Cheſnuts. Corn and Barley will not grow here, for beſides that the Soil is too hot, it never receives any Rain but in three Months of the Year, viz. *July*, *Auguſt* and *September*: But it produces plenty of Peaſe as big as large Filbeards and party colour'd, Beans of an extraordinary large ſize, and of a ſhining red colour, Chiches, Cucumbers, Gourds, Citrons and Pot Herbs. They ſow their Seed in *July*, and have their Harveſt in *September*, for at that time the Water overflows and decreaſes again. When they go about their Husbandry, four or five of them get together, and with a Spade or Shovel, raiſe up the Ground very ſuperficially, this done, they throw in the Seed. They have no Vines, but they make a ſort of Wine of a Liquor call'd *Migol*, that diſtils from certain Date-trees, and reſembles your pale red Wine. Each Tree being wounded in three or four places with an Ax, will yield three or four quarts in the ſpace of 24 Hours. When this Liquor is firſt drawn, 'tis very ſweet, but after three or four Days, its Sweetneſs abates, and it becomes more palatable, but if it ſtand longer, 'twill turn ſoure like Vinegar. 'Tis an agreeable Liquor enough, and if it be not diluted with Water, will fuddle one.

As for the Kingdoms of *Negroland*, that lie along the *Niger*, or between the Ocean and *Egypt*, viz. *Gualata*, *Guinee*, *Melli*, *Tombuto*, *Gago*, *Guber*, *Agadez*, *Cano*, *Caſſena*, *Zegzeg*, *Zanfara*, *Gangara*, *Borno*, *Gaoga*, and *Nubia*; Theſe, I ſay, are ſufficiently accounted for in *John Leo*'s Deſcription; ſo that it remains only to give ſome account of that part of *Lower Æthiopia*, that lies upon the Weſtern Ocean, and the Diſcovery of that Coaſt made by the *Portugueſe*, which the Reader may expect under a ſeparate Head.

Chap. VIII.

Containing John Leo's *Deſcription of* Egypt.

The Limits of Egypt.

EGypt is a noble and famous Province, bounded on the Weſt by the Deſarts of *Bauca*, *Numidia*, and *Libya*, on the Eaſt by the Deſarts that lie between it and the *Red Sea*, on the North by the *Mediterranean Sea*, and on the South by the River *Nile* and the Territory of the *Bugiba's*, being very narrow in breadth, but 450 Miles long. Its narrowneſs is occaſion'd by the *Nile* its Diviſion into ſeveral Streams and Channels, for the Intervals between the Banks of the *Nile* and the foregoing Limits, are very narrow. 'Tis a plain fertile Province, adorn'd with pleaſant Greens and Meadows, and abounding in Geeſe and other Fowls. The uſual Food in that Country is new ſalt Cheeſe, and ſoure Milk which does not go down well with Strangers, tho' 'tis much valued by the Natives. The Country People are of a brown ſwarthy Colour, but the Citizens are white. Their Garments are long with ſtrait Sleeves and Waſtes; their Turbants (call'd by the *Italians Dulipans*) are round and high: The common People wear Garments of party colour'd Cotton in Summer, but in Winter they uſe a certain Garment lin'd with Cotton, which they call *Chebre*: As for the Merchants and chief Citizens they wear *European* Cloth. In general, all the Inhabitants are of an honeſt, chearful and liberal Diſpoſition.

The whole Province is divided in three parts, namely, *Erriff*, extending from *Cairo* to *Roſetto*, *Sabid* (i. e. the *Terra Firma*) extending from *Cairo* to the Land of the *Bugiba's*, and *Maremna* or *Bechria*, lying upon that Branch of the *Nile* that waſhes *Damiata* and *Teneſſe*. *Sabid* goes beyond the other two in plenty of Corn, Cattle, Flax and Fowl; but its Inhabitants having no Converſation with Strangers, unleſs it be a few *Ethiopians*, are much leſs civiliz'd than thoſe of the other Provinces adjacent to the Sea, which are frequented by the Merchants of *Europe*, *Barbary*, and *Aſſyria*. *Maremna* abounds with Cotton and Sugar.

Egypt is call'd by the *Hebrews Meſraim*, from *Meſraim*, the Grandſon of *Cham* the Son of *Noah*, of whom the Inhabitants pretend to be deſcended, by the *Arabians Meſre*, and by the Natives *Chibith*, upon the Plea that *Chibith* was the firſt Man that built Houſes and eſtabliſh'd a

Form of Government in it. Moſt of the true *Egyptians* are now gone, for ſince they embrac'd the *Mahometan* Religion, they have blended themſelves with the *Arabians* and *Mores*. The Kingdom was firſt govern'd by Kings of the *Egyptian* Race, who bore the Title of *Pharaoh*, and after ſome time *Ptolomy*, and ſeem to have been great Princes. After that, 'twas ſubdu'd by the *Romans*, and under their Government embrac'd Chriſtianity. Upon the diviſion of the Empire, it came into the Hands of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, and was afterwards wreſted from them by the *Mahometans*, in the time of the *Califa Homar* II. who allowed the People a Liberty of Conſcience, and demanded nothing from them but tribute. Before the Conqueſt of *Egypt* by the *Romans*, the Nobility dwelt in the Cities of *Sahid*, after which, they remov'd to the *Maritime* Province of *Erriff*, and dwelt in *Alexandria*, *Roſetto*, and other Cities that ſtill retain the *Latin* Names: But when the *Mahometans* got the Aſcendant, they retir'd to the Inland Province to avoid the Deſcent of the Chriſtians.

The Climate is hot and unhealthy: It rains there but very ſeldom, and when it does it occaſions dangerous Rheums, Fevers, and a ſwelling of the Privy Members, imputed by Phyſicians to the frequent eating of Salt Cheeſe and Beef. The Plague is ſometimes very rife, eſpecially at *Cairo*, where it ſometimes ſweeps off 12000 Souls a day. And as for the *French Pox*, no Country under Heaven is more moleſted with it. In Summer the heat of the Sun is ſo unſufferable, that no Man could live there, if they did not build high Towers oppoſite to their Houſes, which being open at top and bottom, draw down a Wind that refreſhes and cools the Air. They reap their Corn in *April* and thraſh it immediately.

About the middle of *June*, the *Nile* commences its Inundation, which increaſes 40 Days and decreaſes as many, and during that ſpace, the Towns of *Egypt* are only acceſſible in Boats and Barges, and the Stream or Channel of the River is then navigable by large Veſſels, containg 6 or 7000 Buſhels of Corn, beſides ſome hundreds of Cattle; but at the ſame time theſe Veſſels muſt only go along with the Stream, for that they cannot ſail againſt it.

The Cities of Egypt.

As for the Cities and Towns of *Egypt*, I ſhall only deſcribe ſuch as ſtand upon the principal Channel of the *Nile*, for the other part of *Egypt* (ſays our Author) are not included in *Africa*.

Beſiri.

Beſiri, an ancient City, built by the *Egyptians* upon the Mediterranean Sea, had once ſtrong Walls and ſtately Buildings, but upon the taking of *Alexandria* by the Chriſtians, 'twas abdicated by the Inhabitants. It has a great many Date-trees about it, but at preſent there's no body to take care of them.

Alexandria.

Alexandria, founded by *Alexander the Great*, upon a Promontory that ſtretches into the Mediterranean, was in former times, a large, ſtrong and beautiful City, but after it became ſubject to the *Mahometans*, it lay in a manner deſolate, till a crafty *Mahometan* Patriarch made the vulgar People believe, that by a Prophecy of *Mahomet*, ample Indulgences were granted to ſuch as would inhabit or promote the Intereſt of that City; for upon that, ſtrangers crouded into it from all Corners, and adorn'd it with Houſes, Colleges, and Monaſteries for the Relief of Pilgrims. The City has four Gates, one of which facing the Mediterranean, is always beſet with Searchers and Cuſtom-houſe Officers, who exact a Duty, not only upon Goods, but upon all ſorts of Money, and ſearch Strangers to their very Shirts. It has two Havens, one call'd *Marſa el Bargi* (i. e. *The Port of Caſtle*) upon the Key of which there ſtands an impregnable Caſtle, and in which the *European* Ships ride; and another call'd *Marſa Eſſal Sela*, i. e. *The Port of the Chain*, where the *Barbary* Ships take ſhelter. A *Mahometan* pays $\frac{1}{10}$, and a *Jew* $\frac{1}{10}$ of all Goods imported or exported, excepting ſuch as are carried over land to *Cairo*, which pay nothing at all. At preſent the only inhabited part of the City, is that next the Haven, and that which faces *Cairo*; for 'twas laid deſolate by the King of *Cyprus*, who was maſter of the Town for ſome time, till the *Soldan* diſlodg'd him; after which it roſe by degrees to its preſent ſtate. In this City we meet with ſeveral Earthen Veſſels of great antiquity, upon a high Mount form'd like the *Teſtaccio* at *Rome*, upon the top of this Mount, there ſtands a Turret, where an Officer watches in order to give notice to the Cuſtom-houſe of the arrival of Ships, and has a certain Allowance for his Intelligence; but if any arrives and eſcapes his view, he pays double to the Exchequer for his Negligence. Without the City there's a large Sluice, which lets in the Water of the *Nile* upon its Inundation, and conveys it to large Vaults or Ciſterns, of which each Houſe in the City has one under it; and oftentimes the Corruption of the Water in theſe Ciſterns occaſion many Diſeaſes in the Summer. In the Neighbourhood of this Sluice, there are ſome ſmall Gardens, but the Fruit they produce is a great Inſtrument of Sickneſs; and indeed the Ground upon which *Alexandria* ſtands being very ſandy, is equally unquallified for Gardens, Vines, or Corn; for the City is ſupply'd with Corn from places 40 Miles diſtant. Six Miles Weſt from *Alexandria*, we meet with a very tall and thick Pillar, call'd by the *Arabians Hemaduſſaoar*, i. e. *The Pillar of Trees*, and ſtanding upon a point of Land that ſhoots out beyond the Haven. Among ſome ruinous Monuments within the City, there ſtands a little Houſe with a Sepulcher, which is much rever'd, and frequently viſited by *Mahometan* Pilgrims, upon the plea, that according to the *Alcoran*, it contains the Body of *Alexander the Great*, the High Prophet and King (as they term it). Part of this City is inhabited by ſeveral Chriſtian Merchants and Mechanicks, who have a Church of their own, that was once honour'd with the Body of St. *Mark*, till the *Venetians* ſpirited it away to *Venice*. Theſe Chriſtians are call'd *Jacobites*, and pay tribute to the Governour of *Cairo*.

Roſetto alias Roſet.

Roſetto (the next City in order) ſtands upon the Eaſt Bank of the *Nile*, not far from its Mouth. 'Twas built by a Slave of one of the *Mahometan* Patriarchs that govern'd *Egypt*, and is famous for its excellent Baths and Springs whether hot or cold.

Thebes.

Thebes has ſtately Houſes, but not above 300 Families of Inhabitants, moſt of whom are Husbandmen, ſo that in the day time there's nothing to be ſeen in the Streets but handſom Women. 'Tis well ſtock'd with Corn, Rice, Sugar, Grapes, Figs, Peaches, and a delicious ſort of Fruit, call'd *Muſe*. In the Out-parts of this place we meet with many ancient Monuments, bearing *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Egyptian* Inſcriptions, and an infinity of ruinous places, not to mention its Stone Walls of a great depth, from whence we conclude that in former times 'twas a very large City.

Fuoa.

At the diſtance of 40 Miles from *Roſetto*, we fall in with *Fuoa*, in the Neighbourhood of which, there's a Plain well ſtock'd with Sugar Canes, but their Product is not true Sugar, but a ſort of Honey like Soap, which is us'd all *Egypt* over. In this place the Women have ſuch liberty, that they may range abroad all day, provided they return at Night.

Over againſt *Fuoa*, the *Nile* makes an Iſland call'd the *Golden Iſland*, which produces all ſorts of fruitful Trees, except Olives.

Deretto.

The moſt noted place for Sugar is *Deretto*, the Inhabitants of which are very rich, for they pay 200 *Saraffi's* or pieces of Gold *per* Day, to the Men they imploy in boyling and preparing the Sugar, and 100000 *Saraffi's* a year to the *Soldan*, for the Liberty of refining it. The City is adorn'd with a very pretty Temple, and a great Houſe like a Caſtle, where they boil and refine their Sugar.

The famous City of Cairo.

We come next to the City of *Cairo*, which is reputed to be one of the greateſt and moſt famous Cities in the Univerſe. The Word *Cairo* is a Corruption of the *Arabick El Chabira*, i. e. *A Commanding Miſtreſs*. The City was built in ancient times by *Gehoar Chetib*, a *Dalmatian* Slave, who likewiſe built the famous Temple call'd *Gemi-Haſhare*. At preſent (*A. D.* 1526) it contains only 8000 Families, of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, that ſell and import Goods from all places. It ſtands upon a beautiful Plain, in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Meccatum*, at the diſtance of two Miles from the *Nile*. 'Tis ſurrounded with ſtately Walls, and fortify'd with Iron Gates. The principal Street is adorn'd with magnificent Palaces and Colleges, pleaſant Baths, and ſumptuous Temples, particularly the Temple of *Gimith Elbechim*, the third Schiſmatick *Califa* of *Cairo*. The next Street, call'd *Beinel Caſrain*, is fill'd with Cooks, Victuallers, who ſell delicate Waters made of all ſorts of Fruits in fine Veſſels made of Glaſs and Tin, Confectioners, Fruiterers, and others who ſell Eggs, Cheeſe and Pancakes, fry'd in Oil. The next Street is allotted to the chief Mechanicks, beyond which ſtands a College built by *Ghauri* the *Soldan*, that was kill'd in a Battle with *Selim* the great *Turk*. Not far from the College are the Shops for the fineſt Linen Cloth, particularly that call'd *Moſal*, i. e. of *Ninov*, which is exceeding broad and fine, and of which the Noblemens Shirts are made, as well as the Scarfs they wear upon their Dulipans. Next are the Mercers, who ſell the richeſt *Italian* Stuffs; then the Woolen-drapers, who ſell *European* Cloth. Upon the Way that leads to the Gate *Zuaila*, which fronts the *Nile*, there's a famous Exchange

Gemi-Haſhara i. e. The Glorious Temple.

three Story high, call'd *Canen Halidi*, in which the *Perſian* Merchants reſide, and vent Spices, precious Stones, and ſuch other coſtly Wares. After that, you come to a Street, where the Perfumers ſell vaſt quantities of Civet, Musk, Amber, *&c.* and the Stationers ſell delicate ſmooth Paper. The next Street is inhabited by Gold-ſmiths, moſt of whom are *Jews*, and very rich; but paſſing that you come to the Upholſterers and Brokers, who ſell things of great value (not Coats or Cloaks, but rich Furniture for Houſes, *&c.*) at ſecond hand. I ſaw (ſays our Author) a rich Pavillion bought out of one of the Shops, the very Pearls of which were ſold for 10000 *Saraffi's*. Among the other remarkable things of this City, we muſt not forget the ſtately Hoſpital built by *Piperus* the *Soldan*, where all ſick Perſons are entertain'd, and provided with Phyſicians and all other Neceſſaries. The Revenues of this Hoſpital amount to 200000 *Saraffi's* a year, and the Hoſpital is Heir to all the Sick that die in it.

The Suburbs of *Cairo.* *Bed Zuaila.*

This City has very conſiderable Suburbs; one of 'em call'd *Bed Zuaila*, commencing from the *Zuaila* Gate, contains 12000 Families, and many of its Inhabitants kept Shops in the City as well as there. 'Tis adorn'd with a ſtately Colledge, which is ſo ſtrong, that the Members of it have oftentimes rebell'd, and pretended to hold out againſt the City and the *Soldin*'s Caſtle, which is but half a Bow ſhot off. This Caſtle ſtanding upon the ſide of Mount *Muchattim*, is ſurrounded with lofty impregnable Walls, and contains ſuch Palaces as are fine beyond expreſſion: They are pav'd with excellent Marble, their Roofs are guilded and curiouſly painted, their Windows are adorn'd with divers colours, and their Gates are neatly carv'd, and beautified with Gold and Azure. Some of theſe Palaces are are ſet a-part for the *Soldan* and his Family, and others for his Wife's Family, and for his Concubines, Eunuchs, and Guards. But at preſent they lie in Raines, being deſtroy'd by *Selem* the *Great Turk*.

Gemeh Tailon.

Another Suburb call *Gemeh Tailon*, was built before the Foundation of *Cairo*, by one *Taylon* a very wiſe Man, ſubject to the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, and Governour of *Egypt*, who leaving the old City, adorn'd this Quarter with an incomparable Palace and a magnificent Temple. A great many Merchants and Tradeſmen, eſpecially the *Barbary Mores*, dwell here.

Bed Elloch.

The next part of the Suburbs is *Bed Elloch*, which lies at the diſtance of a Mile from the Walls of *Cairo*, and contains almoſt 3000 Families, and is adorn'd with a great Palace and a ſtately College. When the *Mahometan* Sermons and Worſhip are over, the common People of *Cairo*, with the Whores and Bauds, reſort to this place, as well as the Stage-Players, and thoſe who teach Camels, Aſſes, and Dogs to dance.

Dancing Aſſes.

The dancing of Aſſes is diverting enough; for after he has frisk'd and caper'd about, his Maſter tells him, that the *Soldan* meaning to build a great Palace, intends to imploy all the Aſſes in carying Mortar, Stones, and other Materials; upon which the Aſs falls down with his Heels upward, cloſing his Eyes, and making his Belly to ſwell as if he were dead: This done, the Maſter begs ſome aſſiſtance of the Company to make up the Loſs of his dead Aſs; and having ſpung'd as much as he can get, gives 'em to know, that truly his Aſs is not dead, but only being ſenſible of his Maſter's neceſſity, play'd that trick to procure ſome Provender. Then he commands the Aſs to riſe, who ſtill lies in the ſame poſture, notwithſtanding all the Blows he can give him; till at laſt he proclaims, that by vertue of an Edict from the *Soldan*, all the handſome Ladies were bound to ride out as next day upon the comelieſt Aſſes they could find, in order to ſee a triumphal Show, and to entertain their Aſſes with Oats and *Nile* Water; for the Words are no ſooner pronounc'd, than the Aſs ſtarts up and prances and leaps for Joy: But immediately the Maſter gives out, that his Aſs was pitch'd upon by the Warden of their Street to carry his deform'd and ugly Wife; upon which, the Aſs lowers his Ears and limps with one of his Legs as if he were lame. Then the Maſter alledging that his Aſs has a kindneſs for handſome Women, commands him to ſingle out the prettieſt Lady in the Company, and accordingly he makes his choiſe, by going round and touching one of the handſomeſt with his Head, upon which, the Company divert themſelves by laughing and pointing to the Aſſes Sweet-heart.

Another ſort of Juglers that frequent this place, are thoſe who carry Birds about in Cages, which after the receiving of a Fee, bring out a Scroul in their Beaks, determining the good or ill Fortune of the Perſon that addreſſes 'em; and even I (ſays our Author) having ill Fortune predicted to me by theſe Diviners, found it to be in effect worſe than their Prediction. The ſame place is reſorted to by Fencing-Maſters and Ballad-ſingers. To return to the Appendages of *Cairo*.

Bulach.

At the diſtance of two Miles from the City Walls, upon the Bank of the *Nile*, ſtands *Bulach*, containing 4000 Families, many of whom trade in Oil, Corn, and Sugar, and adorn'd with ſtately Temples, Palaces, and Colleges.

The Port of *Cairo.*

Its beſt Houſes are rang'd along the River ſide, where they have a noble poſpect of Barks, perhaps 1000 in the Autumn, this being the Port for *Cairo*, and the reſidence of the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers, for the Goods imported from *Alexandria* and *Damiata*, tho' indeed the Cuſtom of theſe Goods is but little, in regard that they have paid already upon their firſt unloading, whereas the Commodities imported from the inland parts are taxed to the full.

Carusa.

About two Miles from the City Walls, juſt by Mount *Mucatim*, ſtands *Carusa*, which once contain'd 2000 Families, tho' at preſent moſt of it is laid waſte, and is noted for magnificent Tombs, adorn'd with lofty Arches, which the Citizens of *Cairo* adore as the Monuments of Saints, and viſit every *Friday*, beſtowing liberal Alms, and covering the Pavements with rich Carpets.

Mifrulbetich.

In this Catalogue, we may liſt the ancient unwall'd City of *Mifrulbetich*, built upon the ſide of the *Nile* by *Hamre*, General to *Homare*, the ſecond *Mahometan* Patriarch, being the firſt that the *Mahometans* built in *Egypt*. It contains 5000 Families, and is adorn'd with the bulky and lofty Temple of *Hamare*, beſides ſeveral ſtately Palaces and Noblemens Houſes. In this place there is a Cuſtom-houſe for all Goods imported from *Sachid*. 'Tis famous for the Sepulchre of *Nafiſſa*, a *Mahometan* Saint, deſcended of *Heli Mahomet*'s firſt Couſin. This Saint ſeeing her Family depriv'd of the *Mahometan* Patriarchſhip, left *Cufu* a City of *Arabia Fœlix*, and came to live here, where the People canoniz'd her for a Saint, out of regard, partly to the innocence of her life, and partly to her relation to *Mahomet*; and when the Schiſmatick Patriarchs of her Family maſter'd *Egypt*, they built her a noble Tomb or Shrine, adorn'd with Silver Lamps and many other coſtly Ornaments. All the *Mahometans* in this Country pay their yearly Oblations to the Shrine, and no Stranger comes to *Cairo* without adoring and preſenting it with an Offering. Theſe Oblations amounting to 100000 *Saraffi's* a year, are given, partly for the relief of *Mahomet*'s poor Relations, and partly for the maintenance of the Prieſts attending the Shrine, who delude the People with counterfeit Miracles, in order to ſcrew up their generoſity. When *Selim* maſter'd *Cairo*, he took out of this Sepulcher 100000 *Saraffi's* in ready Money, beſides the Silver Lamps, Chains, Carpets, *&c.* Not far from this place are the magnificent Tombs of the *Soldans*, the Arches of which are very lofty, and from which, one of the late *Soldans* has made a Walk inclos'd by two high Walls leading to the City Gate, with Turrets of a great height at the ends of the Walls, calculated for directing the Merchants that come from the Port of Mount *Sinai*. At the diſtance of a Mile and a half from theſe Tombs, we come to a Garden in a place call'd *Amalthria*, which is ſurrounded with a ſtrong Wall, and which no Man is allow'd to enter without a particular Licence from the Governour, becauſe the only Balm Tree in the World grows in it, in the midſt of a large Fountain, having a ſhort Trunk, and Leaves like Vine-Leaves, only they are not ſo long. 'Tis ſaid, that if the Water of this Fountain ſhould happen to be diminiſh'd, the Tree would decay and wither.

The Iſle of Meaſure.

Over againſt the old City, the *Nile* makes an Iſland in the midſt of it, call'd *Michias*, i. e. *The Iſle of Meaſure*, in which the ancient *Egyptians* found an Invention to foreſee the plenty or ſcarcity of the inſuing Year, from the inundation of the *Nile*. This Iſland is well inhabited, containing 500 Families; The point or end of it is beautify'd with a ſtately Palace and a pretty Temple. Upon the other ſide there ſtands a lone Houſe, with a ſquare Ciſtern 18 Cubits deep, into which the *Nile* Water is convey'd by a Sluice under ground, and there being a Pillar in the middle of it which is divided by Marks into as many Cubits as the Ciſtern has in depth, ſome Officers appointed by the Senate, attend there when the *Nile* begins to overflow, in order to obſerve how much it riſes every day, the Meaſure of the Increaſe being publiſhed in the Streets by Boys with yellow Scarfs upon their Heads, who receive daily Rewards from all ſorts of Perſons while that Service laſts. Now 'tis obſerv'd, that if the Water riſes to the 15th Cubit of the Pillar, a plentiful Year inſues; if it ſtops between the 12th and

15th we may expect but a ſorry crop, if it ſtops between the 10th and 12th. Corn will be ſold for ten Ducats a Buſhel, but if it riſes to the 18 Cubit, the overbearing moiſture will occaſion a great ſcarcity, and if the 18th be ſurmounted, *Egypt* is threatned with an univerſal deluge; ſo that during the Inundation, the People are imploy'd in praying and giving of Alms, and the Boys directed by the Officers to proclaim the daily increaſe, ſtill charge the People to fear God. Foraſmuch as the *Nile* increaſes forty Days and decreaſes as many, when the 80th Day paſſes, the price of Victuals and Corn is regulated by the Clerk of the Market according to the foregoing Signs, but while the Inundation laſts, every one may ſell Corn at what rate he pleaſes, for which reaſon 'tis very dear in that Seaſon. After the adjuſting of the Market Rates, a great Solemnity is celebrated over all *Cairo*, with Torches and a thundering noiſe of Trumpets and Drums. Each Family feaſts upon Confections and Dainties in a Barge of their own, ſet out with rich Carpets and Coverings. At the ſame time the *Soldan* attended by his Courtiers, repairs to the great Conduit or Sluice, and breaking down the Walls with an Ax, gives entrance to the Water of the *Nile*, which runs ſo impetuouſly thro' that and all the other Sluices, that *Cairo* looks like another *Venice*, and then one may row in a Boat all over *Egypt*. This Solemnity of feaſting in Barges continues for ſeven Days and ſeven Nights, during which ſpace, the Tradeſmen, purſuant to a Cuſtom of the *Egyptians*, ſpend in Perfumes, Flambeau's, Confections, Muſick, *&c.* all that they ſav'd the preceding Year.

The Cuſtoms and Humours of the Citizens of *Cairo*.

The Citizens of *Cairo* are a jolly chearful People, but apt to promiſe more than they can perform. Tho' Merchandiſe and Mechanical Arts flouriſh among 'em, yet they never travel. All liberal Arts and Sciences they neglect in a manner, excepting the Law, the Students of which fill all their Colleges, but few of 'em attain to any perfection in that way. The Citizens wear in Winter Cloth Garments lin'd with Cotton, and in Summer fine Shirts, with Garments of Linen curiouſly wrought with Silk or of Camblet over 'em; upon their Heads they have great Turbants cover'd with *Indian* Cloth. The Women adorn their Fore-head and Neck with Pearl Frontlets and Chains, and their Heads with a rich ſmall Bonnet, about a ſpan high. Their Gowns are made of Woolen Cloath with ſtrait Sleeves, and curiouſly embroyder'd with Needle Word, and over them they caſt Vails of the fineſt Cloth of *India*. Their Heads and Faces are cover'd with a kind of black Scarf, thro' which they ſee others, themſelves being unſeen: Upon their Feet they wear fine Shoes and Slippers, ſomewhat after the *Turkiſh* faſhion. Theſe Women are ſo ambitious and haughty, that they diſdain to Spin or dreſs Meat, which obliges their Husbands to buy their Victuals ready dreſt at a Cook's Shop, for very few dreſs Meat in their own Houſes, unleſs it be ſuch as have a great Family. The Wives are allow'd the Liberty of going abroad in their fine Apparel and rich Perfumes, and goſſiping where they pleaſe. They ride for the moſt part upon Aſſes, which are broken to ſuch a pace, that they'll go eaſier than a pack'd Horſe, and adorn'd with rich Furniture, being led by a Boy and ſeveral Footmen running by 'em. In this City, as well as in divers others, a great many Hagglers ſell all ſorts of Victuals up and down, and ſome ſell Water, carrying it about in Leathern Bags upon Camels Backs, for the City lies two Miles off the *Nile*; but the Water that is to be drunk, is ſold for a Farthing a Draught, out of handſome Veſſels, that have a Braſs Cock upon 'em, and drunk in a cup of Myrrh or Chryſtal.

Others ſell Chickens and other Fowls by Meaſure, which they hatch after a ſtrange manner; for they put the Eggs into Ovens moderately hot, which in the ſpace of ſeven days turn them into Chickens. The meaſure by which they ſell them is bottomleſs, ſo that when 'tis full, they lift it up over the Basket of the Buyer, into which the Chickens fall. The Cook-ſhops are open very late, but the other Tradeſmen ſhut up ſhop before ten a Clock, and then walk abroad to divert themſelves. Their common Diſcourſe is very rank, being tainted with Smut and Ribaldry. Oftentimes the Women complaining before of their Husbands incapacity to ſatisfie their Paſſion, obtain a Divorce purſuant to *Mahomet*'s Law. If any of the Artiſans invents a new and ingenious piece of work, he is carri'd in triumph from Shop to Shop, and receives ſome Money at every place, being clad with Cloth of Gold, and attended by Muſicians. I ſaw one (ſays our Author) that was thus honour'd for the making of a Chain that would bind a Flea.

The religious Sects.

Among the ſeveral religious Sects in this City, there is one of the *Mores* call'd *Chenefia*, which lives upon Horſe-fleſh, and for whoſe uſe the Butchers buy up all the founder'd lame Horſes they can hear of. This Sect prevails very much among the *Turks*, the *Mamalukes*, and the People of *Aſia*, however the *Turks* do not innure themſelves to the eating of Horſe-Fleſh, tho' they lie under no prohibition to the contrary. In *Egypt* and the City of *Cairo*, four ſeveral Sects are tolerated, which differ from one another both in Canon and Civil Laws, tho' all of them are Retainers to *Mahomet*: For there were four Men in the World, that by vertue of their great learning and ſubtlety, pretended to make particular Inferences from *Mahomet*'s general Precepts, and wreſting them to their own reſpective Senſe of things, gave riſe to four *Mahometan* Sects.

The *Jews* of *Cairo*.

As for the Government of *Cairo*; It has four chief Judges who decide Cauſes of importance, and four Inferiour Judges in each Street, who take cogniſance of petty Quarrels. From the four principal Judges there lies an Appeal to the Governour of the Sect *Eſſefichia*, who is the nigheſt Judge of all; for every Sect has a ſubordinate Judge of its own, who inflict ſevere Puniſhments upon all that tranſgreſs the Rules and Canons of their Religion: But at the ſame time the four Sects are very charitable and reſpectful to one another; and to ſpeak the Truth of the Matter, tho' they differ very much in their Liturgy and other Reſpects, yet they all agree in following the Canons of *Maſhari*, the principal Doctor of the *Mahometans*, which are receiv'd over all *Africa* and moſt part of *Aſia*, excepting the Dominions of the *Sophi* of *Perſia*, and for that ſame very Reaſon the other *Mahometans* account him an Heretick.

Puniſhments of Criminals.

As for the Puniſhments inflicted in this City on Malefactors, Thieves are hang'd, Murderers are cut in two thro' the middle, and the upper part of the Body is thrown into a Fire of unſlak'd Lime, where it remains alive for a quarter of an Hour, ſpeaking and giving Anſwers to the By-ſtanders; Rebels or ſeditious Perſons are flea'd alive, in which caſe the Criminal continues a long while in unexpreſſible Torment, for he does not die till the Executioner touches the Navel with his Knife, and that he dare not do till the Magiſtrate ſtanding by gives him orders: After the fleaing of the Criminal, his Skin is ſtuff'd with Bran till it reſembles the Shape of a Man, and carried upon Camels Backs thro' every Street, and there the Crime is publiſh'd. As for Perſons impriſon'd for Debt, and uncapable to pay it, the Governour of the Priſon pays their Creditours, and ſends them bound in Chains and accompanied with Keepers to beg from door to door, the Alms redounding to him, and they being allowed a very ſorry maintenance.

I ſhall conclude with one remarkable Cuſtom in this City, namely, that of ſome ancient Women, who cry up and down the Streets in an unintelligible manner, and are imploy'd to circumciſe Women according to *Mahomet*'s Law; but that Ceremony is only obſerv'd in *Egypt* and *Syria*.

The Dignity of the *Soldan*.

Before we take leave of this Subject, 'twill be proper to take notice of the Dignity and Power of the *Soldan*, which indeed was very great, tho' in the Year 1517, 'twas utterly ſunk by *Selim* the *Great Turk*. The Dignity of *Soldan* was wont to be beſtow'd upon one of the nobleſt *Mamalukes* ever after the fall of the Family of *Saladin*, whoſe name was ſo terrible to the Chriſtians. Theſe *Mamalukes* were originally Chriſtian Children ſtole out of *Circaſſia* by the *Tartars*, and ſold at *Caffa*, a Town in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, where they were brought by ſome *Cairo* Merchants, and afterwards ſold to *Saladin* the *Soldan*. The *Soldan* obliging theſe Slaves to abjure their Baptiſm, caus'd them to be inſtructed in the *Arabick* and *Turkiſh* Language, and train'd up in Military Diſcipline; and being thus qualified for Poſts of Honour, they at laſt arriv'd at the Dignity of a *Soldan*. This *Saladin*, originally an Aſiatick Prince, was call'd in, together with his Father, by the City of *Cairo* to protect them againſt the laſt King of *Jeruſalem*, who threatned 'em with Deſtruction; and having diſlodg'd the Chriſtians of *Jeruſalem* and all *Syria*, made away with the Schiſmatick *Califa* of *Cairo*, whoſe Predeceſſours had continued Lords of that City for 230 Years running, and reduc'd the City to the obedience of the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, who was its true and lawful Governour. The Schiſmatical *Califa's* being thus ſuppreſs'd, *Saladin* quarrell'd ſoon after with the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, and made himſelf Soveraign of *Cairo*; and in regard that a great part of his Forces was cut off by War and Peſtilence, apply'd himſelf to the buying of *Circaſſian* Slaves from the King of *Armenia*. Theſe Slaves having abjur'd Chriſtianity, and being taught the *Turkiſh* Language, which was *Saladin*'s Mother

ther Tongue, increas'd ſo much both in Valour and Number, that they became expert Generals, and upon the decay of the *Saladin* Family, choſe *Piperis* one of their own Number, to be their Soveraign *Soldan*. This Cuſtom was afterwards obſerv'd ſo religiouſly, that neither the *Soldan*'s own Son nor any other *Mamaluk* could attain to that Dignity, unleſs he had firſt been a Chriſtian, and abjur'd his Faith, and learn'd to ſpeak perfectly the *Circaſſian* and *Turkiſh* Languages.

Under the *Soldan* there were ten great Officers: The next to him was the *Eddaguadare* or Vice-roy, who nominated and turn'd out Magiſtrates or Officers. The third was the *Amir Cabir* or General, who levy'd Armies, and appointed Garriſons for the Caſtles and Cities, and was empower'd to lay Money out of the *Soldan*'s Treaſure as he ſaw occaſion. The fourth was the *Nai Baſſa*, or Lieutenant of *Syria*, who pay'd the *Soldan* ſome thouſands of *Saraffi's* a Year. The fifth was the *Oſtadar* or Steward of the Houſhold, who provided Victuals and other Neceſſaries for the *Soldan* and his whole Family. The ſixth was the *Amiri Achor*, or Maſter of the Horſe and Camels. The ſeventh Office was that of ſeveral *Mamaluk* Colonels, who conducted his Forces againſt the Enemy. The eighth was that of ſome Centurions over the *Mamaluks*, who always attend the *Soldan* when he rode abroad or exercis'd his Arms. The ninth Officer was the Treaſurer; The tenth the *Admir Sileh*, or the *Soldan*'s Armour Keeper. The eleventh the *Teſtecana*, or Maſter of the Wardrope, who diſtributed Robes of Gold, Velvet, Silk, &c. according to the *Soldan*'s appointment, for the *Soldan* always gave Cloaths to thoſe whom he prefer'd to any Dignity.

The City of *Chanca*. So much for the famous City of *Cairo*: Upon the Road from *Cairo* to Mount *Sinai*, we come up with *Chanca*, a City ſtanding upon the entry of a Deſart, about ſix Miles from *Cairo*, and adorn'd with ſtately Houſes, Temples and Colleges. All the Fields between *Cairo* and *Chanca* produce great plenty of Dates, but between *Chanca* and Mount *Sinai*, which extends to 140 Miles, there is no place inhabited. Two great Roads, one leading to *Syria* and the other to *Arabia*, paſs thro' this City. It has no Water but what remains in ſome Channels after the Inundation of the *Nile*, and when theſe Receivers or Chanels are broke down, the Water runs out into the Plains, and there makes a great many ſmall Lakes, from whence 'tis convey'd back by certain Sluices, into the Ciſterns of the City.

Munia. The City of *Munia*, built by the *Mahometans*, ſtands upon the ſame ſide of the *Nile*, at the diſtance of 180 Miles from *Cairo*. It abounds with Dates and all ſorts of Fruit, and the Inhabitants enrich themſelves by trading to *Gaoga* in *Negroland*. 'Tis adorn'd with fine Temples and other Buildings, and ſhews to this Day divers Ruins of the ancient *Egyptian* Buildings.

Manf-Loth. *Manf-Loth*, another *Egyptian* Town, there are ſome very large and high Pillars and Porches, bearing *Egyptian* Inſcriptions. Near the *Nile* we ſee the Ruins of a ſtately Building, which ſeems to have been a Temple in times paſt, where ſome Silver, Gold and Lead Medals are ſometimes found, bearing Hieroglyphick Notes on one ſide, and ancient Kings on the reverſe. The adjacent Fields are fertile, but the heat of the Sun is very ſcorching, and the Country is much infeſted with Crocodiles, which perhaps was the occaſion that prompted the *Romans* to abandon that place.

Azioth. *Azioth*, founded by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile* ſide, 250 Miles from *Cairo*, is very remarkable for the huge Bulk and variety of old Buildings and Epitaphs engraved in *Egyptian* Letters. At preſent moſt of it lies deſolate, tho' 'tis ſtill inhabited by Noblemen and wealthy Citizens, and contains almoſt 100 Families of Chriſtians, beſides a Monaſtery without the City, where 100 Monks reſide, that eat neither Fiſh nor Fleſh, but only Herbs, Bread and Olives, and ſome liquoriſh Morſels made up without Fat. This Monaſtery is very rich, and entertains all Strangers for three Days, being provided for that end with great ſtore of Pigeons, Chickens, and the like.

Iclmin the ancienteſt City in Egypt. The ancienteſt City in all *Egypt*, is *Iclmin*, built by *Ichmia*, the Son of *Miſraim* the Son of *Chus*, upon the Aſiatick Bank of the *Nile*, at the diſtance of 300 Miles Eaſt from *Cairo*, and raz'd to the very Foundation by the *Mahometans*, when they firſt began to uſurp the Government of *Egypt*, for they tranſported the Pillars and beſt Stones to the other ſide of the *Nile*, where they built *Munſia*.

Munſia.

Georgia a Monaſtery. *Georgia*, a famous Chriſtian Monaſtery, ſo call'd from St. *George*, ſtood at the diſtance of ſix Miles from *Munſia*. 'Twas inhabited by above 200 Monks, who enjoying large Territories and Revenues, were very kind to Strangers, and ſent the Surpluſage to the Patriarch of *Cairo*, to be diſtributed by him among the poor Chriſtians: But about 100 Years ago, all the Monks died of the Plague; upon which, the Prince of *Munſia* ſurrounded the Monaſtery with a Wall, and being charm'd by its pleaſant Gardens, ſituated amidſt beautiful Hills, went and liv'd in it himſelf. At laſt, upon the Sollicitation of the Patriarchs of the Jacobites, the *Soldan* caus'd another to be built in its room, for the maintenance of thirty Monks.

Chian. *Chian*, a little City built by the *Mahometans* near the *Nile*, is now inhabited only by the Chriſtians call'd Jacobites, who imploy themſelves in Husbandry, or in bringing up Chickens, Geeſe, and Doves.

Barbanda. *Barbanda*, founded by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile*, was laid waſte by the *Romans*, and moſt of its Ruins were carried to *Aſua* alias *Siene*, where we find divers huge Structures and Sepulchres with *Egyptian* and *Latin* Epitaphs. Several pieces of Gold and Silver Medals, and Fragments of Emeralds are found in the Ruins of *Barbanda*.

Aſua.

Cana. Over againſt *Barbanda*, ſtands the ancient City of *Cana*, built by the *Egyptians*, ſurrounded with Brick Walls, and inhabited by Husbandmen, by which means it abounds with Corn, and furniſhes *Medina* and *Mecca* with that Commodity. The Goods ſent from *Cairo* to *Mecca*, are brought againſt the Stream to *Cana*, from whence they are carried by Land over the Wilderneſs to *Choſſir*, a Port upon the *Red Sea*, which is at leaſt 120 Miles off.

Aſſuan. The laſt City I ſhall mention, is the great and populous City of *Aſſuan*, built by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile*, about 80 Miles Eaſt from *Aſna*. It ſtands upon a fertile Country, and its nearneſs to *Nubia* gives the Citizens the opportunity of a great trade. It joins likewiſe to the Frontiers of *Æthiopia*, and is not far from the Deſart that lies upon the Road to *Suachen*, a Port upon the *Red Sea*. The Citizens being extreamly ſcorch'd with the Summer Sun, are of a ſwarthy brown colour, and mingled with the People of *Nubia* and *Æthiopia*. The City ſhews many Buildings of the ancient *Egyptians*, and very high Towers, which the Natives call *Barba*. Beyond this City, the *Nile* diſperſing it ſelf into very ſmall Lakes, becomes innavigable; and there we meet with neither City nor Habitation of any account, excepting a few Villages of Blacks, whoſe Speech is a Medley of the *Arabian*, *Egyptian*, *Ethiopian* Languages, and who live in the Field after the *Arabian* way, being ſubject to the People call'd *Bugiha* (alias *Troglodytæ*) for *Aſſuan* is the utmoſt Limit of the *Soldan*'s Juriſdiction.

Additions to CHAP. VIII.

Collected from Marmol.

The Original of the Soil of Egypt.

SOme Authors, and particularly *Herodotus*, who gives a large Account of the Cuſtoms, Buildings, and Ceremonies of *Egypt*, have been of opinion, that the whole Country was once cover'd with the Sea, which retreated by degrees, and in the mean time the overflowing of the *Nile* continued ſo long, and brought down from *Ethiopia* ſo much Earth and Mud, as form'd the pleaſant and fertile Fields that *Egypt* now boaſts of. This ſeems to be a reaſonable Conjecture; for the Soil of *Egypt* differs very much from that of its Neighbouring Provinces, as being black, fat and heavy, whereas that of the other parts of *Africa* is red and light, that of *Arabia* ſtony and white, and that of *Syria* friable and duſty. Beſides, *Herodotus* acquaints us, that the Prieſts of *Vulcan* gave him to know, that in the Reign of *Meris*, the *Nile* riſing eight Cubits higher, laid the whole Country under water, whereas at preſent it muſt encreaſe 18 before it can overflow the Country, which is an Evidence, that the Mud remaining after the Inundation of the *Nile*, has by degrees rais'd the whole Country. *Ptolomy*, (whom we here follow in throwing all *Egypt* into *Africa*) divides *Egypt* into two parts, namely, the Upper and the Lower; the Lower is call'd by the *Latines Oden*, and by the *Greeks Delta*, from its triangular Figure reſembling that Letter; ſome rank it among the Iſlands, for in effect 'tis one. Upper *Egypt* is call'd *Thebais* from the City of *Thebes*, ſo much celebrated by *Homer*, (Iliad. 9.) which boaſted of 100 Gates, and 20000 Horſe beſides Infantry. The Kings of *Egypt* kept their Court there, which they afterwards remov'd to *Memphis*, and at laſt to *Alexandria*.

The Diviſion of Egypt.

Its Limits.

In a word, the whole Country of *Egypt* (as we here take it) extends on the Eaſt to the Frontiers of *Gaſa* and *Syria*, on the Weſt to the Deſarts of *Barca*, *Marmarica*, and *Libya Interior*, on the North to the Mediterranean Sea, and on the South to *Nubia* and *Æthiopia* above *Egypt*. This Country is but very narrow; its broadeſt part lies towards the Mediteranean, where the Branches of the *Nile* make a *Delta*; for higher up 'tis much narrower, being bounded by the Mountains of *Arabia*, out of which the Stones of the *Egyptian* Pyramids were digg'd, and 'tis upon the *Arabian* ſide of *Egypt* that the Trees grow which bear Incenſe. On the Weſt 'tis limited by a Ridge of Mountains, call'd by the Ancients the *Punick* or *African* Mountains. Now all the Country that lies between theſe two Mountains is *Egypt*, and ſeems to have been formerly cover'd with the Sea, the Country below *Memphis* being overflown by the Mediterranean, and that near the *Arabian* Gulph by the *Red Sea*; ſo that at that time, the diſtance between theſe two Seas was not great. Upon the top of ſome of the higheſt Mountains that lie oppoſite to *Cairo*, one may deſcry Oyſter-ſhells and Sand among the Rocks, which confirms that the Sea reach'd ſo far once. At preſent inſtead of the ſalt Water, that of the *Nile* overflows every year, between the two Ridges of the Mountains as far as 20 Leagues (more or leſs, according as the Inundation is) on either ſide.

Egypt cover'd with the Sea.

The Original of the Egyptians.

The ancient *Egyptians* took themſelves to be the firſt of human race; but in the Reign of *Pſammeticus*, they diſcover'd that the *Phrygians* were ancienter than they; for according to *Herodotus*, that Prince, after ſeveral Enquiries into their Antiquity, order'd two new-born Infants to be bred up in a Deſart among the Cattle, without allowing 'em any commerce with Men, and charg'd the Shepherd to obſerve narrowly the firſt Word that they pronounc'd. In proceſs of time, the two Children taking the Shepherd by the Hand, cry'd *Betcho*, which is the Phrygian Word for Bread, and upon that, the *Egyptians* yielded the Plea of Antiquity to the *Phrygians*. Others ſay, that Prince put the two Children into a cloſe Tower and cut out the Nurſe's Tongue, and the firſt Word they ſpoke was *Betcho*. The *Egyptians* were the firſt that divided the Year into twelve Months, purſuant to the Courſe of the Stars, and by that Computation out-did the *Greeks*, who made an Intercalation of a Month every three Years.

The Ingenuity and Superſtition of the ancient Egyptians.

They were a very ingenious People, but ſuperſtitious to an exceſſive degree, and great Idolaters. 'Tis to them that the *Greeks* owe the name of the twelve Gods. They invented Idols, Altars, and the other Appendages of Divine Worſhip, and preſerv'd the memory of things by carving Animals upon Stones. They were very fond of Ceremonies and vain Pomp, and celebrated the Feſtivals of their Gods in ſeveral places. The Temple of *Diana* ſtood in *Bubaſte*, that of *Iſis* or *Ceres* in *Buſiris*, that of *Minerva* in *Samos*, that of the *Sun* in *Heliopolis*, that of *Latona* in *Buto*, that of *Vulcan* in *Memphis*, and that of *Mars* elſewhere. They were ſo ſuperſtitious as to revere the Fowls and Quadrupeds as ſacred Beings, and erect Sepulchres for 'em in places appropriated to each Species. At preſent there are none of the ancient *Egyptian* Race left, unleſs it be ſome Chriſtians who conceal their Extraction, and follow the ancient Superſtition and Ceremonies. The Country is now in the Hands of the *Grand Seignior*, who diſpoſſeſs'd the *Mahometan Soldans*.

Alexandria.

To take a ſhort view of the moſt noted Cities in *Egypt*. *Alexandria* was contriv'd by *Democritus* the Mathematician, by the Order of *Alexandria* the *Great*, and built by *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus* Governour of *Egypt*. *Alexandria* order'd three *Alexandria's* to be built, one upon the *Tanais*, another in *India*, and this in *Egypt*, which was much more noted than any of the other two. In the time of the *Ptolomy's*, 'twas the Seat of the Kings of *Egypt*. It had two Harbours with a Cauſey or Peer running out between 'em, upon which *Cæſar* had a ſharp Engagement with the Inhabitants, and finding himſelf overpower'd leap'd into a Boat, and when he found that a ſinking into the Sea, where he ſwam 200 Paces, holding up his writing Tables with one Hand to prevent their being wet. Upon the point of this Peer *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* erected a Light-houſe to direct Ships in the night time, for the Mouth of the Harbour is very difficult.

A great Pillar.

The great Pillar that ſtands about ſix Miles to the Weſt of the City, caſts a ſhadow of 47 Paces at Noon, and reſembles St. *Peter's* Steeple at *Rome*. It has a round Ball at the top, which ſeems to have been the Sepulchre of ſome *Roman*. The *Arabians* ſay 'twas built by the *Ptolomy's* for the Security of the City, and to magnifie their Conqueſt, fabulouſly alledging, that it had an enchanted Steel Glaſs upon it, the Vertue of which was ſuch, that when it was laid open it burnt all the Ships that paſs'd, and that they broke this Glaſs when they became Maſters of the place, and remov'd the Pillar.

St. Mark beheaded in Alexandria.

In one of the Streets within the City there's a large round Stone, of four Spans diameter, painted like Jaſper, with a hole in the middle, like a Mill-Stone; and 'tis ſaid by the Inhabitants, that St. *Mark* was beheaded in this place, for he liv'd and preach'd at *Alexandria*, which occaſion'd the erecting of a Patriarchſhip in that City, and ſuch Confluences of Confeſſors, Martyrs and Hermites, as outnumber'd the reſt of the Inhabitants.

'Twas in this place that the Patriarch *Jacob* gave birth to the Hereſie of the *Jacobites*, who circumcis'd themſelves. An *Egyptian* Prieſt (ſays our Author) ſhew'd me a place in this City, where Philoſpohy and Aſtrology were taught by the greateſt Maſters in the time of *Alexandria* the *Great*; for theſe Sciences had flouriſh'd among them a long while, when the *Greek* Letters were introduch'd into *Egypt*. To prevent the expoſing of Sciences to every one's view, they taught by way of Characters and *Hieroglyphicks*, which they learn'd from the *Ethiopians* that reign'd in *Egypt*. This Method of teaching by Figures was likewiſe obſerv'd by the Cabbaliſts, the *Magi* in *Perſia*, the *Chaldeans* in *Aſſyria*, the *Brachmins* in *India*, the *Gymnoſophiſts* in *Æthiopia*, the firſt *Philoſophers* in *Greece*, and the *Druides* in *Gaul*. *Homer*, *Orpheus*, *Henopides*, *Pythagorus*, *Democritus* and *Plato* ſtudied here, and tranſported their Philoſophy to *Greece*. In fine, *Alexandria*, lies at the diſtance of four days Journey from *Cairo*, and in former times ſupply'd *Europe* with Spices, and the other rich Commodities of *India* and *Arabia Fœlix*; for they were firſt unloaded at *Aydeb* upon the *Red Sea*, and convey'd upon Camels to *Cairo*, from whence they were brought by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*; but ſince the *Portugueſe* have diſcover'd the Navigation to *India*, the Commerce of this City is mightily impair'd. The City lies, according to *Ptolomy*, in 63 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 8 Min. Lat. At preſent the *Grand Seignior* keeps a *Turkiſh* Garriſon in it, and ſome Galleys in the Harbour for the ſecurity of the Coaſt.

Boquir. *Boquir*, a Sea Town, lying three Leagues Eaſt of *Alexandria*, ſeems to be *Ptolomy's Canopus*, which he ſtates in 60 Deg. 55 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 6 Min. Lat. 'tis now in ruins. The Coaſt upon which it ſtood is very dangerous, for ſeveral Ships coming from the Coaſt of *Syria* are caſt away upon it in the night time.

Anthius. The *Romans* built a Town call'd *Anthius*, formerly *Antedon*, upon the Eaſtern Bank of the *Nile*, where great Alabaſter Tables with Latin Inſcriptions are ſtill to be ſeen.

Thebes The ancient City of *Thebes*, mention'd by *Homer* in his Iliads, ſtood upon the weſtern Bank of the *Nile*, and was once the place of Reſidence for the Kings of *Egypt*. Some ſay the *Greeks* built it, others ſtand up for the *Romans*, but 'tis moſt probable that the *Egyptians* were the true Founders. This place ſtands in one of the two *Thebais's* mention'd by *Ptolomy*, who gives the Capital City the name of *Lycopoli*, in 6. Deg. 46 Min. Long. and 28 Degrees Lat. (in this Province ſtood *Thebes*) and that of the other *Dioſpolis* or *Jupiter*'s City, ſituate in 62 Deg. Long. and 25 Deg. Lat. This laſt I take to be the ſame with *Sienna*. *Sienna.*

Mequellat Cays. Upon the Weſt Bank of the *Nile* the Succeſſours of *Mahomet* built a City call'd *Mequellat Cays*, which ſtands ſo high, that the *Nile* does not overflow the adjacent Grounds, and for that reaſon they are all planted with Vines, which ſupply *Cairo* with Grapes one part of the Year.

Memphis. The ancient *Memphis* where the *Pharaoh's* kept their Court in *Moſes*'s time, is now deſtroy'd. It ſtood 17 Leagues South of *Cairo*, and ſome Pyramids are ſtill to be ſeen near the place where it ſtood. The two Branches of the *Nile* rejoin in the Nighbourhood of this place, and upon their Confluence there ſtands an old Building, which is ſaid to be *Joſeph*'s Tomb; and the *Grecians* aſſure us, that *Memphis* was built in the time of *Joſeph*. As for *Pompey*'s Tomb, it ſtood ſix Leagues to the Weſt of *Alexandria*, where the high Steeple is, and 'tis ſaid, the Emperour *Adrian* imbelliſh'd it.

Flium. Others ſay *Joſeph*'s Sepulchre was at *Flium*, an ancient City, built by the *Pharaoh's* upon a ſmall Branch of the *Nile*, in the building of which, 'tis ſaid, the Children of *Iſrael* were imploy'd.

Menfloth. Near *Menfloth* there ſtood a Temple, of which an *Arabian* Hiſtorian ſays, that in the time of the *Califa's* of *Babylon*, in digging up its Foundation, they found a Crocodile of Lead with *Egyptian* Letters upon it, importing, that this Statue was made under certain Conſtellations, to prevent the Crocodile's devouring of Men; he adds further, that now the Statue is broken, the Crocodiles are pernicious to Mankind.

Among the Cities of *Egypt* that are ſituate upon the *Red Sea*, we meet with *Suaguin*, a Frontier upon the *Æthiopian* ſide, which has the beſt Harbour in the *Red Sea*, for its Mouth is very narrow, and afterwards opens into a great Lake which has a ſmall Iſland upon it. This place was formerly govern'd by a King of its own, but at preſent 'tis ſubject to the *Baſſa* of *Cairo*, under the *Turk*. *Suaguin.*

Coſſir, a ſmall Town upon the ſame Coaſt, inhabited by poor miſerable *Arabians*, is the Port from whence the *Egyptian* Corn is tranſported to *Arabia*, and where moſt of the *Mooriſh* Pilgrims imbarque for *Mecca* or *Medina*. *Coſſir.*

At the furthermoſt Point of the *Red Sea*, we meet with *Sues*, ſtanding upon a ſandy Ground, that affords neither Spring nor Fountain, inſomuch that the Inhabitants have no Water but what is brought upon Camels from ſome ſalt Wells two Leagues off. Formerly they had a Canal that convey'd the *Nile* Water into their Ciſterns, but the *Arabians* have fill'd it up with Earth. It ſhews the Reliques of ancient Walls and an old Caſtle, and the Natives ſay 'twas once a great City, and was ruin'd by the Succeſſors of *Mahomet*. At preſent no body lives in it, but ſome Work-men that are imploy'd in building the *Grand Seignior*'s Ships, the Wood and other Materials being brought from *Turky*. This Port lies at the diſtance of 22 Leagues Eaſt from *Cairo*. *Sues.*

Paſſing a League further we come to *Pharaoh's Point*, and ſeven Leagues beyond that to the *Wells of Moſes*, which they ſay he digg'd upon his paſſing the *Red Sea*, and for which the *Arabs* have a great Veneration; and 20 Leagues yet farther to *Corondolo*, where 'tis ſaid the Children of *Iſrael* paſs'd. *Corondolo.*

The utmoſt Limit of *Egypt* upon the *Arabian* ſide is *Tor*, a ſmall Town, that goes beyond all the reſt upon this Coaſt in Commerce, Buildings, and Politeneſs. 'Tis inhabited by *Jacobites*, and maintains ſome Prieſts in a Monaſtery of St. *Catherine*, in order to keep up a Correſpondence with that of *Sinay*, where that Saint was inter'd. The People of that Country ſay, *Moſes* croſs'd over at this place when he fled before *Pharaoh*. Some are of the opinion that *Tor* is the ancient *Elam*, that all the Geoprophers mention, upon the Plea, that the Gulf before it bears the name of *Elamitick*. *Tor.*

CHAP. IX.

Containing John Leo's *Account of the remarkable Animals, Minerals, and Plants in* Africa.

The Elephant THE Forreſt of *Negroland* nouriſh great numbers of Elephants, which keep together in Companies, and either ſhun or give the way to a Man when they meet him by chance, but if they mean him harm, they knock him down with their Trunk, and trample upon him till he's dead. The *Ethiopian* Hunters catch 'em after this manner: They make a ſtrong Encloſure with Stakes and great Boughs in that part of the Woods which they frequent, leaving an open Entry, with a Door lying flat upon the Ground, which may be pulled up with Ropes ſo as to ſtop the Paſſage. When the Elephant comes to reſt under the ſhady Boughs of the Encloſure, the Hunters skulking upon the Trees, draw up the Door, and having thus impriſon'd him, kill him with their Arrows, in order to get his Teeth. In *Upper Æthiopia* and *India*, they decoy them by a tame Female to an Encloſure, or ſet a tame Male to fight with a wild one in the Wood, which gives them an opportunity of cramping his hinder Legs with Ropes.

The Giraffa. The *Giraffa*, a Beaſt headed like a Camel and ear'd like an Ox, frequents the Deſarts and Woods where no other Beaſts reſort, and always flies from Men, ſo that the Hunters ſeldom catch 'em, and indeed 'tis a rarity to ſee 'em.

Camels are very numerous in *Africa*, eſpecially in the Deſarts of *Libya*, *Numidia* and *Barbary*; and 'tis by the number of them that the *Arabians* meaſure their Riches and Strength; for he who poſſeſſes many Camels, can reſide in barren Deſarts, where no other Prince can reach him. The *African* Camels are very gentle and tame, and will travel much longer without Corn or Barley than thoſe of *Aſia*, who always carry their own Provender along with them. I have ſeen (ſays our Author) an *African* Camel travel 50 Days without any Grain, only at Night 'twas turn'd looſe to feed upon Graſs, Brambles, and the Boughs of Trees; which an Aſiatick Camel could never have born. I have ſeen them travel in this condition till they've waſted, firſt the Fleſh of their Bunches, then their Bellies, and at laſt their Hips, inſomuch that they have ſcarce been able to carry 100 pound weight. Now there are three kinds of Camels; the firſt call'd *Hugium*, are thick and tall, and the fitteſt for carrying Burthens, but for four Years they are uſeleſs, after which, the leaſt of 'em will carry 1000 pound of *Italian* weight. When they mean to load any of theſe Camels, they give him a ſwitch upon the Neck and Knees, upon which he kneels down, and when he finds himſelf ſufficiently loaded, riſes up again. The *The Camel.*

Africans

Camels very ſwift, *alias* Dromedaries

Africans uſe to geld moſt of them, and leave only one he Camel for ten Females. The ſecond kind call'd *Becheti*, have a double Bunch, which renders 'em fit both for carriage and for riding, but theſe are only bred in *Aſia*. The third call'd *Ragnahill*, being of a ſlender low ſtature, are unqualified for carriage, but go beyond the other two in ſwiftneſs, for they'll travel 100 Miles a day for ten days together with little or no Provender. Theſe the *Numidian Arabs* and the *Libyan Mores* commonly ride upon. Oftentimes the King of *Tombuto* ſends Expreſſes upon one of theſe Camels from his Seat to *Segelmes*, which is 900 Miles off; and commonly they perform the Journey in eight Days at moſt, only he that rides it muſt be well acquainted with the Deſarts, and his Reward is never leſs than 500 Ducats. About the beginning of the Spring theſe Camels fall a rutting, and not only hurt one another, but attack all Perſons that have done them the leaſt injury, while the Venereal Paſſion continues, *i. e.* for 40 days. When they aſſault a Man, they lay hold on him with their Teeth, and after toſſing him up, throw him down again and trample him under foot. They cannot endure Hunger ſo well as Thirſt, for they can abſtain from drinking for 15 Days without any inconvenience, nay, if they are water'd oftner than once in ſix or nine Days, it does them a great deal of injury. When their Maſters ride 'em beyond their wonted rate, they turn teſty and diſobey the Whip, till their Maſters ſing them certain Songs, with which they are ſo pleas'd, that they perform their Journey with unwonted celerity. This (ſays our Author) is an Argument that this Creature is poſſeſs'd of a kind of human Reaſon. At *Cairo* they are taught to dance, by accuſtoming a young Camel to tread upon a red hot Floor, while a Drum beats by him, for the heat makes him lift up his Legs alternately; and afterwards when he hears a Drum beat, he calls to mind the hot Floor that annoy'd him under the noiſe of the Drum, and ſo lifts his Feet as if he were actually upon it.

Barbary or Arabian Horſes.

The Horſes of *Barbary* are the ſame in every Reſpect with other Horſes, only they are incredibly ſwift; in *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Aſia* and *Arabia*, they are call'd *Arabian* Horſes; for 'tis ſaid, that the *Arabian* Deſarts being frequented by wild Horſes, the *Arabs* broke and manag'd them ever ſince the time of *Iſmael*, and theſe have multiply'd ſo prodigiouſly, that moſt of *Africa* is ſtock'd with them: And indeed 'tis certain, that both the *African* and *Arabian* Deſarts are to this day ſtock'd with great numbers of wild Horſes. However, few of theſe Horſes are bred in *Barbary*; but the *Arabians* that range in the Deſarts, and the *Libyans* breed great numbers of them, not for travel or warfare, but for hunting; and to render 'em clean and cliver, feed them only with Camels Milk twice a day, allowing them Paſture in the Graſs Seaſon, during which time they do not ride them. They are incredibly nimble, and if they can outrun a Dant or an Oſtich, are reckon'd to be worth 1000 Ducats or 100 Camels. As for the wild Horſes, they are ſeldom ſeen, and can hardly be catch'd, either by Horſes or Dogs. The *Arabians* of the Deſarts eat their Fleſh, reckoning the youngeſt the ſweeteſt. They catch them by laying a Gin cover'd with Sand in the Waters where they uſe to drink, for the Horſe's Foot is apt to be entangled in the Snare.

Wild Horſes.

The Lant.

The *Lant* or *Dant* reſembles an Ox, only his Legs are ſmaller, and his Horns prettier. His Hair is white, and his Hoofs as black as jet. He outruns all Beaſts except the *Barbary* Horſes, and is catch'd more eaſily in Summer than in Winter, for then his Swiftneſs is abated by the ſcorching heat of the Sand, which hurts and cracks his Hoofs. Shields and Targets are made of his Hide, which are Proofs againſt any thing but a Bullet-ſhot, and are extream dear.

The Wild Ox

Highland Oxen.

The wild Ox is leſs in Stature than a tame one, being of an Aſh colour and extream ſwift. It haunts the Deſarts or their Borders, and its Fleſh is very ſavoury. The tame Oxen upon the Mountains of *Africa*, are no bigger than a Hiefer in other places, but they are ſtrong and hardy, and innur'd to the Plow.

The Wild Aſs.

The wild Aſs is of an Aſh colour, and frequents the Deſarts. When it ſees a Man at a diſtance, it brays, kicks and winces till he comes up, and then ſcowrs away, being ſwifter than any other Beaſt excepting a *Barbary* Horſe. They feed in Troops, and the *Arabians* catch 'em by Snares. Their Fleſh has a rank unſavoury taſte, but becomes pleaſanter by ſtanding two days after 'tis boyl'd.

The Adimmain.

The *Adimmane* is a tame Creature with long dangle Ears; 'tis ſhap'd like a Ram and as big as an Aſs. The *Libyans* uſe 'em inſtead of Cows, and make a great deal of Butter and Cheeſe of their Milk; for they are very numerous in *Libye*, and ſcarce to be ſeen elſewhere; they have ſome Wool upon them, but 'tis very ſhort. For a Frolick (ſays our Author) I once rode a quarter of a Mile upon the Back of one of them.

The African Ram has a huge Tail.

The *African* Rams differ from the other only in their Tails, which are very large, eſpecially if the Rams are fat; ſome of them weigh ten Pounds, even when they feed upon the Mountains; but in *Egypt* they are fed with Bran and Barley till their Tails are ſo overgrown, that they cannot ſtir without little Carts under their Tails to bear them up. I ſaw one (ſays our Author) that weigh'd 80 Pound, and heard of ſome that weigh'd 150 Pound. In fine, all the fat of this Creature lies in its Tail, and they are only to be found in *Tunis* and *Egypt*.

The Lion.

The *African* Lions exceed all other Beaſts in ſtrength and cruelty, and ſpares neither Man not Beaſt. In ſome places one Lion will encounter 200 Horſemen. They are fierceſt in hot places, ſuch as the Frontiers of *Telemeſne* and *Fez*, the Deſart of *Angad*, &c. for thoſe which frequent cold Mountains are not ſo cruel. In the Spring, when the Lioneſſes are hot, they have bloody Conflicts one with another, eight or ten Lions courting the ſame Miſtreſs. I know not what Truth is in the common Report, that if a Woman ſhews a Lion her Privities, he will cry and roar and run away; but this I am ſure of, that whatever a Lion gets in his Paw, if it were a Camel, he will carry it off.

The Leopard.

The Leopard does not diſturb the tame Cattle, and offers no Injury to Men, unleſs he be provok'd or meets a Man in a narrow Paſſage ſo that he cannot avoid him, in which caſe he flies at his Face, with his Paws, and ſometimes cruſhes his Skull in pieces. He ſpares no Dogs, but devours them wherever he can come at them. In the Region of *Conſtantina* the Mountaineers hunt the Leopard upon Horſeback, and plant Horſemen at all the Avenues to hinder him to get out, upon which he winds and turns within the Circle, till the Horſemen ſhoot him with their Arrows: and if he happens to make his eſcape, the Man that lets him paſs is oblig'd by cuſtom to treat all the Company.

The Dabuh.

The *Dabuh*, call'd by the *Africans Jeſef*, reſembles a Wolf in bulk and ſhape, only his Legs and Feet are like a Man's. It injures no other Beaſt, being an abject ſilly creature; but 'twill rake the Corps of Men out of their Graves and devour them. The Huntſmen acquainted with his Den, beat Drums and ſing before it, by which means he is ſo tranſported that he lies ſtill, and in the mean time they entangle his Legs, and ſo he is drawn out and kill'd.

Civet Cats.

The Civet Cats frequent the Woods of *Æthiopia*, being naturally wild: but the Merchants take their young Kitles and put them into Grates or Cages, where they feed them upon Milk, Bran and Fleſh, and twice or thrice a day make them run up and down the Cages till they ſweat, upon which they gather the odoriferous Sweat from their Groins, Shoulders, Necks and Tails, and reſerve it under the name of Civet.

Apes Monkeys, Baboons.

The Apes are found in the Woods of *Mauritania*, and upon the Mountains of *Bugia* and *Conſtantina*. Thoſe which have Tails are call'd the by *Africans Monne*, and thoſe without Tails *Babuini*. They feed upon Graſs and Corn in great Companies, leaving one to ſtand Centinal to give the Alarm when the Husbandman comes, and when that happens he cries out, upon which, the whole Flock flies to the next Woods, and gets upon the Trees, the She-Apes taking their Whelps upon their Shoulders, and ſo leaping from one Tree to another.

The Sea Horſe.

The Sea-horſe is altogether deſtitute of Hair, reſembling a Horſe in ſhape and an Aſs in Stature: He is found in the Rivers of *Niger* and *Nilus*, where he lives all day, tho' he ſwims to the Shoar at night: He frequently ſinks Boats upon the *Niger*.

The Sea Ox.

The Sea-Ox has a very hard Hide, and is not bigger than a Calf of ſix Months old: He is ſhap'd like a Land-Ox, and is found in the *Nile* and the *Niger*; but when the Fiſhermen take him he will live a great while upon Land.

Tortoiſes.

A great many Tortoiſes as big as ſo many Tuns are found in the *Libyan* Deſarts: They lie ſtill all day, and creep up and down in the Night time in queſt of Food, but ſo ſlowly, that their Pace can hardly be perceiv'd. *Briri* in his Account of *Africa*, tells us of a Traveller that ſlept all Night upon a Tortoiſe, taking it to be a Stone, and next Morning found himſelf three Miles off the place where he lay down.

Crocodiles.

The *Niger* and the *Nile* are famous for Crocodiles, ſome of which are above 12 Cubits long, the Tail being equal in length to the Body. They go upon four Legs like a Lizard, and are not above a Cubit and a half high:

Their Tail is full of Knots, and their Skin ſo hard, that no Croſs-bow will pierce it. Some prey only upon Fiſh, others upon Men and Beaſts, by wrapping their Tails round them as they paſs by the River ſide, or as they ſtand careleſly in a Boat, and ſo pulling them into the Water where they devour them. In eating they move only the upper Jaw, the nether Jaw being fix'd to the Breaſt Bone. Upon the Banks of the Iſland they bask themſelves in the Sun with their Jaws wide open, and I ſaw (ſays our Author) little Birds about the bigneſs of a Thruſh fly into their Mouths and come preſently out again. Now to ſolve this 'tis alledg'd, that the Crocodiles feeding continually upon Beaſts and Fiſhes, are toubled with pieces of Fleſh ſticking between their Teeth, which turn to Worms, and theſe Worms the Birds pick out for their own Food, the Crocodile being ſcar'd from ſhutting his Jaws upon 'em by a prick upon the Bird's Head. The ſhe Crocodile lays her Eggs upon the Shore, and covers them with Sand; and as ſoon as the young Crocodiles are hatch'd, they crawl into the River. Thoſe which continue in the *Nile* are not venomous, but thoſe which ſhift their Reſidence from the River to the Deſarts, aſſume a poiſonous nature. I ſaw (ſays our Author) above 300 Crocodiles Heads plac'd upon the Walls of *Cana*, with their Jaws wide open, that they might have ſwallow'd a Cow at once, and ſet round with huge ſharp Teeth.

Dragons.

In the Caverns of *Atlas* there are many monſtrous Dragons, which are thick about the middle, but have ſlender Necks and Tails, ſo that their Motion is but ſlow. They are ſo venomous, that whatever they bite or touch, certain death inſues.

Hydra's.

In the *Libyan* Deſarts we find the *Hydra*, which has a ſlender Tail and Neck, and a ſhort Body. If a Man is bit by this Creature, he cannot eſcape death otherwiſe, than by cutting off the wounded part, before the mortal Poyſon infects the whole.

The *Dub.*

In theſe Deſarts we meet with another Creature call'd *Dub*, which is ſhap'd like a Lizard but is ſomewhat bigger, being a Cubit long and four Fingers broad. It drinks none, for Water pour'd down its Throat kills it immediately. It lays its Eggs as a Tortoiſe does, and is not at all venomous. It equals a Lizard in ſwiftneſs, and when 'tis hunted, if it thruſts its Head into a hole, no force whatſoever can pull it out without enlarging the hole. The *Arabians* take many of them in the Deſarts, and when their Throat is cut they bleed but very little. After they are three days dead, if you put them to the fire, they'll ſtir as if life were not quite gone. When they are flea'd and roaſted they taſte ſomewhat like a Frog.

The *Guarel*

The *Guarel* is bigger than a *Dub*, tho' it reſembles it in ſhape, and has Poyſon in its Head and Tail; but when theſe are cut off, the *Arabians* eat it notwithſtanding its ugly ſhape and colour.

The *Camelion.*

The *Camelion* has the ſhape and bulk of a Lizard, being an ugly, crooked, meager Creature, with a long ſmall Tail like a Mouſe: 'Tis ſlow pac'd, and feeds upon Air and the Sun Beams, for at the riſing of the Sun it gapes and turns it ſelf up and down. Its colour is ſometimes black and ſometimes green, for it has no Hair, but only ſpots which undergo an alteration, according to the place where 'tis. When it ſpies a venomous Serpent ſleeping under a Tree, it climbs up the Tree, and ſqueezes out of its Mouth a long thread of Spittle, with a round drop like a Pearl hanging at the end, conducting it ſo that it falls exactly upon the Serpents Head and kills him immediately.

The *Oſtrich.*

The *Oſtrich* is ſhap'd like a Gooſe, only its Neck and Legs are longer, for ſome of 'em are not above two Cubits long. It has a large Body, with Wings full of black and white Feathers, which are not calculated for flying, but contribute with the Motion of her Train, to accelerate her Pace together. 'Tis a ſilly deaf Creature, and feeds upon whatever it finds, tho' it be as hard as Iron. It lives in dry Deſarts, and lays ten or twelve Eggs in the Sand, which are not bigger than a great Bullet, and yet weighs 15 pound a piece; however 'tis ſuch a heedleſs forgetful thing, that it quickly forgets where it laid its Eggs, and if another Oſtrich finds them, ſhe faſtens them as her own. The Chickens prowle up and down the Deſarts for their Food as ſoon as they creep out of the Shell; and before their Feathers are grown they are ſo ſwift pac'd, that a Man can ſcarce overtake 'em. The *Numidians* take up the young Oſtriches and fatten them for food, tho' their Fleſh, eſpecially that of their Legs, has a ſlimy rank taſte. The Oſtriches wander up and down the Deſarts in regular Troops, and appear at a diſtance like ſo many Horſemen, which has oftentimes alarm'd whole Caravans.

Eagles.

We come now to give ſome account of the moſt remarkable Fowls in *Africa*. The *Africans* teach their Eagles to attack Foxes and Wolves, which they do, by fixing their Bills upon their Heads, and their Talons on their Backs to avoid the danger of biting; and if the Fox or Wolf thus attack'd turns their Belly upwards, the Eagle will not quit 'em till it has peck'd out their Eyes or kill'd 'em. Many *African* Writers affirm, that an Eagle ingendring with a She-Wolf, begets a Dragon, which has the Beak and Wings of a Bird, the Feet of a Wolf, a Serpent's Tail, and a Skin ſpeckled and parti-colour'd like a Serpent's, and lives in Caves, for that it cannot open its Eye-lids.

The *Neſir.*

The *Neſir* is the largeſt Fowl in all *Africa*, and exceeds a Crane in bigneſs, tho' its Bill, Neck and Legs are ſomewhat ſhorter. In flying up it mounts out of ſight, but deſcends with a jirk when it ſpies a dead Carcaſe. It lives very long; nay, many of this kind live till Age bereaves them of all their Feathers, upon which, they return to their Neſt and are nouriſh'd by the younger Fowls. They neſtle upon high Rocks, and the top of unfrequented Mountains, eſpecially upon Mount *Atlas*, where thoſe who are acquainted with ſuch places come and take 'em. The *Italians* take it for a Vulture, but I am of another mind.

Hawks.

Upon certain Mountains of the *Numidian* Deſart, the *Africans* take excellent white Hawks, with which they purſue the Crane. Some of theſe Hawks flie at Partridges and Quails, and others at Hares, according to the diverſity of their kind.

Parrots.

They have likewiſe Parrots as big as Doves, ſome red, ſome black, ſome Aſh colour'd, which have ſweet ſhrill Voices, tho' indeed they cannot imitate Man's Speech ſo naturally.

Locuſts.

Sometimes they have ſuch ſwarms of Locuſts as obſcure the Sun, which devour Leaves, Fruits, and all ſorts of Greens. At their departure they leave Eggs behind 'em, out of which young Locuſts ſpring, that conſume all things, and even the very Barks of Trees, and occaſion a great ſcarcity of Corn, eſpecially in *Mauritana*; but the Inhabitants of *Libya* and *Arabia Deſerta* welcome the Locuſts when they come, for they dry them in the Sun, and pulveriſe them for Food.

Minerals, Salt.

As for the Minerals of *Africa*. All their Salt is digg'd out of Quarries and Mines, like Stone; 'tis either red, white or Grey. *Barbary* has great plenty of Salt, and *Numidia* does not want; but in *Negroland* and the inner part of *Æthiopia*, 'tis ſo ſcarce, that a Pound is worth half a Ducat. The *Africans* do not ſet Salt upon the Table, but hold it in their Hands and lick of it at every morſel. There are ſome Lakes in the Neighbourhood of *Fez*, where good white Salt congeals in the Summer time.

Antimony, Sulphur.

They find *Antimony* in their Lead-Mines, and purify it with Brimſtone, of which they have great quantities. That part of the *Atlas* that makes the Frontiers of *Numidia* and *Fez*, affords a large Product of this Mineral.

Euphorbium.

Among their Vegetables, the moſt noted is *Euphorbium*, which is the Juice or Gum of an Herb, full of ſharp Prickles, that grows like the Head of a wild Thiſtle, and ſhews between its Branches, a Fruit as big as a Cucumber, and an Ell long or more. This Fruit does not ſpring out of the Branches of the Herb, but from the firm Ground, and ſometimes one Stalk bears 20 or 30 of 'em. When the Fruit is ripe, the Inhabitants prick it with their Knives, upon which a white Juice iſſues forth, that congeals by degrees, and then they put it into Bladders and dry it.

Pitch.

Their Pitch is either natural or artificial. The former is taken out of certain Stones in Fountains, that retain its taſte and ſmell; the latter iſſues out of the Juniper or Pine Trees in Mount *Atlas* in this manner. They cut the Boughs of the Tree into ſmall pieces, and put them into a Furnace cover'd above, which has a fire underneath, and a hole at the bottom, thro' which the Pitch diſtills into a hollow place made to receive it, and then they take it out and put it in Bladders.

Muſa or Mau

Among their Fruits *Muſa* deſerves our notice; 'Tis a delicious Fruit, as big as a ſmall Cucumber, and grows upon a ſmall Tree that has large broad Leaves of a Cubits length. The *Mahometan* Doctors affirm, that this was the Forbidden Fruit, and that our firſt Parents cover'd their Nakedneſs with theſe Leaves, as being the fitteſt for that Purpoſe. It grows plentifully at *Sela* in *Fez*, but yet more in *Damiata* in *Egypt*.

Caſſia.

The *Caſſia* Tree grows only in *Egypt*, being a very big Tree, with Leaves reſembling thoſe of a Mulberry Tree. It has a broad white Bloſſom, and is ſo overcharg'd with

Fruit, that they are forc'd to pull 'em off before they are ripe, leſt their weight ſhould break the Tree.

Tauzarghente a Root.

The Weſtern part of *Africa*, bordering upon the Ocean, bears a fragrant odoriferous Root, call'd *Tauzarghente*: It gives an excellent perfume without fire or burning. The Merchants of *Mauritania* buy it at home for half a Ducat the Bunch, and ſell it in *Negroland* for 80 or 100 Ducats.

Addad

Addad, the Root of a bitter Herb that's very common in *Africa*, is ſo venomous, that one drop of the Water diſtill'd from it, will kill a Man in an hour's time: This the very Women know.

The Root call'd *Surnag*.

Another Root call'd *Surnag*, which grows in the Weſt Parts of Mount *Atlas*, is ſaid to be a great Incentive to Venery, and preſervative of the Inſtruments of Generation. The Inhabitants of thoſe Mountains have a common Saying, that moſt of their Girls loſe their Maidenheads by piſſing upon this Root, and ſometimes are ſo infected by it, that it ſwells their Body.

Additions to CHAP. IX.

Collected from Marmol.

Camels.

Camels are call'd by the *Arabians Gimel*, i. e. *The Riches of Heaven.* They are us'd for Carriage both in *Europe*, *Turky*, and *Aſia*, as well as in *Africa*. The *Africa* Camels that travel without Oats or Grain, ſhould be very fat before they begin a Journey; for they melt away upon a long Journey, ſince they only chew their Cud all day upon the Greens that they ate over night: 'Tis true, the Caravans that go to *Æthiopia*, commonly chooſe meagre Cammels, becauſe they bring no heavy Commodity back with them; but the *Aſiatick* Camels that carry their Provender along with them, will go and return loaded without loſing their Fat. The beſt Camels for carrying are the gelded ones. When the Stallions rage with Luſt, they call to mind the leaſt Injury received before, and reſent it, and ſometimes encounter Lions. The *Arabians* feed, for the greateſt part of the Year, upon Camels Milk and Dates. As for their Fleſh 'tis lank and inſipid, eſpecially that of the Bunch, which taſtes like a fat Cow's Udder, and both the *Africans* and *Arabians* fry it with fat, and ſo keep it in Tubs and Pots all the Year for their ordinary Victuals. In fine, of all Creatures, a Camel gives leaſt trouble to its Maſter, and brings him moſt Profit. They thrive mightily in hot Countries, but die in cold Countries when it ſnows, or when they are conſtrain'd to winter there. Several Camels have been ſent to *Spain* by the Governours of the Frontiers, but the cold Climate quickly kills them. For this Reaſon they are always kept in the hot Plains and ſandy Places, unleſs it be when they come loaded from *Numidia* to *Barbary*, in which Journey they ſpend two or three days in croſſing the Mountains of the *Great Atlas*.

Barbary-horſes.

The *Barbary*-Horſes bred in *Barbary*, are not ſo good Courſers as thoſe brought up by the *Arabians* in the Deſarts, but they are handſomer, by reaſon that they are better treated with Oats. The Princes of *Barbary* have always a Breed of 'em, to make their eſcape upon 'em in caſe of neceſſity. When the *Xeriff Mahamet* was King of *Morocco*, he had one, that by his ſurpaſſing ſwiftneſs, reſcu'd him from great dangers, when his own Brother rebell'd againſt him. He was a bay-brown, till Age made him perfectly white; and that Prince ſaid he would erect a Tomb for him, as *Alexander the Great* had done for his Horſe.

Wild-horſes.

The Wild-horſes are leſs than other Horſes, and for the moſt part of an Aſh-colour, tho' ſome of 'em are white. Their Manes and Tails are very ſhort, and ſtand up like Briſtles.

Sea horſes.

The Sea-horſes are of the ſame Colour with a Panther: They have ſome ſhort Hair upon the Mane and Tail, tho' not upon the reſt of their Body. They are large Animals, and have very large Teeth, which the *Portugueze* buy of the *Negroes*, and import to *Portugal*, in order to make Rings of 'em, which are ſaid to be good againſt the Piles. Upon the Land they run like the Wind. Some of the Negroes catch the young ones and tame 'em; but they dare not let 'em come near any deep Water, for they preſently jump in. They catch 'em by making large and deep Ditches upon the ſides of the Corn-Fields or Meads where they come out to feed, and cover 'em with green Turf and Boughs, upon which, the Horſes running that way, are ſtop'd, and the Men have an opportunity to ſhoot 'em. The Females and Colts indeed they take alive. Their Fleſh eats well, and their Hides are very ſerviceable, being as thick and hard as a Buffle's.

Dente.

The *Dente*, call'd by the *Africans Lampt*, has ſhorter Legs and a longer Neck than an Ox: His Ears are like a Goat's, and he has a black Horn in the middle of his Head, which turns round like a Ring. The Fleſh of it eats like Beef, only 'tis ſweeter; and the *Moors* fill their Poudering Tubs with it. The Deſarts of *Numidia* and *Libya* are the Places which this Creature frequents.

Guabex.

The *Guabex*, call'd by the *African Chriſtians* a Wild-Cow, is of a Cheſnut Colour, having black and very ſharp Horns: 'Tis ſomewhat leſs than a ſmall Ox. In *Barbary* you may ſee 100 or 200 of 'em together, running up and down like Harts. Their Fleſh eats very well, and their Hide when curry'd, makes good Shoes.

Gazelle.

A *Gazelle* has the ſize and colour of a fallow Deer, with black Horns, turn'd like a Goat's, excepting that they are round and very ſharp. They frequent the ſame places with wild Cows, and have white Bellies; and never lie down but where the Ground is very clean. They are very ſwift, and cautious of coming near a Man; for they betake themſelves to flight as ſoon as they ſpy him: However, the *Arabians* make a ſhift to kill a great many of 'em.

Sea-Ox.

The Sea-Ox, call'd by the *Arabians Taurbahavi*, is much valued, becauſe its Fleſh taſtes very well.

Sea-Aſs.

The Sea-Aſſes are very common in *Numidia*, *Libya*, and the Neighbouring Countries.

Lions.

The Lions, call'd by the *Arabians Aced*, are ſometimes hunted by the *Arabians*, and the Grandees of Countries, mounted upon Horſe-back, with Drums and Trumpets. When the *Arabians* hear of a furious Lion in the Country, they march out in this manner to his Den, for he never comes abroad in the Day-time, the Night being the Seaſon in which he forrages for Prey. Having ſurrounded his Den, they ſhoot their Darts and Arrows upon him at a diſtance; and when he finds himſelf wounded, he comes out roaring, and falls upon the Men and Horſes. Upon that they make a noiſe with their Inſtruments to fright him, and if it were not for the danger they encounter, have the beſt hunting in the World. However, he always kills a great many Horſes, if not Men. In *Fez* the Kings divert themſelves with Lion-baiting, as the *Spaniards* do with Bull-baiting, as I intimated in the Deſcription of that Country. This fierce Animal ſteals in among Flocks of Sheep, and carries off what he pleaſes, ſometimes to the Mountains, and ſometimes to the Caverns, where his little ones are lodg'd. Oftentimes he enters the Shepherds Huts, and if he finds any one aſleep, he gives him the ſame uſage; but if they make head againſt him, he ſcours off. The Captives that make their eſcape out of *Barbary*, and flie acroſs the Mountains to the Coaſt where Chriſtians reſide, affirm, that if one meets a Lion in the Night-time, and continues his pace without altering his countenance, the Lion will not attack him, but on the contrary looks down when he meets him; but if he ſhews the leaſt ſign of fear, the Lion preſently flies at him, and pulls him in pieces. Oftentimes he follows the Captives that he finds thus undaunted, expecting to ſurprize 'em aſleep. 'Tis very hazardous for a Man to meet a Lion in Winter, when their Luſt is aloft; for then they are always ten or twelve in a Company. But after all, the Lion, as bold as he is, is afraid of Fire; and for that reaſon, when the *Arabians* paſs the Night in any open place, they kindle a great fire to hinder his approach; and if they perceive one drawing near, ſtop him by throwing hot Fire-brands in his way. He ſeldom approaches without being perceiv'd, becauſe he is follow'd by certain Animals little bigger than Foxes, and of the ſame colour, which eat up his Orts, and howl like Dogs, and ſo give the alarm. The Lion hates theſe Creatures mortally, and tears 'em in pieces when he meets 'em; but they are ſo cunning as to keep out of his way, and never come near him till he has fill'd his Paunch, and left his Prey.

The *Dabah.*

The *Dabah* has an eaſy Opportunity of turning up the Corps of dead Men, becauſe the *Moors* bury all in the Fields: Beſides, that its Fleſh is good for nothing, the *Moors* abhor it.

Civet-Cats.

The Civet-Cats are of a greyiſh white colour, interlac'd with black Stripes like the *Roman* Cats; but they are larger and ſtronger.

Apes.

Apes have the Feet, Hands and Face (ſo to ſpeak) of a Man. They are full of active Vigour and Malice. They are very pernicious to all ſorts of Fruit, for they pull and throw down much more than they eat or carry off. The wild ones will bite, but they are eaſily tam'd.

Elephants.

The Elephants, call'd by the *Africans Elſil*, is a wild Animal, of an over-grown ſize. He is ten Foot high, and has no Neck (properly ſpeaking) for his Head, which is very big, is faſtened to his Shoulders: His Ears are like two Targets; his Mouth is plac'd in his Throat, and cover'd with a Trunk, with which he feeds himſelf, and lifts whatever he takes up. Sometimes when he goes into the Water, he'll ſuck up 150 Pints of Water in his Trunk, and ſpout it above a Pike's length high into the Air. He goes very ſwift, and if he be put to it, will go ſix days Journey in one. In *India* and *Upper Æthiopia*, they are taken up when they're young, and bred up tame, and are ſo wiſe as to underſtand every thing that's ſaid to 'em. Some of the ſmaller ſort have been brought into *Europe*; but there are others ſo large, that they cannot be embark'd. When the *Ethiopians* are at War, they ſet ten or twelve Men on the Back of an Elephant, where they ſhoot Arrows and Darts, and ſling Stones. The Ivory made of its Teeth and Tuſks, is the chief Commodity that the *Portugueze* deal in with the Negroes.

Tortoiſes.

As for *Tortoiſes*, the *Africans* ſay their Fleſh is of ſoveraign uſe againſt a Leproſy, if it be eaten ſeven Days together, and if the Tortoiſe be not above ſeven Years old. The *Barbary* Merchants trade much in their Shells, which are as big as a Target, and ſo ſtrong, that the Shot of a Croſs-bow cannot pierce 'em.

Addimain.

Of the *Addimain*, 'tis obſervable, that the Males have no Horns, but the Females have. 'Tis a Rarity, and expos'd for a Shew in *Numidia* and *Barbary*.

Rams.

The *African* Rams have five or ſix Horns, ſome bending upwards and ſome downwards.

Crocodiles.

The Crocodile moves only the upper Jaw, which is ſo provided by nature, becauſe its Feet being very ſhort, the motion of the under Jaw wou'd incommode it. It has very ſharp Teeth, and a Throat ſo wide, as to receive a whole Cow. Several of the *Egyptians* eat the Fleſh of a Crocodile, and find it very good; and its Fat is ſold at a great rate, upon the account of its being a ſoveraign Remedy for Ulcers and Cancers. The Fiſhermen take the Crocodiles by this Stratagem: They faſten a big Rope about 25 or 30 Fathom long, to a large Tree, or to ſome Pillars ſet up on purpoſe on the River ſide; on the other end of the Rope they faſten a great Hook as big as one's Finger, and a Foot and a half long, with a Ram or a Goat ſticking upon it: When the Goat or Ram bleats and makes a noiſe, the Crocodile comes out of the River, and ſwallows it, and ſo is hook'd; upon that he leaps and works till he falls down as 't were dead thro' fatigue and torment; and then the Fiſher-men come up, and wound him in the Throat and Belly, and between the Legs, where the Skin is tender; for upon the Back 'tis almoſt proof againſt a Muſket ſhot. The Head of the Crocodile thus kill'd, is put up upon the Walls of the Town, as a Trophy. 'Tis remarkable, that the Crocodiles between *Cairo* and the Sea hurt no body; whereas thoſe above the City devour every thing they can come at. I found, that thoſe which are neareſt the Sea, meet with a ſufficient quantity of Fiſh to ſatisfy 'em; whereas thoſe which lie upon the Country get but few.

The Oſtrich.

When the *Oſtrich* runs, it whips and ſpurs its ſelf on with its large Feathers. The *Arabians* ſell theſe Feathers to the *European* Merchants, who dye 'em into all ſorts of colours, and then ſell 'em to the Beaux, as Ornaments for their Heads.

The Unicorn.

The Unicorn is found in the Mountains of *High Ethiopia*: 'Tis of an Aſh colour, and reſembles a Colt of two Years old, excepting that it has the Beard of a Goat, and in the middle of its Forehead a Horn three Foot long, which is ſmooth and white like Ivory, and has yellow ſtreaks running along from top to bottom. This Horn is an Antidote againſt Poyſon; and 'tis reported, that other Animals delay drinking till it has ſoak'd its Horn in the Water to purify it. This Animal is ſo nimble, that it can neither be kill'd nor taken; but it caſts its Horn like a Stag, and the Hunters find it in the Deſarts. But the Truth of this is call'd in queſtion by ſome Authors.

Wild-Goats.

In the Country of the *Abyſſines* there are great numbers of Wild-goats, among which, the He-goats are as big as a large Calf, and their Hair is ſo long, that it trails upon the Ground, being as thick and groſs as Horſe-hair. The valuable Leather call'd *Charequiez*, is made of its Skin, curried with the Root of *Albegna*, which grows plentifully in that Country. *Abengezar* ſays, ſix Men may be plac'd in the Branches of that Tree, ſo that they cannot touch one another with their Hands.

Albegna Root.

Strange Cows.

In the ſame Country we meet with large Cows, which have no Hair, but have a long Tail trailing upon the Ground, and a parti-colour'd Neck. The *Egyptians* give 'em the Title of *Demniet*, i. e. *Fertile*.

Colophonis.

That Country affords likewiſe a Drug of great Medicinal Vertues, which reſembles the *Grecian* Pitch.

Pitch turn'd to Balm.

There is a part of *Geneova* call'd *Limes*, which turns Pitch or *Bitumen* into Balm in a few days time after 'tis brought thither. In the ſame Country there are ſeveral Lottery Stones reſembling the Members of a Man, ſome his Feet, ſome his Arm, ſome his Head, &c. which Men carry about with 'em as Inſtruments of good fortune. And 'tis ſaid, that whoever lights upon an entire Stone that reſembles the full proportion of a Man, may by vertue of that, ſecure the Favour of Kings or Princes, or any Perſon he converſes with. Such are the Fables that Authors hand down to Poſterity, together with a great many more of the ſame nature, which we chooſe to paſs over in ſilence.

The Root *Surnag.*

In the Weſt part of Mount *Atlas*, we find a Root call'd *Surnag*, which proves an Incentive to Venery, not only when 'tis ate, but when one makes water over it.

The Fruit *Camba.*

In *Numidia* a certain Fruit, or rather a Root is found among the Sands, which the Phyſicians call *Camba*, and entitle to a cooling Vertue. It has a white Rind, but no Stalk; and ſome of the ſort are as big as Oranges. The *Arabians* roaſt 'em upon the Gridiron, or boil 'em in Water or Milk, and find 'em a very delicious Food.

Ebalca.

In *Numidia*, *Libya*, and part of *Negroland*, there are large thorny Trees, which have Leaves reſembling thoſe of the Juniper-tree, and from which a Gum iſſues, that has the ſame colour and ſmell with Maſtick, and is oftentimes made uſe of to adulterate it. The Trees of this kind that grow in *Numidia*, have white ſtreaks like Olive-trees; whereas thoſe of *Libya* have ſtreaks of an Azure colour, and thoſe of *Negroland* perfectly black. Thoſe of *Negroland* are call'd *Sangu*; and the Wood is made uſe of in the making of Inſtruments, or any poliſh'd work. The Wood of the *Libyan* ſort is tranſported all over *Africa* for the cure of the Pox, and is call'd by the Natives *Ebalca*.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Riſe and Progreſs of the Xeriffian *Family in* Barbary; *with ſome Remarks upon the Policy and Trade of that Kingdom: Collected from the Writings of* Ro. C.

The Original of the *Xeriffian* Family and the fall of the *Marines.*

THE Family of the *Mareines* poſſeſs'd the Kingdom of *Barbary* for a long time, till *Muley Hamet Xariff* came out of the Country of *Dara*, and with his Mountaineers ſubdued the Countries of *Sus*, *Morocco*, and *Fez*, ſpreading his Conqueſt from the Mountains of *Atlas* to the Streights of *Gibraltar*. Having made ſuch Advances, his next Ambition was to prove himſelf a *Xariff*, *i. e.* one of *Mahomet*'s Family. But after all, he injoy'd not his new Acquiſitions long; for ſoon after *Sus* rebell'd: and while the *Xariff*, at the Head of ſome *Turkiſh* Troops, attempted to reduce the Rebels, theſe Auxiliaries mutined, and after beheading him, pillag'd *Taradant*, and ravag'd the whole Country. Having ſpent two Months in laying the Country deſolate, they begun their March back to *Tremeſne*, and indeavouring to take the ſhorteſt cut over the Mountains, were attack'd by the Inhabitants, whom, either Revenge, or a Proſpect of Spoil, had animated to that degree, that few or none of the *Turks* eſcap'd.

The Conduct of *Muley Abdela* and his Sons. The eldeſt Son kills ten of his Brethren.

This *Hamet Xariff* was ſucceeded, after a Reign of eight Years, by his Brother *Muley Abdela*, who wag'd war with the *Mareines* all his life time. He reign'd fifteen Years, and left behind him thirteen Sons. *Muley Abdela* the eldeſt, ſucceeded his Father, and immediately order'd ten of his Brethren to be put to death in one day at *Taradant* in *Suz*. The ſecond Brother *Abdel Melech*, eſcap'd into *Turky*. The third, namely, *Muley Hamet Xariff*, was ſpar'd, as being not fear'd; for he was fonder of Books than of Arms. *Abdela* reign'd forty Years, and left three Sons, namely, *Muley Mehamet*, *Muley Sheck*, and *Muley Naſſar*. The two laſt fled into *Spain*, where the eldeſt of the two turn'd Chriſtian. The youngeſt return'd to *Barbary* in the 14th Year of *Muley Mehamet*'s Reign, and at his landing 2000 of the King's Souldiers revolted to him: But their *Lent* approaching, and the Souldiers being reſolv'd to keep their *Eaſter* at home, *Naſſar* miſtruſting their return, was conſtrain'd to give battel to the King's Army, in which he loſt his life.

Abdelmelech dethrones his Nephew.

Abdelmelech, ſecond Brother to *Abdela*, obtain'd of the *Turk* 2000 Souldiers, by whoſe help he dethron'd his Nephew *Mehamet*, *Abdela*'s eldeſt Son, and wore the Crown of *Barbary* two Years. *Muley Mehamet*, thus diſpoſſeſs'd of his Kingdom, fled to *Portugal*, and made his Addreſs to *Sebaſtian* King of that Country, who went to *Barbary* in Perſon with 30000 Men, and gave battel to *Abdelmelech*. In the beginning of the Fight the *Moors* fled, and the *Chriſtians* to draw 'em into a Snare, retir'd too: upon which the *Moors* advanc'd a ſecond time, and the Van of their Horſe was put into diſorder; but the Rear of their Horſe being ſo numerous, that the advanc'd Troops had not Field-room to fly, they were forc'd to fight it out, and thereupon a bloody Battel enſued, in which the three Kings, *Muley Mehamet*, *Abdelmelech*, and *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal* were all kill'd.

Three Kings ſlain in one Battel.

Muley Hamet his wiſe Regulations.

After the death of *Mehamet* and *Abdelmelech*, *Muley Hamet Xariff*, third Brother to *Abdela*, reign'd in great peace 27 Years. Having ſecur'd the Quiet of the Kingdom by ſeveral advantagious Regulations, his next Care was to provide himſelf with able Counſellors and experienc'd Souldiers. His Subjects being divided into two Claſſes, namely, the *Larbies* and the *Brebers*: The firſt minding only Tillage and Agriculture, were of a peaceable Diſpoſition, and over them he ſet Officers to adminiſter Juſtice, and determine Controverſies of Civil Rights; and at the ſame time poſted Guards to ſecure 'em from the Robberies of the Mountaineers. This Rank of People (I mean the *Larbies*) pay'd to the Crown the fifth Penny yearly. The *Brebers* or *Mountaineers*, being of a fiercer and more undaunted temper, he divided 'em into Cantons or Diſtricts, placing o're each Canton an Officer, with Souldiers, to ſuppreſs any ſudden Tumult; and, for a Pledge to their Loyalty, he took care to have the chief Men's Sons at his Court, under pretence of Education: From this Rank he drew but a ſmall Revenue. He always kept peace with *Chriſtendom*, and particularly with *Spain* his powerful Neighbour: But ſtill he had the greateſt regard for *England*, as appears from the many Letters he wrote to Queen *Elizabeth*, the Incouragement he gave to *Engliſh* Merchants, and the ſplendid Embaſſy he ſent to that Queen *An. Cr.* 1601. This Prince was alſo a great Favourer of Mathematicians.

His reſpect to the Queen and Kingdom of *England*.

His vertuous and manly Qualities.

Towards his Subjects his Carriage could not be call'd tyrannical: The abſolute Power he had over them, he ſweeten'd with an obliging Clemency. He was careful to fill his Treaſury, and for that end he always had his Duties exactly paid him by the *Larbies*. He trafficked much with the *Negroes*, buying Salt at *Tegazze*, and ſelling it at *Gago*, whence his Profits were return'd him in Gold. His *Maſerawes* or *Ingenews* where his Sugar-Canes grew, were husbanded with great Induſtry; ſo that ſuch of them as lay about *Moruecos*, *Taradant*, and *Magador*, were computed to yield him yearly 600000 Ounces. He admir'd any thing that was magnificent, as appear'd by his buying the richeſt *Italian* Marbles, and hiring *Italian* Workmen at exceſſive Rates, to rebuild his Houſe at *Moruecos*, and by the numerous train of Women he kept, not for Luſt but State, according to the faſhion of the Country. The Pleaſures which ſuited beſt with his own temper, were the Menage of Horſes, Hawking, and ſuch like manly Exerciſes.

His Sons.

He had five Sons, namely, *Muley Mehamet*, commonly called *Muley Sheck*, the Title always given to the King's eldeſt Son: The ſecond *Muley Boferes*: theſe two he had by one Woman, a Negro Concubine. The third *Muley Sidan*, by a lawful Wife; the fourth *Muley Naſſar*; the fifth *Muley Abdela*: theſe two by a Concubine, the firſt being nineteen and the laſt fourteen Years of Age, at the time of their Father's death. The eldeſt of theſe five he made Governour of *Fez*, the ſecond of *Sus*, and the third of the Province of *Tedula*. *Muley Sheck* govern'd with great appaluſe by virtue of the Advice and Counſel of *Baſha Muſtapha*, a *Spaniſh Renegado*, who grew ſo much in favour with him, that the whole Government was intruſted in his Hands. The Officers of the Country, who were native *Moors*, being diſobliged by the diſtinguiſhing Reſpect ſhewn to this Favourite, made their Application to the old King, repreſenting that this *Renegado* debauch'd *Muley Sheck*, teaching him to drink Wine, contrary to the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, and that he intended upon the firſt opportunity to ſeize the Treaſure of their Country, and fly with it to ſome part of *Chriſtendom*: At laſt they prevail'd with him to ſend to his Son for the Head of that *Baſha*, who after ſome Delays, was conſtrain'd to obey his Orders, tho' with great Reluctance.

Muley Sheck Governour of *Fez.*

He is forced to behead a great Favourite.

While this *Spaniard* liv'd, none of the King's Sons govern'd ſo much to their Father's ſatisfaction as *Muley Sheck*; ſo that the old King pleaſed with his Behaviour, made all the *Alkeids* or Officers in the Kingdom, to take an Oath of Allegiance to his Son commencing after his death. About that time the Plague raging at *Sus*, oblig'd *Muley Boferes* to return home to his Father. *Muley Sidan* govern'd his Province in great peace, even in the time of the greateſt Troubles in his Brother *Sheck*'s Kingdom, of which hereafter. He was ſevere upon all Offenders, eſpecially Thieves, without diſtinction of Perſons. His Temper was ambitious, and being the eldeſt Son by a lawful Wife, he never could be brought to reſpect either of his Brethren, looking upon the Right of the Crown after his Father to belong to him, contrary to the Law of the *Moors*, which prefers the eldeſt Son, whether by Wife or Concubine, to the Succeſſion.

Mahomet's Law as to Succeſſion.

Muley Sheck proves at laſt a careleſs Governour.

To return to *Muley Sheck*. After the death of his Favourite, he abandoned himſelf to Drunkenneſs, and other Vices, neglected his Government, and ſuffered his Souldiers and other Followers to plunder his honeſt Subjects. By this careleſneſs the Country became ſo infeſted by Robbers, that there was no ſafe travelling but in Companies of three or four hundred at a time. The *Larbies* not being able to bring home the Corn and Fruits of the Ground, refuſed to pay the King's Taxes, and not finding any other way to ſubſiſt, practis'd in the Plains what the others did in the Towns; in fine, they robb'd all that came near them. Beſides, he grew ſo prodigal of his Treaſure, that to give you one Inſtance, a *Jewiſh* Muſician that pleas'd him in his drunken Fits, got under him 400000 Ducats, which is about 40000 Pounds Sterling.

Muly Sheck depos'd.

This Alteration was no ſmall trouble to the King his Father, ſo that finding Advice by Letters and all other fair means to be uncapable to reclaim him, he took the Field with 8000 Foot and 5000 Horſe, leaving his ſecond Son to govern in his abſence, and made ſuch long Marches, that he was within a Day's Journey of *Fez* before his Son receiv'd Advice of his March. *Muley Sheck* being unprovided, would thereupon have fled to *Tafilet*, but was purſued ſo cloſe, that he was forced to take ſanctuary with 500 Men. This done, his Father required him to come forth, and ſubmit to his mercy; but he refuſing, the place was taken by force, and *Sheck* made Priſoner, and carried to *Mickanez*, a ſtrong Town, where he remain'd till his Father's death.

The King his Father dies.

In his way to *Fez*, the old Man had taken with him his third Son, intending he ſhould ſucceed *Muley Sheck*; but this was prevented by the Father's death; for pitching his Tent without the Gates of *Fez*, with a Deſign to return home, he was taken ill on *Thurſday* the 11th day of *Auguſt*, and died on *Sunday* the 14th following, *Anno* 1603.

The Condition of the four Brethren after the Father's death.

Muley Sidan's Mother govern'd the King's Family, by which means her Son had immediate notice of his death, and removing all the Jewels and Treaſure in his Father's Tents, he was proclaim'd King in *Fez*. *Muley Boferes* had likewiſe ſpeedy Advice ſent to him, who immediately ſeized what Treaſure was in his Father's Houſe at *Moruecos*: As ſoon as he had done that, he proclaim'd himſelf there, and by his order the ſame was done at *Taradant* in *Suz*.

Naſſar the fourth, Son of the deceas'd King, fled into the Mountains to his Mother's Relations, and raiſing 800 or 1000 Men, march'd into the Plains of *Suz*, and order'd himſelf to be proclaim'd in *Taradant*: but his Order being diſobey'd, and he wanting Money to pay his Men, he was forſaken by all, and died of the Plague, or, as ſome ſay, was poiſoned. *Muley Abdela*, eldeſt Son to *Muley Sheck*, choſe rather to depend upon his Uncle *Muley Sidan*, than to add to the Diſturbances of his Country.

The Father's Army joins *Muley Boferes.*

The Army that was left at *Fez*, began to mutiny both for Arrears of Pay, and for want of returning to *Moruecos* to their Families. Thereupon *Muley Sidan* ſent them large Promiſes by the General that commanded them in the King his Father's time; but this General inſtead of pacifying them, adviſ'd them to ſtrike up their Tents, and march home: Accordingly they march'd, and by the way were join'd by the *Baſha*, who had the cuſtody of *Muley Sheck*: This *Baſha* deliver'd up the Priſoner, and the united Forces join'd *Muley Boferes* in *Moruecos*. *Muley Sidan* thus diſappointed, ſent a ſtrong Force to the Province of *Tedula*, to raiſe the Arrears of Taxes owing from the *Larbies* to the late King, and to ſtop the Communication between *Fez* and *Moruecos*, and made all Preparations to take the Field.

Boferes oppoſes *Sidan.*

On the other Hand *Muley Boferes* loſt no time, but diſpatch'd a *Baſha* to provide all neceſſary Proviſions among the *Larbies*, and afterwards ſent 5000 choice Men with four Pieces of Artillery to *Tedula*; upon whoſe approach *Muley Sidan*'s Forces retir'd, leaving the Country expos'd to the Enemy, who plundered and pillag'd all ſuch as would not own *Boferes* for King: Upon this *Muley Sidan* took the Field with 9000 Foot and 12000 Horſe, and 22 Pieces of Artillery. He committed the Charge of his Artillery to two *Engliſh* Gunners; but the Rains were ſo great, that the Artillery came not up till twas too late.

Sheck at the Head of *Boferez*, his Army defeats *Sidan.*

Boferes to cover his Preparations amuſed *Muley Sidan* with a Treaty of Peace; but thoſe Offers being refuſed, to pleaſe ſuch of his Souldiers as were Natives of *Fez*, and to give the greater Life to his whole Army, he made a ſeeming Agreement with his Brother *Sheck*, to whom he committed the Command, but with ſuch a Limitation and Dependance upon another Commander in the Army, as to keep himſelf ſafe. *Muley Sheck* had Directions, if victorious, to proclaim *Boferes* in *Fez*; and *Boferes* promiſed *Sheck* the Vice-royalty of that Kingdom. *Muley Sidan* to prevent the ill Effects of this piece of Policy, got together in haſte 2000 Mules and Horſes, and mounted two Souldiers with their Accoutrements upon each Mule and Horſe. The 4000 Men thus mounted, leaving their Artillery and Baggage behind them, joined the reſt of his Army which lay encamped, over againſt the Enemy, with a River only between them. *Sidan* followed in Perſon with 7 or 8000 Men, deſigning to give Battel to the Forces of *Boferes* before *Sheck*'s arrival; but the other was too nimble for them, ſo that fearing *Sheck*'s Preſence on the oppoſite ſide might ſhock the Loyalty of his own Men, moſt of whom had formerly ſerved *Sheck*, he reſolved upon an Engagement before his Souldiers could know of his Arrival. The Fight happen'd on the 6th of *January*, 1604, and upon the Diſcharging of three or four Pieces of Artillery three or four times, moſt of *Muley Sidan*'s Men left the Field, except thoſe commanded by the *Muley* in Perſon; but his Canopy being ſhot down, himſelf and all his Followers fled. On *Sheck*'s ſide, few or none were ſlain, and *Sidan* loſt but 600 Men. *Sidan* was cenſured for an Over-ſight in having ſurprized the Enemy with his ſudden coming, and giving them two Hours afterwards to put themſelves in array, whereas he ſhould have attack'd them immediately.

Great Diſorders in the Country.

The Effect of this Contention was, that Robberies increas'd, inſomuch that after the Battle, all Trade was interrupted, and old Quarrels between Families came to be decided by the Sword. Beſides, *Muley Boferes* was not ſo fit for Action as he that loſt the day, which the Kindred or Chan, called *Weled Entid*, taking advantage of, robb'd as far as the very Gates of *Moruecos*, ſtop'd all Travellers, and made Prize of Merchants Goods; whereas the Exemplary Puniſhment for ſuch Offences in *Muley Sidan*'s time, kept them in aw. *Muley Sidan* now ſends to treat for Peace, and in the mean time was indeavouring to make Head againſt the Purſuers, when the unwelcome news was brought him that his Brother *Sheck* was at hand with the Light Horſe, and the whole Army not far behind: Now there was no conſulting of any thing but Flight; but having put 900000 Ducats in *Allarocha*, he thought it the beſt way to take that with him: However, they purſued him ſo cloſe, that he was forced to fly directly to *Tremeſine*, and ſo that Treaſure fell into the Hands of *Muley Sheck*.

In theſe his frowning Misfortunes, all the Men of note left him, but two, who had ſerved him in his Father's time, and now ſtuck cloſe by him. His Bravery was ſo great, that tho' he had but 20 Horſe with him, he turn'd and ſkirmiſh'd very often with the Purſuers. *Alkeid Umbilie*, a Commander of *Boferez*'s Forces, admiring his Reſolution, requeſted him to keep on his way, with aſſurance that he would purſue him no further; ſo he continued his Journey to *Tremeſine*, and the *Alkeid* return'd to *Fez*.

Sheck proclaim'd King in *Fez*.

Muley Sidan thus expell'd, *Sheck* proclaim'd himſelf King in *Fez*, not Vice-roy to his Brother. It being *Lent* time, the chief Officers of *Moruecos* went home, from whence they were afterwards ſent againſt the *Larbies*, who in this confuſion, refuſed to pay to any of the three contending Princes, and were ſplit into inteſtine Diviſions among themſelves. The Souldiers that went to ſuppreſs theſe Diſorders, ſuffered exceedingly by the Plague then raging at *Suz*; ſo that they were obliged to return home. In the beginning of *June* News coming that *Muley Sidan* was return'd from *Tremaſine* to *Tafilet*, all the Commanders who were diſper'd about the Country, were ſummoned a ſecond time to join againſt him. *Sidan* had lived a few Months near *Tremaſine*, with about fifty Horſe, and advancing to *Tafilet*, was join'd by 1200 more. In this place he got a perfect Account of the State of the Country, by which he perceiv'd there were great Diſcontents in ſeveral Parts againſt the preſent Government, and that many wiſh'd his Return. *Muley Boferez*, to ſtop his Progreſs, ſent four thouſand Foot and ſome Horſe to prevent his marching to *Suz*; but *Sidan* having Intelligence of it, haſtened his Journey, and paſſing by *Alcatouy*, the Horſe on each ſide ſkirmiſhed, but no Man of note fell, one *Alkeid* excepted. *Sidan*'s Forces being too few to encounter the Enemies in a pitch'd Battel, he was oblig'd to enter *Sus* by the way of *Sahara*. In the Sands of this Country his Troops endured much miſery. At *Aca* he met with *Sidie Abdela Imbak*, the great *Foker*, whoſe Friendſhip he courted; for theſe Church Men have ſuch an Influence over the People, that they will obey none but by their direction; ſo that he knew all his Brother's Forces could not beat him out of *Sus*, if this Prieſt were hearty in his Cauſe.

Sidan returns

He gains friendſhip of the great *Foker*,

which procures a Peace between the two Brethren

The *Foker* was ſo far prevailed with, that he ſent to *Boferes* to deſire that a Treaty might be commenc'd between the Brethren; which ſucceeded ſo well, that a Peace was concluded, by which *Sidan* was to enjoy the Kingdom of *Sus*, and *Boferes* the Reſidue of the Empire. By *Sidan*'s prudent Government, *Sus*, which till then was the moſt unſettled place in *Barbary*, was formed into the moſt orderly quiet Country of the Empire. He was blamed for impoſing heavy Taxes, a fault which the *Foker*, by whoſe means he obtained the Kingdom, charged him with. The Mountaineers refuſed to pay them, and their Habitations being ſtrong by nature, and the Men accuſtomed to fighting, they ſlighted him and his Power: Beſides, they were under-hand encouraged by *Boferes*. The *Larbies* had not this advantage, and ſo knowing their Throats lay at his mercy, they paid quietly.

Abdela eſcapes his Father *Sheck*, who endeavours to diſpoſſeſs *Boferes*

Boferes was now buſy in contriving to get *Muley Sheck* into his power again, who was arming himſelf with his Friends to fix him in his Government, reſolving rather than fail, to call in the *Chriſtians* to his aſſiſtance, at leaſt by theſe means he thought to ſecure a Retreat in caſe of a Diſaſter. To keep *Muley Sheck* the more in aw, *Boferes* took care to have *Sheck*'s eldeſt Son, *Abdela*, very carefully watch'd: but the Plague raging in *Moruecos*, the King order'd his Son *Abdelmelech* to pitch his Tents at the diſtance of five Miles from the City, and to take *Abdela* with him, who took an opportunity one Night, to make his eſcape out of the Camp, and fly to his Father.

Sidan's Policy

This oblig'd *Boferes* to court the Friendſhip of *Sidan*, and intreat him to bring his Forces to *Moruecas*, to join with his againſt the Father and Son: *Sidan* came within half a Day's Journey of the place, but was loth to hazard his Perſon in the Hands of his Brother till the following Stratagem was tried. He counterfeited a Lie from a principal Perſon in the Country, offering *Boferes* to ſend him his Brother's Head, who received the Meſſage very joyfully, with Promiſes of great Reward upon the Execution of the Deſign. Upon this *Sidan* ſtruck up his Tents, and march'd back to the Country of *Dara*. *Boferes* then committed the whole Command of his Army to *Abdelmelech* his Son: but here Fate frown'd upon him too; for when the Army came within a Day's Journey of *Fez*, which is twenty Day's journey off *Moruecos*, three thouſand of the Souldiers revolted to *Sheck*, and the reſt were ſo diſaffected to *Boferes*, that *Abdelmelech* returned home without attempting any thing.

Abdelmelech's Army mutinies.

Sally beſieg'd

and taken.

Sir Anthony Shirly's Embaſſage.

Encouraged by this Addition to his Forces, the King of *Fez* laid ſiege to *Sally*, a Sea-port in *Moruecos*. The Town he won, but the Caſtle ſtill held out; and the *Alkeid* or Governour ſent to his Maſter, to aſſure him that he could maintain the place, if he had ſufficient ſtore of Corn. Sir *Anthony Shirly*, an *Engliſh-man*, Ambaſſador at that time from the Emperour of *Germany* to *Moruecos*, a Perſon of great worth, and wonderfully beloved by the Merchants of all Nations trading to theſe Countries, took care to ſend to *Sally* in an *Engliſh* Bottom, ſome Corn himſelf had bought up at *Saplus*, another Port in this Country; but before they arrived the Caſtle ſurrendred. Great Matters were expected from this great Man, towards a Reconciliation of the Differences in *Barbary*, by reaſon of the vaſt Credit he had with all the foreign Merchants in the Country, and the reſpect *Boferes* had for him, but I don't find it came to any thing.

Abdela marches againſt *Boferes*.

Sheck had got ſuch a Surfeit of Confinement in his late Troubles, that he car'd not much for hazarding his Perſon again: With that view he ſent his Son *Abdela* with the Army towards *Moruecos*, to try the fate of a deciſive Battel: He provided him with 27 Pieces of Ordnance, to make up which number, he diſarm'd all the Ships in *Allaroca*, *Sally*, or *Laratch*; and oblig'd all the Mariners, as well Officers as common Sea-men, to go into the Army, which together made 10000 Men. In the mean time *Sheck* provided himſelf with three *Italian* Ships, to convey him to *Florence* if his Son loſt the Battel. The Fight happened ſix Miles South-eaſt of *Moruecos* on the eighth of *December* 1606, and the *Chriſtian* Mariners being better acquanited with the uſe of Fire-arms than the *Moors*, and furniſhed with a Train of Artillery, ſo unuſual in that part of the World, won the day. *Boferes* loſt 600 Men in the Fight, and fled to *Moruecos* to ſecure his Treaſure and his Women; but for fear of a Surpriſe, left the Management of both to his *Alkeids*, and went poſt himſelf to the Mountains. However the Treaſure fell into the Hands of the *Larbies*, who to the number of 500, ſet upon the Guard, pillaged the Carriages, and diſhonour'd the Women, not ſparing the King's own Daughter. Upon this the *Alkeids* return'd to *Moruecos*, and took Sanctuary, and *Abdela* pardoned them upon their ſubmiſſion; but after they came out, he put 'em all to death, and that ſo ſecretly, that ſending their Heads in a Sack as a Preſent to his Father in *Moruecos*, none knew they were dead, till the News came that their Heads were upon *Fez* Gates.

The *Italian* Ships that *Sheck* had hir'd in caſe of neceſſity, finding themſelves neglected upon this Succeſs, ſail'd home, and ſecur'd for their Pay what Treaſure had been already ſhip'd.

The Slaughter of the *Alkeids* by *Abdela*, and the horrid Outrages committed by his Souldiers, gave great Diſcontents; ſo that many fled to *Muley Sidan* who had ſtaid till now at *Dara*, half way to *Fez*.

Sidan marches to *Moruecos*

He at the firſt news of theſe Diſorders, march'd directly to *Moruecos*, deſigning to give preſent Battel. The firſt Night of his Arrival, there was a great uproar in the City, in which Confuſion ſome of *Sidan*'s Souldiers got into the Town, and ſurprized the Artillery: but the *Chriſtians* fought ſo ſtoutly to regain it, that they beat 'em out of the Town. Next day was a general Fight; *Sidan*'s Horſe began with a very gallant Onſet, but the Canon oblig'd them to retire in diſorder, which *Abdela*'s Men obſerving, gallop'd too raſhly before their own Ordnance; but *Sidan* taking the Advantage of their forwardneſs, drove them upon their Guns. The *Chriſtians* would have fired upon their own Men to prevent the Diſorders going further; but this being denied, *Sidan*'s Men purſued in good order, ſurpriz'd the Artillery, and ſlew thoſe who oppoſed them. The Slaughter was both great and cruel, no leſs than ſeven or eight thouſand being ſlain in the Field, and the ſcatter'd Remains moſtly maſſacred by the Citizens in revenge of their paſt Diſorders. What was left of the poor Chriſtians afterwards, had their Throats cut, a juſt Puniſhment; for moſt of them had lived upon Piracy, Rapine and Plunder.

Sidan's Perfidy.

Muley Sidan being thus Maſter of the whole Field, *Abdela* fled to *Fez*, there being not 100 Men left alive of his whole Army to accompany him. The Caſtle of *Moruecos* was garriſon'd by *Abdela* before the Fight, and refus'd to ſubmit to the Conquerour: but *Sidan*'s Men, having got upon the top of the Wall, by ſome Houſes that join'd to it, the Garriſon took ſanctuary: After that, upon promiſe of their Lives, they laid down their Arms and came forth; but were all immediately butcher'd by *Sidan*'s command, to the number of 3000.

Sidan ſent an Army to reduce *Fez*, but the Souldiers finding neither their King, nor any of the Blood Royal with them, when *Abdela* approach'd, they ſubmitted upon condition of Pardon, which was granted; but diſtruſting the Performance, they all drew away afterwards, except three thouſand, who were butcher'd in revenge of *Sidan*'s cruelty to the Garriſon of the Caſtle of *Moruecos*.

The *Shraceis* mutiny.

Sidan had in pay ſix hundred *Shraceis*, Subjects to the King of *Congo*, and excellent Souldiers; theſe with ſome others he ſent to retrieve his late Loſſes, by raiſing a freſh Supply of Men and Money from the *Larbies*; but they in their way mutined, and cut off their Commander's Head, thinking it a welcome Preſent to *Abdela*. Upon this *Sidan* iſſued Orders, that any *Shracei* whatever that ſhould be found in his Dominions, ſhould be put to death.

Abdela defeats *Sidan*.

Sidan flies.

The valour of the *Engliſh*

The *Shraceis* irritated by this inequal Method of Puniſhing, prevail'd with *Abdela* once more to try a Battle with *Sidan*, who was join'd by 200 *Engliſh*, with ſixty Field Pieces, and ſome good *Engliſh* Commanders. Before *Sidan* took the Field, the Fortune-tellers told him he ſhould looſe the Fight, which poſſeſs'd him with ſuch fear, tho' he was ſo ſtrong, and had no reaſon to doubt Succeſs, that he did not exert his uſual courage. His Canoniers alſo diſcharg'd before *Abdela*'s Men were in reach, and the Enemy were up with them before they could charge again. The *Shraceis* never diſcharged a Piece till they came cloſe up, and then fell on ſo fiercely, that they diſordered the *Moors*, and the King thereupon fled, ſending advice to the *Engliſh* to ſave themſelves, and a good Horſe to Captain *Giffard* their Commander. The *Engliſh* returned anſwer, that they came not thither to run, and accordingly they ſtood very firm, not above 30 being left alive.

Abdela continued not long Maſter of *Moruecos*; for being in want of every thing, he had much ado to keep his Army together, and moſt of the *Shracies* went home.

Hamet Beſonne pretends to the Empire.

To the ſurprize of the three Rival Princes, a Couſin of theirs, *Muley Hamet Beſonne*, who had been all this time hoarding up of Treaſure, having watched his opportunity, went to his Mother's Kindred in the Mountains, where he muſtered up 20000 able Men. His Pay was good, and all being in readineſs, he began his March from the *Teſſeven* Mountains to *Moruecos*. This was bad News to *Abdela*: His *Shracies* were then gone home, and the *Moruecans* deſerted in great numbers to *Hamet Beſonne*, ſo that he reſolved to take the uſual Courſe to *Fez*, which he did in haſte, believing his Couſin to be much nearer than he really was. *Muley Sidan*'s Mother hoping this new Stir was in

favour

His Succeſs.

favour of her Son's Title, ſent *Boſonne* a conſiderable aſſiſtance: but upon his arrival at *Moruecas*, he proclaim'd himſelf King, and diſmiſt all the Favourers of *Sidan*. His Treaſury he diſpers'd largely among his Followers; he compell'd no Man into his Service; nay, ſome Chriſtians who deſir'd leave to be gone, he ſent home at his own charge. *Boſonne*'s Mother hearing of this Succeſs, brought him ſome more Forces, and in her way beſieg'd the place where *Boſeres* was; but he made a ſhift to eſcape to *Sally*, and when ſhe miſs'd him in the Morning, ſhe cut off the Governour's Head out of revenge.

His Mother's Zeal and Activity.

Boſonne ſhamefully beaten.

Boſonne poiſoned.

The Mother of *Muley Sidan* was no leſs zealous for the reſettling her Son in the Throne: to furniſh him with the neceſſary Charges of an Army, ſhe ſold all her Place and Jewels. *Hamet Boſonne* march'd againſt him; both Armies met near *Moruccos*, and a principal Perſon in *Suz* at the Head of his whole Family, conſiſting of five hundred Men, charged *Boſonne* alone with great valour; to prevent their being maſter'd with numbers, *Sidan* ſent five hundred more to his aſſiſtance, and with this thouſand he chaſed *Boſonne* out of the Field. *Sidan* entred *Moruecos*, and continued there in peace three Months, till *Boſonne* ſaw fit to tempt his Fortune once more by preſenting himſelf before the City; but upon the failure of the expected help from the Townſ-men, who he thought loved him, he was routed a ſecond time, and fled into the Mountains, and in four days after was poiſoned by the procurement of *Alkeid Azus*, a Man that had been of great note in the Reign of *Muley Hamet Xariff*, but in the preſent Diſtractions of the Kingdom, was retir'd to a Caſtle of his own in the Mountains.

Propoſals to the *Spaniards*.

The Galleys return home.

By this time *Muley Sheck* grew apprehenſive of *Sidan*, and therefore diſpatch'd an *Italian* Merchant, one *John Elina*, to the King of *Spain*, offering him the Ports of *Allaroche*, *Sally*, *Alcaſar*, and other Places, if he would aſſiſt him to recover his Right. This Propoſal ſucceeded: but when the Galeons and Gallies of *Naples*, being in all 100 Sail, came to take Poſſeſſion of *Allaroche*, with Pioneers, and all things neceſſary for raiſing Forts, 30000 Larbies came down and oppoſed their landing, which Diſappointment obliged the *Spaniards* to return home.

The Degrees of Men in this Country.

The Degrees of Men in this Kingdom are *Muleys*, *i. e.* the Kings Sons or Blood Royal: *Baſha's* or Captain Generals over Armies: *Alkeids*, or Governours, as well of Garriſons as of Provinces: *Ferres*, Gentlemen retaining to the Sword, but of leſs Command than the *Alkeid*: *Babaia*, the *Alkeid*'s Lieutenant: *Brakbaſhi*, a Sergeant: *Debuſhi*, a Captain over thirty: *Remie*, the common Souldier. In the time of *Hamet Xariff*, there were fifty thouſand Horſe kept in pay, ſome of which ſerved with the Lance, others with the Spear, called *Spahaias*; ſome, particularly thoſe of *Fez*, on Horſeback, with the Croſs-bow; and ſixteen thouſand Foot. The *Larbies* are the beſt Horſe, and the *Brebies* fitteſt for Foot.

Beſides theſe, there is the name *Sheck*, ſignifying the prime and beſt Blood of the Kindred: this is commonly given to the Eldeſt Son of a Family, or Clan, and they are ſo powerful, that ſome of them are able to bring 10000 Horſe of their own *Clan* into the Field; the Humour of theſe People inclining to a profound Veneration for the Head of their Family. The King's eldeſt Son does not diſclaim to make uſe of this Title.

Execution of Juſtice.

Once a Month on *Fridays* after Prayers, the King hears Appeals from inferiour Judges, and a Stranger has eaſier Acceſs to plead his Cauſe, when the King ſits, than a natural born Subject. The inferiour Judges are all Church-men, and ſuch as are the ſtricteſt Livers, and leaſt inclinable to Avarice, or other Sins which byaſs Judges are the firſt preferred. Next the King is the *Mufti*, to whom Appeals ly from the lower Courts. There are three *Mufti's*, one in *Moruecos*, another in *Fez*, and a third at *Taradant* in *Sus*. He at *Moruecos* ſits with the King, and every *Friday* in the Afternoon by himſelf. Tho' this be an eminent place, yet he is but poor in reſpect of what he might be if he ſtrain'd Juſtice.

The ordinary Judge.

The common Judge ſits every day two hours before Noon and two after: Every large Town has a Judge, who determines the Cauſes of the Town and adjacent Country. Every Man pleads for himſelf, and when both Parties have done, the Judge proceeds to ſentence; ſo that a Cauſe may be ended in a Day. If either Party deſires to call Witneſſes, three Days are allow'd him to do it, and the oppoſite Party has the ſame time to diſprove what they depoſe: But if a Witneſs be infamous in his Morals, or given to Drunkenneſs, Adultery or the like, or if it can be proved that the Evidence does not ſay his Prayers ſix times in 24 Hours, he is not capable of being a legal Witneſs. Thus ſeven Days put a Concluſion to the moſt tedious Law-Suite. If an Obligation be brought into Court, he that is bound, muſt either pay the Debt, go to Priſon, or give a Pawn to the value of the Debt or more, and nine Days are allowed for the redeeming of his Pawn; but if 'tis not redeemed in that time, the thing pawned is ſold.

The *Scrivano's*.

The *Scrivano's* are aſſiſtant to theſe Judges, and generally ſucceed them. Their Buſineſs is to draw Writings, which are plain, and ſo ſhort, that if you bargain for 10000 Pounds, your Contract ſhall be compriſed in ten Lines; and this Price is ſo low, that for drawing an Obligation, they have but two Pence *Engliſh*.

The *Steryes*.

Next are the *Steryes* (like our Sheriff's Officers) who execute the Sentence of the Judge, and call upon People to anſwer the Writs againſt them, and always attend in the Houſe of the Judge to be ready upon occaſion.

The *Muffiteb*.

The *Muffiteb*'s Office is to examine Weights and Meaſures: If they catch any faulty, all the Wares in the Shop are given to the Poor, the Party proclaim'd an unjuſt Man, and ſeverely whip't.

The *Hackam*.

The *Hackam* is Judge of Life and Death: The manner of Execution, is by cutting the Throat of the Offender, which is done immediately after Sentence. Murder, Theft, and Adultery are Death, and by Proclamation the King can make what he pleaſes Capital, which the *Hackam* muſt ſee executed on pain of looſing his Head.

Muckadens.

The *Muckadens* are the *Hackams* Deputies, and in his Abſence are inveſted with his Authority.

Fokers.

The *Fokers* or Saints live in the beſt places of the Country, and obſerve great hoſpitality towards Strangers. Theſe Men do much good by their Example, their Liberality to the Poor, their Readineſs to compoſe Differences, and their good Offices in quieting Diſorders: By this they gain ſuch Love and Reſpect, that their Houſes are reputed Sanctuaries; nay, the King himſelf will not violate them but upon great neceſſity.

The ſtrength of *Barbary*.

The Force of this Kingdom is chiefly Horſe; for in all their Armies you ſhall have three Horſe-men to one Foot. Their Armour is a Buff Jerkin for the better ſort, and tann'd Leather for the reſt: ſome have Coats of Mail. Their Weapons are a Horſe-men's Staff, Target, and Sword, or a Horſe-man's Piece and Sword. The Succeſs of a Battel depends generally on the Advantage of the firſt Onſet, for they ſeldom hold it long. The *Larbies* will ſtand more firmly in a Fight occaſioned by ſome Fewd between their Families, than in the Service of their King; for upon ſuch an Account ſometimes 10000 Men have fallen at a time. Their way is, when the Affront is given, to mount the faireſt Virgin they have on Horſe-back, with a Flag in her Hand to ſollicite her Kindred to revenge. She goes foremoſt to the Fight, which emboldens her Party; for if the Enemy wins her, 'tis counted a Diſgrace to the Aggreſſors to the ſeventh Generation.

If one of a Tribe is kill'd, the firſt Man of the Tribe that ſlew him, they ſet upon, and that ſatisfies the Loſs.

The *Brebers* maintain theſe Quarrels too: when they go to fight, their Women keep cloſe behind, with a ſtaining colour in their Hands call'd *Hanna*, with which they daub any of their Men that they obſerve to give ground; and this Policy makes 'em fight to the laſt.

Their Trade.

When the old King (*Muley Hamet*) was quitly fixed on the Throne, he warr'd againſt the *Negroes*, deſigning when he had conquer'd 'em, to eſtabliſh a Trade between that Country and his own, in ſending Salt and other land Commodities for their Gold, which he rather chooſed to import than to dig the Mines in his own Kingdom; taking care at the ſame time to cut the Throats of the Diſcoverers, leſt the Secret ſpreading, ſhould tempt his Enemies to an Invaſion.

The much difficulty in their Journey to *Gago*.

His Souldiers took *Gago* from the *Negroes*, a conſiderable Town, ſituate on the River *Synega*, 300 Leagues up the Continent, and built there a Place for *Barbarian* Merchants, and a Cuſtom-houſe for the King. The Merchants to that Country make it ſix Months Journey from *Moruecos*, two of which they travel thro' uninhabited ſandy Deſarts. Their Guides ſteer their Courſe by the Sun, Moon, and Stars. If they miſs their way, they ſeldom get thro' alive, in which caſe their Carcaſſes conſume not, but turn into *Mummi*, in all reſpects as phyſical as that which comes from *Alexandria*. They go in Companies of two or three hundred at a time: their Water is carried upon Camels both for themſelves and Beaſts; and if it fails, they kill their Beaſts and drink their Blood rather than periſh. If the Wind blows at North-eaſt, they cannot unlade their Camels, leſt the Sands ſhould cover them. The Commodities they carry are great quantities of Cloth, Amber-beads, and Coral; but the chief Commodity is Salt, which is bought at *Tegazza* and other places, for four Shillings a Camel's

Load,

The Negroes way of Trade

Load, *i. e.* 600 weight, and pays to the Cuſtom-houſe at *Gago* five Pounds; then they ſell it far up in the Country to a deform'd ſort of *Negroes*, who never ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen in Negotiating Commerce with a Stranger; ſo they take this Courſe; they leave their Salt in the Field, after they are gone, comes the *Negroe*, and againſt each Parcel lays as much Gold as he thinks 'tis worth, and leaves the Gold with the Salt. The *Moor* at his return, if he likes the Price, takes away the Gold, if not, he takes away as much from his Heap as hee'l ſell for the Gold. When the *Negroe* ſees it, he either adds more Gold, or takes away his own Gold, and there's an end of the Bargain. But they ſeldom diſagree; for in moſt Bargains the *Moors* makes a rich Return, and the King a full Treaſure. The Gold theſe *Negroes* have, is not coined, but reſembles ſmall Gravel or Sand after a Glut of Rain, on the dry Banks of Mountains and Rivers.

CHAP. XI.

An Account of the Places in Africa, *poſſeſs'd by the King of* Spain *and the* Great Turk.

THE King of *Spain* is Maſter of *Oran*, *Merſalquibri*, *Mililla*, and *Pennon*, within the Streights; *Ceuta*, *Tanger*, and *Arzil*, near the Streights Mouth; theſe laſt he claims by the Title of *Portugal*, as alſo *Mazagan* 20 Miles South of *Arzil*, without the Streights. The Iſlands of *Madera*, *Puerto Santo*, the *Canaries*, the Iſles of *Arguin*, *Cabo Verde*, the Iſle *del Principe*, and St. *Thomas*, from *Cape de Guerre* to *Guardafu*, along the Coaſt of *Africk*: Theſe with ſome ſmall Iſles adjoining belong to *Spain*. They are maintain'd chiefly with their own Proviſions. Sugar, Fruits, and Wine, the *Madera's* abound with: There are good ſtore of Sugars likewiſe in St. *Thomas*'s Iſle.

Theſe Iſles receive no diſturbance but from the *Engliſh* and *French*: In the Iſles of *Arguin* and St. *George de la Mina*, the *Portugueſe* Factories are built like Fortreſſes, and from thence they trade with *Guiny* and *Libya*, and carry from thence the Gold of *Mandinga*, and the Neighbouring places. The richeſt Prince hereabouts is the King of *Congo*, the moſt flouriſhing Country in *Ethiopia*. The *Portugueſe* have two Colonies there, one in the City of S. *Salvador*, the other in the Iſland *Loanda*. They receive great Profit from theſe places, particularly 5000 Slaves, which they tranſport from thence every Year, and ſell them at good advantage in the *Weſt-Indies*, the Crown of *Portugal* receiving a certain Tax for every Slave ſo tranſported.

From this Country 'twould be no difficult matter to go to *Preſter John*'s Dominions, which are thought not to be far off, and abound with Elephants, and all Neceſſaries for Travellers. *Angola* borders upon *Congo*; and not long ſince *Paulo Dios*, a *Portugueze* Captain, maintain'd a War with the Prince of *Angola*. The Occaſion of it was, to gain ſome Silver Mines in the Mountains of *Cebambe*, which are ſaid to afford better Silver than thoſe of *Potoſi*, and as large a quantity. If the *Portugueſe* had followed this Deſign, they might have found more Riches probably than in their more diſtant and chargeable Conqueſt of *India*, *Malacca*, and the *Maluccoes*. No Countries in the World abound more in Gold and Silver, than *Mandinga*, *Ethiopia*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Butua*, *Toroa*, *Maticuo*, *Bore*, *Quiticui*, *Monomotapa*, *Caſati*, and *Bobenemugi*.

An Error of the Portugueſe.

The Portugueſe poſſeſſion along the Coaſt.

Between the Capes of *Good Hope* and *Guardafu*, the *Portugueſe* have the Fortreſſes of *Sena*, *Cephala*, and *Mozambique*; by theſe they maintain their Trade with thoſe rich Countries, and there their Ships may put in and refit. The King of *Melinde* is their great Friend, and *Quiloa* and the adjoining Iſles pay tribute to them. The *Portugueſe* want nothing but Men to cultivate theſe Iſlands. They uſed formerly to fear no Sea Force but the *Turks*, for whom they were hard enough: But ſince the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* begun to trade this way, their Intereſt is much decayed in theſe parts.

The Turks Poſſeſſions in this part of the World.

The *Turks* are poſſeſs'd of all the Coaſt from *Velez de Gumera* to the *Red Sea*, except *Oran*, *Merſalquibir*, *Mililla* and *Pennon*, before-mention'd. Upon this Coaſt belonging to the *Turks*, are ſituated *Tremaſine*, *Algier*, *Tenez*, *Bugia*, *Conſtantina*, *Tunis*, *Tripolis*, and all *Egypt*, from *Alexandria* to the City of *Aſna*, with part of *Arabia Trogloditica*, from *Suez* to *Suachen*. At *Algier*, *Tunis* and *Tripolis*, the *Grand Seignior* has Governours call'd *Beglerbeys* or *Baſſa's*. He has alſo one at *Miſſir* for *Egypt*, and another at *Suachen* for the Country adjoining At *Suez* is his chief Arſenal for building or refitting his Galleys, where 25 of 'em may lie cover'd.

CHAP. XII.

The Deſcription of Algier, *with the Hiſtory of its falling into the Hands of* Barbaroſſa; *and a ſhort Account of* Malta *and* Tripoli: *Taken from* Nicolas Nicolay.

Situation.

ALgier is an ancient City, ſituate upon the Mediterranean, on the Brow of a Hill, encompaſs'd with ſtrong Walls, Ramparts, and Ditches; its Form almoſt triangular: 'Tis broad towards the Sea, and extends it ſelf up the Mountain to a very narrow Point: At the top of the Hill ſtands a Fort to command the Town and the Entry into the Haven. The Buildings (which exceed the Palace Royal) are handſome enough. Here are a great many Baths and Cook's Shops. The Streets are ſo contriv'd, that every Occupation has its particular place aſſign'd for it. At the Foot of the City, which is towards the North, joining to the Walls, which are waſh'd by the Sea, is their principal *Moſque*, a piece of good Architecture. A little below that ſtands the *Arſenal*, into which they haul up the Galleys and other Veſſels to refit. This place is wonderfully peopled, conſidering the bigneſs of it; 'tis inhabited by *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Jews* in great number, who merchandiſe very cunningly, and lend Money at Uſury. They have two Market-Days in a Week, to which all the Country People flock from the Mountains, Plains, and Valleys. Every thing is cheap here: I have ſeen a Partridge ſold for a *Judit*, which is worth about four pence farthing. They have Hot-houſes, where Eggs are hatch'd without the help of the Hen, and this makes Fowl very plentiful. They ſhoe their Camels and Oxen, and ride about the Streets on them, as upon 'em, calling aloud to every one to have a care, becauſe of the Crowd of People. Some *Moors* get on Horſe-back without Bridle or Saddle, only a String in the Horſe's Mouth to guide them.

Moſque.

Arſenal.

Number of Inhabitants.

Market.

Habit of the People.

The *Moors* are generally naked, except about their Privities, and a Linnen Cloth rolled about their Heads, and ty'd under the Chin.

Weapons.

Their Weapons are three Darts, which they throw with great ſkill; to their Left-hand is faſtened a crooked ſort of Dagger, which they uſe in a cloſe Engagement. Moſt of the *Turks* of *Algier* are *Renegado Chriſtians*, given to all beaſtly Vices, as Sodomy and the like: They get moſt by pirating. They ſell their *Chriſtian* Captives to the *Moors* for Slaves, who either ſell them again, or imploy them in their own work, and give 'em very hard uſage.

Gardens.

Without the City on the Weſt, are pleaſant Gardens, the Ground hereabouts being very fruitful. On the Eaſt runs the River *Savo*, which drives ſome Mills, and is fit to drink. The *Mooriſh* Women, Maids, and Slaves, waſh their Linnen in the Sea, being quite naked, except a ſmall matter to cover the Privities, which you may view for a Trifle if you be diſpos'd. Their Ornaments about the Neck and Arms, are great Bracelets of Latten ſet with falſe Stones. But the *Turks* or *Moors* Wives are covered from Head to Foot with a large black, white, or violet coloured *Barnuche*, which is made of a Blanket.

The Tower near the City

The ſecond Day after I got to *Algier*, I hired a *Renegado Spaniard* to ſhew me the Town: He carried me to an high Mountain a Mile diſtant from the Town, to view the Situation of a ſtrong Tower built upon another Mountain near it. Upon enquiry, he told me the Ditches about that Tower were two Spear's length deep, and ſeventeen Fathom broad, except towards the North, where 'twas only ſeven Fathoms. He ſaid there were in that Tower nine great caſt Pieces, and eighteen others. In the middle of the Tower is a Well of good Water; near that ſtands a Wind-mill, beſides another without the Gates. The uſual Garriſon is 30 Souldiers. This Tower defends the Heads of the Fountains that ſupply the Town with Water, the City being ſupplied from this place.

The Revolutions in this Government

Barbaroſſa choſen Captain.

Algier was a long time ſubject to the King of *Telenſin*, till the Men of *Bugie* elected a new King, to whom this place ſubmitted, as being nearer at Hand to protect them than *Telenſin*. At laſt finding themſelves undiſturb'd and free, they fitted out Ships and turn'd Pyrates. *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, to curb the growing Miſchief, beſieged them with a great Army, and built a Fort in a little Iſland that lies againſt the Town, which obliged them to ſue for a Truce of ten Years, they being oblig'd to pay *Ferdinand* a certain yearly Tribute, which was perform'd during his Life. Afterwards taking their Opportunity, they broke the Truce, choſing *Cairadin Barbaroſſa* their Captain, who after the Siege of *Bone*, retir'd to the Caſtle of *Gegill*, ſituate on the Coaſt of the Mediterranean, on the top of an high Rock, at the diſtance of 70 Miles from *Bugie*. He drove the *Spaniards* out of the Fort, and demoliſh'd it, and puffed up with his Succeſs, treacherouſly ſlew *Selim*, a Prince of *Arabia*, in a Bath, becauſe he had declar'd himſelf Lord of the City. After this, he aſſum'd the Title of King, coined Money, and managed ſo well, that moſt of his Nighbours became tributary to him; and this was the beginning of the great Power of *Barbaroſſa*. To him ſucceeded his Brother *Hariadine*, who left it to his Son *Caſſam*, that reign'd when we were there.

A venomous ſort of Mice.

To purſue our Voyage, when we left Cape *Matefuz*, we were oblig'd by contrary Winds to caſt Anchor at Cape *Teddel*, at which place we ſaw a deep Inlet by a great Rock, the Bottom of which is waſh'd by the Sea: We entered with our Skiff half way, but were forced to return, by reaſon of multitudes of ſtrange Mice, whoſe Piſs is venomous; ſo we were glad to return ſafe, covering our ſelves in our Cloaks, for fear of any hurt of that kind. This part of the Sea is full of Rocks and Mountains.

Teddel.

Teddel is a City containing 2000 Houſes; it lies on the ſame Coaſt at the bottom of a Mountain and a great Rock. On the Mountain is built a Caſtle, which has a Wall ſtretching to the Town-Wall, to ſecure a Communication with the Town. The *Africans* firſt built it: The Inhabitants live chiefly by Fiſhing, and dying Wool and Cloth. Theſe People are very muſical, moſt of them delighting in the Harp and Lute. Their Government is the ſame as that of *Algier*. We had a quick Paſſage from hence to *Gigeri*: Near that place we met with a *Boraſque* or *Flaa*, which had drown'd us all, if the Sailors had not beſtir'd themſelves nimbly to take in the Sails. Our Frigat was loſt by it, but moſt of the Men ſav'd. Theſe Whirl-winds are very frequent and dangerous along the Coaſt of *Barbary*, but they are ſoon over.

Bone.

The 25th in the Evening, we arrived at Port *Bone*, and a Compliment was ſent to the *Caddy* or Governour of the place for the King of *Algier*. He was a *Renegado Chriſtian*, but behaved himſelf very courteouſly to us, and ſent us very handſome Refreſhments.

St. Auſtin's Biſhoprick.

The Caſtle.

The Spaniards beaten.

This Place was founded by the *Romans*, and called then *Hippon*; St. *Auſtin* was Biſhop of it formerly. It ſtands upon high and ragged Rocks. It has a very ſumptuous *Moſque*, to which the Houſe of the *Caddy* joins. The South part of the Town is ſituate much lower, and well accommodated with Wells and Fountains. This place has been twice pillaged by the *Spaniards*, ſo that its Buildings are mean, and it contains not above 300 Hearths. *Charles* V. when he had taken the Town, built a Caſtle upon an Eminence on the Weſt ſide, which commanded all round, and provided it well with Water, which is ſcarce here upon ſuch high Grounds: but the *Turks* and *Moors* chas'd and diſpoſſeſs'd the *Spaniards* ſhortly after, and raſed the Works. To the Eaſt of the Town you have a fine Champion Country, abounding in Corn Fields and Paſtures, which feed ſuch numbers of Cattle, that not only *Bone*, but *Tunis* and the Iſle of *Gertes*, is furniſh'd with Butter and Milk from hence. There are very pleaſant Gardens hereabouts. A little from this Town is a Church between two Rocks, ſaid to have been the Church of St. *Auſtin*. The Country hereabout is peſtered with thieves, called *Alerbes*: I ſaw from a Hill a little Troop of them ſtark naked, mounted on Horſe-back with their Darts in their Hands. Great quantities of good Coral are found in the Road before the Fortreſs.

A flying Fiſh.

The 26th we left *Bone*, and having paſs'd the Cape of *Roſe*, we came in ſight of the Iſles *De la Galite*, and *Des Symboles*, where a Fiſh flew into our Galley of the Length, Colour, and Bigneſs of a great *Sardin*; it had two Wings before and two behind: this Fiſh the *Moors* call *Indole*. The 28th we arrived at *Pantalaree*.

Pantalare. Ins.

This Iſland is hilly and full of Rocks: It produces Cotton, Capers, Figs, Melons, and Raiſins, and is well ſtor'd with Ciſternes. Here are ſeveral Houſes built under Ground, like Caves, which was done by the *Moors* when they poſſeſs'd it. Along the Shoar there are black Stones, glittering like fine Jet. They have no Horſes, but Oxen enough. They fetch their Corn from *Sicily*, to which they are ſubject. Here grows a Tree like *Nerte*, which produces a Fruit that's red at firſt, and turns black when it is ripe. The Inhabitants make Oil of it, which they uſe both for Victuals, and for their Lamps, and the Women anoint their Hair with it to make it long and fair. Both the Men and Women are dexterous Swimmers. I have known a Woman ſwim aboard our Gally with a Baſket of Fruit to ſell. This Iſland is 30 Miles long, and about ten broad: the People that live in it are very poor.

The Barbarity of the Turks.

We went from hence with a fair Wind to *Malta*, where we met with the melancholly Stories of what the *Turks* had done there, in raviſhing the Women, plundering, burning, and deſtroying all they met with. Thus had they ſerved *Auguſta* a Town in *Sicily*, *Michetto* in *Malta*, and deſtroy'd the Suburbs of St. *Paul*, the City being too hard for them. They took alſo the Caſtle in the Iſle of *Goze*, carrying from that place, of Men, Women, and Children 6300 Slaves.

The Siege of Tripoli.

The ſixth of *Auguſt*, we came to *Tripoli*, a City which *Charles* V. gave to the Knights of *Malta*. I ſaw the Market where the poor Captives of *Sicily*, *Malta*, and *Goze*, were afterwards ſold to the higheſt Bidders. The laſt Bidder having leave to ſtrip them quite naked to ſee if they have any Infirmity, upon which Occaſion they inſpect their Mouth, and look at their Eyes as if they were Horſes. The next day the *Turks* (who had ſate down before this place after their late Ravages) began to fire upon the Caſtle with great fury. The Beſieged made Offers to capitulate, but the *Turks* having inveigled the Governour of that Place into their Hands, by a ſeeming Conſent to moſt of the Articles demanded, and aſſuring the Governour of Safety, only deſiring to diſcourſe with him upon ſome Particulars of the Treaty between them; tho' I ſay they had firſt broke their Faith with him, the credulous Defenders were notwithſtanding deluded into a Capitulation; but the Town was no ſooner deliver'd than the Agreement was violated, all the Knights and others being made Slaves, and 200 *Moors*, who ſerved them, cut in pieces.

Tho' the Buildings, within this Town are moſtly ruined, it has ſtill very fair and ſtrong Walls, with many Turrets, double Ditches, and falſe Breaches, environed on three parts with the Sea: Within the Walls are plenty of Wells and Fountains. In the middle of the Town

Antiquities.

is a Triumphal Arch of white Marble, with four Faces upon four Pillars, of the *Corinthian* Order. In the Front on the Eaſt, is a Chariot drawn by two great Griffins, and within it Victory with two Wings. On the Weſt another Chariot, with *Pallas* ſitting in it, and a *Roman* Inſcription round it, but now not legible; only thus much may be learnt, that it was made in the time of *Lentulus*. The Inſide of the Arch was full of Ornaments, and above, it had the form of a ſquare Turret. The two other Faces looking North and South, were cut in the Form of the upper part of the Body down to the Waſte, without Heads: The reſt was adorned with Trophy Work. Not far from hence is a ſquare place ſurrounded with Pillars in two Rows like a Porch, and near it are the Ruins of an high Tower, which is ſaid to have been the great Moſque of the City: There are many other ruinous Antiquities.

The Cruelty of the *Turks*.

The *Turks* repair'd the Caſtle, and ſtored it with all ſorts of Ammunition and Ordnance. There were, of Knights and Souldiers, 600 in the Caſtle when it was taken; a great ſhame to ſurrender ſo tamely, without any apparent reaſon of War for it. The *Turkiſh* General deliver'd at laſt 200 of his Priſoners, and 20 more in exchange for 30 *Turks* taken at *Malta*. The *Turks* made monſtrous Rejoicings for their Conqueſt; and to crown the Triumph, they put to death, in a barbarous manner, a Gunner of the Caſtle, becauſe he happened, during the Siege, to ſhoot off the Hand of the Clerk-General of the Army. They cut off his Hands and Noſe, and ſet him alive in the Ground up to the Waſte; and after they had tormented him with ſhooting Arrows at him, they put an end to his wretched Life by cutting his Throat.

CHAP. XIII.

An Account of the moſt remarkable Occurrences in the Voyage of the Engliſh *Fleet, ſent againſt the* Algerines *and Others, under the Command of Sir* Robert Manſel, *Knight.*

THE Force and Burthen of the Ships was as follows.

The Admiral's Ship, the *Lyon*, 600 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

Sir *Thomas Button*, Rear-admiral, his Ship the *Rainbow*, 660 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

Sir *Richard Hawkins*, Vice-Admiral in the *Vanguard*, 660 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

In the *Conſtant Reformation*, *Manwaring* Capt. 660 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

In the *Antilope*, Sir *Henry Palmer* Capt. 400 Tuns, 160 Men, 34 Guns.

In the *Convertine*, *Love* Capt. 500 Tuns, 220 Men, 36 Guns.

All theſe Ordnance were Braſs: Beſides the King's Ships, there were ten Merchant-Ships, whoſe Force was as follows.

The *Golden Phenix* 300 Tuns, 120 Men, 24 Guns.
The *Samuel* 300 Tuns, 120 Men, 22 Guns.
The *Marygold* 260 Tuns, 100 Men, 21 Guns.
The *Zouch Phenix* 280 Tuns, 120 Men, 26 Guns.
The *Barbary* 200 Tuns, 80 Men, 18 Guns.
The *Centurion* 200 Tuns, 100 Men, 22 Guns.
The *Primroſe* 180 Tuns, 80 Men, 18 Guns.
The *Hercules* 300 Tuns, 120 Men, 24 Guns.
The *Neptune* 280 Tuns, 120 Men, 21 Guns.
The *Merchant Bonaventure* 260 Tuns, 110 Men, 23 Guns.
The *Reſtore* 130 Tuns, 50 Men, 12 Guns.
The *Marmaduke* 100 Tuns, 50 Men, 12 Guns.

The Civility of the *Spaniards* to our Fleet.

The Ordnance of the Merchant-Ships were all Iron: The Fleet thus equip'd, ſet ſail from *Plymouth* the 12th of *October*, 1620. The 31ſt in the Morning, we entred the Streights of *Gibraltar*, where two of the King of *Spain*'s Ships of War lay at anchor. When they ſaw us, they weighed Anchor, ſteer'd to the Leeward of the Admiral, ſtruck their Flag, and ſaluted us with their Guns, which Ceremony was returned by all our Fleet in good order. Next we ſaluted the Town, which returned it to us. The *Spaniſh* Captain came on board us, and told us there were a great many Pirates abroad; that two of them had fought ſeven *Spaniſh* Galleys, and kill'd them 400 Men: that they had been at a Town call'd *Sceria*, with 30 Ships and ten Galleys, had took it, and carried off many Priſoners, and that they threatned *Gibralter*. The ſecond, the Wind at North-eaſt, we weighed Anchor, and kept our Courſe North-eaſt and by Eaſt, and the third we came into the Road of *Malaga*. The ſixth we weighed anchor again, the Wind at North-weſt. Before we ſail'd, the Fleet divided into three Squadrons; the Admiral kept ſix Leagues from the Shoar, the Vice-admiral three Leagues without him, and the Rear-admiral three Leagues within him.

Our Arrival at *Algier*.

The 27th we caſt Anchor in *Algier*-road, at 27 Fathom Water, out of the reach of the Guns of the Town or Caſtle. We ſaluted them with our Ordnance, but they return'd us not one ſhot. Next Day the Admiral ſent a Gentleman aſhoar with a white Flag, to let the Vice-roy know the Cauſe of our coming, who returned us anſwer, by four Men with a white Flag, that he had Orders from the *Grand Signior* to uſe us with all reſpect; that our Men might have the free liberty of the Shoar, to buy what Proviſions they wanted; Promiſing withal, that if the Admiral would ſend any Gentleman of Quality aſhoar with the King's Letters, that upon the diſcharging of a Piece of Ordnance, he ſhould have ſufficient Hoſtages ſent aboard them. This Night the Pirates brought in three Prizes, one *Fleming*, and two *Engliſh*.

The Admiral diſpleas'd with the management of the *Algerines*.

The 6th of *December*, after many Debates, they ſent us 40 Captives, pretending they had no more in the Town. The next day the Admiral ſent a Letter to the *Baſhaw* to complain of this treacherous management. The eighth we ſet ſail, and the 14th we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Alcotha*, on the North ſide of the Iſland: Here we provided our ſelves with Wood, Water and Ballaſt. The People were very civil, bringing us all manner of Proviſions at eaſy Rates. The 24th we ſail'd: the 29th we put into *Majorca* to take in freſh Water.

Majorca.

The Town of *Majorca* is large, and well fortified, and the People are induſtrious, both Men, Women, and Children, being given to Labour. They are extreamly civil to Strangers, and have all manner of Victuals in plenty, and at eaſy Rates. Their Commodities are Oil, Wood, and Cheeſe, of which they have great plenty.

Return to *Algiers*.

Preparations to fire the Ships in the Mould.

The 21ſt of *May*, we came to an Anchor in *Algier*, and ſoon after the Admiral order'd ſix of the Merchant Ships to ply to and again to the Weſtward near the Shoar, to prevent any Pirates from getting in; and Preparations were made for executing a Deſign of firing the Ships in the Mould. Two Ships we had taken from the *Turks*, were to go on this Enterpriſe. They were fill'd with all combuſtible matter, and provided with Chains and Grapling-Irons, and Boats to bring them off; next them three *Brigandines* followed, with Fire-balls, Buckets of Wild-fire, and Fire-pikes to faſten their Fire-works to the Enemies Ships. They had alſo a *Gunlod* fitted up with Fire-works, Chains and Grapling-Irons: The *Gunlod* was to be fired in the midſt of the Ships in the Mould. There was alſo ſeven Boats, mann'd with arm'd Men, to reſcue the Boats of the Fire-ſhips if purſued: They had ſome Fire-works too, to fire the Ships without the Mould. The Wind not offering, the Attempt was put off till the 24th, the Wind being then at S. S. W. the Ships advanc'd to the Mould, but when they were within a Muſket-ſhot of it, the Weather grew ſo calm, they could not enter: However the Boats and Brigandines went on, as being inform'd by a Chriſtian Slave, who ſwam aboard of them, that the *Turks* not expecting ſuch an Attempt, had left no guard in any of their Ships, except one or two; but wanting Wind to nouriſh and diſperſe the Fire, the Fire-works took no effect. The Attempt was made under the Walls of the Town, from whence they fired furiouſly upon our Men, both with great and ſmall Guns. All the damage we ſuſtain'd was in coming off; for our Men were got into the Mould before the Town was alarm'd; and when there, they kept the Enemies Ships between them and the Town. In this Adventure we loſt only ſix Men, beſides four or five dangerouſly wounded, who died ſhortly after, and 13 ſlightly hurt.

The 25th, four Sail of Pyrates got into *Algier*, notwithſtanding the Merchant-Ships that cruiz'd near the Shoar to prevent them; for the Wind being Weſtward, and a ſtrong Current to the Eaſt, drove our Ships ſo far to the Leeward, that they could not cut them off from the Port; tho' one of our Ships came ſo near as to exchange ſome Shot, but without doing any damage: That ſame Night we weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood off to Sea.

A Pirate run aſhoar.

The 28th, the *Bonadventure* run a Pirate aſhoar, who had 130 *Turks* aboard, and 12 *Chriſtian* Captives: They were all drown'd but 12 *Turks*, who ſav'd themſelves by ſwimming. The 31ſt our Boats took up two *Genoueſe* Slaves, who had the Courage to ſwim from the Town to our Ships. They told us, that the Night we weighed Anchor, ſeven of the beſt Ships belonging to *Algier*, came in, and if we had ſtaid, it had been impoſſible for them to eſcape: That the *Turks* had boom'd up the Mould; that all the Ships were full of armed Men, and three Gallies and fifteen Boats lay continually before the Boom for a Guard.

CHAP. XIV.

A Relation of the Taking and Recovering the Jacob *of* Briſtow, *and ſome other* Adventurers *of* Engliſh *Ships.*

The Ship taken by the Pirates.

NEar the latter end of *October*, 1621, the *Jacob* of *Briſtow*, Burthen 120 Tuns, was, after a ſharp Fight, over-power'd and taken, by a *Corſair* of *Algier*. The *Turks* took all the Men out of the Ship but four, and ſent thirteen of their own aboard, to bring the Priſe to *Algier*, appointing one of the Number Captain over the reſt.

They redeem themſelves in a Storm.

The wretched Captives that were left aboard the *Engliſh* Ship, were under diſmal Apprehenſions of what they muſt ſuffer in caſe they were carried to *Algier*. This put their Invention upon the ſtretch how to free themſelves from ſo terrible a Slavery: And Providence favoured them with an Opportunity in the following manner. The fifth Night after their being taken, they had a great Storm; the Captain in the Diſtreſs lending his Hand to ſtrike the Sails, two of the *Engliſh* gave him a toſs over-board: He had almoſt got in again, by the help of a Rope he catch'd hold of, but was knock'd down again with the Handle of the Pump. In the confuſion of the Storm the reſt of the *Turks* did not mind it. This done, one of them ſtep'd to the Maſter's Cabin, paſſing by ſix or ſeven *Turks*, and fetch'd two Curtlaxes, with which ſurprizing the Pirates, they drove them from one part of the Ship to another, kill'd two, and made a third leap over-board, the other nine they drove betwixt Decks. All the Miſchief the *Turks* did them, was the unſhipping the Whipſtaff, which they got again, and putting the *Turks* (many of which were wounded) under Hatches, making uſe of them by twos and threes at a time, as they had occaſion, they brought the Ship into St. *Lucas* in *Spain*, where they ſold the *Turks* for Slaves.

John Fox's eſcape.

One *John Fox* was alſo ſtrangely delivered after a Captivity of eighteen Years: for taking his Opportunity, he ſlew his Keeper, and fled to the Sea-ſide, where he found a Galley with 150 Chriſtian Slaves, and all being of one mind, they weigh'd Anchor, and arriv'd ſafe in *Spain*. He afterwards came to *England*, and Queen *Elizabeth* to reward ſo daring an Action, allowed him a Penſion.

Capt. Nic's Valour.

Capt. *Nichols*, with the *Dolphin* of *London*, fought ſeveral *Turkiſh* Men of War at once: He ſunk ſome of them, and kill'd a great many Men; and tho' his Ship was much ſhatter'd, he made a ſhift to get off.

Malam's Adventure.

William Malam of *Rotherhith*, maintain'd a ſmart Fight with theſe Rovers; the Night putting an end to it, the Commadore of the *Turks* paſs'd his word, and bound it with an Oath, that if *Malam* would come and ſtay aboard his Ship all Night, he ſhould go and come freely next Morning. *Malam* went accordingly, firſt ordering his Mate to make all the Sail he could to get out of the reach of the *Turks*; which when the *Turks* perceiv'd next Morning, they would have put *Malam* to death; but he urging their ſolemn Promiſe and Oath, and a *Scotch* Ship appearing in ſight, after they had took that, they put *Malam* and a Merchant that was with him, aboard of her to ſink or ſwim, having pillag'd the Ship of Cables, Sails, Anchors, and all things neceſſary; but it pleaſed God to bring them ſafe to the Weſt of *England*. The Ship under his Mate's Command, came likewiſe ſafe into the *Thames*.

CHAP. XV.

The Particulars of the Recovery of the Exchange *of* Briſtow: *Publiſhed by* John Rawlins.

ON the firſt of *November*, 1621, the *Nicholas* of *Plymouth*, Burthen 40 Tuns, *John Rawlins* Maſter, ſet ſail from that place for the *Straits*, in company with the *Bonaventure*, of the ſame Port, burthen 70 Tuns.

Two Ships taken by Pirates.

The 18th of the ſame Month we came in ſight of *Gibraltar*, where the Watch diſcover'd five Ships making all the Sail they could towards us, for which reaſon we endeavour'd to keep off from them: At laſt our Suſpicion increaſing, we made the beſt of our way for *Tirriff* or *Gibraltar*, but to no purpoſe, for ere half the day was ſpent, the Admiral of the Pirates came up with the *Bonaventure* and took her, and the Vice-admiral a little after oblig'd *Rawlins* to ſtrike. The ſame day the Admiral put aſhoar twelve of the *Bonaventure*'s Crew, with ſome other *Engliſh* Captives taken before. The Vice-admiral knew better how to diſpoſe of his Priſoners, ſo he order'd *Rawlins* and five more to be brought aboard him, leaving three Men and a Boy, with thirteen *Turks* aboard the Prize. The Night after we had a Storm, in which we loſt ſight of the *Engliſh* Prize the *Nicholas*. On the 22d we arrived at *Algier*, but heard no news of the Bark. Here we learn'd the moſt dreadful Sufferings which we were to paſs thro'; how many Chriſtians had been forced to turn *Turks*, and others to proſtitute their Bodies to the moſt beaſtly Pollutions.

The Barbarity of the *Turks*.

The *Baſhaw* had the firſt view of the Priſoners, and choſe every eighth Man for himſelf; the reſt were ſent to Market, and if any ſeem'd backward, the Officers either beat them, or a prick'd them with Gords. To force them to turn *Turk*, or ſubmit to their Filthineſs, they diſplay'd their Cruelty after this manner: They laid them upon their Backs and Bellies, and beat them in that poſture till they bled at Noſe and Mouth; and if they ſtill prov'd conſtant, they beat out their Teeth, prick'd 'em by the Tongue, and try'd many other Tortures. Sometimes they laid them at full length in the Ground, as in a Grave, threatning to ſtarve them if they did not turn.

The 26th, *Rawlins*'s Bark came into the Mould, and the Priſoners were carried all together before the *Baſhaw*, except one Man and the Cabin-boy, who were perſwaded to turn. The *Baſhaw* choſe one of 'em for himſelf, and went to Market, where after a great deal of bartering, we were all ſold.

Rawlins threatned.

John Rawlins and his Carpenter were bought by the Captain that took him; *Rawlins*, by reaſon of his lame Hand, came very cheap, *viz.* 150 Doublets, that is, about ſeven Pounds ten Shillings; but perceiving that *Rawlins* could not work well, they told him that if he could not procure 15 Pounds of the *Engliſh* there for his Ranſome, he muſt be ſold high up into the Country, beyond all poſſibility of ever ſeeing *Chriſtendome* again. When theſe diſmal Tidings were brought to him, this happy Accident wrought his Eſcape: One *John Goodal* an *Engliſh Turk*, with his Partners, had bought the *Exchange* of *Briſtow*, a Ship formerly taken by the Pirates, which at this time lay unrigg'd in the Mould, and for which, they wanted ſome ſkilful Sailers; ſo underſtanding *Rawlings* was to be ſold, they ſought for him, and purchaſed him with two of his Men.

Is ſold again to an *Engliſh Renegado*.

They put to Sea.

The ſeventh of *January* the Ship was fitted up, and the ſame day haled out of the Mould; they had 12 caſt Guns, 63 *Moors* or *Turks*, nine *Engliſh* Slaves, one *French-man*, and four *Hollanders*, that were free Men; for their Gunners they had two of our Souldiers, one an *Engliſh*, and the other a *Dutch Renegado*. *John Rawlins* brook'd his working under Hatches, and other Symptoms of Slavery, ſo ill, that he ſpoke ſo publickly of attempting his Liberty, as put him and the whole Company of his fellow Slaves in danger; however no great notice was taken of it at firſt.

They take a *Chriſtian*.

The 15th of *January* we came up with a *Pollack*, which run her ſelf aſhoar to avoid us; upon that we ſent out our Boats, which lightning the Ship by throwing overboard her Ordnance, got her off. A *Turkiſh* Man of War had bore us company moſt of the time we were out; but our Men and they quarrell'd ſo about the dividing the Spoil of this Ship, that the Man of War returned to *Algier*, and we went out of the Strait's Mouth. We put nine *Turks*, and one *Engliſh* Slave out of our Ship aboard the Prize; and here the *Turks* mutined, as unwilling to go into the *Mar Granada*, as they call the Ocean; but in the concluſion they referr'd it to their *Hoſhea*, or *Prophet*, a ſort of Men much eſteem'd among them; for no large Veſſel goes to Sea without one; and when they are in the Ocean, he Divines every ſecond or third Night; the Ceremony he uſed when I ſaw him at his Conjuration was thus. Upon the ſight of two great Ships, fear'd to be two *Spaniſh* Men of War, a deep ſilence is commanded in the Ship, after that, all the Company gives a great Shriek; ſometimes the Sails are all taken in, and perhaps preſently after hoiſed out again, as the Conjurer preſages: There are alſo a Cutlas and two Arrows laid on a Cuſhion, one for the *Turks*, and the other for the Chriſtians, and a Curtlaxe: then this wiſe Man reads, and ſome one or other takes the two Arrows in his Hand by their Heads; if the Arrow for the *Chriſtians* comes over the Head of the Arrow for the *Turks*, it foretels they'll be taken; if the Arrow for the *Turks* comes over the Head of the Arrow for the *Chriſtian*, then they think themſelves ſure of ſucceſs. The Curtlaxe is taken up by a Child or ſome Perſon that is a Stranger to the matter, and 'tis much minded if it lie upon the ſame ſide or no. They obſerve Lunaticks too; for the Conjurer writes down their Sayings in a Book, groveling upon the Ground as if he whiſper'd to the Devil.

The Turkiſh Prophecying.

He had ſcarce done when we diſcover'd a Sail, which prov'd to be a *Turkiſh* Man of War: Our Commander made his Complaint to the Captain, of the Backwardneſs of the *Turks* to proceed in the Voyage; and he perſwaded them 'twas for their Honour rather to do it, than go home; ſo they were all well ſatisfied.

John Rawlins brings over many of the Crew to aſſiſt to reſcue themſelves.

John Rawlins in the mean time was providing himſelf with Ropes with broad Specks of Iron, and Iron Crows, to tie faſt the Scuttels, Gratings and Cabbins, and even to ſhut up the Captain himſelf, and all his Company, and ſo to manage the matter, that upon the Watch-word given, the *Engliſh* being Maſters of the Gun-room, Ordnance, and Powder, they might either blow them up, or kill them as they came out of their Cabbins. He diſcover'd this Plot by degrees to the four *Hollanders*, who offered to join with him; the *Hollanders* brought over the *Dutch Renegadoes*, and the *Engliſh Renegado* came in ſoon after. All this time *Rawlins* perſwaded the Captain ſtill to bear Northward, aſſuring him he could not miſs Prize, which happened accordingly; for on the ſixth of *February* we took a Bark of *Torbay*, that came from *Averare*, laden with Salt: We took out all their Men, the Mate, and two more, and put ten *Turks*, and the two *Dutch Renegadoes*, and the *Engliſh Renegade*, who were in the Confederacy, aboard the Prize; but before they went aboard, *Rawlins* aſſur'd them, that he would attempt it that very Night or the next, and they ſhould ſee a light on a certain part of the Ship if it went forward, and adviſ'd them to acquaint the *Engliſh* in the Bark with the Deſign, and to ſteer towards the *Engliſh* Coaſt; for the *Turks* being Souldiers, and unacquainted with Sea Affairs, 'twas no hard matter to put that Trick upon them. The Maſter of the Bark, and the reſt of the new made Slaves, were ſoon made acquainted with the Deſign, and reſolv'd to aſſiſt in it.

Next Morning the Prize was out of ſight, which made the Captain ſtorm and ſwear; ſo *Rawlins* being afraid he might return in that humour to *Algier*, went down into the Hold, and brought the Captain word that there was a great deal of Water below, and that it did not come to the Pump, becauſe the Ship was too far after the Head; ſo Orders were given for quitting the Cables, and bringing four Guns aſtern: Accordingly we brought two of them, with their Mouths right before the Biticle, and 'twas concluded, that we that did belong to the Gun-room, ſhould be all there, and break up the lower Deck; the *Engliſh* Slaves in the middle Deck ſhould do the ſame, and watch the Scuttels. *Rawlins* got as much Powder of the Gunner as would prime the Pieces; and pretended to the Captain, that to put the Ship in order, all Hands muſt work at the Pump; while this was doing, two Matches were brought, one between two Spoons, the other in a Can, for Secrecy, and immediately one of the Guns was diſcharg'd, which broke in pieces the Biticle; this noiſe gathered all our Men together, who clear'd the Hold of what *Moors* and *Turks* had been left below: The *Turks* at the Poop were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at it, and endeavour'd what they could to break in upon us; but we having ſeiz'd the Powder, ſlew many of them thro' little ſcout-holes with their own Muſkets; ſo that at laſt they cried for mercy, and were order'd to come down one by one; but the Rage of our Men was ſo great, they kill'd ſome of them after they came down, which made a great many others leap into the Sea; ſo that of 45, we brought but the Captain and five more into *England*: Our Company conſiſted of 24 and a Boy. The Captain and moſt of the *Renegadoes* were afterwards reconcil'd to the Chriſtian Faith. As ſoon as all was over, *John Rawlins* got all his Men together, and gave praiſe to God for their wonderful Deliverance: the thirteenth of *February* we got ſafe to *Plymouth*.

The Succeſs of their Deſign.

Another Engliſh Ship eſcapes by their Advice.

The Bark of *Torbay* (above-mentioned) arrived at *Penſance* in *Cornwall*: They had all along perſwaded the *Turks* that they were going to *Algier*, till they came in ſight of *England*, which one of the *Turks* ſaid, he was ſure was not *Cabe S. Vincent*; but they bid him go down and trim the Salt to Windward, and they ſhould know more to Morrow, and as ſoon as he and his Companions were gone down, they nailed down the Hatches. The *Turks* that were thus made Priſoners in the Bark, were brought to *Exeter*.

Chap. XVI.

A Collection of what relates to Africa, *in Mr.* George Sandys *his Hiſtory of the preſent State of the* Turkiſh *Empire.*

Rhodes.

RHodes is now inhabited by *Turks*, or *Jews*, only; the few *Chriſtians* that remain, who are *Greeks*, not being permitted to ſtay in the City after Sun-ſet: The Suburbs are utterly raz'd. I've heard that the Monuments, Statues, and Inſcriptions formerly belonging to the Knights of the Order, are all preſerv'd entire by the *Turks*, thoſe excepted which the War deſtroy'd: The *Grand Signior* maintains five Gallies here.

Alexandria.

We ſaw no Land till the third Night after we left *Rhodes*, when we diſcover'd the Coaſt of *Egypt*, but durſt not come nigh the Shoar that Night; next day we entred the Haven of *Alexandria*, where we ſaw a fatal Inſtance of the Unſafeneſs of the Harbour; for not two Nights before the North Winds beating full upon the Mouth of the Port, drove the foremoſt Ships from their Anchors, which daſhing againſt the reſt, ſunk all for company, being 22 in number.

The Commodities of Egypt.

The Soil of *Egypt* is incredibly fruitful, being formerly reputed the Granary of the World; nay, 'tis ſaid, that the *Roman* Empire could not have ſubſiſted, if not aſſiſted by the Plenty of *Egypt*. The chief Commodities of the Country are Sugar, Flax, Rice, and all ſorts of Grain, Linnen-cloath, Hides, Salt, Buttargo, and Caſſia.

The Courſe of the *Nile*.

All the Riches of this plentiful Country are owing to the *Nile*: Four Miles below *Cairon* that River divides into two Navigable Branches; the Eaſt Branch runs into the *Mediterranean* by *Damiata*; the other called *Canopus*, falls into the ſame Sea a little below *Roſetta*, making of the beſt part of the Land a triangular Iſland, call'd from its ſhape *Delta*: The freſh Water keeping together, and changing the colour of the Salt for a greater diſtance from the Shoar than can be diſcerned. Two other Branches, which are very ſhallow, run between theſe, beſides ſeveral Canals cut artificially, which are no ſmall advantage to the Country. Of the ſeven Branches mentioned by *Herodotus*, and nine by *Ptolemy*, theſe are all I could hear of. Nor is it a thing ſtrange, that the Channel of a River ſhould be choak'd up by great quantities of Gravel or the like. The moſt unaccountable thing is the ſwelling of this River, conſidering that Rain never falleth here but in Winter, and even then but ſeldom.

The ſwelling of the *Nile*.

The overflowing of this Stream and Waters, inriches the Ground, ſo that they do not find the want of Rain; and it conſtantly obſerves the ſame Seaſon, beginning to riſe on the ſeventeenth of *June* every Year, and mounting by degrees ſometimes 24 Cubits, which is the very higheſt: It ſwell'd this Year at *Cairo* 23.

What good it does the Country.

About two Miles above the City, at the end of *Old Cairo*, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, they cut the Banks to let it out. The *Baſhaw* is always preſent at this Ceremony, and gives the firſt ſtroke, accompanied with great numbers of People in Galleys and Barges, rejoicing and feaſting for ſeveral days. At their return they are met by the People out of the City, who ſtrew their Heads with Flowers, as the welcome Fore-runners of what they have long wiſh'd. The Plenty or Scarcity of every thing bears proportion to the greater or leſſer ſwelling of the River; for the Country is ſandy, and of it ſelf not fit to produce any thing; and 'tis by this Inundation that it is manured as well as watered, the Water leaving a great deal of Slime and other Stuff behind it, which fattens the Ground. 'Tis remarkable too, that if the Plague rage in *Cairo*, it ceaſes the firſt day of the Flood, even tho' 500 died of it but the day before. 'Tis no wonder then, that an ignorant ſuperſtitious People formerly ador'd this River under the name of *Oſiris*, ſince they received ſo many Benefits from it. Its a pretty ſight when the Water's up, to ſee the Towns look like ſo many Iſlands, and Boats paſſing and repaſſing between them.

Their way of Sowing.

When the River is retir'd within its bounds, their Sowing follows, which is done without Tilling, only throwing the Grain on the Mud, and Rice on the Water. This Experiment has been tried there; take ſome of the Earth near the River, and it will neither increaſe nor leſſen in weight till the 17th of *June*, when it grows heavier as the River ſwells, and lighter again when it decreaſes: By this they have an infallible knowledge of the State of the Deluge, proceeding no doubt from the moiſtneſs of the Air, which increaſes every thing as it increaſes in humidity.

The *Nile* failed to riſe.

In the 10th and 11th Years of *Cleopatra*, the Hiſtorians of thoſe times ſay the *Nile* ſwell'd not, which Deficiency for two Years together, is ſaid to have preſaged the fall of two great Potentates, *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*. It alſo produces abundance of Fiſh, of a different ſhape and quality from ours, which are neither ſo ſavoury nor wholſome.

Palm-trees.

What they make of them.

There is no Wine in this Country, nor do the Inhabitants deſire any. Trees are very rare too, unleſs it be in Orchards, and abating for the Palm-trees which grow in Deſerts, and which are very ſerviceable to them. Of theſe there are Male and Female, the Female inclining her top to the Male, and mixing his Seeds with hers, both being contain'd in little Cods. The *Egyptians* are very careful to ſow theſe Seeds in the Spring. The Female only is fruitful, and not ſo unleſs it grows by a Male. Their Dates are not ripe till about the end of *December*. They open the tops of ſuch as are barren, and take from thence the white Pith, which they ſell, and it reſembles in taſte, but far exceeds an Artichoke. Of the Branches they make Bedſteads, Lattices; and of the Web of the Leaves, Mats, Fans, Baſkets, &c. of the outward Huſk of the Cod, good Cordage; of the inner, Bruſhes, &c. all which they take off yearly, without damage to the Tree. By this Tree they always repreſented a Man; for that it fructifies by Coition, has a Brain like Pith in the upper part, Strings like Hairs on the top, Branches extended like Hands, and Dates like Fingers.

The Diet of the Egyptians

Paper.

They have no great quantity of Wood, but yet enough for their uſe, for they eat little Fleſh. Freſh Cheeſe, ſoure Milk made ſolid, Roots, Fruits, and Herbs, eſpecially *Colocaſia*, formerly called the *Egyptian Bean*, being their chief ſuſtenance. They bake their Bread on the Hearth, mixing *Coriander* Seeds with it. Gold they're Strangers to, the Refuſe of Palm-trees, Sugar-Canes, and the like, furniſhing ſufficient Fuel for their Occaſions. Foreigners that have more uſe for Fewel, buy Wood by weight, as it is brought hither by Sea, and the Galeons of *Conſtantinople* go to the black Sea for Timber before they begin their Voyage to *Cairo*. I muſt not paſs by the *Sedgy* Reeds, which grow in the Marſhes of *Egypt*, which they made Paper of; theſe were call'd *Papyrus*, whence the Word Paper took its riſe. They divide it into Flakes, into which it naturally parts, then laying them on a Table, moiſten them with the Glutinous Water of the River, ſo preſs them together, and dry them in the Sun.

The Government of Egypt. The Revenues.

Egypt is now govern'd by a *Baſhaw*, who has his Reſidence at *Cairo*; under him are 16 *Sanziacks*, and 100000 *Spahes*. The Revenue of this Country amounting to 3000000 of *Shariffes*, the *Grand Signior* has out of that 1000000; 400000 of which is laid out in Sugar and Rice, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, the reſt being ſent over Land with a Guard of 600 Souldiers: The ſecond Million is ſpent in paying of Officers Civil and Military, and the like, as alſo in fitting out the yearly Caravan to *Mecca*: The third Million is for the Support of himſelf and his Attendants: But this is ſhort of what it was in the Reign of *Auletes*, who 'tis ſaid raiſed ſeven Millions and a half of Crowns; and the Provident *Romans* perhaps made yet more of it.

The *Baſſa's* rigorous Juſtice.

The preſent *Baſſa* is call'd *Mahomet*; he is a pretty Man, well ſtricken in Years, and of a ſtiff inexorable temper. At his firſt coming, he cut off the Heads of 4000 *Spahes*, for having committed great Outrages; ſuch as bore too much ſway, he ſent to *Conſtantinople*; and ſuch as would not go, he ſtrangled, making uſe of the *Arabians* (who juſtly hated the others) in all his Executions. If a Thief eſcapes, they that were appointed to guard that quarter when the Crime was committed, ſuffer for him; for this Reaſon they often ſeize the Innocent to deliver themſelves. Their Puniſhment is thus: They

ſtretch

Their dreadful way of executing Offenders.

ſtretch out the condemn'd Criminal's Arms upon Staves, and bore Holes in their Arms, in which Candles are put, that burn down to the Fleſh, and in this manner are they led thro' the City to the place of Execution. Others are flea'd alive, and continue living for ſome time, unleſs the Executioner takes off the Skin of the Navel. Drunkenneſs is death, and all other Diſorders are ſo narrowly looked into, that I think I never ſaw ſo few in ſuch a multitude of People. His Severity has got him ſuch ill-will, that for a Year before we came to *Cairo*, he had ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle: However, the *Grand Signior* likes his Conduct ſo well, that to do him the more Honour, he gave him his Daughter (a Child of about four Years of age) in marriage, which was perform'd with a great deal of Ceremony. Another thing to be commended, is, he will ſcarce ſuffer a *Chriſtian* to turn *Mahometan*, which proceeds either out of diſlike to his own Religion, or ſuſpicion that ſuch Converts generally change out of a ſiniſter worldly Deſign, rather than any real Conviction.

The Inhabitants.

The *Moors* make up the greateſt part of the Inhabitants of *Egypt*: The *Turks* and *Jews* live only in Cities. Here are *Arabians* enough, and not a few *Negroes*: Of *Chriſtians* the Native *Copties* are the moſt; there are alſo ſome *Greeks*, and a few *Armenians*.

The Moors.

The *Egyptian Moors* are deſcended of the *Arabians*, and ſpeak the ſame Language: They are Men of a mean ſtature, and tawny Complexion, very lean, ſhrill tongued, ſwift footed, and very induſtrious: tho' they are not riotous, they are none of the beſt Huſbands of their Mony. As for their Religion, they are more devout *Mahometans* than the *Turks* themſelves: Learning they have none. They have no ſuch thing as Nobility, few of them being admitted either to the Magiſtracy, or ſo much as to be Souldiers, or even to wear a Weapon in a Town. Their Merchants were rich formerly, when the *Indian* Wares paſs'd thro' this Country. Their Habit is much the ſame with the *Turks*, ſome few excepted, who retain the old Garb, *viz.* a ſide Coat of Linnen girt to their Waſtes, and a Towel of the ſame Cloth thrown over their Necks: Some of the *Negroes* wear Veſts like Surplices: the pooreſt of them wear Garments of Hair ſtreak'd black and white, and in the Winter ſide-Coats of Cotton. The Beggars do by ſinging and drumming, both get Charity, and make themſelves merry.

Their Diſtempers.

Great numbers of them are afflicted with ſore Eyes, occaſioned either by the Reflection of the Heat, the ſalt duſt of the Soil, or exceſs of Venery. The Pox is a common Diſtemper among them. The Women when they go abroad, are wrapt from Head to Foot in Linnen, ſpreading their Arms underneath to ſeem the more bulky; and moſt of them are pretty fat, which they ſeek to promote by frequenting the *Bagnios*, and uſing a particular Diet for that purpoſe: They cover their Faces with black Cypreſs, with red Spots: their under Garments are of lighter Staff than thoſe of the *Turks*, but of the ſame faſhion. The better ſort wear Hoops of Gold and Silver about their Arms and Ancles; the others have Copper Hoops, with pieces of Coin covering half their Foreheads, and Plates about their Necks, &c. They colour themſelves, pricking the Skin, and rubbing it with Ink, and the Juice of an Herb which never wears out, and ſuch like Spots. They have quick and eaſy Labour, and formerly us'd to have two or three at a birth; their Children live, tho' born in the eighth Month. They have a Plant near *Macario*, which if put in Water in a Corner of the Room, they fancy procures eaſy Deliveries. The Country People follow Huſbandry; their Dreſs is only a Ruſſet Mantle: the Women have little more, and hide their Faces with naſty Clouts, with Peep-holes for the Eyes, which is a little too much to be ſeen unleſs they were cleanlier: the Men have ſome what upon their Heads to defend their Brains from the Heat.

Naſty People.

This People is certainly matchleſs for Naſtineſs, as being cruſted with dirt, and ſtinking with ſmoak; for their Houſes generally have no Chimneys.

The Copties.

The *Copties* are the true *Egyptians*, ſo call'd from *Coptus*, an ancient City a little below, on that ſide of the River where *Thebes* ſtood againſt the Iſland *Tenterites*. Theſe are *Chriſtians*, tho' Circumciſ'd, which they are now aſham'd of, pretending for their excuſe, that the *Moors* force them to it in the Country; and indeed in Towns 'tis not uſed by them.

Ceremonies of their Religion.

Tho' in ſeveral things they are Heretical, yet they own the Divinity of our Saviour, notwithſtanding their odd Tenets about his having but one Nature, &c. Their Children are not baptized till they are forty days old. After Mid-night on *Saturdays*, they go to Church, and ſtay there till *Sunday* at Noon, ſupporting themſelves all the time with Crutches. The Prieſt is veil'd in Linnen, and has two or three Boys ſeparated from the reſt of the People, in the ſame habit. They ſing moſt of the Pſalms of *David* at every Meeting, with ſeveral Portions of the Old and New Teſtament, the latter as written by *Nicomedes*, part in the *Coptick* Language, which few of them underſtand, but moſt of it in the *Moreſco*. The Prieſt and People often join in a ſtrange Savage noiſe, which to me ſeem'd not to be Articulate; and now and then the Prieſt lifts up a red Cloth, under which I ſuppoſe was the Sacrament, which they adminiſter in both kinds, and give it to Infants as ſoon as they are baptiz'd. They have our Saviour and the bleſſed Virgin pictur'd in their Churches, but not over their Altars, nor could I perceive that they worſhipped him in the leaſt.

They preſerve in Cheſts, the Aſhes of ſuch as have turn'd *Mahometans*, and for recanting again, have ſuffer'd Martyrdome; at their Entrance they kiſs their Hands, and lay 'em over one another: The Women ſit in grated Galleries, diſtinct from the Men: Extream Unction, Prayers for the Dead, and Purgatory, they diſallow, and hold the *Roman* Church to be Heretical; they reject all general Councils ſince that at *Epheſus*. Yet the Induſtry of the Friars has ſeduc'd many of them to Popery, having their Service and Bible ſent them in the *Arabick* Tongue. Their Patriarch, tho' call'd the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, reſides in *Cairo*. Six days journey up the River above *Cairo*, they have a great City call'd *Saiet*, where *Chriſt* and his Mother are ſaid to have ſtaid till the death of *Herod*.

The place where our Saviour fled from *Herod*.

When they grow old, they generally have a Fancy to go there to lay their Bones. There's a handſome Church there, built by *Helen*, the Mother of *Conſtantine*. In *Lent* they never eat by day, except *Saturdays* and *Sundays*. They wear round Caps, Towels about their Necks and Gowns with wide Sleeves of Cloath, and lighter Stuffs. They live in more ſubjection than the *Moors*, and pay yearly a certain tribute by way of Poll, to the *Baſſa*: They retain the Vices of their Anceſtors, tho' unacquainted with their Excellencies: thoſe that profeſs Magick now are but Juglers to them of old.

Alexandria.

The Lake *Mareotis*, made formerly another Haven to *Alexandria*, by which the *Indian* Commodities, and thoſe of *Arabia*, and the up-land Parts of *Egypt*, were brought down by the help of Channels, now quite ruined: It was join'd alſo by a narrow Cut to another leſſer Lake nearer the Sea, which at this time affords plenty of Salt-petre. Between the leſſer Lake and the City, is a Channel, from whence during the Deluge of the *Nile*, Water is convey'd by Conduits into large Ciſterns, and preſerv'd till the next Deluge: this is an occaſion of much Sickneſs in Summer-time. This City is all built upon Vaults, ſupported with carved Pillars, lined with Stone: But at preſent 'tis very ruinous, only the Walls are ſtill ſtanding, which 'tis ſaid *Ptolemy* founded, and adorn'd with 68 Turrets, which are rather ſtately than ſtrong, if compar'd with the modern Fortifications. After this Town was deſtroyed by the *Saracens*, it lay waſte a long time, till a *Mahometan* Prieſt prophecying great advantages to ſuch as ſhould rebuild and inhabit it, People flock'd to it. It was afterwards deſtroyed by the *Cypriots*, *French*, and *Venetians*, who about the time that *Lewis* the fourth was enlarged by the *Sultan*, ſurpriz'd and made a great ſlaughter in it; but hearing of the *Sultan*'s Approach to relieve it, they burnt and left it. The *Sultan* repair'd the Walls, and built the Caſtle that ſtands on the *Pharus* to defend the Haven, and brought it to the condition it is now in. Several high Hills are made of the Ruins, but no *Chriſtian* is ſuffer'd to mount them, leſt they ſhould take an exact Survey of the Town; in theſe places, eſpecially after a Shower of Rain, are frequently found rich Stones and Medals, engraven with the Figure of their Gods and Men, cut with ſuch art, that what is now done of that kind, looks like bungling Counterfeits to them. On the top of one of them, ſtands a Watch-tower, where there is a conſtant Sentry to give notice of Ships when they appear in ſight. Here are not many Antiquities left, only a Hieroglyphical Obeliſk of *Theban* Marble, almoſt as hard as *Porphyry*, but of a deeper red, and ſpeckled alike: they call it *Pharo*'s Needle, and it ſtands where the Palace of *Alexandria* once ſtood:

Pharo's Needle.

There is another hard by it, and like it, half buried in Rubbiſh. Without the Walls on the South-weſt ſide of the City ſtands a Column of the ſame Marble, all of one Stone, 86 Palms high, and 36 round, a Palm being nine Inches and a half, according to the *Genoueſe* Meaſure: I mention that Meaſure, becauſe the Dimenſions were taken by one of that Country for *Zigal Baſſa*. It is placed upon a ſquare Cube, and which is very odd, not half ſo large as the Foot of the Pillar, call'd by the *Arabians Hemadeſſeror*, that is, *The Column of the Arabians.* They tell you this Fable of it; that one of the *Ptolemies* erected this Pillar at the moſt extream Point of the Haven, to defend this City from being inſulted by Sea, having put a Magical Glaſs of Steel at the top, which if uncover'd, would fire any Ship that paſs'd by it; but being thrown down by them, it loſt its Power, and thereupon they erected the Column in this place. Among the Weſtern *Chriſtians*, it bears rhe Name of the Pillar of *Pompey*, ſaid to be ſet up here by *Cæſar* in memory of his Succeſs againſt *Pompey*. The Patriarch of *Alexandria* has a Houſe here, joining to a Church, where they ſay St. *Mark* their firſt Biſhop and Martyr was buried, who in the days of *Trajan*, was dragg'd along with a Rope about his Neck, to the place call'd *Angeles*, and there burned. His Bones were afterwards removed to *Venice*, he being the Saint and Patron of that City. There are now two Patriarchs, one of the *Greeks*, the other of the *Circumciſed*, who is the univerſal Patriarch of the *Cofties* and *Abaſſines*. The Name of the preſent Patriarch of the *Greeks*, is *Cyril*, a Man of approved Virtue and Learning, and a Friend to the reformed Religion: He uſed to ſay that the Differences between us and the *Greeks* are but Shells, but thoſe are Kernels betwixt them and the Papiſts. The Buildings now ſtanding are but mean and few, erected on the Ruins of the former; that part of the City which is upon the Shoar, is inhabited; the reſt is deſolate: the Walls are almoſt quadrangular. They have four Gates, one of which leads to the *Nile*, another to *Mareotis*, the third to the Deſarts of *Baccha*, and the fourth opens to the Haven.

The Pillar of *Pompey.*

Two Patriarchs.

The Inhabitants.

This Port is inhabited by *Moors*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Cofties*, and *Grecians*, more for Merchandize (for 'tis a free Port for Friend and Enemy) than for the Conveniency of the place: 'tis ſeated on a Deſart, where you have neither Tillage nor Paſturage, except what borders on the Lake, and that's but little, and not well Huſbanded; yet they have good ſtore of Goats, which feed among the Ruins, and have Ears hanging down to the Ground.

Iſle of *Pharus*

On the Iſle of *Pharus*, which is now become firm Land, ſtands the Caſtle before-mentioned, for the defence of the Haven. They have no Water in it, but what is brought upon Camel's Backs out of the City: All Ships ſalute this Tower with their Guns. As many of us as came aſhoar, were brought to the Cuſtom-houſe, to have our ſelves and our Portmanteau's ſearched: ten *per Cent.* is paid for all Commodities, and that in kind, not Money: what Money you bring, pays only one and a half *per Cent.* They take an exact account of it, that they may thereby gueſs at the Value of the Commodities returned for them: then you pay eleven *per Cent.* more for ſuch Goods, as are not ſo much as alter'd in property: At ſo dear a rate is this free Trade purchaſed: the *Mahometan* pays as much here as the *Chriſtian*: The *Jews* farm the Cuſtoms, paying to the *Baſſa* twenty thouſand *Madeins* a day, thirty *Madeins* making a Rial of Eight. We lodg'd in the *French* Conſul's Houſe, who undertakes the Protection of all Strangers. The Cane is lock'd up at Noons and Nights, leſt the *Franks* ſhould attempt any diſturbance. The Vice-Conſul keeps a Table for Merchants, and tho' he expects great Reſpect to be paid to him, and is very ſhy in granting his Company, yet he has the good-will of moſt. He provided us with a Janizary to guard us to *Caire*, whoſe Hire was five Pieces of Gold, beſides his Diet, and his Mens, and a Proviſion of Powder. Aſſes in this Country are not inferiour to Horſes for travelling: We paid half a *Shariff* a piece for them, and a whole one for our Camels. At the Gate they took a *Madein* a Head for our ſelves and Aſſes, thro' which we could not paſs without a *Geſcaria* from the *Cadee*, the chief Officer of the City.

The exceſſive Cuſtoms paid here.

The *Jews* farm them.

'Twas on the ſecond of *February* that we began our Journey, paſſing thro' a Deſart which produces here and there a few uncultivated Palms, Capers, and a Weed call'd *Kall* by the *Arabians*: they uſe it for Fewel, and ſell the Aſhes to the *Venetians*, who make their Chrystal Glaſſes of theſe Aſhes mix'd with the Stones they fetch from *Pavia*. On the Left we ſaw many ruinous Buildings, one of which is ſaid to be the Royal Manſion of *Cleopatra*. Beyond theſe is *Bucharis*, once a little City, but now only the Foundation left: Many Palms grow hereabouts, which ſubſiſt the wretched Inhabitants of the beggarly Villages. A Tower is built here upon a Rock to give Light to the Sailers, by reaſon of the danger of the Coaſt. Soon after we paſs'd by a Guard of Souldiers, plac'd here for the Security of the Paſſage, who made us pay a *Madein* a Head. Seven or eight Miles beyond, we ferried over a Creek of the Sea. On the other ſide ſtands a handſome Cave, built not long ago by a *Moor* of *Cairo*, for the Relief of Travellers, containing a quadrangle within, and arch'd underneath. Under one of theſe we reſted, making our Fardels ſerve for Bolſters, the Stones being our Beds. In ſuch places as theſe 'tis uſual to unload the Camels, and to refreſh both Men and Beaſts, as being there ſecur'd from Thieves and Violence. Giving a Trifle for Oil, we ſet forward again about Midnight, having met here with a great deal of Company, who were bold and reſolute, travelling with their Matches lighted, in a poſture to receive any Onſet. The *Moors* to keep themſelves awake, would tell you a Story a hundred times over. By the way again, we ſhould have paid the *Caphar*, but the darkneſs of the Night excus'd us.

Keeping along the Shoar, and turning a little to the Right-hand, before day we entred *Roſetta*, repairing to a Cave belonging to the *Franks*, where the beſt Entertainment we could get, was a muſty and dark Ground-Room, and the unwholſome Floor to ly upon.

Roſetta.

Its ſituation.

This City ſtands upon the principal Branch of the *Nile*, formerly call'd *Canopbus*; it diſcharges it ſelf into the Sea about three Miles lower. The Entrance is croſs'd with a Bar of Sand, which ſhifts according to the Winds, and beating of the Surges; for which reaſon the *Jerbies* that paſs over, are made without Keels, being round and flat bottom'd. A Pilot of the Town continues ſounding there all day, by whoſe Directions they enter, and that ſo near him, that one leaps out of the Pilot's Boat into the other, to receive Pilotage, and ſwims back again. The *Jerbies* that can paſs over this Bar, might, if well directed, go up as far as *Cairo*. *Roſetta* was built by the Slave of an *Egyptian Caliph*. The *Egyptians* call it *Raſid*, derived perhaps from *Roos*, which ſignifies Rice in the *Turkiſh* Language; for this Country abounds in Rice, and affords no leſs than 300 Quarters every Year. The Houſes are all of Board, not old, tho' they ſeem ſo, but flat Roof'd, as all are in thoſe hot Countries: for the *Moors* ly often on the tops of their Houſes: they jet over like the Poop of a Ship, to ſhadow the Street from the Reflection of the Sun. *Roſetta* has no manner of Fortification about it; 'tis no very little Town, and I believe the beſt furniſh'd of any place in the World, with Grain, Fleſh, Fiſh, Sugar, Roots, Fruits, *&c.* they vend a great many of raw Hides to *Italy*.

They ſet forward to *Cairo.*

Next day but one we embark'd in a *Jerby* for *Cairo*, having hired our *Jerby*, with ſeven Water-men, for twelve Dollars. This Arm of the *Nile* is as broad as the *Thames* at *Tilbury-Fort*, growing narrower by degrees, and in many places ſo ſhallow, that we were often in danger of ſticking faſt on the Flats: the Water is as thick as if it had been lately diſturb'd, and glides along with a huſh, ſlow Current. Ten Miles above *Roſetta* is that Cut of the River which runs to *Alexandria*. In our way we bought oftentimes as much Fiſh for Six Pence, as would ſerve twenty reaſonable Men. On each ſide of the River, there are ſeveral Towns generally oppoſite to each other; built of part Brick, part Mud. Many of the meaner Houſes appear like Bee-hives, caſt up to preſerve the Inhabitant and his Cattle, during the Deluge of the *Nile*. All along the Banks are infinite numbers of deep and ſpacious Vaults, into which they let the River, drawing the Water up into large Ciſterns, with Wheels ſet round with Pitchers, and turn'd about by *Buffaloes*, from whence it runs along little Trenches made on the Ridge of the Banks, and ſo is conveyed into each Man's Ground, the Country lying all on a level. We had the Winds favourable ſo ſeldom, that the poor *Moors* were forc'd, moſt part of the way, to hale along the Boat, ſometimes wading up to their middle, to ſet it over the Shallows, and crying at every tug *Elough*, as much as to ſay *In God's Name*: this Exclamation in their Opinion, leſſens all Difficulties, procures God's Aſſiſtance, and conjures the Devil away. The Labour of theſe People is ſo hard, and their Food ſo mean and heartleſs, that they abound with decrepit Perſons. The Shoar furniſh'd us with pleaſant Walks, which made our Paſſage ſeem leſs tedious. The wonderful fruitfulneſs of the Soil ſurpriz'd us, as did the early maturity of things, Matters being as forward with them at that time, as with us in *June*: their Reaping begins at the end of *March*.

Their way of watering their Ground

The Sugar-canes afforded us both Walking-ſtaves, and a very refreſhing Liquor. We met in our way ſeveral Troops of Horſe, appointed to ſecure the Roads from Thieves, who are very numerous hereabouts: they rob ſometimes upon the Water too in little Frigates: this made our Janizaries very vigilant, they being aſſiſted by two others to whom we gave their Paſſage to keep watch every Night by turns, diſcharging their Harquebuſſes in the Evening, and hanging out kindled Matches to terrify the Rogues. Theſe Janizaries are generally very careful of the Charge they undertake. Five days after our firſt imbarking a little before Sun-ſet, we ſail'd by the Southern Angle of the Iſle of *Delta*, where the River divides into another Branch, not much inferiour to this, which enters the Sea, as has been ſaid before, at *Damiata*. Geographers are not agreed among themſelves whether this Iſland belongs to *Aſia* or *Africa*.

Bolac.

About twilight we arrived at *Bolac*, the Port Town to *Cairo*, and not two Miles diſtant from it: Every *Frank* at his landing here, pays a Dollar.

They arrive at Cairo.

Leaving our Carriages in the Boat, we hired ſix Aſſes with their Drivers for Six Pence, to conduct us to *Cairo*, where an *Engliſh* Merchant entertain'd us *gratis* in his Houſe very kindly.

Cairo deſcrib'd.

This City is ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of the River, at the Foot of the Rocky Mountain *Muctac*: It winds along with the Hill in the ſhape of a Half-Moon, ſtretching from North to South, the Suburbs being reckoned five *Italian* Miles in length, and where broadeſt, not above a Mile and a half. The Walls, if there be any, look as tho' they belong'd to private Houſes, rather than otherwiſe: Yet the City is very ſtrong, as appears by the three Days Fight continued within it by *Selymus*, and maintain'd by the poor Remainder of the *Mamalucks*; for the Streets are narrow, and the Houſes high built: At the End of almoſt all of them is a Gate, which being ſhut every Night (as they are) makes each Street as ſtrong almoſt as a Caſtle. The Houſes are more beautiful on the out-ſide, than convenient within, the Entrance to them being generally troubleſome; yet the Roofs are high: the uppermoſt is a little open to let in the Air; they're flat, and plaiſter'd above. The Walls mounted higher than the Roof, and being at top often but ſingle Brick, they're a little ruinous at the upper part: this makes the Proſpect a little confus'd: I think it's beſt compar'd to a Grove of flouriſhing Trees, with periſh'd Crowns. Their Locks and Keys are of Wood, even to Doors that are plated with Iron. But the private Buildings are not to be compair'd with the publick ones, of which the Moſques are the moſt remarkable for Magnificence; the Stones of many of them are very curiouſly carved on the out-ſide, ſupported with Marble Pillars adorn'd with what Art can contrive, or their Religion tolerate. They differ in form from thoſe at *Conſtantinople*; ſome being ſquare, with open Roofs in the middle, of a huge bulk, the cover'd Circle tarraſt above; others ſtretching out in length, and many of them are ſuited to the place where they're built. The greateſt was built by *Gebor*, and called *Gemiſh Haſhaw*, the *Caliph* having given him the name of *Haſhare*, as much as to ſay *Noble*. Of theſe in this City, 'tis ſaid there is ſuch a number as is incredible, ſo I ſhall not mention it.

The private Buildings.

The Moſques.

The Lodgings of the Santons.

Joining to them are Lodgings for the *Santons*, that is, Fools and Madmen; when one of them dies, they carry about his Body in proceſſion, with great rejoicing; for they ſuppoſe his Soul to be without doubt gone to Paradiſe. Here are ſeveral very good Hoſpitals, both for Building, Revenue, and for Attendance.

Seraglio's.

Next to theſe for beauty, are the *Seraglio's* of the great Men: If a Chriſtian ride by one of them, they'll pull him from his Aſs with great contempt; you muſt know they prohibit us Horſes, as unworthy to ride them. The Streets are unpav'd, and exceeding dirty after a Shower; for it rains here ſometimes in Winter, and then 'tis moſt liable to the Plague. Croſs the Streets upon the tops of the Houſes, are laid Beams covered with Mats, to ſhelter them from the Sun. There is the ſame Covering between two high Moſques in the chief Street of the City; when the *Baſhaw* or others of Quality paſſes under it; they ſhoot up Arrows, moſt of which will ſtick above: the Occaſion of that Cuſtom I cannot tell.

Little Byram.

While we were here, the Feaſt of the little *Byram* was ſolemnized; at this time they kill great numbers of Sheep in their Houſes, which cut in pieces, are diſtributed among their Slaves and poorer ſort of People. They daub their Doors with the Blood, perhaps in imitation of the Paſſover.

The *Nile*, which is a Mile off, during the Overflow, comes into the City by ſeveral Channels: When the Conduit is empty, or the Water corrupted, they have it brought on Camels from the River. They have many Wells, but the Water is good for nothing but to cool the Streets or waſh the Houſes.

In the middle of the Town ſtands a large Cave, which they call *Beſeſtan*, in which, as in thoſe at *Conſtantinople*, are ſold all your finer ſorts of Wares; they ſell 'em by the Cry of *Who gives more*, like the *Venetians*.

The Gates.

This City has three chief Gates: *Bebe Nanſre*, or the Gate of *Victory*, opening towards the *Red Sea*: *Bab Zueila*, leading to the *Nile* and the old Town; between theſe two lies the chief Street of the City: the third is *Bebel Futuli*, or the *Port of Triumph*, on the North of the City towards the Lake *Eſbykie*. Three ſides of the Lake are incloſed with handſome Buildings and Galleries for Pleaſure, ſupported by Pillars, and jetting over. On the other ſide, now nought but Ruins, ſtood the ſtately Palace of *Dultibe*, Wife to the *Sultan Caitbeus*, in which were Doors and Jaums of Ivory, the Walls and Pavements checquer'd with diſcolour'd Marble, Colums of Porphyr, Alabaſter, and Serpentine; the Cielings flouriſh'd with Gold and Azure, and inlay'd with *Indian* Ebony, a Tree which when cut, equals a Stone almoſt in hardneſs: In a Word, it was as magnificent as a Woman's Curioſity could deſire, or the Purſe of a Monarch afford; 'twas levelled with the Ground by *Selymus*, the Stones and other Ornaments being remov'd to *Conſtantinople*.

The Lake.

The Lake is ſquare, and pretty large, but has no Water in it, except when the River ſwells; 'tis joined to the River by a Channel, in which the *Moors* are rowed to and again in the Evening in Barges for Pleaſure; at ſuch times they ſhade themſelves with Damaſks, and *Indian* Stuffs. When the Water's gone, the place changes, but does not loſe its Pleaſure nor Company; 'tis frequented then very much in the cool of the Day, and for Profit, it yields five Harveſts every Year. We were abuſed here by a Beggarly *Moor* (the others are generally pretty civil) we had no remedy but to addreſs our ſelves to another, who ſeem'd to make a Figure, and by kiſſing his Garment, we inſinuated into his Favour, ſo that he reproved the unmannerly *Moor* for his Rudeneſs; but we were not gone far till he became much more Affrontive than before, making us the Jeſt of all the Company, who account of Chriſtians no better than Dogs, and interpos'd between us and the other to prevent a ſecond Complaint; at laſt we got to him that had befriended us, who in a great paſſion ſent his Slaves after him that had affronted us, and they beat him in a moſt mercileſs manner all along the Level, the Maſter of them calling upon us to ſee the Juſtice done us; afterwards they carried him to the place of Correction, where I ſuppoſe he might receive a hundred good Stripes on the Soles of his Feet for his Frolicks. Beyond this are a great many ſtraggling Houſes, reaching almoſt as far as *Bolac*, which is the Key to *Cairo*, a large Town, ſtretching along the River; in ſome part the Buildings are not inferiour to thoſe of *Cairo*.

Five Harveſts in a Year.

Severity upon a Moor for abuſing us.

Excellent Orchards.

Within and without this City are great numbers of delicate Orchards, abounding with all variety of Fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Apples of Paradiſe, Sicamore-Figs, and others; the Barks of theſe they bore full of holes, the Trees being as large as the greateſt Oaks: the Fruit grows not out of the Leaves, but out of the Bole and Branches: they have alſo Dates, Almonds, *Caſſia fiſtula*, leafed like an Aſh; the Fruit hangs down like Sauſages; Locuſts flat, in the ſhape of a Cycle; Galls growing upon Tamerix; Apples no bigger than Berries; Plantanes there have a broad flaggy Leaf, growing in cluſters, and ſhaped like Cucumbers, the Rind like a Peſcod, ſolid within, having no Stones or Kernels, of a moſt delicious taſte: this the *Mahometans* ſay was the Forbidden-Fruit, and that after the Fall, our firſt Parents made their Aprons of the Leaves of it. There are many other ſorts, which I never ſaw elſewhere, nor knew their Names; ſome of theſe Trees bear Fruit all the Year, and moſt of them keep their Leaves.

Cameleons.

There are abundance of Cameleons in theſe Orchards, but not eaſily found, becauſe they generally ſeat themſelves upon ſomewhat of their Colour: They're about the bigneſs of an ordinary Lizard: the Head unproportionably big, great Eyes, his Neck is inflexible, he cannot turn without moving his whole Body; his Back is crooked, his Skin ſpotted with little Tumors, not ſo obſervable upon the Belly as elſewhere; his Tail is ſlender and long; on each Foot he has five Fingers, three on the outſide and two on the inſide; his pace is ſlow, but he's very nimble with his Tongue, which is of a wonderful length, conſidering the proportion of his Body; with this he catches Flies, the End of his Tongue being hollowed by nature for that purpoſe; ſo that 'tis a Miſtake that they feed only upon Air; yet it is obſerved, that when they ſuck in the Air, their Bellies will ſwell with it, which ſeems as tho' it were part of their Food, and ſome that have kept them for a Year together, could not perceive that they had any thing but Air to ſubſiſt upon. They're of a green and duſky yellow colour, brighter and

white:

Their Enmity to Serpents.

whiter towards the Belly, yet ſpotted with blew, white, and red: they change not into all Colours, as is reported; laid upon Green, the Green is moſt bright; if upon yellow, the yellow appears moſt lively; laid upon red blew, *&c.* the Green retains its colour, but the ſpots of the ſame dy, with what it is laid upon will receive ſomething of a brighter colour: they are not colour'd alike in all places. They are ſaid to have ſo great an Enmity to the Serpent, that when they ſpy one baſking in the Sun, they'll from the Branches that hang over him, let fall a Thread like a Spinſters, having at the End a little round drop, which ſhines like Quickſilver: this drop falling upon the Head of the Serpent, kills him; and if the Bough hangs ſo that this Thread cannot fall perpendicular on the Serpent's Head, they'll direct it ſo with their Forefeet that it ſhall not miſs.

The Caſtle.

On the top of the Hill againſt the South ſide of the City, ſtands the Caſtle, once the ſtately Manſion of the *Mamaluck Sultan*'s, deſtroy'd by *Selymus*, acceſſible only one way, and that hewn out of the Rocks; but the Aſcent is ſo eaſy, that a Man may ride up. From the top the City yields a moſt beautiful Proſpect, by reaſon of the Palms here and there in it: the Caſtle is ſo large, it ſeems a City it ſelf; the Walls are very high; 'tis divided into ſeveral parts; the Gates are of Iron; the Courts ſpacious, formerly places of Exerciſe: the ancient Buildings only ſhow that they have been ſtately; there are ſome Pillars of Marble ſtill ſtanding, of ſo monſtrous a ſize, that 'tis to be wondred how they got them hither. Here the *Baſſa* keeps his Reſidence; the Divan is kept here on *Sundays*, *Mundays*, and *Tueſdays*; the *Chiauſes* as Advocates on thoſe Days, preferring the Suits of their Clients: He has forty Janizaries for a Guard, in the ſame Habit as they at *Conſtantinople*: the other Janizaries are imploy'd about the Country, and few of them are the Sons of *Chriſtians*: they are very faithful to their Charge; if they ſhould happen to trip, they'd not only looſe their Lives, but all the pay due to their Poſterity.

The Court of Juſtice.

The Inhabitants of *Cairo*.

This is one of the faireſt Cities in *Turky*; 'tis now inhabited by *Moors*, *Turks*, *Negroes*, *Jews*, *Copties*, *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, who are here the Pooreſt, and every where the Honeſteſt; they labour hard, and live ſparingly; they are not ſubject to the *Turk*, and if taken in War, are freed from Slavery; they live freely, and pay no Tribute of Children, as other *Chriſtians* are compell'd to do; they are allowed this Priviledge, becauſe an *Armenian* foretold the Greatneſs of *Mahomet*; they were once under the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, but about the Hereſy of *Eutyches*, fell from his Government, and now abhor the *Grecians* above all others, rebaptizing ſuch of them as turn to their Sect; they believe but one Nature in *Chriſt*, that it is not mingled with the Divine Nature, according to *Eutyches*, but join'd to it as the Soul is to the Body; they deny the real Preſence in the Sacrament, and adminiſter it as the *Copties* do, with whom alſo they agree as to Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead; but they hold with the *Greeks* that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds only from the Father, and that the Dead ſhall neither feel Joy nor Torment till the Day of Judgment.

The *Armenians*.

Their Opinion in Religion.

Their Patriarch reſides at *Tyberis* in *Perſia*, in which Country they are rich, and live in good eſteem: there are 300 Biſhops of that Nation: The Prieſts are not allow'd to marry twice; and eat Fleſh but five times a Year, and then they only eat to prevent the People's miſtaking the eating of Fleſh to be a Sin, the true dieting upon it ſo ſeldom being for Temperance ſake; 'tis an Error that they abſtain from all Meats prohibited by the Moſaical Law; for they ſcruple not to feed upon Hog's Fleſh, where it is to be had, without offending the *Mahometans*. They keep *Lent* very ſtrictly; but between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, they allow Fleſh upon *Fridays*: Images they do not worſhip. Their Meetings are in obſcure Chambers; when we went in on *Sunday* at Forenoon, there was one reading the Bible in the *Chaldean* Tongue: he differ'd not in Habit from the reſt: A little after the Biſhop came in, with a Hood and Veſt of black, and a Staff in his Hand, to which they aſcrib'd much Holineſs. Firſt, he pray'd; then aſſiſted by two or three, ſung ſome Pſalms; then the whole Aſſembly ſung together, at times praying to themſelves; the Poſture of their Bodies, and frequent proſtrating themſelves in, they reſemble the *Turks*, the Biſhop excepted, who all the while ſtood with his Hands lifted up, and his Face towards the Altar. When Service was over, they all one after another, kiſs'd his Hand, and beſtow'd Alms, he laying t'other Hand upon their Heads, and bleſſing them; then he appoints the ſucceeding Feaſts and Faſts; and 'tis to be obſerved, that upon the Day of our Saviour's Nativity they faſt.

A ſtrong Monaſtery.

Here is alſo a Monaſtery of *Greek* Coloyers belonging to the Capital Monaſtry of Mount St. *Katherine* of *Siena*, eight Days Journey from *Cairo*, over the Deſarts; ſhe is reported to have been the Daughter of *Coſta*, King of *Cyprus*, and to have converted many to the Chriſtian Religion in the time of *Maxentius*: She was put upon the Wheel, and at laſt beheaded at *Alexandria*. Two handſome Pillars of *Theban* Marble, now almoſt ſwallowed in the Ruins, preſerve the Memory of the Place: they tell you an Angel convey'd her to Mount *Sina*. It has three very high Tops; that on the Weſt ſide called in old times Mount *Horeb*, where God appear'd to *Moſes* in a Buſh: this affords good Paſturage: That where the Law was given to *Moſes*, is much lower, and ſhadowed when the Sun riſes by the middlemoſt of the three. The Monaſtery ſtands at the Foot of the Mountain; it looks like a Caſtle, with Iron-Gates, where they ſhow the Tomb of the Saint, which is much viſited by Pilgrims: From this you mount to the top by fourteen thouſand Steps of Stone, where ſtands a ruin'd Chappel. A plentiful Spring falls from the top of this Hill, and after it has watered the Valley, is drank up by the Sand. This ſtrong Monaſtery is deſigned for the entertainment of Pilgrims, there being no other near it: It has a yearly Revenue of 60000 Dollars from Chriſtian Princes; 26 more depend on this Foundation, diſpers'd in other Countries: They give Alms every Day to the *Arabs*, to ſecure themſelves from violence: they let it down to them from the Battlements, not daring to admit them within the Gate. Their Orchard is full of excellent Fruits; one Rarity is Apples, which are ſcarce in theſe Countries: they fetch the Trees from *Damaſco*, and are ſubject neither to the Pope nor Patriarch, but have a Superintendant of their own now in *Cairo*. They made us a Collation of Wine, and I could not but obſerve their glutting down of Wine with greedineſs: It is imported from *Candy*.

Mount *Sina*.

A ſtrong Monaſtery.

Their love of Wine.

The Caravan.

While we were here a Caravan went out with great ſolemnity, to meet and relieve the great Caravan now coming from *Mecca*, which conſiſts of many thouſands of Pilgrims, which travel there every Year for Devotion and Merchandize: every one with his Band roll in his Hand, and their Camels nicely trim'd: the Alcoran is carried upon one in a precious caſe, covered with Needle-work, and laid on a rich Pillow, ſurrounded with a parcel of chanting Prieſts. The Caravan is guarded by ſeveral Companies of Souldiers, and ſome Field-pieces. *Mecca* is forty eaſy days Journey from this place; part of the way lies thro' a ſandy Deſart, which lies in drifts, and ſometimes the Wind moves it very dangerouſly; in many parts of it they have no Guide but the Stars, like Sailers at Sea.

No City can be more populous than *Cairo*, nor better ſerved with all ſorts of Proviſion. They hatch Eggs by artificial heat here in great numbers; ſometimes no leſs than ſix thouſand in an Oven made for that purpoſe. About eight Days after they're put in, (during which time they are very careful to turn them often) they diſtinguiſh between the good and the bad, the bad generally makes two parts in three; but this is a Demonſtration that the Imitation of Nature never equals the Original; for the Chickens are moſtly defective in ſome part, or monſtrous.

The Pride of their Women.

Moſt of the People of *Cairo* are Merchants or Atificers, but the Merchants frequent no foreign Marts. All of a Trade keep their Shops in one place, which they ſhut up about five in the Evening, and enjoy themſelves afterwards, Cooks excepted, who keep theirs open till pretty late; for few but ſuch as have great Families, dreſs their Meat in their Houſes. The Men buy the Meat; the Women are too proud and nice to meddle with Houſwifry; they ride abroad a pleaſuring upon eaſy-going Aſſes, yet ſee fit to exact the full Meaſure of Family-Duty from their Huſbands; if they neglect it, they're not aſham'd to complain to the Magiſtracy in hopes of procuring a Divorc. There are many Practiſers of Phyſick here, occaſioned by the great variety of Simples growing in the Neighbourhood, and brought hither, the *Egyptians* all along excelled in the Art of Simpling.

Rue.

A ſort of Rue is much eſteemed here: they perfume themſelves with it in a Morning, as a Preſervative againſt Infection, and think it chaſes away evil Spirits too; ſo the *Barbarians* uſed to do with the Root of wild *Galingal*.

Tricks with Beaſts.

Some Men in this City get their Living by ſhowing tricks with Birds and Beaſts, exceeding any thing I ever ſaw elſe-where. I have heard a Raven ſpeak ſo perfectly, that it has amazed me; they uſe both Throats and Tongues in ſpeaking, which other Birds do not, and conſequently more fit for the Buſineſs. *Scaliger* the

Elder ſays, he knew one kept in a Monaſtery, which would, when hungry, call ſo plainly upon *Conrade* the *Cook*, that it has been often miſtook for a Man. I have ſeen them make both Dogs and Goats ſet their four Feet upon a little turn'd Pillar of Wood, about a Foot high, and no broader at the end than the Palm of your Hand, and climb from one to two, plac'd one upon t'other, and ſo to the third or fourth; and there turn about as often as their Maſters bid them. They teach Camels to dance by putting them when they're young, on a hot Hearth, and playing on a Fiddle or other Inſtrument at the ſame time: the pain makes the poor Creature lift his Feet one after another: this is practis'd for ſome Months, and at any time after, upon the ſtriking up of the Inſtruments, he falls a dancing. Likewiſe they make Aſſes do ſuch odd tricks; you'd fancy them endued with reaſon.

Matarea.

We put off our departure ſome time longer, and went to *Matarea*, five Miles North-eaſt of the City: As we paſs'd along, we ſaw Sand caſt upon the Earth to moderate its fruitfulneſs. Here they ſay our Saviour and the Bleſſed Virgin, with *Joſeph*, reſted themſelves in their Flight from *Herod*, and being afflicted with thirſt, a Fountain burſt out at their Feet, very ſeaſonably to relieve them. We ſaw a Well ſurrounded with a pitiful Mud-wall; the Water is drawn up by *Buffolo's* into a little Ciſtern; from whence it ran into a Laver of Marble, within a ſmall Chappel, by the *Moors*, in contempt of *Chriſtians*, ſpitefully defiled. In the Wall there is a Concave lined with Sweet-wood, pieces of which are carried away by ſuch as are fond of Relicks; 'tis ſmoaked with Incenſe; at the bottom is a Stone of *Porphyry*, on which they tell you ſhe ſet our Saviour. Of ſo many thouſand Wells as this Country affords, 'tis very ſtrange that this only is fit for drinking; and 'tis ſo excellent, that the *Baſſa* will not taſte any other: when they forbear drawing much of it for ſome time, it ſends forth a Stream plentiful enough to drive a Mill; after it has paſt the Chappel, it waters an Orchard, where is a large Fig-tree, which, as the Report goes, opened to receive our Saviour and his Mother, when in danger of being taken by the Purſuers, cloſing upon them till their Enemies were paſt, and then dividing again to let them out, and ſo remaining. There's a large Hole in the leaning part of it, which no Baſtard, if you'l believe them, can tread, but ſhall ſtick faſt by the middle. The Tree is all to be cut for the Wood, which is ſuppoſed to be of ſoveraign vertue.

A Tree opens to receive our Saviour flying from *Herod*.

Balm.

In an Incloſure adjoining, they ſhow a Plant of Balm, the whole Remainder of the Store this Orchard produc'd: It was deſtroy'd by the *Turks*, or, as they to excuſe themſelves ſay, by the *Jews* out of Envy: 'twas tranſported from *Jewry* in the time of *Herod the Great*, by *Antonius*'s Command, at *Cleopatra*'s deſire. Others ſay 'twas brought hither out of *Arabia Felix*, at the coſt of a *Saracen Sultan*.

A Wonder upon *Good Fridays*.

Within a day or two after we paſs'd the *Nile*, we left three Miles to the Left-hand, the place where upon *Good Fridays*, the Arms and Legs of a great many People appear ſtrech'd forth, to the wonder of the People that flock hither to ſee them. I have heard this confirm'd by *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mahometans*, as having ſeen it themſelves: but 'tis not impoſſible that it may be a Contrivance of the Watermen to get Money by ferrying over Paſſengers, of which, thouſands come to ſee this ſuppoſed Miracle; for there are an infinite number of *Mummies* Limbs, of which they may fetch and ſtick over Night in the Sand. Three or four Miles farther, on the Right-hand croſs the Plain, ſtands a Cauſey ſupported with Arches, five Furlongs Long, ten Paces high, and five in breadth, of ſmooth and figured Stone, built by the ſame Perſon that erected the Pyramids, for a Paſſage with heavy Carriages over the ſoft and ſinking Grounds; and now having rode thro' a pleaſant Plain about twelve Miles over, we came to the Foot of the *Libyan* Deſarts.

The Pyramids

Directly Weſt of the City, hard by theſe Deſarts, on a high rocky Ground, ſtands the three Pyramids, the Monuments of Prodigality and Vanity, ſo univerally famed. Their Name is taken from the Shape, intimating a Flame of Fire, broad at the bottom, and drawing to a Point at top. This Figure was much uſed by the Ancients, for by this they thought the Divinity well repreſented; for as a Pyramid from a narrow Point ſpreads it ſelf in a great Extent downwards, ſo the Divine Nature, being of it ſelf an undivided Subſtance, communicates Being to ſeveral multitudes of Beings and Forms; all which deſcend from the original ſingle Fountain of Life.

'Tis plain, that theſe, as well as the other Pyramids, were the Royal Sepulchres of the Kings of *Egypt*; the greateſt of the three, and chief of what we generally call the Seven Wonders of the World, is ſquare at the bottom, and ſuppoſed to take up eight Acres of Ground, every ſide of the Square being 300 ſingle Paces in length: the Square at the top conſiſts but of three Stones, but large enough for three ſcore Men to ſtand upon. You aſcend it by 255 Steps, each Step three Foot high, and proportionable breadth: No Stone of the whole Fabrick is little enough to be drawn by one of our Carriages, yet theſe were hewn out of the *Trojan* Mountain, a great way off in *Arabia*; which Name was given them upon account of the *Trojans* brought by *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, and there planted. 'Tis wonderful how they could bring them ſo far, and more ſtrange how they could erect them. Twenty Years was ſpent in the Building, all which time 366000 Men were continually employed about it, who in Radiſhes, Garlick, and Onions, are reported to have conſumed 1800 Talents. In ſuch like Fancies they waſted their Treaſure, and employed the People, leſt too great ſtore of Money might corrupt their Succeſſors, and an unreſtrain'd Idleneſs make the Subjects wanton and mutinous.

Time, which devours the proudeſt Structures, has not humbled this lofty Edifice, tho' 'tis conjectur'd very probably to have ſtood there 3200 Years, and now it is rather old than ruinous; the North ſide is moſt worn, becauſe of the moiſtneſs of the Northern Winds. With much difficulty we made a ſhift to reach the top, where we had the pleaſant Proſpect of this moſt excellent Country, and the noble Stream to which it owes its Riches. Southward, and near the *Mummes*, we could ſee other large Pyramids, which any where elſe might paſs for Wonders. This Pyramid caſts no ſhadow for a great part of the Day, but is at once illuminated on all ſides. On the Eaſt ſide, deſcending again, we came near the Entrance, which ſeems to have been formerly cloſ'd up: Into this our Janizaries diſcharg'd their Pieces, leſt any ſhould have ſculkt there to do us a miſchief, and guarded the Mouth while we entred, for fear of the wild *Arabs*. To have the better footing, we put off our Shoes and moſt of our Cloaths, becauſe of the heat within, which we were told was not much ſhort of a Stove. Our Guide, a *Moor*, led the way, every one of us with Lights in our Hands: 'tis a dreadful Paſſage, and very troubleſome, not above a Yard broad, and four Feet high, each Stone containing that meaſure; ſo that we were forc'd to ſtoop always, and ſometimes to creep, becauſe of the Rubbage, our Deſcent being not by Stairs, but as down the brow of a Hill, for an hundred Feet, where the ugly Deſcent continues, but the way is a little larger: they ſay none durſt ever attempt any further; but that a *Baſſa* of *Cairo* to ſatisfy his Curioſity, made ſeveral condemn'd Perſons undertake it, and ſtock'd them well with Lights and Proviſions; and that ſome of them came up again near thirty Miles off in the Deſarts: this I take to be a meer Fable. Others tell you, that at the bottom there is a large Pit, eighty ſix Cubits deep, fill'd at the time of the *Nile*'s Overflowing by ſeveral Conduits: In the middle of it is a little Iſland, and on that the Tomb of *Cheops* King of *Egypt*, and Founder of this Pyramid, which is the liklier Story of the two; for I have been told ſince by one that ſaid he ſaw it, that at the bottom of all there is a large ſquare place (tho' without Water) into which he was led by an Entry opening to the South, known to few, being ſhut up ſince by ſome order. A Turning on the Right-hand carries you to a little Room, which we would not go into there was ſuch a noiſome ſmell in it. Climbing over the above-mentioned Dungeon, we mounted about 120 Feet, as tho' upon the bow of an Arch, the Way no larger than the former: Here we paſs'd thro' a long Entry, which led directly forwards, much lower than the others; this brought us to a little Room, with a compact Roof, more long than broad, of poliſh'd Marble; but its Grave-like ſmell obliged us to return quickly. We went over this Entrance about 120 Feet higher. This laſt was exceeding high, yet ſo narrow, a Man might fathom it, bench'd on both ſides, and cloſ'd at top with admirable Architecture: the Marble is ſo great, and ſo artfully join'd, it looks as tho' it were hewn out of the Rock. At the top we entred a large Room, twenty Foot wide, and 40 in length; the Roof is of a wonderful height, and the Stones are ſo large, that eight ſerves for the Floor, eight for the Roof, eight Flags the Ends, and ſixteen the ſides; all of well wrought *Theban* Marble. Croſs the Room at the upper end, ſtands a Tomb, uncover'd and empty, all made of one Stone; 'tis Breaſt high, ſeven Foot long, and not four broad, and ſounds like a Bell: In this, no doubt, lay the Body of the Builder. Vain glory was not the ſole end of ſuch laſting Monuments; but their opinion was, that after 36000 Years, the Soul would be rejoin'd to the ſame Body, which would be reſtored to its former condition: this they collected from their Aſtronomy; ſo they would preſerve the Body altogether, to receive the Soul at its return. Againſt one End of the Tomb, cloſe to the Wall, opens a Pit, with a long and narrow Mouth, which leads into an Under-Chamber. In the Walls on each ſide of the Upper-Room, are two holes oppoſite to each other, their Ends not diſcernable, nor are they large enough to creep into, ſooty within, and they ſay were made by a Flame of Fire which darted thro' them. This is the Subſtance of what we could diſcover within this dark Fabrick.

The Effects of this piece of Vanity.

Herodotus ſays, that King *Cheops* became ſo poor by the Building of this, that neceſſity oblig'd him to proſtitute his Daughter, with a Charge to refuſe nothing ſhe could get; ſhe being ſomewhat of her Father's humour, demanded Stones of every one of her Cuſtomers, with which ſhe built the other Pyramid, much leſs than the former; 'tis ſmooth without, but has no Entrance. The third, which ſtands on the higheſt Ground, is the leaſt; but *Herodotus* and *Strabo* ſay, not inferiour in beauty nor coſt, being all built of Touch-ſtone, hard to be wrought upon, and brought from the fartheſt *Ethiopian* Mountains; but that I cannot believe: they deſign'd to have cover'd it with *Theban* Marble; there's a great quantity lies by it. This was made by *Mycerinus*, the Son of *Cheops*: Some ſay by a Curtezan of *Naucratis*, call'd *Dorica* by *Sapho* the Poetreſs, much loved by her Brother *Caraxus*, who uſed to ſail hither with Wine from *Lesbos*. Others ſay 'twas done by *Rhodope*, another of that chaſt Calling, who was at firſt, fellow Slave with *Æſop*, the Author of the Fables, and lived here after ſhe obtain'd her liberty; but if ſhe got ſuch a Treaſure by whoring, the Trade was then more profitable than ever it was ſince.

Another Story goes, that when ſhe was waſhing her ſelf, an Eagle ſnatch'd away her Shoe, and bearing it to *Memphis*, let it drop into the King's Lap, who ſurpriz'd with the Accident, and the beautiful Shape of the Foot, order'd ſearch to be made thro' all his Territories for the Owner, and having found her in *Naucratis*, he made her his Queen, and after her death, interr'd her here. She lived in the time of *Amaſis*.

A more exact Deſcription of the Pyramids in *Egypt*, taken from the Learned Mr. *Greaves*.

This learned Man tells us in his Preface, that he went twice from *Alexandria* to *Grand Cairo*, and from thence into the Deſarts, to view theſe Pyramids, *viz*. in 1638 and 1639, and carried with him ſeveral Inſtruments for the more exact diſcovery of the Truth.

1 The ſituation of the three great Pyramids now extant.

The three great Pyramids which are now extant, are ſeated on *Africa* ſide, upon a rocky and barren Hill, between the City *Memphis* and that place which is call'd *Delta*, from the *Nile* leſs than four Miles, from *Memphis* ſix, near to *Buſiris*, a Village from which they uſe to aſcend up to them. *Plin*. L. 36. C. 12.

2 The Authors and Founders of them.

Theſe three Pyramids were not erected by the *Iſraelites*, under the Tyranny of the *Pharaoh's*, as *Joſephus* and ſome modern Writers affirm; for the Scripture ſays expreſly, that the Slavery of the *Jews* conſiſted in makeing and burning of Brick, whereas all theſe Pyramids conſiſt of Stone. The firſt and greateſt of theſe Pyramids was built, ſays *Herodotus*, by *Cheops* (ſtil'd by *Diodorus Siculus Chemmis*) who ſucceeded *Rhampſinitus* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*. He adds, that the Stones were dug out of the Quarries of an *Arabian* Mountain, and from thence carried to the *Nile*: That there were employ'd in the Work ten Myriads of Men, every three Months a Myriad: That the whole Pyramid was finiſh'd in 20 Years, whereof ten were ſpent in conveying the Stones to the place of Building. *Herodot*. L. 2.

The ſecond Pyramid like to the firſt in reſpect of the Workmanſhip, but far inferiour in reſpect of Magnitude, was built by the Succeſſor to *Cheops*, who was *Cephren* his Brother, as *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* agree.

The third Pyramid, leſs than either of the former two, was built by *Mycerinus*, the Son of *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, ſays *Herod*. Other Writers give different Names to the Founders of theſe Pyramids; but this is what is moſt probable among their various Opinions, according to Mr. *Greaves*.

Beſides theſe three which are now extant, *Herodotus* mentions a fourth built of Brick by *Aſychis*, who ſucceeded *Mycerinus*, and another in which *Imarides* was buried, at the end of the Labyrinth built by the twelve Kings of *Egypt*. And long before any of theſe, *Meris* in his admirable Lake, erected two Pyramids, one for himſelf, and another for his Wife; all which are long ſince ruined by time: But there are many now ſtanding in the *Lybian* Deſart, whoſe Founders none of the ancient Writers have nam'd.

3 Of the time in which the Pyramids were built.

As to the time when the Pyramids were erected, Mr. *Greaves* finds it o'reſpread with *Egyptian* darkneſs, becauſe he cannot find in any ancient Authors when the aforeſaid Founders liv'd, and therefore he endeavours to fix the Epocha of the Migration of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, which he thinks happen'd in the Reign of *Amenophis*, coetaneous with *Moſes*, being the laſt King of the 18th *Dynaſty*, and the Epocha of the Deſtruction of the 1ſt Temple, in the time of *Hezekiah*, which he thinks happen'd in the Reign of *Apries*, being the eighth King of the 26 *Dynaſty* (as *Euſebius* out of *Manethos* reckons theſe Kings). And between theſe two Epocha's, amounting to the ſpace of 904 Years, he fixes the time when the aforeſaid Founders liv'd, by having recourſe to thoſe Dynaſties of *Manethos*, as they are preſerv'd by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*; where finding that all the intermediate *Dynaſties* have their peculiar Kings, except the 20th, he places them in that vacant ſpace of 178 Years, which that *Dynaſty* contain'd according to *Euſebius*: and ſo *Cheops* the Founder of the firſt Pyramid, began his Reign in the Year 3447, of the *Julian* Period, and 1266, before the Birth of *Chriſt*; he reign'd 50 Years, ſays *Herodotus*. After him ſucceeded *Cephren*, the Builder of the ſecond, who reign'd 56 Years; and then *Mycerinus* the Erector of the third, who reign'd ſeven Years, making in all 113; and the Remainder of the *Dynaſty* may be divided among the three next Kings, who were *Aſychis*, *Anyſis*, and *Sabachus*, who reign'd 50 Years ſays *Herodotus*. This is the beſt Account of the time Mr. *Greaves* could diſcover, which the Curious may read at large in his own Book about the Pyramids.

3 For what end or intention the Pyramids were erected.

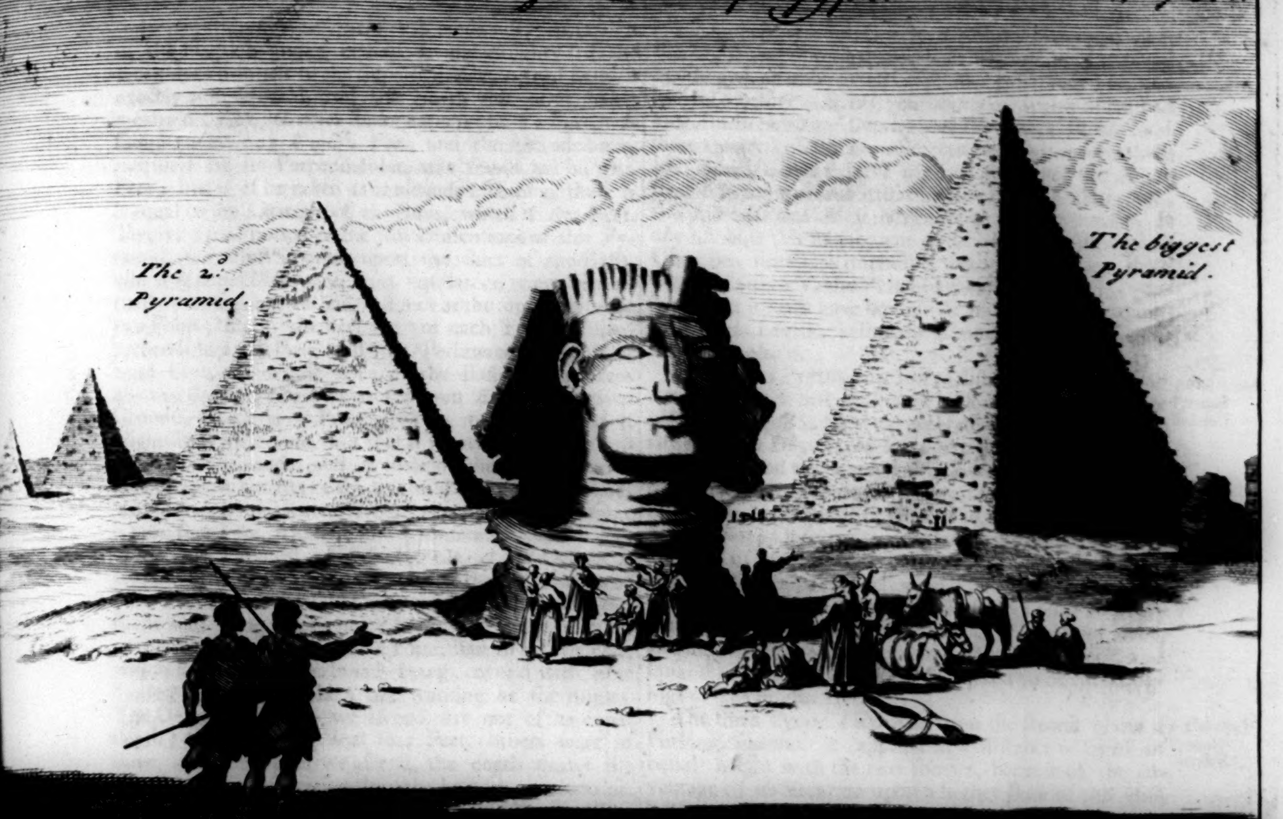
That theſe Monuments wree intended for Sepulchres and Monuments of the Dead, is the conſtant opinion of moſt Authors, and is plainly prov'd from the Tomb that is found in the Pyramid of *Cheops* to this day, and from the Teſtimony of an *Arabian* Writer, who relates, that this Pyramid being opened about 850 Years ago, there was found in it a hollow Stone, in which there was a Statue like a Man, and within it a Man, having a Breaſt-Plate of Gold ſet with Jewels, and upon it a Sword of a very great Price, and at his Head a Carbuncle of the bigneſs of an Egg, ſhining like the Light of the Day. *Almac. Hiſt. Arab. ex edit. Erp.* But the true reaſon why they built ſuch ſtately Monuments, was not meerly Oſtentation, or State-Policy, but the Religious Belief of the *Egyptians*, that as long as the Body endur'd, ſo long the Soul continued with it, as an Attendant, without going into any other Body, as otherwiſe it would; upon which account they did not only ſalt and embalm their Dead after the manner deſcrib'd by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Lib*. 1. to preſerve them from putrefaction, and make them durable as Braſs, but alſo entomb them in ſtately Monuments. Such were at firſt their Mercurial Sepulchres, made of hard Marble of a Spherical Figure. Such were the Dormitories cut out in the *Lybian* Deſarts by the *Egyptians* of lower quality, which are now call'd the *Mummies*: And of the ſame nature are the ſtately Pyramids built by their Kings, all which are deſign'd to ſecure their dead Bodies after they are embalm'd, from the Injuries of Men, or the Weather, that ſo the Soul may be ſtill oblig'd to attend them. But beſides this general Reaſon why theſe Reconditories were built, which was to preſerve their Bodies dead from all external Violence, there were two ſpecial Reaſons why they were made in a Pyramidal Form. Firſt, becauſe this Figure appears to be moſt permanent and durable, as being neither ſo liable to be overpreſs'd with its own weight at top, nor to be undermin'd by the ſinking in of Rain at bottom, as other Buildings are. Secondly, Becauſe theſe Structures were intended to repreſent ſome of the Gods of the *Egyptians*; for in the moſt ancient times, Pyramidal Columns or Obeliſks, were worſhipp'd as Images of the Gods, before the exact Art of making Statues was found out; and ſo as *Iſis Cornigera* repreſented the Horns of the Moon, ſo theſe Pyramids might repreſent the Rays of the Sun, which they worſhipp'd under the name of *Oſiris*. Other Nations were wont to erect Pillars over their Dead; but we find no ſuch ſtately Pyramids out of *Egypt*, unleſs it be the Sepulchre of *Perſenna*, King of *Etruria*, which yet was far inferiour to them in magnitude, tho' it was admirable for the number and contrivance of the Pyramids, as it is deſcrib'd by *Plin*. *l*. 36. *c*. 13.

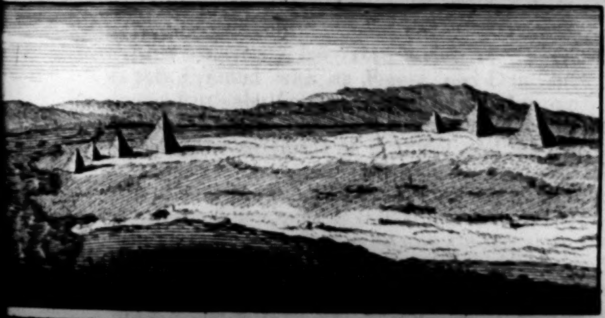
4 A Deſcription of the firſt and greateſt Pyramid

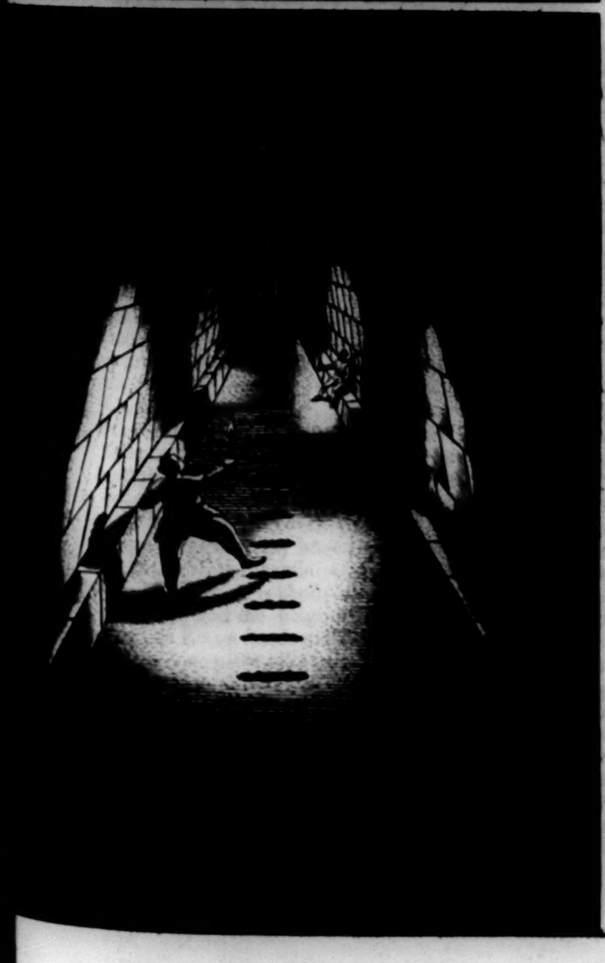
The firſt of the three great Pyramids is ſituated on the top of a rocky Hill in the ſandy Deſart of *Libya*, about one fourth of a Mile from the Plains of *Egypt*, the height

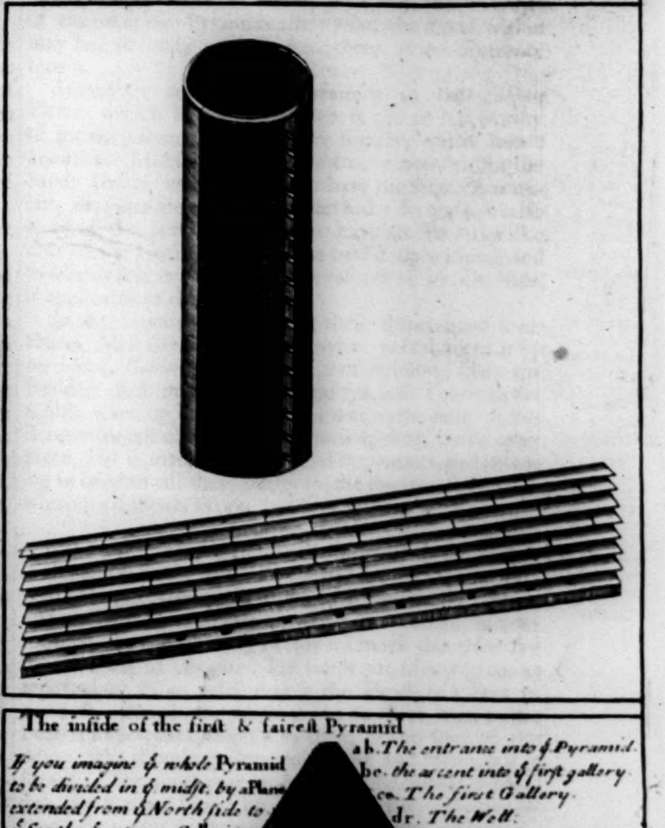
of

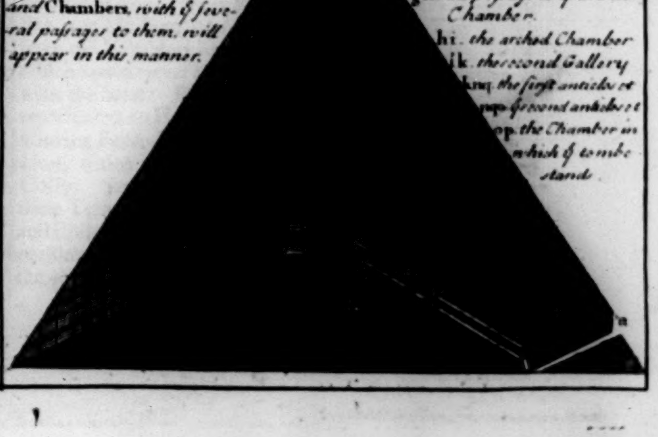
The Pyramids of Egypt.


The 2d Pyramid.
The biggest Pyramid.








The inside of the first & fairest Pyramid
If you imagine ÿ whole Pyramid to be divided in ÿ midst, by a Plane extended from ÿ North side to ÿ South; ÿ entrance Galleries and Chambers, with ÿ several passages to them, will appear in this manner.
ab. The entrance into ÿ Pyramid.
bc. the ascent into ÿ first gallery
ce. The first Gallery.
dr. The Well.
gh. the passage to ÿ arched Chamber.
hi. the arched Chamber
ik. the second Gallery
klmq. the first anticlo…t
mnop ÿ second anticlo…t
op. the Chamber in which ÿ tombe stand.
n

of the ſituation giving beauty, as the Solidity of the Rock does firmneſs to the Superſtructure. The Baſis is exactly four-ſquar'd, and the North ſide of it being meaſur'd by Mr. *Greaves* with a *Radius* of 10 Feet, was found to be 693 *Engliſh* Feet, and the Altitude being meaſur'd by its Perpendicular, was found to be 481 Feet: but if it be taken as it aſcends inclining, then it is equal to the Latitude of the Baſis, which is 693 Feet. To give a true notion of the juſt Dimenſions of this Pyramid, we muſt imagine upon the ſides of the Baſis, which is perfectly ſquare, four equilateral triangles mutually propending, till they all met at the top, as it were in a Point; for ſo the Perimeter of each Triangle comprehending 2079 Feet, and the Perimeter of the Baſis 2772 Feet, the whole Area of the Baſis will contain 480249 ſquare Feet, or about eleven *Engliſh* Acres of Ground, which is a Proportion ſo monſtrous, that it might ſeem incredible, but that it is atteſted by the Ancients to be as much, and by ſome of them to be more. The aſcent to the top of the Pyramid from all the ſides without, is by degrees or Steps; the lowermoſt Degree is near four Foot in height, and 3 in breadth, which goes about the Pyramid in a level: the ſecond Degree is like the firſt, only it retires inward from the firſt near three Feet: after the ſame manner is the third row, and ſo the reſt, riſing like ſo many Stairs one above another to the top, which ends not in a Point, but in a little Flat, which is about 13 Feet broad, being cover'd with nine Stones, beſides two which are wanting at the Angles. The Degrees by which we aſcend, are not of an equal depth; for ſome are near four Feet, others want of three, and the higher we aſcend, the depth grows the leſs; and ſo in proportion does the breadth alſo decreaſe. Theſe Rows of Stones are much impair'd by rhe Weather; yet every Step, which is but one ſingle Stone, is at leaſt 30 cubical Feet. The number of Degrees from the bottom to the top, is 207 or 208. Some of the Ancients have reported, that this Pyramid caſts no ſhadow, which muſt be meant in the Summer-time, and at midday; for in the Winter Mr. *Greaves* ſaw it caſt a ſhadow at Noon.

After Mr. *Greaves* has taken a view of the Out-ſide of this Pyramid with its Figure and Dimenſions, he gives a particular Account of what he found within it, of which the Ancients were ſilent, out of a ſuperſtitious regard to the Sacredneſs of the Place, and the *Arabians* have given us romantick Deſcriptions. And firſt, He tells us how he aſcended on the North ſide 38 Feet, and there he and his Company enter'd into it with Tapers in their Hands, thro' a ſquare narrow Paſſage, three Feet broad and 92 long, the Declivity of which was gradually ſo ſtraitned, that they were forc'd, at the further end of it, to creep upon their Bellies. After this, having paſs'd thro' a place in which they found ugly large Bats above a Foot long, they entred thro' intricate Windings into many ſpacious Galleries, built with poliſh'd Marble, white ſpeckled. At the end of one they found the Well mention'd by *Pliny*, which is circular, being three Foot broad, and at that time 20 deep; the ſides of it are lin'd with white Marble, and the Deſcent into it is by faſtening the Hands and Feet in little open Spaces, cut in the ſides within. After we had paſs'd, ſays he, thro' ſeveral Galleries, which lie in the ſame continu'd Line, and lead to the middle of the Pyramid, we obſerved the ſtrange Eccho mentioned by *Plutarch*, by diſcharging a Gun; for the Sound being carried in thoſe ſmooth Paſſages, and finding no vent outwards, reflects upon it ſelf, and cauſes a confus'd noiſe, which by degrees vaniſhes. But that which is moſt admirable, is the rich and ſpacious Chamber, which lies about the Center of the Pyramid, in which Art may ſeem to have contended with Nature, the curious Work being not inferiour to the rich Materials; for the Floor, the Roof, and the Sides of it, are all made of vaſt Tables of *Thebaick* Marble, very gracefully ſiz'd and plac'd. The nine Stones which cover the Roof, are of a prodigious length, like ſo many huge Beams traverſing the Room, and ſupporting the infinite Maſs of the Pyramid above. The length of it is about 34 *Engliſh* Feet, the breadth about 17, and the heighth 19 and a half. Within this glorious Room ſtands the Monument of *Cheops* or *Chemmus*, of one piece of Marble, hollow within, uncover'd at the top, and ſounding like a Bell, without any Sculpture or Emboſſment. But it is the common opinion, after *Diodorus*, that neither *Chemmis* nor his Succeſſor *Cephren* were buried in their Pyramids, becauſe, ſays he, the People being overpreſs'd by them with hard labour, threaten'd to tear their dead Bodies in pieces, and throw them out of theſe Sepulchres. *Diod. l.* 1. This Monument is of the ſame *Thebaick* Marble with the whole Room, being ſpeckled with black, white, and red Spots, and reſembles two Cubes finely ſet together, and hollow'd within. It is ſeven Feet three Inches and a half long, in breadth and depth three Feet three Inches and three quarters on the out-ſide, but within it is ſomething leſs, which ſhows that the Men of this Age are of the ſame Stature with thoſe that liv'd near 3000 Years ago, tho' ſome famous Men have thought the contrary. If any aſk how this Monument could be convey'd into this Chamber, ſince it is impoſſible for it to enter by thoſe narrow Paſſages in the Pyramid which lead to it? I anſwer, that it muſt have been rais'd and convey'd without up by ſome Engine, before the Chamber was finiſh'd and the Roof clos'd.

5 The ſecond Pyramid deſcrib'd.

The ſecond Pyramid is ſcarce diſtant the flight of an Arrow from the firſt, and is all built of Stones of a white colour, nothing ſo great as thoſe of the firſt; the ſides riſe not with Degrees or Steps like that, but are ſmooth and equal, and the whole Fabrick ſeems to be very entire, except on the South ſide. Tho' it is generally thought to be inferiour to the firſt in magnitude, yet by Mr. *Greaves*'s Obſervation, the Heighth and the Sides of the Baſis in both are equal. There is no Entrance into it, and therefore none can tell what Chambers are within. It is bounded on the North and Weſt ſides with two very ſtately and eleborate Structures, being 30 Foot deep, and more than 1400 long, cut out of the hard Rock, and ſquar'd by a Chizzel, which are ſuppos'd to be the Lodgings of the Prieſts.

6 The third Pyramid deſcrib'd.

The third Pyramid is diſtant from the ſecond about a Furlong, and tho' it appears at a diſtance to be of an equal height with the two former, becauſe of the advantage of its Situation upon a higher Riſe of the Hill, yet it is really much lower, each ſide of the Baſis being only 300 Feet long, which wants near 400 Feet of the two former. All the Ancient and Modern Writers generally agree that it was made of black *Ethiopic* Marble, whereas Mr. *Greaves* aſſures us upon his own Inſpection, that the whole Pyramid ſeems to be of a clear and white Stone, ſomewhat choicer and brighter than that in either of the other two Pyramids: but what the Stone within may be, no body can tell, ſince there is no Entrance into it.

Among the reſt of the Pyramids in the *Libyan* Deſart, which be about 18, there is one no leſs worthy of memory than any of the three former, which ſtands about 20 Miles diſtant from them, more within the Sandy Deſart, which appears to have the ſame Dimenſions, the ſame Steps without as the firſt: It appears alſo to be of the ſame colour, and to have an Entrance like that on the North ſide, which is barr'd up within; and ſo whatever is ſaid of the firſt in reſpect of the Out-ſide, is applicable to this.

As to the manner of erecting theſe ſtupendious Structures, Mr. *Greaves* diſliking what is ſaid about it by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Pliny*, is of opinion, That the Builders firſt made a large and ſpacious Tower in the midſt, reaching to the top, and that to the Sides of this Tower the reſt of the Building was applied, piece after piece, like ſo many Buttreſſes and Supporters, ſtill leſſening in heighth till they came to the lowermoſt Degree, which is a difficult Work, but very laſting.

The *Coloſſus*.

Not far from theſe ſtands the *Coloſſus*; up to the Mouth is all natural Rock, as if nature had form'd it ſo on purpoſe; the reſt is compos'd of huge flat Stones laid upon it, and wrought to repreſent an *Ethiopian* Woman, adored formerly by the Country People: Under this they ſay lies the Body of *Amaſis*. The ſize is not ſo monſtrous as reported by *Pliny*, who makes the Head 102 Feet in compaſs, whereas the whole is but 60 Feet high: the Face is ſomewhat disfigur'd by time, or the ſpite of the *Moors*, who abominate Images. *Pliny* and others call it *Sphinx*. The upper part of the *Sphinx* reſembled a Maiden, the lower a Lion: by this Figure the ——————— *Egyptians* meant the Increaſe of their River, and conſequently of ——— their Riches, which happens when the Sun is in the Signs of *Leo* and *Virgo* ———. This is but from the Shoulders upward, tho' *Pliny* gives it a Belly, which could never be, unleſs the Belly be now covered with the Sand. By a *Sphinx* in their *Hieroglyphicks*, they repreſented an Harlot alſo, having an amiable, and an alluring Face, but withal the Tyranny and Danger of a Lion, which ſhe makes uſe of over the willingly ſeduced Cully. Such ſort of Figures they erected alſo before their Temples, thinking that the Myſteries of Religion and Philoſophy ought to be contained in Ænigmatical Expreſſions, that they might be kept from the Knowledge of the giddy Multitude.

Memphis.

Five Miles South-eaſt of theſe, and two Weſt of the River, towards which the Brow of the Mountain leans a little, ſtood the Royal City of *Memphis*, the Strength and Glory of old *Egypt*, built by *Ogdoo*, and call'd ſo after his Daughter, whom they fable *Nilus* lay with in the ſhape of a Bull. In this was the Temple of *Apis*, the ſame with *Oſiris*; and *Nilus*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, &c. are all the ſame. There is ſcarce enough of Ruins left to teſtify that *Memphis*, once ſo famous, ſtood here; yet ſome few Remains are to be ſeen ſtill, and ſome Statues of monſtrous Reſemblances, which ly in a ruinous condition.

This has made ſome miſtake old *Memphis* for the preſent *Cairo*: But ſuch as have both ſeen and wrote of the former, ſay it ſtood eight Scenes above the Southern Angle of *Delta*, each Scene containing five Miles, and ſometimes ſeven and a half, according to the differing Cuſtoms; this South Angle of *Delta* is four Miles diſtant from *Cairo*. Beſides, theſe Pyramids belonging to *Memphis*, ſaid to have ſtood five Miles North-weſt of the City, ſtanding directly Weſt, and full twelve from this. But the moſt convincing Proof is, the *Mummies* lying in a place, where many Generations have had their Burying Places, not far above *Memphis*, on the Skirts of the *Libyan* Deſarts, and ſtreightning of the Mountains almoſt 20 Miles from *Cairo*: ſo that it would be very odd that they ſhould carry their dead ſo far, if they had ſo convenient a place of Interment near the City.

Mummies.

We would gladly have ſeen theſe; but the chargeable Guard, and the fear of the *Arabs*, who were then ſolemnizing their Feaſt there, and the Inconvenience of lying out all Night, made us be ſatisfied with what we had heard, having ſeen before ſeveral of the embalmed Bodies, and ſome broken up to be bought for a Dollor a piece at the City. In that place are ſome pretty large, and many little Pyramids, with Tombs of ſeveral faſhions, ſeveral ruin'd, and as many violated by the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who make Money of the dead Bodies. Here the ancient *Egyptians* were uſed to be interr'd, and were fond to be buried there, as ſuppoſing it to contain the Body of *Oſiris*. Under every one, or whereſoever Stones lie which are not natural to the place, if you remove them, are diſcover'd Deſcents like the narrow Mouths of Wells, having holes in each ſide of the Walls to go down by inſtead of Steps, yet ſo troubleſome, that many refuſe to go down that came there on purpoſe; ſome of them are near ten Fathom deep, leading into long Vaults, belonging, as it ſhould ſeem, to particular Families, hewn out of the Rock, with Pillars for it. Between each Arch the Corps ly rank'd one by another, ſhrowded in folds of Linnen, ſwath'd with Bands of the ſame, the Breaſts of ſeveral being ſtain'd with Hieroglyphical Characters; in their Bellies are painted Papers, and their Gods incloſed in little Medals of Stone or Metal, ſome of the ſhape of Men in Coat Armours, with the Heads of Sheep, Hawks, Dogs, *&c.* others of Cats, Beetles, Monkeys, and ſuch like: I brought ſeveral of theſe with me: the Linnen pull'd off (which for Colour and Subſtance reſembles the inward Film between the Bark and the Bole, when long dried, and brittle) the Body appears ſolid, uncorrupted, and perfect in all its Dimenſions; whereof the Maſculous Parts are moſt brown, ſome black, hard as Stone-Pitch, and in Phyſick works ſomewhat alike, tho' accounted more ſoveraign.

The manner of preſerving dead Bodies.

When they prepare theſe to keep them from Putrefaction, they draw out the Brains at the Noſtrils with an Iron Inſtrument, filling the ſame with preſervative Spices; then cutting up the Belly with an *Ethiopian* Stone, and taking out the Bowels, they cleanſe the Inſide with Wine, and ſtuffing the ſame with a Compoſition of Caſſia, Myrrhe, and other Odours, cloſe it again. The ſame the poorer ſort of People did with Bitumen, as the Inſide of their Skulls and Bellies ſtill teſtify, fetcht from the Lake of *Aſphaltites* in *Jewry*: So did they alſo with the Juice of Cedars; which by the extream bitterneſs and drying faculty, not only forthwith removed the Cauſe of interiour Corruption, but to this day, which is about 3000 Years, has preſerved them uncorrupted: So different is the quality of that Tree, procuring Life to the Dead, and being very dangerous to the Living. After this they wrap the Body in a great many Folds of Linnen, beſmear'd with Gum like Sear-cloath. When they had performed their Ceremonies, which were very numerous, they put the Corpſe in a Boat, to be wafted over *Acheruſia*, a Lake on the South of the City, by one certain Perſon only, whom they called *Charon*; this gave *Orpheus* the hint of his Infernal Ferryman. Near this Lake ſtood the ſhady Temple of *Hecate*, with the Ports of *Cocytus* and *Oblivion*, ſeparated by Bars of Braſs, which became the Original of the Fables of that nature. When the dead Body was conveyed to the other ſide, 'twas brought before certain Judges, where if the Deceas'd was convicted of an evil Life, they refuſed it Burial, otherwiſe 'twas interr'd as aforeſaid. Thus did theſe People endeavour to ſecure an uſeleſs miſtaken Eternity to their Names and Bodies.

Babylon.

Returning the ſame way we came, and having repaſt the *Nile*, we turn'd a little to the right to view the Ruins of the old City, call'd formerly *Babylon*, joining to the South part of *Cairo*. It had its name from ſome *Babylonians*, whom the old *Egyptian* Kings ſuffer'd to live there, who built a Caſtle in the ſame place where this now ſtands, deſcribed before, which was a great while after a Garriſon Town of the three Legions, poſted here to defend this Country in the time of the *Romans*, and anciently gave the name to the City below, formerly call'd *Miſrubbetick* by the *Arabians*, ſaid to have been built by *Omar*, Succeſſor to *Mahomet*; but it muſt be certainly rather re-edified than founded by him, having had in it ſo many Chriſtian Churches, as the Ruins Witneſs.

A Ciſtern rais'd by the *Jews.*

We paſs'd by a mighty Ciſtern within a Tower, and ſtanding upon a place where the River comes in, rais'd as is ſaid by the *Jews* to moderate the Anger of the King, whom they provoked to fall out with the innocent Chriſtians, and they by removing a Mountain (which taſk the Prince impos'd upon them as a Tryal of their Faith) converted him to their Religion, and turn'd his Diſpleaſure upon their Accuſers. This runs along an Aqueduct, ſupported by 300 Arches, and ſupplies the Caſtle with Water. The Ruins of the City are great, and ſo are the Buildings, among which are many Chriſtian Monaſteries and Temples; the laſt that was left was thrown down by the *Baſſa*, becauſe as it ſhould ſeem it ſpoiled his proſpect; but then I ſhould think he would ſcarce have given the Patriarch leave to rebuild it; the *Moors* abus'd him with their Tongues for it, and threw down what that worthy Man begun. Upon this *Cyril* made a Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, to procure the *Grand Signior*'s Order for doing it; when he was upon this Buſineſs, he was, but not thro' his own ſeeking, choſen Patriarch of the *Greeks*, and a little after, by the Briberies of another, being diſplac'd, he return'd to *Cairo*. Here is a little Chappel ſtill ſtanding, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, under which is a Grotto, where they ſay ſhe hid her ſelf when *Herod* purſued her. 'Tis much frequented by the Chriſtians, and ſo is the Tomb of *Naſiſſa* in this place by the *Mahometans*.

Joſeph's Granaries.

The few Inhabitants that are here are *Greeks* and *Armenians*; we ſaw great *Seraglio's*, very high, and propt up by Buttreſſes: Theſe are reported to be the Granaries of *Joſeph*, where he hoarded Corn in the Year of Plenty to provide againſt want in the approaching Famine: they are ſeven in all, three ſtanding and employed to the ſame uſe, the reſt ruined. From hence up the River is nothing to be ſeen but Ruins for twenty Miles together; and thereabouts we ended our Day's Journey.

On the fourth of *March* we left *Cairo* in the diſguiſe of Pilgrims, four of us *Engliſh* and three *Italians*, of whom one was a Prieſt, and another a Phyſician: For our ſelves we hired three Camels, and their Keepers two to carry us, the third for our Proviſions: the Price is to be known at *Gaza* upon the dividing the great Profit of the Caravan, anſwerable to the ſucceſs of the Journey. We had alſo a *Coptie* for half a Dollar a Day, to be our Interpreter, and to wait upon us: We ſtock'd our ſelves with Proviſion for ſo long a Voyage, as Biſcuit, Rice, Raiſins, Figs, Dates, Almonds, Olives, Oyl, Sherbet, *&c.* and bought Pewter, Braſs, and ſuch like Conveniencies, as if we intended to ſet up Houſe-keeping: Our Water we carried in Goat-ſkins. We rode in ſhallow things like Cradles, which we were forced to buy too: We were two on a Camel, which was ſecur'd above, and cover'd with Linnen, a Poſture extreamly uneaſy, but the Inhabitants that are uſed to it, ſit croſs-legg'd naturally. That Night we pitch'd near *Hangia*, 14 Miles from the City: In the Evening the Captain came, a *Turk*, well mounted, and with a good Attendance. Here we ſtaid the next day for the gathering together of the Caravan, paying to the People of the Village four *Madeins* for every Camel, for which they guard us at Night, and make good whatever is ſtolen: they do the ſame in other places. One of them often calling out *Waſhed*, which is anſwered by *Elaugh*, which together ſignifies *One God*; this Watch-word paſſing round the Caravan, is ſufficient Aſſurance that all's ſafe. Among us were ſeveral *Jewiſh* Women, extreamly old, who undertook the Journey only to die at *Jeruſalem*, carrying with them the Bones of their Parents, Huſbands, Children and other Kindred; the ſame Whim carries them from all other parts, where they can conveniently. The Merchants had with them many *Negroes*, a good Commodity: They buy them of their Parents, 30 Miles higher on the Weſt ſide of the River, who part with them without any concern; for as others look upon their Riches to conſiſt in the Multitude of their Cattle, ſo theſe count their Wealth by the number of their Children.

Alchan a great Die among the Turks.

About ten at Night we ſet out, and arrived the next Morning at *Billbeſk*, in the Land of *Geſhen*, from thence continuing our Journey, we arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Catara*, where we met with Cotton-trees, and a Tree call'd by the *Arabs*, *Alchan*; the Powder of its dried Leaves, being a Die for a reddiſh-yellow. With this Die the Women in the *Turkiſh* Empire colour their Hair and Nails, and ſometimes their Hands and Feet, and the other parts of their Body, tempering it with Gum, and laying it on in the Bagnio, that it may penetrate the deeper. Some *Chriſtians* uſe it as well as *Mahometans*, and indeed the Conſumption is ſo univerſal throughout the *Turkiſh* Empire, that the Value of what is uſed, amounts to 80000 Sultanics.

The Lake Sirbonis or Barathrum.

Next day we came to *Salbia*: A little lower is a Lake call'd anciently *Sirbonis* and now *Bayrena*, which divides *Egypt* from *Syria*. In former times 'twas called *Barathrum*, from its ſucking in, and ſwallowing up whole Armies; for it had then a Paſſage into the Sea (which is now choaked up) and run out to the length of 200 Furlongs, in a narrow Trough, guarded on each Hand with Hills of Sand; which being driven by the Wind into the Water, ſo as to thicken it to the ſeeming conſiſtency of Earth; ſo that when People came upon it unawares, the firſt Sand they trode on ſeem'd firm enough, but after a further Progreſs the Sand gave way, and ſliding ſtill further into the Body of the Lake, made it impoſſible for the Traveller to retreat. Now 'tis only a little Lake, and grows daily leſs.

Mount Caſſius. Pompey's Tomb.

Near this Lake is the Mountain *Caſſius*, or a huge Mole of Sand, famous for the Temple of *Jupiter*, and the Tomb of *Pompey*, which was nobly repair'd by the Emperour *Adrian*. The North ſide of the Lake is border'd by *Idumea* (or *Edom*) ſo call'd from the *Idumeans*, a People of *Arabia Fœlix*, who abdicated their own Country, and here incorporated by the *Hebrews*.

The *Subaſſee* of *Salbia* invited himſelf to our Tent, and after feeding upon our Proviſions, would have fallen upon our Perſons, if we had not been fortified by a Paſſport from the *Baſſa* of *Cairo*, and our Captain's Intereſt. Here our whole Caravan aſſembled, conſiſting of 1000 Horſes, Mules and Aſſes, and 500 Camels, a Camel being a Beaſt created for, is not only uſeful but neceſſary in the *Arabian* Deſarts: He'll carry 1000 weight, tho' 600 be the ordinary Load. In loading or unloading he lies on his Belly, and when he is loaded proportionably to his Strength, will (as is ſaid) riſe up and refuſe to take more. He'll travel for four Days (or fourteen upon a Pinch) without Water: for in his frequent Belchings, he thruſts up a Bladder, which moiſtens his Throat and Mouth, and commonly upon a Journey he is cram'd with Barly-dough. Some ſay the Camels are the only Creatures that ingender backwards. Their Pace is ſlow and unſufferable hard; and upon the leaſt uneven or ſlippery Ground they are apt to ſtumble. They are very mild and tractable, abating for the time of their Venery, which laſts 40 days, and which is ſo furious, that they bite and ſcratch their Keepers. About their Necks they have certain Charms writ by the *Derviſes*, and incloſ'd in Leather, to preſerve from Miſchance and the Poyſon of ill Eyes.

A Deſcription of the Arabian Camels.

On the tenth of *March* we entred *Arabia Petræa*, a barren deſolate Country, which bears nothing but a few ſcatter'd Palms, and a little wild Hyſſop, with which the Inhabitants feed their Camels, the Milk and Fleſh of Camels being their principal Suſtenance. The whole Country is a Wilderneſs of Sand heap'd up in Mountains, according as the Wind blows.

The Particulars of the Author's Journey thro' this Country, the Holy Land, *&c.* are referr'd to another Province; only 'tis thought not improper to take in here his Obſervations upon *Malta*.

Arrival at Malta.

On the 2d of *June* being *Sunday*, we enter'd the Haven, which lies on the Eaſt ſide of the City of *Valitta* in the Iſle of *Malta*, which we ſaluted with 18 eighteen Guns, but we were not allowed to enter, tho' we had a Patent to ſhew that we were free from the Plague, nor ſuffer'd to depart when the Wind ſerved, which was within two days after; for the Gallies were then ſetting out upon ſome Enterprize on *Barbary*; for which reaſon they would not let us go, leſt if we were taken, we ſhould make ſome diſcovery; nay, they were ſo cautious, as to hinder any of their own Ships to put out, till ſometime after the Gallies were gone, for fear of a Surprizal; but a large *Dutch* Ship putting in to ſee for Company, and the *Engliſh* being already ſo ſtrong, they were licenced to ſail the ſixth of *June*, the Maſters having the Night before in their Long-boats, waited the Return of the Great Maſter, from viewing a Fort, which was then building, and welcomed him home with 21 Guns.

The Author ſtays behind.

I who never could be reconciled to the Sea, choſe rather to ſtay behind alone, and undergo all poſſible Difficulties than entertain the Thoughts of ſo tedious a Voyage; ſo I was left upon a naked Promontory, right againſt the City, remote from the Concourſe of People, and at a loſs how to diſpoſe of my ſelf: At laſt a little Boat made towards me, rowed by an Officer, whoſe buſineſs it is to attend on Strangers that have not *Pratticke* to prevent any Infection by Companies going near them. This Man carried me to the hollow hanging of a Rock, where for that Night I was to take up my Quarters, and the next day he was to carry me to the *Lazaretta*, and there I was to ſtay 30 or 40 Days before I could be admitted into the City. In this melancholly condition was I, muſing on my Hardſhips, while my Guardian was gone for ſome Victuals for me; but in the mean time this lucky Accident offer'd, A *Phelucco* came to the place with two old Women in it, who ſpread a *Turky* Carpet upon the Rock, and upon that a Table-cloath, which they furniſhed with variety of the choiceſt Meats: A little after came another *Phelucco*, which ſet a Gallant aſhoar with his two Miſtreſſes, dreſs'd like Nymphs, with Lutes in their Hands, full of fondling tricks, ſcarce giving the Spark leave to eat a bit, but what they put into his Mouth: Sometimes the one would play upon the Lute, whilſt 'tother ſung, and laid his Head in her Lap, thus aping the Paſſions of Lovers. The old Hags had no ſmall ſhare in the Comedy, with their ridiculous Moppings. Theſe, as I heard afterwards, were the young Women's Mothers, who had brought them from *Greece*, to trade with the unmarried Knighthood: at laſt the Gentleman, who was a *French* Captain, invited me to take part with them, which I wanted not to be much intreated to, and he ſpoke to them to make much of the *Foreſtier*: but they needed not to be ſpurr'd; for they grew preſently ſo familiar, as was loathſome to us both: both he and they, in pity of my hard lodging, offered to convey me into the City by Night and bring me back in the Morning; a Crime, which if diſcovered, is puniſhable with death: While they were perſwading me to it, my Guardian returned, and a *Malteſe* with him, whoſe Father was an *Engliſh*-man: As ſoon as he underſtood what they had propoſed to me, he diſſwaded them; ſo the Captain having promiſed me his good Offices, departed. When they were got a pretty way from the Shoar, the Whores ſtript and leapt into the Sea, where they violated all the Bounds of Modeſty. The Captain did not forget his Promiſe, and having ſollicited the *Great Maſter* on my behalf, as he ſate in Council, *Pratticke* was granted me, by the conſent of the great Croſſes; ſo I came into the City, and was kindly entertained in the Houſe of the *Malteſe* laſt mentioned, where I ſtaid three Weeks.

Malta Deſcribed.

Malta lies in the *Libyan* Sea, exactly between *Tripolis* in *Barbary* and the South-eaſt Angle of *Sicily*, an hundred and fourſcore Miles diſtant from the one, and ſixty from the other; it contains three ſcore Miles in circuit, and was formerly called *Melite*, upon the account of the plenty of Honey there. The Country is all over Champion, being no other than a Rock covered with Earth, not exceeding two Foot where deepeſt. There are few Trees here but ſuch as bear Fruit, which they are well provided with of all ſorts; Wood for their Fuel they fetch from *Sicily*, except what is uſed by the meaner ſort of People, which is a kind of great Thiſtle and Cow-dung: but they conſume not much, the Climate is ſo exceſſive hot; for tho' it is ſometimes moderated by the Winds, to which it is expoſed from the Sea, 'tis hotter than any place in the ſame Parallel. Here are no Rivers, but ſeveral Fountains. The Soil produces no Grain but Barley; the Bread made of that and Olives is the ordinary Diet of the Villagers, and the Straw ſuſtains their Cattle: They have plenty enough of Cumin-Seed, Annis-Seed, and Honey, which they merchandize with; beſides, they have ſome Cotton-Wool, which exceeds all others. The Inhabitants dy rather of Age than Diſeaſes, and had formerly the name of Fortunate, becauſe of their excelling in Arts and nice Weavings. They were originally a Colony of the *Phœnicians*, who trading as far as the main Ocean, ſettled upon this Iſland, and by the Conveniency of the Haven, got great Eſtates; in the midſt of it is built the City of *Malta*, now called *Old Malta*, either giving a name to the whole place, or borrowing one from it.

Their Language.

Their Language differs not much from the *Moreſco*, tho' it retains ſome Print ſtill of the *Punick* Tongue. I cannot decide, whether it came into the Poſſeſſion of *Spain*, together with the Kingdom of *Sicily*, or the *Spaniards* conquer'd it from the *Moors*, which is likely, both by the Reſemblance of Languages, and becauſe 'tis accounted to belong to *Africa*: however that be, *Spain* had it in the time of *Charles* the firſt, who beſtowed it on the Knights of *Rhodes*.

The begining of the Order.

This Order of Knighthood looks upon St. *John Baptiſt* as their Patron, but was firſt inſtituted by *John* the Charitable Patriarch of *Alexandria*. Their firſt Seat was the Hoſpital of St. *John* in *Jeruſalem*, which gave them the Name of Knights Hoſpitallers: That place was built by one *Gerrard*, about the time when the ſucceſsful Expeditions of the Chriſtians againſt the Holy Land, were ſo famous: The Renown of thoſe Adventures won many worthy Perſons in that Society approved by Pope *Gelaſius* the ſecond. By the Allowance of *Honorius* the ſecond, they wore Garments of black, ſign'd with a white Croſs; *Raymond* firſt Maſter of the Order, enlarged their Canons; his Stile was, *The poor Servant of Chriſt, and Guardian of the Hoſpital in* Jeruſalem. In every Country in *Chriſtendom* they had Hoſpitals and Revenues aſſign'd them. with Contributions from Pope *Innocent* the ſecond. Their Vows tied them to entertain all Pilgrims with ſingular Humility, to guard their Roads from Thieves and Incurſions, and valiantly to defend their Lives in defence of that Country. When the Chriſtians were beaten out of *Syria*, the *Greek* Emperour gave them *Rhodes* for their Settlement: Others ſay *Clement* the fifth did. They conquer'd it from the *Turks*, but as aforeſaid, loſt it again, and then fix'd in *Malta*. There are here ſeven *Alberges* or Seminaries; one of *France* in general, one of *Averne*, one of *Provence*, one of *Caſtile*, one of *Arragon*, one of *Italy*, one of *Germany*, and an eighth there was of *England*, till diſſolved by *Henry* the eighth: Yet there is one ſtill that ſupplies his place, in the Election of the great Maſter. Of every one of theſe Countries there is a Grand Prior, who regulates the Affairs of the Order, and lives in great Reputation in his Country.

Seven Seminaries.

St. *Johns* near *Smithfield*, was the Reſidence of the Grand Prior of *England*; and an *Iriſh*-man now living in *Naples*, bears the Title, and receives a large Penſion from *Spain*. Such as are Candidates for this Dignity, ſtay here a Year for Probation, and muſt prove their Gentility for ſix Deſcents, which is tried by the Knights of the Country. Women are not incapable of this Honour, as appears by a Statute made in the Maſter-ſhip of *Hugo Revelus*; perhaps becauſe one *Agnis*, a noble Lady, was Author of the Order, as they affirm; but I could not hear of any now that are Members of it. The Ceremonies uſed in Knighting are theſe: Firſt, The Knight carries a Waxen Taper in his Hand, and kneels before the Altar, cloathed in a long looſe Garment, and requeſts the Ordinary to inveſt him with the Order: then he receives a Sword in the *Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, to defend the Catholick Faith with it, to repel and vanquiſh the Enemy, to relieve the Oppreſſed, and, if occaſion be, to expoſe himſelf to death for the Faith, and all by the Power of the Croſs, which is ſignified by the Croſs-hilt of the Sword. Next, They put a Belt about him, and ſtrike him three times on the Shoulder with a Sword, which is to inſtruct him, that for the Honour of Chriſt he muſt chearfully undergo any Hardſhip: As ſoon as he has received it, he flouriſhes it thrice over his Head, as a challenge to the Adverſary, and then ſheaths it again, wiping the Sword firſt upon his Arm, as an Emblem of the undefiled Life he intends to lead for the future: Then the Perſon that performs the Ceremony of giving him the Knight-hood, lays his Hand on his Shoulder, and exhorts him to be vigilant in the Faith, to aſpire to Honour by couragious and praiſe-worthy Actions, *&c.* When that's done, two Knights put on his Spurs, gilt, to ſignify that he ought to ſpurn and contemn Gold like Dirt, and never be corrupted with it: Then he proceeds to Maſs with the Taper in his Hand, the Works of Piety, Hoſpitality, and Redemption of Captives, being commended to him, and the Queſtions are put to him, If he be married or a Batchelor, if he never vowed to another Order, if he be of any other Profeſſion, if he deſign to live among them to revenge their Injuries, and quit the Authority of ſecular Magiſtracy. His Anſwers being given, upon receiving the Sacrament, he vows as follows: *I vow to the Almighty God, to the Virgin* Mary *his immaculate Mother, and to St.* John Baptiſt, *perpetually, by the help of God, to be truly obedient to all my Superiours, appointed by God and this Order, to live without any thing of my own, and withal to live chaſtly.* Upon this he is made a Partaker of their Priviledges and Indulgencies, granted them by the See of *Rome*. Beſides other Prayers they are commanded to ſay 150 *Pater-Noſters* every day, for ſuch as have been ſlain in their Wars. They wear Ribbands about their Necks, with Branches of the Croſs, and black Cloaks, with large white Croſſes of fine Linnen, ſet in the Shoulder of them: In time of War, they wear Crimſon Mandilions croſs'd the ſame way, behind and before over their Armour.

Women capable.

The Ceremonies of Inſtitution.

The Vow every Knight makes at his Admiſſion.

They come here very young, that they may the ſooner get a *Commendam* at home, many of which are of great value, not got by Favour, but by Seigniority: They are obliged to live here five Years (but that need not be all together) and to go on four Expeditions. If one of them be convicted of a Capital Crime, he is firſt publickly degraded in the Church of St. *John*, where he receiv'd his Knighthood; then ſtrangled, and thrown into the Sea by Night. Every Nation feeds by themſelves in their ſeveral *Alberges*, and ſit at Table like Fryars; but ſuch as upon petition, have leave to eat alone, have 60 Crowns allowed them by the Religion yearly; all of them receive 25 for their Cloaths.

There are 500 reſiding here, and as many diſpers'd throughout Chriſtendom, who repair hither upon any Summons, or the News of an Invaſion; where they will, the Religion is the univerſal Heir, only one fifth part of their Subſtance, each Knight may diſpoſe of: Sixteen of them are Counſellors of State, and of chief Authority called the *Great Croſſes.* Theſe wear Tippets and Coats under their Cloaks ſigned with them. In the number of theſe are the Marſhal, the Maſter of the Hoſpital, the Admiral, the Chancellor, *&c.* When one dies, another is choſen by the Great Maſter and his Knights, who give their Votes (if I remember right) by Ballots, as the *Venetians* do, by which means they avoid both Envy and Faction. If the Great Maſter fall ſick, they ſuffer no Veſſel to go out of the Haven, till he is either recovered, or dead, and another choſen in his Room, leſt the Pope ſhould intrude into the Election, which they ſay only belongs to themſelves: The Election is performed thus.

The manner of chooſing the Great Maſter.

Every Nation chooſes two Knights of their own, two being choſen for the *Engliſh* alſo: theſe ſixteen out of their own number name eight; thoſe eight appoint a Knight, a Prieſt, and a Fryar Servant, who wears Arms too; and theſe three chooſe the Great Maſter out of the ſixteen great Croſſes. The preſent Maſter is a *Picard* born, about 60 Years old, and has governed eight Years. His Title is, *The Illuſtrious and moſt Reverend Prince, my Lord Fryar* Aloſius *of* Wignian Court, *Great Maſter of the Hoſpital of St.* John'*s of* Jeruſalem, *Prince of* Malta *and* Goza. For tho' he is no more than a Fryar, as the other Knights are, he is an abſolute Soveraign, and has a brave Attendance of gallant young Gentlemen. The Clergy wear the Badge of the Order, and are ſubject to the ſame Laws, except in Military Affairs.

There are 60 Villages in this Iſland, under the Command of ten Captains; and four Cities; *Old Malta*, as was ſaid before, is ſeated in the Center of the Iſland upon an Hill; 'tis ſhaped like a Scutcheon. They do not eſteem it to be of great Importance; however there is a Garriſon kept in it. They ſhow a Grotto here, in which they ſay St. *Paul* lay after he was ſhipwrack'd, reverenced by them with great Devotion. The Refin'd Stone of it they caſt into Medals, with the Effigies of St. *Paul* on one ſide, and a Viper on the other, or an *Agnus Dei*, and the like, which they ſell in great numbers to Foreigners. They report, that when 'tis drunk in Wine, it cures the Venome of Serpents; and tho' there are many Serpents in this place, they give it out, that tho' you handle or vex them, they have no Power to hurt you, having loſt their Venome ever ſince the Apoſtle was here. The other three Cities, if they may be ſo called, are about eight Miles diſtant, and not above a Muſquet-ſhot from each other, near the Eaſt end; and on the North ſide of the Iſland you have the double Haven, divided by a Tongue of Rock, which reaches no farther than the Entrance, whoſe largeneſs makes it convenient. The Eaſt Haven reſembles a Stag's Horn; the firſt Branch affords an excellent Harbour for the talleſt Ships, the Second for Gallies, the reſt are ſhallow. Cloſe to the uppermoſt top is a Fountain of freſh Water, which plentifully ſupplies all Veſſels. On the tip of the Tongue (as one may call it) ſtood the ſtrong Caſtle of St. *Hermes*, the firſt that the *Turk* beſieged, which after many deſperate Aſſaults, and 20000 Cannon-ſhot ſpent, the noiſe of which was heard as far as *Meſſina*, they took in *June*, 1505, after they

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they had loſt ten thouſand Men before it, to the great honour of the Conquer'd to have made ſo ſtout a defence.

St. *Angelo.*

On the Point of the Promontory, which lies between thoſe two Branches of the Haven where the Ships and Gallies have their Station, ſtands the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, on a ſteep Rock; this Fortreſs gave a ſufficient Proof of its ſtrength, by obliging the *Turks* to raiſe the Siege, this being the next, after St. *Hermes*, which was attack'd; it retains ſtill the Scars or Marks of the Shot. At the Foot of the Rock ſome Cannon are planted, which command the Entry into the Haven. A *Mahometan*, deſcended, as 'twas thought, of Chriſtian Parents, leap'd into the Sea here, in the height of the Siege, and in ſpite of the great Fire that was made at him, ſwam to the Caſtle, received Baptiſm, and was of no ſmall uſe to the Beſieged, diſcovering moſt of the Deſigns of the *Turks*, and puſht bravely forward in all Actions. The gallant Behaviour of the Knights, and the Report which was ſpread about of a Chriſtian Army coming to their Relief, diſcouraged the *Turks* ſo much, that they ſaw fit to draw off; however, all the Iſland but *Burgo* and St. *Angelo*, being reduced to Aſhes, the Knights conſulted about leaving it, rather than repair the lamentable Ruins to reſiſt againſt an unequal Enemy, eſpecially conſidering the backwardneſs of the Chriſtian Princes to aſſiſt them, the laſt Succours being by the Circumſpect Viceroy of *Sicily*, unreaſonably delayed: But it lay too convenient for the *Turk* to annoy the Neighbouring States of *Chriſtendom*; for which reaſon the Pope, the *Florentine*, and the reſt of the *Italian* Princes, encouraged them to continue there, ſupplying them with Money and neceſſary Proviſions; but more eſpecially the King of *Spain*, who ſent them 3000 Pioneers from *Naples* and *Sicily*, by whoſe help they repair'd their old Works, and began a new City upon that Tongue of Land, which divides the two Havens: This City is now almoſt finiſhed.

Valetta.

It bears the Name of *Valetta* in honour of *John de Valetta*, then Great Maſter; 'tis not very large, but handſome, well contriv'd, and the ſtrongeſt of all the Fortreſſes, being ſituated on an high Ground, and not capable of being attack'd from the Land, any where but at the South End: The Walls of the other Parts of the City, join to the Rock as tho' they were of a piece with it, and are waſh'd by the Sea. It is join'd to the Land by a narrow Iſthmus, where the Rock does riſe naturally; the Ditch on the out-ſide is cut exceeding deep and broad; 'tis ſtrongly flank'd and wants nothing that Fortification can give: The only Gate of the City opens this way, and immediately upon your Entrance, you face two great Bulwarks, mounted with Cannon: The two Gates which lead, one to St. *Hermes*, and the other to the Haven, are but little poſterns: At the other end, but without the Wall, ſtands St. *Hermes*, which is now ſtronger than ever. Of that of St. *Angelo*, no *Frenchman* is allow'd to be Governour. Almoſt every where there are Platforms of Guns on the Walls. On the inſide the Walls are not above ſix Foot high, being unfenc'd and ſhelving on the out-ſide: The Buildings all along are at a good diſtance from the Walls, to leave room for the Souldiers, and ſecure them from Battery.

On the Weſt ſide near the South end, is a great Pit hewen into a Rock, without which a Port is cut under the Wall into the Weſt Haven; 'tis not yet finiſh'd, but deſign'd for an Arſenal to receive their Gallies, being a Work of great difficulty: This Harbour is too ſhallow for Ships of Burden. The Market-place is large, and from it the Streets point directly to the Walls. The Buildings are moſtly uniform, of Free-Stone, two Stories high, and flat at the top: The Upper-Rooms generally have Tarraſſes outwards. The Great Maſter's Palace is a noble Structure, adorn'd with a Tower, which over-looks the whole Iſland. The Council-Chamber is curiouſly painted with their Fights by Sea and Land, both abroad, and in defence of their own Territories.

Alberges.

The ſeven *Alberges* of the Knights are not contemptible Buildings, and among them the City is quartered. The Churches of St. *Paul* and St. *John* are magnificent Edifices; the one is the Seat of a Biſhop, the other of a Prior.

St. *John's* Hoſpital.

St. *John's* Hoſpital is worthy taking notice of, both for the Building and Attendance: All that fall ſick are admitted to it: the Knights themſelves lodge there when diſtemper'd; for they're provided here with Phyſick for Body and Soul too (ſuch as it is). Attendants they do not want for, being ſerv'd conſtantly by the *Junior* Knights in Silver, and every *Friday* by the Grand Maſter and the great Croſſes; to this the Rules of their Conſtitution oblige them, and hence they derive the Title of Knight-Hoſpitallers: The Beds in this Hoſpital are covered with handſome Carpets: Their Linnen alſo is chang'd once a Fortnight: The Jeſuits have a Colledge now building here: There are three Nunneries to, one for Virgins, one for Penitent Whores, and the other for their Baſtards.

Their Proviſions from whence fetch'd.

The Barrenneſs of *Malta* is ſufficiently recompens'd by the Neighbourhood of *Sicily*, from whence their Supplies come: The City is provided always with three Years Stores; and as the Old conſumes, they import more to make good the Deficiency. What their freſh Water-Fountains fall ſhort of, is ſupplied with the Rain-Water preſerv'd in Ciſterns.

The number of Men.

The Forces of this Iſland, Knights and their Dependants, Citizens, &c. (which are included in the Muſter) amounts to about 20000 Men. They are almoſt conſtantly tolling the Bell, which is anſwer'd from the next Forts in order. The Religious have five Gallies, to which number ('tis ſaid they are confin'd, and but one Ship: what there are beſides, belong to private Men. Their Expeditions are generally for Plunder, either to ſurprize ſome Village on the Coaſt of *Africa*, or if they meet a ſmall Ship they rifle it, bring the Men away for Slaves, and ſet the Ship a drift. They make advantage of the Slaves, either by their work, or by admitting them to Ranſome, which brings hither frequently Boats from *Africa*, with Flags of Treaty. While I was there, a Bark was brought in by eight *Engliſh-men*, who had long ſerv'd the *Turks*, but in this laſt Voyage, ſeizing Weapons, they drove the Pirates, who were double their number, into the Stern, where two kept guard upon them, and the others dreſs'd the Sails for *Malta*. The Inquſition is of little Authority here, not being allowed to come into the City: They reſide at *Burgo*.

Engliſh courage

The Complexion of the *Malteſe*.

The *Malteſe* are almoſt as tawny as the *Moors*, the Peaſants eſpecially, who go half cloath'd, and are a miſerable People. The City obſerves your *French* Modes, the preſent Grand Maſter and moſt of the Knights being *French-men*. The Women cover their Faces, converſe not with Men, and are as jealouſly guarded as in *Italy*; but thoſe that are afraid to marry, may ſerve their turns without the pain of Jealouſy; for here are Curtiſans in abundance, moſt of them being *Grecians*.

The Patron's Feſtival.

Now were the Gallies returned, but the Feſtival of their Patron ſtopt my Voyage, no Boat, while it laſts, being ſuffered to put to Sea. The Night before, the Palace, Temples, Alberges, and other chief Buildings, were illuminated; and next day all the Artillery was diſcharg'd; the Forts hung out their Banners; each Alberge the Enſign of their reſpective Nations, and at Night Bonfires before them; in a word, they made as pompous a Show as they could. The Fires before the Palace, and Habitations of the chief Men, were for greater State ſet fire to by the great Perſons themſelves.

On the 24th of *June* I left *Malta* in a *Phalucco* of *Naples*, a Veſſel about as big as a Wherry, row'd by five Men. They ſet forward generally two Hours before Sunſet, and if they diſcover not a ſuſpected Sail, they reach the Coaſt of *Sicily* next Morning.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

An Abſtract of Mr. Richard Jobſon's *Voyage for the Diſcovery of* Gambra, *and the Golden Trade of the* Ethiopians.

THE *Engliſh-Barbary* Merchants having enquir'd of the *Moors* from whence they had that Gold of which they made their *Chequins*, and being aſſur'd that there was no Gold to be found in *Morocco* or *Fez*, but that it was brought by the Natives over great Deſarts of Sand by Land, concluded from the Information given, that it muſt come from *Ethiopia*, and therefore reſolved to fit out ſome Ships to ſeek for this Golden Trade, in ſome of thoſe Rivers that fall into the Ocean on the South-weſt ſide.

To this purpoſe in *September* 1618, they ſent one *George Thomſon* in a Ship to enter into the River *Gambra*, and to ſail up that River with ſuch Shallops as he had; which he did, and in his abſence the Ship was taken by ſome vagrant *Portugueſe*, who were admitted freely to come aboard, and all the *Engliſh-men* left in her were kill'd; and *Thomſon* himſelf, having got up the River as far as *Tinda*, and being full of Golden Hopes, was kill'd in a Quarrel by one of his own Company.

Thomſon being kill'd in *March*, whereby all his Labour was loſt, the Adventurers in *October* next ſent out a Ship of 200, and a Pinnace of 50 Tun, with Mr. *Jobſon*, who ran in 20 Days from *Dartmouth* to the River *Gambra*, and caſt Anchor four Leagues within the Mouth of it, where it ſpreads it ſelf into ſo many Rivers, Bays, and Creeks, that for 30 Leagues up to *Tancrovally* it is very intricate, but elſewhere the main Channel is eaſily diſcern'd. It flows from the Mouth to *Baraconda*, which is near 200 Leagues in the loweſt Seaſon: But this Tide is abated by the Land-Floods, caus'd by the great Rains, which fall with great Winds, Thunder, and Lightning, from the latter end of *May* to the latter end of *Auguſt*; after which they have no Rain till *May* comes again.

From *Baraconda* forward we ſaw no Town nor Plantation, but we found in the River many River-horſes, Crocodiles, or Allegators, one of which we found, by the Impreſſion made on the Sand, to be 33 Foot long. The Natives are much afraid of the Crocodiles, which they call *Bumbo's*, and think they have devour'd many of their Friends; yet I never found any of them aſſault us; but their muſky ſcent ſpoils both the taſte of the Water and the Fiſh. The River-horſe in the Shape of his Body and Head, is exactly like a Horſe, but he hath four ſhort Legs, and his Foot is divided into five parts, and ſometimes is 20 Inches over; he ſnorts and neighs in the Water by day, but at Night feeds in the Marſhes.

In the River is ſtore of Mallet and other Fiſh, and one of them like an *Engliſh* Breme, being touch'd by a Sailor, he preſently loſt the uſe of his Hands and Arms, and another the uſe of his Legs, but their Senſe came to them again; and we were told he benums all the Fiſh he touches, and then devours them, but being dead, he was very good Meat.

There is ſtore of Fowl, ſuch as Geeſe, Duck, Mallard, Herns, Curlews, Storks, Plover, &c. which dare not come into the River for fear of the Crocodile, but ſit on the Banks of it, and feed on the Marſhes. All the Men of a Town go together and fiſh the Ponds and Lakes, each with a Baſket holding the open Mouth downwards; for by going into the Water they ſtir the Fiſh, and ſo catch them in their Baſkets.

At the Mouth of this River dwell the *Mandingo's* who brought us *Bonano's*, with Beeves, Goats, Hens, and Grain: They are very civil and kind to the *Engliſh*, but hate the *Portugueſe* that live among them, for their treachery and cruelty to the *Engliſh*, in ſiezing their Ship and killing the Men, for which they baniſh'd them.

Beſides theſe fugitive *Portugueſe*, there live, among the *Mandingo's*, a ſort of People call'd *Fulbies*, who wander up and down, keeping their Herds of Goats and Beeves where there is good Paſture, as they agree with the King, and removing to the Mountains when the Rains fall. They conſtantly watch their Herds to keep them from ſtraying and the Crocodiles Haunts, and are ſuch Slaves to the *Mandingo's*, who will ſhare with them in their Beef, and their other Commodities, if they know when they are ſold: But higher up the River they are Lords of the Country, excluding the Blacks, with whom for the moſt part they are at war.

The *Mandingo's* lead an idle life, except two Months in the Year, which are Seed-time and Harveſt: They know not how to catch Fleſh or Fiſh, and ſpare their Cocks and Hens to barter with us; and ſo they commonly feed after day-light upon Rice or ſome other Grain boil'd: And in thoſe parts 'tis moſt wholſome to eat early in the Morning and after Sun-ſet.

They uſually drink Water, tho' they have Wine of Trees, and *Dullo* made of Grain like our Ale. Their Houſes in meaner Towns are made of Reeds, or of Loome, a reddiſh hard Earth; but *Caſſan* and other Cities are ſtrongly fortified with Turrets and a Ditch, and compaſs'd about with Poſts faſtened in the Ground five Foot high. They have ſtrange Ant-hills, ſome of them 20 Foot high, and will contain 12 Men. Their Arms are a Javelyn, being a Reed of ſix Foot, with an Iron-Pike, and Bows and Arrows.

I did eat and drink with ſix of their Kings, who are ſubject to the Kings of *Cantore*, *Burſale*, or *Woolley*; but theſe do not appear abroad but in Pomp. When the People come before their King they kneel, and throw duſt on their Head two or three times, and then having laid their Hand on the King's Thigh, they retire: And if a *Marybuck* be preſent, they kneel and he prays for him, to which he often anſwers, *Amena*, i. e. *Amen*. The King anſwers the People with nodding, and wears Cloaths of Cotton, whereof they plant great Fields like Roſe-buſhes. They are for the moſt part bare headed, except when they are bedeck'd with *Gregories*, which are made of Leather, ſeeming hollow, with Writings in them, receiv'd from the *Mary-bucks*, which are reputed ſo holy, that no evil can betide them while they wear them. Both King and People, Men and Women, wear them on their Heads in the form of a Croſs, from the Forehead to the Neck, and from Ear to Ear; about their Necks, Shoulders, Arms, and Middles, &c. that each Member may have a Bleſſing; and if they have any Sickneſs or Sore, they apply theſe Gregories, and never uſe any other Phyſick that I could perceive. Their Horſes are ſometimes thus bleſt, wearing them about their Necks.

The King hath ſeven Wives allow'd, beſides Concubines; but cannot carnally know one of them after Conception, nor after delivery, till the Child is wean'd. None are put to death for any Crimes, but in the Caſe of Adultery; Men and Women are both ſold and tranſported to the *Weſt-Indies*. Other Men have plurality of Wives, if they agree with the King and the Woman's Friends, and their Money is kept for her to buy a Huſband: for as the Maid is bought, the Widow buyeth.

The Women live in great bondage, who dreſs Meat for their Huſbands, but never eat with them: They go bare from their Waſte upward, to ſhow their painted Skins.

Their way of Marrying is very comical: The young Man with his Friends comes to the Maid by Moon-light, and carries her away ſhrieking, being aſſiſted by the young Maids of the place: And when ſome young Men of the Town endeavour to reſcue her, others carry her off with great Shouts to the Bridegroom's Houſe.

The Succeſſion to a Kingdom here, is not to the Son of the deceas'd, but to his Brethren in courſe, and then to the Son of the eldeſt, the other Brethren holding ſome place in the Government, whereof the youngeſt is call'd *Bo-john*, the ſecond *Ferran*, the third *Ferambra*, and the eldeſt is *Manſa* or King. Their greateſt Riches is the number of their Slaves, and from the King to the Slave they all begg'd of us; but a ſmall matter ſerv'd them, except of *Aqua Vitæ*, for which they would ſell all, and with which their Kings would be drunk: And indeed the Life of a King with them is to eat, drink, ſleep, and keep company with his Women.

The Mary-bucks or Baſſarens are their Prieſts, ſeparated from others in their Habitations and Courſe of Life. They talk much of *Adam*, *Eve*, *Noah*'s Flood, and other things mention'd in the Old Teſtament. Like the Levitical Tribes, they have their Towns and Lands proper to themſelves, where no ſecular Perſons live but their Slaves, whoſe Iſſue is their Inheritance. They marry in their own Tribe, and breed all their Children to their own Profeſſion; for they have as many Wives as the reſt, according to their degree. By their Habit and Work they are not diſtinguiſh'd from the Vulgar; for they are hir'd to do ſervice, and we agreed with them by the Moon. They worſhip one God, whom they call *Alle*; acknowledge *Mahomet*, are circumcis'd, have no Churches for Worſhip; *Friday* is their Sabbath, on which they follow their Occaſions. They have no Paper, but teach their Children to write on a ſmooth Board, with a Pencil; and their Law is written in a Language different from the Vulgar.

My Mary-buck, *Fodee Carder*, told me when we came into the Port of *Setico*, that their High-Prieſt, *Fodee Bram*, lay ſick in the Town, whom I viſited, and found him ſitting on his Mat, ſupported by three Wives, to each of which I gave a Pewter-ring, which he took ſo kindly, that he treated me with a Dinner, and preſented me with a Hide and an Elephant's Tooth. After he was dead, he was laid in a Houſe, where a Grave was digg'd for him; and after much crying, the Women running about like mad People, he was laid in the Ground. The Mary-bucks aſſembled near the Grave, where the People ſitting in a Ring, one Mary-buck ſtood in the middle after another, and ſung his Praiſes in Verſe, the People ſhouting and clapping their Hands, made a Preſent to the beſt Poet, who mingling ſome of the Earth dug for his Grave, in a Water-pot ſtanding in the Room, made thereof a Relique-ball: And then his Son was ſolemnly inſtall'd his Succeſſor.

They have great Books, and MSS. wherewith we have ſeen ſome of them laden. The Vulgar are much given to ſtrong Liquors, but theſe drink nothing but Water, and neither they nor their Wives or Children will taſte any hot Liquor or ſweet things, but chuſe rather to die than do it.

They travel with their Families, Books, and Boys, thro' all Countries, however at War with one another: And when they beg of us, a Quire of Paper, is a great Gift to a whole Company, on which they write their Gregories. All the Inhabitants of *Setico* are Mary-bucks, and carry Slaves to the King of *Burſal*, to buy Salt, which is there by the Sea-ſide, like Sea-coal Aſhes, which they uſe but little among themſelves, but carry it far up into the Country, where they barter it for Gold and Cola-nuts: But their Gold is ſaid to be buried with them, or hid in the Ground by themſelves for their uſe in the next World. They buy alſo Blood-ſtones of the *Portugueſe*, which their Women wear about their Middles to prevent Bloody-iſſues.

After we arriv'd from *Baraconde* at *Tinda*, we ſent three *Moors* aſhoar with a Preſent to the King, and to *Buckor Sano*, a famous black Merchant, entreating him to come aboard with Proviſions. In the mean time we kill'd an Antelope, which was bigger than a Stag, and a Fowl call'd Staller, higher than a Man. In a few Days *Bucker Sano* came to us with 40 Men, and he brought us a Beef, and the other People Goats and Corn, Cocks and Hens. After we had treated him, we ſhewed him our Commodities, which he lik'd very well except Iron, which they can have nearer hand: But above all the reſt they valued our Bay-ſalt. After we had refus'd to buy their Women-ſlaves, a Market-houſe being built aſhoar, we barter'd with them Salt for their Elephants Teeth, Cotton, and Negroes Cloaths, which was made the Staple by which to value other things. We ſaid nothing of Gold, but *Buckor Sano* taking notice of our guilt Swords, told us that he could bring us ſuch a quantity of Gold as would buy all our Commodities; and that in a great Town above, diſtant about two Moons travel, the Houſes were cover'd only with Gold. After this, when I took notice of the Blade of his Sword and the Braſs Bracelets upon one of his Wive's Arms, and aſk'd him whence he had them: He told me, That a People call'd *Arabecks*, brought them theſe and ſeveral other Commodities, whom he deſcrib'd as Tawny-Moors, that came in great Companies with Camels: That the next Moon they would come to a Town call'd *Mumbar*, within ſix Days Journey of the place where we were, and bring with them Salt and other things, which they would exchange for nothing but Gold: This People we took to be the *Moors* of *Barbary*.

On the other ſide of the River, upon notice given by one of our Blacks, came 500 Men and Women to trade with us, who had never ſeen white Men before: The Men wore raw Hides, with the Tayls of the Beaſt hanging down behind; but the beſt of the Women wore Ear-rings of Gold, who aſk'd for ſeveral Commodities, but the Men chiefly for Salt: Among the reſt came a Mary-buck of Mr. *Thomſon*'s acquaintance, born in *Jay*, where he ſaid there was great ſtore of Gold, which the *Arabecks* came for, about nine days Journey up the River; and that he could carry us thither, and to *Mombar*, whence many People would bring us Gold, if we would leave theſe People, *&c.* and go higher up the River, and carry up ſtore of Salt with us: But we made haſt to be gone, the Water being ſunk ſix Inches, hoping to return in *May*.

Buckor Sano would needs be ſtyl'd the white Man's *Alcaide*, whereupon I gave him a ſtring of Chryſtal and a double ſtring of Coral, and another gave him a Silver Chain; and ſo he was proclaim'd *Alcaide* with ſhooting off Muſkets, his Fidlers attending with Muſick. This he took for ſo great an Honour, that he went with me to the King, and pray'd him to uſe us kindly, preſenting him with the Coral and Chriſtal; Whereupon the King did not only give us leave to ſhoot any thing by Land, but gave that Land where we were to us for ever; of which we took poſſeſſion according to the Ceremonies us'd in that Country.

When we came to *Butto*, and heard Shouts, Drums, and Country-Muſick, our black Boys told us it was for *cutting of Pricks*, a World of People being gathered together as at an *Engliſh* Fair. Under every great Tree, and beſides the Doors of their Houſes, there were Fires, and in ſome places there was dancing with Muſical Inſtruments, the chief of which are call'd *Ballards*, and contain ſeventeen Keys, like to Virginals; whereupon one plays with two ſticks, which have round Balls of Leather at the end. We ſaw our black Boy circumcis'd, not by a Mary-buck, but an ordinary Fellow, and our Surgeon was not ſuffer'd to heal the Wound.

At ſome diſtance from the place of cutting, we heard a great roaring noiſe, which they ſaid was the Voice of *Hore*, i. e. a Spirit that comes to great Feaſts, for whom they provide ſtore of Rice, Corn, Beef, and other Fleſh ready dreſs'd, which is inſtantly devour'd: And if he be not ſatisfied, he gets into a Boy's Belly for nine days, and then the Boy muſt be redeem'd with a Beef, and continue mute ſo many days after. This is a Trick of the Prieſts, who were hoarſe with roaring at that time, which continued all that Night to fright the People to Circumciſion.

They have three principal Trades, the Smith, which of Iron brought to them, makes their Swords, Darts, and barbed Arrows, and Inſtruments of Husbandry.

The next Trade is the *Sepatero*, or *Gregory-Maker*, which he makes in all ſhapes: They make alſo Bridles and Saddles very neat, by dreſſing their Deers and Goats Skins.

The third Trade is of thoſe who temper the Earth for the Walls of their Houſes, and Pots to boyl Meat in, uſing for other Services the Gourd: They make alſo Tobacco Pipes, about two Inches long, neatly glaz'd, with which Men and Women continually ſmoak. Mats to eat and ſleep on are their ſtaple Commodity, by which other things are bought and ſold; for they have no Coin, and ſo at Market they ſay *How many Mats ſhall I give you.*

The general Trade of all but the King and great Men is Huſbandry, and not knowing how to ſerve themſelves of Beaſts, they make Furrows with a Stick about a yard long, having a broad Iron at the end like our Paddle Staves, with which Iron ſet in the Ground, one leads the way, cutting the Earth before him, while others follow in the ſame Tract with their ſeveral Irons, ſo as to make a ſufficient Furrow.

They have ſix ſeveral Grains for Food, of which we know none by name but Rice, which they boyl and eat warm; the other are like Seeds, which they boil and roll up in Balls, and eat inſtead of Bread. They plant Tobacco, and whole Fields of Cotton.

Near the River's Mouth they have *Bonano's*, as delicious as any in the *Weſt-Indies*, and likewiſe ſtore of Lemons and Oranges. They have whole Groves of Palmita-Trees, whence they draw a pleaſant and wholſome Wine, by cutting ſloping holes into the Body of the Tree, into which they put a Cane which receives the Sap, and conveys it into Gourds. It taſtes like White-wine when it is firſt drawn, but will not laſt above 24 Hours. Their *Dullo-ai* is kept in great Gourds, and when the King makes a Feaſt, they never part till they have made an end of it. The Gourds grow like our Pompions, from the bigneſs of an Egg to that of a Buſhel, of which they make ſeveral ſorts of Veſſels to eat, drink, and waſh Cloaths in. They have great ſtore of Locuſt-Trees and Wild-Honey: The Cola is like our bigger ſort of Cheſnut, flat on both ſides, yet without a hard Shell, the taſte is very bitter, yet cauſes that which is taken next after it to taſte very ſweet; for ſo I found it made Water taſte like White-wine and Sugar: 50 of them will buy a Wife. They have a ſenſitive Plant, like our great Bramble-Buſh, on the River's Bank.

They have many Lions, which are eaſily known at Night by the Cries of the Jackal, when he hunts for his Prey, and Ounces and Leopards, whoſe Foot-ſteps we have ſeen at the Mouth of their Dens, and Civet-Cats and Porcupines, that hunt their Poultry.

They have Elephants, who ſhed not their Teeth as Stags their Horns; wild Bulls and Boars, Antelopes and Deer; and alſo Monkeys and Baboons in great Herds, and ſome very big.

They have alſo ſtore of Land Fowl, as the Stalker, who has more Fleſh than a Lamb; the Wake, which makes a great noiſe when he flies; the Guinney-Hens, like our Pheaſant for Beauty and Bigneſs, excellent meat; Partridges, which continue near the Houſes for fear of the Monkeys; Quails as big as Wood-cocks; Pigeons, Parrots, and Parakites. One ſtrange Bird there is which hath no Legs, but two Strings by which he hangs with his Head downward, reſembling a dead Leaf hanging on the Tree, and is of the ſame colour.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Account of a Voyage made to Cape Verd *and the Coaſt of* Guinea, ; *by* James Lange: *done from the* Low-Dutch.

THE twelve Years Truce betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *United Provinces* being expired, I, with the reſt of the *Dutch*, was obliged to leave *Sevil* in *Spain*, and to return into *Holland*. In the Bay of *Biſcay* we met with an *Algerine*, who having taken a *French* Prize, threw all the Sea-men belonging to that Ship over-board, and among the reſt a certain young *Frenck-man*, who having certain Jewels to a conſiderable value, ty'd in a Bag betwixt his Legs, had his Life offered to him by the *Algerines*, after he was thrown into the Sea, provided he would ſurrender the Jewels; but he choſe rather to be drown'd, than to redeem his Life by ſo conſiderable a Preſent.

After I had refreſh'd my ſelf for ſome Months at *Amſterdam*, being curious to take a view of Cape *Verd* and the Coaſt of *Guinea*, of which I had heard wonders, I agreed with Mr. *Martin Papenbroeck* the elder, to go in the Quality of a *Super Cargo*, firſt to Cape *Verde*, and ſo further to *Guinea*. Accordingly, being provided with what was thought neceſſary for ſo long a Voyage, I embark'd in the *Texel* aboard the Ship call'd the *Moor*, *Nicholas Hendricks* Maſter, and in company of another Veſſel, commanded by Mr. *Nicholas Ketel*, I ſet ſail the 20th of *November*, 1621. We had not ſaill'd many Days in the *Spaniſh* Sea, ſteering our Courſe towards the *Canary* Iſlands, when a violent Tempeſt did ſo unmercifully ſhake our old Veſſel, that we expected every moment to be ſwallow'd up by the Waves, which took away one of our Sailers from the Deck.

Cape *Verd*.

At laſt we came in ſight of the *Salt Iſlands*, and afterwards arrived ſafely at Cape *Verd*, at 14 Deg. 40 Min. Latitude; which Cape is a neck of Land jutting out from the Continent of *Africk* into the Sea, betwixt the Rivers of *Gumbea* and *Sanaga*. We had no ſooner caſt anchor in the Road of *Portendaclia*, but ſeveral *French* Ships, and among the reſt two Privateers, hoiſted their Sails, and were purſued by *Nicholas Ketel*, but he could not overtake them.

The Inhabitants.

Soon after our arrival we ſaw many of the *Moors* coming in their *Canoes* or Boats, made of the Trunk of a Tree, hollowed out, upon which they had put two or three Sails, one above the other, aboard our Ship, unto whom we were forced to pay a certain acknowledgment, before they would permit us to come aſhoar, and traffick there, which for the moſt part conſiſts in Hides and Elephants Teeth. We met thereabouts with divers *Portugueſe* and *Moors*, whoſe Anceſtors had been baniſh'd *Spain*, and ſome *Jews*, who had their own Prieſts. Their Women, of whom they marry ſeveral at a time, go half naked, having only a piece of Stuff hanging down before, from the Waſt to the Knees: the Men wear it wrapt round about their Middle; and the Boys and Girls, even to the 15th or 16th year of age, go quite naked. The Ornaments of the Women are certain Chains of Chryſtal Beads or Corals, which they wear about the Waſte; and their Foreheads are mark'd by ſeveral Inciſions, as their Arms, Legs, and Bellies are with the Figures of Serpents and ſuch like Creatures: they anoint themſelves every Morning as ſoon as they riſe, with greaſe, to make their Skin ſhine: The Men wear a piece of red Leather hanging about their Necks, which they call *Phetitie*, and has certain Characters engraven upon it: theſe they make chiefly uſe in their Wars, as believing that they contain a ſecret Virtue of making them invulnerable. As they are often jarring with their Neighbours, ſo they are very expert in the management of their Arms, which are the Bow and Arrows, and a Lance or half Pike.

A Deſcription of Cape *Verde* and its Inhabitants.

Their Wives they keep like Slaves, who are forced to do all the druggery both at home and in the Field, the Men being generally intent upon their Arms only, and Hunting.

They have no other Beds than Mats ſpread upon the Ground. The firſt thing they do in the Morning is to ſmoak Tobacco, both Men and Women having conſtantly two or three Tobacco-Pipes hanging down from about their Necks: Tobacco is their Breakfaſt, beſides which, they eat twice a day, but very moderately; and they are ſo enured to hardſhip, that upon a pinch they can live three days without drinking, tho' elſe the Men are great Drunkards, which is chiefly to be obſerved at the Funerals of their Friends, when they commonly ſpend five or ſix days in drinking and weeping by Intervals.

Their Drink.

Their common drink is fair Water, or a kind of Beer made of Millet and Palmerine: This Wine is drawn from the Coco-Trees, in the uppermoſt Branches of which they hang (an Inciſion being firſt made) Mornings and Evenings, certain Pitchers, which being fill'd with Liquor which iſſues thence, they take down again and ſell it, before it turns eager; being otherwiſe ſweet of taſte, and of a whitiſh Colour like Whey. They have a way of adulterating it with fair Water. We were introduced to one of their Princes, bordering upon the Sea-ſhoar, where they entertain'd us with ſeveral Fooleries; but their Wine being very ſtrong, their main aim was to make us drunk, which we avoided as much as poſſibly we could, being forewarned by the *Portugueſe* of the Exceſſes they commit in their Debaucheries.

Cuſtoms.

They have a certain ſuperſtitious Cuſtom, that if any one, whether Foreigner or Native, it matters not, ſwears by the King's Head, his Eſtate is forfeited, and he condemn'd to Baniſhment; of which they gave us an Inſtance in a certain *Portugueſe*, who had lately been forced to fly the Country upon that account. After the King's Death, none of his Children can inherit the Crown, but his Brother's or Siſter's Sons; and his Wives are regarded no more than private Perſons in their Widowhood, but their Children are educated in the Royal Palace, and numbred among the *Fidalgo's*, which is the Nobility of the Country.

Religion.

Near the Sea-ſhoar they pay their Devotions to the Trees and Rocks, but I have ſeen certain Negro's there, who, as they told me, came deeper out of the Country, and uſed a quite different Language from the reſt, who, before they laid themſelves aſleep, or juſt before Sun-ſet, would adore the Sun upon their Knees, bending their Faces to the very Ground, and ſtrewing Sand upon their Heads. In their Huts, where they uſed to ſleep, they had made a kind of a Trench about three Foot high, which ſerved inſtead of an Altar, and before which they ſaid their Prayers for half an Hour together upon their Knees, turning their Heads in the Evening towards the Weſt, where the Sun ſets, and in the Morning to the Eaſt, where it riſes. I was very curious to learn from what Country they came; but as the Inhabitants did not in the leaſt underſtand their Language, I could get no certain account of them. I ſaw alſo divers *Jewiſh* Prieſts here, who had married Negro Women: They abſtain from Wine, and Adultery is a capital Crime with them as well as Theft. Moſt of the Negroes near the Sea-ſhoar, they adore the Devil, not but that they are ſenſible there is a God; but ſay they, he being very good, and conſequently not inclined to do harm to Mankind, there is no occaſion to pay him any Devotions; whereas the Devil being naturally inclined to miſchief, muſt be appeaſed by Sacrifices: This is the reaſon they never venture at Sea in their Canoes, unleſs they have firſt ſacrificed to the Devil ſome Branches of Trees, Horns, or Shells painted red, which they lay upon a kind of an Altar, and kneeling before it bareheaded, kill a Fowl, which whilſt it is a bleeding and ſtruggling for life, one of their *Papa's*, or Prieſts, mutters out certain Words till the Fowl be expired, whilſt he that performs the Sacrifice, proſtrating himſelf upon the Ground, beſprinkles the Altar with the Blood, and lays the two Wings upon it. They believe the Immorallity of the Soul, and that the dead Bodies ſhall riſe again, but white, like the *Europeans*.

Its Products.

The *Cape Verde* produces Ambergreaſe, tho' the Country near the River *Senegal* affords it in greater quantity; as alſo Civet Cats. There are here divers ſorts of Birds; thoſe they call *Aphiaprappen*, are very large, of a bright blackiſh Colour, their Heads being adorned with a very fine Tuft, on each ſide of which is a Crimſon colour'd ſpot mix'd with white: they make no noiſe. They have alſo a kind of Bird not unlike the Pellicans, and of ſmall Birds vaſt quantities; eſpecially of Turtles. Proviſions are very cheap here; you may buy a good Sheep for a String of Coral, and an Ox for two quarts of Brandy. Among other Fiſhes which are found in great quantities on this Coaſt, the Sword-fiſh is none of the leaſt: I ſaw once one of them engaged with a Whale in a Moon-light Night, and he purſued ſo cloſely, that at laſt he got under him, and rip'd up his Belly with the Teeth which are on both ſides of the Sword, which iſſues from his Snout, and is moveable on which ſide he pleaſes. The Whale was no ſooner kill'd, but he ſwam upon the Surface of the Water, and the Negroes at laſt catch'd alſo the Sword-fiſh, and preſented me with the Sword, which I brought along with me to *Amſterdam*.

A Whale kill'd by a Sword-fiſh.

Their way of Fiſhing.

The Negroes hereabouts are very dextrous at Fiſhing, which is their chief livelyhood: Twenty or thirty *Canoes* go commonly abroad towards the Evening, and having ranged themſelves together in a Line, they ſet fire to ſuch combuſtible matters as they have brought along with them, in the Night time: this done, they hang a thin Cord about their Necks, on which being faſtened many Lines with Hooks, they are ſenſible as ſoon as any Fiſh which are drawn thither by the Fire, do touch the Bait, when they pull them up. There are abundance of *Hacyens* (Schars) on this Coaſt, of an exceſſive bigneſs, which prove often miſchievous both to Men and Beaſts, as one of our Ship's Crew found by woful experience, who, whilſt he was a ſwimming, had his Legs bit off by one of them, above the Knee, which coſt him his Life: When they intend to ſnap at any thing, they lay themſelves upon their Backs, becauſe the upper part of their Mouth is longer than the undermoſt. I narrowly eſcaped once my ſelf the ſame danger; for I was no ſooner got into our Boat, but I ſaw one of that kind, call'd the *Kruys haye* (*Croſs Schar*) paſſing under it: This Fiſh had upon his Snout a kind of a Croſs, above ſeven or eight Foot long, which had an Eye at each of the two Extremities, the Bulk of his Body being proportionable to the bigneſs of the Croſs; we obſerved a ſmall Fiſh to ſwim conſtantly before him as if he had been his Pilot. Theſe Seas produce alſo a certain kind of Fiſh, call'd *Suckers*, with very flat Heads; and *Dorades* not unlike the Dolphins, appearing with various Colours under water, ſuch as yellow, green, blew, and white. They catch them with Hooks, on which they faſten ſome ſmall Shreds of white Linnen, which the *Dorades* miſtaking for the Flying-fiſh, they are catch'd by the Bait.

After I had diſpatch'd my buſineſs at *Sunlen* and *Porrendatia*, I embark'd aboard a ſmall Veſſel, *Drunken Claaſic* Maſter, in order to proſecute my Voyage to the Coaſt of *Guinea*. After we had ſailed about 300 Leagues, we loſt our Compaſs by ſtreſs of weather, and being frequently ſurpriz'd by *Travado's*, or Whirl-winds, we were reduced to the greateſt extremity, not knowing what courſe to ſteer: Theſe *Travado's* ariſe from a Cloud, which is diſcovered ſometime before, and breaking out of a ſudden into a moſt furious Tempeſt, with horrible Winds, and Thundring and Lightning, are very dreadful to thoſe that frequent thoſe Seas. We had at laſt the good luck to find an old Compaſs in one of the Corners of the Ship, but it being not a true one, we ſail'd up and down the main Sea, without any ſure Guide, without diſcovering any Land or Sail in three Months time, which according to the true Courſe, we might have ſail'd in three Weeks time. The worſt of all was, that all our Candles and Oil being conſumed, we wanted light in the Night-time; and after we had thus rowled up and down for two Months, all our Water was gone, ſo that for ſeveral Days we were forced to drink the muddy ſettlement of the Caſks, which we ſtrain'd thro' a Linen Cloth, and had ſuch a nauſeous Sent, that we were forced to ſtop our Noſtrils when we drunk it; ſo that ſome of our Crew choſe rather to drink their own Water than this. In this extremity God's Mercy relieved us with an agreeable Rain, which made us ſpread our Sail over the Ship's Deck, and throwing a good piece of Lead in the middle of it, ſet a Tun under it to receive the Water, which ſerved us for ſome time after; and as we were juſt beginning to want again, one of our Ship's Crew cry'd out *Land, Land*, which proved true to our great ſatisfaction; for ſteering our Courſe that way, we found our ſelves near a ſmall Iſle call'd *Criſquen*, which being not above a League in Compaſs, lies at about three Leagues diſtance from the Continent. It is uninhabited, nothing being to be ſeen hete but Rocks, Forreſts, wild Beaſts, and Serpents, which made a very doleful noiſe.

The Author expoſed to great danger at Sea.

Comes to the Iſle of Criſquen.

We had no ſooner ſet foot aſhoar, but we made a ſtrict ſearch after freſh Water, among the Rocks, and having found ſome that was very good, we fill'd all our Veſſels, and whilſt they were carrying aſhoar, we ventured ſomething deeper into the Iſle, but could ſee nothing but an old black Hat, and not far from thence ſome Maſts, the Remnants of a Shipwrack'd Veſſel, and the dead Carcaſs of an Elephant, ſtuck in the Mud, who had queſtionleſs periſh'd there, as he was ſwimming from the Continent over to this Iſland. As we were making all the Sail we could towards the Continent, a ſudden Travado overturned our Ship, which ſunk inſtantly before our Eyes, ſo that we had ſcarce time enough to ſave our ſelves in our Boats, wherewith we at laſt reach'd the Shoar, after having been expos'd to the danger of the mercileſs Waves for 24 Hours without eating or drinking, all our Proviſions being loſt in the Ship. We were no ſooner got aſhoar, but one Mr. *Mols*, belonging to our Ship, told us that the Inhabitants were Man-eaters, but as he had traded in thoſe parts, and underſtood ſomething of the Language, he hoped to have ſo much Influence over them as to ſave our Lives, which he did in effect, but could not prevent our being ſtrip'd quite naked. Among the reſt there was one *Nicholas Kan*, who ſeeing one of the *Negroes*, who held him by the Arm, ſharpening his Knife upon a Tree, he pointed to his Throat, intimating thereby, whether he intended to cut his Throat? The *Negroe* apprehending his meaning, reply'd *no no*, and at the ſame time pointing with the Knife towards his Breaſt, *Nicholas Kan* ſtruck the *Negroe* down to the Ground, being reſolved to ſell his Life at the deareſt rate he could: But Mr. *Mols* better underſtanding the *Negroe*'s meaning, prevented the danger which was likely to befal us upon this account; for having unbuttoned his Waſcoat, he pull'd it off, which the *Negroes* perceiving, were well ſatisfied, to ſave themſelves the labour of cutting them, which they thought they muſt infallibly have done, as being not apprehenſive of the way of looſing them by the Buttons. Thus they diveſted us of all our Cloaths, leaving us as naked as we were come from our Mother's Womb; and what was the worſt of all, being come aſhoar, near a poor Village call'd *Rio Reael*, where they had neither Rice nor Millet, we were all in danger of being ſtarved, half our Company being periſh'd for hunger already. The before-mentioned *Nicholas Kan* roaving up and down in ſearch after ſome Victuals, happened to light upon a piece of Carrion, which he brought to us, of which the Maſter of the Ship, who was very hungry, made a good meal, but ſoon after paid for it with his Life: Being reduced to this extremity, we were preparing for death, when certain *Negroes* having diſcovered at a great diſtance a Veſſel, put us in ſome hopes of relief: You may believe we were all eager to go to the Shoar, where

Is Shipwrack'd near the Continent.

Strip'd naked.

Likely to periſh for Hunger.

having deſcry'd the Veſſel at a vaſt diſtance, we were not a little ſurpriz'd at one of the *Negroes*, when he told us that he would make the Veſſel come near the Shoar; ſo, that looking upon him as a mad Man, we retired from the Shoar; but word being brought us within an hour after by the ſame Negroe, that the Ship was advancing towards the Continent, we did run with full ſpeed, and finding his Words true, look'd upon him no otherwiſe than a Sorcerer, till we were convinced of the truth of the matter, by their ſhewing us a great heap of dry Wood, which they had ſet on fire upon one of the Rocks near the Sea-ſide, the Smoak of which is an infallible Signal to Ships that come that way of the willingneſs of the Inhabitants to traffick with them: Nothing could be more joyful to us than to ſee (after the miſery and danger we had undergone for above three Months) the Ship advance with full ſail to the Shoar, which proved one of our own Country Veſſels, belonging to *Amſterdam*, bound to the Coaſt of *Guinea*: we appeared ſtark naked on the Shoar, imploring the aſſiſtance of our Country-men to relieve us in this utmoſt extremity. The Maſter of the Ship having ordered the Ship to caſt Anchor in the Road, went into the Long-boat himſelf, and as he was coming near the Shoar, aſk'd us what Ship we belong'd to, which we having told him, he gave for anſwer, that it was impoſſible for him to take us aboard, he having ſcarce Proviſion enough for his Voyage; but having remonſtrated to him, how unchriſtian-like it would be for him to leave us in this miſery, he was at laſt prevail'd upon to take us aboard, after having pay'd ſome ſmall quantity of Coral, ſome Knives and Braſs Baſins to the Negroes for our Ranſome.

They come to *Quaqua*.

Its Inhabitants.

Thus we ſet ſail again, and chooſing the main Sea, I was much ſurpriz'd that we ſhould not diſcover Land in a whole Fortnight, till finding that our Maſter was miſtaken in his Obſervations and Calculations of the Declinations, I corrected his Error, and in four days after diſcovered Land, but inſtead of the *Guinea* Coaſt, found our ſelves near *Angola*, which is 600 Leagues beyond it: Having provided our ſelves with freſh Water, ſome Frait, Oiſters, and other Refreſhments, we ſet ſail again for the *Guinea* Coaſt, taking our Courſe betwixt the Iſle of *Anaabon* and *Iſla de Principe*; but by the unſkilfulneſs of our Maſter of the Ship, came unexpectedly to the Coaſt of *Quaqua*, not far from *Cape Verd*. We had no ſooner caſt Anchor in the Road, but the Negroes came in great numbers in their Canoes all about our Veſſel, but would not venture aboard, till by the advice of our Maſter, I having taken ſome Sea-water in a Baſin, and let ſome Drops of it fall three times into my Eyes, crying every time *Quaqua*, they freely came aboard us; but ſeeing our Guns ready mounted, and ſome Muſquets at hand, they would enter no further than the ſides of the Ship; where being ſet down, I preſented them with ſome Bread, which they thankfully accepted of. Theſe Negroes had many Inciſions made in their Faces, and thro' their Noſes a large Ivory Ring, which reach'd below the Chin; ſo that whatever they put in their Mouths, went thro' this Ring. Their way of Eating was, to make up the Millet or Rice into a Paſte, which being form'd into ſmall Balls, they throw them at a good diſtance thro' the Ring into the Mouth. Their Hair was of ſuch a length, that it reach'd to the very Ground; for which reaſon they have a way of twiſting it round their Heads, as the *Turks* do their Turbants. They brought us ſome Elephants Teeth to ſell, and a young Wench of about fourteen or fifteen years of Age, but we would not buy the laſt.

We left the Coaſt of *Quaqua* after a ſtay of a few days, to go once more in ſearch of the *Guinea* Coaſt; but either by the neglect or ignorance of our Maſter of the Veſſel, we once more paſs'd by that Coaſt unperceiv'd, and found our ſelves beyond our hopes at *Benrin*: There being not one Man in the Ship who did not find himſelf almoſt worn out with theſe needleſs Fatigues, it was reſolved to keep within ſight of the Land all the day time, and to caſt anchor at Night, till we ſhould come to the ſo-much wiſh'd for *Guinea* Coaſt, which being done accordingly, after ſome days ſail, as I was coming one Morning early upon the Deck, I found a Ship not far from ours at Anchor, and ſuſpecting her to be a *Portugueſe*, gave the alarm to the reſt, who began to clear the Deck, and prepare every thing for a Combat: But before we went to work, it was thought fit to aſk one of their Ship's Crew who they were; he anſwer'd, to our no ſmall ſurprize, that the Maſter of the Veſſel's name was *James Ruychaver*, a Native of *Harlem*; ſo that our Martial Preparations were ſoon changed into Demonſtrations of Joy, and it was reſolved, that we ſhould together ſet ſail for *Acara*, another Coaſt of *Guinea*: But his Ship being heavier than ours, we out-ſail'd him, and as we were paſſing along the Coaſt, a Negroe came aboard of us to enchange a Civet-Cat for ſome Coral, which done, he offered me to carry me to *Guinea* in his Boat, which I not thinking fit to accept of, I gave him however a Letter to Mr. *Martin Stuurboat*, the chief Director in thoſe parts, who being rejoiced at our arrival, came aboard our Veſſel as ſoon as we had caſt Anchor in the Road, where he was entertained with what the Ship afforded, and gave us a ſplendid Treat aboard his Veſſel the next day. Some days after I went aſhoar to *Carmentiin*, and thence to *Morce*, where the *Hollanders* have a conſiderable Fort, of which Mr. *Arent Jacobſon* was Governour at that time; who treated us very handſomely at Dinner. Afterwards Mr. *Stuurbout* invited me to his Ship, where he entertained me with more than ordinary Civility for eight days together, at the Expiration of which, he propos'd to me to go along with a Ship which was ready freighted to *Beniin*; which I refuſing to do by reaſon of the unhealthfulneſs of the place, he ſent four young Factors in my ſtead, but no more than one returned of the four, tho' he did not ſtay above ſix Months.

They come to the Guinea Coaſt.

Beniin.

This Settlement, call'd *Beniin*, lies upon a River, which exonerates it ſelf into the Bay of *Guinea*, where the *Dutch* Factors are obliged to ſtay ſix Months; but few return from thence, by reaſon of the unwholſomneſs of the Air, without which, the place would be pleaſant enough. I was credibly informed by a certain Factor who had reſided there, that the Negroes of the place had aſſur'd him, that, if he would tarry only ſix Weeks longer with them, he would ſee certain Negroes who come out of the Inland Countries, and have no more than one Eye in the Front; which we muſt leave to the credit of thoſe who gave the relation of it. Mr. *Stuurbout* finding me reſolute not to go to *Beniin*, ſent me aboard another Veſſel to *Acara*, where we were forced to ſell our Iron Barrs, which was our chief Cargo, in the Night-time, their King having prohibited the Importation of Iron there. After I had diſpoſed of my loading there, I returned to Mr. *Stuurbout*, who then lay at anchor in the Road of *Morce*, not far from *Maurice*'s Fort; but this being a dangerous Station, he went with his Ship, tho' much bigger of the two, before *Carmontiin*, leaving us expos'd to the danger of the *Negroes*, who are very miſchievous here; for ſome of theſe *Negroes* belonging to the Caſtle of *Demina*, having not long ago ſurpriſed one of our Chaloops, delivered up the Men to the *Portugueſes*, who had clapp'd them in Irons, and threatned them every day with death; and, as I was credibly informed, had promiſed a reward of 64 Guilders to any of the Negroes who could bring them my Head. Being forewarned of this danger, I without more adoe followed Mr. *Stuurbout*, and came to an Anchor juſt by him; and being aſk'd what made me come there, I anſwer'd, That if that Station was too dangerous for his great Ship, it muſt needs be ſo for mine, unleſs he would provide me more Men, to defend the Ship againſt any ſurprize; which he having done accordingly, I returned to the Shoar of *Morce*, and caſt anchor as near the Shoar as I could; but was adviſed by Mr. *Arent Jacobſon*, the Governour of the Fort, to be conſtantly upon my Guard, eſpecially in the Night-time; and that if neceſſity required, I ſhould give a Signal by the Diſcharge of a Muſquet, when he would be ſure to aſſiſt me with ſome Souldiers from the Fort, which was the reaſon I ſtrictly forbid the diſcharging of any Gun aboard us, for fear of raiſing a falſe alarum. Whilſt we were here at anchor, a *Portugueſe* Bark coming from the Iſle of St. *Omar* bound to the Caſtle of *Mina*, being diſcovered by ſome of our People then at anchor near *Carmentiin*, a ſmall *Dutch* Frigat was ſent in purſuit of her, which was no ſooner come up with the *Portugueſe*, but they cry'd for quarter, tho' they had 14 *Portugueſes* and 150 Negroes aboard her, whereas ours was mann'd with no more than 25 Sea-men in all. This happy Encounter proved very lucky for, our Priſoners detained in the Caſtle of *Mina*; for the *Portugueſes* who were in our Hands having ſent the Governour word that they muſt expect the ſame Treatment here, the *Dutch* Priſoners received at *Mina*, he began to be a little cooler, and ſoon after agreed upon an exchange of the Priſoners on both ſides, and as ſoon as our Men were come aboard, we ſent back the *Portugueſes* in an old Chaloop, we preſented them with.

As I went frequently aſhoar whilſt our Ship lay in the Road of *Morce*, ſo being curious to ſee the King that rules hereabouts, I, Mr. *Ruychaver*, *James Lien*, a Serjeant of the Fort, and his Brother being a Lieutenant, and *James Hawaert*, reſolved to go to *Salve* and *Biemba*, which we did accordingly, taking along with us for our Guide a certain *Negroe*, who had been in the Quality of the King of the Country.

Is entertain'd at Dinner.

Outrages committed by the Dutch.

a Deputy from that King in the *Hague*; two Carabins for our Defence, and two Bottles of Brandy for a Preſent to the King. Coming near the Town, or rather Village, which is the King's Reſidence, we ſent our Negroe before, to give notice of our arrival, and to tell the King, that there were ſeveral *Europeans* come to ſee him; and after his return, went to the Court, where finding the King ſitting with about twelve of his *Fidalgo's*, or Nobles, we did not pay him the leaſt reſpect, which he perceiving, aroſe and ask'd us who was our Captain or Leader, and having been told that it was I, he deſired me to ſit down, and the reſt after me, upon very low Benches. I preſented him the two Bottles of Brandy, which he accepted very courteouſly, and ask'd us what had brought us thither, unto which I having anſwered him, that we came on purpoſe to be merry with him, he took one of the Bottles of Brandy and took a good draught, but being told that it would make his Head ake, he ſet it down aſide, and call'd for ſome of the beſt Palmerine: whilſt we were buſie in letting the Cup go round, we ſaw a Negroe coming with his naked Cymetar in one, and a Man's Head in the other Hand, which he lay'd at my Feet, kneeling, deſiring me to ſtamp with my right Foot three times upon it, and my Comerades were obliged to do the ſame, which done, the King ordered it to be boil'd. Upon enquiry what could be the meaning of it, we were told, that this was the Head of a Traytor, who having the day before endeavour'd to kill the King as he was a going to do his Needs (which they do behind the Houſe in a Field) had miſtaken his Perſon twice, and kill'd two others with his Dart, in his ſtead, and being taken in the Fact by one of the King's Guards, who had cut off his Head. Whilſt Dinner was getting ready, the King gave us leave to kill as many Deer and Bouflers as we would, but no other Veniſon; and at our return welcom'd us with a Cup of Wine mix'd with Eggs. By this time the boil'd Negro's Head being brought to the Table, the King urged us to take part of it, but finding us unwilling, he laugh'd, telling us that there was no greater Dainty than ones Enemies Fleſh; however, we had ſeveral Diſhes of Mutton and Veniſon ſerved up, upon which we did feed with a very good appetite, and drank ſo plentifully, that the Lieutenant, and his Brother, the Serjeant, with one or two more belonging to the Fort, committed divers Out-rages, for which they pay'd dear in the end. The Lieutenant going croſs the Market-place, cut down a certain Tree of above 100 Years ſtanding, dedicated to their idolatrous Worſhip, being a kind of a *Bananas* Tree, and conſequently eaſie to be cut thro' with a good Cymetar. His Brother the Serjeant coming into a Houſe, and finding the Man and his Wife together in Bed, would needs force him thence in order to take his place; which the other refuſing, he run him thro', and the Woman crying out murder, a Neighbour that came to her aſſiſtance, underwent the ſame fate. But not ſatisfied thus, both he and his Brother coming to the King's Apartment, the firſt preſented his Carabine ready cock'd againſt the King, which *James Huwaert* perceiving, ſtruck the Carabin with his Hat out of his Hands, which fired juſt as it was falling upon the Ground, but, as good Fortune would have it, without the leaſt damage, tho' the whole Apartment was fill'd with People. The whole Village being put into an alarum by theſe Outrages committed againſt their Idol, and the murder of their Companions, the King thought it beſt to keep Mr. *Huawart*, Mr. *Ruychaver*, and my ſelf at Court, till the Fury of the Negroes ſhould be aſſwaged, who followed the others out of the Village, and having wounded the Serjeant with a Dart in the Hip, they follow'd the Tract of the Blood, which led them into an adjacent Wood, where he had hid himſelf among the Bryars: they cut off his Head without any further Ceremony, and his Comerade a Leg and an Arm. His Brother the Lieutenant being aſſiſted by the Negroe, made ſhift to get away to the Fort, where he was clap'd in Irons, but the poor Negroe, who had no other ſhare in this Diſorder than to have protected and aſſiſted the others in their Flight, was alſo overtaken and aſſaulted, and, after having kill'd one with his Carabin, was cut to pieces, which with the reſt were brought to the King, who ordered them to be broil'd and eaten. The Negroes being ſomewhat appeaſed, the King ſent us three under a ſtrong Guard to the Fort.

An Enterrment of the Negroes.

Not long after, we had the opportunity of ſeeing the Ceremony of one of their Interments; for a certain *Negroe* named *John Grootendief*, who was a great Dealer in Gold, came aboard our Veſſel, but being broken bellied, was ſeized with ſo violent a pain, that not able to endure it longer, he ripp'd up his Belly with a Knife, and dy'd the next day. He was ſow'd up in a piece of Stuff, the Head, Arms, and Legs being covered with the ſame, and adorned with Golden Medals, repreſenting their *Fietiesjes*, or Idols. About a League from the Village, they had dug a Grave, round about which were ſtuck into the Ground, ſeveral Green Branches of Trees: The dead Corps was carried upon the Shoulders of ſix Men, who run at full ſpeed with it for a little time, and then ſtopping on a ſudden, a Horn was blown, which ſet the Women and Children that aſſiſted at the Ceremony, a howling and crying, making a doleful noiſe with the Bells that were faſtened to their Feet. Thus after a while, the Bearers began to fetch their long Steps a ſecond time, and were followed by the reſt, and ſo after ſeveral Stops, Blowings of the Horn, and Howlings, came at laſt to the Grave, into which they put the Corps, and the Bearers leaping in after it, took this opportunity to take away the Golden Medals, (of which I was an Eye-Witneſs, as ſtanding very near it) tho' they made the People believe they were buried with the Corps. In ſhort, after they had laid a quarter of an Hour aſleep, at the Head of the deceas'd Perſon, they laid over the Grave Branches of Trees, which they covered with Earth to a Man's height; upon which they ſet a large Flaggon full of Palmarine. I ſaw ſome of their Tombs made of Earth like this, which exceeded in height their ordinary Houſes; and the Relations, eſpecially of the Female Sex, come at certain times every Year there, to bewail the death of their deceas'd Friends.

Their Religion.

Sorcery.

The Inhabitants hereabouts are docile enough, but involved in groſs Idolatry, worſhipping almoſt every thing they ſee, even to the Rocks and Whale-bones; and the Trees dedicated to their Idols, are worſhipped with a great deal of Ceremony at certain days, and ſerved with Water and Meat by their Prieſts. But among all their ſuperſtitious Worſhip, nothing is ſo abominable as the peculiar reſpect they ſhew to the Devil; which makes Sorcerers and Sorcery to be in great requeſt among them. Of this I ſaw an Inſtance in one *Direck Serpent*, who was a very wealthy Perſon in thoſe Parts, and having invited me to his Houſe, I found him lying upon a Mat all lame on one ſide from Head to Foot; after we had taken a Cup two or three of Palm Wine, I ask'd him the occaſion of his Illneſs, of which he gave me the following Account. Having plow'd up a piece of Ground belonging to the *Fitiesje* or Idol, and ſow'd it with Corn, it produced a very good Crop; but Harveſt-time approaching, one day a great Fiery Serpent was ſeen to come about Noon into the Field, which ſet all the Corn on fire, and thence coming to my Houſe, got upon the top of it, which was covered with Straw (as all Houſes are in this Country) and ſet it on fire alſo in the ſight of ſeveral of my Neighbours; and as I was going to ſave my ſelf, I was ſtruck with a Palſie on one ſide of my Body, which continues to this day. They had given him the name of *Serpent* from this odd accident, and I found the Houſe to have been but lately built.

Returns to *Holland*.

Cape de Loop

After a ſtay of three Years on this Coaſt, having received orders to return home, we ſet ſail from *Morce*, and ſteering our Courſe betwixt the two Iſlands of *Aenabon* and St. *Thomas*, made a little ſtop at the *Cape de Loop*, to take in ſome Refreſhments: We ſaw nothing remarkable on this Coaſt, but that the *Papa* or Prieſt every day at Mid-night uſed to go into an adjacent Wood, with a crooked Stick, with a Bell faſtened to the end of it, to conſult, as he ſaid, the Devil about ſecret matters, tho' the poor Fool at the ſame time was ignorant of what paſs'd at home; for we uſed to make his Wife drunk. The River of *Olibatte* produces abundance of Sea-horſes, which is an amphibious Creature, with Feet like thoſe of the Swans, being chiefly eſteem'd for its two long Teeth, which in beauty exceeds Ivory it ſelf. The Country near the Coaſt abounds in Camels, Tygers, Lions, Bouffiers, Civet-Cats, Monkeys, and Parrots. After a ſtay of ſome days here, we purſued our Voyage, and coming under the Equinoctial Line, directed our Courſe to the *Salt-Iſlands*, and thence to the *Canary-Iſles*, and ſo making the beſt of our way, came without any ſiniſter Accident to the Coaſt of *England*, where, when we thought our ſelves paſt all dangers, an unexpected blaſt of Wind forced our Ship in the Night-time betwixt two Rocks, where we was ſtaved to pieces: However, we had the good fortune to ſave all our Men, and the next day a Cheſt full of Gold, valued at 260000 Gilders, and a good quantity of Elephants Teeth. The Freighters of our Veſſel being extreamly ſatisfied with our Induſtry in having ſaved ſo much of her Cargo, invited us up to *London*, where being employed in viewing all what was worth a Traveller's obſervation in ſo great a City, I once more narrowly eſcaped death; for being willing to go into the *French* Ambaſſador's Chappel, where they were then at High Maſs, I was kept back by the Guards that were placed there, to my ſingular good Fortune; for before Maſs was ended, a Pillar which ſuſtain'd the Roof of the Chappel, giving way, the whole Structure fell and buried 90 Perſons in its Ruins.

Arrives in *Zealand.*

From *London* I went to *Graveſend*, where I embark'd aboard a *Dutch* Veſſel, which carried me with a proſperous Gale to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*.

CHAP. XIX.

An Abſtract of the Hiſtory of Ethiopia, *or the* Kingdom *of* Abeſſines: *Written by Mr.* Job Ludolphus, *with what is obſervable from the Authors of that Country in* Purchas.

IN compoſing this Hiſtory, the Author declares, that he was chiefly aſſiſted by *Gregory* an *Abeſſin*, who came into *Germany*, and was honourably entertain'd by the Duke of *Saxony*, from whom he did not only receive Information as to the Country, but alſo the knowledge of the *Ethiopick* Language: That as to Authors, he depended upon the *Ethiopian* Hiſtory of *Balthazar Tellez*, written in the *Portugal* Language, and collected out of the Acts and Inſtructions of the Jeſuits, to whom he was provincial; with a Commentary of *Emmanuel Almeyda*, written in *Ethiopia*, and a M. S. Hiſtory of *Alphonſus Mendoza*, the *Latin Ethiopian* Patriarch, atteſted by *Jerom Lupus*, a ſworn Witneſs; and that he the rather gave credit to theſe Writers, becauſe he found all things in them to agree with the Relations of *Gregory* the *Abeſſine*.

The Names of the *Abeſſines*, and the Original of the Nation

The People are now generally call'd *Habeſſines*, or *Abeſſines*, from the *Arabick Habeſh*, which ſignifies a mixture of People; but the Natives chooſe rather to call themſelves *Ethiopians*, from the *Greeks*, tho' that name was formerly common to all the ſwarthy People in *Aſia*, as well as them. Their ſpecial name is the Country of *Ag-azi*, or Free-men, as the *Germans* of old having paſt the *Rhine*, call'd themſelves *Franks*: For that they came at firſt from *Arabia the Happy*, adjoining to the *Red-Sea*, appears from their Language, which is very near a-kin to the *Arabick*; from their Circumciſion and other Cuſtoms common to them with the *Arabians*; from the Name of *Abaſſenes* engraven by *Severus* on his Coyn, among the conquer'd People of *Arabia*.

The Situation and Bounds of *Abeſſinia*.

In *Africa* beyond *Nubia*, lies *Habaſſia*, very near between the 18th and 16th Deg. of North Latitude, and is call'd by ſome *Upper-Ethiopia*: It does not extend to the Equinoctial Line, much leſs does that Line croſs it, as has been generally affirmed by Geographers and Hiſtorians. The *Portugueze* reckon this Kingdom where it is broadeſt, 140 Leagues, i. e. From the *Red-Sea* to the fartheſt Limits of *Dembea*; for after that, the bounds of it from South to Weſt do conically leſſen. Towards the North upon the Kingdom of *Fund* or *Fungi*. Towards the Eaſt it was formerly bounded by the *Red-Sea*, but now the Port of *Arkiko* and the Iſle of *Matzua* are ſubject to the *Turk*, who is Maſter of that Sea; toward the South, *Alaba* and *Jendero*, Kingdoms of the *Gentiles*, bound *Abeſſinia*; and laſtly the River *Maleg*, and *Nilus* it ſelf rowling along thro' the ſeveral vaſt Deſarts, cloſe up the Weſtern Limits.

The Diviſion of *Abeſſinia* into Kingdoms and Provinces.

The Kingdoms of *Ethiopia* are variouſly reckon'd up by *Paulus Jovius*, *Telezius*, and others, by confounding their Præfectures, which are under peculiar Governours with the Kingdoms. *Gregory* the *Abeſſine* afore-mentioned, reckoned 30 Kingdoms belonging to it by ancient Right, and we may ſafely reckon 20, including thoſe which the *Gallans* have ſubdu'd. The names of the Principal are theſe. *Ambara* is the nobleſt Kingdom of all *Ethiopia*, upon the account of thoſe inacceſſible fortified Rocks, *Gheſen* and *Ambaccel*, where formerly the King's Sons being excluded from the Kingdom, were ſecur'd, and is therefore accounted the Native Country of the preſent Kings and all the Nobility: It has 36 Provinces belonging to it. *Bagembder* or *Bagamidri*, is a large fertile Kingdom, watered with many Rivers: It is diſtinguiſh'd into 13 Territories. *Cambata*, whoſe Inhabitants are call'd *Hadiens*, is the laſt Kingdom towards the South, not far from *Enarrea*: The Inhabitants are for the moſt part *Chriſtians*, but mix'd with *Pagans* and *Mahometans*. *Dembea* is a Kingdom now famous for the Royal Camp continually pitch'd there, and has 14 Prefectures belonging to it. *Enarrea* is inhabited both by *Chriſtians* and *Gentiles*, and was ſubdued by *Melech Saghed*, who converted the Governour to the Chriſtian Faith. *Gregory* aforeſaid very much commended the Inhabitants for their Probity and Integrity, and ſaid it was a fertile Soil, and abounded in Gold. *Gojam* is a Kingdom wonderful for its ſituation, and famous for the Fountains of *Nile* now diſcover'd in it; for the River *Nile* almoſt ſurrounds it in manner of a Peninſula. *Sewa*, or, as the *Portugueze* call it, *Xee*, is a very large and rich Kingdom, formerly much frequented by the *Abeſſine* Kings, and then more famous than *Ambara*. *Tegre* or *Tigra*, is one of the principal Kingdoms, and the firſt as you enter into *Ethiopia*: the Native Country of the former Kings, who kept their Courts at *Axuma*, from which City all the Natives were call'd by the *Grecians Axumites*. The Prefecturers belonging to it are 27, all which are inhabited by ſeveral Nations; but there are not ſo many Governours as Prefectures, for ſometimes two or three of them are under one Governour.

Of the 30 Kingdoms reckoned by Mr. *Gregory*, the preſent King of the *Abeſſines* enjoys at preſent only nine, which are *Ambara*, *Bajemdra*, *Cambata*, *Damote*, *Dembea*, *Enarrea*, *Gojam*, *Samen*, and part of *Sewa*, with other Kingdoms of leſs note. And of the Provinces he has only five, *Emfras*, *Maraga*, *Tragade*, *Wagara*, *Walkajit*; which Kingdoms and Provinces comprehend the beſt part indeed, but not the half of the ancient *Abeſſia*, the reſt being by the *Galans* either ſubdu'd or utterly laid waſt.

Of the nature of the Soil, Temper of the Air, Winds and Tempeſts, &c.

In ſo many various Regions, the Conſtitution of the Air is as various; for in low and open places the heat of the Sun is intolerable, as in both the Coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, as alſo in the Iſles, eſpecially *Suaquena*; but then the higher you aſcend the Mountains of *Ethiopia* from the Coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, the more temperate is the Air; Nay, in ſome Mountainous Countries the cold is more dreaded than the heat, tho' there is very ſeldom any Snow there, but only a little ſmall Hail; which temper of the Air makes the Country ſo healthy, that ſome live to a 100 Years of Age.

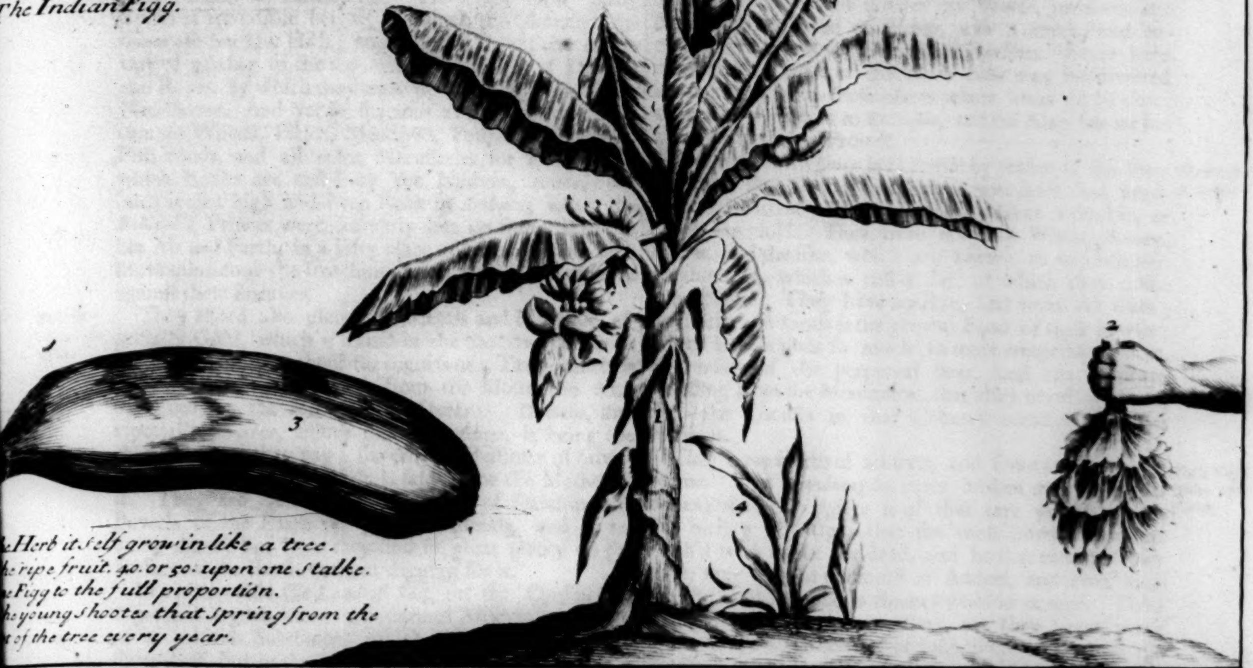
However, this variety of Air is the cauſe of moſt dreadful Thunder and Lightning, with violent Rains pour'd down like Streams, which make the Torrents ſwell, and the Rivers overflow; which are encreas'd alſo by the Earth, which vomits up Water; for there is a Fountain in every Man's Houſe if it ſtands low: And their Winter-weather, which is very unpleaſant, laſts for three Months.

There are but three Seaſons of the Year, properly ſpeaking, among the *Abeſſines*: Firſt, the Spring, which begins on the 25th of *September*: Then the Summer, which may be divided into two parts, the firſt and beſt call'd *Tzadai*, which begins the 25th of *December*; and the laſt and worſt call'd *Hagai*, which begins on the 25th of *June*, and ends upon the ſucceeding Winter, which is the third part of the *Ethiopick* Year.

But tho' the Winds upon the Mountains do frequently render the Air healthful and temperate, yet all are not equally grateful; for there is ſometimes a Whirlwind, call'd *Sendo*, i. e. a Smoak ſo furious, that it throws down all before it, as Houſes, &c.

As ſoon as you have travell'd two days Journey from the *Red-Sea*, you muſt climb over the high Mountains of *Tigra*; among which, *Lamalmona* is the moſt lofty, whoſe Steps are ſo dangerous, and the Path ſo narrow, that if company meet, Men and Horſes giving way, fall headlong into a bottomleſs Abyſs. And not only this Region, *The Herb and Fruite Called in Hebrew Dudaim. Gen. 30. 14. and Cant. 7. 13. in the Arabic language Mauz or Muza The Indian Figg.*

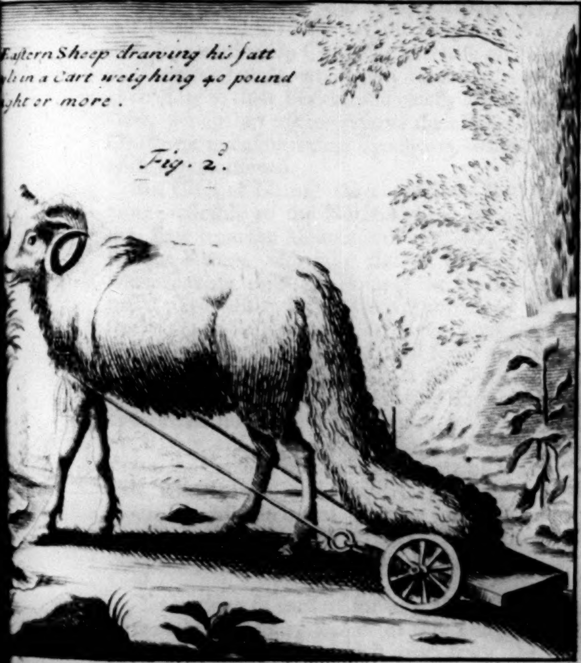
Fig. 1.



e Herb it ſelf growin like a tree.
he ripe fruit. 40. or 50. upon one ſtalke.
e Figg to the full proportion.
he young ſhootes that ſpring from the
t of the tree every year.

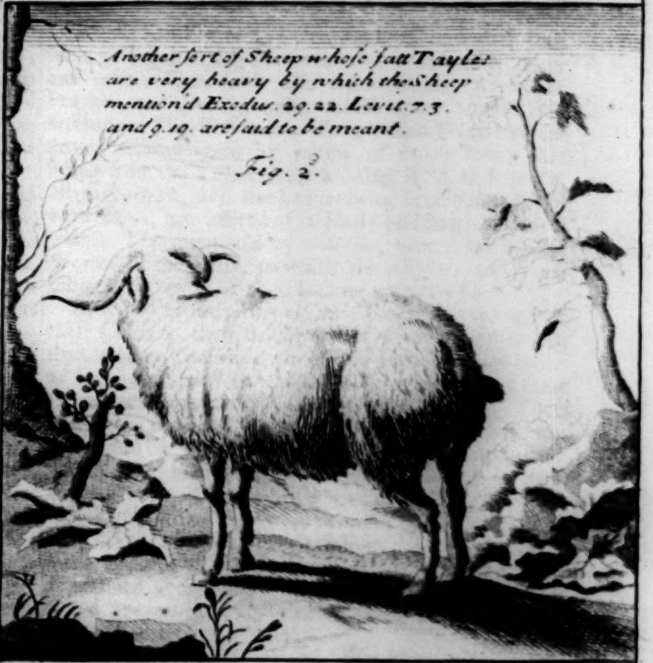
Eaſtern Sheep drawing his fatt
le in a Cart weighing 40 pound
ght or more.

Fig. 2d.



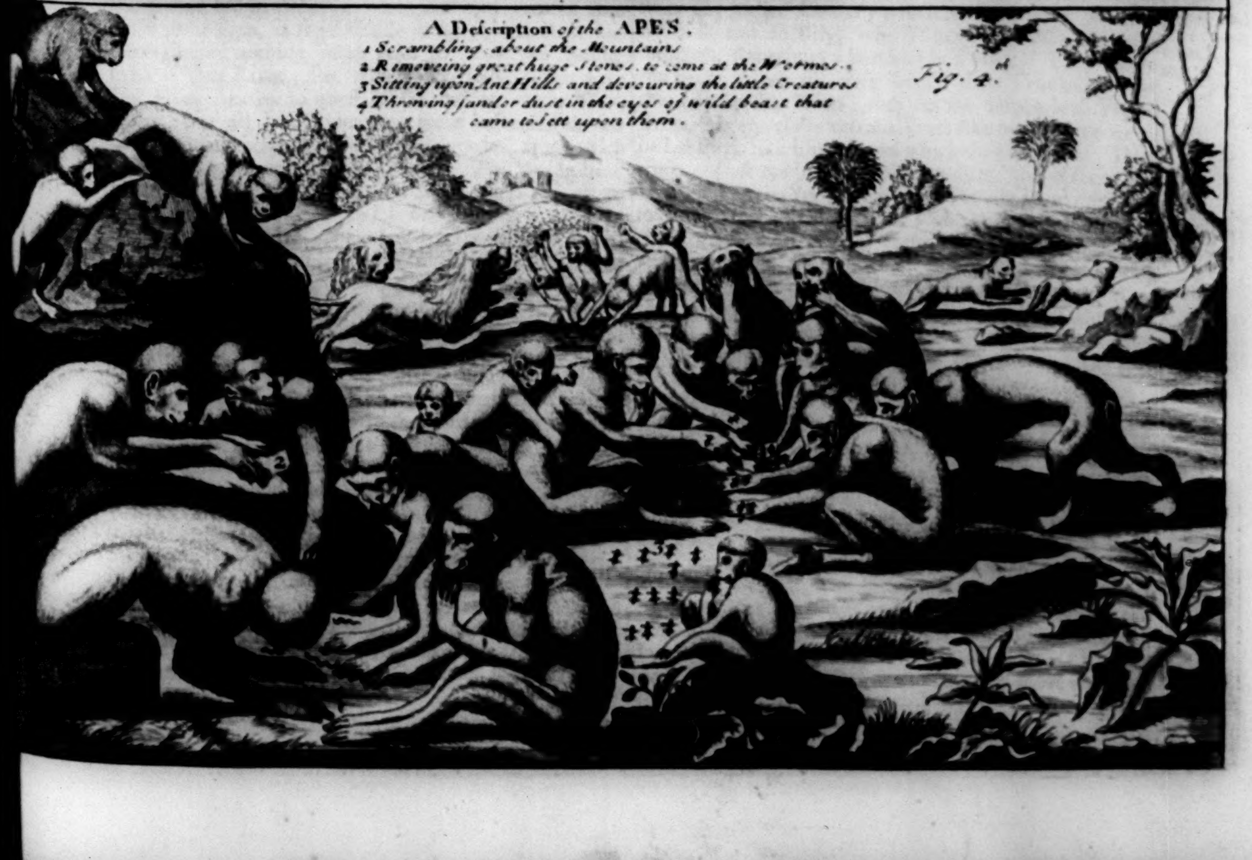
Another ſort of Sheep whoſe fatt Tayles are very heavy by which the Sheep mention'd Exodus. 29. 22. Levit. 7. 3. and 9. 19. are ſaid to be meant.

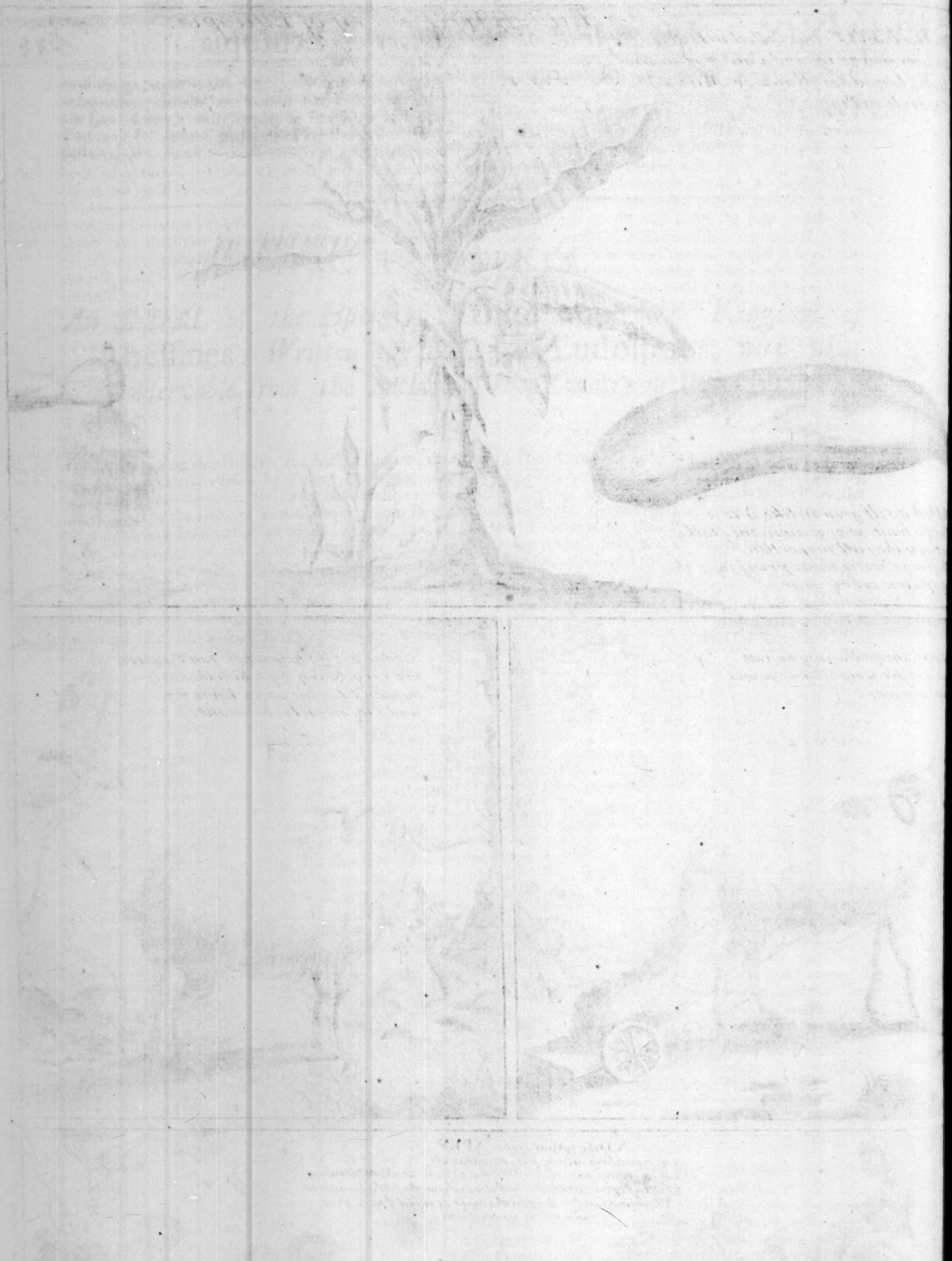
Fig. 2d.



A Deſcription *of the* APES.
1 *Scrambling about the Mountains*
2 *Removeing great huge Stones. to come at the Wormes.*
3 *Sitting upon Ant Hills and devouring the little Creatures*
4 *Throwing ſand or dust in the eyes of wild beast that came to ſett upon them.*

Fig. 4th.





Region, but all the reſt except *Dombea*, are but one continued Chain of Mountains. Here are alſo many Rocks of incredible height, to which the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are but low Hills; and ſo ſteep, that there is no way of getting to the top without the help of Ladders and Ropes, by which they crane up their Cattle and other Neceſſaries: And yet ſo ſpacious at the top, that they contain Woods, Fields, Meadows, Fountains, and even Fiſh-Ponds, and all other Neceſſaries for human life, which Rocks are call'd by the Natives, *Amba*, &c. Such is that high and ſteep Rock in *Ambara*, where the *Ethiopick* Princes were formerly ſhut up from all things but Air and Earth, in a lofty place of Exile. Theſe high Mountains cool the ſcorching heat, and are a defence againſt their Enemies.

Their Metals and Minerals.

They afford alſo plenty of Metals and Minerals, eſpecially Gold, which is found in the Shallows of Rivers in great quantities, about the bigneſs of a Tare, which is carry'd down, as is believ'd, from the Mountains with the Sand, by the force of the Stream. *Damota*, and eſpecially *Enarrea*, enjoys this Advantage, it being the chiefeſt tribute they pay; for they are deſtitute of Silver, tho' they have Lead, which is ſaid to be the Mother of it. They are ignorant of the ways of ſearching the Bowels of the Earth for precious Metals, and of refining them; but Iron they find in great plenty on the Surface of the Earth without digging for it.

In a place call'd the *Land of Salt*, on the Confines of *Tigra* and *Angora*, there are natural Mountains of Salt, of a whitiſh Subſtance, which being ſoft, is eaſily ſliver'd off, but in the Air it hardens. From thence it is fetch'd by Merchants, who convey it away in Caravans, call'd *Caſila*, and ſell it thro' all the Neighbour Nations, and with it, as with ready Coin, they purchaſe all Neceſſaries; not Gems or Jewels, which they value not, but ſuch things as conduce to their health, and chiefly Black-lead, call'd *Cohol*, which they uſe to preſerve their ſight, and for an Ornament to beſmear their Eye-brows, when it is mix'd with Soot moiſtened.

The Rivers of *Habeſſinia*, eſpecially of the *Nile*, its Fountains and Courſe.

But Gifts of Nature more precious than Gold, and more profitable to the Natives of the Neighbour-Nations, flow from the Mountains of *Abeſſinia*, which are its famous Rivers, eſpecially that of *Nile*; for the Rain-water ſoaking thro' the Pores of the Earth, after it has paſs'd thro' many ſecret Conveyances, at laſt breaks forth at ſome hollow place, or being preſs'd by its own weight, is forc'd to reaſcend, and ſeek a Paſſage at the tops of the Mountains, which is the Reaſon, that in Countries where there is little or no Rain, there are few or no Fountains; but where there are frequent Rains, the Rivers are large and ſwelling; the Effect demonſtrates the Cauſe. But *Nilus* for plenty of Water, ſweetneſs, wholſomneſs, and fertility, excels all other Rivers in the World. In ſacred Writ 'tis call'd *Shichor*, and by the *Greeks Niger*, becauſe it runs with a black and muddy Stream; by the Natives *Abawi*, by the *Egyptians* their God.

'Tis a thing ſo unuſual for any other Rivers to overflow in the moſt ſultry Seaſon of the Year, and this Inundation of the *Nile*, which ariſes from the exceſſive Rains that fall in *Ethiopia*, when the Sun returns into the Winter-ſigns, is ſo profitable to *Egypt*, that the Ancients deſired nothing more than to know the Spring-head of that River; for which end ſome Kings have ſent great Armies in queſt of ſatisfaction to their Curioſity; but all their Endeavours were unſucceſsful, until it was diſcover'd by the *Portugueze*, who agree with the following account of Mr. *Gregory*. The Spring-head of *Nile* is in a certain Land call'd *Secut*, upon the top of *Dengla* near *Gojam*. He ſaid it had five Spring-heads, reckoning in the Heads of other Rivers which have no particular Name, and ſo are taken for the *Nile*. But it paſſes thro' the Lake *Tzanicum*, preſerving the colour of its own Waters, like the *Rhoſne* thro' the Lake *Lemane*. Then winding to the South, it waſhes on the Left-hand the principal Kingdoms of *Habeſſinia*, and takes along with it the Rivers of thoſe Countries: and on the Right-hand encompaſſing *Gojam*, and ſwell'd with the Rivers of that Region, it turns again to the Weſt, and with a prodigious maſs of adventitious Rivers, leaving *Abeſſinia*, on the Right-hand, it rowls to the North thro' ſeveral thirſty Nations and ſandy Deſarts, to make *Egypt* fertile with its Inundations, and there makes its way thro' ſeveral Mouths into the Sea. But the River *Nile* does not flow entirely into *Egypt*, but after it has paſs'd by *Sennar* in the Country of *Dengula*, before it arrives in *Nubia*, it is parted into two Streams; the left and leaſt whereof is called the River *Niger*, which deſcends towards the Country of *Elwah*, and ſo diſembogues it ſelf into the Weſtern Ocean: For beſides, that *Nilus* is called *Niger* by the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*, the River *Niger* agrees with it in the colour and taſte of its Water, produces the ſame ſort of Reed of Paper, and Animals, and encreaſes and overflows at the ſame Seaſons. Some have thought the Courſe of the River *Nile* may be diverted another way; but thoſe places where 'twas to be done, are not now ſubject to *Ethiopia*, and the King has no Inclination to ſuch a Project.

The Fertility of the Soil.

The Soil in *Abeſſinia* is ſo fertile by reaſon of the long Summer, that in the ſame place you ſhall find Seed-time and Harveſt, which in ſome places is double, in others threefold. They have not only Wheat, Barley, Millet, and the like, which are known to us, but alſo another ſort, which is call'd *Tef*, of which they make good Bread. They have no Rye, and value not Oats; for Barly and Graſs is the general Food of their Horſes; which laſt abounds ſo much in more temperate places, by reaſon of the perpetual heat, and the moiſture diſtilling from the Mountains, that they never Mow it, tho' the Locuſts in that Country occaſion frequent Famines.

Their Vegetables and Plants.

They have Herbs of all ſorts, and ſome of admirable vertue. The *Amadmagda* cures broken and disjointed Bones; the Herb *Aſſizoe* is of that rare vertue againſt the bitting of Aſps, that the moſt hurtful Serpents touch'd with it, lie for dead, and he that eats the Root of it, may walk in the midſt of Adders, and even handle the moſt venomous Snakes without danger. Their Vine and Grapes are excellent, yet they never make Wine of them, either out of ignorance, or becauſe the exceſſive heat ſowres the Liquor before the Lee is ſettled.

Indian Fig. Fig. 1.

The Indian Fig is very plentiful here, and you ſhall have 50 Figs hanging on one ſtalk of a delicious odour and taſte. They have alſo Pome-citrons, Apricocks, Peaches, and Pomegranates, which grow to full Perfection. The Enſete is a Tree, which being half cut down, renews again by means of many ſhoots that ſpring from the Trunk, which being ſlic'd and boil'd, allays the thirſt, and the Leaves being bruis'd and boil'd with Meal, are inſtead of a Haſty-pudding. There is another Tree mention'd by *Godignus*, very good againſt Worms in the Belly, to which the *Abeſſines* are much ſubject, by reaſon of their feeding upon raw Fleſh.

Fig. 2.

By reaſon of the plenty of their Graſs, and the heat of their Country, their Beaſts are of a much larger ſize than in other Countries, their Bulls are ſometimes twice as big, and may be call'd Bull-Elephants, and their Horns are proportionable, being four Foot broad. Their Horſes are bold and ſtrong, but are never us'd unleſs in Battel and for Races; for their Mules ſerve for burthen, and to travel long Journeys, being ſure-footed in their rugged ways. Camels are never us'd but in the plain Countries, where they tread upon the Sand tho' ſcalding hot, without any harm to their Feet. They have very large Sheep, whoſe Tails weigh ten or twelve, and ſometimes above forty Pound, ſo that the Owners are forc'd to tye a little Cart behind them, to eaſe the Creature and preſerve the Wool.

Of four-footed Beaſts, and their ſeveral kinds. Fig. 3.

As for wild Beaſts, *Abeſſinia* breeds more and larger than any other Country; ſuch as Elephants, eminent for bulk and docility, which herd together in great numbers, ſometimes a hundred in a place. They ſhake the great Trees till they break their Trunks, or tear them up by the Roots; they eat the Shrubs and Fruit-Trees, but eſpecially certain Trees like our Cherry-trees, full of Pith, like Elder, upon which they banquet. They come neareſt to Human Underſtanding, and obſerve the Laws of Hoſpitality; for when a Female is permitted to lodge in a Corn-field with her Cub, they neither deſtroy the Corn themſelves, nor ſuffer others to do it. The Ivory is made, not of their Teeth, but their Horns, which grow out of their Head and not their Jaws, upon the Brows of the Males only. Here is alſo a Panther-Camel, as big as an Elephant, but ſo tall, that a Man can reach only to his Knees. He has a long Head and Neck, and is ſpotted all over like a Panther.

Zecora is the moſt beautiful thing in the World, of the bigneſs of a Mule, having Circles about his Body of various colours, ſome broader, ſome narrower; one of them was ſold for 2000 *Venetian* Pieces, for a Preſent to the *Mogul*.

The Lion is gentle to a Man, but terrible to all other Creatures, who tremble to ſee him. Tygers and Panthers never ſpare Mankind, and by Night make great havock of Cattle. The Hyæna is the moſt voracious of all Beaſts; for by Night and Day they deſtroy all the Men and Beaſts they meet with, and ſometimes dig down Houſes and Stables to come at them. Of Apes there are infinite flocks, a thouſand or more together, Fig. 4. who help one another to turn over the Stones for the Worms that lie under, and lick up all the Emmets they can find; and having ſent Spies before to ſee if the Coaſt be clear, they deſtroy whole Fields and Gardens: When they cannot eſcape wild Beaſts by flight, they fill their Paws with Duſt or Sand, and fling it in the Eyes of their Aſſailant, and then to their Heels again. Fig. 5. There is another Beaſt very harmleſs, call'd *Fonkes*, in *Latin Cercopithecul us*, which is particolour'd, and is ſo tender, that it cannot be brought into theſe parts, unleſs it be wrap'd very warm. Here is alſo another Beaſt call'd *Arwebaru*, with one Horn, fierce and ſtrong, of which Unicorns ſeveral have been ſeen feeding in the Woods.

Of Amphibious Creatures.

Of amphibious Creatures here is the *Hippopotamos*, or the River-Horſe, which ſeems to be the ſame Beaſt that is deſcrib'd in *Job* by the name of *Behemoth*: There are many of them in the Lake of *Tzana*, which deſtroy the Corn in the Neighbouring Fields, and ſometimes overturn ſmall Boats, but are frighted with Fire. The Crocodile his Companion is yet more miſchievous, which ſeems to be that which *Job* calls the *Leviathan*. Fig 6 Water-Lizards are very frequent, eſpecially one ſort call'd *Anguep*, which is ſhap'd like a Dragon, as big as a Cat, but has a Tail that will cut a Man's Thigh in two. But ſetting aſide theſe ſtrange Creatures, the Lakes and Rivers abound with Fiſh, and among the reſt is the Torpedo, which being touch'd with the Hand, cauſes a fearful trembling, and with it the *Abeſſines* cure *Tertian* and *Quartan* Agues, by tying the Patient to a Table, and applying the Fiſh to his Joints, which cauſes a cruel pain over all his Members, after which, the Fit never returns again; and yet if you touch this Fiſh with a Spear or Wand, the Sinews of it preſently grow numb, and its Feet, tho' otherwiſe a ſwift Runner, lie as if they were bound.

Of Birds.

In this Country are Birds of the largeſt ſize, ſuch as the Oſtrich and Caſawaw, which never flie, but are very ſwift in running, being able to out-run a Horſe at full ſpeed. The Fleſh of the Caſſawaw is a good Remedy againſt the biting of Serpents, which was found out by obſerving how greedily they devour them without harm. There is a little Bird call'd *Pipi*, which leads the Hunters to the places where the wild Beaſts lie hid, never leaving the Note of Pipi, till the Hunters follow and kill the diſcover'd Prey.

Of Serpents and Inſects.

The Dragons here are of the largeſt ſize, very voracious, but not venomous; in *India* they are ſaid to be ſo big as to ſwallow whole Infants, Pigs, or Lambs. Here are alſo venomous Snakes call'd *Hydri*, which ſend forth ſuch a poyſonous breath or ſmell, as proves quickly mortal without an Antidote, but is cur'd by drinking Human Excrement in Water, as the Panther is obſerv'd to do when he eats poyſon'd Fleſh laid for him by the Hunters. Among other Serpents the Natives walk and kill them with a crooked Stick; ſometimes they drive their Cattle into places ſtrew'd with Serpents Eggs, to deſtroy them with their Hoofs. The Locuſts are more pernicious than theſe, who frequent the beſt manur'd Places and Orchards in ſuch vaſt numbers, that like a thick Cloud they obſcure the Sun: They ſpare neither Plants, Shrubs, nor Trees, whoſe Barks they ſometimes eat, ſo that the Spring cannot repair the Damage; and then a general Mortality enſues, and Regions are laid waſte, becauſe the Natives never keep any ſtores of Proviſion; yet for ſome time they ſupport themſelves with eating the Locuſts, which are a wholſome Diet, on which *John Baptiſt* fed. The Bees ſwarm here, and make great quantities of Honey, which they ſecure under ground, wanting Stings, and ſuch was the Food of *John Baptiſt*. They have Ants of ſeveral ſorts, whereof one is call'd *Gundan*, which always march in Military Array, and have others that are their Slaves, and ſome with Wings.

Of the Nature and Genius of the Inhabitants.

The *Abeſſines* are witty and good-natur'd, not given to quarrels; but if any do ariſe, having cuff'd a while, they refer the Difference to Arbitrators, to whoſe Sentence they ſubmit, being naturally Lovers of Juſtice and Equity, and very deſirous of Learning, for which they admire foreign Chriſtians; but their Civil Broils and Wars with the *Gallans* will not allow the Nobility leaſure to mind theſe Studies. As the Natives of *Enarrea* are eminent for Courage and Fidelity, ſo thoſe of *Tigra* are faithleſs and inconſtant, bloody and vindictive above any other Nation. They are generally black, of well-ſhap'd Bodies, without blubber Lip and flat Noſe, like the reſt of the *Africans*, yet ſome of them are white, whoſe breath is counted Infectious, and therefore they are avoided by the other *Ethiopians*. Their Bodies are very ſtrong, and they live to a great Age, unleſs they fall by the Sword or wild Beaſts. Their Women are ſtrong and luſty, and commonly bring forth without a Midwife. *Mendez* the *Portugal* Patriarch found in one Province 40000, and in others 100000.

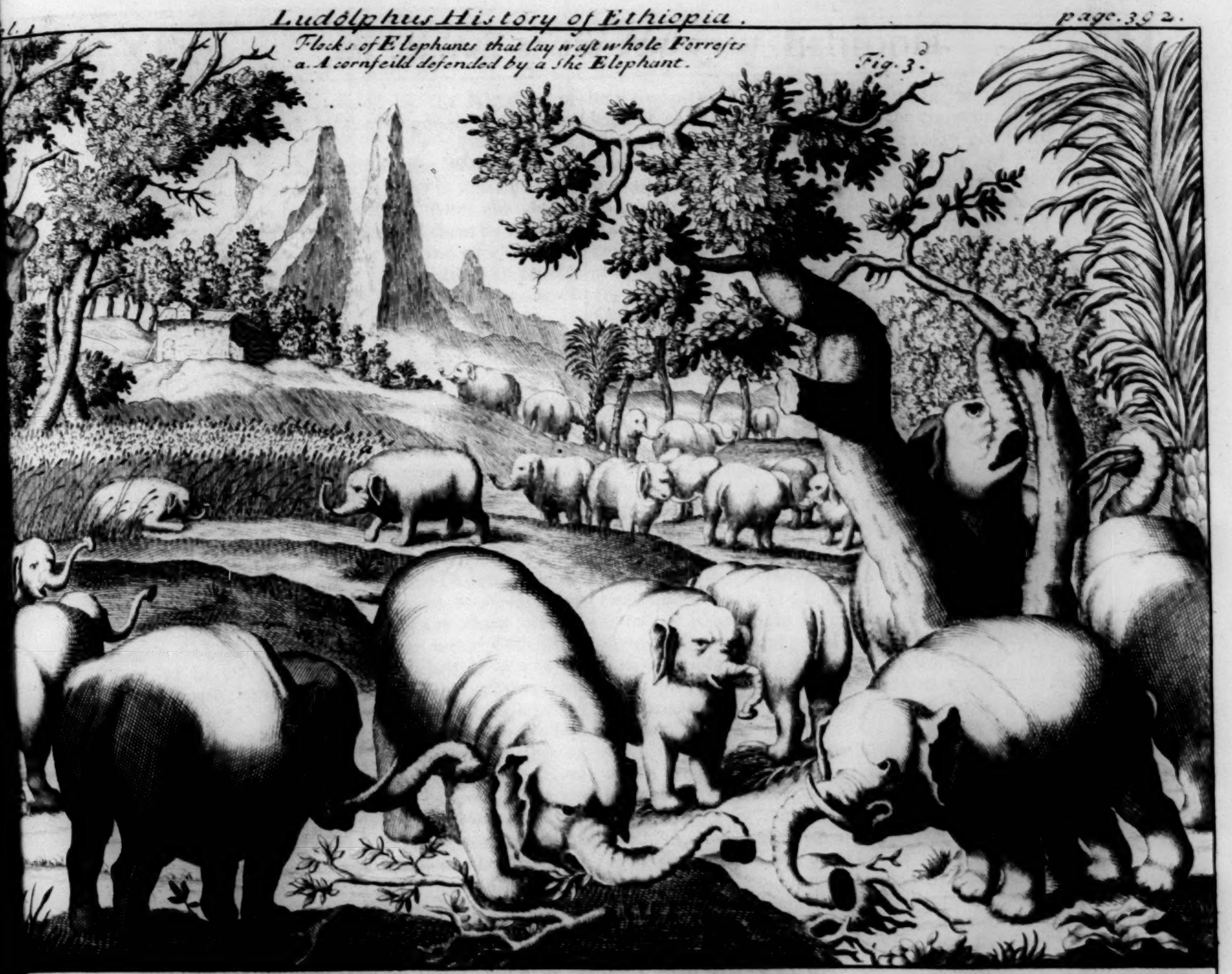
Beſides the Natives, here are *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Pagans* mix'd among them. The *Jews* formerly had all *Denbea*, and ſeveral other Provinces, till they were driven thence by *Suſnens*, but now they are diſpers'd, and get their living by Weaving, and working as Carpenters. The *Mahometans* live here intermix'd with *Chriſtians*, and drive the greateſt trade with the *Turks* and *Arabians*, and in all Parts of the *Red-Sea*, exchanging *Abeſſinian* Gold for *Indian* Wares. There are many other barbarous Nations, that wander about in the Sandy Deſerts, having no knowledge of God, and living without Government, or any certain Habitation, who devour Dragons, Elephants, and whatever they meet in their way. There are alſo other *Pagans*, as the *Agawi* and *Gallans* in *Gojam*.

The War of the *Adelans* againſt the *Abeſſines*, under *Grainus* in the laſt Century, ſo ruin'd their Affairs, that they could never recover their Loſſes, and gave great advantage to the *Turks* and *Gallans* againſt them; for the *Turks* having conquer'd *Egypt*, that they might ſhut up all the Ports of the *Red-Sea*, made themſelves Maſters of the Iſles of *Suaquena*, and *Matzua*, which formerly belong to the *Abeſſines*; ſo that now neither Men nor Merchandize can be admitted into the Gulf, unleſs they beg it of the Baſha with rich Preſents.

But the *Gallans* are more terrible Enemies, who have ſubdu'd many Kingdoms and Provinces, and thirſt after all the reſt. They firſt broke out in the Kingdom of *Bali*, while the King, ſirnamed *David*, was engag'd in War with the *Adelans*; and having ſubdu'd *Bali*, they over-ran the Neighbouring Kingdoms. They are a fierce and warlike People, ambitious of the Honour that is got by ſlaying their Enemies, and bringing in their Heads, and divide the plunder equally among them all. They fight with a Reſolution either to over-come or die; and have for their Weapons at a diſtance, Lances and Darts, and Hand to Hand, Clubs and Stakes, and for their Shield the Skins of Oxen. They formerly fought a-foot, but now more frequently on Horſe-back, and are commonly too hard for the *Abeſſines*, tho' they are more numerous and better arm'd. They never mind Agriculture, but only grazing of Cattle, which they drive before them as well in War as Peace, thro' the moſt fertile Paſtures, whoſe Milk they drink in Wooden Diſhes, which is all the Baggage they carry with them, and raw Fleſh they eat without Bread. Every eight Years they chooſe a Leader, call'd *Luva*, whom they obey in time of War; and his firſt Enterprize is to invade *Abeſſinia* for Honour and Booty.

They ſay that Heaven is the God that governs the Earth, and yet they give it no ſolemn Worſhip, neither have they any Idols, and but very little Divine Worſhip. They are a ſharp-witted People, and ſeveral thouſands of them were converted and baptiz'd under *Baſilides*. This is that formidable Nation which hath ruin'd the Dominion of the *Abeſſines*, having torn from their King above half thoſe Territories which his Anceſtors enjoy'd, and were diverted from making further Conqueſts by Diviſions among themſelves. They are now divided into two Nations, whereof that which lies Eaſterly encircles *Abaſſia*, and haraſs it with frequent Incurſions. They have alſo parted *Cambata* and *Enarrea* from the reſt of the Body, having ſubdued the Kingdoms between them, which makes it very difficult for the King to bring home his Tribute from theſe Kingdoms: Thus the *Abeſſines* are always in war with theſe People.

Another Neighbour Kingdom is *Zandero*, which was but lately diſcovered, whoſe Natives are but a little more civil than the *Gallans*. Their King being dead, the next a-kin retires into a Wood, and being follow'd by the Nobility, who are guided by a Bird of the Eagle kind to the place where he is, they find him ſurrounded with a Guard of Lions, Dragons, and Panthers (aſſembled there by ſome Incantation) who at firſt reſiſts the Electors, and wounds thoſe he can, that he may ſeem to be forc'd to take the Government upon him. They fight one with another, who ſhall have the Honour of ſetting the Crown on the King's Head, and ſometimes kill one another, thinking to atone the Devil with Human Blood. *Fernandez* having view'd this *Lybian* Soveraign, compares him for Colour and Geſture to a Rampant Monkey, and if their King be wounded, 'tis their Cuſtom to kill him after the manner of Monkeys, who tear a wound till they die.



Flocks of Elephants that lay waſt whole Forreſts
a. A cornfeild defended by a She Elephant.

Fig. 3d.

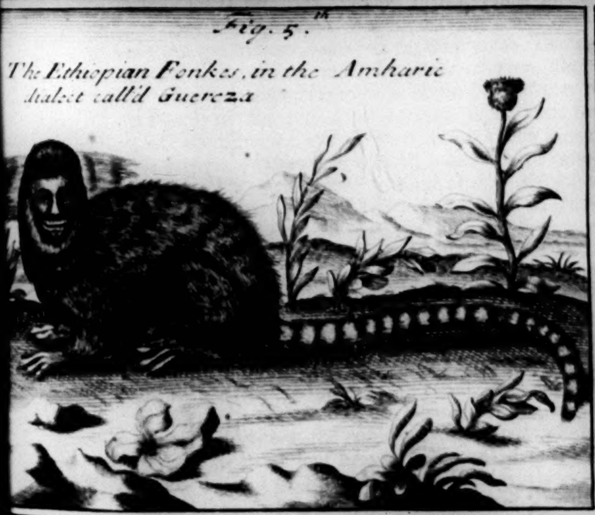
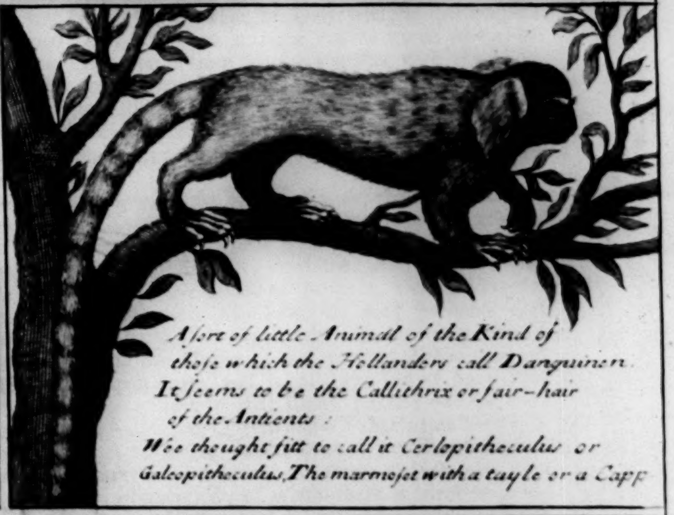
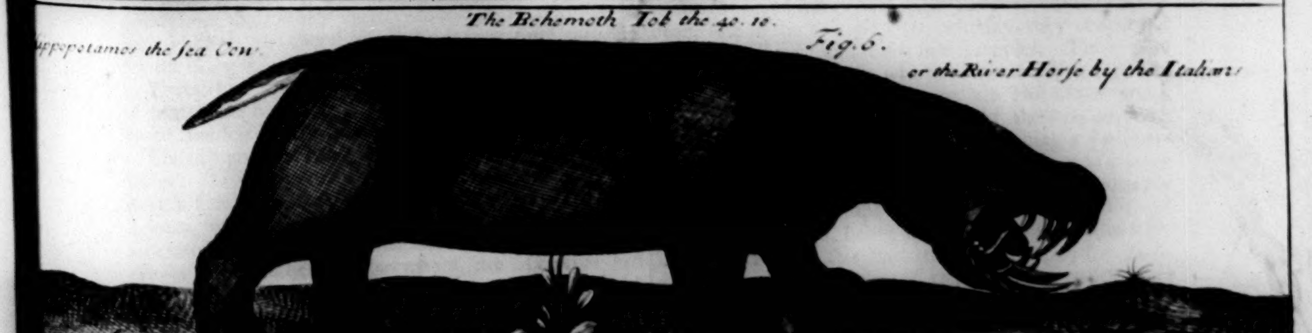


Fig. 5th.

The Ethiopian Fonkes, in the Amharic dialect call'd Guereza



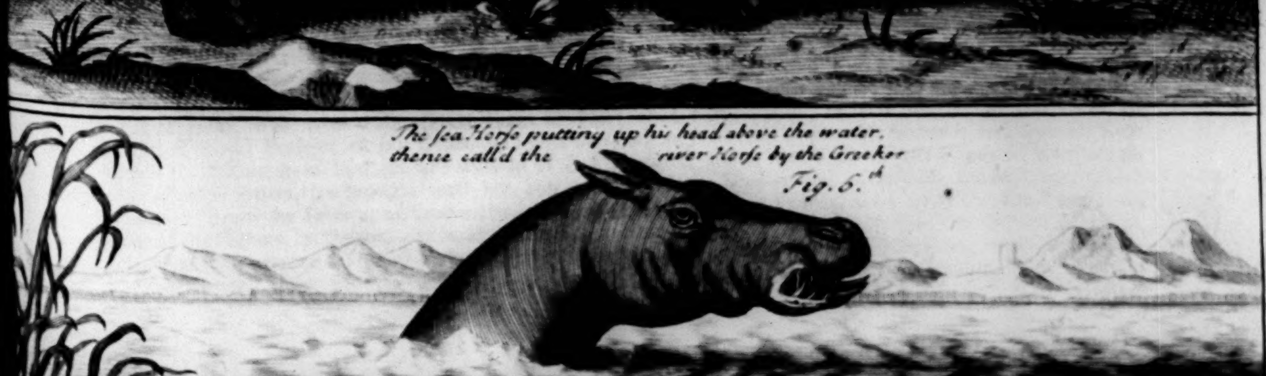
A ſort of little Animal of the Kind of
thoſe which the Hollanders call Danguinen.
It ſeems to be the Callithrix or fair-hair
of the Antients:
Wee thought fitt to call it Cerlopithecul[us] or
Galeopitheculus, The marmoſet with a tayle or a Capp



The Behemoth Iob the 40. 10.

Fig. 6.

[H]ippopotamos the ſea Cow or the River Horſe by the Italians



The ſea Horſe putting up his head above the water,
thence call'd the river Horſe by the Greekes

Fig. 6th

Abeſſinia to the Eaſt is bounded by the Kingdom of *Alaba*, and to the South by the Kingdom of *Senner* or *Fund*.

Gamez brought to the Succor of the *Abeſſines* in the *Adelan* War, about 170 *Portugueſe*, who in one Age were able to muſter 1400 fighting Men. After the *Adelan* War they had certain Lands granted them by *Claudius*, which were taken way by *Menas* his Succeſſor: And in this laſt Century they flouriſh'd for ſometime in plenty, but the Fathers looſing their Credit, they were again reduc'd to extream Miſery.

Of their Political Government.

Of the Kings of the *Abeſſines*, their various Titles, Names, and Arms.

The King of the *Abeſſines* has been commonly known to the *Europeans* by the name of *Presbyter John*, which was firſt given him by the *Portugueze* upon the following Occaſion. *Peter* a *Portugal* Prince returning home from *Venice*, brought him a Treatiſe of the *Paulus Venetus* of the Affairs of *India*, wherein many great things were ſaid of *Presbyter John*, which was one great Motive to the *Portugal* Kings, to proſecute the Deſign of the *Indian* Navigation. In purſuance of this Deſign, *John* the ſecond ſent two *Portugueze*, ſkilful in the *Arabic*-Tongue, to try what they could do, and gave them a ſtrict charge to find out *Presbyter-John*, that wealthy Chriſtian Prince, as he was reputed to be, eitheir in *Aſia* or *India*: At length, one of them call'd *Peter*, after a long and vain ſearch, heard of a moſt potent Chriſtian King of the *Abeſſines*, whom he believ'd to be the *Preſter-John* ſo much ſought after, and thereupon gave Intelligence of it to his own King, who quickly ſpread the News over all *Europe*, where it was eaſily believ'd, That the King of *Ethiopia* was the famous *Preſter-John*.

This was the Orignal of that vulgar Error, which has ſo generally prevail'd; but the Truth of the matter is, There was long ago a Chriſtian Prince in the utmoſt parts of *Africa*, who was call'd by the Neighbouring *Perſians* for his eminent Sanctity, *Preſter-Chan*, or Prince of the *Adories*, i. e. *Chriſtians*, who was driven out of his Kingdom ſome Ages ago by *Cenclu* King of the *Tartars*: But the ignorant Vulgar having learned the Name from the *Italians*, who were then great Traders into the Eaſt, chang'd it into the *Italian* Name *Pretegianni*, which corrupt Name hath ſince prevail'd with all the People of *Europe*. Moſt certain it is, that the Name of the King of the *Abeſſines* is no more in the *Ethiopic* Language than *Negus* King; but his common Title is *Negula Naguſt Zaityopia*, King of the Kings of *Ethiopia*, to diſtinguiſh him from the Rulers of ſome Provinces, who are honour'd with the Title of *Negus*, upon which account he is call'd by the *Portugueze* Emperour of the *Abeſſines*. Among the ancient *Arabians* the Kings were always called *Nagaſhi*, as the Kings of *Egypt* were call'd *Pharo's*, and the *Roman* Emperours *Cæſars*. But there is a new name commonly given to the Kings of *Ethiopia* at their coming to the Crown, which generally ſignifies Reverence, as *Melech Saghead*, a Venerable Ruler, and ſometimes a *Gem*, as *Wanag Sadbed*, a precious *Gem*; which was the name of King *David*, whence his Embaſſador being ſent into *Portugal*, call'd him Precious *John*, inſtead of *Preter Gianni*. Beſides theſe, he had many other Titles, as the *Pillar of Faith*, the *Virgins Incence*, &c. which variety caus'd great confuſion in their Hiſtory, and therefore they are now quite diſus'd; for the King writing to the Pope, uſes none of theſe lofty Titles, but ſays only, *Let the little Book of the Letter of* Malec Saghed, *King of the Kings of* Ethiopia, *come to the Hands of the Holy* Roman *Patriarch*.

The King's Seal is a Lion holding a Croſs, with this Motto, *The Lion of the Tribe of* Juda *has won*; and they have a Tradition, that their Kings are deſcended from *Solomon*, which ſeems to be uncertain, but they may derive unqueſtionably their Succeſſion from *Atzbeba* and *Abreba*, two Brothers, under whom the *Axumites* firſt receiv'd the Chriſtian Religion, which equals them with the moſt ancient Royal Families in *Europe* for Antiquity.

Of the *Salomean* Family, which is ſ'id to have its Original from the Son of the Queen of *Sheba*, who came to viſit *Solomon*.

We find in Sacred Writ, That the Queen of *Sheba*, or, as our Saviour tells us, a Queen of the South came from the ends of the Earth to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*. The *Ethiopians* aſſert her to be their Queen, call'd *Maqueba*, who went with a great Train of Nobility and Royal Preſents to his Court at *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe learnt from him the true worſhip of God; That after her return, ſhe brought forth her Son call'd *Menilebec*, begot by *Solomon*, and named by him *David*. Some of the Fathers, as *Origen*, *Auſtin*, &c. are of opinion, that ſhe came out of *Ethiopia*; but others, as *Juſtin*, *Cyprian*, &c. think that ſhe came out of *Arabia*, becauſe Spices, Gems, and Gold, which were the Preſents of the Queen of *Sheba*, are the common Products of *Arabia*; which two Opinions are eaſily reconcil'd, if with the ancient Writers we extend the ancient *Ethiopia* into *Arabia*: For they affirm the *Sabeans* and *Homerites* to have been Nations of *Ethiopia*, which without queſtion were formerly ſeated in *Arabia the Happy*: And 'tis certain, that Region which the *Hebrews* call *Cuſh*, is by the 70 Interpreters rendred *Ethiopia*, and yet that Country is a part of *Arabia*, whence the *Arabians* are call'd *Cuſhites*: For the *Ethiopia* of the Ancients was divided into *Aſiatic* and *African*; ſo that the Queen of *Sheba* may be ſaid to come out of *Ethiopia*, tho' the *Sabeans* were a People of the South *Arabia*.

Several things are alledg'd to confirm this Tradition of the *Abeſſines*, that their Kings are deſcended from *Solomon*, as the Conſent of the Nation, the common Title of their Kings, who are call'd *Iſraelitiſh* Kings, the Motto in their Coat of Arms, *The Lion of the Tribe of* Judah *hath overcome*, but chiefly the continuation of their Officers both in Civil and Military in the ſame Family, and the obſervation of other Cuſtoms and Ceremonies us'd in the *Hebrew* Common-wealth: Yet *Ludolphus* doubts of the Truth of this Tradition, becauſe the *Iſraelitiſh* Rites might be introduc'd after *Solomon*'s time upon another account; and the Title of *Iſraelitiſh* Kings does no more prove their deſcent from them, than the Title of King of the *Romans* proves his deſcent from the ancient *Romans*: And no account can be given how the true Worſhip of God could be preſerv'd from *Solomon*'s time among them without the Sacred Volumes, which they have not either in the *Hebrew* Language or their own: why they were not more earneſt to viſit the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and to give aſſiſtance to their Brethren, eſpecially when *Reheboam* the Brother of *Menelebec*, ſuffer'd that great loſs of the revolt of the ten Tribes, and when he was invaded by *Siſak* King of *Egypt*, whom the Kings of *Ethiopia* could eaſily have diverted; when the *Jews* were ruin'd by the King of *Aſſyria*, and carried away captive into *Babylon*; when they were ſubdu'd by the *Romans*, for then the Paſſages were free through *Arabia*, or *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea* was open: And laſtly, no account can be given why they ſhould not receive from *Solomon* together with their Religion, his Human Learning, ſince Learning and Religion generally go together; but their manner of Writing and Reading differs very much from that of the *Hebrews*, tho' ſome Letters ſeem to be borrowed from the *Samaritans*.

Of *Menilebec* and his Poſterity, till their Succeſſion was interrupted.

After *Menelebec* the Son of *Makeda*, the *Ethiopians* had ſeveral Kings, of whom we know nothing certain; but 'tis very probable, that in the 18th Year of *Baſen*'s Reign our Bleſſed Saviour was born: And ſince it was forbidden by the Laws of *Ethiopia*, that a Woman ſhould Reign after *Menibelec*, 'tis moſt probable that *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, whoſe Eunuch is mention'd Act 8. 27. was Queen of that part of *Ethiopia* which borders upon *Egypt*, and is call'd the Iſle of *Meroe*, becauſe *Pliny* teſtifies in that Iſland reigned one *Candace*, and that ſucceeding Queens aſſum'd that name for many Years. After *Baſen*, for the ſpace of 327 Years, there is no certainty until the times of *Abreba* and *Atzbeba*, two Brothers who reign'd; of whom there is mention made in the *Ethiopic* Liturgy, in their Commemoration for the dead, and in the *Ethiopic* Poet, who ſays they taught the Goſpel of Chriſt, and built him Temples. Their next famous King was *Caleb*, who reveng'd the Blood of the Chriſtians ſhed by *Dunawas*, as all Hiſtorians agree. This *Dunawas* was the laſt King of the *Sebeans*, who were afterwards call'd *Hamerites*, who being a *Jew*, perſecuted the Chriſtians moſt cruelly; for he caus'd large Pits to be digg'd, and then commanded the Chriſtians to be burnt therein in heaps: And thus 340 periſh'd together with St. *Areta*, being all entom'd in fire. *Caleb* being advertis'd of this barbarous Cruelty by the Patriarch, went with an Army of 120000 Men, and a Navy of 423 Veſſels, and croſs'd over into *Arabia*; and having vanquiſh'd *Dunawas*, he utterly deſtroy'd the Kingdom of the *Hamrites*, reſtor'd *Nagra* to the Chriſtians, and made St. *Aceta*'s Son Governour of the place. This Victory of *Caleb* and the Martyrs of *Nagra*, are celebrated by the *Ethiopic* Poet, who alſo mentions his Succeſſor *Gebra-Meskel*, or the Servant of the Croſs, to whom ſucceeded *Conſtantine Freſenna*, and *Delnoad*, who reign'd about the Year of *Chriſt* 960: After whoſe death the Scepter was uſurp'd by another race, which was the *Zagean* Family, who enjoy'd it 540 Years. Of this Race was *Newaja Chriſtos*, or the Wealth of *Chriſt*, who is prais'd by the Poet for building the Houſe of God, and empoveriſhing himſelf to adorn it. But the moſt

Of the *Zagean* Line, and the Kings deſcended from that Race.

famous was *Lalibala*, whoſe future greatneſs was portended by a ſwarm of Bees, which lighted on his tender Body while an Infant, without doing him any hurt; and after he came to rule, having ſent for Artiſts out of *Egypt*, he built ſtately Structures after a wonderful manner; for he did not cement Stones or Bricks together with Lime or Lome, nor join the Roof together with Rafters, but hollowed whole ſolid Rocks, leaving Pillars where they were requiſite for Ornament, the Arches and Walls being all of the ſame Stone. *Alvarez* atteſts upon Oath, that he ſaw ten Temples fram'd after this wonderful manner, by this magnificent King, who reign'd 40 Years. The laſt of this Race was *Naacueto Laab*, in whom the *Zagean* Family was extinct about the Year 1300.

Of the *Solomonean* Race reſtor'd again in *Joon-Imlac*, and of his Succeſſors *David*, *Claudius*, &c.

After his death, the Nobility of *Shewa* reſtor'd *Joon-Imlac*, a Prince of the *Solomonean* Race, to the Scepter of his Anceſtors, whoſe Poſterity have continued in *Habeſſinia* to our time. *Tellezius* reckons up 16 Kings to *Zar-a-Jacob*, an Emperour of great renown, who ſent Ambaſſadors to the Council of *Florence*. *Baeda Marjam* came to the Crown about 1465, and died ten Years after, leaving his Widow *Helena* behind him, who had the chief management of Affairs during the minority of *Etana Dengel*, call'd afterwards by his Inauguration name *David*, he being but eleven Years of age when he was made King. She was a Woman of great Prudence and Courage, and famous among the *Europeans* for her Letters to *Emmanuel* the firſt, King of *Portugal*. *David* was very proſperous in the beginning of his Reign, but afterwards giving himſelf up to Luxury, he was forced to fly to the Rock *Damo*, where he died in the 46th year of his age.

His Son *Claudius* came to the Kingdom when it was miſerably ſhatter'd by the *Gallans*; but by the aſſiſtance of *John* the ſecond, King of *Portugal*, who ſent the valliant *Chriſtopher Gamas*, with a ſmall band of 400 Foot, he overthrew vaſt Armies of the *Barbarians*, and laid the Foundation of regaining the *Abeſſinian* Empire. He was very learn'd and ſtout, and gain'd great Advantages againſt the *Adelans* in his Wars; but at laſt in 1559, fighting againſt them, he was kill'd. To him ſucceeded *Menas* his Brother, who was of a cruel diſpoſition, and deny'd the *Portugueſe* that liberty of Religion which *Claudius* had granted, whereupon his Subjects revolted from him, and one *Balruagaſſus* a great Captain, calling in the *Turks* to his aſſiſtance, overcome him and ſlew him in Battle; ſince which time the *Turks* have been Maſters of the Coaſt of the *Red-Sea*. *Sarza Denghel* his Son ſucceeded, who was ſtout of Hand and wiſe in Counſel: And firſt he drove the *Turks* out of *Tigra*, and would have driven them alſo from *Arkiko* and *Matrua*, but that he was recall'd to defend his Dominions from the *Gallans*, who by the Rapines of 25 Years, were now encreas'd from ſcattering Troops to compleat Armies. He was proſperous in his Wars, and ſubdu'd *Enarrea*, and caus'd the Prince of it to turn Chriſtian. He was firm to the *Alexandrian* Religion, and granted Liberty to the Jeſuits, whoſe manners he approv'd, and not their Doctrine. He left no Iſſue Male behind him, but two natural Sons, whereof *Jacob* the youngeſt and moſt beloved was but ſeven Years of age, which occaſion'd a bloody Civil War about the Succeſſion, tho' the King to prevent it declar'd in the preſence of his Nobility, that he recommended *Za-dengel* his Brother's Son to be his Succeſſor: But the Nobility being ambitious of having the Rule in their own Hands during the Minority of *Jacob*, conſpired againſt *Za-dengel*, and remov'd him from Rock to Rock, leſt any of his Subjects ſhould join to aſſiſt him, and ſet the Crown on *Jacob*'s Head. But after he came to be 15 Years old, growing impatient of any curb from his Tutors, he aſſum'd the Rains of Government into his own Hand, and, which his Guardians took ſo ill, that they choſe rather to obey their lawful King, than ſubmit to an illegitimate Infant, contrary to their Conſtitution: And therefore they recall'd *Za-dengel*, then lurking in the remoteſt Mountains of the Empire, and ſaluted him King by the Name of *Aſnaff-Sagued*. Wonderful was his Clemency at his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne; for neither did he cut off the Noſe and Eyes of *Jacob*, as is uſually done to Rivals in the Empire; neither did he puniſh any of his Enemies, as by Law he might have done; but as he was mild and gentle to a fault, ſo he behav'd himſelf with undaunted Courage in all ſorts of danger; which he ſhew'd in his firſt War with the *Gallans*, who underſtanding the Diviſions at Court, broke into *Abeſſinia* with three Armies, and ſo overpower'd the King's Forces, that he was adviſ'd to an early flight: But he diſdaining the motion, cry'd out, *Here will I die, you may fly if you pleaſe, and ſo eſcape the fury of the* Gallans, *but never the Infamy of deſerting your King*; which words ſo animated the Souldiers, that they broke in among the *Gallans* like deſperate Men, and gain'd ſuch a glorious Victory with ſuch a ſlaughter of the Enemy, as was never known before. And preſently with a ſwift March, he led his Army over Mountains and Rocks, againſt another Body of the Enemy, which with the ſame Succeſs he put to flight. The third Army not daring to ſtand againſt the Force of the *Abeſſines*, fled into their Faſtneſſes, of whom the *Abeſſines* drove 400 from their Holds, and ſlew them every Mother's Son. But at laſt by the Perſwaſion of *Peter Pays*, he embrac'd the *Latin* Religion, which he teſtified in his Letters to the Pope and King of *Spain*, *Philip* the third, and preferring the *Portugueſe* before his own Subjects, he ſo enflam'd the hatred of his own People, that his chief Miniſters, and the Nobility of his Kingdom conſpired againſt him: For the Rebels pretended, that the *Portugueſe* would eſtabliſh their Religion by force of Arms, and others take poſſeſſion of their Kingdom; and the Patriarch to encourage them, by an unheard-of-Preſident, abſolved the Rebels from their Oaths, to their lawful Prince. The King was adviſ'd by *Peter Pays* to protract the War, till the heat of the Rebels fury was cool'd: *For* (ſays he) *Sedition is like a Torrent which is violent at firſt, but abates by degrees*: But the King in the heat of his Youth being impatient of delay, join'd Battle with them, in which, though he fought bravely for a long time, yet at laſt being forſaken by his own Souldiers, he was ſlain with ſeveral Darts thrown at a diſtance; which was a ſad *Memento* to all Kings, how they change their Religion, and thruſt themſelves raſhly into a Battle, eſpecially when there is no certain Succeſſor.

Of the Kings of this Century to our times.

After his Death there was a Conteſt between *Suſneus* the Grand-child of *David*, and *Jacob* aforementioned, about the Right of Succeſſion, which was decided by the Sword; and *Suſneus* obtain'd the Victory with the ſlaughter of many of his Enemies, and particularly of *Jacob*, and *Peter* the Patriarch, who had thundred out an *Anathema* againſt *Suſneus*. The Enemy fled with ſo great precipitation, tho' *Suſneus* did not purſue them, yet many of them ignorant of the Country, threw themſelves head-long from a ſteep Rock in the Night-time: Among the reſt, a certain *Portugueſe* perceiving his Horſe as it were flying in the Air, quitting his Stirrops, left him, and by chance took hold of the Branch of a Tree, where he ſate all Night upon a Bough, and when day appear'd, he diſcover'd at a prodigious diſtance underneath, a vaſt heap of Men and Horſes, with their Limbs and Members broken all to Flitters.

But *Suſneus* to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Dominions, courted the Friendſhip of the *Portugueſe*, that he might learn of them the Art of Gunnery and Fire-Arms; and to this end he did not only kindly receive the Jeſuits, but ſet up the *Latin* Religion, and ſwore obedience to the Pope, which was the occaſion of many bloody Wars hereafter deſcrib'd. A Counterfeit *Jacob* ſtarted up the next Year after he was made King, who was by the help of two Noblemen, who pretended to be his Friends, apprehended and put to death. A little after this, another Counterfeit came into *France*, in 1631, pretending to be the Son of *Jacob*, and Heir to *Ethiopia*, who call'd himſelf *Tragax*; and having Certificates from the Monks of *Paleſtine*, he was there entertain'd as a great Prince, with a large Penſion from the King, and having a graceful Preſence and magiſtick aſpect, he gain'd great Credit to his Pretenſions, and was never detected till he kill'd himſelf with debauchery.

Suſneus was a courteous and warlike Prince, but very unhappy by his continual Wars, and the frequent Rebellions of his Subjects, upon the account of his change of Religion. He died in 1632, leaving ſeveral Sons and Daughters behind him.

Baſilides ſucceeded his Father, who baniſh'd the Jeſuits and their Patriarch, and would not allow the *Portugueſe* a Prieſt to ſay Maſs: And we know nothing more of certainty about him; for he refuſ'd any further Commerce with the *Europeans*, for fear of the Forces he heard were coming from *Rome* and *Portugal*, to revenge the Affronts put upon them: Neither do they know any thing of all the Race of Kings that ſucceeded him down to this time, ſince all Commerce between *Europe* and *Ethiopia* was broken off.

Of the Royal Succeſſion, and the Impriſonment of the King's Children or Brothers in the Rock Geſhen, now quite out of uſe.

The uncertainty to the Rule of Succeſſion to the Kingdom, is one great cauſe of the many Rebellions in *Ethiopia*; for tho' they pretend that their Monarchy is hereditary, in which no Woman or Baſtard, but only the next a-kin lawful Male-Iſſue, is to ſucceed, yet by the Cabals and Intereſt of the Nobility, and chief Officers of the Army, ſometimes the younger Brother is preferr'd before the Elder, and ſometimes an illegitimate Son before a legitimate Kinſman. And becauſe in this uncertainty the Poſſeſſor of the Throne is commonly jealous of his Rival, therefore to ſecure himſelf from any Attempts, the Rocks of *Geſhem* and *Ambaſel* were ſet apart for a ſafe Cuſtody to his Brorhers, till their turn ſhould come to aſcend the Throne. And this Cuſtom continu'd as a Fundamental Law in *Ethiopia*, for the ſpace of 230 Years, until 1590. when King *Naod* was ſent for from the Rock to ſucceed, who was ſo tenderly affected towards his Son, that he prevail'd with the Nobility to aboliſh this Cuſtom, not conſidering that private Affection is to give place to the ſafety of the Publick: For 'tis certain that thoſe exil'd Princes were kept cloſe Priſoners in theſe Rocks, and whoſoever attempted to get away or was aſſiſting to their Eſcape, was ſeverely puniſh'd; by which means the Reigning Prince was ſecured from Civil Wars.

Of the Power of the King in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Affairs.

The Power of the *Abeſſinian* Kings is abſolute as well in Eccleſiaſtical as Civil Affairs; which Power they exercis'd, when they put forth Edicts for receiving the *Roman* Religion, and abrogating the *Alexandrian* Ceremonies, and which they aſſerted againſt the *Roman* Patriarch *Alphonſus*, when they diſpens'd with certain indifferent Ceremonies, and enjoyn'd him to keep to the Rules of the *Metropolitans* of ancient *Ethiopia*. The ſame Prerogative in Eccleſiaſtical matters, was exercis'd by making a Decree for abrogating the *Latin* Worſhip, and reſtoring that of *Alexandria*. The King alſo ſummons Synods of the Clergy, when he thinks neceſſary, ſends for the Metropolitan out of *Egypt*, exerciſes full Juriſdiction over him, and all the reſt of the Clergy, and puniſhes them according to the nature of their Offences: But in this he differs from our *European* Kings, that he never nominates to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; but he admitted the Metropolitan ſent from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Patriarch ſent from the Pope, tho' he nam'd neither: And indeed in *Ethiopia* where there are no other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, the Prerogative of nominating Arch-biſhops and Biſhops is of little worth.

His Power in ſecular Affairs is bounded by no poſitive Laws, but ſometimes he diſpenſes with thoſe that are counted the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: He has the ſole diſpoſal of War and Peace, and all the Prerogatives that a King can claim, tho' he makes not uſe of many of them, being ignorant of them, as of that in reference to Metals, the coining of Money, and the like. One thing is to be admir'd, which is rare even among the *Turks*, that no private Perſon, whether Peaſant or Lord, except ſome few, can call any thing his own; but all the Lands and Farms of the Country are held by the Subjects at the King's pleaſure, and no man takes it amiſs that his Lands are taken from him and given to another, tho' he poſſeſs them but a ſhort time. This Cuſtom makes them very ſubmiſſive to their Kings, for they ſerve him in Peace and War, and bring him Preſents according to their Ability, in hopes of obtaining new Farms, or for fear of looſing thoſe they have: Yet there are ſome ancient illuſtrious Families, who enjoy not only Lands but Prefectures, by right of Inheritance, as in *Tigra* and *Dembea*, over whom the King claims no other Authority, but to confer the publick Employments yearly upon others, ſo as they be of the ſame Family.

Of the Power and Revenue of the *Habeſſine* Kings.

The Power of the *Ethiopian* Kings, being ſo abſolute, and vaſtly great, was formerly terrible to the Neighbour Nations, as appears by their Expeditions into *Arabia*; but after the *Saracens* grew ſtronger, they relinquiſh'd *Axuma*, and turn'd their Arms againſt the Upland Parts of *Africa*, which they ſubdu'd: And in this Greatneſs they continued till they were tore in pieces by their Wars with the *Adelans* and *Gallans*: However their Power is ſtill ſo great, that they might not only conquer theſe *Barbarians*, but recover their loſt Dominions, if they would make uſe of the Arts and Arms of the *Europeans*, and encourage them by building Towns, and peopling them with Trades-men. If the King would give to his People and Souldiers ſome Inheritance in the Lands that are won from the Enemy, and ſettle out of them Dukedoms and Earldoms upon his Nobility. And to this end he ſhould be aſſiſted by the *European* Princes, not only out of Charity, but to leſſen the Power of the *Turk*, by wreſting the Dominion of the *Red-Sea* out of his Hands, and ſpoiling the Commerce of *Egypt*, which in the end will be very miſchievous to them. 'Tis a great Defect in the *Ethiopians*, that they permit the *Turks* to be Maſters of the Ports and Iſlands in the *Red-Sea*, whereby it is left to their pleaſure what Perſons and Commodities ſhall paſs in and out, becauſe they do not underſtand that no Nation can be truly great, without ſome Sea-Towns.

As for the Revenues of the King, they are not paid in ready Money, but in the natural Products of their Country; for ſome Provinces afford Gold, which they find in the Sand of Rivers, or at the Roots of Trees, or lying upon the Earth; others have Horſes, Cattle, Sheep, Corn and Ox-hides, and ſome few where the Weavers live, ſend the King Garments. *Enarrea* pays 1500 Ounces of Gold: *Gojam* pays every year 1100 Ounces, and ſome Garments to the value of 3000 *German* Dollars, together with 200 Fuſtion Tapeſtries: Out of *Tigra* the King receives 25000 Pataches: out of *Dembea* 5000, and ſo proportionably out of the other Kingdoms. The Tolls are generally granted to the Nobility for their ſubſiſtance, except thoſe of the high Mountain *Lamalmona*; over which all the Merchandize muſt paſs from the *Red Sea* into *Habeſſinia*, which the King reſerves to himſelf: His Table is ſerv'd alſo with Proviſions from his own Lands and Farms, beſides that *Dembea*, *Gojam*, and *Bagendra* find him Corn and Fleſh. But his chief Tribute is from the Graziers, who pay him every 10th Ox or Cow every three Years, *i. e.* a 30th part every Year. Every *Chriſtian* Weaver pays him yearly a Fuſtion Garment, and every *Mahometan* a Patach, which amounts to 1000 Imperials a Year. The Prices of all things there are very low; for a huge Ox may be bought for half a Dollar: The Soldiers live upon Fleſh and Fiſh, without any Bread; and Servants Wages are paid in neceſſary Commodities, and not in Money.

Of the royal City of *Axuma*, and the Inauguration of their King.

The Royal City of *Axuma* was of old adorn'd with many beautiful Structures, a fair Palace, and a ſtately Cathedral, but now there remain only ſuch Ruins as teſtify it was once a great City. It lies in 14 and ½ North Lat. and is diſtant from the *Red-Sea* 45 *Portugal* Leagues. Here the ancient Kings of *Ethiopia* were won't to be crown'd, at which time the Army being drawn up, the Foot march firſt, and then the Horſe, and after them the Courtiers in rich Habits, and laſt of all the Emperour, who alights off his Horſe near the Church of *Axuma*, and going forward on the Ground ſpread with rich Carpets, he is ſtopp'd by a ſilken Cord held croſs the Street by ſome Virgins, who aſk him thrice who he is; he replies, *I am the King of* Sion, and then drawing forth his Cymitar, cuts the Cord; whereupon the Virgins cry out, *Of a certainty thou art our King of* Sion: And preſently the Guns are fired, the Air is fill'd with loud Acclamatious, the noiſe of Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets: Which done, the Metropolitan with all the Eccleſiaſtical Orders, ſinging Hymns, conduct the King to the firſt Porch of the Church, and there ſet the Crown on his Head, which is nothing but a Hat twice doubled, with an Azure-colour'd Silken broad Brim, trim'd with Gold and Silver Plates, in the likeneſs of Lillies, with a row of falſe Stones glittering between every Plate.

Beſides *Axuma*, there are no Cities in *Abeſſinia*, and but few Towns. In *Tigra* there is *Debarva*, the Seat of the Vice-roys; and in *Dembea*, *Gubay*, the Reſidence of the Queen, and a few more not worth the mentioning; for the *Abeſſines* chooſe rather to live like Villagers, in places that are fertile and till'd, and pitch their Tents up and down the Country, where they take what they ſtand in need of, without conſideration of the damage or regard to the future. They have neither Caſtles nor Forts, and the Mountains of *Ambara* are their only Citadels, where the King's Children were formerly kept. They neither navigate their own Rivers, nor do they know what belongs to Carriage or Stores, living without any care of to-morrow.

Of the King's Court, his Titles and Court Officers.

After the Kings of *Abeſſinia* left *Axuma*, they liv'd in Tents, till *Peter Pays* built the King a Pallace after the *European* manner, in a pleaſant place call'd *Gorgora*, being almoſt ſurrounded with the *Tzanic* Lake, where the King was to take up his Winter-quarters; the Natives were amaz'd to ſee one Story above another, which they call'd Houſe upon Houſe. The King dines alone, and after he riſes, the Nobility that are invited take their places, and eat of his Leavings, which is look'd upon as a great Honour; yet the Jeſuits were admitted to dine at another Table in the ſame Room, with *Suſneus*. Inſtead of Table-Cloths or Napkins, they uſe thin Wafers made of Wheat, or Rice-Paſte, which ſerves them for Bread. They have no Trenchers, Knives, Forks, or Spoons, no Salt-celler, Pepper, or Sugar-box, and ſo in time of War they are eas'd of ſo many Kitchin-Utenſils as we carry along with us. Their Meat, which is Fleſh, and Broth of ſeveral ſorts boil'd, is ſerv'd up by Women in broad Earthen Platters, cover'd with Straw neatly woven and painted. As ſoon as the Diſhes are ſet on the Table, the Hangings are let down, left any one ſhould ſee the King eating; for both he and the Nobility are fed by Children, who take the Meat and put it into their Mouths; and if the Gobbets be too big, they thruſt them in, and if any Crumbs fall by, they put them again into their Chops, after they are ſoak'd in the Broth: But this is common to the Lord and Peaſant, that they never drink till they have done eating. Before and after Meals they commonly repeat the Pſalter, the only Book they have for daily Prayer: And the whole is read over at great Feaſts, in a very ſhort time, being diſtributed among a great many ſeveral Readers.

At the Audience of Embaſſadors, they formerly us'd a great many tedious Ceremonies, which now being humbled by many Loſſes, they are laid aſide: for now an Embaſſador is quickly admitted to ſee and ſalute the King, if he bring Preſents along with him, without which, he may not appear before the Eaſtern or *African* Kings.

The chief Miniſters of State, who manage all Affairs, were formerly two, call'd *Bahtuded*; but theſe abuſing their Power, another was appointed, call'd *Ras*, i. e. a Head, who at firſt was deſign'd only for the Command of the Army, but in a little time was advanc'd to the management of all Affairs: Such a one was *Ras-Athanaſius*; who depos'd *Zadenghel* and *Jacob*. Next to him there are two Comptrollers, whereof the uppermoſt is over all Vice-roys and Governours; the other is over the Houſhold Servants. Next to him are the Vice-roys, Camp-maſters, and Senators, who are call'd the leſſer Judges, and have an equal Juriſdiction as to all Crimes. The Captain of the King's Guard is call'd the Guardian of Fire, the King being to them like Fire, from whom they receive heat and warmth; but they may chance to burn their Fingers.

Of the King's Camp.

The firſt Camp-maſter goes before to take up a convenient Guard for encamping near ſome River, where there is ſtore of Wood and Graſs; and having ſet up a Pole with the Royal Banner at the top, the King's Proviſion is pitch'd in the middle of the Camp, with a large ſpace of Ground about it, for receiving the Horſes of the Nobility, and thoſe that bring Proviſions. Next to him the Grandees, and the reſt the Courtiers pitch their Tents; and after them the common Souldiers, every one in their Order, and at their due diſtance. When the Cryer proclaims the Day of Removal, every one knows how to pack up his Baggage, and in what order to march, and where to pitch his Tent again. Theſe Camps take up a great deal of room, becauſe they contain not only the Souldiers, but their Wives and Children, whoſe buſineſs is to bake their Bread, and make their Hydromel. The Camp-maſters carry a great ſway in matters of greateſt moment, and generally are the firſt Springs of Faction and Sedition.

Of the Military Affairs of the *Abeſſines*.

There is no making War in *Ethiopia* in the Winter, by reaſon of the great Falls of Rain, and Inundations of Rivers: But the *Abeſſines* are a warlike People, ride a Horſe well, endure hunger and thirſt beyond belief, and ſerve without pay, being content with Honour, and ſuch Lands as their King is pleas'd to give them. But the Poverty of the Souldiers empoveriſhes the Countries thro' which they paſs; for ſince they cannot carry Proviſions along with them over their rugged Mountains, they take by force what is not freely given them, and ſo lay waſte their own Countries no leſs than their Enemies: And this hinders them from purſuing the *Gallans*, becauſe they find nothing left behind them but Lands untill'd, and empty Cottages. They have about 1500 Muſquets, but not above four Muſqueteers, and theſe but bad Fire-men, and very little Powder.

The biggeſt Army that the King now brings into the Field, hardly amounts to 40000, among which there are not above four or five thouſand Horſe the reſt are all Foot. Their Weapons are Swords, and Darts, and Lances, and ſhort Javelins, with which they fight at a diſtance, and after them Hand to Hand, with their Swords and Bucklers. They ride on Mules and lead their Horſes, which they never mount till they are ready to charge the Enemy. They are commonly arm'd with two Spears, whereof they dart one at a diſtance, and maintain a cloſe Fight with the other. The fury of the firſt Onſet for the moſt part wins the Field; for they know not how to rally when once they are diſorder'd. They hate to avoid a Battle, and tire out an Enemy by delay, which has been the ruin of many of their Kings. The Country is very much infeſted with Robbers, who ſhelter themſelves in Rocks and Mountains.

Of the Wars in the laſt Century, eſpecially of the fatal War with the *Adelans*.

King *David* in the beginning of his Reign, vanquiſh'd the *Adelans* in ſeveral Battles, but after the *Turks* had conquer'd *Egypt*, and taken ſome Ports of the *Red-Sea*, the *Adelans* ſtrengthen'd by their aſſiſtance, turn'd the Scale, and were always Victors: For King *Adelis* having ſent one *Grainus* a *Mahometan* to invade *Habeſſinia* with an Army, in 1526, he ſubdued all *Fetagara*: And tho' the War was carry'd on the firſt two Years with various ſucceſs, yet for the next twelve to 1640, when King *David* dy'd, the *Abeſſines* had the worſt of it, inſomuch that they began to deſpair of their Country. The chief cauſes of theſe Diſaſters, were firſt the King's ſluggiſh humour, who was wholly given up to pleaſure: Next, the *Turks*, who furniſh'd their *Mahumetan* Friend with Fire-Arms, whoſe Thunder the *Abeſſines* had never heard before, and was very terrible to them, whoſe Bullets gave them incurable Wounds: Beſides, that the *Mahometans* in *Abeſſinia* receiv'd favourably thoſe of their own Sect, and many of the *Abeſſines* themſelves join'd with the Victor: So that every thing threatened utter diſtraction and deſolation, until *Chriſtopher Gomez* was ſent from *Portugal* with 450 Muſqueteers, whoſe Succeſs had been already mention'd in reſcuing *Ethiopia* from the *Adeluns*. In the firſt place he aſſail'd the Rock *Amba-Sanet*, which was thought to be invincible, and forc'd the Enemy to quit it, which mightily encourag'd the *Abeſſines*; and when he came to a Battle, the *Mahometans* were ſo terrified with the Field-Pieces and Muſquets, that they would not obey the Orders of their Captain; and by an Accident of a Barrel of Powder taking fire, their Horſe were firſt ſtartled and put to flight, and the Foot quickly follow'd, and their Camp was taken and plunder'd. After that he attack'd a ſteep Rock in *Samen*, garriſon'd with 1500 *Adelans*, and being conducted by a *Jew* who had formerly been Governour there, he ſlew all the *Barbarians*, took 80 Horſes, 300 Mules, and other good Plunder. In the mean time *Grainus* ſent to the *Baſhaws* of *Arabia* for Guns and Fire-arms, one of which ſupply'd him with 700 Muſqueteers and ten Field-Pieces. *Gomez* knowing nothing of this gave the Enemy Battle, but being overpower'd by the *Turks*, he was ſhot in the Thigh with a Muſquet-Bullet, whereupon he fled, accompanied only with 14, who were apprehended, and he being upbraided by *Grainus*, he gave him a ſtern Anſwer, who caus'd him to be tormented to death. *Claudius* the King being come into the Army, and hearing that the *Turks* were all return'd home but 200, by the advice of the *Portugueſe* fell upon the Enemy, and vanquiſh'd them, *Grainus* himſelf being ſhot to death, whoſe Head was expos'd to the view of the People, and they recover'd new Vigour and Courage. But the *Adelans* hearing the *Abeſſines* were ſecure, broke in and defeated them, and ſlew *Claudius*.

Of the Princes that are tributary to the Kings of *Ethiopia*, and the way of making Petitions to them.

The Kings of *Ethiopia* have ſeveral tributary Princes under them, whereof *Gregory* the *Ethiopian* knew but four, *viz*. the Kings of *Sennar*, *Dancala*, *Garaga*, and *Enarrea*: All the reſt, whether Kings or Governours, are by the King himſelf appointed to govern *pro tempore* at the King's Pleaſure, that by this dependance they may be kept more faithful to him. They are call'd and accounted his Servants, tho' of the higheſt rank, as his Brothers and his Queen; for the Word in their Language ſignifies not only Slaves, but Subjects and Domeſticks: And indeed they are little better than Slaves, who are bound at all times to ſerve the King with their Body, and have no property which they can claim; and the Ceremonies by which they teſtify their Submiſſion to the King, are no leſs ſlaviſh; for the *Bahtuded* his chief Miniſter ſtands before the King's Pavilion, naked to his Thighs, with his Head and his Right-hand down to the Ground, crying out thrice *Abete*, or, *Moſt merciful Lord, I am the meaneſt of the Court that ſaddles your Horſes.* Other Suppliants inſtead of preſenting written Petitions, ſtand in a certain place early in the Morning, crying with a loud Voice, *My King, my Apple of my Eye*; and uſing different tones, whereby their ſeveral Countries are diſtinguiſh'd: And as ſoon as day appears, ſuch and ſuch are commanded to be admitted and heard; or if it be a buſineſs of Moment, the King himſelf gives them audience, and returns him their Anſwer.

Of their Judiciary Proceedings and Puniſhments.

The manner of their Judicial Proceedings is very plain, for all Controverſies are determin'd by word of Mouth, without Writing, of which the moſt part of the Nation is ignorant. The Plaintiff produces his Witneſſes, which the Defendant may refuſe if he have any reaſon to ſuſpect them: But ſince they know not how to examine or ſift a Witneſs, Juſtice muſt be but ill adminiſtred; and tho' it is lawful to appeal to the King and Court Tribunals, yet few will do it by reaſon of their Poverty, and the little Hopes they have of redreſs; beſides, that it is counted an Affront to the inferiour Judges, who think themſelves accus'd of injuſtice by theſe Appeals.

For Capital Crimes, they uſe Beheading, or Hanging, or Stoning the Offenders to death; if the Crime be not capital, they puniſh with drubbing. The Nobility for any Offence are baniſh'd to the *Zanic-Lake*, or their high and ſteep Rocks. Homicides are deliver'd up to the next of kin, to the Party murder'd, who may either pardon them, or ſell them to foreign Merchants, or put them to death. If the *Homicide* eſcapes, the Neighbourhood are obliged to pay a Fine, by which means many Murthers are either prevented or diſcover'd. The Law of an Eye for an Eye appears to be juſt, yet becauſe ſome Men have more uſe for one Member than another, according to their ſeveral Callings, this Law is diſus'd in civilliz'd Nations; and it ſeems unjuſt to ſurrender the Offender to the fury of the Offended Party, when they have unbyaſs'd Judges to give Sentence without Favour and Affection.

Of the Religion of the Abeſſines, *and the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.*

Of the Original of their Judaical Rites

Paſſing by the fabulous Reports of *Matthew* the *Armenian*, the firſt Embaſſador to *Portugal*, and *Damianus* a *Goez*, there are various Opinions about the Original of the Religion of the *Abeſſines*. They who admit the Tradition of Queen *Maqueda*, think that the *Abeſſines* had the true knowledge of God ever ſince the Reign of *Solomon*, and yet that their *Judaic* Rites, ſuch as Circumciſion, abſtaining from Meats forbidden, obſervation of the Sabbath, Marriage of the Brother's Wife, *&c.* had their Original from thence: But theſe things being commonly practis'd in other Nations, and ſome of them by the Primitive Chriſtians, it is not certain that they were receiv'd from the *Jews*. As to Circumciſion, it was in uſe among the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Homerites*, and many other Nations, who only round the Skin with a Knife, whereas the *Jews* ſlit it with their Nails till the *Præputium* falls down; neither do the *Abeſſines* perform it with any Ceremony; for it is done privately by any poor Woman, without any Standers-by; and therefore King *Claudius* in his Confeſſion ſays with St. *Paul*, That Circumciſion profiteth nothing, but is us'd like Inciſions of the Face, or boaring the Ears, according to the Cuſtom of their Country: And the ſame Ceremony is uſed to Females, not only by the *Abeſſines*, but the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, where the Women count it a Reproach to be call'd Uncircumcis'd. As to Swines Fleſh the ſaid *Claudius* tells us, That they do not abſtain from it out of regard to the *Moſaic* Law, neither do they abhor him that feeds upon it, upon a religious account, any more than we do the *Tartars* for eating Horſe-Fleſh, but that they account all kind of Meat clean; only they abſtain from Blood and things ſtrangled, by vertue of an Apoſtolick Decree, which was always in force in the Eaſtern Church, and for many Ages in the Weſtern. As to the Sabbath, they do not obſerve it as the *Jews* did, who would neither draw Water, nor kindle Fires, nor dreſs Meat on that day, but they obſerve it for pious uſes, according to the ancient Conſtitutions, call'd Apoſtolick yet; ſo that they ſtill preſerve the Lord's Day, on which our Saviour roſe from the dead before it. As to marrying the Brother's Wife, it is not enjoyn'd, but only conniv'd at by the Magiſtrates, yet ſo, that their Wives are debarr'd from the Communion. They do indeed abſtain from the Sinew mutilated, which they might learn from the *Jews* at home.

Of the Converſion of the Abeſſines.

The Converſion of the *Ethiopians* happened in the time of St. *Athanaſius*, under *Conſtantine* the Great, in the Year of *Chriſt* 330, and was begun and carry'd on by *Frumentius* and *Edeſius*, two Sons of *Meropius* a *Tyrian* Merchant, who died in a Harbour of *Ethiopia*, on the Coaſt of the *Red-Sea*. Theſe two Brothers being highly favour'd by the King for their Ingenuity and Induſtry, were by him preferr'd to be Keepers of his Books and Papers; and being very kind to the *Chriſtian* Merchants that traded into thoſe parts, they became ſo famous for their Piety and Vertue, that the Chriſtian Religion was highly eſteem'd by all. Which Foundation being laid, *Frumentius* took a Journey to St. *Athanaſius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and was by him for his Parts and Conſtancy in the Faith, created the firſt Biſhop of *Ethiopia*: Whereupon returning into *Æthiopia*, he initiated the Natives by Baptiſm, and then ordain'd Preſbyters and Deacons, built Churches, and ſo introduc'd the Chriſtian Religion into *Ethiopia*. Agreeable to this, is the Relation which the *Ethiopians* have in their Book of *Axuma*, and the account given by the *Ethiopic* Liturgy and Poet, that in the time of St. *Athanaſius*, in the Reign of *Arzbeba* and *Abreha*, two Brothers, the Goſpel was firſt preach'd by *Abba Salma*, as they call *Frumentius*; which Story being well grounded, and agreed to by the *Abeſſine*, *Grecian*, and *Latin* Writers, plainly ſhews, that the converſion of the *Abeſſines* was neither ſo early as the Days of the Apoſtles, as ſome have thought, nor ſo late as the days of *Juſtinian*, as *Cedrenus* and *Nicephorus Calliſtus* affirm; whoſe account is alſo diſprov'd by the 36 *Nicene* Canon, which aſſigns the firſt Seat of Dignity in the Council to the Prelate of *Ethiopia*.

Of the encreaſe of Chriſtianity in Abeſſinia, and the Original and Manners of their Monks.

The Converſion of *Ethiopia* being thus begun by *Frumentius*, many Monks came from ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Empire, to aſſiſt him in propagating the Chriſtian Religion, whereof nine were moſt famous, who probably came from the neighbouring Parts of *Egypt* (where this auſtere way of living was firſt practis'd by St. *Paul*, *Anthony*, and others, that fled thither from the Perſecution of the Heathen) and ſeated themſelves in *Tigra*, where they erected them Chappels. One of them call'd *Aragawi*, or *Michael*, is celebrated by the *Ethiopic* Poet for deſtroying *Arwe*'s Kingdom, which may either ſignifie the Kingdom of Satan, or a Serpent properly ſo call'd, which the ancient *Ethiopians* worſhipp'd as the ſupreme Deity: The Cells of theſe Monks are to be ſeen in *Tigra* to this Day, and particularly the Cell and Sepulchre of *Pantaleon*, celebrated by their Poet for reſtoring their dead to life again. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral great Doctors, Martyrs, and Saints, famous for working Miracles, who mightily promoted the Chriſtian Religion; but none more renowned for Sanctity than *Gabra Menſes Kadda*, the Servant of the Holy Ghoſt, in honour of whom they keep a Holy Day every Month. Next to him is *Tecla Haimanot*, who ſucceeded *Aragawi*, the firſt Abbot of Monks in *Ethiopia*, from whom he receiv'd his Monaſtical Habit, and reſtor'd that way of living about the Year 600. He is mentioned in the *Ethiopic* Church-Regiſters, and his Life is extant in *Ethiopia*, ſtuff'd with ſeveral Miracles and Apparitions. He gave new Rules to his Monks, and order'd them to ſubmit to a Governour, who does either viſit himſelf, or ſent ſome others to reform Errors and puniſh Tranſgreſſors. The other Abbot call'd *Euſtathius*, is no leſs famous than he; but he impoſed no Governour upon his Followers, and therefore every Abbot is ſupreme in his own Monaſtery, who in caſe of death is choſen by the reſt of the Monks. Their Rules are much different from the *Greeks* and *Latins*; for neither do they wear any peculiar Habit except their Croſſes which they carry, neither do they live in Monaſteries, but in ſcatter'd Cottages near ſome Church. They place their Piety chiefly in ſaying many Prayers, and in repeating the Pſalms of *David* with ſo much haſt, that none is able to follow them. Every one manures his own Ground, and lives upon the Product of his Labours; ſo that they are rather unmarried Huſband-men than Monks. They are counted infamous if they marry Wives, nor are their Children capable of being admitted into the Clergy; yet they bear Civil Offices, and are ſometimes made Governours of Provinces. Their Villages, which are inſtead of Monaſteries, are very numerous, and diſpers'd over all parts of the Kingdom: There are alſo Nuns in *Ethiopia*, very ignorant and devout.

Of the ſacred Books of the Abeſſines.

The *Abeſſines* together with the Chriſtian Religion, receiv'd the Holy Scripture, which was tranſlated into the *Ethiopic* Idiom of *Tigra* from the *Greek* Verſion of the 70, according to a Copy us'd in the Church of *Alexandria*. They have the New Teſtament tranſlated from the *Authentic Greek* Text, which has not yet been brought into *Europe* pure and entire; for the *Roman* Edition is printed from a lame imperfect Copy, for want of the *Ethiopic* Original, as the Compiler *Teſſa Tzejon* confeſſes, and begs pardon for it, tho' it is printed in the Polyglot Bible, becauſe no other Copy could be procur'd.

They have the Holy Scripture entire, and reckon as many Books as we do, but divide them after a different manner; for they diſtinguiſh the Old Teſtament, which contains 46 Books, into four Parts, and join with them other Books; beſides, that they mix the Apocryphal with the Canonical. The firſt Tome is call'd *Oreth*, or the Law, and contains in it eight Books, from *Geneſis* to *Ruth*: The ſecond is call'd *Nagaſte*, or Kings, and contains in it 13 Books, from *Samuel* to the *Pſalms*, including the two Books of *Tobia* and *Judith*: The third is call'd *Solomon*, and contains five Books, including the Book of Wiſdom and *Sirach*: The fourth Tome is call'd *Nabijat*, or the Prophets, and contains eighteen Books, including *Baruch* and *Sophenia*, of all which there are only a few at *Rome* in MS. and a few only printed: to theſe they add the two Books of *Maccabees*.

The New Teſtament contains 24 Books, and is alſo divided into four Parts; whereof the firſt contains the four Evangeliſts; the ſecond, the Acts of the Apoſtles, the third, the four Epiſtles to St. *Paul*; and the fourth the ſeven Books of the other Apoſtles, ending with St. *Jude*'s Epiſtle, to which they add as a Supplement, the Revelations, call'd the Viſion of St. *John*.

To the New Teſtament they generally annex a Volume, call'd *Synodum*, or the Book of Synods, which contains the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, as they are call'd, which are very much different from thoſe diſpers'd among us: Theſe they divide into eight Parts, and add them to the New Teſtament, as if they were of the ſame Authority, and contain'd the Pandects of Chriſtianity. Next to theſe they reverence the three *Ocumenic* Councils, the *Nicene*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, and *Epheſine*, with other Provincial Councils receiv'd in the Church, till the Council of *Chalcedon*. But beſides the 20 *Nicene* Canons, which were always receiv'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, they admit alſo of 84 other Canons, which are extent in *Arabick*, and were ſent by *Conſtantine* their Emperour in 440 to *Jeruſalem*, and thence brought to *Rome* in 1646. This Book of Synods contains, firſt the Synod of the Holy Apoſtles for ordering the Church, which is ſaid to be written by *Clement*, after which follow ſeven Councils, *viz.* of *Ancyra*, *Ceſaria*, *Nice*, *Gangra*, *Antiochia*, *Laodicea*, and *Sardis*. Then follow the Acts of 318 Holy Fathers, a Treatiſe of the Sabbath, a Declaration of the Doctrine of the Law, and a Decree and Canon of Penance. The Book was written at *Axumia*, with the King's Preface. To this Book is annex'd their general Liturgy for Prayers, and Miniſtration of the Communion; beſides which, they have other Liturgies proper for Holy-Days, *viz.* the Liturgy of our Lord, our Lady, the Apoſtles, and St. *Mark*, which Liturgies are ſuppoſed to be written by ſome Holy Men, as that of our Lady by *Cyriacus*. They have alſo a MS. Liturgy, call'd the Thankſgiving of Oblation, which is read at the Sacrament. But their Symbolic Book, which is call'd the Faith of the Fathers, is collected out of the Homilies of St. *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *Cyril*, and the four *Gregories*, &c. and is of very great Authority. They have alſo Books of Martyrs, and Lives of Saints, and Hymns in praiſe of the Virgin *Mary*, whereof that written lately by *Abba George* is highly eſteem'd. They affect uncouth Words in their *Anathema*, after the manner of the *Jews*.

Of the Religion of the *Abeſſines* at this day.

Since the Symbolical Book afore-mention'd, which contains the genuine Doctrine of the *Ethiopic* Church, is not to be found in *Europe*, and the Confeſſion ſet forth by King *Claudius*, tends only to clear them from the Charge of *Judaiſm*, we ſhall gather from their publick Liturgies, the Writings and Sayings of Perſons, the ſum of the *Abeſſinian* Doctrine.

And firſt, they own the Holy Scripture to be the ſole Rule of Faith and Manners, and delight in nothing more than the Repetition of it in their Sermons. They pay a great deference to the three firſt OEcumenical Councils, and generally make uſe of the *Nicene* Creed; for neither they nor any of the Eaſtern Churches, know any thing of that which we commonly call the Apoſtle's Creed. Whatever therefore the Catholick Church believ'd, before the Council of *Chalcedon*, concerning three diſtinct Perſons in one Eſſence, the Eternity of the Son of God, the exiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, the *Abeſſines* admit and conſent to: Thus they declare in their Liturgy, that theſe three Perſons are one God, whereof none is elder or greater than another, but all the three are equal, having one Glory, one Kingdom, and one Power. But as to the Holy Ghoſt, they ſay he proceeded and ſprung from the Father, but never add from the Son, as was falſely printed in their Liturgy at *Rome*, tho' they own him to be equally the Spirit of the Father and the Son. They ſo abhor the Neſtorian Hereſy, aſſerting two Perſons in Chriſt, that they will not admit of his two Natures and two Wills, tho' they affirm him to be perfect God and perfect Man without confuſion and commixtion of the two Natures. They own the ſacred Merits of Chriſt to be moſt ſufficient and efficacious for the Sins of all Mankind. As to the Sacraments, they make uſe of Baptiſm, according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and with the Ceremonies anciently us'd by the Church; and they adminiſter the Communion to all, both Laity and Clergy, as is the Cuſtom in all the Eaſtern Churches. They have not the Word Sacrament, nor do they uſe any other beſides theſe two, being utterly ignorant of Confirmation and Extreme Unction. They acknowledge the real Preſence, when they pray that the Bread may be made the Body of Chriſt, and the Cup chang'd into his Blood, and believe that the Bread and Wine is chang'd into the myſterious Repreſentation of Chriſt's Body and Blood; but deny any ſuch change of the Subſtance as is multiplied in Tranſubſtantiation, and therefore they do not ſay at the Conſecration, *This is my Body*, which Words only, according to the Papiſts, can produce that Change; but, *This Bread is my Body*, *This Cup is my Blood*; which Words have in them no ſuch force: Neither do they attribute to the conſecrated Elements thoſe divine Honours, which the belief of Tranſubſtantiation requires.

As to the Soul, they believe that it is immortal, and was firſt inſpir'd into Man by God; but they think it abſurd, that God ſhould be ty'd to create every day new Souls for adulterous Births. As to the ſtate of the Soul after death, they have ſeveral Opinions; but 'tis generally believ'd, that the Souls of pious men ſhall not enjoy the beatifical Viſion before the Reſurrection, but remain in ſome third place, expecting that Reſurrection; which ſeems to be implied in their Prayers for the dead, ſuch as theſe, *Remember Lord the Souls of thy Servants, and releaſe O Lord our Fathers*, &c. Whence ſome have inferr'd, that they believe a Purgatory, which they do utterly deny, and affirm theſe Prayers to be only a Commemoration of the happy Eſtate of the deceas'd, after the Cuſtom of the antient Church, who were wont to read the Names of the Martyrs out of the publick Regiſters, in honour to their memory: But if they were to pray Men out of the pains of Purgatory, they ſhould rather pray for Men whoſe Lives were looſe and vain; whereas the Perſons they commemorate, were moſt innocent and holy, and died many Ages ago, and it would be a great Injury to their Memory to believe that they had been ſo long tormented in Purgatory. They deny that they give Divine Honours to the Saints departed; for they call their Holy-days Remembrances and not Solemnities; yet they invoke them, tho' they know not how they can hear them, and alſo beg their Interceſſion, eſpecially of the Virgin *Mary*, whom they honour exceedingly, but erect no Statues to her, being contented with her Picture. They invoke alſo the Angels, becauſe they are ſaid to appear to good Men and Women, and hear their Prayers: Of theſe they reckon nine Orders, whoſe Names they take from Holy Scripture.

In their Catechiſm they firſt teach their Youth to believe three Perſons, equal in all things in one God, which they illuſtrate by the Sun, which being one in ſubſtance, has three diſtinct things, *viz.* Rotundity, Light, and Heat: Then they inſtruct them as to the Perſon of Chriſt, that he was begotten of his Father without time, and born of the Virgin his Mother in time, that he is both God and Man in one Perſon, and as to his Baptiſm, his Faſting, his Paſſion and death, and the other Articles contain'd in the Apoſtle's Creed.

Of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Abeſſine* Church, and of the *Abeſſine* Temples.

As the Churches of the Primitive Chriſtians were built after the form of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, having a wide Porch, where the Excoriate Penitents and Novices tarried, and the Body of the Church, in which were the Faithful, and a ſecret place ſkreen'd with a Curtain, call'd the Sacrificatory (to which the Choir now anſwers in our Churches) ſo were the more famous of the *Ethiopic* Churches, built after the ſame manner: But whereas none but Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were admitted into the Choir, at the entry whereof the Laity receive the Communion, the *Ethiopians*, by creating their Nobility and their Children Deacons and Sub-deacons, admitted them into the Choir, and their King's Children aſſumed the Dignity of courſe, carrying a Croſs as the Badge of it, even after they come to the Crown, which may be one reaſon why the King is call'd *Presbyter-John*. They neither ſit nor kneel in their Churches, but always ſtand during Divine Service, but they are allowed to lean their Bodies upon Crutches. They have ſo great reverence for their Churches, that when they come near one of them, they alight from their Mules, and walk afoot till they are paſt them; and when they enter, they put off their Shoes at the Door, and never ſpit upon the Pavement. They admit Pictures into their Churches, but abominate Statues; and it is counted a heinous offence for any one to carry about him a Picture of *Chriſt* crucified, tho' their Clergy bear Croſſes in their Hands, which are reverenc'd by all who meet them with a Kiſs; and they often ſign themſelves, and the things that belong to them, with the Sign of the Croſs, as the ancient Chriſtians us'd to do.

As to Baptiſm, the Prieſt being to Baptiſe an adult Perſon, begins with the 52 Pſalm, and then having perfum'd him with Incenſe, he enquires his Name, and after the recital of certain Prayers, he anoints ſeveral parts of his Body with Holy Oil, and lays his Hand upon his Head. Then the Neophites lifting up their Right-hands and looking towards the Weſt, abjure Satan; but turning towards the Eaſt, and lifting up their Right-hand, they make a Vow to Chriſt, and then ſay over the Creed, and anſwer the Prieſt that they do believe it: Which ended, the Party is again anointed, and ſome pieces of Scripture read out of St. *John*'s Goſpel, the Acts, and the Epiſtles: At length the Oyl is ſo pour'd into the Water prepar'd for Baptiſm, as to reſemble in falling the Sign of the Croſs; and the Prieſt having deſcended into a Pool, whether the Perſons are conducted by the Deacons, plunges them three times over head and Ears, ſaying, *I baptiſe thee in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt*: After which, they are aſſiſted by their Friends in going out of the Pool, who were therefore call'd Suſceptores or Upholders by the Ancients. Being thus waſh'd, and once more anointed, they are firſt cloath'd with a white under Garment to ſignify the Purity of their Mind, and over that with a red Veſtment, in token of their Salvation purchas'd by the Blood of Chriſt; and ſo introduc'd into the Church, where they partake with other Chriſtians of the Holy Communion: At their departure they are preſented with Milk and Honey, and ſo the Prieſt laying his Hand upon their Heads, diſmiſſes them with this Benediction, *Son of Baptiſm go in peace*.

The Ceremonies of Baptizing Infants are much ſhorter; for they are not plung'd in Water, but only ſprinkled and dipp'd, and the Goſſips make anſwer in their behalf: And leaſt Infants ſhould be in a worſe condition than thoſe of riper Years, they give them two or three drops out of the Sacred Cup, having crumbled a little piece of the Holy Bread into it before. Many have believ'd that the *Ethiopians* were branded with a Mark after Baptiſm; but they diſown any ſuch Cuſtom, and the burning of the Temple-Veins of Children newly born, to preſerve them from Catarrahs, which is uſed in *Africa*, may be the occaſion of the miſtake.

As to the Story of their Anniverſary Baptiſm, the truth of the matter is this: Upon the 11th, which is our 6th of *January*, being the midſt of their Summer, and the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, they keep a joyful Feſtival in commemoration of our Saviour's Baptiſm: The Clergy begin by break of day with loud Hymns, and before Sun-riſe, the King, Nobles, and Vulgar, young and old, with the Metropolitan and his Clergy, throng into Rivers and Ponds, and dive over Head and Ears; and if any meet a Prieſt, they crave a Bleſſing of him, to whom he ſays, *God bleſs thee*. Hence many have thought that they renew'd their Baptiſm every Year, whereas the young People by their Sports rather make it a day of Jollity than a Chriſtian Feſtival.

Of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Abeſſine* Church, and of the *Abeſſine* Temples.

They make no queſtion but Sinners are reconcil'd to God after Baptiſm upon their Repentance and Confeſſion; but they do not commonly confeſs particular Sins, but only ſay in general, *We have ſinned*; and then the Offender is abſolv'd in a few Words with ſome gentle ſtripes upon the ſide with an Olive twig: But when any of them confeſſes Adultery, Homicide, or Theft, they are ſeverely ſcourged, unleſs ſome of the Laſhes be remitted at the Interceſſion of the Standers-by. One of them being urg'd by the Metropolitan, confeſſed publickly he had ſtolen Oxen, and the Owner of them being there preſent, he was oblig'd to reſtore them again, and was ſeverely puniſh'd beſides: As ſoon as they commit any notable Offence, they preſently run to their Confeſſors, and confeſſing they have ſinned, they deſire to receive the Communion for the quiet of their Conſciences; but this they do not till they are 25 years old: for all the Years before that are reckoned a time of Innocence.

The Divine Service of the *Ethiopians* is compleated by the adminiſtration of the Sacrament, after they have read their Liturgies and Homilies of the Fathers, and ſome parcels of Scripture out of the New Teſtament; for they neither make uſe of Sacred Hymns nor Preaching like ours. In the Canon of the *Meſs*, all their Ceremonies are to be found, with all their ſeveral Prayers, and the manner of ſanctifying their Inſtruments and Veſſels. In the Sanctuary ſtands the Holy Table, covered with a Canopy, ſuſtain'd with four Pillars at each corner; upon which they place firſt the Tabot or Cheſt, which is made in the Faſhion of a Bier, and therefore ſeems to be a Cuſtom derived from the ancient Chriſtians; for the three firſt Ages, who being forc'd to meet in Caves or Church-yards, in the Night-time, did probably carry the Bread, and Wine, and Utenſils, to the place of meeting, in Coffins or Cheſts made like a Bier, under pretence of carrying forth their dead: And when they were met, this Cheſt ſerv'd inſtead of a Table, about which the Communicants ſate and receiv'd the Communion; into which, they alſo put any Bones of the Martyrs that they found. After the time of Perſecution, theſe Cheſts were brought into Churches, where by degrees they were made like Tables, and at length were quite laid aſide in ſome Churches, where they have only a conſecrated Table or Altar; but the *Ethiopians* ſtill retain both, tho' they have alter'd the form of the Cheſt into a Table. Theſe Cheſts were at firſt made of Wood, but afterwards of Stone, of which ſort was a Marble Monument dug up in a Church-yard, being like an arched Bier, covered with a Linen Cloth, in which there were the ſacred Loaves for the Communion, ſigned with a Salter-Croſs, which the *Ethiopians* uſe to this day; and of the ſame form is the Wooden Cheſt at *Rome*, on which none but the Pope may celebrate. The other Holy Utenſils are the Diſh, the Cup, and the Spoon, call'd the Spoon of the Croſs, becauſe the Handle ends in a Croſs, wherewith they diſtribute the Wine. They have alſo conſecrated Urns and Cenſers, which they uſe to perform with Incenſe, as the ancient Chriſtians were forc'd to do in their Caves. They commonly uſe leaven'd Bread, mark'd with a Croſs, which they bake new every day; but on the 5th Holy-day of the great Week, they uſe unleaven'd Loaves in memory of Chriſt, pieces of which the Prieſt diſtributes to the Communicants: And inſtead of Wine they uſe a Liquor made of the bruiſed Stones of Raiſins ſteep'd in Water, which the Deacon gives in a Spoon to all, as well Laity as Clergy; after which, the Sub-deacon pours a Spoonful or two of Water into the hollow of the Communicant's Hand, wherewith he firſt waſhes his Mouth, and then ſups it up. The time of receiving the Sacrament is left to every one's liberty; ſome receive every Week, ſome every Month, but all within the Church; for they hold it a great Sin to receive the Holy Myſteries in private Houſes, which is not allowed to the King himſelf. They always receive Faſting, and never ſpit on that day they have received. When they give the Communion to full Churches, the Prieſts are aſſiſted by Sub-preſbyters and Sub-deacons, in reading the Prayers, and recommending both the living and dead to God, which they call receiving the Diptych; and then ſome bring Bread, Oil, Tithes, Firſt Fruits, *&c.* which are given among the Poor. They keep the *Saturday* in commemoration of the Creation, but more ſolemnly the Lord's Day: They have no Bells of Braſs or mix'd Metal, but only hollow Veſſels of Iron, Stone, *&c.* which make a noiſe. Their Church-Muſick both Vocal and Inſtrumental is very harſh; yet they ſkip and dance in imitation of *David*, to their Cymbals and Kettle-drums, which they call rejoycing before the Lord. Faſting-Days are very ſtrictly kept, without Meat or Drink, ſometimes till the third Evening, and every Week they faſt the fourth and ſixth Holy-Day, and all the forty Days of *Lent*, except on *Sunday*; but after *Eaſter* for 50 Days they indulge themſelves in Feaſting and Mirth. They obſerve alſo all the other Feſtivals of the ancient Church, and particularly the Nativity on the ſame day with us, which with them is the 28th of *December*. Tho' Polygamy is tolerated by the Magiſtrate, yet it is not allow'd by the Church; for thoſe that marry to more than one, are debarr'd from the Communion; neither are ſuch married in the Church, but before the Doors of it, or at home; but the Laity are divorc'd from their Wives when they pleaſe, which the Clergy cannot be, unleſs they renounce their Function.

Their dead Bodies being waſh'd and fum'd with Incenſe, are wrap'd up in proper Garments; but if the party deceas'd be of a noble Family, he is laid upon a Bier covered with a Bull's Hide, and then the Clergy carry him to the Grave laden with Croſſes, Cenſers, and Holy Water, into which he is not let down, but thrown, after the reading of a Paragraph out of St. *John*'s Goſpel.

Of the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Government in *Ethiopia*, and of the Priviledges of the Clergy.

The ſupreme Power in all Affairs being veſted in the King, all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, except in very ſlight matters, are determin'd by the King's Judges; neither can the Clergy or Monks plead any Exemption, but they are puniſh'd as well as Lay-Perſons for their Offences, by the ſecular Judges. As to what concerns the Dioceſan Law, thoſe things are left to the Clergy, whoſe chief Head is the Metropolitan, ſurnam'd *Abuna*, i. e. our Father. He by ancient Cuſtom is conſecrated at the King's deſire, by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and ſent out of *Egypt*; tho' now he and his Clergy being Slaves to the *Turks*, are very poor and ignorant, it being ſufficient to qualify him for that Office, that he can read *Arabic*: And ſuch are the Patriarchs he ſends into *Ethiopia*, who, as they know little, ſo they do as little, only in a ſet form of Words they ordain Under-Clerks juſt as wiſe as themſelves: But in none of their Kingdoms or Provinces have they Biſhops or Arch-biſhops; ſo that the whole care of their Church lies upon the *Icege* or Abbot, and his Monks, without whom, their Church had been long ſince ruined.

As to their Cathedrals, they have their Over-ſeers, who are to take care of the ſecular matters of the Church, and to compoſe the Differences between the Clergy. They have alſo Canons, who are particularly employ'd in thoſe Offices which require Hymns. The *Nebrat* ſeems to be their Dean, under which are the Presbyter and Sub-Presbyter, Deacon and Sub-deacon. All their Clergy marry once, except their Monks, but if they marry twice they are degraded.

Of the Separation of the *Abeſſines* from the *Greek* Church in the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The *Alexandrian* Church remain'd in Unity with it ſelf and with the *Greek* Church, till the Council of *Chalcedon*, call'd by us the 4th general Council, wherein the Hereſy of *Eutyches* was condemn'd, who aſſerted there was but one Nature and one Will in *Chriſt*, whoſe Followers were therefore call'd *Monothelites*: But the *Abeſſines* reject this Council, as believing they went about to divide the Subſtance of *Chriſt*, and contrary to the Council of *Epheſus*, to make two Perſons of one, which they think is the juſt conſequence of aſſerting two Natures and two Wills in *Chriſt*; for which reaſon they extol *Dioſcurus*, as a Martyr, who was ſcourg'd, had his Teeth pull'd out, and was baniſh'd for ſtanding to this Truth: Yet they condemn *Eutyches*, and applaud *Timotheus*, by whoſe Doctrine the Followers of *Eutyches* were convicted. They own the Divinity and Humanity to be in *Chriſt*, and that he is true God and true Man, which is in effect to acknowledge two Natures in him, tho' in Words they deny it: So that the Diſpute ſeems chiefly to be about ſome equivocal Words, which the *Ethiopians* us'd to expreſs Nature and Perſons, and by what name the Divinity and Humanity in *Chriſt*, which they own, are to be call'd; for Nature with them is commonly applied to created things, and therefore they are afraid to attribute it to God.

Of the Differences which had been between the *Abeſſines* and the Church of *Rome*.

In the former Century *Alvarez* a Prieſt to the *Portugal* Embaſſadors, ſent into *Ethiopia*, brought Letters from King *David* to *Clement* the ſeventh, which he deliver'd to the Pope in a publick Aſſembly of Cardinals, *Charles* the fifth being alſo preſent, promiſing obedience to the See of *Rome* in the name of the King of *Ethiopia*, as they underſtood it, tho' the *Abeſſines* made another Interpretation of their King's Intention; whereupon *Paul* the third did not only tolerate the *Abeſſines* at *Rome*, who printed the New Teſtament with their Liturgies in the *Ethiopic* Language, but aſſiſted them at his own expence. And ſo great appearance of Friendſhip there was, that *Julius* the third ſent one *Barret* a Jeſuit, with the Title of Patriarch, with one *Oviedo* to be his Succeſſor in caſe he died; who ſent Envoys from *India* to *Claudius*, who had now ſucceeded his Father *David*, to whom the King gave no great Encouragement, fearing, leſt the *Portugals* under pretence of Religion, ſhould pour into his Country a great Force of Souldiers, with Fire-arms, and ſubdue it: However he promis'd, that the Perſons from whom they were ſent, ſhould have a fitting Reception at *Matzua*, and be conducted from thence to his Court: Whereupon *Oviedo* was diſpatch'd with five Aſſociates (leaving *Barret*) who were kindly receiv'd by the King; only he took it ill, that they ſhould talk to him of yielding Obedience to the *Roman* Pontif, which the Biſhop not content with the free exerciſe of his Religion, continuing ſtill to urge the King, permitted frequent Diſputes not yet made publick, wherein *Claudius* himſelf did many times argue againſt *Oviedo*, as he did alſo in his Writings againſt him. At laſt *Oviedo* impatient of his ill Succeſs, out of indignation left the Court, and publiſh'd a Writing, wherein he branded the *Abeſſines* with ſeveral Hereſies, which gave great offence to *Claudius*, to ſee his Subjects traduc'd for Hereticks within his own Dominions.

Not long after *Claudius* being ſlain in Battle, his Brother *Menas* ſucceeded, who revok'd all the Indulgences granted to the Papiſts, and publiſhed many ſevere Edicts againſt them; and having ſent for *Oviedo*, he drew his Cymetar in a rage, and had like to have kill'd him, if ſome of the Nobility had not prevented him: Whereupon the Biſhop fled to *Freniona*, and there taught the *Portugueſe* 30 Years, without further trouble, *Menas*'s Succeſſor being more mild to the *Portugueſe*. But at length all the Avenues into *Abeſſinia* being ſhut up by the *Turk*, and the Fathers that were ſent thither being all taken and ſlain, there was none remain'd alive to officiate to the *Portugueſe*.

Of the new Miſſion and its Succeſs, till the coming of the *Roman* Patriarch.

The Archbiſhop of *Goa* hearing that the *Portugueſe* in *Abeſſinia* wanted a Prieſt, about the beginning of the 16th Century, ſent to them one *Peter Pays*, a Man of a quick and ready wit, well ſkill'd in the liberal and mechanick Arts, and famous for his happy way of inſtructing Children, who being invited by the King *Zadengel*, came to Court in 1604, and was honourably receiv'd. The King having heard ſome Diſputes about Religion, and Maſs ſaid after the *Roman* manner, and a Sermon preached, was ſo taken with them, that he declar'd to ſome of his Friends, his Reſolution to ſubmit to the Pope, and reveal'd it as a Secret to *Peter*; which he quickly made publick by ſetting forth an Edict, That no Perſon ſhould any longer obſerve the Sabbath as a Holy-day; and by writing Letters to *Clement* the eighth, and *Philip* the third, of *Spain*, wherein he offered his Friendſhip, and deſir'd ſome of the Jeſuits to inſtruct his Subjects; which things being known to ſome of the Nobility, they conſpired againſt their Prince, and ſlew him in Battle. *Suſneus* who ſucceeded, receiv'd *Peter* kindly, and finding his own Metropolitans very ignorant and negligent, and the Jeſuits very diligent in inſtructing Youth, eloquent in their Preaching, and holy in their Lives, he wrote to the Pope and King of *Spain*, for the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe*; and having receiv'd an Anſwer from *Paul* the fifth, in a Letter dated *January* the 23d, he promis'd him obedience as Univerſal Paſtor, and that he would admit a Patriarch from *Rome*: The King's Brother and many of the Colonels and Captains in the Army publickly profeſs'd the *Roman* Religion; and there were few that oppos'd it except the Monks, who are ſtill baffled in their Diſputes. However the King to ſhew that he had not raſhly given way to a new Religion, appointed a publick Diſputation about the two Natures in *Chriſt*, at which the Jeſuits obtain'd an eaſy Victory; whereupon the King publiſhed an Edict, requiring all Perſons to hold, That there were two Natures in *Chriſt*, but united in one Divine Perſon. *Simeon* the Metropolitan having complain'd to the King of theſe Diſputes which were held in his abſence, another was appointed, wherein he was baffled; and then the King put forth a more ſevere Edict, making it death for any one to deny the two Natures in *Chriſt*; which ſo incens'd the minds of the People, that *Simeon*, with one of the Kings Brothers, ſome of the Nobility, and all the Clergy and Monks, combin'd together to live and die, for the Defence of their ancient Religion; and *Simeon*, to ſhew his Zeal for it, fix'd an Excorication upon the Doors of the great Church, againſt all that embrac'd the Religion of the *Franks*. The King being highly offended, publiſh'd an Edict, giving liberty to every Perſon to embrace the *Romiſh* Religion; which ſo little terrified *Simeon*, that he thundred out his Anathema's againſt all that maintain'd the two Natures in *Chriſt*.

The King's Mother and ſeveral great Perſons foreſeeing that theſe things would end in ſlaughter, together with *Simeon* and many Monks, came and implor'd the King, that he would deſiſt from what he had begun, and not innovate any thing in Religion; which Requeſt they renew'd again after a fruitleſs Conference for ſix days; but the King being immoveable, at laſt the Sword was unſheath'd, and ſhed much Blood. The chief Conſpirators were *Jamanaxus*, *Ælius* the King's Son-in-Law, and the Eunuch *Calfo*; and to give the better colour to the Rebellion, *Simeon* once more publickly excoricated all that were of the *Latin* Religion. But the *Jeſuits* relying upon the King's favour, tranſlated *Maldonat* and other Commentators into the *Ethiopic* Language, while the *Alexandrians* purſued them with bitter Invectives: At laſt *Ælius* by an Edict, commands all the *Franks* to depart out of *Tigra*, and having muſter'd up his Army, he openly rebels, reſolv'd to fight his Father-in-Law, and being drunk with fury, having only a ſmall Troop about him, he leap'd into his Father's Camp, and rode up to his Pavilion, where the Alarum being taken, he was ſton'd and ſtabb'd to death; after which, the Souldiers fled, and *Simeon* being known, was ſlain; the Eunuch *Caſlo* was beheaded, and *Jamanaxus* pardon'd. The King embolden'd by this Victory, by an Edict, prohibited the Obſervation of the Sabbath as Judaical, and commanded the Huſbandmen to plough and ſow on that day; which occaſioned *Jonael* the Vice-roy of *Bagemdra*, to revolt, with all thoſe who were diſguſted with the Edict; and then the chiefeſt of the Court, both Men and Women, beſought the King with Tears to take pity upon the poor ignorant People, and not diſturb their Minds with unreaſonable Changes: To whom the King made anſwer in a grave Oration, ſetting forth the Reaſons of his paſt Tranſactions, and upbraiding them for their Sedition: And after that, a Letter being brought him from *Jonael*, containing haughty Demands, and among the reſt, the Expulſion of the Jeſuits, he preſently commanded the nimbleſt of his Army to march; whereupon the Rebels fled for ſhelter to the inacceſſible Rocks, whom *Suſneus* had block'd up at a diſtance: So that *Jonael* being weakned by Deſertions, was forc'd to flee to the *Gallans*, who kept their Faith to him but a ſhort time; for being under-hand tempted by Rewards from the King, they ſlew him to whom they had promis'd protection.

Yet this bad ſucceſs did not terrify the Inhabitants in the South of *Gojam*, who upon the news of profaning the Sabbath, with all their Hermites ran to Arms; tho' *Ras-ſeelax* their Lord exhorted them to continue their obedience, which they refus'd, unleſs he would burn the Books tranſlated into *Ethiopic*, and hang up the Fathers; whereupon *Ras-Seelax* reſolv'd to fight them, knowing his Souldiers more experienc'd and better arm'd; and indeed the Victory fell to the King's Party, but it coſt dear, becauſe about 400 Monks having devoted themſelves to die for their Religion, fought moſt deſperately, of whom 180 were ſlain. And now the King being encourag'd by ſo many Victories, laid all fear aſide, and publickly renounc'd the *Alexandrian* Worſhip, confeſſing his Sins after the *Roman* manner to *Peter Pays*, and diſmiſs'd all his Wives and Concubines, except the firſt, to which he was lawfully married; and not long after ſignified his Converſion to the *Roman* Religion, to his whole Empire in a *Manifeſto*, declaring, That he now reverenc'd only the *Roman* See, as infallible in Faith and Manners, and exhorted his Subjects to do as he had done: But neither his Example nor Exhortation could prevail upon many; for his Son *Gabriel* began to foment Sedition, but was forc'd to fly to the Rocks, from whence he was allur'd by the fair Promiſes of a well-brib'd *Gallan*, to a neighbouring Wood, and there ſlain.

Of the coming of the *Roman* Patriarch into *Abeſſinia*, and how he manag'd his Affairs there.

Suſneus, in his Letter to the Pope, having made publick Profeſſion of the *Romiſh* Religion, and requeſted him to ſend a Patriarch; *Alphonſus Mendez*, a *Portugueſe* Jeſuit, being created Patriarch, ſet ſail from *Lisbon* in *May*, 1624, and arriv'd at *Goa*, from whence he went to *Dios*, and being forewarn'd by the King not to come near *Suaqena* or *Matzua*, he made to rights for *Bayluz*, a Port of *Dancala*, where he arriv'd in *April* with four Fathers and three Friars, beſides thirteen Servants, who at laſt with much difficulty, arriv'd upon the Confines of *Tigra*, where they were met by ſome *Portugueſe*, who furniſh'd them with Proviſions and all things neceſſary. In *December* they came to *Gorgora*, where, upon a day appointed, the Patriarch entred the Camp, and after Maſs ſaid, was conducted to the King's Pavilion, and commanded to ſit down by him in a little Chair, where it was agreed, that upon the eleventh of *February* the King ſhould publickly ſwear obedience to the Pope. On which day the King, with his eldeſt Son *Baſilides*, his Brother, the Vice-roys and Governours of Provinces being met, the Patriarch ſitting on the King's Left-hand, made a lofty Penegyrick in praiſe of the Pope: to whom the great Chamberlain made anſwer, That it was now the King's Intention to fulfil the Promiſes of his Anceſtors, by yielding obedience to the Pope of *Rome*; whom the King interrupted by ſaying, This was not the firſt day of his Intention, for he had long ago promiſs'd it to the Superiour of the Jeſuits. Whereupon the Patriarch opened a Book of the four Evangeliſts, and the King kneeling upon his Knees, took the Oath of Obedience to the Pope in the uſual form. After the King had done, his Son *Baſilides*, the King's Brother, all the Viceroys and Peers, and all the Clergy and Monks then preſent, took the ſame Oath; to which *Ras-Seelax* added this Clauſe, That he would be faithful to *Baſilides* as long as he protected the *Romiſh* Faith, otherwiſe he would be the firſt of his Enemies; and to ſhew his Zeal, he drew forth his Cymetar, and ſaid, *Wooever for the future ſhall not keep his Oath, ſhall feel the weight of this*: And ſo the Solemnity concluded with an Anathema upon all thoſe who ſhould break their Oath. Immediately after, ſeveral Edicts were publiſh'd, that none for the future ſhould ſay Maſs, or exerciſe the Prieſtly Office, except ſuch as were licens'd by the Patriarch: Thereupon the *Alexandrian* Orders being accounted unlawful, moſt of their Prieſts were conſtrain'd to receive new Ordinations, upon this condition, that they ſhould obſerve the *Roman* Forms of Worſhip, and not give any Succour to Rebels. It was further enjoyn'd, That *Lent* and *Eaſter* ſhould be obſerv'd according to the Canons of the *Romiſh* Church; and the Ladies alſo were requir'd te take the Oath of Supremacy to the Pope. In the next place great care was taken for building a Seat, and ſettling a Revenue ſuitable to the Dignity of the Primate; and Reſidences were built in ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, to ſtock it with Jeſuits. In the mean time they were buſy in baptizing the Converted, and ordaining Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, many of whom had been already baptis'd and ordain'd: Sermons were alſo preach'd after the manner of *Europe*, by which means the Jeſuits made a great progreſs; ſo that the number of Converts to the *Romiſh* Religion amounted to many thouſands. About two Years after, the Patriarch made a Viſitation, wherein ſome were rebaptiz'd, and many confirm'd with the great applauſe of the King and his Peers, tho' others ſought Occaſions of Diſturbances, and the Country-people ſtill lik'd their old way beſt. Beſides all this, a Seminary was ſet up for the Education of the *Abeſſine* as well as *Portugueſe* Children; and the young Lads being taught to act a Comedy, wherein the Devils were brought upon the Stage, the ignorant People thinking them real Spirits, run out of the School in a great fright, crying out, *O dear they have brought us Devils*. But the wiſer ſort were more terrified with the real Tragedies that follow'd; for *Tecla George*, one of the King's Sons-in-Law, conſpir'd with two Noble-men, and declar'd for their ancient way of Worſhip againſt the *Roman*: And to ſhew that he was in earneſt, he caus'd all the Crucifixes and Roſaries to be publickly burnt, and *Jacob* his Popiſh Chaplain to be put to death: Whereupon the King ſeut *Kebex* Viceroy of *Tigra*, with an Army, who defeated the Rebels, and took him and his Siſter Priſoners, who were both hang'd on a Tree.

After this, ſeveral Accidents concur'd to render the Jeſuits odious; for the Patriarch to ſhew his Authority, thundred out an Anathema againſt the Captain of the Guards, for taking poſſeſſion of certain Farms which the Monks laid claim to, and refuſing to reſtore them, who was ſo frightned with the Curſes, that he fell into a Swoon, and lay for dead; but the King by his Mediation quickly obtain'd his Abſolution: However, it was taken heinouſly by the Nobility to ſee their chief Counſellors ſo enſlav'd to a foreign Prieſt, for the ſake of a Farm, which the King might take from the Monks when he pleas'd. This Flame was fed by more Fuel; for the *Icegue* or Abbot being dead, and buried in a Church conſecrated after the *Roman* manner, the Patriarch pronounc'd the Church profan'd by the burial of a Heretick in it, and that Maſs could not be ſaid there. The Rector dreading the diſmal Thunder-bolt, preſently caus'd the Carcaſe to be dug up, and thrown by; which gave occaſion to the *Abeſſines* to cry out, That the *Franks* were more cruel than their bittereſt Enemies, to deprive their dead of decent burial; and that by this the Living might ſee what they were to expect.

Thus the minds of the People being generally incens'd, the King began to look upon theſe Acts of the Patriarch as Diminutions of his Prerogative, which made him give ear to his Adverſaries, who at firſt deſired only that the ancient Forms might be mended, where it was neceſſary, without abrogating the whole; for ſo the People's Minds would be more quiet, who could not diſtinguiſh between the old and new form of Worſhip. This being granted by the Patriarch, the Report was ſpread about, that the King was return'd to his old Religion; and the Courtiers were daily whiſpering in his Ears, that he would be in great danger, unleſs he forſook the *Roman* Religion, which was grown very odious to the People. Theſe Whiſpers were back'd by an Accident which gave occaſion to ſeveral Reports; for an Enthuſiaſt came into the Palace one day, and cry'd out, that unleſs the King forthwith return'd to the ancient Religion, he ſhould within a Fort-night be ſeverely puniſh'd: And tho' the Fellow was laugh'd at and drubb'd, yet the Vulgar reported, that an Angel was ſent from Heaven to the King, to admoniſh him to turn to the ancient Faith: In the mean time the hatred againſt the Jeſuits was encreas'd by the Envy of the Courtiers, who incens'd the King againſt *Ras-Seelax*, the chief Friend of the *Portugueſe*, upon a Jealouſy leſt he ſhould invade the Royal Dignity, which was encreas'd by his putting *Lecanax* to death for his Slanders againſt himſelf, which they ſaid was done to remove him out of the way, becauſe he was privy to his Conſpiracies: Whereupon the King depriv'd him of a great part of his Lands, and his Military Commands. But tho' *Tecla George* had ſuffer'd, yet the Rebellion ſtill continued; for the *Agawi* had not yet laid down their Arms, but choſe one *Melcax*, a Youth of the Royal Blood, to whom all that were diſaffected to the King, and hated the *Roman* Religion, reſorted, who were call'd *Laſteneers*, from *Laſta*, an invincible Rock, the chief Seat of the Rebellion. Againſt theſe the King march'd in Perſon with an Army of 27000 Men, but with ill ſucceſs at firſt; for the Country-People being in a ſecure place, rowl'd down whole Quarries of heavy Stones upon the Heads of the Royaliſts, which put them into ſuch diſorder, that the King's left Wing being ſurrounded by the Rebels, had like to have been cut to pieces, if *Kebax* with 300 Men had not come in to their Relief. The King leaving part of his Army, went home and recall'd *Seelax*, who drove the *Laſtaneers* back into their former holes, after they had ravag'd the Country, and quell'd another Rebellion in *Bagemdra*, by deſtroying *Luca-Marjam* that headed it. But the ſame good fortune did not attend *Kebax*, who finding the Avenues ſlightly guarded, thought he had a fair opportunity, and march'd in, but was preſently beſet before and behind by his Enemies, who after a great ſlaughter of his Men, at laſt ſlew himſelf.

This bad ſucceſs furniſh'd matter for new Arguments, to preſs the King to forſake the Jeſuits, and ſo puffed up *Melcax*, that he aſſum'd to himſelf the Titles and Prerogatives of a King, being daily encreas'd with numbers, and encouraged by the Nobility of *Tigra*, to whom he ſent a Vice-roy, with a ſelect Band of Souldiers for a Convoy, who being ſurpriz'd in their Jollity, left 4000 of their party ſlain upon the ſpot; whoſe death the *Laſtaneers* reveng'd by killing an equal number of the Royaliſts; for which ſlaughter *Ras-Seelax* was accus'd of negligence, in not ſending timely Succors, and condemn'd; and his Lands and Offices were granted to *Baſilides*. This gave a new opportunity for complaint againſt the Jeſuits, that as they had ſubjected the Empire in Eccleſiaſtical Matters to the Pope, ſo they intended to bring it under the Dominion of the King of *Portugal* in Seculars; and to this end, they built inſtead of Temples and Reſidences, Caſtles and Forts, from which they could not be driven by Spears and Arrows; to which Complaints, the King growing jealous, begun more eaſily to liſten: Yet ſtill he carried it fair to the Jeſuits, and receiv'd kindly a Biſhop ſent from *Rome*. But when he granted Indulgences for the Jubilee in 1625, ſome ſaid, *Who can forgive Sins but God only?* To whom the King anſwer'd, *That the uſe of the Keys given to* Peter, *belong'd to the Pope.*

However, the Succeſs of the *Laſtaneers* encourag'd the Vice-roy of *Gojam* to revolt, but being taken, he was drubb'd to death, and many of his Complices were executed, which made the *Laſtaneers* deſpair of Pardon, and more reſolute in their Rebellion: Whereupon the King march'd againſt them with all his Forces, but could not ſubdue them, becauſe they fled to the Holes in the Rocks, where they lurk'd, till they fell upon a ſelect Party of the King's Forces, and deſtroy'd them. After which, the King fearing to be clos'd up, retired in haſte to *Dembea*.

And now the *Jeſuits* Enemies redoubled their Complaints, That there would never be peace in *Ethiopia*, ſo long as the *Romiſh* Religion bore ſway; and that it would be more expedient to retain the ancient Ceremonies which were not contrary to Faith: By which, and ſuch-like Suggeſtions, the King was at laſt prevail'd upon to preſs *Mendez*, to remit as far as he could; which to ſave all, he conſented to, but upon condition, that nothing ſhould be remitted by publick Acts, but by tacit Connivance. But when the King put forth an Edict granting the uſe of all ancient Ceremonies not repugnant to Faith, he was ſharply reprov'd by *Mendez* for meddling with Spiritual Affairs: At laſt it was agreed by ſome of the Fathers, That the ancient Liturgy, but corrected, ſhould be read in the Maſs, that their Feſtivals ſhould be kept at the uſual time, except *Eaſter*, and thoſe that depend upon it: That any one inſtead of the Sabbath, might faſt on the fourth Holy-day: And the King anſwer'd *Mendez*, that his Religion was not introduc'd by preaching and Miracles, but by his own Edicts, and therefore he had no reaſon to complain of his Edict. But theſe Conceſſions did not pacify the *Laſtaneers*, nor any other of the diſcontented Parties.

Of the decreaſe of the *Roman* Religion, and Reſtoration of the *Alexandrian*.

We have ſeen the great Progreſs of the *Roman* Religion in *Ethiopia*, the Authority of the Patriarch advanc'd to the higheſt pitch, the Jeſuits favour'd by the King, his Brother, and many of the Nobility, exerciſing their Worſhip in ſeveral Provinces, building many Churches and Chappels, encreaſing their number to 21 Companions, and converting many thouſands of the People: But while they were thinking of abrogating all the ancient Rites, behold a ſudden change enſued, upon which they were baniſh'd, and their Religion ſubverted: For the King, tho' otherwiſe moſt addicted to them, yet being weary with the Complaints of his People, and the Importunities of his Friends, troubled with a Jealouſy of his Brother, the Contumacy of the *Laſtaneers*, the Diminution of his Prerogative, and the dread of loſing his Kingdoms, at length began to think of abrogating the *Roman* and reſtoring the *Alexandrian* Worſhip: And which was to be admir'd, a proſperous Fight againſt the *Laſtaneers*, was that which ſettled his wavering thoughts; for having given them a total rout by killing 8000 upon the place, he was carried by ſome of the Favourers of the old Religion, to ſee the multitude of the ſlain, who thus beſpake him.

> ‘These Sir are neither *Heathens* nor *Mahometans*,
> ‘whom you ſee here ſlain, but *Chriſtians*, once your Sub-
> ‘jects and our dear Country-men, and with the ſame
> ‘Sword that ſlays them, you ſtab your own Bowels, for
> ‘they bear no hatred to you, but only are averſe to that
> ‘Worſhip to which you would compel them: Therefore
> ‘forbear we beſeech you, to conſtrain them to Novelties
> ‘for which we are call'd Apoſtates.

To theſe Importunities the Queen join'd her powerful Charms, conjuring him by the common Pledges of their Love, not to ruin his Kingdom, himſelf, and his Family, with whom his eldeſt Son *Baſilides*, and his Brother *Jamanax*, join'd by their earneſt Prayers. At length the King's Mind being mollified, *Baſilides* ſummon'd a Meeting of the Nobility and chief Councellors, wherein it was concluded, that there was no other Remedy for the preſent Diſorders of the Kingdom, but by reſtoring the *Alexandrian* Religion; and the better to perſwade thoſe of the contrary Opinion, they gave it out, that the *Romans* and *Alexandrians* agreed in points of Faith: That both affirm'd Chriſt was true God and true Man, and the Difference about one or two Natures, was only a Queſtion about words, and not worth the ruin of a mighty Empire; whereupon the King gave liberty to every one that pleas'd, to return to the *Alexandrian* Worſhip. The Patriarch with the chief of the Fathers hearing of theſe things, came and deſired Audience of the King, which being granted, he rebuk'd him for abuſing the Victories he had gain'd by the *Portugueſe*, to the prejudice of the *Romiſh* Religion; for granting Toleration to the *Alexandrian* Worſhip; for Apoſtacy from that Religion which he had freely embrac'd, and threatned him with the Indignation of God, the Pope, and the King of *Portugal*. To all which the King ſaid, That he had done what he could, but never intended a total Alteration of Religion, but only a Conceſſion of ſome Ceremonies.

On the 24th of *June*, the Favourers of the old Religion addreſs themſelves to the Emperour, and beſeech him, That by a publick Edict, he would give his Subjects leave to return to the Religion of their Anceſtors; the King aſſented, and ordered certain Commiſſioners to ſignify his pleaſure to the Patriarch; who return'd anſwer, That a Difference ſhould be put between thoſe who had not embrac'd the *Romiſh* Religion, who might be connived at, and thoſe who had embrac'd it, to whom the liberty of returning to the old form of Worſhip could not be granted without Sin. By which means *Mendez* thought to put a Bar upon the King and all the Court who had profeſs'd the *Romiſh* Religion. But the King made no other anſwer than this, *How can this be done, I am now no more Lord of my Kingdom*: and preſently the Drums beat, Trumpets ſounded, and Proclamation was made by the Crier. We firſt propounded to you the *Roman* Religion, eſteeming it the beſt: but an innumerable multitude have periſh'd thro' diſlike of it; and therefore we grant you the free exerciſe of the Religion of your Anceſtors. This Edict was receiv'd with an univerſal joy among all ſorts of People, and henceforth the old Ceremonies were made uſe of in the Communion, and Grape-ſtone Liquor inſtead of Wine. A few days after a general Circumciſion was appointed, and the ancient manner of waſhing upon the Feaſt of *Epiphany* was us'd by ſome to cleanſe them from *Romiſh* Superſtition.

Of the Expulſion of the Patriarch, and Baniſhment of the Jeſuits

After the King's Edict was publiſh'd, the Jeſuits Churches were taken from them, and they were forc'd to leave their ſtately Cathedral at *Gorgora*, from which they carried all their ſacred Furniture, having ſpoil'd their Sculpture and Pictures. *Suſneus* dying in *December*, 1652, *Ras-Seelax*, the chief Favourer of the *Romiſh* Religion, in which he continued firm, was baniſh'd, and his Goods ſequeſtred, and all that favoured the Jeſuits were either ſent into exile or put to death. But ſtill the *Laſtaneers* would not be quiet until the Fathers were all turn'd out of *Ethiopia*; and therefore they were firſt ſent to *Fremona*, where their Goods and Arms, eſpecially their Fire-arms, were taken from them; and after that, being commanded by the King to remove from *Fremona*, they lurk'd for a while in a private Houſe, till they were pull'd out thence by the Ears and deliver'd to the *Turks* in *May*, 1634: For the *Abeſſines* had heard, that they had ſent for a Military Power from *India* to ſettle their Religion, which ſome of them had imprudently threatned, and therefore their Removal was haſten'd.

Of what hapned after the departure of the Patriarch and Jeſuits out of *Ethiopia.*

Tho' the King's Command to depart was general, yet *Mendez* left behind him ſeveral Jeſuits, who lurk'd for ſome time, but at laſt were taken, and moſt of them hang'd. *Mendez* ſpent a whole Year among the barbarous *Turks* at *Suaquena*, in great anguiſh of mind, which was encreas'd by ſeeing the new Metropolitan paſs by, who had in his Train one *Peter Heyling*, a *Lutheran*, of great Learning and Probity: When he met *Mendez* at *Suaquena*, he oppos'd ſeveral Opinions of the *Romiſh* Church, and expounded in *Arabic* to the Standers-by, what was ſaid on both ſides; and being come to *Abeſſinia*, he was very acceptable to the King, who gave him a Tent and all things neceſſary. The Patriarch, after a long Captivity, redeem'd himſelf and his Companions with 4000 *German* Dollars, and at laſt got ſafe to *Goa*; from whence he ſent one *Lobo* into *Portugal*, to give an account of the ſad eſtate of *Ethiopia*, and deſired a Military Aid to reſtore him to his loſt See. But all his Negotiations prov'd ineffectual, becauſe there was no conſiderable Party in the Kingdom to aſſiſt any Forces that ſhould be ſent; for the King put all to death that favour'd the *Roman* Fathers; which occaſioned the ruin of many of the Nobility, and ſeveral Prieſts; and fearing leſt the *Portugueſe* ſhould invade his Dominions, he brib'd the Baſha's of *Suaquena* and *Matzua*, to deny entrance to any of the *Franks*. The Congregation for propagating the Faith, hearing that the *Portugueſe* were generally odious, ſent ſix *Capuchin* Friars, all *French-men*, with Letters of ſafe conduct from the Emperour of the *Turks*, whereof four being kill'd in their Journey to *Abeſſinia*, the other two that ſtay'd as *Matzua*, choſe rather to return home than ſuffer Martyrdom to no purpoſe. Yet three other *Capuchines* ventured to go to *Suaquena*, whence they ſent a Letter to the *Abeſſine* King, to congratulate him, and he in requital wrote to the Baſha to ſend him their Heads, whoſe Skins being flea'd off, he ſent, that by their colour he might know them to be *Franks*, and by their ſhaving to be Prieſts. *Mendez* died in *India* in 1656, ſince whoſe death we have no certain Relations out of *Abeſſinia*: But the Report of *Tellez* that their King had embrac'd *Turciſm*, appears to be a Fiction, ſince his Letters of the laſt date to *Batavia* begin with a Chriſtian Preface, after this Report was rais'd.

Of the private Affairs of the Abeſſinians.

Of their Books and Learning.

Beſides ſacred Books, they have but very few others, one of which is call'd the *Glory of Kings*, which ſeems to be that which is highly eſteem'd as a ſecond Goſpel, and is preſerv'd in the Palace of *Axuma*, wherein is recorded the Hiſtory of the Queen of *Sheba*. They have alſo a Chronicle cited by *Claudius* in his Confeſſion of Faith; a Book of Philoſophy, which is much eſteem'd; and a Vocabulary, wherein the difficult Words are expounded in the *Ambaric*, or *Arabic* Tongue. They meddle with no Studies, but thoſe of their own learned Language and ſacred Matters. Moſt of them think it enough if they can read or write, which Children learn either from their Parents, or the Monks, for a ſmall Stipend. Their manner of adminiſtring Phyſick is very ridiculous: They cure the Yellow-Jaundies by applying a red hot Iron to the upper-end of the Arm. In moſt Diſtempers every one uſes ſuch Herbs as he has learn'd from his Parents to be uſeful. If the King be ſick, they aſk him what he ails, and if any one has been ſick of the ſame Diſeaſe, he tells him what did him good; for they value not Phyſicians and Apothecaries. If a Plague breaks out, they fly from the Contagion with their Herds into the Mountains. *Tertian-Agues* they cure by applying the Cramp-Fiſh, which is an unſpeakable torture to the Patient. Wounds they cure by Myrrhe, which is very plentiful. They have little ſkill in Logick and Natural Philoſophy, as appears by their *Organum*; but they believe the Soul immortal, becauſe it proceeds out of the Mouth of God, who breath'd it into the Face of *Adam*. They deny *Antipodes*, fancying that ſuch People would drop into Heaven; and when the Sun riſes and ſets, they think that he goes and comes thro' a certain kind of Window; but how it gets under the Earth they are not ſollicitous. As to the liberal Arts, they love Poeſy above the reſt, but only that which is Divine; for all prophane Verſes they hate, which treat of Heathen Fables, as being the Foot-ſteps of Idolatry. They covet Learning, and were earneſt with the Jeſuits to teach their Children the *Latin* Tongue; but they generally learn Languages by Converſe, eſpecially the *Arabic*, in which Language the King writes his Letters to foreign Princes. Private Perſons ſeldom write Letters; but if they have a mind to write, they go to the Scribe of the Province, who writes an Epiſtle for a ſmall matter.

Of their Marriages, Diet, Clothing, Habitations, and Funerals.

The *Abeſſines* marry every one of their Wives after the Chriſtian manner, neither is Polygamy prohibited by the Civil, but the Eccleſiaſtical Law, which does not admit thoſe who have more Wives to the Communion; and the ſame liberty they take to put away their Wives as to marry them. They have no nuptial Ceremonies worth the mentioning, only the Sacerdotal Benediction is neceſſary to every Wedding. Their Diet is very different from ours, for they feed either upon raw Fleſh, or that which is half boil'd. Inſtead of Sauce they uſe Gall, which pleaſes them better than Honey. They covet, as a Dainty, the Graſs and Green Herbs which they find in the Maws of the Beaſts they kill. Their Bread they bake upon Embers, made in the faſhion of thin Pancakes. Many of them live only upon Grazing; their Flocks and Herds are their only Riches; they eat their Fleſh and drink their Milk. When they retire to the Rocks they carry with them three or four Goats, on whoſe Milk they ſubſiſt. Their Women grind their Corn with a Wooden Peſtle, and make Bread of the Flower; and where the Air is temperate they have good Butter and Cheeſe. After Dinner they fall to drinking, and never give over till the Drink be all out. They make excellent Hydromel, by reaſon of their plenty of Honey, and for their Families they mix Water with it. They have another ſort of Liquor, made of their Fruits, which is like Ale, being white and ſweet.

Their Apparel is very mean and poor; their Princes only wear Silk, the Clergy and richer ſort only make uſe of Cotton, the poorer ſort cover themſelves with Skins, which hardly hide their Privities, which is common alſo among ſome of their Nobility and Prieſts, who think it no ſcandal to appear in Church or Chancel without Breeches. The Boys and Girls go ſtark naked, till riper Years calls upon them to hide their Shame. They are very curious in dreſſing their Hair, for they not only curl it, but anoint it with Butter, and leſt it ſhould be rumpled in the Night, they reſt their Heads on a forked ſtick, preferring their Pride before Pain. Nor does their Poverty appear leſs in their Houſes; for they that follow the Camp, live either in Tents or Huts made of Reeds and Rubbiſh, daub'd over with Clay or Lome, and covered with Straw or Sedge, which they leave behind them, when they remove their Camp, and their Villages are built after the ſame manner.

They make a doleful Lamentation for the dead; for when they hear of the Death of any great Perſon or dear Friend, they proſtrate themſelves on the Ground, and knock their Heads againſt it. Their King and great Men are buried with much pomp, and every one uſes all means to excite Tears, and the Relations are clad in tatter'd Habits inſtead of Mourning. They uſe no peculiar Service before the Body is laid in the Grave, only ſome Monks ſtanding before the Church-door, read a few of *David*'s Pſalms.

Of their Mechanick Arts and Trades.

They want very much Handycraft-Trades, whereby they are deſtitute of many Conveniences of human Life, which we enjoy. The *Jews* are almoſt the only Weavers of Cotton, and the beſt Smiths among them, who make the Heads of Spears and ſeveral other things, of Iron. As for other things, every one takes care to ſupply his own Wants, either by his own, or the Pains of his Servants, which is eaſily done where they uſe ſo little. They have no Guilds of Tradeſmen among them, but whatever any one profeſſes, that he teaches his Children, and ſo the Trumpeters and Horn-winders are all of the ſame Family, and live apart by themſelves. They were formerly ſkill'd in Architecture, as appears by their magnificent Temples, and the King's Palace at *Axuma*; but ſince they were engag'd in Wars, this way of building is quite diſus'd. But the Jeſuits, having brought Architects with them from *India*, built many Churches and Chappels of Stone and Mortar, to the great dread of the *Abeſſines*, who look'd upon them as ſo many Forts and Caſtles, and *Peter Pays* built an admirable Palace for the King.

Of their Journeys and Travelling.

The *Abeſſines* care not to ſtir out of their own Country, being ignorant of foreign Languages, and the ways of Exchange and keeping Correſpondence. Formerly they us'd holy Pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*, and ſo back again to *Rome*, when the *Mamalukes* were Lords of *Egypt*; but ſince the *Turks* were poſſeſs'd of it, they ſo oppreſs'd Travellers with their Exactions, that the *Abeſſines* very rarely viſit *Jeruſalem*. In their travelling they only make uſe of Mules, for no other Creature can climb over the craggy Rocks and Mountains; but their Horſes they preſerve for War and Racing. The Great and and Rich carry all their Houſhold Stuff along with them, and when Night overtakes them, they pitch their Tents and kindle Fires about them to ſcare the wild Beaſts. The poorer ſort when they travel, beg upon the Road, for there is neither Inn nor Cook's Shop to be found, which gave occaſion to a pleaſant Paſſage at *Rome*. When the *Abeſſines* newly arriv'd from the Eaſt, they were invited by a Cook into his Shop; who believing all Invitation to be made *Gratis*, went into the Shop, and cheerfully accepted what was ſet before them; but at length, when they were going away, they conſulted how to return thanks to ſo kind an Hoſt for his noble Treat, which one of them did with a very good grace in a ſet Speech: To which the Cook liſtned a while, but hearing nothing of Money, without any reſpect to their ſmooth Language and graceful Delivery, *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *who pays?* the *Abeſſines* like Men aſtoniſh'd made anſwer, *That they came not into his Shop of their own accord, but by his Invitation, and that when he ſet his Wine and Meat before them, he never bargain'd for any Money, for that was the very thing they wanted.* But all this would not ſatisfy the Cook, who forc'd them to leave their Cloaks in pawn, which were afterwards redeem'd at the Pope's Charity. The *Abeſſines* themſelves are very hoſpitable; for in their Villages they appoint the chiefeſt of the Inhabitants for relief of the Poor; which Cuſtom was anciently us'd in ſeveral Chriſtian Countries.

The way from *Egypt* to *Abeſſinia* is troubleſome to Travellers, and ſubject to many Dangers by the Extortions of the *Turks*, and the Robberies of ſeveral vagabond Nations thro' which they muſt paſs: Yet there are ſeveral Troops of Merchants, who ſetting out from *Grand Cairo*, are carried up the *Nile* againſt the Stream as far as *Monfallot*, and thence travelling in Caravans, firſt come to *Sijut*, and ſo in order to the following Towns, *Wach*, *Meks*, *Scheb*, *Sellim*, *Moſchn*, *Dungala*, which laſt is accounted the Metropolis of *Nubia*: Then they come into the Kingdom of *Sennar*, under a *Mahometan* Prince. From *Dungala* therefore they travel to *Kshabi*, *Korti*, *Trere*, *Gerri*, *Helfage*, *Arbatg*, *Sennar*. In travelling from *Wacha* to *Sennar*, the Merchants ſtaying in many places about the Affairs of their Traffick, commonly ſpend three whole Months, tho' it might be done in a far ſhorter time. From *Sennar* in 14 days they arrive at the Confines of *Abeſſinia*, into which they enter by *Tſhelga*: But the ſafeſt and ſhorteſt Cut is thro' the *Red-Sea*, if you can agree with the *Turks*; which Paſſage is two-fold; for either the Merchants ſet out from *Cairo* to *Sueſſo*, a Port upon the *Red-Sea*, from whence they ſail to *Gidda*, another Port, and thence they ſail again for *Suaquena* and *Matzua*; or if they cannot endure the Sea ſo long, they ſail againſt the Stream from *Cairo* to *Girgea*; then by Land they travel to *Gidda* in two Days, and thence to *Alcoſſir* in four days, where they take Shipping for *Gidda*, and ſo to *Suaquena*. This is the way the Metropolitans take, with whom is the ſafeſt travelling, if any *Europeans* deſire to viſit *Abaſſia*. A Man may reach from *Guendra* to *Suaquena* in a Fort-night, and from thence in 40 or 50 Days to *Grand Cairo* by Land; ſo that to travel from the Royal Camp to *Cairo* will take up three Months.

Of the Merchandize and exchange of Merchandize in *Abeſſin.*

The *Arabians* who inhabit the Ports of the *Red-Sea*, eſpecially the *Mahometans*, are the chief Merchants in *Abeſſinia*; for being of the ſame Religion, they have the free liberty of all the Ports of the *Red-Sea*: Next to them the *Armenians*, who do not much differ from the *Abeſſines* in their Worſhip, have the greateſt Trade, as being the great Dealers in all parts of the World. They import ſundry ſorts of Commodities, but carry out all the Gold: And becauſe there is no Money coin'd in *Ethiopia*, the ſilly ignorant ſort of People, finding their Gold among the Sand, or at the Roots of Trees, let it go again at low rates; for if the Merchants deny it to be good, they exchange it for as much as they can get, without queſtioning the Merchants Exception. But the Nobility and richer ſort carry a Touch-Stone always about them, with which they try their Gold, weigh it out, and pay it by the Ounce; which in *Ethiopia* amounts to the value of a *Spaniſh Pattacoon*, or an Imperial Dollar. The Exchange in *Abeſſinia* is made with Iron ſometimes, but chiefly for Salt hewn out of the Mountains, with which you may purchaſe all things; and in the remote parts you may buy a good Mule for two or three Bricks of Salt.

The Commodities imported are *Babylonian* Garments of all ſorts, Velvet, Silken, but chiefly Woollen and Fuſtian, which the great Men wear inſtead of Purple, having now loſt the ſkill of dying it. Spices, and eſpecially Pepper, they covet to ſeaſon their inſipid Diet. Wares for Exportation they have few beſides Gold, Skins, Hides, Wax, Honey, and Ivory; many more they might have if their Kings did encourage Traffick and Merchandizing; for which end they ſhould learn the *Latin* Tongue, with the Addition of our Arts and Handicraft Trades, which would advance the Affairs of theſe poor Chriſtians to a more flouriſhing ſtate, and weaken the ſtrength of the *Barbarians*.

Sir *Thomas Herbert* Baronet, his Travels, begun in 1626, into divers parts of *Africa* and *Aſia Major*, in which the two famous Monarchies of the *Mogul* and *Perſian* are principally deſcrib'd, with what is remarkable in thoſe places from other Authors in *Purchaſs*, &c.

CHAP. XX.

Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels from* England *to* Goa *in the* Eaſt-Indies.

His ſetting out.

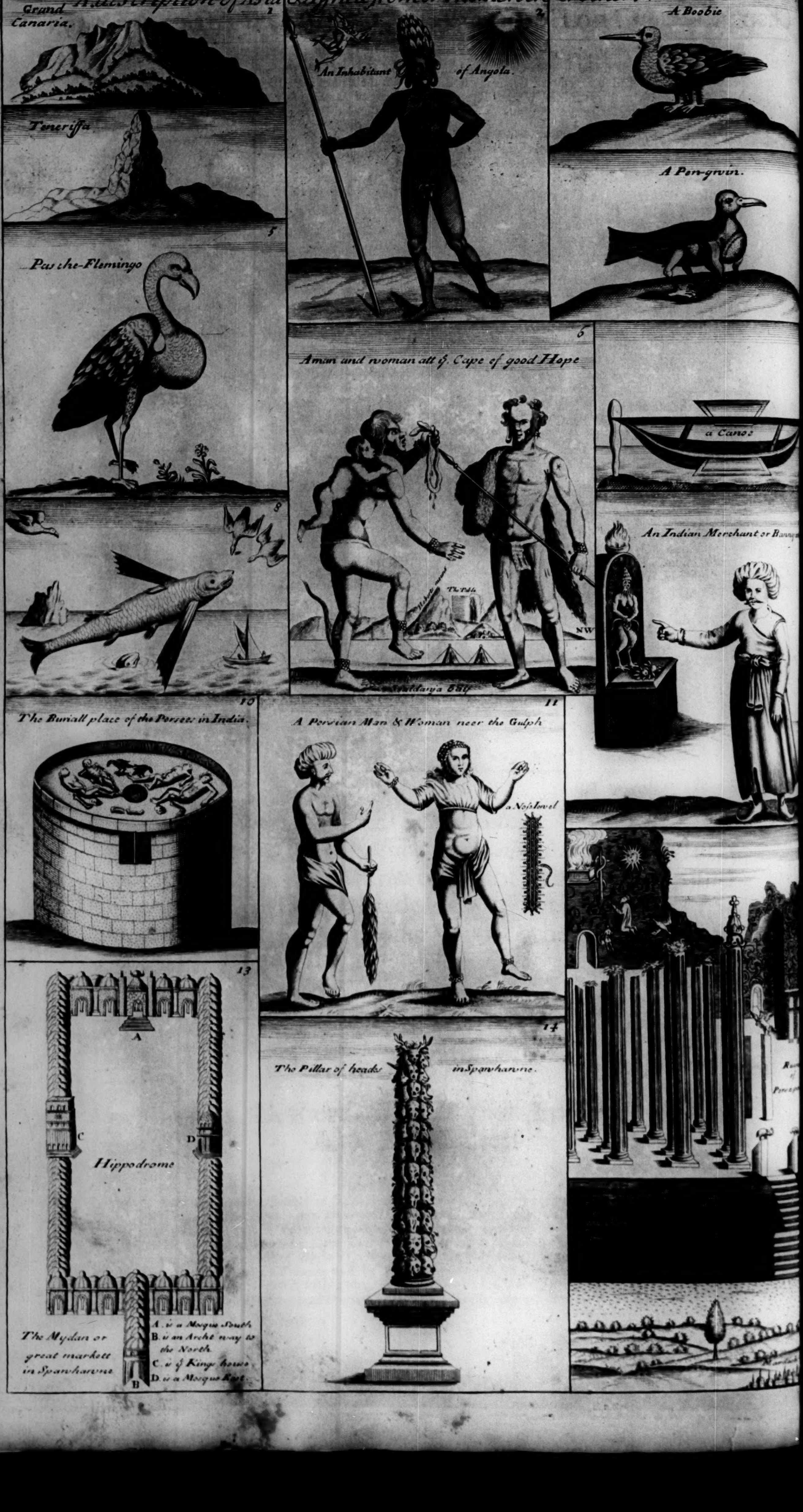
SIR *Tho. Herbert*, Bar. with five Ships beſides his own, embarked at *Deal* near *Dover* on *Lady-day* (famous that Year for being the Feaſt as well of the Son as Mother) in the Year 1626. In a few Hours coaſting the Iſle of *Wight* (in *Brittiſh*, *Gwidth*, i. e. cut off or ſeen at a diſtance, and by *Pliny Vectis*, as it is by *Eutropius* call'd *Vecta*) they came to the *Lizard's Point*, which is the utmoſt Promontory of *Cornwall*, from whence to the Cape of *Good Hope*, they compute their Longitude, and not from the *Azores*, which is the firſt Meridian.

Porto Santo deſcrib'd.

On *April* the third, they got ſight of *Porto Santo*, or the *Holy Port* (call'd *Cerne* by *Ptolomy*) commanded by the *Spaniards*, and lying in 33 Deg. as alſo of the *Madera's* (i. e. *Iſles of Wood*) twelve Leagues S. W. from *Porto Sancto*, and 70 from the *Canaries*. *Porto Santo*

was

A description of Asia & Affrica from Sr. Tho: Herbert & others.


1
Grand Canaria.
Teneriffa
2
An Inhabitant of Angola.
A Boobie
A Pen-gwin.
5
Pas the-Flemingo
6
A man and woman att ý Cape of good Hope
The Table
NW
Saldanya Bay
a Canoe
8
An Indian Merchant or Banny
10
The Buriall place of the Persees in India.
11
A Persian Man & Woman neer the Gulph
a Nose Iewel
13
A
C
D
Hippodrome
B
The Mydan or great markett in Spawhawne
A. is a Mosque South
B. is an Archt way to the North
C. is ý Kings howse
D. is a Mosque East.
14
The Pillar of heads in Spawhawne.

was diſcover'd by *Pereſtrallus*, *Anno* 1419, and given him to people; but he found it difficult to build there, becauſe the Coneys had ſo caved the Ground. It is 25 Miles in compaſs, and fruitful in Wheat, Rye, Rice, Oxen, Sheep, Boars, Coneys, Sanguis Draconum, Fruits, Flowers, and Grapes.

The *Canaries* deſcrib'd.

The *Canaries*, ſo call'd from the Multitude, *Magnorum Canorum*, ſaith *Pliny*, *L.* 6. *C.* 32. were firſt diſcovered by one *Machan*, an *Engliſh-man*, by whoſe Directions it was conquered two Years after by *Lewis de Cordezo*, in 1330, ſent thither by the Commiſſion of *Pedro*, King of *Arragon*; but *John* II. King of *Caſtile*, ſoon wreſted them from him, and loſt them a little after to the *French*, from whom *Don Henrico*, *Infant* of *Spain*, took them, and united them to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, in whoſe ſubjection they ſtill remain. Theſe Iſlands (call'd by *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Plutarch*, *Atlantiades*, and by *Pliny*, *Heſperidæ*) are from the *Morocco*, or *Libyan* Continent 20 Leagues, and from *Spain* 200. They are commonly numbred ſeven, and were anciently called *Canaria*, *Capraria*, *Nivaria*, *Junoma*, *Ombria* or *Pluvialia*, *Apoſita*, or *Fracta Lancea*, and *Caſperia*, or *Fortunata*; but now they are denominated, *Canaria*, *La Palma*, *Teneriffa*, *Lancerota*, *Hierro*, *La Gomera*, and *Forteventura*. In ancient times the People knew no God but Nature, were ignorant of the uſe of Fire, ſhaved with Flint-ſtones, gave their Children to be nurſed by Goats, tilled the Earth with Ox's Horns, hated the ſlaughter of Beaſts, uſed Women in common, had no property of Goods, lived in Woods, eat nothing but Herbs; yet ſome had glimmerings of the Immortality of the Soul, for they waſhed their Dead, and put them in a Cave, with a Staff in one Hand, and a Pail of Milk and Wine ſet by them to comfort and ſupport them in their Journey to Paradiſe. They are now civilized, and profeſs Popery, and the Inquiſition keeps all Proteſtants from them. The Grand Inquiſitors Reſidence is at *Grand Canary*, whether all the other Iſles uſually repair for Juſtice. This Iſle abounds with Goats, Beefs, Aſſes, Hogs, Barly, Rye, Rice, variety of Flowers, Grapes, and other excellent Fruit, as alſo Ingenio's, or Sugar-houſes, where they grind their Canes, and make Sugar. It is about 50 Miles Diameter, and has at the South end a large Bay called *Maſpalomba*, which yields freſh Water. It is 13 Leagues from *S. Crux* in *Teneriffa*, 20 from *Forteventura*, and 18 from *Lancerota*.

The Popiſh Inquiſition. Grand Canary deſcrib'd.

Teneriffa.

Teneriffa is 50 *Engliſh* Miles in length, and equals the *Grand Canary* for Inhabitants. Its chief Towns are *S. Crux* and *Linagona* or *Laguna*, which ſtands at the bottom of the Hill called *Garachica*. This Town exceeds all the reſt in all the Iſles for abundance of excellent Grapes, yielding yearly, as ſome ſay, 28000 Butts of Sack. The Mountain is ſaid to be 15 Miles high by moſt, but by *Scaliger* 60, and by one *Nichols* an *Engliſhman*, who lived there ſome time, 47, but they muſt mean by the oblique Aſcent; for *Varennius* ſays, 'tis but four Miles 15 Furlongs perpendicular. Nevertheleſs it lifts up its lofty top, *Teyda*, ſo high, that it is ſeen in clear weather 120 Miles. At the bottom of it is plenty of Wood, in the middle Snow, and on the top Flames, the Veins of Brimſtone burning, which the People call the *Devil's Cauldron*. It is about thirteen Leagues from *Grand Canary*, and 20 from *La Palma*, five from *Gomera*, 75 from *Africk*, and 70 from *Madera*. In old times they uſed to embalm their dead, and lay them in deep Caves, ſome ſtanding, others lying, and in ſuch like different Poſtures. Their Dormitories were reputed very venerable, and rarely ſeen but by permiſſion.

The Pike of *Teneriffa* deſcrib'd, See Fig. 1.

Hierro.

Hierro or *Ferrain* bears S. S. W. from *Grand Canaria*, and appears very high to the Ships that paſs by. It is ten Leagues from *La Palma*, and not above ſix Leagues in compaſs. It is famous for one Tree, call'd by the Natives *Garro*, and by the *Spaniards Santo*, which affords freſh Water to all the Inhabitants: It is darkenned with a cloudy miſt ſome part of the day, which caſts ſuch a plentiful Dew upon the Leaves, as diſtils in Streams of clear ſweet drops into large ſtone Ciſterns, capacious enough to furniſh not only the People, but all the Cattle in the Iſland with water; ſo that they never drink of Rivers or Ponds. This ſeems miraculous, but in *S. Thomas*'s Iſland, which lies under the Line, moſt of the Trees have the ſame property.

The miraculous Tree.

La Palma.

La Palma is very high and woody.

Forteventura. *Teneriffa.*

Forteventura is 15 Leagues long and 8 broad, and near *Lancerota*, which is leſs than *Teneriffe*. Theſe two Iſlands were taken by the *Engliſh* in 1596, and the other by the *Dutch* after, which has occaſion'd them both to be better fortified.

Gomera.

Gomera is ſix Leagues from *Teneriffa*, and eight long. 'Twixt *Lancerota* and *Forteventura*, is another little Iſle called *Lobos*, and by *Lancerota*, two other ſmall Iſles called *Gratioſa* and *Alagramæ*.

Iſles of *Lobos*, *Gratioſa*, and *Alagrama*.

On the Eaſt of theſe Iſles ly *Fezz* and *Morocco*, which are part of *Mauritania Tingitana*, ſo call'd from *Tangier*, a conſiderable Town upon the *African* Coaſt, oppoſite to *Gibraltar* in *Spain*, which reſemble *Dover* and *Callis*, and have a like influence upon that narrow Streight.

The Tropick of Cancer.

The ninth of *April* they croſs'd the Tropick of Cancer, which is of like diſtance from the Æquator, as the utmoſt Limits of the Temperate Zone from the Pole. It is ſo called from the Sun's returning from that ſign in *June* like a Crab, which goes backward.

Cape Verd.

On the 14th they came under the Sun, being in 14 Degrees North, and on the 18th were in ſight of Cape *Verd*, called by *Pliny*, *Heſperion Cornu*, or *Heſperi Keras*, and by the *Ethiopians*, *Biſecar* and *Mandangar*.

On the 21ſt, he came ſo far in the Torrid Zone, that the Sun darting out its fiery Beams, the Air ſeemed to be inflamed, the Sea warm, and Ships ſulphureous, ſo that they all ſweat and broiled, and were unable to ſleep, reſt, eat, or drink, which continued ſeven days, and then an abortive Cloud ſent down a ſtinking Rain, not in moderate Drops, but ſo impetuouſly, as would ſink a Ship, if it came under the Dint of it, and immediately as ſoon as it came into the Sea, a Whirlwind aroſe, which much endanger'd their Ships, but a proſperous gale ſoon poſted them out of harm's way, and carried them beyond the Equinoctial: under the Line the heat is not ſo unſufferable, as in many places more remote, becauſe here are conſtant Breezes toward Sun-ſet, and the Nights being equal to the Days, are ordinarily very dewy, which much abates the heat of the day; beſides, they have two Winters, and in their hotteſt Weather they fail not of other Breezes at nine in the Morning, and four in the Afternoon, and rain at Noon.

Santo Croix.

May the 6th, they came to *Santo Croix*, where they enter into the *Manzoon*, or Anniverſary Wind, which blows for ſix Months together conſtantly from one Point, beginning exactly from the Sun's entrance into a ſign of the *Zodiack*, and ſo continuing, till it enters into the contrary Degree, when it begins to blow the contrary way, and holds as long.

The *African* Coaſts, and People on them. See Fig. 2.

May the 8th, they came into eight Deg. Antarctick Latitude, having the *Monomotapan* Coaſt on the one ſide, and the *Braſilian* on the other: The *Africk* Shoar runs on in divers Names, as *Congo* in ſix Deg. *Angola* in nine; *Manicongo*, *Loanga*, *Monomotape*, *Benomotapa*, and *Caffana*, full of black Wretches, without Law and Religion, but rich in Earth, abounding with the beſt Minerals and Elephants, living upon Rapine and Villany, and worſhipping Mokiſſes, Feteſiors, and deformed Idols of Devils, in ſhapes of Dragons, Goats, Owls, Bats, Snakes, Dogs, Cats, and whatever their Witches urge them to, in the moſt infernal poſtures, gaping, hooping, groveling, ſoiling and diſcolouring their Carkaſſes with Juice of Herbs, Rice, Roots, and Fruit. The Women defie the New-Moon every Month, by ſhewing their naked Bums to her, and the Men complying with them, ſhoot their Arrows againſt it. A Dog was of that value once with them, that 20 Negroes were exchanged for one: but now they make a better Market of them, to ſend their Slaves to the *Charibee* Iſlands, and other parts of *America*; a Trade by which 'tis to be feared Chriſtians will make but little gain, ſince they have no care of converting their Souls, ſuch Merchandize being a great Sin among Chriſtians, tho' practis'd by *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Their Coin is a ſort of *Wampom*, or Shells, Glaſs, Beads, Stones, and ſuch like traſh. They marry not, and bury thus: They waſh, paint, and apparel the Dead, and lay them in a ſpacious Dormitory, with their Armolets and Bracelets. They circle the Grave with mimick Geſtures and Ejaculations, concluding with the Sacrifice of a luſty Goat.

The trade of ſelling Slaves.

The Man Eaters.

In *Loanga* and *Anzigui*, which lie under the Æquator, the People are, as in Colour, ſo in Condition little other than Devils incarnate; for not ſatisfied with the Food Nature has provided for them, they devour Man's Fleſh with a Vultur's Appetite, killing their Neighbouring Nations; and if they fail of them, ſlaughtering their Friends, who ſometimes to eaſe themſelves of Troubles or Diſeaſes, will offer themſelves to the Knife; and as they delight in it themſelves, ſo they offer it to their Gods. Nothing is ſo commendable in them as their Archery, in which they excel; for they'll ſhoot up a dozen Arrows before the firſt falls to the Ground. Their other Arms are Clubs and Darts, long and ſmall, barbed with Iron, very ſharp and bright, and ſometimes poiſoned with the Sap or Juice of the *Quacumbarez*-Tree, which is like Milk, but very venomous.

Their Archery and other Arms.

The *Miconda*-Tree.

The Miconda-Tree is high and thick, twelve Fathoms about, yet ſo porous as to be of no uſe for building. The only Ornaments they have is to ſlaſh and pink their Faces and Skins. The Sun and Moon are reputed Man and Wife, and the Stars their Children, in their Religion; the Devil is their Oracle. They have ſtore of Gold, but uſe Shells for Coin, which they call *Simbo.* They are found near the Iſland of *Loanda*, in eight Deg. South, and tho' they are of ſmall value elſewhere, yet here they are of great price.

The Tropick of Capricorn.

May ult. They croſt the Tropick of Capricorn, in 24 Degrees of South Latitude, and were driven upon the Coaſt of *Braſil.*

Boobyes, *Vide* Fig. 3.

Caſtor and *Pollux.*

In a ſerene Air, a Bird called a Booby, pearched upon the Yard-arm of the Ship, and ſuffered the Men to take them, which makes their ſimplicity a Proverb; but they ſoon came under a Storm, in which the Lightning hung about the Yards and tackling of the Ship. Of old, the *Greeks* called ſuch Fires *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and believ'd, that one or three of them betokened Storms and Shipwrack, but two foretel Halcyon Weather, and ſafety; but little can be gathered from ſuch Exhalations, which are natural.

June 24, they raiſed the Pole Antartick 36 Deg. at which time their Longitude from the *Lizard* was 25 Deg. within three Min. In *England* it was then Midſummer, but there Mid-winter, being near the *Antipodes.*

Coney-Iſle.

July 7. Betimes in the Morning they diſcovered by the *Sargaſſo*, or Sea-Weeds they ſaw afloat, they were near the Cape, which they diſcried next Morning, tho' 60 Miles diſtant, being an high Land: but the Wind not favouring them, they could not reach it, but caſt their Anchor 14 Leagues ſhort of *Soldania*-Bay, before a ſmall Iſle call'd *Coney*-Iſle, ſo called from the abundance of thoſe Creatures found there, and that larger than Cats, but ſtrong Meat. Here are alſo found about this Iſland an abundance of Pengwins, or white Birds from their Colour. Theſe Birds of all other go the moſt exact in their motion, their Wings or Fins hanging down like Sleeves, covered with down inſtead of Feathers, their Legs being of more uſe to them than their Wings; they feed on Fiſh at Sea and Graſs on Shoar, and have Holes in the Earth to live in like Coneys. They are a degenerate Duck, uſing both Sea and Land, the one to breed in and the other to feed in. They are very oily and fat, and ſome adventure to eat them, but not wiſely.

Pengwins for their ſhape, *Vide* Fig. 4.

Seals, or Sea-Calves.

On theſe Coaſts are alſo great numbers of Seals or Sea-Calves, called *Piſces Marins*, as big as the greateſt ſort of Maſtives, and ſomething like them in viſage, but their barking is like the bellowing of Bulls. They alſo are amphibious Animals, and equally uſe the Land and Water; and tho' they are eaſily kill'd if one interpoſe between them and the Sea, yet being paſt one, they have ſuch an Art of caſting back Stones upon their Purſuers, that they endanger them. They are too oily to be good Food, but their Skins being tanned, are very uſeful.

Whales.

Leaving this Iſle, they came to another called *Pengwin*-Iſle, from the multitude of thoſe Birds. In their way they ſaw many Whales ſporting in the Ocean, and in wantonneſs fuzzing up the Water thro' their Pipes and Vents, which nature has placed on their Shoulders: Some they gueſſed to be 60 Foot long from head to tail, their Heads being well neigh a fourth, their Mouths being little leſs than ten Foot wide, and their Tongue proportionable; but their Eyes no bigger than an Apple: their Body is thick and round, and the Savages eat them, but Merchants covet them for profit, one uſually affording twelve Tun of Oyl. They engender by applying Belly to Belly, and bring forth but one at a Birth, like Elephants.

Soldania Bay deſcribed.

July the firſt, they came to an Anchor in *Soldania-Bay*, ſo call'd from *Antonio Soldania*, a *Portugueze*: It is 12 Leagues ſhort of the Cape of *Good Hope*, of a ſemicircular form, both large and ſafe, and affords good Anchorage: The Land near the Shoar is low and fruitful, but five Miles from the Cape it is mountainous and barren, and from the Hills 'tis eaſy to ſee to the end of the Cape, as alſo the Capes *Falſo* and *D' Aguillas*, which are ſeparated from each other by large Bays, but inconvenient to anchor in. From theſe Mountains deſcends a ſmall but pleaſant Stream of ſweet Water into the Bay of *Soldania*, which is very refreſhing to the Bowels of the Sea-men in theſe hot Countries.

Africa deſcribed.

The original of the name.

The whole Country of *Africk* is a Peninſula, join'd to the Continent by an Iſthmus of Land of 20 Leagues, which divides the *Red-Sea* from the Mediterranean. The Equinoctial-Line divides it into two parts, the inward and outward, as *Homer* calls them, but as others, the greater and leſſer, which are either of them near as big as *Europe.* In length it runs from North to South, from *Tangier* (called anciently *Julia Traducta*, and *Tingus Cæſaria*, from whence that part of *Mauritania* is called *Tingitana*) to the Cape *de Bona Speranza*, from the 35 Deg. 50 Min. Northern Latitude, to the 34 Deg. Southern, 4200 Miles; and in breath, from Cape *Verd* in the Atlantick Ocean, to Cape *Guardefu* in *Ethiopia* near the *Red-Sea*, 2000. The name *Africa* is taken either from *Apher*, one of the poſterity of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*, or from α. & φρίκη, cold, becauſe it feels no Winter, as other Countries do. The *Hebrews* call it *Cham* and *Chus.* *Leo* divides it into four parts, *Barbary*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, and *Nigritarum terra*: To which we muſt add *Ethiopia*, which contains the biggeſt half of *Africa*, as well as *Aſia*; for it comprehended the three *Arabia's* and *India.* That in *Africke* is divided into the Superior, which ſtretcheth from the Æquator to *Egypt* on the North, the *Red-Sea* on the Eaſt, and *Libya* on the Weſt; and the Inferior, which extends it ſelf from the Æquinoctial Southerly to the Cape of *Good Hope*, being on the Eaſt and Weſt circumſcribed by the Ocean.

The Cape of *Good Hope.*

This famous Cape elevates the Antarctick Pole 34 Deg. and 3 Min. Latitude, 28 Longitude, from the Meridian of the Lizzard, and 48 from the Azores. From the Land's-end of *Cornwall* 'tis 6600 *Engliſh* Miles, from the greater *Java* 5550, from *Surat* 5400, and from St. *Helena*, which is S. E. from it, 1800. This Cape was firſt diſcovered by *Vaſco de Gama* or *Bartholomeos de Dyes*, an eminent *Portugueſe*, in 1497, ſeveral Years before *Columbus*'s Expedition.

The Herbs.

The Soil about it is exceeding good, being covered at all times with Graſs, and diapered with Flowers and Herbs, as Agrimony, Betony, Mint, Calamint, Sorrel, Scabious, Spinage, Thyme, Cardus Benedictus, Coloquintida, and many others.

Fiſh.

The Rivers yield variety of Fiſh, as Trouts, Pyke, Pickerel, Tench, and Eels; Shelfiſh, as Crabs, Lobſters, Rock-fiſh, Craw-fiſh, Cockles, Muſcles, Lympit, and Tortoiſes, which are ſmall, but curiouſly coloured, very good Oyſters, Thorn-backs, Gudgeons, and other Sea-fiſh, which are taken at the Flood in the freſh Water.

Minerals.

The Mountains are not without Marchaſits and Minerals, but they are to be gained only by cloſe ſearch.

Beaſts.

The Country affords alſo plenty of Beaſts of divers ſorts, as Buffalo's, large Cows with bunched Backs, Sheep with long Ears like Hounds, red Dear, Antelopes as large as Stags, Apes and Baboons of extraordinary ſizes and colours, Lions, Panthers, Pards, Jackalls, Wolves, Dogs, Cats, Hares, Zebræ or Pide-Horſes, Elephants, Camels, Unicorns.

Birds.

Paſche-Flemingo's, *Vide* Fig. 5.

Great ſtore of Birds, as Hens, Geeſe, Turkeys, Pengwins, Crows, Gulls, Thruſhes, Pheſants, Pelicans, Storks, Oſtriches, Pintado's, Altatraces, Vultures, Eagles, Cranes, Cormorants, or Sea-Crows, which have ſo quick a ſmell, that after Battles they will ſcent the Carkaſſes many Miles. Here are alſo ſtore of thoſe beautiful Birds call'd *Paſche-Flemingo's*, but by the *Arabians* *Rachama*,, whoſe Feathers are crimſon and white, as pure as can be imagined.

The People, *Vide* Fig. VI.

Their Ornaments.

Their Cloathing.

The Natives are propogated from *Cham*, and inherit his Curſe; their Stature is mean, their Colour blackiſh, their Faces very thin, but well proportionate in their Limbs, which they pink and cut in ſeveral ſhapes, as their Fancies lead them for Ornament; their Heads are commonly long, their Hair wooly and criſp. Some ſhave all their Heads, others half, and others leave only a Tuft on the Crown for ornament, but moſt adorn their Heads inſtead of ſhaving, with Spur-rowels, Braſs Buttons, pieces of Pewter, Beads of ſeveral ſorts, which they get of the Saylers for Mutton, Beef, Herbs, Oſtriches Eggs, and Tortoiſe-ſhells. About their Arms and Legs they wear Chains of Copper, Braſs, and Iron, with pieces of Ivory, and about their Necks they wear the raw Guts of Beaſts, which they alſo eat; the reſt of their Body is naked, ſave that about their Waſte they have a Thong of Leather, which like the back of a Glove, ſerves to cover their *Pudenda.* The better ſort wear Lions and Panthers Skins, as alſo Leopards, Baboons, Calf or Sheep Skins, with their Hair turned inward: Upon their Feet they wear a Sole, or piece of Leather tied with a little ſtrap, which they hold in their Hands while they ſit, that they may ſteal with their Feet, which they will do very dextrouſly, while they look you in the Face, and think it no Crime. Some of them are Semi-Eunuchs, and ſome Women uſe Exciſion.

Their Habitation and Diet.

They live in Caves, eat Locuſts with Salt, and will rifle the Graves to feed on the dead Bodies: They ne ther roaſt nor boil any thing, but devour every thing raw, as dead Whales, Seals, Pengwins, Geeſe, and raw Puddings, which they eat for great Dainties. Such as thro' old age or ſickneſs, are notable to provide for themſelves, they leave them upon the Mountains deſtitute of help, where if Famine and Cold do not deſtroy them, the wild Beaſts do. Their Women are delivered without any trouble or pain, and they give their Children ſuck over their Shoulders.

Their Language is rather apiſhly than articulately ſounded, and 'tis thought they have unnatural Copulation with thoſe Beaſts, with whom and Baboons their Women familiarly converſe.

They have no knowledge of God, nor any ſpark of Devotion, no ſymptome of Heaven or Hell, no place ſet apart for worſhip, nor any Sabbath for reſt.

They have little Art in War; their Weapon is commonly an Azaguay or Javelin, headed with Iron, directed by Feathers, which they can take on and off at pleaſure. They have no Letters, Faith, or Law, living like wild Beaſts for Ignorance, like Devils for Miſchief, and like Dogs for Poverty.

The Devil's Bird.

July the 19th, they weighed Anchor, bending their Courſe to *Madagaſcar*; but in doubling the Cape they met with a ſtorm, (foretold by the flight of a ſmall long-winged black Bird (unjuſtly by Sea-men called the Devil's Bird) which being a kind of natural Aſtrologer, ſeldom appears, but againſt ſtormy Weather, of which it has ſo quick a ſenſe, that it foretels the leaſt alteration of the Air) that they could not arrive at it till the 28th day.

Madagaſcar deſcribed.

Madagaſcar, which by the *Arabians* is called *Sazandib*; by *Ptolemy*, *Menuthyas*; by *Mercator*, *Do Cerne*; and *Inſula Santi Georgii*, is queſtionleſs the greateſt Iſland in the World, being in length, from Cape *Roma*, in the S. S. W. to St. *Sebaſtian* in the N. N. E. no leſs than 1060 Miles, and in breadth, in the narroweſt place, 100.

The Soil.

The Air is temperate, ſave when the Sun is in or near the *Zenith*. The Soil is in moſt places luxuriant, becauſe they have Rain every Week, and Winds continually, either from the Mountains in the Morning, or Ocean in the Afternoon, by which means the Ground is fitted for Seed and Fruit.

Wood.

It produces much Wood, and particularly Ebony, and 'tis thought that there is Gold in the Inland parts of it.

Fiſh.

The Rivers abound with Fiſh, and it wants not reaſonable good Roads and Harbours for Ships to ride in; pity it is that ſo noble and populous a place ſhould be ſtill uncivil, and corrupted with Heatheniſm and Mahometaniſm.

The Towns known.

The maritime Towns are only known to us, as *Roma*, *Auguſtine*, *Antabaſta*, *S. Jacobo*, *Matatana*, *Angoda*, *Ferendo*, *Formoſo*, *Antongil*, and *Jangomar*; but *Auguſtine* Bay under the Tropick, and *Antongil* on the Eaſt ſide, afford the beſt Anchorage. It was lately governed by four Kings, who were very jealous of each other's greatneſs. The maritime Towns profeſs the *Mahometan* Religion, and the mid-land Heatheniſm.

Their Puniſhments.

They puniſh Murder with death, Adultery with publick ſhame, and Theft with baniſhment. Thoſe that live by the Sea love fiſhing more than Tillage. The People are generally ſtrong, active, and couragious, and the Men delight much in warlike Actions, uſing Targets to defend their naked Bodies, and for offenſive Weapons, a long *Azaguay* or Launce, barbed with Iron, kept bright, and poiſoned, which they know how to throw as well as any People in the Univerſe.

Their Complexion.

They are black, never ſhading their Bodies from the parching Sun, only anointing them with Greaſe and Tallow to keep them from cracking; proud to ſee their Fleſh ſhine, and never being offended at the ſtink: Their Hair is black, long, and curled, the length is an ornament. They have only a few Leaves plated together about their Waſte, otherwiſe they go naked. Their Ears are bored, and wide enough; they pink and cut their Fleſh; the Men ſeek Prey abroad, while the Women ſit at home and ſpin.

Bigamy.

Bigamy is allowed, and they marry very early; the Youth at twelve, and the Maids at ten Years old. They are delighted with Sports and Novelties, Hunting, Hawking, Fiſhing and Dancing, in which the Men uſe divers windings and turnings, beating and clapping their Breaſts and Hands, while the Women with ſavage harmony, play with their Hands and Eyes, and obſerve a meaſure.

Their Learning.

Till of late they knew not Letters, but now neceſſity has taught them a little Arithmetick. Their Language ever ſince they have embrac'd the *Mahometan* Religion, is mix'd with *Arabick*, but moſt on the Sea-Coaſt. This Iſle is rich in Minerals and Marchaſites, Gold, Silver, Iron, and Copper, Agates, Heliotropes, and Jaſpers, are good Commodities in this Iſle, but that which is more valuable with them, than the Diamonds and Pearls are in *India*, are long, red, Cornelian Beads, *Hanangua* they call them: they hang them in their Hair, and as Chains about their Necks, being then ſo brave in their own Opinion, that all other Ornaments ſeem needleſs to them. They have alſo a great eſteem for Bracelets, Copper, Chains, Bells, Babyes, and Triangular Glaſſes, for which they'll give you in exchange big-tail'd Sheep, Buffalo's, big-boned, fat, and Camel-back'd Antilopes, red Deer, Leopards, Pards, Goats Milk, Hens Eggs, Wheat, Barley, Rice, and Cuſcas, with what Fruit you like, as Oranges, Limons, Lymes, Pome-citrons, Plantanes, Sugar-Canes, Ginger, Toddy, Coco's, &c.

Cornelion Beads.

Their Beaſts.

Cameleons.

Here are alſo Lizzards and Cameleons, which is a lean deformed Beaſt. It is an old opinion, that it feeds upon the Air, but it is an errour, for they lick up Flies, Beetles, and the like, very dextrouſly.

Salamanders.

Salamanders alſo are found in this Iſle; they are a ſort of Lizard, extream cold by Nature, and will like Ice endure the Fire for ſome time, yet put it out if it be little, but a great fire will burn them, as we know by experience: they lie in moiſt and ſhady places, and ſeldom appear but before a Storm; their Teeth and Tongues are venomous, but their Fleſh may be eaten without danger.

The Shark, his nature deſcribed.

Departing from *Madagaſcar*, they ſteered N. E. E. with a deſign to reach *Mohelia*, and nine Leagues from it, one of their Men took a Shark nine Foot and half long. This ravenous Man-eating Fiſh (which is alſo called the *Hayen* or *Tuberon*). is armed with a double row of venomous Teeth, directed by a little Rhombus or Muſculus, variouſly ſtreaked and painted with blew and white, that ſends to and fro to bring the Shark intelligence of a Prey, for which ſervice the Shark will ſuffer him to ſuck when he pleaſeth. Theſe Fiſh are very noxious to Sea-men, who in calms love to ſport and refreſh themſelves in the Sea with ſwimming, and are ſometimes devoured by this greedy Monſter, and ſometimes ſuffer the loſs of a Member. This Fiſh has a peculiar Nature: tis reported of it, that it doth not ſpawn like other Fiſhes, but whelps like Bitches, and their Off-ſpring is very numerous; for in this they found when it was opened, 55 young ones, every Fiſh a foot long, and in Storms and dark Nights they will receive their young ones into their Bellies to ſecure them.

A Caribdis.

In their way they paſſed by a Charibdis, in 21 Deg. variation 13, and 17 Min. called *Maſcarenas*, and were caſt upon the Shoals of *Mozambique*. Experience teacheth us, that from the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Current ſets ſtrong Weſtward; and that from the Cape *Corientes* to the Equinoctial Line, the *African* Shoar is for the moſt part called *Melinde*. Upon the Coaſt are ſtore of Fruits, Corn, Minerals, Flowers, Plants, Herbs, and Cattle of all ſorts, and in plenty.

Wild Hogs.

Among the reſt are ſtore of wild Hogs, which the Natives, if not *Mahometans*, hunt and eat, for their Fleſh is exceeding dainty, and in their Maw they often find a Stone, which is in great requeſt, becauſe it is a very ſoveraign Medicine againſt poyſon, and many other Maladies; this Virtue (as is ſuppoſed) proceeding from their feeding on the Herbs and Drugs, which the Earth brings forth there in great plenty and variety.

Mozambique.

Dolphins.

As they paſſed along, they met with ſeveral dangerous Iſles, as *John de Nove*, *Primere*, and others. Under the 17 Deg. 17 Min. Latitude, and 20 Deg. 20 Min. Longitude, the Current ſets South-weſt, and they came to the Peninſula of *Mozambique*, which is a Port of the great Kingdom of *Zanquebar*, and not far from the Cape or Promontory, call'd by *Ptolemy Praſum*, between which and the Cape *Raptum*, the People in his time were Man-eaters, as the Negroes are at this day. This Country affords the beſt of Merchandiſes, as Gold, Silver, Elephants-Teeth, and Ambergreaſe: The *Portugueſe*, who have conquer'd all theſe Coaſts as far as the *Eaſt-Indies*, have a Fort of good ſtrength here, as they have many Towns and fortified places all along thoſe Coaſts, where they have ſeveral Colonies. In theſe Seas are great numbers of Dolphins, which is a Fiſh incredibly ſwift, and quick-ſighted, but no bigger than a Salmon. It glitters in the Ocean with variety of beautiful Colours, has few ſcales It much affects the Company of Men, and are always conſtant to their Mates. They generate by Sperm, and are nouriſhed like Men; embrace, join, and go with young ten Months; ſo tenderly affected to their Parents, that when they are 300 years old, they feed and defend them againſt hungry Fiſhes, and when dead, to avoid the Shark and other voracious Fiſh, carry them aſhoar and bury them: they were glad of the company of theſe Ships, and purſued them many hundred Miles.

The Iſles of *Chumro.* Six Leagues from this Land, N. E. is one of the Iſles of *Chumro*, called *Meyottey*, ſeated North of *Madagaſcar*, and by it are four more, which bear the ſame name, but are call'd particularly *Meottir*, *Joanna*, *Mobelia*, and *Gazidia*. Each of them is very ſerviceable for refreſhing Sea-men, in that they abound with delicate Fruits and Cattle, which they ſell at eaſie rates. None of them are above an hundred Miles in compaſs.

Chumro. *Chumro* is the higheſt and beſt Land, and is full of Palmeto-Trees; but the People are perfidious; for ſome *Engliſh-men* being invited a-ſhoar by them out of the Ship *Penelope*, for Water and other Refreſhments, were treacherouſly ſlain by the Inhabitants.

Joanna. *Joanna* is inhabited by a better People, that may be truſted, and governed by a King, tho' ſomething tyrannical. Sea-Tortoiſes. About this Iſle are Sea-Tortoiſes, which differ not much from the Land, but their Shells are ſomething flatter: By overturning them they are eaſily taken, but their Fleſh is wateriſh, and cauſes Fluxes. They have neither Tongue, nor Teeth, ſuperabound in Eggs, ſome of them having near 2000, pale and round, and not eaſily made hard by much boiling. They cover their Eggs by the Sand, and the Sun hatcheth them; ſuch as have ſtrong Appetites will eat them, but there can be no prevailing motive to it but famine or novelty.

The *Mannatee*, or Cow-fiſh. The Mannatee, or Cow-Fiſh, is alſo found in theſe Seas: It is good Meat, becauſe uſing the Shoar it hath a fleſh taſte, reſembling Veal, which alſo it ſhews like; the Face is like a ſhrivelled Buffalo or Cow, the Eyes are ſmall and round, and has hard Gums inſtead of Teeth; the Intrals alſo are like a Cow's: there is a Stone generated in the Head, which is very valuable, being a ſoveraign remedy (as ſome report) againſt Cholick, Stone-Cholick, and Dyſentery, being beat ſmall, infuſed in Wine, and drunk faſting: A Phyſical Stone. the Body of this Fiſh is three Yards long and one broad, thick-ſkinned, and without Scales, narrow towards the Tail, which is very nervous, ſlow in ſwimming, becauſe it wants Fins, in liew of which it has two Paps, which it can uſe either to ſuckle its young withal, or creep aſhoar, where it grazes, and where it delights to lie and ſleep; for it can't keep half an Hour under Water. It is very teachable and apt to be made tame, being famed like the Lizzard for their love to Man, whoſe Face they delight to look upon, and in weakneſs have refreſhed them.

The Carvel or Sea-Spider. The Carvell, or Sea-Spider floats upon the Surface of the Ocean like a Foam, is of a globous form, throw abroad her ſtrings like ſo many Lines, which ſhe can ſpread at pleaſure, and angle with them for ſmall Fiſh, which by them ſhe catches; when ſhe finds her Web too weak, ſhe blows an infectious breath, and ſeems armed with ſuch a Sting, as if ſhe had borrowed it of the Scorpion.

Mabelia deſcrib'd. *September* the 11th, they came to an Anchor on the Weſt ſide of *Mabelia*, a Bow-ſhot from a ſmall Village of Straw, called *Merianguy*, governed by a *Sha-Bander*, named *Alicuſary*, a black big-boned Man, and a *Mahometan* by profeſſion, ſly and crafty in bartering Victuals and Fruits for Commodities. *Mobelia* lies in 12 Deg. 15 Min. Southern Latitude, and 24 Deg. Longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of *Good Hope*: It is about 60 Miles in compaſs: the Coaſts riſe gently, but the Inlands are mountainous and woody. The Houſes and Inhabitants. The Villages lie diſperſed up and down the Country, but the Houſes are thatched with Reeds and Straw, fitted to the Torrid Zone. The Inhabitants are a mixture of *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, who worſhip the Sun chiefly. The *Portugueze* have lately preached Chriſtianity here, but have but few Proſelytes: they call their King *Sultan*: their Language is a mixture of *Arabick* and *Portugueze*: the People are perfectly black as a Raven, which proceeds, as ſome think, from the heat of the Sun, drawing the Blood to the outward parts; others from the Soil, and others from the Seed, which they ſay, is black; but whether from any of theſe or no, is uncertain. The *Mobelians* have big Lips, flat Noſes, ſharp Chins, and large Limbs.

Their Cloathing. They content themſelves with *Adam*'s Guarb, a few Leaves to cover their ſhame, but cut and pink the Skins of their Face, Arms, and Thighs for ornament, ſtriving to exceed each other in variety. Our Habit and white Complexion is as ſtrange to them, as their blackneſs and nakedneſs is to us.

Moskes. The *Meccan Zealots* have here a few poor Moſkes, made of Straw and Bambo's without, but matted neatly within, and none may enter them with their Shoes on.

Magick. They deal ſome of them at leaſt in Magick, as we had a proof in one, who in a ſtorm of Thunder and Rain, ſtood trembling, and now and then lifting up his Hands and Eyes, muttered certain words, then leaping up in a kind of rapture, unſheathed a long Knife, and having brandiſhed it about his Head ſeven or eight times, and muttering ſome words every time, put it up again, then kiſſed the Earth three times, and then he aroſe, and on a ſudden the Sky cleared, and there was no more Rain.

The Kings. Two Kings command this Iſle, called *Phancomal* and *Synal-bey*, the one a Native, the other an *Arabian*, both made great by their Wives, the Daughters of *Sultan Sheriph Booboocharee* and *Nannagalla*, who with their Huſbands, live in continual defiance of one another. The People are long-liv'd, the Fruits are excellent, and the Air tolerable.

Tobacco. Tobacco grows here plentifully, and is of good account, tho' weak and leafy, they take it in long Pipes of Canes: As the *Iriſh* and *Spaniards* uſe ſneezing Powder, ſo do theſe Savages *Arcua*, which reſembles the Nutmeg, and being rowled up in Leaves of Betel, which are like our Ivy, and mixed with a chalky ſubſtance, made of burnt Oyſter-ſhells, they chew it almoſt continually, and find it very good in the operation; for it diſcolours their white Teeth to a pure crimſon, perfumes the Breath, kills Worms, intoxicates the Brain, dries Rheums, helps Nature, and begets an Appetite.

This Iſle produceth many uſeful things, as Buffalo's, Goats, Turtles, Hens, huge Bats, Cameleons, Rice, Peaſe, Cuſcas, Honey, and the Sea Breams, Cavallo's, Oyſters, Mother of Pearl, and good Pearl, Toddy, Coco's, Plantain, Oranges, Limons, Lymes, Pome-Citrons, Anana's, Cucumbers, Sugar-Canes, Tamarinds, and red *Indian* Dates. In fine, 'tis always verdant, the daily Rains and Breezes cooling their Heats, and making a perpetual Summer.

Three ſorts of Fruit are very remarkable in this Iſle: The Plantan Tree. Firſt, The Plantain is a Fruit in taſte and odour ſecond to none, and covered with a broad Leaf. It hangs in cluſters like Beans upon a Branch or Stalk; the ſhape is long and round, much like a Sauſage. If you peel off the Rind, the Fruit appears of a Gold yellow, and is reliſhed like a *Windſor* Pear, ſo delicious, that it melts in ones Mouth, leaving a delightful guſt. 'Tis good for Urine, but bad for Fluxes, if it meets with crude Stomachs; and if liberally eaten, deſpoſes to Dyſenteries. The Coco-Tree. Secondly, The Coco, another excellent Fruit, is covered with a thick Rind, and is equal in bigneſs to a Cabbage: the Shell reſembles a dead Man's ſkull, a mark of Eyes, Noſe, and Mouth being eaſily diſcerned on it: It yields a quart of Liquor, coloured like new White-wine, but of a far more aromatick taſte: the Meat or kernel, like other Nuts, cleaves to the Shell, and is not eaſily parted; the Pith or Meat is above an Inch thick, and better reliſhed than our Philberts; and one of them affords enough to fill the Bellies of two reaſonable Men. The Tree, which is ſtreight and lofty, having no Branches, but a Plume at top, beautified with theſe large Nuts, is good timber, and of it they make Canoes, Maſts and Anchors. The Rind is dreſſed like Flax, and ſerves for Sails, Mats, Cables, and Linen; the Shell for Furniture, as Diſhes and Veſſels, the Leaves for covering of Tents and tiling Houſes. Thirdly, The Toddy-tree is like the Date or Palm; The Toddy-Tree. the Wine called Toddy is got by wounding and piercing the Tree, and putting a Jar or Pitcher under it, ſo as the Liquor may drop into it. At the top it has a Pulp, which being boiled, eats like a Cauly Flower, but being cropped, the Tree dies, becauſe the Life of the Tree ſeems to conſiſt in it. Theſe Trees (like Dates) thrive not, except at ſome certain time the flowering Male and Female be united, or grow near to each other. Toddy for colour reſembles Whey, but taſtes like Rheniſh; at the firſt drinking 'tis unpleaſant, but ſeems to taſte better and better every draught: A little makes Men merry, and much inebriates: In the Morning it is found laxative, in the Evening coſtive, and at Mid-night dangerous. Theſe Fruits and all other things are eaſily purchaſed; they'l give 30 Oranges or Limons for a Sheet of Paper, ten Coco-nuts for two Sheets, an Ox for a Piece of Eight, and a Goat for ſix pence.

Ships and Boats they have none, but Cano's, hewed out of one Tree, yet capable to hold three Men; if they ſink, they help themſelves by ſwimming. Fig. 7.

September the 15th, they took their leave of Mobelia with a fair Gale, and in four days came within four Deg. of the Æquinoctial.

On September the 19th, at Night the Sea about them ſeemed as white as Snow, contrary to the uſual colour, which is azure or blew, but from what cauſe our Author could not gueſs. The next day they had the Sun on their Zenith, and coaſted along the rich and famous part of South Africa, called Soffala, part of Ægyſimba, where the Portugueze have a conſiderable Fort and Caſtle to awe the Negro's: this Country has ſtore of Gold.

Soffala and the Iſles of it.

Preſter-John and his Power deſcrib'd.

Upon theſe Coaſts lie the Iſles of Mombaſſa, Megadoxo, Zanziban, Pata, and Brava, places very hot ſometimes, becauſe the Equinoctial cuts them. The Shoar from them tends to Barnagaſſo, a Port, once under the great Neguz, who till of late, held all that tract of Land from Cape Guardefue to Suachem in the Red-Sea. This Prince, who is called by the Chriſtians generally Presbyter-John, by the Moors Aſic' Abeſſi, and by his own People Aceque or Neguz, is ſuppoſed in power not to be inferiour to the greateſt Prince of the World. He is ſaid to be able to raiſe 100000 Men for War, and to be of ſuch Wealth, that he offered the Portugueze a Million of Gold to aid him againſt his Adverſaries. His Dominion extends as far as Nubia and the Confines of Egypt Northward; to the Red-Sea and Barlarick Gulph, as far as Ajaman and Dangali Eaſtward; Kingdoms of Æthiopia Exterior, to the Montes Lane, Southward; and as far as Nilus, Niger, and Manicongo, the two greateſt Rivers of Africa, Weſtward: So that this Empire conſiſts of 70 tributary and ſubordinate Kingdoms, and reaches from one Tropick to the other. He is ſaid to be deſcended of Maqueda, the Queen of Sheba, which gave Solomon ſo kind a viſit, and brought home to her Subjects the Jewiſh Religion, in which they continued, till Queen Candaces Eunuch, brought them home the Chriſtian, in which they were farther inſtructed and confirmed (as is ſaid) by Thomas the Apoſtle, and continue in that Profeſſion to this day. His Country is in the moſt unpleaſant and ſcorching part of Afrike, of which the greateſt part is rowling Sands, which permit no Foundations of Towns or long Stations, and therefore he and his People lead a vagrant courſe of Life, and dwell in Tents after the old Numidian manner, which makes ſome queſtion his Power or Courage, that he will be penn'd up in ſo bad a Country, and not by his Arms make way for a better Habitation for Himſelf and Subjects, or at leaſt preſerve his Ports for Traffick and Correſpondence with other Chriſtian Princes, which he has not of late done; for the Savages have taken from him all his Ports, and command upon the Ægiſymbar Coaſts in Ethiopia Interior, from the Kingdom of Adell to Cape Guardefue; and Sultan Solyman has expelled him from Ercoao and Suachem, his only Ports upon the Red-Sea.

Coming under the 8 Deg. the Manzoon became adverſe to them, and their Ships cut their way ſlowly, tho' ſecurely, thro' the Waves, till at length paſſing by the Cape of Babelmandel, they came to the Iſle of Soccotora, in the Mouth of the Red-Sea, where they waited for a favourable Gale.

Socotora an Iſle deſcrib'd.

Socotora is an Iſle well known to former Ages, to ſome by the Names of Dioſionda and Succaba, but Pliny calls it Topazo from the great plenty of Topaze found there. It lies in 13 Deg. Northern Latitude, and is about 15 Leagues long and ten broad: It lies neareſt Afrike, but belongs to Arabia Felix. It affords plenty of all things for the ſuſtenance of the Inhabitants, as Corn, Fruit, and Cattle, as alſo Olives, Coco's, Dates, Piſtacho's, Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Pomecitrons, Melons, Sugar-Canes, and the like Fruits. It produces alſo the beſt Aloes, called by the Spaniards Semper vivum, and Sangus Draconum, or Dragon's Blood, which is a Gum produced by a ſmall Tree, at certain Sciſſures made in it for that end. Civet-Cats are alſo bred here, and tho' they ſell the Civet cheap, yet the plenty of it enriches the Owners. The Inhabitants are a mixture of Chriſtians and Mahometans, their Complexions black, the Sun twice every Year darting his Rays perpendicularly upon them, and then no place in the World is hotter. They are reaſonably civil by Nature, and are ſaid to be a Colony planted there by Alexander the Great, by the advice of Ariſtotle his Maſter, who met him there, when he was returning from Judea to Babylon.

That they were early converted to Chriſtianity, tho' by whom is not known, is certain by Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, but they were infected with the Errors of the Neſtorians and Jacobites, which laſt uſe both Circumciſion and Baptiſm. Their Churches expreſs no leſs, being built in the form of a Croſs. They had a Patriarch reſident among them till of late, and now they have other Clergy, whom they reverence, and chearfully pay their Tyths to them, by whom they are inſtructed in the worſhip of God, and how to obſerve both Faſts and Feſtivals: they highly reverence their Elders: Humility is both commended and commanded. Second Marriage (except where there is no iſſue) are diſallowed. In Baptiſm they uſe the ſign of the Croſs, and partake of both Elements the in Sacrament. They waſh their Dead, and being wound up in clean Linnen, bury them, with their Heads towards Jeruſalem, but ſhew little ſigns of Mourning. John de Caſtro for many Days found it high water here at the Moon's riſing, and as the Moon aſcended, the Tides decreaſed; ſo as it was low water when the Moon was higheſt, contrary to the Effects of it obſerved in other places.

Aden in Arabia.

Aden, a Town upon the Arabian Continent, lying in 12 Deg. 35 Min. Northern Latitude, may be ſeen from this Iſle: 'Tis likely to be the place called Eden in Ezekiel, c. 27. 23. This, tho' it be a much frequented Road, is none of the beſt; for at the Change it flows not above eight Foot water, tho a S. E. or N. W. Moon makes a full Sea. The Town is low in its ſituation, and ſulphuriouſly ſhaded by the high and barren Mountain of Cobelarra, whoſe brazen Front miſerably ſcorches the Country. The Sea ſo compaſſes it, as to make a Cherſoneſe. The Circuit of the Town is large enough, but built thinly; and the Inhabitants ſhew a diſcontent at their Turkiſh ſlavery. Oſorius and Munſter deſcribe it as a place of great Commerce and Magnificence, but now no ſigns of either are to be ſeen. The Caſtle is the moſt noted Building in it: It is built near the Sea to command the Road, and the ſituation of it is ſtrong, which is alſo much augmented by thoſe many Pieces of Cannon which are planted on the Bulwarks, having withal a large Graft and Counterſcarp, only to be entred by a very narrow Path; ſo that one would think it prepared to ſecure all the Treaſure of Aſia, whereas within are nothing but Souldiers and Ammunition to ſecure the Turkiſh Government, and extort Contributions from all thoſe South Parts of Ajaman.

Cobelarra a Mountain.

The Red-Sea.

Being now in the Red-Sea, our Author gives us this account of it, and ſays, That tho' 'tis probable that it might take its name either from the Country of Edom, on which it borders, for Edom ſignifies Red; or from an ancient King named Erythreus, who reign'd and had a long Reſidence hereabouts, tho' his Tomb is erected near Ormus in the Iſle Tiaria, at the other end of Arabia Felix; yet that Derivation which ſome give it from the red Sand, or Sea-weed, called Sargaſſe, floating there, is not without ſome colour or ſhew of reaſon; for the Sand, eſpecially when the Sun viſits the Antipodes, gives a ruddy Reflection; and it is obſerved, that from Suachem (a noted Town on the Ethiopic ſide) to Aleozar, which is an hundred Leagues, the Water is ſhoal, and by reaſon of the plenty of red Coral found there, ſeems to have a reddiſh tincture. It is accounted 1000 Engliſh Miles from Cape Guardefu to Suez in length: but 'tis narrow; for at Guardefue 'tis but 80 Miles broad; and at the Streight between Aden and Zeila, the breadth is but 18 Miles, where 'tis ſaid the Ægyptian Monarchy of old hung a Chain a-croſs to ſtop the Paſſage into the Gulph, as Strabo relates: but the Red-Sea in its largeſt uſe, extends to the Indian Shore. 'Tis a ſhoal and dangerous, except in the middle of the Channel, where the greateſt Veſſels in fair weather may ſail boldly.

Towns by it.

Formerly there were upon the Shore of it, ſundry famous Ports and Harbours, Zybt, Sabar, Aleozar, Suachem, Maſuæ, Daliaqua, Old Phileteras, Theram, and Zeyla, on the Ætheopick Shore, and Tore, Elana, or Eloth, Petra, Eziongeber on the Arabian; yet now Mecha is moſt traded to.

Pihabiroth.

At Pihabiroth, which is between Toro and Suez, is yet ſhewn the places where Moſes firſt entred into the Red-Sea and Petra, which the Hebrews call Jackſbut, now Arach is the place where Ruth was born, and is branded for baſe ingratitude to their Princeſs Cleopatra, becauſe the People ſet on fire thoſe Ships, which ſhe had with great pains haled to Suez from the Nile, in order to make her eſcape with M. Anthony by the Red-Sea into the Eaſt-Indies, after the Victory of Naupactum or Actium. From Suez to the Nile is not above 25 Leagues; from Grand Cairo to Toro five days eaſy travel. The Iſthmus between the Mediterranean and Red-Sea is not above 80 Miles; and tho' ſeveral Kings of Egypt, as Seſoſtris I. then Darius, and after ſome of the Ptolemyes made ſeveral Attempts to cut a free Paſſage for Ships thro' it, and ſhorten the Voyage to the Indies, yet they could not effect it, tho' the Country is low and very fit for it; but God, who has ſet the Ocean its bounds, would not ſuffer Man to enlarge its Limits.

Æthiopia Interior deſcribed.

The warm part of *Æthiopia Interior* being the neareſt of the *Troglodites* Country, by moſt called *Æthiopia ſub Ægypto*, and lying on the Weſt-ſide of the Red-Sea, was (as ſome ſay) firſt planted by *Chus* the Son of *Cham*, after his departure out of *Arabia*, but (as others hold) by *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma*; the air is extremely hot while the Sun is vertical, which inſtructs the Inhabitants to ſeek that ſhade, and take up their Habitations under ground, for their Country extends 20 deg. on each ſide the Line. From the Red-Sea towards the Weſt, for above 600 Miles, 'tis full of Hills, and towards the Eaſt barren, the Midland being covered with a looſe Sand, which makes it unpaſſable.

The Ports.

Upon the Banks of the Red-Sea, on this ſide theſe Towns, have formerly been Ports, *viz.* *Zoyley*, *Suacher*, *Maſua*, *Toeran*, and ſome others, and were much frequented by the *Ægyptian* Merchants, and others; but ſince the principal Marts have been tranſlated to *Goa* and *Ormus*, *Mortia* and *Aden*, on the oppoſite Coaſt, are moſt frequented.

Never ſubdued

This Country, whether through its poverty, or Natural ſtrength, was never ſubdued either by the *Ægyptian* Kings their Neighbours, or any of the four great Monarchies; *Cambyſſes* indeed, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſent them Earth and Water by their Embaſſadors, as Symbols of their Subjection to them, but they returned them with ſcorn, as knowing that thoſe Monarchs could not enter their Countries with any advantage to themſelves.

The Trade to Ophir for Gold.

The firſt Commerce that we find upon the Red-Sea was began by *Solomon*, who traded from *Ezion-geber* to *Ophir* for Gold, but the King of *Edom* revolting from *Rehoboam* this Trade was diſcontinued, till *Jehoſhaphat* ſubdued it again; and then he built a Navy to renew that Traffick, but it was ſhipwrack'd in the Haven, becauſe he took *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael* for his Partner, and *Amaziah* loſing *Edom* again, this trade for Gold was laid aſide for above 300 Years, till *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, about 270 Years before Chriſt, revived this *Ophirian* Trade, which continued under his Succeſſors to their great advantage, for the *Ægyptian* Fleet was uſually 120 Veſſels great and ſmall, and tho' it was a two Years Voyage, yet the return was ſutable, for the Fleet brought in ſeven Millions of Gold, and the gain to the Exchequer was *communibus annis* 1200000 Crowns.

When *Julius Cæſar*, and after him *Auguſtus*, had reduc'd *Ægypt* to a Province, 'tis probable the Golden Trade was ſtill continued: but when the *Arabians* and *Goths*, from adverſe Quarters, like Inundations overflowed moſt part of the Univerſe, and eclipſed even the *Roman* Greatneſs, the *Indian* Trade ceaſed, and was little uſed by the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperors; being wreſted from them by *Omar* the firſt Caliph of *Babylon*, it was removed from place to place, till being brought to *Damaſcus* and *Aleppo*, the *Venetians* Monopoliz'd it for ſome time, to the great enriching of their Seigniory. But *Vaſco de Gama*, in 1497. having diſcover'd a paſſage into the *Indies*, by compaſſing *Africk*, the *Venetians* were forced to leave it to the *Portugueſe*, *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, who now enjoy it.

The hotteſt Countries in the World.

October 18. the Wind being fair, they found themſelves by Obſervation in 17 deg. Northern Latitude, and 19 Longitude, from *Mohelia*. The Weather here is extremely hot, ſo that it puts Men into Calentures; for in the Summer Solſtice, the places about the Red Sea and *Perſian* Gulph are the hotteſt in the World, for the Earth equally inflames as the Air.

Flying Fiſhes, *vide* their form, Fig 8.

October 26. being in 20 deg. Longitude, the Calm Weather increaſing the heat, they diverted themſelves in viewing large ſhoals of flying Fiſhes, which by their multitude riſing together out of the Sea, darkened the Body of the Sun. 'Tis a Fiſh beautiful to the Eye, but the Body is no larger than that of a ſmall Herring, but having large Fins, it makes uſe of them as Wings to avoid the purſuit of Sharks, Dolphins, Boneto's, Albicores, and other ravenous Fiſhes. They can fly no longer than their Fins are wet, but in that time will mount up 40 foot high, and fly 200 paces. But while they eſcape their Water-enemies, they often fall into the mouths of others, which they meet with in the Air, for uſually Oſprays, Sea-Vultures, and other Birds of prey, purſue, and ſometimes take them. True Emblems of Miſery, who no ſooner eſcape one danger, but they fall into another.

A Rainbow in the Night.

Here they ſaw a perfect Rainbow in the Night, which tho' not ſo common as Solar by Day, yet *Ariſtotle* mentions two that he himſelf ſaw; and *Vicomercatus*, in his Comment on him, tells us the like happened in *Germany*. Howbeit, the Colours of the Lunar are not ſo freſh as thoſe in a Solar Rainbow.

Goa in the *Eaſt-Indies* deſcribed.

November 17. they came in ſight of the *Indian* Coaſt, and ſaw Land in 15 deg of Latitude, and 32 of Longitude, the very place where *Goa* (of Old *Barigaza*) is ſeated. It is the braveſt and beſt defended City in the Eaſt, the Magazine, Refuge, and Seat of Juſtice of the Victorious *Portugueſe*. The City is not viſible at Sea, being three hours Journey within Land. Of Old it was the Seat of the *Canarins*, and ſtands in an Iſle called *Tiſſoar*, 30 Miles in compaſs, a ſweet place ſurrounded by a freſh River, which fall from the mighty Mountain *Bellaguate*, encompaſſed with a ſtrong and beautiful Wall, beautified with Turrets, and armed with many ſorts of roaring Cannon. Her ſtrength and beauty was began by the *Decan* Kings *Zabaym* and *Idalcan*, from whom *Albuquerque*, the Victorious *Portugueſe*, took it in 1509. and after defended it againſt 70000 Foot, and 3500 Horſe, which *Idul-cann* brought againſt it to reduce. It was much enlarged and beautified by the *Portugueſe*.

The Bazar.

The great Bazar, or Market-place, which is in the heart of the Town, is gallantly and regularly built; many of the Streets, which are built after the *Indian* Mode, are narrow, and ſufficiently naſty, but the Buildings are generally ſpacious, and not uncomely, thick and dark within, and terraſſed above, ſutable to ſo hot a Climate. It is Watered with a delicious Stream, which refreſhes the Fields, and cloaths the Earth with Flowers. The Gardens are filled with variety of delicious Fruits, and the whole Iſle abounds with Graſs, Groves and Corn, Cattle, Fruits, and all delights which Man can reaſonably require. Above 20 little Towns, all planted by the *Portugueſe*, are ſeen within 30 Miles compaſs, as alſo the Ruins of 200 Idol-Temples, which the Vice-Roy *Antonio Norogna* utterly demoliſhed, that no Memory might remain, or Monuments continue of ſuch groſs Idolatry.

Idolatry deſtroyed.

At *Salſette* alſo were two Temples of Prophane Worſhip, one of them (by incredible toil cut out of an hard Rock) was divided into three Iſles or Galleries, in which ſtood many deformed Figures of their Pagods, which would have affrighted an *European* Spectator: Nevertheleſs this was a Celebrated place, and ſo abundantly frequented by Idolaters, as induced the *Portugueſe*, out of a meer Zeal, with a conſiderable Force, to Maſter the Town, that they might demoliſh the Temples, and break in pieces their monſtrous Deities.

In *Goa*, the moſt obſervable now are the Fortifications, the Viceroy's and Archbiſhop's Palaces, and the Churches. The Palaces are very ſtrong built of good Stone, furniſhed and adorned within with rich Arras and Paintings; the Churches are large and neat, and of them, the beſt and fineſt are thoſe dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, (in which tis ſaid that the Bones and Skull of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, brought from *Meliapore*, are kept) St. *Paul*, St. *Dominick*, St. *Katharine*, and St. *Saviour*, in which the Great *Albuquerque* lies, who died at *Goa* 1516. as do alſo the Bodies of *D'Acugna*, Don *Franciſco*, and the *China* Saint *Francis Xavier* the Jeſuit, who died *December* 4. 1552. aged 55 Years, and Canonized by Pope *Gregory* XV. *March* 12. 1622. The City is compaſſed with a thick Stone Wall, flanked and moated about, having withal a Counterſcarp, and 300 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, ſo mounted upon the Bulwarks and Ravelins, as renders the place Impregnable.

Chap. XXI.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *Travels in* India, *containing a Deſcription of the People, Cities, Government and Product of it; with an Account of the Great* Moguls, *their Kings, and ſeveral Changes in the Succeſſion to the Crown.*

Swalley-Road.
Euroclydon.
Snakes in the Sea.
Dabul, or *Dunga.*
S. John de Vacas.

DEparting thence they haſted towards *Swalley-Road*, keeping the *Indian*-ſhore in view all along, and were overtaken by a furious Wind called in the *Acts* Euroclydon, a kind of Hurrican or vaſt Tumour in the Air, which cauſes ſo terrible a Tempeſt, that Houſes and Trees are but like Duſt before it, and Ships by its violence are blown aſhore and broken. Once in 9 Years it uſeth to Thunder thus here, and it is preſaged 3 or 4 Days before by the Birds and Beaſts, who with ſtrange noiſes run about and hide themſelves, as if the World were to be overturned: but Providence favoured them with an eſcape, only the Storm drove them out of their way ſo, as they were a little puzzled to find it, till obſerving many Snakes ſwimming about their Ships, they found they were near the ſhore, and ſoon after they deſcried Land in 19 deg. 35 min. Latitude, and 29 Longitude, which they found to be *Dabul*, or *Dunga*, by the high Land, and then they came in ſight of St. *John de Vacas*, a Town likewiſe ſubject to the *Portugueſe*, at the South-end of which is St. *Valentine*'s Peak, from whence the Land continues high to *Gundavir*, an Hill 6 Leagues ſhort of *Swalley-Road*.

Chaul.
Daman.

November 27. after long toil, they came to *Chaul*, and from thence to *Daman*, a lovely Town inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, and famous for being the utmoſt extent of the *Macedonian* Conqueſts. At the North-end of *Daman* is a large and ſtrong Caſtle, built of a white Chalky Stone, flank'd with Ordnance, mounted to play at advantage; and at the South-end is a fair Church, with white Battlements of the ſame Stone, as are alſo ſome of the Houſes, but others are of unburnt Brick; and alſo three other Temples, affording pleaſure both to the Eye and Heart.

November 29. they came to an Anchor near the Bar at *Swalley-Road*, which is from the Æquator 20 deg. 56 min. North, and is in the 28 deg. Longitude from *Mohelia*.

December 1. with ſome Pe-unes, or Olive-colour'd *Indian* Foot-boys, (who can prattle *Engliſh* very prettily) they rode to *Surat* in a Chariot drawn by two Buffaloes, who by Cuſtom are made managable and nimble in their trot, paſſing through *Swalley*, *Batty* (a place famous for good Toddy) and *Damkee* in the way thither.

Surat deſcribed.
Unwholſome ſhowers.
Mogul's Tribute.

Surat, called by *Ptolemy Muziris*, is a City at this day no leſs great and rich than populous and famous: It is the chief Factory of the *Eaſt-India* Merchants, whoſe Preſident has his Reſidence there. The Air and Soil are troubleſome to ſtrangers, the one being inflamed with the torridneſs of the Zone, and the other being Sandy and Sulphureous. The Artick-Pole is here elevated 21 deg. 3 min. and in *September* the Clouds ſhower down continually an unwholſome dew, and that in ſuch plenty as cauſes great Floods, and turns Summer into Winter. It is accounted the third beſt Town in *Guzurat* Kingdom, *Amadabad* and *Cambaya* having the precedence. The whole Province is ſubject to the *Mogul*, and is ſo profitable to him, that the Annual Tribute of it amounts (as Merchants ſay) to an 150 Tun of Gold. 'Tis of late become a Town of the greateſt Note and Trade in *India*; tho' 'tis ſcarce 100 Years ſince *Antonio Sylverio*, a *Portugueſe*, with 200 Men entred into it and burnt it; but 'tis now much increaſed in Buildings and Inhabitants.

The River Tindy.
The Walls and Caſtle.
Bazar.
Meidan.
A Magazine of Water.
Worſhip of the Sun.

In 1566, and of the Hegyra 946. by the Valour of *Kan Azem* it was made ſubject to *Echar* the *Great Mogul*. Now it is under a quiet Government, water'd with a ſweet River called *Tappee*, or *Tindy*, (as broad as the *Thames* at *Windſor*) which riſing in the Mountains of *Deccan*, runs through *Brampore* in a Courſe of 220 Miles, and waſhing the Walls of *Surat*, glides through the Country for 22 Miles in divers Windings, and at length falls into the Sea a League from *Swalley-Road*. 'Tis encompaſſed with a Mud-Wall, and hath a large Caſtle of Stone built on the S. W. ſide, planted with Ordnance, and ſtrengthned by a Garriſon, who will hardly admit any ſtrangers to ſee their Fortifications. The Weſt opens on, to the *Bazar* through a fair Stone Gate, where the Toll-gatherers are daily buſie to gather the *Mogul*'s Tribute. The *Meidan* is of no great beauty, nor do the Shops make any great ſhow, the *Banians* chuſing rather to be thought Poor than be accounted Rich. The Houſes are indifferent beautiful, ſome of Carved Wood, others of Brick dried in the Sun. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Houſes exceed all other in largeneſs and furniture. The Suburbs have three Poſterns leading three ſeveral ways, one to *Variaw* and *Cambaya*, the ſecond to *Brampore*, and the third to *Nanſary*. The Town affords no Monuments nor Moſques of note. The *Engliſh* have a Garden with pleaſant Walks, and great variety of Flowers, but is inferiour to another there for proſpect. By the *Nanſary* Gate is a Frank or Magazine of Water, an admirable Work: It is of Free-ſtone, has above 100 Angles and Sides, which are 28 Ells long between every Angle; ſo that it is near a thouſand ordinary Paces in compaſs. It is leſſen'd to the bottom by 16 Steps, and receives a great quantity of Rain-water, which the *Indians* prefer much before their River, which they chiefly uſe to waſh themſelves in while they adore the Sun in its riſing, a form of Worſhip much uſed in the Eaſtern Parts of the World, and it ſeems to have crept in among the *Jews* by the reproof which is given to ſuch Idolaters by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, c. 8. v. 16.

Indoſtan deſcribed. Its Inhabitants.

Indoſtan, as it is a fruitful Soil, ſo it abounds with People, and that of divers Nations and Languages, who differ much one from another in Habit, Manners and Religion: For beſides the Natives of the Country, there are *Jews*, *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, Chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, *Tartars*, and others, of which the *Banians* are the greateſt for number, but the *Moors* command.

They have a peculiar Language of their own, but the *Perſian* Tongue is underſtood by thoſe of the beſt rank, and is looked upon as moſt Courtly.

The Language.
Soldiers.
The Inhabitants.

The Indian *Mahometans* are People not leſs Crafty than Valiant; the Soldiers by Profeſſion are either *Reſhboots* or *Perſians*, and delight to go armed with Sword, Buckler, Bow, Arrows, and Dagger. Their Habit is a Quilted Callico Coat, tied under the Left Arm, a ſmall Saſh upon their Heads, and large Stockins; but ſome wear Sandals. The other ſort of People are Merchants, *Bramins*, *Gentiles* and *Perſees*; which laſt are the Original Inhabitants. When any Ships ride at *Swalley*, which is commonly from *September* to *March*, the *Banians* pitch their Booths all along the ſhore like a Fair, to ſell Callicoes, *China*-Sattin, Porcellan, Scrutores, Cabinets of Mother of Pearl, Ebony, Ivory, Agates, Turquoiſes, Hiliotropes and Cornelians; as alſo Rice, Sugar, Plantains, Aroca, &c.

Boys.

There are alſo many little Boys or Pe-unes, who for two pence a day are ready to ſerve you, either to Interpret, run, go of Errands, or the like. Theſe will not eat nor drink with a Chriſtian, nor out of the ſame Leaf they drink their Toddy.

Women.

The *Bannian* and *Indian* Women, according to the Eaſtern Cuſtom, are ſeldom ſeen abroad, being mewed up by their Jealous Husbands.

Beaſts.

Here are Elephants and Horſes, but Oxen do the moſt Labour, for from Town to Town they ride in Chariots drawn by Oxen, but in the Towns upon Palankins, with Sambrero's *de Sol* over them.

Money.

The Current Money here is *Pice*, which is an heavy round piece of Braſs, 30 of which make our Shilling. The Mamoudy, which is of good Silver, round and thick, ſtamped after the manner of the *Saracens* (who allow no Images) with *Arabick* Letters, only importing the King and *Mahomet*, is in value one Shilling of our Coin; and the Roupee, which is made alſo of like pure Silver, is 2 *s.* and 3 *d.* and a Pardow 4 *s.* The Dina is a piece of Gold worth 30 *s.* and *Spaniſh* Rials and Piſtolets, and *Perſian* Larees, Abyſſees, and *Engliſh* Gold, are here Current at 26 *s.* apiece, tho' in *Perſia* they will go but at 20 *s.* An hundred thouſand Roupees make a Lecke, an hundred Leckes make a Crou, ten Crou's (or Carron) one Areb. Again, in Silver 14 Roupees make a Maſs, 1150 Maſſes make an hundred Tolls, ten Tolls of Silver make one in Gold. In Braſs, 30 Taukes, or Pieces, make a Roupee in Weight; the Batman is 82 *l.* *Engliſh*, but only 55 of their Pounds, and the Maund as much.

The *Banians* Art and Habit. *Vid.* Fig 9.

The *Banians* (as Crafty as the Devil, according to their Proverb) by their moderate outſide, exceſs of Superſtition, ſmooth Dealing, or rather Hypocriſy, and Moral Temperance, put great Cheats upon the unwary and credulous Trader; they are of a tawny Complexion, and for the moſt part ſpare of Body. They let their Hair grow long, and yet, according to their Country Mode, wreath a ſmall white Saſh about their Heads: their Habit is a long Coat of white Quilted Callico, of the *Dalmatick* ſort; their Shoes of ſeveral colours and faſhions according to every Man's fancy, without Latchets, ſharp and turning at the Toe, thin Soaled, high Heel'd, ſurrounded with Steel, faſt and durable.

The Women.

The Women are of a whiter colour than the Men, becauſe they are kept more from the Sun, but wanting a mixture of Blood, ſupply it with a Vermilion Dye. They likewiſe wear their Hair long, and covering it with a thin tranſparent Lawn make it ſhew lovely. Their Noſes, Ears, Arms and Legs, they load with Manillio's, or Rings of Braſs, Gold and Ivory. Their Behaviour is ſilently modeſt, but Speech laſcivious.

Marriage.

Marriage is in ſo great Honour, that they moſt times Contract at ſeven Years old, and are Parents at ten; and they will not let any die unmarried, tho' they hire a Wife only for a Night.

Polygamy odious.

Polygamy is ſo odious to them, that they vilify the *Mahometans*, as People of impure Souls, for having many Wives. They burn their Dead to aſhes in an holy Fire, compounded of all ſorts of coſtly Wood and ſweet Spices; the Wife alſo (in expectation to enjoy her Husband amongſt incomparable pleaſures in another World) throws her ſelf into the Mercileſs flames, for which affection ſhe obtains a living Memory.

The *Brahmins* and their Tenets.

Their Prieſts are called *Brahmins*, or *Brachmini*, the ſame with the ancient *Gymnoſophi.* Their Tenets in Religion are, ‘That the whole Frame, or Body of the World, had a beginning, being created by a God of Immenſe Power, Eternal and Provident.

The firſt Man.

After he had made Man, he created Woman to aſſociate with him, and ſympathize with him both in Body and Diſpoſition. Theſe he named *Pourous* and *Parcaity*, a Couple ſo innocent, that they reputed it a Crime to cut any thing that had a Senſitive life, feeding only upon Herbs and Fruits, and the like Vegetables, agreeing with thoſe who believe that *Adam* had no liberty to kill any Creature, but lived upon the Herbs and Fruits only of the Earth, which all Mankind followed, till God enlarged his Grant to *Noah* of all Creatures for Food, excepting the Blood.

His Children.

This abſtemious Couple had four Children; *Brammon*, whoſe Conſtitution being melancholy, he became a Prieſt. *Cuttery*, who being Cholerick, was a Soldier. *Shuddery*, who being flegmatick, loved Merchandize; And *Wiſe*, being Sanguine, betook himſelf to Husbandry. And from theſe proceeded the four chief Vocations of Men: but becauſe ſuch an holy Generation ſhould not deſcend from Inceſt, therefore (their Shaſter, or Book of Law) ſays,

Their Wives and Poſterity.

That God revealed to them, that he had formed four Women for them, on whom to propagate, and order'd *Brammon* to travel to the Eaſt, *Cuttery* to the Weſt, *Shuddery* to the North, and *Wiſe* to the South, to find the Wives deſtined for them; which being done, they propagated Mankind, and filled the World with Men and Arts at once. When theſe four had ſpent ſome time in thoſe contrary Quarters of the World, where fate directed them, they all became equally mindful of returning home, deſirous to viſit their Parents, and people their Native Soil; and accordingly, with large Troops of their Children, returned home, and were received with great joy.

Their Sin.

Some Ages they lived with their Parents, but in proceſs of time began to loſe their Virgin purity, Diſcord, Pride and Rapine, mingling amongſt them; ſo as Brotherly-love being laid aſide, there was no appearance but of Violence and Voluptuouſneſs, for *Brahman* grew careleſs of Devotion, *Cuttery* Inſolent and Aſpiring, *Shuddery* Diſhoneſt and Unjuſt, and *Wiſe* Unthrifty and Riotous,

The Flood.

at which God being provoked, lets forth the Sea upon all Mankind, to purge away the naſty ſmell of their Pollution, and reſolves to fill the Earth with a more perfect and pure Generation. To this end, God deſcends upon the high Mountain *Meroparbatee*, and commands *Bremaw* to riſe up out of the Earth, which was accordingly done, and he immediately worſhipped him: He had power given him to create other Creatures.

The World reſtored.

Then God called up *Viſtney* and *Ruddery*, and to the former he gave a power to preſerve, and to the latter a power to deſtroy his Creatures by Death, Plague, Famine, Diſeaſes, War, and the like Miſchiefs, appointing them a certain time to live upon the Earth. From *Bremaw*, who falling into a deep ſleep or trance, his Body ſwelled, and became full of anguiſh, he brought forth two Twins of each Sex, who by Miracle immediately grew up to the perfect ſtature of Man, and were miraculouſly furniſhed with Language and Education.

Sin of Man.

Bremaw named them *Manaw* and *Ceteroupa*, whom after he had bleſſed, he ſent Eaſt to the great Mountain *Mounderpurvool*, where ſtraightway *Ceteroupa* brought forth three more Sons, and as many Daughters, who going to ſeveral Quarters, ſoon Peopled the Earth; but multitude produced ill actions, and Mankind fell into all ſorts of Sin, which God obſerving, left Heaven for a while to give them directions how to live virtuouſly, and avoid temptations; and calling *Bremaw* to the top of the Mountain *Meropurbatee*, ſpake to him many things out of a dusky dark Cloud, now and then flaſhing glympſe of his Majeſty,

The Law of God.

and delivered to him the Book of his Laws called Shaſter, which was divided into three Tracts dedicated to three great Caſts. 1. Containing Moral Precepts. 2. Containing Ceremonies of Worſhip. And 3. Containing peculiar Inſtructions to the three Caſts.

The Moral Law of the *Indians*.

The Moral Law has eight Commandments, agreeing for the moſt part with thoſe ſeven which *R. Solomon* ſays that *Noah* taught the World in his time, *viz.* ‘1. Thou ſhalt not deſtroy any living Creature, for thou and it are both my Creatures. 2. Thou ſhalt not ſin in any of thy five Senſes, in thy Eyes by beholding Vanity, thy Ears by hearing Evil, in thy Tongue by uttering any Filthineſs, in thy Palate by drinking Wine, eating Fleſh of living Creatures, in thy Hands by handling any filthy things. 3. Thou ſhalt daily perform ſet-times of Devotion, as Praying, Waſhing, Elevating, Proſtrating, &c. 4. Thou ſhalt not Lye nor Diſſemble. 5. Thou ſhalt not be hard-hearted, but helpful unto others. 6. Thou ſhalt not Oppreſs or Tyrannize. 7. Thou ſhalt obſerve Feſtivals and Faſting-days. 8. Thou ſhalt not Steal.

The *Brahmins*.

Theſe 8 Precepts (as we may plainly ſee they are derived from the Bible, the Names and Story being only a little corrupted in delivering them, ſo they) are ſubdivided into four Parts according to their ſeveral Caſts. The *Brahmins* and *Banians* are tied to a more ſtrict obſervance of them than the Soldiers and Mechanicks.

Their Habit.

The *Brahmins* are of 82 Caſts or Tribes; the *Vertaes* are of an higher degree, but fewer in number, their Habit is a Girdle of *Antelope*'s Skin about their middle, a Thong of the ſame Hide reaching from the Neck to the Left Arm, being elſewhere naked. Some of them wear a threefold thread, reaching from the Right Shoulder to the Left Arm, others three ſmall ſtrings of Silk upon their Fleſh, as low as their Waſte, which ſerve as a Badge of their Profeſſion. Upon their Heads they wreath ſome fine white Callico, in which their Hair is neatly plaited; in their Ears they wear Gold Rings, ſometimes ſet with precious Stones.

Their Marriages.

They Marry but once, Faſt ſtrictly, and Drink moderately, Waſh very often, and are much reverenced by the other Sects.

The *Banians*.

The *Shudderies*, or *Banians*, are Merchants, and contrary to their Name, which ſignifies harmleſs, are the moſt crafty People throughout all *India*, full of flegmatick fear and ſuperſtition.

Their waſhings.

They waſh often, as they are commanded, and as is obſerved in all the Pagan Religions of thoſe hot Countries, firſt dawbing their Bodies with dirt, as an Emblem of Sin, and then diving three times in the Water to waſh it off, their faces being turned to the Eaſt, and adoring the Sun, and ſhaking a few grains of Rice into the Water, as an Euchariſtical Offering to the Element for purging them.

Their Mercy to Beaſts.

They are indeed Merciful, grieving to ſee other People ſo hard-hearted as to feed upon Fiſh, Fleſh, Radiſhes, Onions, Garlick, and ſuch things, as either have Life, or a reſemblance of Blood. They, for their parts, will not kill ſo much as a Louſe, Flea, Kakaroch, or the like, but on the contrary, buy their liberty of ſuch Sailors and others as of neceſſity muſt cruſh them; yea, they have Hoſpitals for old, ſick, lame, or ſtarved Creatures, Birds, Beaſts, Cats, Rats, or the like, and have no worſe Men to overſee them than the *Puſhelans*, the beſt reſpected ſort of *Brahmins*.

Tranſmigration of Souls.

They hold *Pythagoras*'s Doctrine, believing the *Metempſycoſis*, or Tranſanimation,

Why invented by *Pythagoras.*

tion, or Paſſage of Souls into Beaſts, *viz.* The Souls of Drunkards, or Epicures, into Swine; the Luſtful and Inceſtuous into Goats and Dogs; the Diſſemblers into Apes, Crocodiles and Foxes; the Lazy into Bears, the Paſſionate and Cruel into Tygers, the Proud into Lions, the Blood-thirſty into Wolves, Ounces, Snakes; the Perjur'd into Toads, and the like; but the Souls of good Men, abſtemious, pitiful and courteous, into Kine, Buffaloes, Sheep, Storks, Doves and Turtles. *Pythagoras* invented this Fiction, only to perſwade Men that the Soul was Immortal, and to ſhew that there was a Puniſhment and Reward for Men after this Life.

Their Idolatry and Pagods.

Their Idolatry to Pagods (or Images of deformed Dæmons) is very obſervable: They place them in Chappels commonly built under the Bannian Trees (which the *Portugueze* call *Arbor de Rays*, or the Tree of Roots; Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Ficus Indicus*; *Cardan*, *Ciba*; and the *Spaniards*, *Gorda*, in the *Weſt-Indies*) a Tree of ſuch repute among them, that they count it impious to abuſe it, either in breaking a Branch, or otherwiſe defacing it, and adorn it with Streamers of Silk and Ribband of divers colours. Their Pagods are of divers ſhapes, ſuch as Satan appears to them in, ugly-faced, with long black Hair, goggle Eyes, wide-mouthed, forked Beards, every ways as horrible as the obſcene forms of *Priapus.* To theſe Idols under theſe Trees, they pay their Devotion, Tyths, and Offerings, receive Unction and Sprinklings of divers coloured Powders, perform Ceremonies, notice being given them by a little Bell, repeat their Prayers, make Proceſſions, ſing and perform many Miſteries; and ſo numerous were their Idol-Temples grown before the *Turks* came among them, that almoſt every Village had a different Pagod, and many of them are ſtanding to this day. Two of the chief in *India* were at *Varicuo* near *Surat*, and at *Negricot*, where they are ſealed and paved with Gold, and yearly viſited by many thouſands of *Banyans*, who by way of Devotion, have uſed to cut out part of their Tongues for a Sacrifice, and thereby to ſpeak the *Sibboleth* the better ever after. In *Jagannot*, a Town in *Bengal*, is another of their Idolatrous Temples, where for ſeven days together, a Feſtival is yearly obſerved, when the Pagod is by the *Toguers* expos'd to publick view, and in triumph carried thro' the Streets in a Chariot with eight Wheels, drawn by above an hundred *Indians*, who flock thither in great multitudes for Devotion, and ſome of them out of zeal, caſt themſelves in the way, and are cruſhed to death, as a voluntary ſacrifice to the Devil.

Their Worſhip.

Their chief Idol-Temples.

Their Waſhing in *Ganges.*

At *Tanaſſa* ſometimes an hundred thouſand *Indians* go naked into *Ganges*, and bowing their Bodies, they throw the Water up with their Hands, as an Offering to the Sun, whom they worſhip. Other places of note are at *Bannaras* upon *Ganges*, *Eibarpore*, *Jallanexa*, *Elabas*, *Sibah*, and other places. Part of their Religion conſiſts in invocating Holy Men famed for their Virtue. Howbeit, the Cow is of moſt eſteem with them. They have the *Cyrenian* or *Ægyptian* Goddeſs for an Example, the Image of a Cow, which ſignified the Tillage, that preſerved them, by the Prudence of *Serapis*, i. e. *Joſeph*, from the memorable Famine mentioned in *Geneſis.* In Wars the *Cutteries* or *Radieas*, only call upon *Bemohem*, the Rich upon *Mycaſſar*, the Poor upon *Syer*, the Labourers upon *Gunner*, and the Married upon *Hurmount*, &c. Moreover they effect Pilgrimages to Rivers, eſpecially *Ganges*, becauſe they ſay *Bremaw* frequented it, and it has an Head in form of a Cow, which they worſhip for her fruitfulneſs, and in imitation of the *Ægyptian Apis.* They waſh often, and thereby ſuppoſe themſelves purified from all Sin. When they are ſick, they deſire their Mouths ſhould be waſhed with the Water of *Ganges*, which they value as much as if it flowed out of Paradice.

A Cow worſhipped.

Pilgrimages to Rivers.

Baptiſm.

In Baptiſm the Prieſts or *Bramins* anoint their own Children, and the *Banians* or Merchants with Oil, and cleanſe them with Water; but to thoſe of the prophaner ſort, as Men of War, and Mechanicks, they apply Water only with the Point of a Penſil to their Forehead, wiſhing that God would write good things there, to which the Company ſay *Amen.*

Their Marriages and Ceremonies uſed at them.

Their Marriages are at ſeven Years, but cohabit not till ten. If any die unmarried, they conclude him unhappy; ſo that oftentimes they marry them when dead, before they are buried; an Opinion probably borrowed from the *Hebrews*, who hold from *Gen.* 1. 28. *That the Unmarried have no Portion in the World to come.* The Marriage Ceremonies are not many nor frivolous: The Boy rides about the Town one day, and the Bride the next, attended with trains of Children of the ſame Age and Sex, with Kettle-Drums, Trumpets, and Pageants, being diſtinguiſhed from others by Coronets. The Bride has no Money-Portion, becauſe they hold it contemptible, only ſome Jewels and Dina's of Gold in her Attire.

The Wedding how celebrated.

The Wedding is thus celebrated: A Fire is put between them to ſhew the Purity and Heat of their Affections; a Silken String circles both their Bodies, as the Hieroglyphick of Wedlock; then a Linnen Cloath is put between them, in token, that till then they were unknown to one another in nakedneſs; this done, the *Brahmin* bleſſeth them, and prays that ſhe may prove as gentle and fruitful as a Cow; the Cloath is pulled away, and the String untied, and they are one anothers for ever. They never marry out of their own Caſts; for *Brahmins* marry the Daughters of *Brahmins*, *Cutteryes* the Daughters of *Cutteryes*, *Shudderyes* the Daughters of *Shudderyes*, and *Wyſes* the Daughters of *Wyſes*, and theſe in their ſeveral Trades, Taylers with Taylers, *&c.* and, contrary to the Cuſtoms of the *Mahometans*, their Wives live not under much ſubjection.

Their ſickneſs and death.

In ſickneſs they call upon *Marrawn*, the God of Mercy, and when they perceive a Man a dying, they open his Hand, and moiſten it with the Water of *Ganges*, which they count holy; and when he is dead, they waſh his Carkaſs, and carry it to the Water-ſide ſilently, and having uttered two or three Words to the Element, burn the Body with Sweet-wood and Spices, and having thrown the Aſhes into the River, think they have done their duty to the Dead, and depart well ſatisfied.

Mourning.

When this Ceremony is finiſhed, the Prieſt preſents the Son of the Deceaſed with a Roll of his dead Fore-Fathers, and bids him fulfil the Ceremonial Law of deploring ten days, in which time he is neither to uſe his Wife, laugh, eat Opium, or Betel, put on any clean Cloaths, or anoint his Head with Oyl, but that day-month yearly ever after, make a Feaſt, and pay a complemental Viſit to that River which drank his Father's Aſhes. Oftentimes the Wife to expreſs her love to her dead Huſband, burns her ſelf with his Body. They affect no ſecond Marriages, the *Rajea's* and *Wyſes* excepted.

Burning their Dead, and the Reaſons of it.

Now the reaſon why they burn their Dead, is either from an ancient Cuſtom recorded in Scripture, *Amos* 6. 10. or becauſe if the Body were buried, it would breed Worms, which (for ought they know) may ſtarve when the Body is conſumed, and that they look upon as an inexpiable Sin.

The *Cutterye.*

The *Cutteryes* aſſume a greater Liberty, for being Men of War, they ſcruple not to ſhed Blood, eat Fleſh, appear lewd; They are for the moſt part called *Raja's*, or great Men, and have 36 Caſts, of which all of them are deſcended. They have of a long time been Owners of *Indoſtan*, but of late *Aladin*, a Potent King of *Delly*, wreſted *Guzarat* from them, and moſt of the reſt hath been taken from them by the Poſterity of *Tamerlain.*

Raſhpoots.

At this day they call themſelves *Raſhpoots* (or Sons of Kings) and live lawleſs to the *Moors*; and the chief of them at this day are *Rana Redgee Mardout*, *Radga Surmul Gee*, *Raja Berumſha*, *Mahobet Chan*, *Radia Barmulgee*, *Redgea Ramnegur*, *Radgia Joob'*, *Jeſſingh*, *Tzetterſing*, and *Manſigh*, &c. All theſe being for the moſt part Mountaineers, are rude, and of a more warlike diſpoſition than thoſe civiliz'd *Indians*, who dwell in Cities, and inhabit the plain Countries, and value not the *Potans* or *Bulloches*, who are the moſt warlike of the *Mahometans.*

The *Wyſes.*

The laſt Sect or Caſt of the Gentiſes, are the *Wiſes* or Labourers: They are of two; firſt, the *Wiſes*, properly ſo called; ſecondly, the *Kolees*: The firſt agree with the *Bannians* in Abſtinence, the other of late eat any Creature that is fit for Food: The purer ſort of theſe is divided into 36 Caſts. All theſe four Caſts in time grew ſo impious, that God required *Ruddery* to ſend a blaſt of Wind to ſweep away that Generation, which he accordingly did, and all periſhed ſave a very few honeſt Men and Women: This was the ſecond confuſion.

Ducerat and *Ram.*

Soon after God gave them a King propagated from the Seed of the *Brahmins*, called *Ducerat.* He begat *Ram*, a Man ſo famous for Piety and high Attempts, that to this day his Name is honoured, inſomuch, that when they ſay *Ram, Ram*, they wiſh all good to you. In proceſs of time the World again grew abominable, and then *Ruddery* commands the Earth to open and ſwallow up the ungodly, a few only excepted to people the Earth. Then *Viſiney*, the Mediator of Mercy, aſcended into Heaven, and left *Ruddery* to over-rule the Iron Age, at the end of which he alſo ſhall be wrapt up into Paradiſe.

Viſiney the Mediator of Mercy.

Theſe four Ages they call *Curtain, Duauper, Tettayoe*, and *Coolee.* Touching the laſt Judgment, they hold it ſhall be more dreadful than the other, the Sun ſhall ſhed his Light, and the Moon look red as Blood, and the four

Elements ſhall maintain a dreadful fight, till all things fall into confuſion.

The Souls of good Men *Ruddery* ſhall tranſport into Heaven, but the Wicked ſhall periſh; but the Bodies of either ſhall never riſe again, for they believe not a Reſurrection. The *Bramins* honour Angels, keep a *Monday*-Sabbath, love Chaſtity; or if they marry, ſeldom repeat it. Forbear Swearing and Blaſphemy, ſhun Pleaſures, drink Water, offer Money in all Sacrifices, drink not in a Pot, but pour into their Mouths at a diſtance, touch no Unclean; which Rites ſhow, that tho' they pretend that their *Shaſter* or Book of their Law came from God, yet it is patched up from Tradition, the Holy Scripture, *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Hiſtories.

No Reſurrection.

The *Perſees* deſcribed.

About *Surat* and *Guzurat*, there are another ſort of *Gentiles*, whoſe Religion and Life is different from the former, called *Perſees*, who are a People deſcended of the *Perſians*, and upon the Death of Valiant *Jezdgird* the *Perſian* King, who died *Anno* 635. fled into *India* to avoid *Mahometaniſm* and *Circumciſion*, to which they feared that they ſhould be forced to ſubmit by the *Turks*, who then under *Omar*, ſecond Caliph after *Mahomet*, ſubdued *Perſia*. They came into *India* in five Junks from *Jaſquez*, and arriving at *Surat*, upon a Treaty with the *Rajas* and *Banians*, obtained Leave to ſettle themſelves, and living peaceably, to exerciſe their Religion; which they had derived from one *Guſtaſp*, who lived 500 Years before our Saviour. [The Account of it our Author takes not only from his own Obſervation, but * from the Account of Mr. *Lord*, a Miniſter, who reſided many Years in the Factory of *Surat*, and carefully ſelected their Opinions, as they are written in their *Zundavaſtaw*, or Law-Book to this purpoſe.]

* Printed 1630.

Zertooſt their Lawgiver, his Birth and Life.

Such time as *Guſtaſp* (who was the fourteenth King of *Perſia* from *Kuymarraz*, who is by ſome thought to be *Noah*) reigned in *Perſia*, *Eſpintaman* and *Dodoo*, two poor People of *China*, with their Son *Zertooſt*, whom the King of *China* thought to deſtroy, becauſe he feared ſome great alterations in his Kingdom from him, whoſe Birth had been attended with ſo many rare and fearful Dreams, fled into *Perſia*, and there *Zertooſt* giving himſelf up to Meditations, an Angel appeared unto him, and asked him what he would have? He replied, The preſence of God, that he might receive from him his Will and Directions how to Inſtruct his Nation in them. His Deſire was eaſily granted, and his Body being purged, and his Eyes ſealed and wrapt up, he was taken up into the Heavens, and preſented before the Supreme, who was arrayed with ſuch refulgent Glory, that he could not behold his Majeſty, till he had Angels Eyes put into his Head. There he received his Laws, written in a Book called *Zundavaſtaw*, uttered by the Almighty; ſuch Laws and Secrets, as are ſome of them not to be promulgated, and having Worſhipped, he took the *Zundavaſtaw* in his Left Hand, and ſome Cæleſtial Fire in his Right, and was again ſet down upon the Earth by his good Angel *Bahaman Umſhauſpan*. *Zertooſt* being again returned to the Earth, armed himſelf againſt all temptations, and travels to publiſh his Laws. Satan ſeeing this, with envy laboured to ſeduce him, telling him, That the other Angel had deluded him: That God was in no wiſe pleaſed with his deſign: That his Travels to reclaim the World would be in vain, and his Book was ſtuffed with Lyes; but if *Zertooſt* wou'd depend upon him, he would furniſh him with all Delights and Honours, give him a power to work Miracles, ſo that he ſhould be worſhipped as God. *Zertooſt* perceiving this Tempter to be *Lucifer* bad him avoid, and told him, That as by his Impiety he had himſelf loſt Heaven, ſo through Malice he was deſirous to draw others into the like Damnation, and that his Book ſhould condemn him; whereupon the Fiend vaniſhed. *Zertooſt* then coming to his Parents, and declaring what had befaln him, *Dodoo* his Mother publiſhed her Dreams and Viſions about his Conception, and *Zortooſt* preached his Law, which the People admiring, *Gaſtaſp* the *Perſian* King heard of them, and deſired to ſee the Man, and after ſome Diſcourſe with him embraces his Doctrines; and tho' the Arch flamen oppoſed them, yet he confirming them with Miracles, the King reſolved to adhere to his Religion, and his *Zundavaſtaw*, or Law, was opened and accepted.

His Law and Cæleſtial Fire.

Zertooſt tempted.

The Contents of the *Zundavaſtaw*.

The *Zundavaſtaw* is divided into three Parts: The firſt treats of Judicial Aſtrology, called *Aſtoodeger*, and is committed to the care of thoſe they call *Jeſopps*, *i. e.* Sages. The ſecond contains Natural Philoſophy, and is ſtudied by the *Hackeams* or Phyſicians; and the laſt is compounded of Religion, named from the Author of it. The *Zertooſt* is kept by the *Daroo's* or *Predicants*, and conſiſts of Precepts for the Archbiſhop, Clergy and Laymen. The Precepts given to the *Behedins*, or Laymen, are five: 1. To cheriſh Shamefacedneſs as a Vertue, that keeps Men from all ſorts of ugly Vices, as Pride, Revenge, Theft, Adultery, Drunkenneſs and Perfidiouſneſs. 2. To cheriſh fear. 3. To premeditate what they have to do, that they may reject the bad, and obſerve the good. 4. That the firſt thing they do every day, be to remember God's love, and thereby quicken their gratitude. 5. To pray daily to the Sun, and nightly to the Moon, as the two great Lamps and Witneſſes, which be moſt oppoſite to the Devil, who delights in darkneſs.

The Precepts for the Laity.

The Laws for the Clergy.

The Laws enjoyn'd the *Herboords* or Clergy are eleven, (nor is the practiſe of them to excuſe them from thoſe of the Laity) 1. To be conſtant to that form of Worſhip preſcribed in their *Zundavaſtaw*. 2. Not to covet what belongs to another. 3. To abhor Lyes. 4. Not to be Worldly minded. 5. To learn the *Zundavaſtaw* by heart. 6. To keep themſelves free from Pollution. 7. To forgive Injuries. 8. To teach the Laity how to behave themſelves in all Religious Worſhip. 9. To licenſe Matrimony. 10. To be frequent at Church. 11. Upon pain of eternal Fire to believe in no other Law than their own, which they are neither to add unto nor diminiſh.

The Rules for their Pope.

The Rules given the *Diſtoore*, or Pope, (for they have never more than one) are thirteen more than the reſt, becauſe as he precedes the reſt in Dignity, ſo is his Life to be moſt ſtrict, for he is obliged to obſerve not only his own, but alſo the Precepts of the two former degrees. 1. He muſt not touch any profane thing, no not the Laymen, or *Darooes* of his own belief, without waſhing, or purifying after. 2. He muſt do every thing that has relation to himſelf with his own hands, as planting, ſowing, cooking, &c. 3. He is duly and truly to receive the Tenth of all the Laity poſſeſs. 4. He is to avoid all Vain-glory, and with his great Income to exerciſe Acts of Charity. 5. His Houſe is to joyn to the Church, ſo as that he may be often there, and go and come without being taken notice of. 6. His waſhings are to be more frequent than others, his food purer; and he is to refrain his Wives company during her pollution. 7. He is not only to be perfect in the *Zertooſt*, but of the greateſt knowledge in Judicial and Natural Philoſophy. 8. That his Diet be moderate. 9. That he fear none but God. 10. That he tell every Man his faults. 11. That in Viſions he diſtinguiſh between falſe and true, and give a right Judgment about them. 12. That whenſoever God manifeſts himſelf to him by night Viſions, he ſhould admire his Goodneſs, and keep them ſecret. 13. That he always keep the Fire which *Zertooſt* brought from Heaven alive, that it never go out, till Fire deſtroy all the World.

Their Rites and Ceremonies about Meats.

They have certain Rites and Ceremonies alſo by which they are differenced from other ſorts, particularly about their Meats, Faſts, Idolatrous Worſhip of Fire, Baptiſm, Marriages and Burials. They are allowed to eat any ſort of Meat almoſt; nevertheleſs, that they may not diſpleaſe the *Banians* and *Moors*, among whom they live, they abſtain from eating Beef and Hogs-fleſh, but the *Raſhbeots* eat the laſt. They ſeldom feed together, leſt they ſhould participate in one anothers impurity, but every one has his own Cup; and if any one of his own Caſt chance to uſe it, he waſhes it three times, and forbears to uſe it a while after.

Feſtivals.

They obſerve ſix ſolemn Feſtivals yearly, in memory of the ſeveral parts of the Creation, *viz.* *Meduſerum* on *Fere*, or *Feb.* 15. 2. *Petuſaban*, *Apr.* 26. 3. *Tatrum*, on *May* 26. 4. *Medearum*, *Aug.* 16. 5. *Homeſpetamadum*, *Oct.* 30. And 6. *Meduſan*, *Dec.* 11. The ſecond is kept in memory that God made Hell, to be a place for the Devil and his Angels, to put Men in mind of avoiding that evil that will bring them thither.

Faſts.

After every one of theſe Feaſts, they obſerve a five days Abſtinence, eating but only one ſparing Meal every day; and whenſoever they eat any Fowl or Fleſh, they carry ſome part of it to the *Eggaree*, or Temple, as an Offering to appeaſe God, becauſe for the Suſtenance of their Lives they are forced to take away the Lives of thoſe his Creatures.

Fire-worſhip.

As to their Worſhip of Fire, 'tis in memory of that Fire which they Fable that *Zertooſt* brought down from Heaven, in which they imitate the Veſtals, or rather the Jews, who were commanded, *Lev.* 6. 13. to preſerve continually the Fire that came down from Heaven upon the Altar, and never let it go out. This ſort of Worſhip was very anciently uſed in *Perſia*, and 'tis probable both the *Romans* and *Greeks* had their Veſtal fire from them. In *Perſia* there are ſtill many *Pyree*, tho' *Heraclius* the Emperor deſtroyed many of them in his Wars with *Ceroes*, in which Army *Mahomet* ſerved; and they ſay, ſeveral of them have not been extinct for a thouſand Years.

What Fire they Worſhip.

In *India* the *Perſees* have an *Eggaree*, or Temple at *Nancery*, whoſe Fire has continued this 200 Years. This their God-fire is not compoſed of common Combuſtibles, as Wood, Straw, Coals, or the like, nor blown by any Bellows, or breath of Man, but compounded of ſparks flying from an hot burning temper'd Steel, and kindled by a Burning-Glaſs, or Lightning from Heaven. If the Fire have need of cheriſhing, the *Diſtore*, or in his abſence the *Heerbood*, at 10 or 12 foot diſtance, with an Aſſembly of Laymen, ſurround it, and the Prieſt having added ſome ſort of fuel, returns to the People, who fall to their Worſhip, beſeeching them to give due reverence to it, as a part of God, who is of the ſame Subſtance, and love all things that reſemble it, as the Sun, Moon and Stars, yea, and common fire, which they have ſo Divine an eſtimate of, that they hold it an impious thing to ſpit upon it, throw water into it, or put it to any vile uſe, and reverence Wood, and all ſuch things as give it life; and if by chance they caſt any filthy thing into it, they pray to God that he would forgive them.

Baptiſm.

Their Baptiſm, or naming their Children, is thus performed: So ſoon as a Child is born, they ſend for the *Daroo*, or Churchman, who being informed preciſely of the hour of the Childs birth, caſts the Nativity, and with the conſent of the Parents names the Child, and then haſtning to the *Eggaree*, or Temple, the Prieſt having put ſome Water into the Bark of a Tree, called *Holm*, (which they ſay *Zertooſt* bleſſed for that end) pours ſome Water on the Child, and prays, that by it it may be cleanſed from all impurity.

Confirmation.

At ſeven Years old the Child is Confirmed by the *Daroo*, and taught to ſay his Prayers over the fire, yet with a Cloth over his Mouth, that his breath may not defile that holy Element. Then the *Daroo* gives him Water to drink, a Pomegranate-Pill to chew, waſhes him in a Tanke, cloaths his Body with a fine Shuddero, or Caſſock, and ties a Girdle of Camels-hair, called Cuſhee, woven by the Prieſt's own hands, like Inkle, upon his Loins, (which he is ever to wear about him) and then utters this Prayer: 'That God make him a true *Perſee* all the days of his life, of which theſe Garments are the Signs. That he may believe no Laws but *Zertooſt*'s. That he may continue a Fire-worſhipper. That he may eat of no Man's Meat, nor drink of any Man's Cup, but in all things obſerve the Cuſtoms and Rites of the *Perſees*; and ſo he is ever after reputed a true Believer.

Their Marriages of five ſorts.

Their Marriages are diſtinguiſhed into five ſorts, 1. *Shaulan*, when two young Children are married by their Parents without their own knowledge. This they attribute much to and hold, That if either of them die in this eſtate, they go to Heaven. 2. *Chockerſun*, which is the Marriage of a Widow. 3. *Codeſhebaraſan*, which is, when the Woman chuſeth her Husband. 4. *Eckſan*, when a dead Body is married to a Perſon alive. 5. *Coterſun*, when a Father adopts his Daughter's Son, that he may marry him, as his own; for they account that Man unhappy, who has not a Son to marry.

The Rite of Marrying.

The Rite or Ceremony is thus performed: The Parties agreed being met in a Houſe, (for they marry not in their Churches) are placed upon a Bed together, and over-againſt them two Churchmen, with each Rice in their hands, who put their finger firſt on the Bride's, and then on the Bridegroom's Forehead, and ask them, Whether they will have one another for Husband and Wife? To which, when they have anſwered *Yea*, the Man promiſes to enfeoff her in a certain number of *Dina's*, (which are each of 30 *s.* value) and the Bride replies, That ſhe and all hers is his; and then the Prieſts ſcatter the Rice on their Heads, praying, 'That they may be as fruitful as Rice, live in Unity of Mind for many Years in Wedlock. Then the Woman's Parents pay her Dowry, and the Marriage-Feaſt is celebrated for eight days with jovial Merriment.

Burials, 1. The Place. Vid. the form of it, Fig. 10.

In their Burials two things are obſervable, 1. The Place where they bury their Dead. They have two Tombs built of a round form, a pretty height from the ground, and ſufficiently capacious and large; within they are paved with Stone ſhelving, and in the middle is an hollow Pit, to receive the Bones conſumed and waſted. About by the Walls are laid the Carkaſſes both of Men and Women naked, expoſed to the Air and Sun, and left to be torn and mangled by ravenous Birds in an ugly manner (for they neither burn nor bury their Dead.) The two Tombs are at ſome diſtance one from another, and the one of them is for ſuch as have led a commendable Life, but the other is for ſuch as are notorious for ſome Vice, or infamous Action.

2. The Ceremonies uſed in burying their Dead.

2. The Ceremonies uſed in their Burials: When any one is ſick unto Death, the *Herboord* or Churchman is ſent for, who prayeth with the ſick Man in this manner; 'O Lord, thou haſt commanded that we ſhould not offend, but this Man hath offended; and that we ſhould do good, but this Man hath done evil; and that we ſhould worſhip thee, but this Man hath neglected it; Lord forgive him all his Offences, Evils and Neglects. When any Perſon is dead, they firſt put his Body into a Winding-ſheet, and the *Herboord* or Churchman appoints his Naceſſelars or Bearers, who are to carry his Body upon an Iron Bier to the Burying-place. All the way that the Corps is carried, the Kindred, who attend it, beat upon their Breaſts, but with little noiſes, till they come within 50 or an 100 paces of it, where the *Herboord* meets them, who is uſually attired with a yellow Scarf, and wears a thin Turbant on his Head. The Neceſſelars, or Bearers, bring it to a little Shed, and then the Churchman ſtanding at a diſtance from it, utters the words of Burial in this manner: 'This our Brother, while he lived, conſiſted of the four Elements, and now he is dead, let each take his own, Earth to Earth, Air to Air, Water to Water, and Fire to Fire, and then pray to *Sartan* and *Aſud*, who have command (as they believe) over *Lucifer*, and all the evil Spirits, that they would keep the Devils from their deceaſed Brother, when he ſhall repair to their holy Fire to purge himſelf, as alſo that God would pardon his Sins, &c. And theſe Prayers they continue for three days, Morning, Noon and Night, becauſe they believe that the Soul wandreth upon the Earth thoſe days, and in them is determined to Reward or Puniſhment. When theſe days are expired, they make a Feaſt, and ſo conclude their Mourning.

The form of Burial.

Indoſtan deſcribed, 2. in its Cities and Regions.

The Country of *India*, which is ſo called from the River *Indus*, that bounds it on the Weſt, is one of the mightieſt Empires of the World, being the greater part at leaſt of *Aſia*, if not, as ſome ſay, a third part. *Strabo* ſays, *Lib.* 55. that it had 50000 conſiderable Towns. *Ganges* divides it into two parts, which are therefore called *Intra* and *Extra*, within and without *Ganges*. The Soil is for the moſt part very good, except where the Sun exhales its vertue, and that laſts but three Months; for the reſt of the Year, by reaſon of the long Nights, frequent ſhowers and breezes, the Trees, eſpecially in the Southern parts, are ever green, and hung with Fruit, which ripen twice a Year; and for Minerals of the beſt ſort, Gems of richeſt luſtre, Silk and Spices of greateſt uſe and value, no Country in the World yields ſo great plenty. It abounds with Cattle of moſt kinds; Arts are in perfection, as they are in *China*. It has excellent Horſes and Elephants, larger and more docible than thoſe in *Africk*. Innumerable Iſlands ſurround it. It has an abundance of fair Towns, which furniſh the World with all ſorts of Merchandize almoſt. Its Mines and Treaſure is infinite. It is a vaſt, but well-compacted Monarchy, extending from 20 to 43 deg. of Northern Latitude. It is 2000 Miles ſome ways in Diameter, and above 5000 Miles in Compaſs. It has 38 large Provinces, which were Kingdoms of Old, and of which the moſt conſiderable are *Guzerat*, *Pengab*, *Malua*, *Bengal* and *Decan*, which together comprehend 30 large Cities, and 3000 Walled Towns and Caſtles for natural Defence, which ſeem impregnable. *Noah* 'tis thought firſt inhabited this Country, being near the Mountains of *Ararat*, tho' his Name is changed into *Bacchus*, or *Boacchus*. It was ſo well inhabited in *Alexander*'s days, that when that Conquerour overthrew *Porus*, and entred his Country, he ſaid, He found greater Cities, and more ſumptuous Buildings there, than he had met withal in any part of the World beſide.

Its Product.

Its Extent.

Noah dwelt in it.

The Emperor's Revenue.

The Emperor's Revenue is counted 50 Crow of Roupies, every Crow containing a Leck, which is an hundred thouſand Roupies, value 2 *s.* 3 *d.* and ſometimes 2 *s.* 6 *d.* of which *Cambaia*, in which is *Surat*, is ſaid to pay 200000 *l.* Sterling; but his Charge is ſutable to his Income, maintaining 300000 Horſe, and 2000 Elephants, beſides the Sums he pays to his Lieutenants of Provinces, and Governours of Towns and Forts.

His Power and Strength.

The Power of it appears by the Army which *Badur*, King of *Cambaia*, carried to aſſiſt the King of *Mandao* against the Tartar *Mamud*, being no leſs than 130000 Horſe, 400000 Foot, 200 Elephants and 500 Wagons, which carried as many Cheſts full of Treaſure to pay his Forces. He is in continual Wars with his Neighbours.

The Pedigree of the Mogul from Cingis-Chan.

The Deſcent or Pedigree of the Moguls, or *Magors*, ſo called either from the *Mogli*, or the *Brachmans* Country, called *Gens Magorum*, is reckoned from *Cingis-Chan*, or *Cam*, a Prince of *Tartary*. He was (as *Haithon*, and other his Contemporaries ſay) by Profeſſion a Blackſmith, but being choſen General of ſome of the chief of the *Hoords*, he with a Troop of *Mogli*, one of them, marched South, and ſubdued the Countries as far as the Mount *Belgian*, part of *Imaus*, and ſo became King of South-Eaſt *Tartary*, and ſignalized himſelf by many Victories againſt the *Ruſſians*, and other *Tartars*.

His Sons.

Manchu-cawn.

Ulakuc cawn.

His Sons and Succeſſors.

Habkay-cawn.

Argon-cawn.

He died at *Ketoa-Katan*, *A. D.* 1228. and of their Hegira 608. and divided his Conqueſts between his four Sons, *viz.* *Tuſha-chan*, to whom he gave *D'haſt*, *Capecha*, *Rhoz*, and *Abugharr*. *Chagatay-cawn*, who had *Mairrenabar*, *Aygor*, and *Chorazan*. Theſe two died without Iſſue, and their Seigniories deſcended to the third Brother, *Ogg* or *Ogtaw-chawn*, who had before from his Father part of *Bactria*, and Mount *Caucaſus*. He gained part of the *Perſian* Monarchy, as far as *Babylon*, but dying in 1552. his Son *Gayuc-chan*, an Infant under the Tuition of *Minihonna* his Wife, ſucceeded him, but he living not above three Years, the Sovereignty fell to the younger Brother *Tuli-chawn*'s Son, called *Manchu-chawn*, whoſe Father was Heir only to *Cingis-chan*'s Jewels and Treaſures. This Prince perceiving divers Conſpiracies againſt him, tho' armed with Integrity and a Juſt Title, he contracts an Alliance for Defence with his neighbouring Princes, to whom he entruſted the Command of ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, on condition, That they ſhould hold of him in chief, and be at all times ready to aſſiſt him; but not living to try their Fidelity, he named *Ulakuccawn*, one of them, for his Succeſſor. He delighted in Arms, and having quieted all Domeſtick Broils, he conquered *Babylon*, a great part of *Arabia*, and *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus* in *Syria*, which he ruled with great Prudence to the Year 1270; when finding Death approaching, he called his three Sons, and having exhorted them to Unity, divided his Lands among them, *viz.* To his Eldeſt Son *Habkay-cawn* he gave the Provinces of *Hierac*, *Mozendram* and *Korazan*, which comprehend the ancient *Media*, *Parthia*, *Hyrcania*, *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*: His ſecond Son *Hya-ſhawmet*, had *Aro* and *Adarbayon*, part of *Armenia* and *Iberia*, which has *Salmas*, *Coy*, *Nazivan*, *Marava* and *Merent*, Cities of Note in it. To *Tawdon-Kawn*, were bequeathed the Seigniories of *Diarbecke* and *Rabaion*, or *Meſopotamia*; and that part of *Syria* which lies on the Banks of *Euphrates*. To his two Sons by a ſecond Venter, *Nicador-Oglan*, and *Targabe-cawn*, he gave Money-Portions. *Habkay-cawn* died the ſame Year at *Hamadan* in *Perſia*, and left his young Son *Argon-cawn* to the care of his Brother *Nicador-Oglan*, who ſeeking the Life of his Pupil, obliged him to ſave himſelf by flight. *Nicador* eſtabliſhes himſelf in his Nephews Right by the Name of *Hameth-cawn*, but Divine Vengeance purſued him ſo faſt, that he died Mad in 1275. and was buried at *Caſhan*, and *Argon-cawn* returning from Baniſhment recovered his Right; and being joyfully accepted by the People, was crowned by the Name of *Tangadar-habkay Zedda*, *i.e.* Son to *Habkay-cawn*. This Man ruled five Years tyrannically, not only Maſſacring *Nicador*'s Sons and Relations, but many other innocent Perſons; for which he became odious to all his People, who ſtirred up the *Parthian* againſt him, by whom being overcome in a Set-Battle, he was upbraided with his Cruelty, greatly tormented, and his Belly being ript open, his Guts were given to the Dogs. To him ſucceeded his Brother *Giviator-chan*, who in the fourth Year of his Reign was ſlain by *Balduc-chan* his Uncle, who after five Years Reign died without Iſſue.

Badu.

Gazun-chan.

Badu the Son of *Targabe*, youngeſt Son of *Ulakucchan*, came to the Throne with the Aſſent of the whole Nation, and ſo well anſwered their Affections, that he was beloved, and honoured above all that were ever before him, but declaring himſelf a Chriſtian his Peoples love abated, and many Treaſons were hatched againſt him through Satan's malice; ſo that he was ſlain at laſt (or rather Martyred) by *Gazur-chan*, Couſin to *Tengadar*, whoſe treachery God permitted ſpeedily to be revenged, for when he leaſt ſuſpected Treaſon, he was wounded to Death in *Carbin* by his own Houſhold Servants, and no cauſe is aſſigned in Hiſtory for their ſo doing, but it ſays his Body lay for a long time unburied. This happen'd *A. D.* 1305. Heg. 685.

Aliaptu-Abuſaid.

His Brother *Aliaptu Abuſaid* (or *Mahomet Ben-Argon*) obtained the Throne by his Valour, and to him ſucceeded *Hobaro-Mirza*, or *Abuſaid Bahador-chan*, who ſpending his time in Lewdneſs, and dying without Iſſue, his Kingdom became a Theatre of War, no leſs than 30 Perſons contending for the Sovereignty at once.

Tamerlane.

Things being in this Confuſion, the People were forced to look out for help, and invited *Tamerlane*, Lord of *Samarchand*, a Prince famous for Juſtice and Succeſs, againſt the *Samiatique Tartar*, *Precopenſe* and *Chineſe*, with Gifts and Remonſtrances of their miſery. The *Seythick* Prince promiſes them ſpeedy Aid, and accordingly with 50000 Horſe enters *Perſie*, and having conquered the Tyrants, ſettled them in Peace within three Months. The People, thankful for this Deliverance, urged *Tamerlane* to accept the Crown, which he did, and managed it honourably 27 Years, in which time he ſubdued all *Aſia*, took *Bajazet* the *Turk*, whom he put in an Iron Cage, and conquered more Kingdoms and Provinces in eight Years, than the *Romans* did in eight hundred, *viz.* From *Samarchand* to *Thrace*, which was the extent of the *Macedonian* Conqueſt.

His Succeſſors.

This great Monarch of the *Aſiatick* World was yet forced to ſubmit to Death, and was buried *Anno* 1405. at *Anzar* in *Cathayo*, leaving his Sons and Grandchildren to Inherit, *viz.* *Jean Gwyr*, *Hamath-Cheque*, *Myram-Sha*, and *Myrza-Sharocke*, by ſome called *Soutochio*, and *Letrechio*. *Jean Gwyr* died much about the ſame time with his Father in *Paleſtine*, leaving two Sons, *Mamet* Sultan, and *Pyr-Mahomet*, who was made Governour of *Gazuchen* and *Indeſtan* by his Grandfather, and ruled over them, till he was perfidiouſly ſlain by *Pir-Ally*. *Hamethcheque* was ſlain in *Laureſtan*, in his Fathers laſt Battle with *Bajazet*. *Myram-ſha* was ſlain in fight, *An.* 1480. by *Chara-Iſſuſt* the *Turk*, in *Aderbayon*, but left Iſſue Sultan *Mahumed*, Father of Sultan *Abuſaid*, from whom the preſent Great *Mogul* is lineally deſcended.

Myrza-ſharcc.

Babur.

Hamayon.

Myrza-ſharcc, the youngeſt of *Tamerlane*'s Sons, ſurvived the reſt, and held moſt parts of the Empire till his Death, which happened *An.* 1447. when he left *Aderbayon*, or part of *Media*, to *Myrza Jeon-ſha*, Son of *Chara-Iſſuſt* the *Turk*, who was new entred *Perſia*. *Myramſha*'s Iſſue to this day enjoys the *Tartarian* Empire, and tho' it has been diſturbed much by the Invaſions of the *Perſian*, and Broils among themſelves, yet flouriſhing under the Reign of *Babur*, it made ſome attempts upon the Conqueſt of *India*, and tho' that Prince could not compleatly ſubdue it, yet his Son *Hamayon*, by the help of *Tamas* the *Perſian* King, made himſelf a perfect Maſter of it, *A. D.* 1550. Heg. 960. He died not long after by a fall down Stairs, and was buried at *Delly*.

Ecbar, King of Indoſtan, his Reign.

His Conqueſt.

He built the Caſtle of Agra.

His eldeſt Son *Abdul-Fetta-Geladin-Mahomet*, called *Ecbar*, who had been educated under the care of *Byrangano-chawn*, a Perſon of great Parts and generous Endowments, ſucceeded him by the help of his Tutor, and his Son *Chawn-channa*, and was crowned with all due Ceremony at *Delly*. From his very entrance on his Throne, he bent all his Endeavours to enlarge his Territories, and thereby proved himſelf to be the great Grandſon of the Victorious *Tamerlane*. He revenged himſelf in the firſt place of *Hemow*, a turbulent Prince, and gained his Province, and then by *Ally Collichan* ſubdued *Doab*, or *Sanbal*, a Province ſurrounded by *Jeminy* and *Ganges*, the nobleſt Rivers in *India*. At that time *Byſangano-cawn*, the King's Tutor, being tired with the troubles of the World, and Old Age, begged Leave of his Prince to ſpend the reſt of his time at *Mahomets* Sepulchre in Contemplation, but in his Way he was ſlain by an obſcure Slave, whoſe Father he had before put to Death, and by his Son *Abdal Radgee*, and the reſt of the afflicted Company, brought back to *Agra* to be buried. *Ecbar* laments his Death, at leaſt ſeemingly, (for by ſome he is ſaid to have been an Actor in it) and to divert his grief, he pulls down the Caſtle of *Agra*, which was then built of Mud, and rebuilt it of durable Stone well poliſhed, and much larger, being made ſo fine and ſtrong, that it admits ſcarce of any compariſon in *Aſia*, and is ſo ſpacious, that it takes up three Miles almoſt in Circuit, being built upon the Banks of *Jeminy*, compaſſed with a Stone Wall, Moated, and ſo to be entred by many Draw-bridges, having four ſtrong Gates, and ſome Bulwarks and Counterſcarps to make it Defenſive.

Agra deſcribed.

The Caſtle of Cytor taken by Ecbar.

Agra lies Eaſt of *Surat* 755 Miles, in the Navel of *Indoſtan*, and is the Empreſs of all the Cities in the *Mogul*'s Territories. It is ſituate in 28 Deg. 38 Min. North Latitude, and is Watered by the *Jeminy*, which runs from *Dely* hither, and mixing with the *Ganges*, flows into the Gulph of *Bengal*. It is in form of an Half-Moon like *London*, the Streets are many, long and narrow, but very naſty. It is 7 Miles about, part Walled, and the reſt fenced with a Ditch. *Radgee-Rana*, a noble and potent Prince of *India*, deſcended of King *Porous*, loſt his ſtrong Caſtle of *Chytor* to him upon this Occaſion. *Zemet Padſhaw*, one of *Ecbar*'s Captains, fled to *Radgee* upon a diſcontent, and was entruſted by him with an Important Garriſon, from whence he made many Inroads into *Gazurat* to vex and provoke *Ecbar*. This was a fair Occaſion for *Ecbar* to ſecure himſelf, and invade *Radgee*'s Dominions, and thereupon marches againſt *Zemet* with 50000 Horſe; ſome Months he attacked the Fort by force in vain, which obliged him to undermine it, and blow up the Walls, which he did ſo effectually as to make a breach, at which he himſelf, and 20000 Men, immediately entred, driving *Zemet* into ſo much deſpair, that he gather'd his Family to him into one place, and burnt himſelf with them, but took the Fort which *Aladin* had endeavoured 12 Years in vain; a Victory ſo great, that *Ecbar* cauſed it to be Engraven at *Agra*, which is ſtill to be ſeen in remembrance of it.

Ecbar ſuppreſſes a Rebellion raiſed by his Brother, and enlarges his Dominions.

Ecbar had no time to rejoyce at this Victory, tho' ſo ſignal, becauſe immediately upon it he received Letters from *Raja Bagwander*, Viceroy of *Labor*, that *Mirza, Mamet Hegze* his Brother, with 30 thouſand Horſe of *Kabul*, had ſeized his Country. *Ecbar* delays no time, but ſo ſuddenly offers himſelf to the Enemy to give him Battle, that *Mahomet* was ſurprized, and leaving his Camp, it became a prey to *Ecbar*'s Army. This Occaſion drew the King's thoughts to attempt the Conqueſt of other places, and going himſelf to *Pang-Ob*, he ſent *Badur-kawn*, *Allekooli-cawn*, and *Zemaen*, againſt the *Patanians*, whom they vanquiſhed at *Doab*, *Sambel*, *Lacknown* and *Jompore*, and got all the Provinces to the *Mogul*, between *Ganges* and *Ttatſa*; but being puffed up with theſe Conqueſts, they reſolved to ſet up from themſelves, and ſubdue all *India* for themſelves. *Ecbar* was acquainted with this deſign by his Mothers Letters from *Agra*, and with ſpeedy Marches ſo ſurprized them, that they fled at his approach; but being taken, *Allekooli-cawn* was trampled to Death by Horſes, and *Badur-cawn* Strangled at *Ecbar*'s Command.

Mandee a Prophet.

Things being thus a little ſettled, *Ecbar* fancies that a Pilgrimage to *Aſmeer*, to Invocate *Mandee*, a Reverent Scholar of *Mahomet*'s, might procure him Male-Iſſue, and accordingly performed it, altho' 200 *Engliſh* Miles, and there barefoot entreats *Mandee* for Children. This Prophet is of great Fame in thoſe Parts, and through the Liberality of ſome devoted Princes, lies there Entombed in a ſtately Monument, graced with three fair Courts; each of which is paved with Stone, and the outſide, after the *Perſian* Mode, is plaiſtred and poliſhed in *Moſaick* Order.

Aſmeer.

Aſmeer lies in 25 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude, the Caſtle is ſeated upon an high Hill, and City lies below it; the Houſes are well built, and the Walls are of ſolid Stone, but not of great ſtrength.

Godah.

Not far from it is *Godah*, once the Seat of the Valiant *Raſhboot* Princes. The Country is large and fruitful, and affords the Ruins of many ancient Magnificent Buildings, which Time has buried in Duſt. Theſe *Ecbar* had added to his Empire; and now having ended his Oblations, he viſited an holy *Derine* in his return, named *Siet Selym*, a Man in great Repute among the People,

Siet-Selim's Prophecy.

who took it for ſo great a favour, that he foretold that the *Mogul* ſhould have three Male Children in a ſhort time, as it came to paſs. Upon this account he named his firſt-born *Selym*, (who was afterward *Mogul*, and called himſelf *Shaw-Selym*, and to whom Sir *Tho. Roe* was ſent Embaſſador) the other two were named *Chan-Morad*, or *Amurath* and *D'haenſha*, or *Daniel*. The Propheſy was ſo grateful to *Ecbar*, that in gratitude he erected a very magnificent Moſque in the Town he lived, then called *Tzicherin*, or *Sycary*, and having Walled it in, and enlarged it, he built himſelf a Palace in it, and a Bazar for Trade, as noble a one as any in the Eaſt, and intending to make it the Seat of the Empire, he called it *Fettipore*, *i. e.* a place of Pleaſure; but after finding the Water unwholſome, he forſook it, and from that time it fell to decay, and now lies in Ruins. It is 18 Miles diſtant from *Agra*.

Fettipore.

Hoſſen's Rebellion.

While *Ecbar* was thus buſied at *Fettipore*, News was brought him that another Rebellion was began in *Guzurat* by *Ebrahim Hoſſen*, *Mirza Cawn*, *Mahomet Hoſſen*, and *Joon Cawn*, who had Forraged as far as *Baroch*, and were marching to *Amadabad* to make a prey of that Wealthy City.

Amadabad.

Amadabad ſeems to be the *Amacaſtis* of *Ptolemy*, and *Amadaviſtis* of *Arrian*: It takes its Name from *Hamet* the King, who in the Year of *Mahomet* 275, enlarged and beautified it. It lies in 23 Deg. 18 Min. Northern Latitude, and is at preſent the Metropolis of *Cambaia* or *Guzurat*. It is watered by a ſweet River, and circled by a ſtrong Wall, well and orderly built, with pretty Towers, and twelve Poſterns, which none are allowed to go through without a Paſs. The Streets are many, pretty large and comely, and their Shops are well ſtored with Aromatick Gums, Perfumes and Spices, Silks, Cottons, Callicoes, and choice of *Indian* and *China* Rarities, which are ſold here by the *Banians*, who are the moſt numerous Inhabitants. The Bazar is of moſt Note, being rich and uniform, and the Caſtle is ſtrong, large, and moated, being the Habitation of the *Cambaian* Governour. The Houſes are generally of Sun-burnt Bricks, low, but large and terraſſed. Near it is the *Mauſoleum* of a certain School-Maſter, whom King *Sha-Recr* loved ſo dearly, that he ſought to render him Immortal by this ſtately Monument. The Building is arched, and the Pavement is of well poliſhed Marble. It hath three Courts, and in one of them are 400 *Porphyrian* Pillars formed in the *Corinthian* way. Joining to it is a Tanke of Water, compaſſed with Cloyſters, adorned with ſpacious Windows, which afford a delicate proſpect.

Caſtle, Houſes, & a ſtately Mauſoleum.

The Sepulchres of the Cambaian Princes.

At *Seſques*, or *Sarkeſſe*, an hours Riding from this City, are the Sepulchres of many *Cambaian* Kings, and *Raſhboots*, the Nobility of the Country, in a ſtately Temple, much reſorted to by the *Bannians*, who deſcended from them; and two Miles nearer the City, are the Gardens and Palace of *Chawn-Channa*, who was the Son of *Byranchan* the *Perſian*, which *Ecbar* built, and gave him in memory of the Victory his Father gained over the laſt of the *Cambaian* Kings, and added his Kingdom to *Ecbar*. The Intelligence of *Hoſſen*'s Rebellion no ſooner came to *Ecbar*'s Ears, but he, with incredible haſte, marches to give him Battle, and having in four days paſſed 300 Miles, falls upon him, and his Complices, early in the Morning, and after a ſmall reſiſtance routs them. Many were ſlain in the purſuit, and among them *Ebrahim Hoſſen* and *Mirza Chawn*; *Mahomet Hoſſen* was taken Priſoner, and forthwith Beheaded.

Surat and Guzurat conquered by Ecbar.

This Victory not only recovered *Amadabat*, and cauſed it to be better fortify'd, but made *Surat*, and moſt part of *Guzurat*, ſubject to *Ecbar*. As a Monument of this Victory, *Ecbar*, upon his return, began the famous Caſtle of *Agra*, which now deſerves the Title of the Princeſs of *Aſia*. It is built of large and good Stone, and coſt twelve Years to finiſh, tho' 1200 Labourers were commonly employ'd about it. It is ſaid to have coſt 2500000 Roupees, tho' at the ſame time he ſpent 1500000 Roupees about the Walls and Palace at *Fettipore*.

The Sepulchres of the Moguls.

At *Tzekander*, or *Secandra*, five Miles from *Agra*, is the *Mauſoleum*, or Burial-place, of the Great *Moguls*, which *Ecbar* began, and his Son *Jangheer* continued, but is yet ſcarce finiſhed, tho' there has been expended on it 14 Millions of Roupees. The place where it ſtands is called *Scander*, *i. e.* *Alexander*, becauſe 'tis ſaid that that *Macedonian* King ended his Conqueſts there. It has four large Squares, each ſide being 300 paces long. The Walls are Free-Stone, and at each corner is a Tower of Chequered Marble. Ten foot higher is another Tower, beautified on every ſide with three others, which reſemble the famous *Septizonium* of the Emperor *Severus*, or the famous Tower of *Babylon*, built by *Semiramis*, and dedicated to the Memory of *Jupiter Belus* her Husband's great Anceſtor; at the top of it is the Mummy of *Ecbar*, who is there laid in a Coffin of Gold. This Structure is built in a ſpacious Garden, ſurrounded with a Wall of red coloured Stone, and much ennobles thoſe Parts, as well as keeps the Founder in Memory.

Ecbar's Tomb.

Ecbar conquers Bengal.

While theſe vaſt Buildings were erecting, an opportunity was given to *Ecbar* of adding *Bengal* to his Empire, by the Succeſſion of *Sha-Dowet*, a *Pathan* Prince, both Effeminate himſelf, and hated by the People; whereupon he ſends an Army of 50 thouſand Horſe, 200 thouſand Foot, and 600 Elephants, againſt him. *Sha-Dowet* had no notice of the march of this Army, till it had paſſed over the *Ganges*, but being aſſured of it, he diſpatched *Radgee B'han* with 20000 Horſe to encounter them. He met them between *Ziotſa* and *Moheb-Alli-poor*, where he maintain'd a Skirmiſh with them for 3 hours, but *Ecbar* over-powering him with Numbers got the Maſtery, and forced them to retreat into *Pathan*, which *Dowet* had fortified. *Ecbar* purſues them, and laying Siege to the Town, neither provoked them to Battle, nor attacked the Town for three months, but in the fourth violently aſſaults and enters it, takes the King buried in Drink, and beheaded him.

Several other Conqueſts made by his Captains.

Ecbar, after this good fortune, returned to *Fettipore* himſelf to Overſee his Buildings, but employing his Captains and Army to enlarge his Empire, who by their Valour and Vigilancy made conſiderable Additions to it; for *Raſtan-cawn*, and *Zadoc-cawn*, took the Caſtle of *Rhantipore* in *Malva* from the *Rhadgees*, who had held it 400 Years. *Mohebally-cawn*, a Wiſe and Daring Captain, gained the Caſtle of *Reta*, or *Roughtaz*, called of old *Orcophanta*, by this Stratagem: He pretended to be on a Journey to *Bengal* with his Seraglio of Women, and being in haſte, ſhews a Raja his Concubines, who were in 200 Doola's or Cajua's, and Bribes him to procure leave of the Lord of the Caſtle, that he might leave his Concubines in the Caſtle till his return. The *Radgee*, who kept the Caſtle, loved Women, and readily entertained the motion, but *Ally-cawn* cauſed the Women to change their Garments, and as many young Men to put them on, who being managed by a prudent Eunuch, ſeized the Caſtle, beheaded the *Radgee* himſelf, and ſo became Maſters of that Fortreſs, which was ſo ſtrong, that all the force of *India* could not have taken it. *Ecbar* was much delighted with the pleaſant management of the Matter; and ſo much the more, becauſe of the great Maſs of Money taken in it.

Gidney-cawn alſo, an Apoſtate *Mahometan*, betrayed the Invincible Caſtle of *Jeloor* to him, tho' to his own Brother's confuſion. The fame of theſe Succeſſes afflicted many of the Neighbouring Raja's, moſt of them ſeeking to defend themſelves againſt this Invading *Tartar*; but ſome were ſo bold as to attack his Greatneſs, and endeavour to ſuppreſs him by force, among whom was *Roop Mathij*, a Lady both Fair and Valiant. She, tho' of Beauty enough to conquer *Ecbar* ſooner than by Arms, confided rather to the latter, and fell vigorouſly into his Dominions, but was oppoſed in the midſt of her career by *Adam-cawn*, an expert Soldier, with a Body of Horſe, who ſlew moſt of her *Pattans* in the fight, and took her; but ſhe, rather than endure the ſhame of Impriſonment, the aſſaults of her Chaſtity, and the ſcoffs of a Victorious Enemy, poyſoned her ſelf.

Roop-Mathij oppoſes his Succeſs, but is conquer'd.

Meſoffer-cawn's Rebellion ſuppreſſed.

Meſoffer-cawn, in the mean time, *Anno* 1588. Heg. 968. being in *Guzurat*, raiſes a Rebellion againſt *Ecbar*, and having ſtrangled *Gotobdas*, *Mamet-cawn* the King's Vice-Roy in *Amadabat*, and ſome *Omra's*, ſeizes upon all the Important places in the Province, but being oppoſed by *Abdal-Radgee*, (*Byrangano-cawns* Son) he was vanquiſhed, and deſpairing of pardon he killed himſelf, as the late named *Amazon* did.

Ecbar obtains *Cabul.*

Soon after this, *Mirza-Mahomet-Hackim*, *Ecbar*'s Brother, died; by which means he ſecured to himſelf *Cabul*, which was impoſſible for him to do while *Hackim* was alive, for uſing his Wives and Children with all due reſpect, and conferring on *Chaber-cawn Hamet-beg*, and *Mamet-Maxuen-cawn*, Stipends and Commands in *Meſulipatan*, *Orixa*, and other places, ſuitable to their Merit, he made *Zibber-cawn* Vice-Roy of that Province, and ſo made it ſubject to him.

Elabaſſe built.

This growing Greatneſs of *Ecbar*'s raiſed ſo much terror in the Minds of the little *Gentile* Kings, that bordered on his Conqueſts, *viz.* *Radzia Thormiel*, *Radgee Ramgiend* Lord of *Bando*, and *Radgee Bhyrmiel*, with ſeveral others, that they preſented themſelves to *Ecbar* at *Fettipore*, and Enrolled their Countries, as Members, or Appendixes of the *Mogul*'s Empire, obliging themſelves Yearly (as a Symbol of their Subjection) not only to preſent him with Earth and Water, but their Daughters to be his Concubines; which was ſo grateful a Tribute to the *Mogul*, that he built a Triumphant Palace to Court them in at *Paije*, upon a Promontory, where the *Jeminy* empties it ſelf into *Ganges*, of hard Stone, very artificially poliſhed, and called it *Elabaſſe*. And that it might be more venerable and famous, he repoſited in a dark Cave ſome deformed Images (as Sacred Relicks) of *Babba Adam*, *Mamma Evah*, *Seth*, *Enos*, and *Methuſelah*, (whom they affirm to have lived thereabouts) to which innumerable *Banians* from moſt Parts of *India* reſort Yearly for a Benediction, having firſt purified themſelves in *Ganges*, and ſhaved off their hair, as an unclean Excrement, ſuppoſing that they merited thereby. *Ecbar* ſpent a Myriad, and 200 thouſand Roupees, on this Building. Near it is the ſtately Tomb which *Janghee* erected for his firſt Wife *Raja Meniſengh*'s Siſter, who poyſoned her ſelf as ſoon as ſhe heard of her Son Sultan *Guſhro*'s Rebellion.

Ecbar projects new Conqueſts.

Ecbar's Affairs going on thus proſperouſly, he harbours new Projects of conquering *Purop*, *Patan*, *Cormandel*, and all *Bengal* to the South, and ſo ſtretch his Empire as far as *Tartary*. This deſign was ſoon put in execution, by the News he heard that *Mirza Sharephin Badaxan* had been injured by the *Uſbeg-Tartars*, whom he reſolved to Revenge; but firſt, as more conſiderable, he bends his march towards *Orixa*, that he might at once command entirely over *Ganges*. At *Attirk* he Muſters his Army, and gives the Van to *Raja Bymiel*, and takes the other himſelf, and *Jehan-cawn*. *Byrmiel* outſtripping the reſt of the Army, falls furiouſly upon the *Patania y*, who being led by *Zell-Ally*, their Valiant General, received them with ſuch Bravery, and fought them with ſuch Succeſs, that *Byrmiel* was forced to retreat with loſs; but *Ecbar* having quick notice of it by ſuch as fled, rallies his Men again, and with ſome freſh Supplies renews the Fight. *Zell-Ally*, and his Victorious Party, received him with a ſharp Charge, and maintained the fight for ſome hours cloſely, but being over-powered with Numbers loſt the Day. *Zell-Ally*, and *Tarcoſt* his Lieutenant, were ſlain, and 15000 of his Army left dead upon the place. *Ecbar*, by this Victory, made all *Bengal* ſubject to him, which to this day remains a Member of the *Mogul*'s Empire; but *Abas* the *Perſian* not liking his Enlargement that way, wreſted it from him within a little while after, tho' he held it not long.

His Army routed.

Ecbar conquers *Zell-Ally.*

Ecbar's Ambition ſtopp'd not here, but carries him on ſtill to Conquer, tho' he cares not how, nor where, for hearing of the old King of *Maurenabar*'s Death, he deſires to be his Succeſſor; and to that end, to diſcover his Son's ſtrength, he ſends his Embaſſadors *Tzedder-cawn*, and *Hackeem-cawn*, under a pretence of Friendſhip, to condole and comfort him for his Father's Death, and they returned at the Years end well Inſtructed.

Ecbar proceeds in his deſign, and becauſe *Caſſimir*, which lay between, was not in his power, he ſends *Ally Mirza* in an Embaſſy to *Juſtoff-cawn*, a fearful King, with this Meſſage, 'That if he would do him Homage, 'he ſhould have his Kingdom eſtabliſhed to him, and 'himſelf his Friend to defend him; but if he obliged 'him to wage War againſt him, he muſt expect perpe'tual Slavery. *Juſtoff-cawn* being of a timerous Spirit ſubmits, but *Jacob-cawn* his Son, diſdaining the Vaſſalage of his Family, ſhook off the Yoke for a little time, till *Ecbar*, by his ſtronger Forces, having ſubdued and taken him, obliged him to accept a ſevere Bondage.

King of *Caſſimir* ſubmits to him.

Caſſimir deſcribed.

Caſſimir is part of the Ancient *Sogdiana*, which was a part of *Scythia intra Imaum*. It lies in 41 Deg. 9 Min. Northern Latitude. The Province is generally Mountainous, Barren, Cold and Windy. The Metropolis of it is *Shyrenakar*, watered by the River *Behat*, or *Phat*, which ariſing in the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, empties it ſelf into *Indus*. In this Province is a Lake 15 Miles in compaſs, which has an Iſle in the middle of it, where is a Palace ſeated moſt deliciouſly for variety of Sports, in Fiſhing, Hawking, Rowing, *&c.*

King of *Tutta* conquered by *Ecbar*.

Ecbar having done this, he aims at *Tutta*, and the Countries lying on the Eaſt-ſide of *Indus*; (deferring the Conqueſt of *Baltria* for a time) *Mirza-Jehan*, King of *Tutta*, was grown odious to his Subjects by reaſon of his Tyranny, which he knew would make his Attempt to conquer it more eaſie, whereupon he ſends *Ganganna*, his Favourite, with 12 thouſand Men in Boats to ſurprize it. Neverthеleſs, the King of *Tutta* having Intelligence of it, maintained his City ſix Months againſt them, but in the ſeventh was forced to Surrender upon Conditions, which tho' favourable, yet *Ecbar* got all *Syndee* into his power.

Tutta deſcribed.

Tutta is one of the moſt celebrated Marts of *India*, ſo encompaſſed with the River *Indus*, that it makes a Peninſula. *Loor Bander* is the Port to it, but the Ships that lie there are ſubject to the Worm, as at *Swalley*, *Dabul*, *Goa*, &c.

Ecbar's deſign on *Decan*.

About the ſame time died *Nezamſhaw*, the Old King of *Decan*, and *Melec Amber* his Son ſucceeded him: *Ecbar*, whoſe Ambition catched at all Opportunities of enlarging his Dominions, reſolves upon a War with the New King before he was ſettled, and to that end ſends *Ganganna*, a Choſen General, with 30 thouſand Horſe for *Lahor*, and Orders *Radgee Ally-chan* to meet him with five thouſand more at *Brampore*; where having made all neceſſary Proviſions for his Expedition they march to *Decan*.

Decan deſcribed.

This Kingdom is large, and has many Cities of Note in it, as *Decan* the Metropolis, which is diſtant about ten Miles from the Diamond-Mine, *Oner*, *Batticala*, *Mangalir*, &c.

Ganganna invades *Decan*.

Tziard Bieby, Daughter to the laſt King, hearing of the *Mogul*'s approach, firſt fortifies *Amdanagar*, a Frontier Town, and having gotten ſome Auxiliary Forces of forty thouſand Horſe, from the Kings of *Viſapa* and *Golconda*, which ſhe gave to be commanded by *Godgee Shubel*, a faithful Eunuch, meets the Enemy upon the Confines. After ſome Skirmiſhes a furious Battle begun, and continued with doubtful Succeſs 18 hours, till *Ganganna* coming in with a freſh Reſerve, forced the *Decans*, after three hours fight more, to give back, their General *Godgee* being left ſlain on the ſpot. The *Moguls* purſue the *Decans* 15 Miles, but the Princeſs *Bieby* oppoſing them with ſome freſh Horſe, they were obliged to retire out of *Decan*.

Ecbar having notice of what paſſed, Orders his Son *Sha-Morad* to reinforce his Army with a new Levy of fifteen thouſand Horſe, and make a new Invaſion into thoſe Southern Provinces from *Brampore*. The Youth merrily undertakes the Charge, but indulging himſelf in Venery and Drink too much, while he lay there, died, and *Abdul Fazel* is put into his place. He in a ſmall time ſubdues the Provinces of *Sanda*, *Berar*, and many other Wealthy Places, giving the King hopes by Letter of conquering *Decan*, *Viſcapore*, *Golcunda*, and other Parts of

India,

Sha-Selim ſent againſt *Raja Rana Mardout.*

India, in a ſmall time. *Ecbar* in the mean time Orders his Son *Sha-Selim* (afterwards called *Jangheer)* with fifteen thouſand Horſe, to fall upon *Raja Rana Mardout*, the only Succeſſor of *Porus*, and the moſt potent of the *Radgees*, ſeveral *Omra's* and *Mancebdars* attending him with what Forces they could gather, and for quicker Intelligence, *Ecbar* himſelf removes his Reſidence from *Agra* to *Labor*, where he was received with all demonſtrations of Joy, as if he came to ſettle among them, and enrich the Town.

Labor deſcribed.

Labor is a great and famous City, vying with *Agra* for the Honour of the Metropolis of *Meguliſtan*. It is ſituate in 32 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude. The Air for 8 Months is very pure and reſtorative, the Streets are graceful and well paved, moſt of them being cleanſed, and ſerved by the River *Ravee*, a branch of the *Indus*. The Caſtles, Palaces, Moſques, Hummums, Tanks, Gardens, *&c.* are very obſervable: The Caſtle is large, uniform, and nobly ſeated; 'tis built of white poliſhed Stone, and is entred by twelve Gates. Within is a Palace with two Courts. On the Walls are pictur'd ſundry Stories and Paſtimes about the *Moguls*, and their Atchievements; and upon ſome of the Doors is a Crucifix, and the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin. It was a famous City in *Porus*'s Time. The Province about it, which is called *Pengab*, is watered with five Rivers, which makes it as fruitful as any part of *India*. From hence to *Agra* is a continued Walk, ſhadowed with Elm, Aſh and Mulberry-trees, and at every eight Miles end an Inn for Strangers to repoſe in *gratis*, tho' theſe Cities are 300 Miles diſtance. *Aſafœtida* abounds here.

A Crucifix and Image of the Virgin.

Badurſha Rebels.

Ecbar being returned to *Agra*, reſolves to proſecute the War in *Decan* in Perſon, and having made ſuitable Preparations for it, *A.* 1597. Heg. 977. ſets out towards it from *Brampore*, but, contrary to his expectation, as ſoon as he had paſſed the River *Nerebede*, he had News that *Badurſha*, a couragious *Radgee*, had fortified the ſtrong Caſtle of *Haſſer* againſt him. The *Mogul* not thinking it ſafe to leave ſo conſiderable an Enemy behind him, ſits down before it, reſolving to take it by force or famine; and to that end blocked it up cloſe. The *Radgee* not knowing any, that either would, or could either raiſe the Siege, or ſupply him with Proviſions, thought it his beſt way to treat betimes, and beating a Parley accordingly, came to a Treaty with *Ecbar*, who granted him his Life and Goods upon Articles, and upon the ſurrender of the Caſtle made them good to him. The *Radgee* accepted a Command in *Ecbar*'s Army, who himſelf marched more cheerfully at the thoughts of this Succeſs, till ſuch time as News was brought him, that *Sha-Selim* having poyſoned *Tzebber-cawn*, and ſeized his Treaſure, with which he made the Soldiers firm to him, was marching to *Agra*, intending to Depoſe him. *Ecbar* was ſo amazed at this unexpected Rebellion, that what with fear of his Son's popularity, and what with grief to leave *Decan* unconquered, he fell into a deep Melancholy, till *Abdul Fazel* reviving him with ſeaſonable Encouragements, he left his Son *Sha-Dhaen*, with *Abdul Fazel*, and other *Omra's*, to proſecute the Wars in *Decan*, and returned to *Agra*. *Sha-Selim* was got thither before him, with hopes of ſeizing his Father's Treaſury, but miſſing his aim, he marched to *Elabaſſe*, by *Reben* and *Annewars*, many Towns and Provinces ſubmitting to him in the way.

Sha Selim Rebels.

Ecbar endeavours to reduce him by Letters.

The King being returned to *Agra*, where he was made more certain of his Son's Conſpiracy, firſt attacks him with kind Letters, telling him the ſhame and danger he was in, and that the Curſe of *Mahomet*, as well as deprivation of his Birthright, would fall on him, unleſs he deſiſted, promiſing him Pardon if he would ſubmit and come in. *Sha-Selim* was deaf to ſuch perſwaſions, and firſt derides the Meſſenger, and then over-runs the Empire as far as *Bengal*, hoping that *Radgee Manſingh* would ſide with him, tho' in vain.

Decan taken.

In the mean time *Dhaen*, or *Daniel*, refreſhed him with the good News of his Succeſs in *Decan*, for he having entred the Country, beſieged *Gandetzin*, a conſiderable Caſtle, into which *Bieby* and her Nobles had ſhut themſelves, with two Years Proviſion, and all ſorts of Warlike Inſtruments, reſolving to hold out the Siege to the laſt; but the fortunate Conqueror took it by Storm in the ſeventh Month. Moſt of the Defendants loſt their lives, *Bieby* poyſoned her ſelf, and the reſt fell into the Enemies hands, with all the Treaſure.

The Kings of *Golcende* and *Viſſapor*, fearing to oppoſe a Victorious Army, made ſome Acknowledgments to him, and ſo he returned to *Brampore* loaden with Triumph and Treaſure.

Brampore deſcribed.

Brampore is a Seminary of *Bramins*, *Jogues*, *Culans*, or *Gymnoſophiſts*. It lies in 28 Deg. 3 Min. Northern Latitude, in the Province of *Chandys* or *Sandee*, which is fruitful where it is watered by the River *Tappee*, but elſewhere is barren and ſandy. The City ſtands upon low ground, and ſo is unhealthy, being Inhabited moſt by *Bannians*. The Streets are many, but narrow, and the Houſes high, but not beautiful. At the North-Eaſt ſide ſtands the Caſtle by the River's ſide, which is large, and in the River is an Artificial Elephant, admired by Strangers, but reverenced by the *Bannians*. It was anciently the Seat of the *Decan* Kings, but now the moſt memorable things are *Chan-channa's* Houſe and Gardens, adorned with all ſorts of Trees and Flowers, with Water-Works, which may afford Pleaſure and Delight.

Sha-Selim ſubmits, but again Revolts.

Ecbar no ſooner underſtood how fortunately *Daniel* had proceeded Southward, but *Godgee Jehan* preſents him with a Penitential Letter from *Sha-Selim* (who doubtleſs was frighted into this Submiſſion by his Brother's Succeſs.) *Ecbar* in a little time ſends *Jehan* back with Promiſes of Pardon, provided he would diſmiſs his Army, and make a ſpeedy Submiſſion. His ungracious Son holding faſt his former Impiety, and being at the head of an Army of ſeventy thouſand Men, upon whom he had conferred many Commands, refuſed to do it, unleſs he would give a General Amneſty to all the Conſpirators, whoſe Lives and Well-beings were as dear to him as his own. This Anſwer incenſed his Father to a Denial, whereupon he diſlodges his Army, and marched to *Elabaſſe*, where he commanded all ſorts of Coin of Gold, Silver and Braſs, to be ſtamped with his own Name and Motto; which, to vex his Father, he ſent to him, and beſides, Courted his Father's Wife *Anarkale*.

Ecbar enraged at it.

Ecbar, enraged at theſe things, Curſes him, and then acquaints *Abdel Fazel*, his Chancellor, with it. He laboured all he could to moderate his Maſter's paſſion, and with 3000 Horſe haſtes to do his Maſter ſome Service. *Sha-Selim* having Intelligence of all that paſſed, writes to *Radgee Bertſingh*, (Lord of *Soor*) through whoſe Country he was to paſs, promiſing him a Gratuity, and a Command of 5000 Horſe, if he would ſend him his Head. The *Radgee* promiſes his beſt, and with 1000 Horſe, and 3000 Foot, lays an Ambuſh for him near *Gwaler*. *Abdul Fazel* not ſuſpecting any thing marches ſecurely: The *Radgee* falls upon him, and having the advantage both of Men and Surprize, ſlew moſt of his Men, and taking him Beheaded him, and carries his Head to *Selim*, who received the Preſent joyfully. *Ecbar*, who loved *Abdul* dearly, fell into ſuch a paſſion at the News of his Death, that he withdrew three days from all Company, and refuſed to be comforted.

Abdul Fazel ſlain.

Sha-Daniel's Death.

This affliction was ſoon followed by another, *viz.* the Death of his Son *Sha-Daniel*, who killed himſelf by Intemperance, ſo that he was at his Wits end. But neceſſity obliging him to put a ſtop to his Son's Rebellion, he marches againſt him with thirty thouſand Horſe; but before he would bring things to extremity, he reſolves to try once more what perſwaſions would do, and to that end ſends a pathetick Letter to him by *Myrad-Zedda* the Princes Tutor, who ſo wrought with him, that he brought him to *Agra* to *Ecbar*, who received him with fury, and Thunder-ſtruck him with a Storm of words, ſtrikes him with his Fiſt upon the Mouth, calls him Fool and Aſs, that commanding ſeventy thouſand Men, would forſake them to truſt the Sugar'd promiſes of any Man, and then ſends him to Priſon, with all the *Omra's* that attended him, except *Radgee Batſo*, who made his eſcape. In this Impriſonment, *Sha-Selim*, contrary to his Cuſtom, abſtains 24 hours from Opium; but *Ecbar*, fearing he would thus make away himſelf, went the next day in Perſon to perſwade him to take it. The third day, by the Interceſſion of his Ladies and Concubines, *Selim* was freed, and ſent to his own Houſe, where he behaved himſelf very dutifully, viſiting his Father every day, till *Ecbar*, upon ſome new Jealouſies, reſtrained him again, but this Rancour had little effect, for the King taking a diſtaſte againſt *Mirſha-Gaſhaw*, his Favourite, for ſpeaking a word which he ill Interpreted, reſolves to have his Life for it, and to that end ordered his Phyſician to make two Pills of like ſhape, but contrary Operation, which *Gaſhaw* bringing to *Ecbar*, he takes one himſelf, and orders *Gaſhaw* to take the other. *Ecbar*, by miſtake, takes the poyſon'd one, and tho' he uſed all endeavours to prevent the effects, it proved in vain; ſo that after 14 days torment he died, in the 73d Year of his Age, and 52 of his Reign. He was buried with all imaginable Solemnity at *Tzekander*, in a Monument he had prepared for himſelf, and *Sha-Selim* (not without ſome oppoſition from *Radgee Manſingh* and *Chan Aſem*, who endeavoured to raiſe his Son *Cuſhroe* to the Throne, becauſe they pretended *Ecbar* had nominated him his Succeſſor) was with due Ceremony crowned at *Agra*, by the Name of *Jangueer*, in the Year 1604, Heg. 984.

Sha-Selim ſubmits, and is Impriſon'd.

Ecbar poyſoned, dies, and *Sha-Selim* ſucceeds.

Jangheer's Reign.

Jangheer being ſettled on the Throne, began his Reign with Acts of Grace, and by the Mediation of *Morteza Chan*, *Cooly Mametzhan*, and others of his Council, receives his Son Sultan *Cuſhroe*, and his Aſſociates *Radgee Manſingh*, and *Chan Aſem*, into favour; but *Cuſhroe*, ſuſpecting his Pardon to be Counterfeit, fled to *Haſſenbeg*, Vice-Roy of *Cabul*, his Old Friend, being certain, that if he ſtayed long at Court, he ſhould be put to Death. *Jangheer* had immediate notice of his Son's flight, and fearing the danger of it, firſt Orders *Godgee Melec Allebeg*, Captain of his Guard, with his Forces, to purſue him, and then followed himſelf with 50 Elephants, and 8000 Men.

Cuſhroe's Rebels and is routed.

The poor Prince being thus purſued, was afraid he ſhould be made a Priſoner again; but ſuch was the haſte of *Haſſenbeg*, that they could not overtake him by fifteen Courſes, and on the 9th he got to *Labor*, intending to enter the Caſtle, but *Ebrahim-chan*, the Governour, kept him out. The Prince, having twenty thouſand Men with him, laboured to take it by force, and ſpent three Weeks about it, but all in vain; whereupon he leaves *Labor*, and reſolves to meet his Father, and give him Battle nearer home. In his march, he pitched one night where *Mortoſa-chawn* lay in Ambuſh with 600 Horſe, who fell upon him, but by the care of *Haſſan* he was routed, and had not *Godgee Melec*, with the King's Standard, come into his Aid, proclaiming that the King was at hand, the King's Army had been quite ruined; but the King's approach begat ſuch terrour, that *Abdul Raja*, who bore the Prince's Colours, cowardly threw them away, and fled, whoſe Example the reſt of the Army following, the Prince was left defenceleſs, and his Baggage ſeized by the Country People.

Fettipore built as a Monument of the Victory.

Jangheer was ſo ſenſible of this good hap, that in memory of this Deliverance he built at *Tziekerry* a Caſtle, and names it *Fettipore*, adding, after a fair Bazar, a ſtately Moſque and Palace, and railing it in; ſo that had the Water been good, it had by this time triumphed over all the Cities of *India*.

The miſerable Prince, after this defeat, being accompanied with *Haſſenbeg*, *Abdul Radgee*, and *Chan Baderſha*, fly to *Labor*, where *Radgee* ſtaid, but the Sultan, with *Baderſha*, croſſing the River, labour to arrive with ſafety at *Rantas*, a Caſtle reputed Impregnable; but as they paſſed the River *Tzenob*, the treacherous Watermen kept them between Decks, and brought them into the Power of *Caſſem-chawn*'s Sons, who, without delay, conveyed them to *Jangheer*. The King, over-joyed with this good fortune, returns to *Labor*, where he firſt put to Death many *Omra's*, the Prince's Followers, Impriſoned *Haſſenbeg*, *Bedaſha*, and *Abdul Radgee*, after he had publickly Diſgraced them, and committed his Son to the Cuſtody of *Zemanacbeg*, called after *Mahobet-chan*, *i. e.* The Beloved Lord.

Another Rebellion of his Lords diſcovered.

But his Tyranny would not ſuffer him to live long without Enemies, for ſome of his Nobles of the higheſt Rank, *viz.* *Mirza Cheriefe*, (Brother to *Aſſaph-chan*) *Mirza Nouradin* his Couſin, *Mirza Fetulla*, *Mirza Shaffenbeg*, *Lollabeg* and *Murdoph-chan*, conſpired to murder him as he paſſed over the Mountains to *Cabul*; but the King, tho' ſuſpecting no ſuch deſign, was ſo well guarded, that they durſt not attempt their Villanous purpoſe. Yet were they diſcovered to *Jangheer*, by *Godgee Vebes*, and *Ethaman Doulet*, the King's Treaſurer, was accuſed of aſſiſting them with Money out of the King's Treaſury. The King was ſtruck with fear at the News of it, but throwing it off by *Mirza Ombrave*'s Advice, he apprehended the Conſpirators, and without delay commands them to be Executed. *Ethaman Doulet* was ſpared upon the payment of 200000 Roupees to the King for his Life, but diſcharged of his Place, and confined to *Dianet-chan*'s Houſe.

Sultan Cuſbroe's Eyes put out.

Jangheer remembring his danger in going to *Cabul*, which he believed to proceed from his Son *Cuſbroe*, commands his Son's Eyes to be put out with Juice of *Aeck*; but one Eye, through the favour of the Poyſon, retain'd a little ſight. He alſo ordered *Chan-Aſem*, *Cuſbroe*'s Father-in-Law, to be clad in loathſome Rags, and being brought into the *Guzel-chan*, that all the *Omra's* ſhould ſpit on his Beard, to be manacled and caſt into Priſon, where he remained two Years cloſe Priſoner, till by the importunities of his Wives he was releaſed.

Curroon's deſigns to obtain the Crown.

In the Year 1609, *Currown*, another of *Jangheer*'s Sons, with his Friends, to ſecure his way to the Crown, prevailed with his Father that his Brother's Sons might be Chriſtned; which was accordingly done by the Jeſuits at *Agra*. Soon after, *Mirza Ombrave* being Apoplectick left his Office, and *Tzalamchan* was made Vice-Roy of *Bengal*, in the room of *Catopdy*, with an Order to ſend up *Affen-chan*'s Family Priſoners to him, which he accordingly did. In the Way, the young Widow *Mehermetzia*, *Ethaman Doulet*'s Daughter, and Siſter to *Aſſaph-chan*, was met by a Wizard, who told her many Stories of her enſuing greatneſs, which ſoon after came to paſs; for being arrived at *Agra*, they were welcomed by *Rockia Sultanna* the Mother Queen, and ſhe being one day in the *Mahal* with her little Girl, *Jangheer* in merriment lifted up her Veil, and became on a ſudden ſo raviſhed with her Beauty, that he ſought all means to ingratiate himſelf in her Affections. He advances *Ethaman Doulet*, her dejected Father, and asks his good-will for her; gave Honour, Wealth and Command, to her Brother *Aſſeph-chan*, and her other Kindred, and married her with all Solemnity, changing her Name into *Nourſha-Begem* or *Normahal*, *i. e.* The Light or Glory of the Court. In his Amours with this lovely Princeſs, he ſpent ſome Years without regarding any Publick buſineſs.

Jangheer falls in Love.

Radgee Rana Rebels.

In 1610, Heg. 990. and 6th Year of *Jangheer*'s Reign, Sultan *Sherryar* the Prince was ſent Vice-Roy of *Guzurat*, under the Tuition of *Morteſa-chan*, and *Chaw-Jehan* to *Brampore*, and *Mahobet-chan* with an Army againſt *Radgee Rana*, or *Rabanna* of *Mandon*, who at that time was broke out into Rebellion againſt him. *Mahobet-chan* went on Victoriouſly, and forced many ſtrong Holds and Caſtles from thoſe untameable *Indians*, but through the envy of ſome at Court he was recalled, and *Abdul-chan* made General in his Place, who proſecuted the War with the like Succeſs, for he beat *Rana* in a pitched Battle at *Siſs-meer*, and took *Syavend*, his ſtrongeſt Caſtle, from him, wherein he found ſtore of Proviſion, and many Pagods, which had ſtood there, and been Superſtitiouſly adored for above a thouſand Years. Theſe he cauſed to be burnt, and reared in their place a Stupendious Moſque for the *Mahometan* Devotion.

Jangheer deſtroys the Robbers of Guzurat.

Jangheer hearing of this News, ſent *Abdul-chan* particular thanks, ordering him to ſtay a while in *Guzurat*, to extirpate the Raſcally Race of *Cooly*'s and *Bielſgrates*, who robbed the *Caſtila's*, and lived upon the Spoil of Paſſengers. *Abdul* diligently obeys his Maſter's Orders, ferrets them out of their Holes, ſlew their Captain *Eder*, after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and happily finding them aſſembled one time, falls upon them, and ſlew half their Rabble, with *Lael-Cooly* their Ring-leader, whoſe Head he ſent to *Amadabat*, where, as a terror to ſuch Rebels, it was ſet on a Pinacle. But *Chan-Jehan* in *Decan*, tho' he waited all opportunities of Conqueſt, was diſappointed through the Diſcord and Envy of ſome *Omra's* in his Army, and therefore acquaints the *Mogul* with it, deſiring him to ſend one of his Sons down to him, that the Army might be awed by his Preſence.

Sultan Perwees ſent into Decan.

Jangheer, after conſideration, ſends his Son Sultan *Perwees*, but after obſerving the Prudence of *Melec-Amber* and his Power, he ſpeeds *Chan-Aſem* after him, with 4000 Men more, to reinforce his Army. *Chan-Aſem* was no ſooner come to *Brampore*, but he intreats *Ganganna*, Lieutenant of *Khoor*, to joyn with him; and ſo with an Army of 600000 Men, and 600 Elephants, penetrates into the heart of *Decan*, burning and plundering as they liſt without reſiſtance. The *Decan* King, aſtoniſhed at theſe Numbers, and unable to reſiſt, flies to and fro, and having had ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes in vain, as his Ambuſhes alſo proved, he fled to the Caſtle of *Daltabat*, contriving to rid his Kingdom of them by Stratagem, which he thus managed: He writes ſome Counterfeit Letters from the *Radgees* about *Jangheer*'s Court, containing a private Advertiſement of the *Mogul*'s Death, and *Curroon*'s Advancement to the Throne. Theſe he gave to a Crafty *Bannian*, who travelling as if he came from *Agra*, was taken as a Spy. His Letters being read, ſo aſtoniſhed the General, that he immediately divides the Army without any Conſultation, quits ſuch places as had Garriſons put in them, and with confuſed haſte marcheth back into their own Country, Sultan *Perwees* to *Brampore*, *Abdul-chan* to *Surat*, and *Aſem-chan* towards *Agra*, giving *Amber* an eaſie re-admittance into his Towns and Caſtles, which otherwiſe he could never have recovered.

King of Decan's Stratagem.

Mahobet-chan Invades Decan.

As ſoon as *Jangheer* heard of the Trick, he was angry with them for their Credulity, and ſends *Mahobet-chan* Governour to *Brampore*, where being received joyfully, he employed his Forces in ſubduing *Berar*, and then Invades *Decan* as far as *Kerchy*, where *Abdul-chan* had been with his Army the Year before, returning loaden with Spoils and Victory to *Brampore*. This Succeſs made amends with *Jangheer* for laſt Year's failings. About the ſame time *Rana Radjea*, tired with many Battles and purſuits, preſents himſelf, Son, and many Gifts, unto him; among which was an Elephant valued at a hundred thouſand Roupees, ſubmitting all he had to his Diſpoſal. The King, by *Curroon*'s Mediation, accepts him, and heartily forgives him, embraces him, offers his Daughter in Marriage to his Son, and returns him the Government of *Pormandel*, (*Porus*'s Country) *Oodepore*, and other places, but he ſoon after died, and was buried in the Sepulchres of his Progenitors at *Chytor* with much Ceremony.

Abdul-chan made Governour of *Calpi* and *Khoor*.

Jangheer having ſpent 18 Months in Pleaſure at *Mande*, departs to *Amadabat*, where he remov'd *Abdul-chan* from that Government, and ſent him Vice-Roy of *Calpi* and *Khoor*. He alſo diſplaced *Chabeey* Governour of *Candahar*, and made *Badar-chan* Commander there. *Tzediat-chan* was alſo ſent to ſucceed *Tzalam-cawn* in *Bengal*, at what time *Ozman-chan*, a *Puttanian*, with a numerous Army, beſieged *Daecke*, the Metropolis of it. He and *Ethaman-cawn*, with 15000 Men, gave *Ozman* Battle, but by reaſon of a Mad Elephant on which *Ozman* rode, *Tzediat-cawn* was diſmounted and maimed, and the *Mogul*'s Forces diſcomfited; but by a ſtrange chance, a wounded Man thruſting *Ozman* through with his Lance, as he paſſed by, the *Puttans* being diſheartned fled, and the *Moguls* not only recovered *Daeck*, but invade *Ozman*'s Country, and taking his Wife and Children Captives return to *Agra*, loaden with his Wealth. *Abdul-cawn* being arrived in 7 Weeks in his Government of *Khoor* and *Calpi*, firſt quieted and deſtroyed thoſe ſwarms of Rebellious *Raſhboots*, which till that time had infeſted thoſe Parts, ſelling ſo many of them as paid the Charges of the War, and levelling the moſt defenſible Places to the ground.

Chan-Aſem ſent Embaſſador into *Perſia*.

Chan-Aſem at the ſame time went Embaſſador to *Abbas*, the Emperor of *Perſia*, bravely attended, and diſpatch'd with Gifts of great value, *viz.* 12 Cheſts of choice Linen, 2 of rich Saſhes, and Daggers with Hafts of precious Stones. *Abbas* entertain'd him nobly, with Feaſting and Sports, and diſmiſs'd him with Honour, preſenting the *Mogul* with 500 Horſes, 20 Mules, 500 Aſſes, 150 Dromedaries, 18 Cheſts of choice Carpets and Bezars, 20 Camels load of *Schyras* Wine, and 8 of Conſerved Dates, Piſtacho's, &c. which were acceptable to *Jangheer*, who that Year took a progreſs for his Pleaſure to *Caſſimire*, having firſt removed *Mahobet-chan* from *Brampore*, to the Command of *Cabul* and *Banges*.

Cabul deſcribed.

Cabul, called by *Ptolemy Chabura*, is bounded on the North by *Caucaſus*, on the South with *Multan*, on the Eaſt with *Caſſimire* and *Kakar*, and on the Weſt with the River *Indus*. It is a cold, windy and barren Country, except where the River *Nylob* (called by *Ptolemy Coa*, and by others *Cophis*) waters the ground. The City *Cabul* is Inhabited by *Banians*. The Houſes are low, and there are no Buildings remarkable in it, but ſome Inns and two Caſtles; in one of which King *Babur*, the Great Grandfather of *Jangheer*, was born. Sultan *Cuſhroe*, at his Father's departure, was taken from the Cuſtody of *Aſſaph-cawn*, and truſted to *Cawn-Jehan*, but ſoon after, by the perſwaſion of the Queen and *Aſſaph-cawn*, he was put into the keeping of *Curroon*, his Emulous Brother, to whom he gave alſo the Command of 40000 Horſe, and being attended with many *Omra's*, haſtens him to the Conqueſt of *Decan*, with Orders alſo to harraſs the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Viſcapore*, for neglecting to pay their Yearly Tribute of 3 pound weight of Diamonds.

Curroon ſent to conquer *Decan*.

About the ſame time *Jangheer* made *Cheq' Caſſem* Lieutenant of *Bengal*, and ſoon after *Ebrahim-cawn*, Queen *Normall*'s Couſin, was raiſed to the ſame Poſt.

In 1619, Heg. 1029. *Abdul-Azies-cawn* ſucceeded *Bador-cawn* in the Command of *Candahor*; *Cawn-Jehan* was conſtituted Lieutenant of *Multan*, Sultan *Parwees* of *Pathan*, and *Radgee Bertſingh Bondela*, and *Abdul-cawn*, Governors of *Calpi*. Theſe Governors aſſiſt *Curroon* in his Expedition into *Decan*, which they managed with ſuch Care and Succeſs, that they ſoon reduced *Berar* and *Ehandyes*, burning and ſpoiling all the Country as far as *Kerki*, where ſtood the King of *Decan*'s beſt Palace, which they demoliſhed, and enriching themſelves with Spoil and Treaſure. *Curroon*, exalted with this good fortune, commands his Army to call him *Sha-Jehan*, *i. e.* King of Hearts; and being Emperor in his own Opinion, caſts his Eyes upon his Father's Diadem. His Impriſoned Brother became a grief to him, and he feigns Sickneſs and Melancholy, that he might ſtir up ſome to inquire into the Cauſe, and forward the Cure: *Ganganna* was forwardeſt in this piece of Flattery, and by acquainting the *Mancebdars* with the Diſeaſe, eaſily put *Rajca Bandor*, a notorious Villain, upon the Undertaking. This Ruffin, at Midnight, goes to *Cuſhroe*'s Chamber, and pretending a Meſſage from his Father for his Deliverance demands admittance, but the Prince ſuſpecting the Treaſon refuſes, but he broke in, and after much ſtruggling Strangles him. *Cuſhroe*'s Wife, *Cawn-Aſem*'s Daughter, coming to viſit him in the Morning, finds him dead, and by his bruiſed face knew he had been Murdered; at which ſhe filled not only her Houſe, but the City with ſorrow, for this horrible Treaſon. *Curroon* was ſuſpected, but being removed out of the City for his health, and returning at the News of *Cuſhroe*'s Death, ſhewed ſo much grief, that many were induced to believe him Innocent. *Jangheer*, who ſtill retain'd ſome Fatherly Affection, entertain'd the News of *Cuſhroe*'s Death with much anxiety, and wrote a Letter to *Curroon* and his *Omra's*, that he would make a ſtrict inquiry into the cauſe of it, and if any Treaſon were found, would revenge it on them, when he leaſt ſuſpected it. He withal commands the Body to be dug up again, and be brought to *Elabaſſe*, to be Interred in his Mother's Monument. He alſo ſent for *Chan-Aſem*, and his afflicted Daughter, and takes them for his conſtant Companions; of whom having learned how *Curroon* was acceſſary to *Cuſhroe*'s Death, he forthwith entails the Imperial Crown upon Sultan *Bullochy*, or *Blochy*, *Cuſhroe*'s Son, gives him the Command of ten thouſand Horſe, and commits him to the Tuition of *Chan-Aſem* his Grandfather. *Curroon* perceiving the Murder diſcovered, and himſelf diſregarded, burſt out into open Rebellion. *Abdul-cawn* ſeeing his deſign, leaves the Army, and flies to his Government at *Calpi*, but the *Mogul* was angry with him, and made him to return; yet within a little time he was recalled, and ſent to the Relief of *Candahor*, which was beſieged by *Abbas* King of *Perſia*, who pretended it was a Member of his Empire, but tho' *Azief-cawn*, the Governour, defended it bravely, the *Perſians* were ſo briſk and reſolute, that they took it before he could get thither, and ſo he returned to *Lahor* to *Jangheer*, who received him kindly notwithſtanding the loſs.

Cuſhroe is Strangled.

Curroon calls himſelf *Sha-Jehan*.

Jangheer entails the Crown on *Bullochy* *Cuſhroe*'s Son.

Candahor deſcribed.

Candahor lies in 34 Deg. of Northern Latitude, and 98 of Longitude. It hath *Aria* on the Weſt, *Arachoſſa* on the South, *Segatbai*, of Old called *Bactria*, on the North. The Country towards the South is reaſonably Fruitful, and abounds with moſt things neceſſary; but by reaſon of the many Caravans that travel backwards and forwards from *Lahor* to *Perſia*, all ſorts of Proviſion is dear, and the paſſage, by reaſon of the thieviſh *Puttans* and *Arabs*, both chargeable and dangerous. The City is not large but ſtrong, partly by Walls on the South and Eaſt, and partly by the Hills on the North and Weſt. The Suburbs are large, and add beauty to the City, and nothing is wanting but good Water; for that there, and all the way to *Spahawn*, or *Iſpahan*, is brackiſh.

Aſſaph-cawn's Treachery to betray *Jangheer*'s Treaſure to *Curroon*.

Jangheer, infatuated by the Crafty perſwaſion of *Aſſaph-cawn*, ſends him with a peremptory Command to the Treaſurer of *Agra*, to remove his Treaſure to *Lahor*, where he then reſided, and intended to continue for a time. *Ethabar-chan*, the Treaſurer, conſidering the length and danger of the Way, would at firſt hardly Credit his Maſter's Letter, but at length being ſatisfied of the truth of that, fell to diſſwade *Aſſaph-cawn* from urging it, but in vain, the Order muſt be Obeyed, and ſo the Treaſurer ſubmits. While things were preparing, *Aſſaph-cawn* Poſts away a ſwift Meſſenger to his Son-in-Law *Curroon*, adviſing him to lay an Ambuſh between *Agra* and *Deli* to intercept it. The Prince joyfully received the News, and ſending for all his Officers thro' his Government, with their Forces, which made an Army of ſeventy thouſand Horſe, marches towards *Mande*.

Mando deſcribed.

This City is ſeated on the ſide of an Hill, on which ſtands a very ſtrong Caſtle, which is as well the Ornament as Defence of it. The Wall that encompaſſes it is near five Miles in Circuit, and the Palaces, Fortreſſes and Temples, are freſh and beautiful. In one of the Temples four Kings lie Entombed, of whom *Chan-Jehan* was the Founder. It has a Tower, which is elevated 170 Steps, ſupported with Maſſy Pillars, and adorned with Gates and Windows very obſervable. *Curroon* having ſtayed two days at *Texapore*, marches with great haſte to *Fettipore*, and that before *Ethabar-chan* knew he was in the Country; but now drawing nearer him, the watchful Treaſurer ſoon had notice of his approach, and eaſily ſuſpecting the danger, unloads his Camels of their precious Burdens, conveys it into the Caſtle, and having fortify'd it, ſends *Jangheer* word of his Son's Traiterous intention.

Curroon aſſaults *Agra*.

The King was aſtoniſhed at the News, and preſently ſends every way for Aſſiſtance, while *Curroon*, with his whole Army, preſents himſelf before *Agra*, making ſuch a Bravo, as if it were eaſie to conquer it, ſetting *Raagee Bickermanſe* to aſſault the Caſtle; but *Ethabar-chan*, deſirous to Sacrifice his beſt Endeavours to expreſs his Loyalty to the King, afforded him ſuch an Entertainment, that after three hours diſpute, he was forced to retreat with the loſs of 500 Men. But to revenge himſelf upon the Place for this Diſgrace, he plundered the Houſes of ſuch *Omra's* as had any Booty in them, and took above 60 Leek of Roupees from *Aſſaph-chan*, *Laſchar-chan*, and *Noutradin Cooly*.

Curroon reſolves to fight his Father.

Curroon being diſappointed of his Father's Treaſure, was not yet without hopes of getting his Kingdom, and hearing of his Father's march towards him, with an Army from *Aſſaph-cawn*, reſolves to give him Battle, and to encourage his Soldiers, doubles their Pay, with proteſtations of extraordinary Reward if they continued faithful to him. Within five days they came near each other, between *Pherrybaud* and *Dely*, and *Curroon* ſeeing it now no time to dally, commands *Radgee Bickermanſe*, with 8000 Horſe, to engage his Father early the next Morning. *Jangheer* having, by *Mahobet-chan*'s Advice, divided his Army into three Brigades, commanding one part himſelf, with *Radgee Bertſingh*, and giving a ſecond part to Sultan *Sheryer* his younger Son, with *Mahobet-chan* his Lieutenant-General, and the third to *Abdul-chan* and *Zadoc-cawn*, Perſons of undoubted Loyalty, ſent to each Commander ſome token of his Reſpect to wear that day for their better Encouragement.

Bickermanſe attacks *Jangheer*.

Bickermanſe, purſuant to *Curroon*'s Orders, with a ſmart Body of Horſe, charges *Bertſingh* and the *Mogul*'s Wing furiouſly, as did alſo *Ganganna* and *Curroon Mahobet-chan*'s part, and *Ruſtan-cawn*, with *Tſeſſaly*, *Abdul-cawn*'s. For three hours the Battel was continued with equal hopes and reſolution, till the Victory at laſt inclined to *Curroon*, for *Rajea Bickermanſe* having made a terrible Slaughter of the *Mogul*'s Party, and entring *Jangheer*'s Royal Seat, arreſted him as his Priſoner; but a *Mancebdar* being then in preſence with his Battel-Ax, gave the *Radgee* ſuch a blow, that he fell down breathing out his Soul with a Curſe. His Death ſtruck his Followers with ſo much terror, that not conſidering the Advantage they had they fled, and gave the *Mogul* opportunity of rallying his ſcatter'd Men, and after a ſhort Diſpute to regain the Victory. *Curroon*, in this unexpected change, did all he could by promiſes and threats to keep his Men together, crying aloud, That tho' *Bickermanſe* was dead, he was alive, and many as good Officers as he, but all his endeavours were in vain; they were ſeized with ſuch a pannick fear, as it was impoſſible to revoke them.

Jangheer overcome.

Curroon flies.

Curroon, in this diſtreſs, not knowing whether he had better put an end to his Misfortunes, by ſlaying himſelf, or fly, at laſt accepts *Ganganna*'s advice to retreat; and ſo leaving his Baggage and Treaſure to the Enemies, he, with ſome few Friends, flies into the deſolate Mountains of *Mewat*. The old *Mogul* being ſo Victorious goes to *Batzol*, where Sultan *Perwees*, with a glad heart, meets him, to congratulate his Succeſs, which ſo cheered his Spirits, that he became fearleſs, freed his Seraglio's, open'd the Caſtle-gates, and begins to Solace himſelf with *Normal*, the Light of his Eyes, if not the Object of his Devotion.

Curroon is reconciled to his Father.

This Voluptuous humour of the *Mogul*, gave a fair opportunity to *Aſſaph-cawn* to mediate a Reconciliation for *Curroon*, and ſo prevailed with the *Mogul*, deſirous of Eaſe, that Letters of Love and Forgiveneſs were diſpatched from *Aſmeer* to the Prince, who, reading them with joy, went with *Ganganna*, *Abdul-cawn*, *Darab-cawn*, *Beyram-beg*, and others, to *Aſmeer*, and throwing himſelf down at his Father's feet, upon his Repentance and Vows never more to fly out, is pardoned; but his Submiſſion proved counterfeit, for *Curroon* having conſtituted *Abdul-cawn* Governour of *Guzurat*, *Armadavad*, *Soret* and *Cambaia*, who delaying to repair thither, that he might free *Curroon* out of trouble, ſent *Baffadar* his Deputy. This Man growing Inſolent in his Command, quarrelled with *Nadal-Saffin-chan*, an eminent Officer of the *Mogul*'s, *viz.* the Chancellor of thoſe Parts, and was Impriſoned by him, with his Aſſociates *Mirza-Madary*, *Metzal-cawn*, and *Mamet Haſſen*. *Curroon* having had quick notice of this paſſage, firſt vents his paſſion in great Anger, and then breaks out into freſh Rebellion, tho' *Abdul-cawn* made but ſport of it, as not worthy of *Curroon*'s paſſion; nevertheleſs, knowing that he could not obtain Satisfaction without blows, he calls together his *Omra's*, and relating to them the Prince's diſhonour, and his own vexation, draws together an Army of 7000 Horſe, and 10000 Infantry, to chaſtize *Soffi-chan* and his Aſſociates, who were nothing troubled at it, but throwing off all fear Forraged the Towns, and Plundered Sultan *Curroon*'s Exchequer and Throne, newly ſet up at *Amadabat*, and with the Money he raiſes an Army of 20000 Horſe, 500 Muſqueteers, and 30 Elephants for War; and having by Proclamation ſatisfied the Country of the Reaſon of his making ſuch preparations, *viz.* to defend the King's Right againſt Rebels, by which means above 20 *Omra's* of Quality came to his aſſiſtance, he encamped at *Boubantalow*, 6 Courſes from *Amadabat*, and Courageouſly attended the coming of the Enemies.

Curroon Rebels again.

Abdul-cawn vanquiſhed.

Abdul-cawn received Intelligence of their Encamping at *Anamogery*, and in ſcornful manner acquaints them of his coming; but after hearing how ſtrong the Enemy was, endeavoured to attack them in the Rear, but in vain, for they diſcovered him. Next day he reſolved to fight, and accordingly having divided his Army into three Parts, one to *Amet-cawn* and *Tzalibeg*, another to *Tzardi-cawn*, *Maxatbeg* and *Mamet-Cooly*, and the third to himſelf, he marches to *Zietelpore* and *Phettibeg*, where *Nahar-cawn*, his five Sons, two Sons-in-Law, with 3000 Horſe begun the fight, and charged *Abdul-cawn* ſo hotly, that they forced him to retire, put their Cavalry into diſorder, and wounded his beſt Elephant, which in his rage turned upon his own ſide. *Tzazibeg*, in the mean time, was unhorſed and ſlain, and *Amet-cawn* taken Priſoner and Beheaded; all which things ſtruck ſuch terror into *Abdul*'s Army, that each Man fled whither his fancy led him, and *Abdul-cawn* himſelf was forced to fly to *Baroch*.

Baroch deſcribed.

This Town lies in 21 Deg. 55 Min. Northern Latitude, in the Province of *Guzurat*, and is a place of Note. It is ſeated in a fruitful Soil, watered by the River *Narvar*. It ſtands upon an high ground, which makes it not only viſible at a diſtance, but gives ſuch an advantage to its Works of Art, that it is almoſt Impregnable. It is well Peopled, hath a good Trade both by Land and Sea, but the Buildings are low. The *Mogul* hath from this Province yearly a Tribute of one Million, two hundred and ſixty thouſand Mamoudyes (or Shillings.)

Polly Medina's Tomb.

'Twixt *Baroch* and *Amadabat*, lies Entombed *Polly-Medina*, a *Mahometan* Saint, highly reputed by the People, who make their Pilgrimages thither loaden with Chains and Stones to obtain Children, Health, Wealth, and whatever they deſire. *Jangheer*, during the former Broils raiſed by *Curroon* and *Abdul-cawn*, lay at *Fettipore*, and being much diſpleaſed at them, called Sultan *Purwees* his Son, and Orders him to levy new Forces, to proſecute his Brother *Curroon*, and the *Omra's* his Accomplices. *Purwees* having prevailed with *Mahobet-chan* to joyn with him, moves againſt *Curroon* with fifty thouſand Horſe, by the way Impriſoned *Mirza-chan*, *Abdul-chan*'s Son. *Curroon* had early notice of theſe endeavours to reduce him, and leaving *Aſmeer*, flies to *Mando* to recruit his Forces, reſolving to bid him Battle.

Sultan *Purwees* purſues *Curroon*.

Purwees purſues him with the ſame deſign, and having, after a long march, overtaken him, aſſaults him, and after a ſhort diſpute vanquiſhes them, *Curroon* flying to *Brampore* his old Receptacle, and from thence into *Decan* to *Melec-Amber*, who gladly welcomed him, and ſeated him in *Naſſier-Throm*, his Elephants and Men being ſent to *Daltabat* to be Quartered there till he had further uſe of them.

The *Uſbeck-Tartars* ſpoil *Cabul*.

Sultan *Purwees*, and *Mahobet-chan*, after this Rout, give *Jangheer* notice of their good Succeſs, which was entertained by him with no leſs joy, than if he had triumphed over the moſt dangerous Enemy; but this pleaſure proved but ſhort, the News being brought him that *Iben Thouz*, an *Uſbeck* Tartar, was entred the *Mogul*'s Territories with thirty thouſand Horſe, and was plundering the Country of *Cabul*. *Jangheer* was driven into a great paſſion by the account, but ſoon recollecting himſelf, ſends Poſt to *Zaed-cawn*, (*Mahobet-cawn*'s Son) at that time Vice-Roy of *Bange*, to oppoſe the Tartar with what force he could get together. This young Gallant having raiſed twenty thouſand Horſe, haſtens to find the Enemy without delay, and coming upon the Tartar's Camp before he was aware, gave him ſuch a furious Charge, that after a ſhort Engagement he fled, and being loaden with prey, which they were loth to part with, gave the *Indians* an opportunity to overtake them, by which means they loſt not only their rich Spoils, and other Baggage, but were above half of them ſlain. *Zaed-cawn* proſecuted his Victory ſo far, as to purſue the Tartar into his own Country, burning and ſpoiling all before him as far as *Gaſſany*, and returning back with great Wealth, and many Elephants, to *Cabul*, he rewarded his Soldiers well to encourage them, and was received with wonderful Acclamations of Joy at *Cabul*. *Jangheer* was ſo well pleaſed with this Action, that he ſends *Zaed-cawn* thanks, and enlarged his Command with 5000 Horſe. And being in Peace again, he bethinks himſelf of Solacing his Mind with Sports, and his beloved *Normal*, and to that end makes his Progreſs into *Caſſimire*, a Country, tho' remote from his buſineſs, yet moſt ſuitable for that end.

Zaed-cawn routs the *Tartars*.

Curroon [illegible] *Decan*.

Curroon obſerving this Advantage, with ſpeed forſakes *Decan*, and paſſing through *Golconda* and *Orixa*, advances with 4000 Horſe, and 300 Elephants, into *Bengal*, where preſenting his Forces ſuddenly before *Debaka*, *Abraham-cawn*, the Governour of the Province, fled to *Meſulipatan*. *Curroon* laughs at his fear, and ſeizes his Treaſure; with which, and fair words, he drew moſt of the *Omra's* of the Country to ſerve him, with unexpected Recruits of Horſe and Arms. Over-joyed with this good hap he breaks into *Purop*, whoſe Governour alſo, *Makolidiſchan*, wanting Courage to oppoſe him, fled to *Elabaſſe*, and ſo gave him a free paſſage over the *Ganges*, to accompliſh his deſign of conquering *Kerry*, which he did not doubt of. But in the way, at *Radgee Mahal*, he was aſſaulted ſo furiouſly by *Abraham-chan*, from an Ambuſh, that had not *Abdul-chan* interpoſed he had been routed, and by him, after a long fight, was delivered, with the loſs of 3000 of his Men; but *Abraham-cawn*, out of an eager deſire to recover his Honour, loſt his Life.

Curroon's cruelty.

Curroon, tho' ſenſible of his Deliverance, was not leſs forward or cruel in acting Hoſtilities, ſpoiling and robbing that Wealthy Province; and paſſing *Guenga*, he forced all the Towns upon the *Ganges*, and in *Oryxa* and *Bengal*, to become his Subjects, requiring Oaths and Hoſtages from them, raviſhing their Women, and taking away their Gold and Jewels. Then he marched to *Pathan*, where *Radgee Uſiam*, with 5000 Horſe, and 20000 Foot, came to his Aſſiſtance.

Purwees purſues *Curroon*.

Purwees hearing of his Brother's extravagancies, commits *Brampore* to the Care of *Ruſtan-chan*, and *Laskar-cawn*, and with fifty thouſand Horſe reſolves to find him out. In the way *Lala Barſingh* meets him, as he paſſed his Territories, and joyns him with 7000 Horſe, offering him a Preſent of 3 Leeks of Roupees.

Jangheer alſo being alarmed with his Son's Rebellion, awakens from his Pleaſure, and after Advice with his Council, commands *Chan-Jehan* to raiſe a conſiderable Force out of *Multan*, *Buckar* and *Guzurat*, with the Tribute of thoſe Provinces, and haſten to joyn with *Purwees*, that he might be the better able to Encounter the Rebels. *Chan-Jehan*, forgetful of his Maſter's Commands, loyters at *Fettipore* and *Agra*, while *Curroon* takes *Rantas*, *Tzimur Bonarce*, and other Towns, and draws an abundance of Treaſure out of them; and hearing of his Brother's approach, obliged *Abdul-chan*, *Radgee Rhyhem*, and *Byram-chan*, to aſſault *Elabaſſe*, which *Ruſtan-chan* had well fortify'd, and as violently defended. Sultan *Purwees*, and *Mahobet-chan*, haſtened all they could to relieve it, but *Ruſtan* had acted his Part ſo well, that they were forced to retreat with loſs, and fly to *Curroon's* Army at *Bonarce*, or *Banaras*.

Ganganna joins *Purwees*.

Ganganna in this time had joyned himſelf to *Purwees* Army, but found no kind welcome, being Impriſoned for his Treachery; and tho' *M'hia Fehiem*, his Servant, endeavour'd his Releaſe, yet being diſcovered, his Caſe became worſe, for he was more ſtrictly guarded, his Eſtate confiſcated, and his Wife, Son and Family, ſent Slaves to *Agra*. *Purwees*, *Mahobet*, and their Army, after long marches, arrive at *Elabaſſe*, and were welcomed by *Ruſtan-chan* according to their Dignity, but not finding the Enemy, *Mahobet*, eager of a Battel, could not be enticed to ſtay, but paſſing the *Ganges*, faces *Curroon's* Army, which obliged that Prince to prepare for a fight.

Mahobet-chan forces *Curroon* to a fight.

Radgee Rhiem, with his Elephants, was ordered to Charge *Mahobet*, and being a brave Soldier, did it with ſuch Courage, that had *Abdul-chan*, or *Dena-chan*, ſeconded him as they were appointed, *Curroon* had gained the Victory; but *Abdul* hated *Rhiem*, and ſo neglecting his Duty, *Mahobet* recovers his loſs, wounds and enrages *Radgees* Elephants, which thereupon turn upon their own Party, and diſorders *Radgee's* whole Body, himſelf being ſlain. Upon this, *Purwees*, with the *Radgees Ziſimg*, *Ziand*, and *Bertzing*, and the whole Army, enter; *Curroon* falls on, and does what was in the power of Man, and *Abdul-chan* found it not ſafe to look on. The Battel endured five hours, with a great deal of Bravery ſhewn on both ſides. *Curroon* was hurt in the Arm, *Purwees*, tho' upon his Elephant, was wounded in the Side by *Derra-chan*, and had periſhed but for the ſtrength of his Mail.

Curroon vanquiſhed flies.

In the end the King's Army vanquiſhes, the Rebels fly, and *Curroon*, unable to prevent his Deſtiny, flies to the inexpugnable Caſtle of *Rantas* with 4000 Horſe, leaving the reſt to the Mercy of the Enemy, the Honour of the Field to his Brother, and the Spoil of his Camp to *Radgee Bertſingh*, who found plenty of Gold, Silver, Jewels, Elephants, Horſes, &c. The Sultan *Curroon*, now in his ſtrong Caſtle, ruminates in Miſery and Diſcontent, and hearing of *Mahobet-chan's* approach towards him, diſmiſſes his Seraglio, and flies to *Potan* with *Aſſaph-chawn's* lovely Daughter only in his Company, ordering *Darab-chan*, by Letter, to levy more Forces in *Bengal*, and meet him at *Radgeo-Mahal*. *Mahobet-chan*, and Prince *Purwees*, keep on their purſuit of him; but hearing that he was fled to *Radgee-Mahal*, and that *Darab-chan* was levying Forces for his Aſſiſtance, they perſwade *Ganganna*, whom they kept under a Guard, to diſſwade his Son *Darab* to deſiſt from his Enterprize, and promiſe him the King's thanks if he would joyn with them; but *Darab*, incenſed at the ill uſage of his Father, and ſuppoſing his Letters counterfeit, continued his Levies to ſupport the Rebellion. Prince *Purwees* hereupon proclaims him a Traytor, and promiſes a Reward of 4000 Roupees to any that ſhould bring him to his Camp alive or dead. The Multitude knowing that *Curroon* was fled, grew eager of the gain, and ſeizing *Darab-chan* and his Children, ſtrike off their Heads, and ſend them to *Purwees*, who having by *Mahobet-chan's* perſwaſion preſented them to the miſerable *Ganganna*, diſpatched them to *Agra* to be ſet on Poles.

Purwees purſues *Curroon*.

Curroon flies to *Oujea* in *Bengal*.

Curroon, at the News of this accident, left *Radgee-Mahal*, and fled to *Oudee*, or *Oujea*, in *Bengal*, and ſo eſcaped *Mahobet-chan's* hands, who purſued him as far as *Meden-pore*. During theſe Inteſtine Broils, *Melec-Amber*, King of *Decan*, thinking it a fit opportunity to recover what he had loſt, Levies an Army of fifty thouſand Men, and ſo unexpectedly fell upon *Laskar-chan*, *Mirza Mametſheir*, and *Ebrahim Hoſſen*, the *Mogul's* Governours in his Forts, that they ſurrendred the Forts, and were taken Priſoners, with the loſs of 15000 Men; and ſo *Melec* recovered all his Forts and Garriſons. *Curroon*, in the mean time, being purſued by *Bacher-chan* to *Oujea*, tho' he had an Army of 5000 Horſe, and 300 Elephants, durſt not give him Battel, tho' not much ſuperiour to him in Numbers, but fly for fear to the King of *Golconda*, where he had but a cold reception, becauſe he knew he came with a deſign to inſpect the Intrinſick value of his Diamond-Mine; and therefore he doubled his Guards in *Cunda-ver* and *Canda-poly*, two Caſtles where he commonly put his Diamonds, with much other Treaſure.

The Diamond Mine at *Golconda* deſcribed.

This famous Diamond-Mine is diſtant from *Muſulipatan* about 90 *Engliſh* Miles. The neareſt Town is *Morcanda*. It is a large Rock under part of that Mountain, which extends towards *Belleguate*. The Soil for many Miles round is Barren and Sandy, but near the Mine 'tis of a reddiſh colour, and the Vein it ſelf is of a pale Yellow. No part of the World affords greater plenty of Diamonds, or of a better Water, than this Mine doth, thoſe of *Socodania* in *Borneo* not excepted, altho' many be yellow. The Quarry has alſo many other tranſparent Stones of value, as Topazes, Amithyſts, Spinels, Hiliotropes, Agates, Garnats, Chryſtals, and the like. The digging in it is a kind of Lottery, the Adventurers finding Stones ſometimes to their advantage, but other times to their loſs. In digging, if a Diamond exceed 20 Caracts, (*i. e.* 30 Grains) it is by Law reſerved for the King; the reſt are for the Adventurers, who both in digging and travelling back, are forced to maintain ſufficient Guards to defend them from the Mountaineers, who will rob the Caravans.

Melec-Amber unites *Curroon* to him.

While *Curroon* remained with the King of *Golcanda*, *Melec-Amber* ſends an Embaſſador, with affectionate Letters, and a large Sum of Money, with other Neceſſaries, to invite him into *Decan*, where he aſſured him all things ſhould be at his Command. *Curroon* perceiving himſelf no welcome Gueſt at *Golconda*, and finding his Deſign upon the Diamond-Mines fruſtrate, accepts the Invitation, and departs with him to *Decan*, where he ſtaid three Months; and then projecting the recovering his old Eparchy of *Brampore*, preſents himſelf with an Army of 10000 Men before it. *Radgee Ruſtan*, who was made Governour of it by Sultan *Purwees*, refuſed to give him entrance, at which *Curroon* was ſo enraged, that he aſſaulted the Walls with violence, but *Ruſtan* as churliſhly anſwered him; ſo that after ſeveral attempts, all in vain, hearing of Sultan *Purwees* march to relieve it, he was obliged to retreat again to his Old Friend *Melec Amber*, then in *Kerki* in *Decan*.

Haſſer deſcribed.

In his way he attempted *Haſſer*, a ſtrong, and one of the beſt defended Caſtles in *Chandis*, becauſe it is built on the top of a ſteep Mountain, is well Walled by Nature, hath Springs of wholſome Water within, and the Soil is ſo fruitful, that it will feed as well as lodge 40000 Men, and were not to be taken, were it not that ſuch Worms breed in the Thighs and Legs of ſuch as drink the Water as often prove Mortal; by which means alone *Ecbar* took it.

Jangheer prefers *Mahobet-chan's* Son.

Jangheer being pleaſed with the Victories of *Purwees* and *Mahobet-chan*, to ſhew his kind reſentments of them,

takes

Mahobet's Loyalty, and *Ganganna's* Malice againſt him.

takes notice of the Valour and Loyalty of *Ganna-zied-cawn*, *Mahobet's* Son, late made Vice-Roy of *Cabul*, calls him to Court, and adds 5000 Horſe to his Command; makes him Governour of *Bengal*, the richeſt Province of *India*. *Normal* and *Aſſaph-cawn* caſt a Squint-eye upon this new Favourite; and in the firſt place, to affront *Mahobet*, they prevail with the *Mogul* to command him forthwith to ſend Impriſoned *Ganganna* to him to *Agra*. *Mahobet*, tho' he ſaw the Plot to work his Ruin, yet would not ſhew any inclination to Diſobedience, and ſo ſends him. *Ganganna* was no ſooner arrived at Court, but he ſpits his Malice againſt *Mahobet*, accuſing him of putting his Son and Kindred to Death, after they had left *Curroon* to ſerve the King; with many other grievous Complaints. Theſe Accuſations ſomething moved the Credulous *Mogul*; and being further heightned with *Purwees* Character of *Mahobet*, by Letter, That he was an Ambitious Man, and ſought to Eclipſe his Honour with the Army, ſo incenſed him, that forgetting his good Services, he condemns him unheard, and gives his Command to *Cawn-Jehan*, and calls him Home.

Mahobet goes to Court.

Mahobet admires at this Change, but reſolving to clear his Innocency by a Dutiful Behaviour, goes to take his Leave of *Purwees*, but finds him Coy and Stately, which ſtruck him with amazement; ſo that he left the Camp with a ſad Heart, tho' with the love of all the reſt of the Army. From *Brampore* he goes to Court, but being Adviſed by his Friends not to venture thither, where he muſt expect to be treated as a Traytor, he ſecured himſelf in his Caſtle of *Rantampore*, reſolving there either to reconcile himſelf to *Jangheer* by Letter, or ſecure himſelf from the Spite of his Enemies.

Curroon reconciled to his Father.

Mahobet's reſolution to clear himſelf.

Mahobet defies the Queen *Normal*.

Conquers her Army.

The *Mogul* and *Normal* taken Priſoners.

This Diſcord between *Purwees*, *Mahobet* and *Normal*, was grateful to *Curroon*, who hoped to advance his Ambition by their Diviſions, and to that end ſends *Godgee-Jehan*, his Son's Tutor, with a Preſent of rare Coins, a hundred choice Elephants, and ſome fine Pictures bought of the *Portugueze*. The Old King, as an Indulgent Father, accepts his Preſent, invites him home, and aſſures him of Pardon; of which he Ordered *Aſſaph-cawn* to give him notice, who alſo adviſed him to come to Court, while his Father was in this good humour. In the mean time *Mahobet-chan*, at his Caſtle of *Rantampore*, receives a peremptory Command from *Jangheer* to deliver up his Caſtle to the Queen, who had given the Command of it to *Bachor-cawn*, no Friend of *Mahobet's*, and ſhould forthwith go to *Orixa* to his Son, who was the King's Lieutenant there. *Mahobet*, careful to preſerve himſelf, but yet loth to offend his Maſter, ſends him back this Anſwer, 'That he was ready to manifeſt himſelf a Duti-'ful Subject, and ſerve him with his Life and Goods, 'but would not expoſe himſelf to the Malice of his Ene-'mies, of which he was ready to give him the Reaſons 'in Perſon, provided he might repair to Court, and re-'turn to *Rantampore* again ſafely. *Jangheer* received this Anſwer, and wonders at *Mahobet's* Preſumption; but *Mahobet*, as much admiring at his Miſ-apprehenſion of his words, reſolves with 5000 Voluntary *Raſhboots* to go to *Labor*, and make his Defence in Perſon. The Queen and *Aſſaph-cawn* having notice of his Deſign, and fearing his Force, as well as his Reconciliation, perſwade the *Mogul* to admit *Mahobet*, with a few of his Confidents only, to make his Defence. But *Mahobet*, ſenſible of *Normal's* Deceits, would not adventure his Perſon, but ſent his Excuſe by his Son-in-Law, who gladly undertook the Office; but as ſoon as he came to Court, and was alighted from his Elephant, was ſtript of his Bravery, and being Cloathed in Rags, chabrect upon the Soles of his Feet with Rattans, and ſet bareheaded upon a Jade backward; was led through the Army with Kettle-Drums, and made a Scoff to the Multitude by *Normal's* Order. *Mahobet* had quick Intelligence of this uncomely Entertainment, and bore it the more patiently, becauſe he believed it proceeded not from his Maſter, yet ſaw the hatred of his Enemies, and what he muſt have ſuffered, if he had truſted himſelf to them; whereupon he reſolves to bid *Normal* Defiance, and having withal due Zeal to his Maſter, declared in a ſhort Manifeſto *Normal's* and *Ganganna's* Abuſes to the Crown, and the Indignity offer'd his Son by them. He acquaints his Friends and Fellow-Soldiers with his Deſign, who promiſed to live and die with him; and ſo with 20000 Valiant *Raſhboots* he advances to find out *Normal's* Army, and the *Leſcar*, which then conſiſted of fifty thouſand Men. By accident, when he approached them, her Army was parted, the better half being paſſed over the River *Phat*, and the reſt marching after; of which *Mahobet* being advertiſed by his Scouts, and knowing the Advantage, falls upon the part on this ſide the River, Commanded by *Bradet-cawn*, which in two hours they utterly Diſcomfited, ſlaying above 6000, and putting the reſt to flight, who many of them periſhed in the River. The other part of *Normal's* Army ſtood ſtill, and could hardly be perſwaded to oppoſe the Victorious Rebels; but being cheared up by *Aſſaph-cawn*, *Abdul-Haſſen*, and other *Omra's*, they prepared for an Encounter, *Mahobet* being come in view. The Battel was very fierce for five hours, each ſide ſtriving for Victory, but at length *Normal's* Army gave back, and were ſoundly beaten. *Aſſaph-cawn* the General was taken, and ſhackled in Silver Fetters, twelve thouſand Men were ſlain, and the Old *Mogul*, Queen *Normal*, and many *Omra's* of Note, made Priſoners, and carried to *Kabul*. *Mahobet* thus ſeated in the Triumphal Chariot of Fortune, reſolves to detract as little as poſſible from his Maſter, and only to clear his own Reputation, and vindicate the Diſgraces and Wrongs done to his Friends for his ſake, *Normal* was condemned to loſe her Head by the Advice of his Council, which ſhe patiently ſubmitted to becauſe unavoidable, only deſiring to take her farewel of her Lord. *Jangheer* ſeeing her ſorrow melts into compaſſion, and deſires her freedom; and *Mahobet*, not willing to diſcontent his Maſter, grants it. And *Normal*, contrary to the Advice of his Confederates, is ſpared; not to thank the Merciful Conquerour, but revenge her ſelf, as ſhe ſoon did. The other Priſoners were treated honourably, and *Mahobet* holds for a ſmall time the Sway of *Indoſtan*.

Curroon's deſign to make himſelf King.

Curroon was all this time in *Decan*, watching an Advantage to recover his loſt Credit, and hearing of the incredible change of Things in the Empire, *viz.* That his Father and Father-in-Law, Brother Sultan *Bulloch*, Brothers Sons, and his own Children, were Priſoners to *Mahobet*, he gives *Melec Amber* a thouſand thanks, and with *Radgee Rhiem's* Son, and twelve thouſand Horſe, paſſes with leave through *Rana's* Territories to *Aſmeer*, intending to ſurprize *Agra*, and proclaim himſelf King: But the *Radgee's* Death, which drew away half his Forces, cauſed him to alter his Reſolutions, and ſo with the reſt he haſtned to *Tatta*, hoping by the Conqueſt of that City to command all *Indus* and *Cambaia*. *Curroon* being ſet down before *Tatta*, ſends the Captain of it, *Xeriff Melec*, a Summons to deliver it; but he told him, That he had a particular Order to defend it againſt them, and if he attacked it, he ſhould find the Entertainment of an Enemy. *Curroon*, enraged by this Anſwer, Storms it in ſeveral places, but was ſo warmly received by *Melec*, that he was forced to draw off with loſs; and the Beſieged, by a Sally, falling upon his Camp, killed *Dorra-chan*, with 300 of his Men, and forced *Curroon* himſelf to fly to *Dely*.

Dely deſcribed.

Jemini a River.

This City, which gives Name to the Circumjacent Province, belonged of late to the *Potan* Kings, who were the Original Inhabitants, but now is ſubject to the Crown of *Indoſtan*. It is an ancient, large, and pretty beautiful City, having the ancient Monuments of above 20 Kings, and other Perſons, who lie Entombed in it; which draw Travellers to uſe it, and the *Banians* to adore them. About three Miles from it is a famous Pyramid, the Tomb of King *Hamayon*, who was Grandfather to *Jangheer*, ſuppoſed to be built by *Alexander* by the Frame and Inſcription. It is Walled about, Watered by the *Jemini*, over which lies a Bridge of twelve Arches, which you muſt paſs over into the City. This River riſes in the Mountains of *Jenba*, and having paſſed *Agra*, after a great increaſe of her Channel at *Prage*, flows into *Ganges*, and with it falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*, at two huge wide Mouths, near 100 Miles aſunder, in about 22 Deg. Northern Latitude.

Ganges deſcribed.

Ganges, by Coſmographers, is reputed one of the Nobleſt Rivers in the World, running about 1000 Miles in length, and has many Rivers that flow into it, falling into the Gulph of *Bengal*. The *Banians* count it Sacred, and becauſe they have a great reverence for a Cow, they ſay the Rock, from whence it flows, reſembles a Cows head. *Curroon* found no welcome at *Dely*, and ſo haſtes away with his chafed Troops to *Bekar*, a Fort betwixt *Labor* and the Sea, that he might breathe there a while. *Melec Amber*, as ſoon as *Curroon* was marched out of his Country, to procure favour from *Purwees*, gave Liberty, without Treaty or Ranſom, to *Laskar-Cawn*, *Ebrahim-Haſſem*, and *Mirza-Manoutſhir*, and with a ſafe Convoy ſends them to *Brampore*.

Normal's reſolution to deſtroy *Mahobet*.

Jangheer removing his Court from *Cabul* to *Labor*, by *Normal's* perſwaſion condeſcends to the Slaughter of ſuch *Raſhboots* as *Mahobet* had mixed with his Guards, and after declared, That ſhe could not be ſatisfied without the deſtruction of *Mahobet*, and that before he received any Supplies from his Kinſmen *Chan-Alem*, and *Radgee Ruſtang*, who were advancing towards him; and to that end, emptied all her Husband's Coffers, to hire Men from all places to ſerve her. *Mahobet-chan* had notice of the Queen's projects, and new preparations, but not being at all diſheartned at them, draws up his Forces into a Body to meet her, who was at the ſame time haſtning towards him. *Ganganna* was made General of *Normal*'s Forces, and *Mahobet-chan* was not troubled at it.

Purwees Death.

While theſe things were doing, *Purwees*, who had contracted an intimate Friendſhip with *Mahobet-chan*, dies, and his Death was ſo afflicting to him, as well as to his Father *Jangheer*, that he bid the World adieu, and contracting himſelf to privacy turned Anchorite. *Normal* ſuppoſing even his Eaſe to be in contempt of her, was unſatisfied ſo long as *Mahobet*, whom ſhe had devoted to ruin, was alive, and therefore projects ſeveral ways for his Deſtruction; and tho' the Indignity lately done his Son, by taking his Government from him, ſomething pleaſed her, yet 'twould not ſatisfy, but calling *Amir-chan*, *Nuradin-Cooly*, and *Hemyrbeg*, her Minions, ſends them with 15000 Horſe to fight with him.

Aſſaph-cawn, who had ſo generouſly been diſmiſſed by *Mahobet*, was ſorry for his Siſter's Lunacy, and ſince he could not effect his Reconciliation, (as he often laboured) he was loth ſo Brave a Man ſhould periſh through the Malice of a Woman, and ſo ſends him a Letter, diſcovering his Siſter's Reſolution, and ſolicits young *Rana Radgee* to preſerve him. *Mahobet* having received *Aſſaph-cawn*'s Letter, was much troubled, and leaving his Cell in *Zirmol*, flies to *Geſſmeer*, and ſo to *Radgee Rana*, who loved him well; but being purſued with Letters full of threats, as well as intreaties, from *Normal*, the *Radgee* thought it not prudent to retain him, or protect him, and ſo adviſed him to fly to *Curroon*, who would, without all doubt, entertain him gladly.

Mahobet-chan having received a Packet from the *Radgee Rana* to *Curroon*, ſpeeds to *Decan* with 500 *Raſhboots*, and 1000 other Men, led by *Wazir-chan*, with him, and finds *Curroon* at *Guyneer*, in *Niſamſha*'s Kingdom, who was amazed at his coming, till having read the *Radgee*'s Packet, he embraced him with unſpeakable Joy, and entred into a firm Friendſhip with him. *India* admires at this Agreement, *Normal* too late repents her Folly, and *Jangheer* grows ſo afflicted at their Conjunction, that he falls into a deep Melancholy, and ſoon after a fatal Sickneſs, of which in three days he died, in the 23d Year of his Reign, in the Year 1627. Heg. 1007. having named on his Death-bed his Grandſon *Bullochy*, Son of Sultan *Guſhroo*, his Succeſſor, and ſworn his principal *Omra's* to ſee him crowned, and ſhew *Curroon* no favour, till he had ſubmitted to *Bullochy*.

The dead Body of the *Mogul* was Entombed at *Tzecander* in *Ecbar*'s Monument, and Sultan *Bullochy* being 13 Years of Age, was crowned at *Dely* with all Royal Joy. *Normal* being of an active Spirit, and having all *Jangheer*'s Treaſure in her hands, arms her ſelf with Confidence, and a pretended Title, reſolving to ſet her Son *Sheryer* on the Throne: To that end ſhe hires 15000 Horſe, and ſends to her Son to levy as many more at *Jengapore*, intending to Strangle *Aſſaph-cawn*, and King *Bullochy*, who were advancing towards her. The young King underſtanding this, turns away to *Labor* to meet *Sheryer*, who had lately been baffled by *Godgee-Abdul-Huſſan*, and was encamped only with 4000 Horſe. Here they aſſail him in extreme rage, (tho' by the expence of 90 thouſand Leek of Roupees he had trebled his Army at their arrival) and in two hours, by the treachery of *Amir-chan*, and *Sheir-Godgee*, get the Victory, and force him into the Caſtle, which in three days they took, with much Treaſure, and *Sheryer* himſelf, whoſe Eyes *Bullochy* ordered to be put out, but ſpared his Life.

Normal's Submiſſion.

Normal, at the News of theſe Misfortunes, lets fall her Spirit, complains of her Brother's perfidiouſneſs, and her own folly, in proſecuting *Mahobet* with ſo much rage, and ſubmits to *Bullochy*'s Mercy, who, like a Noble Prince, forgave and comforted her, promiſing her ſafety by Oath; and accordingly, during his Reign, he gave her ſuch reſpect and freedom as became her Character. But not pleaſing the People as he ought, by ſhewing himſelf often in the *Durbar* and *Jarneo*, he enjoyed his Sovereignty but a little while, for *Aſſaph-chan* giving *Curroon* Intelligence by Letters of his Father's Death, *Curroon* immediately ſets out from *Decan* with *Mahobet-chan*, *Zulpeckar-chan*, and 7000 *Raſhboots* and *Mancebdars*, and paſſing through *Guzurat*, after three Weeks march he came to *Agra*, where he claims the Imperial Dignity, and by the *Kutwall*, and his Favourites, was proclaimed King by the Name of *Pot-ſha-Jehan*. *Curroon* being thus ſettled on the Throne, Orders the *Gazal-chan* to give notice of it to *Aſſaph-chan*, who forthwith Poſts to *Labor*, and making *Radgee Bandor* of his Council, ſends him into the Hummums, where he Strangled *Bullochy*, with Sultan *Sheryer*, *Sha-Ethimore*, and *Sha-Haſſen*, the two Sons of Sultan *Purwees*, and the two Sons of Sultan *Morod*, not ſuſpecting any danger, and ſent their Heads to *Curroon*.

Curroon made King by the Name of Pot-ſha-Jehan.

Curroon crowned.

Theſe Murders aſtoniſhed the Empire, but *Curroon* ſoon quieted it by his Incantations, and then Orders his Coronation at *Agra*; which was accordingly performed, in a General Aſſembly of *Omra's*. Then he turned to the Affairs of the Empire, placing and diſplacing at his pleaſure. He ſhut up his Father's Seraglio, confined Queen *Normal* and her three Daughters. *Aſſaph-chan* was made ſecond in the Empire, and *Mahobet-chan* next him; and *Channa-Zied-chan* was re-eſtabliſh'd Vice-Roy of *Bengal*. Ambaſſadors from *Perſia*, *Arabia*, *Tartary* and *Decan*, bring him Preſents, and Congratulate his acceſs to the Crown. Divers *Radgees*, and all the principal *Omra's*, reſort to him, who affectionately received them, pardoning all Offences committed during his Rebellion. After which he proclaims a Jubilee, which was Celebrated with all manner of Sports and Pleaſures imaginable; but *Curron*, tho' in the higheſt Dignity, can't be happy, Divine Vengeance purſuing him for his Sins by taking away his Wife, and ſending the Arrows of Plague and Famine into his Kingdom. The Sword threatens on all ſides, the *Perſians* having taken *Kermaen* and *Candabar*. The *Tartar Cabul*, *Sheuph Almuch*, endangers *Tutta*; and *Leur Bander*, and *Radgee Joogh*, troubles *Brampore*; and two Counterfeit *Bullochyes* ſtir up Rebellion in the Bowels of his Kingdom. He himſelf lives in the higheſt Inceſt, having married his own Daughter, and 'tis to be feared God's Hand will give a fearful Event to theſe things, as a juſt puniſhment of his former and preſent Sins, as they deſerve. This is what he gathered and obſerved while he lay at *Surat*.

Curroon's unhappy Reign.

CHAP. XXII.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *Travels into* Perſia, *in which he gives an Account of the People, Cities, Towns, and Products of it.*

LEaving the *Mogul*'s Country, Sir *Tho. Herbert* and his Company came to *Diu*, or *Dewa* Town, ſeated on the *Cambayan* Gulph, and ſo incompaſſed with a branch of the *Indus*, that it is made a kind of Peninſula. The Haven is as good for Anchorage as *Swalley*, or any of the Havens thereabouts. *Alexander* returning from the Conqueſt of *Porus*, built a City on the Banks of the River *Hydaſpes*, one of the branches of *Indus*, called *Bucephala*, in memory of his Horſe killed in that great Battel; and coming to this place, commanded *Nearchus* his Admiral to repair his Fleet, and ſail to *Ormus*. This City is large, but the Chriſtians are not ſo well loved here as in many other places, becauſe of the moroſe humours of the *Portugueze*. 'Twas a Town of good Trade, when it afforded Opium, Aſſafœtida, which were brought thither from *Labor*; Puchio, Cotton, Indico, Mirabolans, Sugar, Arack, Agats, Cornelians, Diaſpries, Calcedons, Amathyſts, Pearl and Elephant's Teeth, but ſince the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* have traded at *Surat* and *Cambaya*, her Traffick is inconſiderable. It has no Buildings remarkable but the Caſtle, built there by *Albuquerque*, the famous *Portugueze*

The River *Indus* deſcribed.

Captain, in 1515. The River *Indus*, called by *Pliny Sandus*, and *Arrian Sinthus*, is now called *Sinde*. After a Courſe of 3000 Miles from the *Caſnirrian* Mountains, part of *Caucaſus*, it empties it ſelf into the Ocean at two great Oſtiums. It is accounted by ancient Geographers one of the moſt famous Rivers of the World, and gives Name to one of the moſt noble Parts of the Univerſe. The Rivers *Bohat*, *Ravore*, *Damiadee*, *Obchan*, *Waihy*, or *Hydaſpes*, *Aceſines*, *Cophis*, *Adris*, &c. all flow into it. Here it is worth Obſervation, that at the Mouth of *Indus* 'tis full Sea at the New Moon, but at *Calecut* at the Full Moon, and at *Secotora* at the Firſt and Laſt Quarters.

Muſcat deſcribed.

On the other ſide of the Gulph in *Arabia Felix* is *Muſcat*, not far from Cape *Raz al gate*, anciently called *Corodamam*: It is the beſt Town, Port and Haven, which the *Portugueze* have in theſe Parts, being conquer'd by them when they took *Ormus* in 1507. from *Zerfadin* an Infant King of it. The Town is ſeated in a Plain between two riſing Mountains, a Ditch and Parapet drawn from one Hill to the other, ſo environing it, that to ſome it ſeems inacceſſible. The Caſtle is large, well Manned, and ſtored with great Ordnance.

Gambroon.

Dec. 17. they ſailed for *Gambroon* in *Perſia*, coaſting on *Arabia*, where thoſe ſweet Spices and Gums do grow, whoſe Flowers ſo perfume the Air, that it ſmells ſweet at Sea, when no Land can be diſcerned.

Arabia deſcribed.

Æthiopia in *Aſia*.

Jaſques deſcribed.

Arabia, denominated from *Arabus* the Son of *Apollo* and *Babylonia*, was anciently a Seminary of very famous Men, Phyſicians, Mathematicians and Philoſophers, as *Galen*, *Hypocrates*, *Avicen*, *Albumazar*, &c. but now is obſcure and barbarous. It was of Old famous for the delivery of the Holy Decalogue, but now 'tis as Infamous for the Alcoran. It is divided into three Parts, 1. *Deſerta*, or *Aſpera & humilis*. 2. *Petræa*, or *Petroſa*, from *Petra* the Metropolis of it, built by *Patraſim* the fifth Son of *Mizraim*, *Gen.* 9. 14. It is alſo called *Inferiour*, and *Nabithæa*, by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. 3. *Fœlix*, called *Sabæa*. All theſe Parts were firſt called *Æthiopia Aſiatica*, to diſtinguiſh it from that in *Africk*. *Herodotus* diſtinguiſh theſe *Æthiopians* by their Hair, for the *Aſiaticks* may be combed, the *African* not. In the Deſart *Arabia* is *Kedar*, in *Petræa*, *Horeb*, *Sinai*, *Jathrip* and *Mecca*, places of Account among the *Saracens*; and in the *Happy Arabia*, now called *Mamotta*, *Medina*, *Saba*, and many other Towns of Note. All this Country was Peopled at the Diviſion of Tongues, by *Seba*, *Raamah*, *Sabbata* and *Sabbatheca*; and 'tis obſervable at this day, that whereas the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, are no where ſpoken purely, the *Arabick* is ſpoken in three parts of the World. Leaving *Arabia* they croſſed the *Perſian* Gulph, and paſſed near Cape *Gwader*, and in ſight of Cape *Goadel*, an Infamous Port, inhabited by a People who make a prey of ſtrangers. On the *Carmanian* Coaſt ſtands *Jaſques*, in 28 Deg. 58 Min. Northern Latitude, diſtant about 40 Leagues from *Ormus*; *Albuquerque* ſubjected it to the Crown of *Portugal*, built a large Caſtle in it, and furniſhed it with 17 Braſs Cannon, but the *Engliſh* took it from them in 1623. becauſe they killed Captain *Shilling* in it, but put it into the hand of the *Perſian*.

Carmania deſcribed.

Carmania is twofold, the Greater and the Deſart: The Deſart extends from this Town to *Aria*, and the Greater is confined by *Gedroſia* to the N. W. Near this is a ſmall Iſle called *Aphrodoſia*, from a Shrine ſtanding in it Dedicated to *Venus*; 'twas famous in *Alexander*'s time for Sword-Blades, accounted better than thoſe of *Damaſcus*, and for the *Orgies* he celebrated here. Then paſſing the Streights of *Ormus*, in view of *Riſhmy*, where the *Portugueze* have another Fort, they came to Anchor at *Gambroon*, the beſt Port the *Perſian* has.

Ormus deſcribed.

Kings of Ormus.

Ormus is a Kingdom in *Carmania Major*, and an Iſle about one League from the Continent, and fifteen Miles in Circuit, lying in the 27 Deg. of Northern Latitude. The Soil is barren, but the chief City is ſo elegant for Buildings, ſo populous for Inhabitants, and ſingular for Trade, that it allures Merchants and Travellers to it from all Parts of the World, and by its Marine Power derived from *Goa*, gives Laws to all its neighbouring Potentates. The City is not large, but compact, and the Streets narrow to avoid the heat of the Sun, which otherwiſe, through the Sandineſs of the Soil, would be intolerable there. The Iſle hath two Havens in it, one in the Eaſt, and the other in the Weſt parts of it. In the middle of it is an Hill, which gives a delightful proſpect on the top, and affords Sulphur on the one ſide, and Salt on the other, in great ſtore. The City is well built, and the Houſes within exceedingly well furniſhed with gilded Leather, and *India* and *China* Rarities: The Bazar is rich and beautiful, the Churches ſplendid within, and the Caſtles ſo regularly built both within and without, and ſo well fortified with deep Trenches, a Counterſcarp and great Ordnance, commanding both the City and Haven, that none exceeds it in all the Eaſt. The Kings of this Iſland were,

1. *Mir Bahedin Ayaz*, or *Ben-Seiſin Ben-Cabadin*, who being a Servant to *Seidfadin Nocerat*, an Infant *Arabian* King, ſlain by his Brother *Morad*, or *Maſad*, oppoſed *Morad* in his ambitious Deſigns, and kept him from the Throne, forcing him to fly to *Kermaen*, where *Morad* obtaining Aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, brought ſo great an Army againſt him, that he was forced, with many of his Friends, who hated the Tyrant, to remove to *Riſhmy*; but not well liking that place, he departed, and ſettled upon the Iſle *Gerun*, which he fortify'd and named *Ormus*, in 1312. Heg. 692. To him ſucceeded,
2. *Emir-Azadin-Gourdan-ſhaw*, a Perſon of a Noble Extraction, whoſe Son,
3. *Maberazadin-bahron-ſha*, a Brave Prince, inherited the Throne, but was treacherouſly ſlain by,
4. *Mirſha-Bedin-Iſſuff*, who enjoyed his wicked Purchaſe but a little while, for,
5. *Mirza-Codbadin*, his Predeceſſor's youngeſt Brother, retaliated his treachery upon him, and tho' for a while his Couſin *Melec Nozamedin* forced him to fly the Kingdom, yet at his Death he recovered it, and left it at his own to,
6. *Paca-Turanſha*, a Victorious Prince, whom nothing could conquer but Death, which ſtripping him of his Regal Power in 1488. he had theſe Succeſſors,
7. *Mozad-ſha Bedin*.
8. *Salger-ſha*.
9. *Shawez*. And
10. *Saffadin*, whom *Albuquerque* ſubdued in 1507. and cauſed him to be ſtrangled.

Nordine, *Cojeature*, and *Dalamſha*, ſeverally attempted the Sovereignty, but *Mahomet*, in the ſpite of them, was crowned King, being the Right Heir; and to him ſucceeded his Son *Seid-Mahomet-ſha*, in 1622. who was ſubdued by the *Engliſh* and *Perſians* when they took *Ormus*, which being a remarkable Conqueſt, it will be worth our while to take the particulars of it.

Conqueſt of *Ormus* by the *Engliſh* and *Perſians*.

Sha-Abbas, the Emperor of *Perſia*, reſolving to ſubdue *Ormus*, commanded *Emangoly-chawn*, Governour or Duke of *Shyraz*, to undertake it, who advances toward *Gambroon* with 9000 Horſe and Foot, at ſuch a time as he expected to meet the *Engliſh* Fleet there, whoſe Aſſiſtance he obtained upon theſe Conditions, which they firſt ſettled under Hand and Seal: 1. That the Caſtle of *Ormus*, if it were taken, with all the Ordnance and Ammunition, ſhould belong to the *Engliſh*. 2. That the *Perſians* might build themſelves another in any part of the Iſle, if they pleaſed. 3. That the Spoil ſhould be equally divided. 4. That the *Engliſh* ſhould have the *Chriſtian*, and the *Perſian* the *Pagans*, their Priſoners. 5. That the *Perſians* ſhould pay for half the Victuals, Wages, Shot and Powder. 6. That the *Engliſh* ſhould be Cuſtom-free in *Gambroon* for ever. Theſe Articles being Signed and Sealed, each Party prepared for fight.

The *Portugueze* Valour in defend *Ormus*.

Jan. 20. 1622. they became Maſters of the Fort with ſmall difficulty, and then played upon the Caſtle with a dozen pieces of Cannon, but to little effect, till the *Perſians* ſprung a Mine, which blew up a great part of the Wall. The *Portugueze* were not ſurprized at it, but making a Sally at it, maintain'd an obſtinate fight with the *Perſians*, and when they retreated, ſo plied the *Perſians* who purſued them, with Hand-Granadoes, Fire-Balls, Powder-Pots and Scalding Lead, that they loſt above 1000 Men.

The Per Cruelty a Falſh

The *Perſians* Courage was much cooled by this Skirmiſh, and little was done for ſome time; but *March* 28. the *Portugueſe* being humbled by Neceſſity, *viz.* the Plague, Famine and Fluxes, were forced to move for a Ceſſation of Arms, promiſing to pay the Duke down two hundred thouſand *Tomans*, and a Yearly Tribute of an hundred and forty thouſand Rials, but not being accepted, they held out to *April* 18. when the *Portugueſe* agreed to ſurrender the Caſtle to the *Engliſh*, and ſubmit themſelves, and all they had, to their Mercy, upon Condition that they might have their Lives, and a ſafe Convoy to *Muskat*, which was perform'd on the 23d, ſo far as lay in the *Engliſh*, for the *Perſians* not only intercepted 300 *Arabs* and *Portugueſe*, and cutting off their Heads ſent them to *Gambroon* as a Trophee, but violated the Women, defiled the Temples, and defaced the Houſes, and becauſe an *Engliſhman*, contrary to Order, was found pillaging a Monaſtry, they broke their Articles with the *Engliſh*, ſeize on all, and gave them only twenty thouſand pound, beſides their part of the Cannon of the Caſtle. The King of *Ormus*, *Seid-Mahomet-ſha*, was made Priſoner to the *Perſians*, and is a Priſoner at *Schyraz* at this day, under an Allowance of five Marks *per Diem*; and ſo *Ormus* is now the moſt Diſconſolate Place in the World, which was latterly the Glory of the Eaſt. This happened after the *Portugueſe* had been ſixſcore Years Maſters of it.

Gambroon or *Bander.*

On *Jan.* 10. 1627. they came to *Gambroon*, called by the *Perſians Bander*, i. e. the Port Town, becauſe it is the beſt Port the *Perſian* has: It is ſituated upon a level Ground near the Sea, having no Hills nigh it by fifteen Miles. It ſtands in *Carmania*, and before the Fall of *Ormus* was a ſmall Town, but ſince is ſo increaſed in Buildings and Inhabitants, that for Grandeur it may be ranked with the Towns of beſt Note in *Perſia*, becauſe being frequented by Merchants from all Parts, it is become a City of great Commerce for raw Silk, Carpets, Cotton, and other Commodities brought thither by Land, and all ſorts of Merchandize by Ship.

Tho Trade.

Buildings.

The Buildings are for the moſt part of Brick baked in the Sun, which will ſo harden them, that they appear as well and laſting as if they were burnt. They are built low, and moſt of them with ſmall Courts and Belconies, terraſſed a top, where they ſleep in the cooler Weather upon Carpets, and pargetted with Plaiſter, as hard as that of Pans.

Windows.

The Windows are Letticed, and made to ſhut or open as they pleaſe.

Summer.

In Summer the Air is ſo hot, that the Inhabitants are forced to remove to *Lar*, and other neighbouring Villages, for cool Streams and Shades. Their Summer laſts 9 Months, and in that time 'tis rare to ſee a Cloud in the Sky; ſo that 'tis intolerable hot, inſomuch that ſome, that ſtay in the Town, lie naked in Troughs of Water to cool themſelves, which yet parboils their Body, and makes them apt to catch cold.

Shyraz-Wine, Coffee, and the Vertues of it.

Here is the beſt *Shyraz*-Wine in all *Perſia*. They drink Coffee or Coho much; it is a black Drink, or Broth, made of Bunny-Flowers, or Coava-Berries. It is not toothſome, being ſomewhat bitter, but very wholſome, (the People ſay) for it comforts raw Stomachs, helps Digeſtion, expels Wind, and removes Drowſineſs.

Sherbet.

Sherbert alſo is much valued for its coolneſs, being a Drink made of Water ſweetned with Syrrup of Limons, and mixed with Roſe-water, tho' they refuſe not Arack or Strong-water, qualified with Sugar, as a Cordial in the hotteſt Seaſons, eſpecially where their Diet is coarſe, and Stomachs are crude and raw through diffuſion of heat.

Arack

Fruits.

They have plenty of Fruits, but moſt of them Imported, as Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Pomecitrons, Figs, Dates, Currans, Myrobalans, Apricocks, Almonds, Piſtacho's, Apples, Pears, Quinces, Sugar; as alſo Flowers and Nuts in great variety and quantities.

Meats.

Nor have they leſs abundance of Carbarito's, and Mutton, Hens, Eggs, Rice, with Oyſters, and many kinds of Fiſh, which make the place more pleaſant to live in. The beſt Houſes in the Town are the Sultans, the Shaw-banders, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Agents. The *Engliſh* is allowed to diſplay a Flag from the top of his Houſe, in memory of their good Service done at the taking of *Ormus*, and for ſome time they had half the Cuſtoms for Goods Imported.

Caſtles.

At the North and South-end of the Town are two Caſtles, which have 30 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance planted; they were brought from *Ormus*, but the Gunners are unskilful.

Hummums.

The *Mahometan* Moſques, and *Jewiſh* Synagogues, are few and inconſiderable, but the Hummums are more conſpicuous, and much reſorted to. The Town is unwalled, and badly ſupplied with freſh Water, and the Streets are narrow. It is well furniſhed with Camels, *Perſian* and *Arabian* Horſes of the beſt ſort, Mules and Aſinego's, but much infeſted with Jackals, which invade the Town by Night in Troops, and tear the Dead out of their Graves, howling in a dreadful manner. The Inhabitants hunt them with Swords, Lances and Dogs, but they are too many and daring to be conquered.

Infeſted with Jackals.

Naughty Women, *Vid* the Fig. 11.

When the Merchants flock to this City for Trade, in *November*, *December* and *January*, here are great numbers of Women, comely in their Body and Dreſſes, having their Hair neatly plaited, Faces painted, and Cheeks hung with Pearl, Ears with Rings, and Noſes with broaches of Gold, but Lewd, and intolerably Impudent.

The *Bannians.*

Among the Traders, the moſt obſervable are the *Bannians*, an unſociable ſort of Men. They eat no Fleſh, Eggs or Roots, of a red Colour, nor drink Wine or Wine-Vinegar. They believe the Tranſmigration of Souls into Beaſts and Vegetables. They are healthy, through their Abſtinence, but of weak Bodies and ſmall Courage. About three Miles from *Gambroon* is a Tree called the *Bannian*-Tree, which ſpreads 209 paces, and will afford covert to ſome hundreds of Men without crowding. It is adorned with Ribbands, and Streamers of Taffata of divers Colours, and neatly trimmed within in Arches. Within them is a Pagod, with three Images in it, of grim Viſages and deformed Shapes, repreſenting their three Forefathers, *Cuttery*, *Shuddery* and *Wiſe*, whom theſe Idolaters formally Worſhip. He tarried 24 days at *Gambroon*, and then departed with the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, Sir *Dudmore Cotton*'s Caravan, of 12 Horſe and 29 Camels. The Sultan furniſhed them with both, and they were of the beſt ſort.

A *Bannian*-Tree.

Their Pagod and Images.

Camels.

The Camels were of that ſort called *Cozel-baſh* Camels, a Beaſt abounding in *Perſia*, and of great uſe. They are long-lived, gentle, patient in travel, and of great ſtrength, for they will carry well near a thouſand Weight; content with little Food, and leſs Drink, from which they will abſtain near four days. The Embaſſador hearing that *Sha-Abbas* the *Perſian* Emperour was at *Aſharaph*, upon the Sea-ſhore of the *Caſpian* Sea, ſet forward thither for Audience, and came firſt to *Bana-Ally*, a Village five *Pharſangs*, or 16 Miles *Engliſh* from *Gambroon*, travelling moſt part of the Way by the Sea-ſhore.

Pharſangs, what.

The way of counting Diſtances in *Perſia* by *Pharſangs* is ancient, and ſtill continues; the Word comes from *Perſa*, which ſignifies three Miles, both in the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Language.

Band-Ally.

At *Band-Ally* are neat Caravan-Serrays, or Inns, for the Caravans, built by charitable *Mahometans* for the uſe of Travellers, where they may reſt ſweetly and ſecurely. At the Gate of ſome of them is a Bazar, or Sutlers Tent, to furniſh them with Proviſions. They are furniſhed with Water from certain Tanks, or Ciſterns, which are ſo plaiſtered as to preſerve the Rain-water ſweet a long time; and being ſo preſerved, 'tis the wholſomeſt of all Water.

Gacheen, *Coureſtan*, *Tangby-dolen.*

From hence they travelled the next day to *Gacheen*, five *Pharſangs*, and the day following to *Coureſtan*, ſeven *Pharſangs*, and the next day to *Tangby-dolen*, thro' a narrow way, where is a neat Caravan-Serray with Cupulo's; a neighbouring Hill ſupplies it with Water by a Spring, which in its courſe renders all the Valley fruitful, but the Country about it is barren and ſandy, yet produces plenty of Dates.

Warmoot.

Their next days Journey was four *Pharſangs* to *Warmoot*; in the way they ſaw three gray-headed *Arabians* ſitting croſs-legg'd in a black Tent, ſinging a doleful Requiem to their dead Brother with ſighs and tears, according to their Cuſtom, ſeven days. Nigh *Whormoot* are *Duzgun*, *Laztande*, and other Towns, where is got the beſt *Aſſafœtida* in the Eaſt. The Tree which produces it exceeds not the Briar in height, but the Leaves reſemble thoſe of Roſes, and the Root the Radiſh; the ſmell is offenſive, but the taſte ſo good, that the Natives, who are accuſtomed to it, like no Meat, nor Sauces without it. The next day they got to *Ourmangel*, five Pharſangs, and in another to *Lar*.

Aſſafœtida.

Lar deſcribed.

Lar is both a City and a Province, within three days Journey of the *Perſian* Gulph. The Province is about an hundred Pharſangs a-croſs. Great part of the Country is barren and ſandy, but where there are Rivolets or Springs, the People live and improve it, and have Oranges, Limons, Pomgranates, Figs and Fruits, and variety of Grain. Dates and Palms grow in the barrenneſt Soil, and 'tis thought there are Mines and Sulphur in the ground. The City of *Lar* is in the middle of the Province, and ſtands in 27 Deg. 40 Min. Northern Latitude. It was founded or increaſed by *Laangebeg*, Son of *Phyroe*, who was Prince of it, and had 18 Succeſſors, of which the laſt, *Ebrahim-cawn*, was conquered by *Emangeby-cawn*, Duke of *Shyraz*, and his Kingdom added to *Sha-Abbas*'s Dominions. *Ebrahim* had his Life, and a Penſion promiſed him, which he enjoyed a while, but *Sha-Abbas* not being eaſie, he was put to Death. It is ſeven days Journey from *Gambroon*, fourteen from *Shyraz*, and twenty from *Babylon*. It is but meanly Water'd by a few Springs, which they uſe to Water their Gardens, where they ſhade themſelves in their hot Seaſons

Subject to Earthquakes.

It is ſubject to Earthquakes, by which it hath ſuffered the loſs of 500, and ſometimes 3000 Houſes, which overwhelmed many of the Inhabitants; and the Caſtle in one, tho' founded on a Rock, was in very great danger. It is unwalled, becauſe defended on the Eaſt and North with lofty Rocks. The Caſtle is brave and ſtately, awing the Town, as well as threatning the Enemy. It is built of good Stone, and the Walls are well furniſhed and beautified with Battlements and Platforms, on which are mounted 12 Braſs Cannon Pedro's, and two Baſilisks.

The Caſtle.

In it are Huts for the Soldiers, and an Armoury ſufficient to furniſh with Lance, Bow and Gun, 3000 Men. It is uſually well Victualled, Armed and Manned, to Command the City and Country, and defend them againſt any Invaſion.

The Bazar.

The Bazar is a Noble and Elegant Fabrick, built of white Chalky Stone, and covered over. The Circumference from the Center is about 80 paces; 'tis full of Shops of ſeveral Trades.

The Moſques.

The Moſques are many; the moſt remarkable is round, varniſhed within with *Arabick* Letters, and painted with Knots, and beautified with *Moſaick* Work. Their famous Prophet, *Emir-Ally-Zedday-Ameer*, whom they greatly reverence, is buried here, with ſome others of leſſer Note.

The Fruits.

The Country about it affords variety of Fruits, as Dates, (which being Male and Female, the latter will not bear, unleſs a flowred Bough of the Male be applied to it) Oranges, Limons, Melons, Pomgranates, and moſt excellent Pomcitrons; and Flowers, as Jaſmins, Roſes, Tulips, &c.

Beaſts.

Here are alſo Goats, Hens, Rice, Barley; Rack and Aqua-vitæ are ſold at eaſie Rates. But the Musketto's are very troubleſome here, and Water bad, their Tanks ſtinking; Neceſſity indeed obliges the People to drink of it, but it cauſes Catarrhs, breeds ſore Eyes, putrefies the Guts, and breeds long Worms in the Legs, by no Ointment or Medicament to be prevented.

The People.

The Inhabitants are a mixture of *Jews* and *Mahometans*, moſt of them Blear-ey'd, Rotten-toothed, and Mangy-legged, cauſed by the violent heat and unwholſome water. Their Habit is a Wreath of Callico about their Heads, a Girdle of Plad of divers colours, and Sandals on their Feet, being naked on the reſt of their Body; but ſome few have golden Saſhes on their Heads, Robes of Sattin on their Bodies, and Rings on their Fingers. They delight much in Archery, and in rich Swords.

Their Learning.

Here are ſome Proficients in Philoſophy and Mathematicks, but they pleaſe themſelves moſt in Aſtronomy; but in Mechanick Arts it equals any in *Perſia*.

Jaarown.

Weſt of *Lar*, about 60 Miles *Engliſh*, is a Town called *Jaarown*, inhabited chiefly by *Jews*, which ſome repute at leaſt one thouſand, but others five thouſand; 'tis probable that this place is the *Kirjak-Jearim*, mentioned

Ezr. 2. 25.

Neh. 7. 29. from whence ſome of the *Jews* returned to *Jeruſalem* to build the Temple by *Cyrus*'s Edict; but moſt certain that they were the Captive's Children, which *Salmaneſſar*, or *Enemeſſar*, carried from *Samaria*, 2 *Kings* 17. 6. *A. M.* 3220. In, or near this place, is a precious

A precious Mummy.

Liquor or Mummy growing, they call it *Mumnaly-koob*, which is carefully preſerved for the King's Uſe only; it diſtils from the top of the Mountains in *June* about five Ounces. It is a moſt odoriferous Gum, and Soveraign againſt Poyſon, and a Catholicon for all ſorts of Wounds. This Balſam the Emperor preſents to other Princes in ſmall quantities, when they ſend him coſtly Preſents of Gold, Pearl, &c.

Alexander.

Alexander, after he had Pray'd and Sacrific'd at *Suſa*, endeavour'd to lead his wanton Army over the Hills of *Jaaroun* to *Perſipolis*, but being beaten by *Ariobarzanes* and his little Army, was forced to find another way.

They left *Lar Feb.* 11. under the Conduct of an Old *Coozelbaſh*, who, out of hopes of a Reward, provided

Great Rains.

them good Quarters every Night. In this Journey there fell ſome Rain, which ſtopped their progreſs by an immoderate Flood, for Rain falls here but ſeldom, but when it does, it comes ſometimes with ſuch a Deluge as ſweeps away Men and Houſes; yea, whole Caravans.

Di-achow.

On the 14th day they arrived at *Di-achow*, or *Tocheo*, where they ſaw many Tombs, moſt with Grave-ſtones, and an *Arabick* Memorial. The Alcoran commands, That none be buried in Cities, for fear the Dead infect the Living; and that no Grave ſhall be made in the place where another hath formerly been buried. A Mile from the Town they ſaw about 60 long Pavilions, which were black without, but within were full of Female Beauties. The *Perſians* call them *Vlockes*, and the

Vlockes or *Nomades.*

Ancients *Nomades*. They live in Poverty, but content, free from Care, Envy, Tumult and Riot. From hence they paſſed forward to *Berry*, having obſerved nothing remarkable in the way, but a thick Wall of great length and height, cut out of the Rock, as a Boundary of Old between the Kingdoms of *Lar* and *Shyraz*.

Berry deſcribed.

Berry is but a Village, yet famous through all *Perſia* for the Immunities granted it by a Learned *Syet*, and for an *Arabick* School, where is taught Civil Law, Aſtrology and Phyſick, and a *Pythagoras*'s Silence, to Diſcourſe by Signs. Near it is the Tomb of their great Doctor

A famous Saint.

Emawn-Zeddy-a-Meer-a-Maddy-Ally, which they have in great Veneration, covering it continually with a white Linen Cloth; it ſtands in a Chappel, on the top of which is a Steel Mirrour, in which, they ſay, they ſee the deformity of their Sins. None may enter it with Boots or Shoes on; and all may find Satisfaction to their Deſires, by preſenting large Offerings to it.

From *Berry* they travell'd to *Barnarow*, where they were Entertained with Feaſting and Muſick, and ſo paſſed to *Gcyoone*, a Town which brags of a thouſand, but

Gcyoone.

they are but ordinary Houſes. Here *Melec Mahomet*, a Man famous for enlarging the Authority of his great Prophet, lies buried. From hence, through a deſolate Wilderneſs inhabited only by Oſtriches, Storks and Pelicans, they came firſt to *Cut-bobbo*, and then to *Mobacke*. Here lie buried *Mahomet*, *Hodgee*, *Iſhmael* and *Ally*, four *Muſſel-men* Doctors, whoſe Tombs, ſaid to be of 400 Years ſtanding, are reſorted to with much reverence. Next day they went to *Coughton*, and ſo through *Unghea*, *Moyeehaw*, and *Pully-pot-ſhaw*, to *Sheraz*.

Sheraz deſcribed.

This City is one of the pleaſanteſt in all *Aſia*, lying in 29 Deg. 20 Min. Northern Latitude, and 88 Deg. Longitude: It probably derives its Name from *Sheraba*, a Grape, which abound here, and thoſe of the moſt generous ſort. It is watered by *Kur*, a River, which riſing in the *Tapirian* Mountains, after a Current of 200 Miles, mixes with *Coaſpes* (now *Tab*) and *Vlay*, loſes it ſelf in the Gulph, which diſcharges it ſelf into the *Indian*

Compaſs of the Walls.

Ocean. The City is about ſeven Miles in compaſs, Walled in by *Vſun-Caſſan*, the famous *Armenian* Prince, in 1470, ſeated pleaſantly on the N. W. ſide of a ſpacious Plain, 20 Miles long and 6 broad, incloſed with lofty Hills, defended by Nature, enriched by Trade, and made lovely by Art; the Vineyards, Gardens, Cypreſſes, Sudatories and Temples, raviſhing the Eye and Smell, ſo as in all places appears Delight and Beauty.

Things it is famous for.

Here 'tis ſaid Magick was Invented, *Nimrod* lived, *Cyrus* was born, and lies Entombed all but his Head, which is ſent to *Piſegard*; the firſt Sibil that propheſied of our Saviour's Incarnation: and from hence 'tis thought the *Magi* ſet forth to Worſhip our Saviour at his Birth. The Houſes are of Sun-burnt Bricks, yet hard and durable, terraſſed above, but not very lofty. Their chief Furniture is Carpets, and few are without Gardens of high Chenaers and Cypreſſes.

The Moſques.

There are in it 15 brave Moſques, round, and tiled with a Plaiſter made of Lime-ſtone burnt, which being dry, becomes ſo hard, that it reſembles true Stone. The top and outſide is pargetted with Azure-ſtone reſembling Turquoiſes, and the inſide is lined with black well poliſh'd Marble. The tops are beautified with many double gilded Creſcents or Spires, which reflect the Sunbeams moſt delightfully to ſuch as behold the City from the neighbouring Mountain. The Steeples of two of them, of which the one is ſquare, and the other more round, riſe to a vaſt height, being adorned with Gold, and blue Varniſhed with Knots and Poeſies. Moſt of

Tombs in them.

them are rendred Venerable to this Superſtitious People, by the Tombs of ſome or other of their Alcoraniſm Doctors, which are ſo adorned, as if Art were at a loſs to expreſs the Exceſs of their Devotion to them. A little out of the Town lie interred two of their famous Poets, *Maſtadini Sadds*, (who wrote the *Roſarium* tranſlated into Latin by *Gentius*) and *Hodgee Haier*, whoſe Poems are in great eſteem through all *Perſia*.

A College.

Here is alſo a College, wherein is read Philoſophy, Aſtrology, Phyſick, Chymiſtry, and Mathematicks, which makes it the more famous in *Perſia*. The Gardens are very large and beautiful, well Walled, and abounding with Oaks, Cypreſſes, Chenaers, and the like

Fruits.

Trees for ſhade; and Oranges, Limons, Pomgranates, Pomcitrons, Piſtacho's, Apples, Pears, Peaches, Cheſnuts, Cherries, &c. for Fruits. As alſo rare and ſweet Flowers, and Phyſical Herbs. The Earth is dry, but green, the Air a little ſharp, but wholſome. And indeed, as the Eaſtern Parts are more warm, ſo they are more pleaſant and refreſhing than the Weſt, and produces better Fruits, Plants, Grain, Spices, Drugs, Herbs, Gems, Minerals, and other things.

Swinging.

The moſt uſual Paſtime uſed here is Swinging upon Ropes ſtretched from Tree to Tree, eſpecially during the *Birane*. They have a ſcarcity of Water, becauſe there is only a ſmall Rivolet near it, but it ought to be imputed to the lazineſs of the Inhabitants, ſince within fifteen Miles there is a gallant River, which might be brought thither by Pipes, or Aquæducts.

The keeping of the *Nevrouz*.

The Inhabitants of this City, at the *Nevrouz*, or Spring, turn Epicures, ſending Preſents one to another, and ſpending their time in Drinking, Singing and Playing. The Gardens are all open to walk in, and the Women,

men, for 14 days, have the liberty to appear in publick, and they will not loſe their time, but conſume it in a Labyrinth of wanton Sports. Chaſtity is no Virtue at this time, when Pleaſure is to take its ranges. This Feaſt was begun by King *Shalelladyn*, Son of *Ulp-Arſlan*, and is commonly celebrated when the Sun enters *Aries*, with a greater Solemnity than any other.

The Duke of *Shyraz.*

The Duke of *Shyraz*, who at preſent is *Emangoly-cawn*, a *Georgian* by deſcent, and *Muſſul-man* by Profeſſion, is one of the Tetrarchs that Rule the *Perſian* Empire; his Territories reach near 400 Miles round, and afford him the Titles of *Arch-Duke of* Shyraz, *Sultan of* Lar *and* Jaarown, *Lord of* Ormus, Maqueroon, Kermoen, Chuſiſtan, Sigeſtan *and* Farſiſtan, *Prince of the Gulph of* Perſia, *and Iſles in it, the Great* Beglerbeg, *Commander of* 12 *Sultans,* 50 *thouſand Horſe, Slave to* Sha-Abbas, *Protector of* Muſſul-men, *Nutmeg of Comfort, and Roſe of Delight.* His Revenue is ſaid to be four hundred thouſand Tomans, (every Toman being five Marks Sterling) but out of it he is to pay fifty thouſand Horſe upon Muſter. This Duke, in his Seraglio's, has above 300 Concubines for his Pleaſures at home, while he Exerciſes himſelf in more Manly Sports abroad, as chaſing the Lion, hunting the Tyger, diſlodging the Boar, unkennelling the Jackal, &c. at which he raiſes whole Countries, not leſs than twenty thouſand Men ſerving to rouze that kind of Game. *Shyraz* was the Seat Royal of the Kings for near 700 Years, and they are lately removed from thence. The Lineal Deſcent of them is as follows:

The Succeſſion of the Kings of *Shyraz.*

Abuzvez Deilamſhaw, deſcended, as they ſay, from *Adſher*, laſt King of *Perſia*, the hundredth in deſcent from *Adam* according to their Pedigree.

Deilamſhaw, Surnamed *Boja*, or *Mebeca*, who had three Sons, *viz.*

Ally, who died without Iſſue, and left his Territories to his ſecond Brother

Huſſan, who had Iſſue, but they were deprived for a while by

Zedda-Mobel, a ſtranger brought in by *Muſtapha* the *Babylonian* Caliph. He was ſucceeded by

Eyna-duddaul, who having no Iſſue, the Succeſſion fell upon *Huſſan*'s Son

Rocnadaul, who being poſſeſſed of his Father's Seigniories died peaceably, *A. D.* 980. He left three Sons, who lineally inherited their Father's Juriſdiction, *viz.*

Sherfa-daule, who died Iſſueleſs, *A. D.* 990. Heg. 370.

Shams-daule, who ſoon after his Coronation was diſpatched by Treaſon.

Babao-daule, who reigned 12 Years, and at his Death commanded that his Eldeſt Son,

Sultan-daule, ſhould ſucceed him. This Prince was bred up in Warlike Exerciſes, and wanted not Courage to enlarge his Empire, yet could not defend himſelf againſt his reſtleſs Brother *Hocem-Maſharaf-daule*, but was forced to yield him a part of his Kingdom. He died *A.D.* 1025. and was buried in *Shyraz* with great Solemnity, leaving his Kingdom to

Abdul-cawn his Son, who was by the unnatural practiſes of his two Uncles, *Abulfavar*, and *Gelaladaul*, firſt troubled and diſturbed, and after diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions; but at length, by the Death of the former, recovered his Right again, and was received joyfully by his Subjects. He lived not long, but bequeathed his Royalty to

Aben-Melec-Rabim, who dying without Iſſue, the *Mobeyan* Race ended in him.

Abumanſer, the pretended Son of *Gelaladaul* abovementioned, ſucceeded. He married *Daute*, the Daughter of *Foſhal-beg*, by whom he had five Sons, *viz. Abumanſer*, *Chozroe-pheruz*, *Abubcer*, *Abuzeddai*, and *Aboally*. He died at *Kermoen*, when he had reign'd five Years, and was buried in *Hurkawn*, not far from *Jaſqus*. The Kingdom came to

Abumanſer his Eldeſt Son, who enlarged *Shyraz*, and ſpared for no Coſt to make it beautiful; but while he buſied himſelf thus at home, his ambitious Brother

Coſroe-pherus unexpectedly took poſſeſſion of his Territories, but Revenge purſued him, for going to ſee his Grandfather *Toſhal-beg*, he was Impriſoned for his Cruelty to his Brother, and died there with Stench and Famine. Yet this did not diſcourage

Abuzeddai, the fourth Brother, from uſurping his Eldeſt Brother's Right, till the Injur'd *Abumanſer* diſpoſſeſſed him by a Battel, in which *Abuzeddai*, and moſt of his Aſſociates, were ſlain: Yet could not *Abumanſer* long keep his Right for

Fazele, his Lieutenant, unawares ſeized him, and ſecuring him in a noiſome Priſon, adorned his baſe Head with his Maſter's Diadem; but his Brother

Aboally, not able to bear this treachery, took an advantage of *Fazele*, and having pulled the Crown from his Head, ſet one better becoming him upon it, *viz.* of flaming Iron, and tranſplanted the Regal Diadem upon his own Head, which he held ſeven Years, and then dying without Iſſue, in the Year of Chriſt 1100. Heg. 480. the Scepter fell to

Mahumed-Abutalip-Togralbeg, Son of *Michael*, Son of *Salguein*'s Son of *Didacus* a *Turkoman*, in whoſe Family it continued till *Mahumed-Abul-caſan* died, *A. D.* 1220. Heg. 600. without a Succeſſor, and then it fell to a Race of *Tartars*, of which

Cingis-cawn, Lord of *Ketoa-cawn*, *Maurenahar* and *Gazneben* was the firſt. He died *A. D.* 1228. and

Tuki-kawn ſucceeded him, and after him

Chagatay-cawn, from whom deſcended *Tamerlane*, whoſe Iſſue now Rules all the *Indies* within *Ganges*. After the *Tartar*, the *Turks* planted themſelves afreſh here, led by

Chara-Mahumed, *A. D.* 1415. Heg. 795. whoſe Poſterity enjoyed it till 1470. Heg. 870. when they were baniſhed by

Acen-beg, otherwiſe called *Uſan-Caſſan*, an *Armenian*, whoſe Grandſon

Alvan was, *A. D.* 1504. Heg. 884. utterly deſpoiled of all, by his ambitious Kinſman

Iſhmael-Sophy, Great Grandfather to

Abbas, the *Perſian* King, that now reigns, and is of the *Ben-Allyan*, or *Sophian* Stem.

Perſepolis deſcribed. *Vid.* as it lies in Ruins, Fig. 11.

From *Shyraz* they travelled to *Perſepolis*, 30 Miles N.E. of it. The Way is ſandy and hilly; about Mid-way is the River *Cyr*, or *Cyrus*, over which lies a well-built Stone-Bridge called *Bynd-Emir*, *i. e.* the Prince's Bridge. *Perſepolis*, as it is called 2 *Macch.* 9. 2. or *Elamis*, 1 *Macch.* 6. was the Metropolis of the World, under the Reigns of the *Perſian* Kings from *Cyrus the Great*. The Founder of it is thought to be *Soſarmus*, Grandſon of *Belochus*, but being enlarged by *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, it was made the Royal Seat of the *Perſian* Kings. In its moſt flouriſhing condition it was (as *Curtius* ſays) the richeſt, nobleſt, and lovelieſt City in the World. The Buildings were moſt beautiful and ſtately, being moſt of Cedar and Cypreſs Wood; but that which gave it the greateſt Luſtre, was the Palace of the *Perſian* Monarchs, which for its Situation, Proſpect, rich Materials, and curious Art, was incomparable. It was built at the Eaſt-end of a ſpacious Vale, upon a Rock, 400 Paces from the City, the Platform containing 50 Acres of ground, or thereabouts. The Walls of either ſide were Elaborately carved with Men and Beaſts. The ſecond Story was of Porphyry mixed with Marble of ſeveral Colours well poliſhed, and imbelliſhed with coſtly Stones in *Moſaick* Work. Towards the Eaſt was an high and ſtately Tower encompaſſed with a triple Wall of Marble well poliſhed, and ſo battlemented, that the King could from the top have a delightful proſpect all over the City. Adjoyning to it was a Mountain, on which was a ſtately *Mauſoleum*, in which were the Tombs of the Kings. The Roof and Caſements were of Gold, Silver, Amber and Ivory. The Temple of *Diana*, called *Anaia* by the *Perſians*, and *Nanea*, 2 *Macch.* 1. 13. joyns to it, and is built more exquiſitely, and with extraordinary Coſt, *viz.* of the beſt ſort of Marble of ſeveral ſorts, intermixed with precious Stones; nor was the Furniture leſs admirable. When the *Macedonian* Conqueror entred it, for in the entrance was a Throne of pure Gold, thick powdered with ſparkling Stones, in the Bed-Chamber, among other Curioſities, was an Artificial Vine preſented by *Pytheus*, the Stalk of which was of Burniſh'd Gold, and the Cluſters of Orient Pearl, mixed with Rubies of great price; and no leſs rich was the Bed, for the Bedſtead was of Gold thick ſet with Gems, the Bolſter was worth 5000 Talents, and the Footſtool 3000, each Talent containing 4500 *l.* Sterling, but this Palace and City was fired by *Alexander*, at the inſtigation of *Thais* a lewd Strumpet, and all its gallantry conſumed, yet there are ſeveral Remains of it to this day. It was built upon part of a Mountain, and the Foundation is of dark-coloured Marble. The Aſcent, which is on the Weſt-ſide of the Hill, is by 95 Steps, every ſtep being 20 Inches broad, 3 Inches high, and 36 Foot in length from one ſide of the Stair-Caſe to the other, which is ſo contrived as to lead both ways. Every Stair has an half-pace very large and ſquare, flagged with Porphyry, and a bright coloured Marble: At the Stair-head are ſome Relicks of the Gate into the Court, which is about 20 Foot wide. On the Left Hand of which ſeems to have been a large Garden-plat, and Eaſtwards are the Figures of four ſtrange Beaſts carved in Stone, which with four Pillars, which interpoſe, ſerv'd to ſupport a Gallery. The main

The Founder of it.

The Palace of the *Perſian* Monarchs.

The Tombs of the Kings.

The Temple of *Diana*.

The Furniture of the Palace.

The Remains of the Palace.

The Gate.

Four Beaſts.

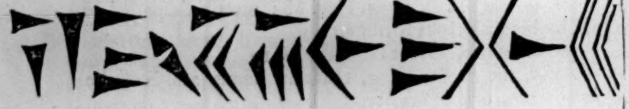
Structure ranges all along towards the South to the top of the Stairs. A little diſtance from the Beaſts, is a large ſquare Ciſtern 12 Foot in Diameter, and 12 Inches thick, near which are ſome broken Pillars, but ſo demoliſhed, that it can't be conjectur'd of what uſe they were. Flanking this is a Marble-Wall running from Eaſt to Weſt, about 9 Foot thick and 30 high; and in the middle of it are another pair of Stairs of 30 or 40 Steps.

A Proceſſion.

The Wall on each ſide is Engraven with ſeveral Figures in Relief, in rows, reſembling a Proceſſion, with their faces toward the Stairs; and having Spears in their hands, ſome leading Horſes, Elephants and Camels, and other Mules, Oxen and Sheep, with long Ears, which makes ſome think it the Pourtraiture of a great Sacrifice to the Sun, and the rather, becauſe not far from thence is a Sculpture of their Prieſts and Magi.

A Marble Table.

Adjoyning to theſe toward the Weſt, is a Jaſper or Marble Table about 20 Foot from the Pavement, well poliſhed, and inſcribed with 20 lines of Characters, every line being a Yard and half broad, or thereabouts, of a ſtrange and unuſual ſhape, neither like Letters nor Hieroglyphick, and ſo not legible. A Specimen may pleaſe the Curious, and therefore the ſeveral varieties are here inſerted:



Adjoyning to this Table is a ſpacious Room, which ſome think was a Temple, in it are 19 Pillars almoſt perfect, where the Storks build their Neſts, and are never diſturbed, becauſe the People have them in Veneration; they are 20 Cubits high, and about 3 Yards round.

Storks reverenced.

Aſcending a few Marble Steps is another large ſquare Chamber, 80 paces long on each ſide, having 8 ſeveral Doors; it ſeems to have been a Room of Preſence. Out of this you go into another large Room contiguous with 7 Doors, and from thence into a leſſer, where the Walls are of black Marble, ſo bright and reſplendent, that Men may ſee their faces in it; and the gilding of the Cornices, and Verge of the Veſts (of the Figures) are as freſh as if it had been newly done, which ſhews the Excellency of the Artiſts, who laid it ſo, that it continues above 2000 Years.

Rare Gilding.

The Images on the Walls, which are ſomething larger than the Life, repreſent Princes ſeated in their Chairs of State, with their Officers about them. Upon the Treez, over the Heads of the Images, are ſome Characters ſomething like the ancient *Georgian* Letters, which were corrupted from the *Greek*. Near 40 paces hence is a large Room, and in the middle of it an hole, which leads into a Vault through an Entry ſeven Foot high, and five broad, paved with large ſquare Marble Stones, and arched above, into a fair Chappel, ſupported by four large Pillars, on the Wall whereof is graven their Grand Pagod, with ſeveral other Images of Men and Beaſt.

The Image of their Grand Pagod.

Near this is a ſecond Subterranean paſſage into another ſquare Chappel, ſtrongly arched and ſupported with four well-wrought white Marble Pillars, each about ſeven Yards high; in it are the Figures of a Prince ſitting in a Chair of State, guarded with ſeveral Pike-men, and Officers of State attending him. There are alſo ſeveral heaps of Rubbiſh, which doubtleſs bury many rare pieces of Art, and among others the famous Temple of *Diana*, called by them *Anaya*, reputed the moſt curious piece of Art in the World, except *Diana*'s at *Epheſus*; at the Eaſt-end of which riſes an Hill, on which ſtands the Image of a King, who with erected Hands ſeems to adore the Riſing-Sun, and by him is the Figure of Fire, and a Serpent engraven, tho' it is much worn by Wind and Weather. Scarce ten Yards diſtant from theſe, and upon the ſame declivity of the Mountain, ſtands the Image of their great Pagod, a Dæmon of a very uncouth and ugly ſhape, of a Gigantick ſize and magnitude, with a moſt dreadful Viſage between Man and Beaſt. He has ſeven Arms on each ſide of his Body, and inſtead of Hands he hath Claws like a Vulture.

Jamſheat the greateſt Prince of *Perſia*.

They tell us that this Image repreſents *Jamſheat*, the greateſt Prince *Perſia* ever had, both in reſpect to his Extent of Empire, and the Power he had over Infernal Spirits, which he could Bind and Looſe as he pleaſed by his Magick Spells. According to their Stories, he lived about 100 Years after *Keyomarraz*, or *Kedar-laomer*, whom *Abraham* vanquiſhed. On the Left Hand of this Image ſtand a Guard of Pike-men, and below theſe 20 Flamens. Many other things very remarkable, both for Art and Story, might be obſerved by the Curious, and exact from this unparallel'd piece of Antiquity, which, *as it is undoubtedly* without Impoſture, ſo it exceeds all the Miracles of this Nature upon Earth, and 'tis pity a perfect Draught of it is no where extant, eſpecially ſince the People near it have no value for it, but are every day defacing it, becauſe they are now and then forced to give free Quarter to ſome *Soldats*, and others, who repair thither to ſee it out of meer Curioſity, tho' the Dukes of *Slyraz*, now called *Chilmynar*, puniſh them for it.

Mardaſh, the Superſtition of the Inhabitants.

Little more than a Mile from *Slyraz* is *Mardaſh*, a Village of near 200 Houſes; the People of which are ſo tranſcendently Superſtitious, that if any Chriſtians come among them, they Sift aſhes and duſt upon the places they tread on, apprehending that the Earth is polluted by them. This, and the neighbouring Villages, being watered from the River *El-chyr* by Aquæducts, are very pleaſant at moſt Seaſons, the Gardens and Fields being rendred fruitful in Flowers, Fruits and Corn, but they draw the River very low. Northward, about three Miles from *Shyraz*, at the foot of a Mountain verging toward *Perſepolis*, ſtands carved the Figure of a Giant, which the *Perſians* ſay is one *Ruſtan*, an Hero much celebrated in their Annals for his Romantick Wonders and Acts.

Ruſtan's Image.

He is thought to have lived about the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, or the Great *Ahaſhuerus*, who married *Heſter* the *Jeweſs*, in whoſe Wars 'tis likely he was a great Commander. Near him ſtand ſeveral Images of Women and Maidens carved; one of which they ſay is the Figure of *Ruſtan*'s Earthly Goddeſs, for love of whom he, like a Knight Errant, performed many brave Adventures.

Two Giants on Horſeback.

Not far from thence, in a place where the Mountain is made ſmooth, are two large Figures of Giants on Horſeback, facing each other, and contending for a Ring, on which they both lay their hands. This Symbol poſſibly repreſents the great Conteſt for the Monarchy of the World, which happened between *Darius* and *Alexander*, *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*. There are ſeveral other Images carved in this Mountain, which are worth a Travellers notice. Upon either ſide of this Mountain are cut, or pierced, ſeveral holes, ſome of a larger ſize than others, which are thought to be the Sepulchres of the *Perſian* Kings, who, as *Diod. Siculus* tells, were not buried in *Cæmeteries*, but in the Marble Mountains.

Pieces of Perſpective.

Beſides theſe, upon the ſame Mountains are ſome pieces of Perſpective elaborately and regularly cut out, reſembling the nobleſt ſort of ancient Structure, and embelliſhed with ſome few Pictures of Men, which ſerve for Ornament. About 300 paces Southward from *Chilmanor*, is a ſingle Column entire from top to bottom, but ſo low, that 'tis hard to conjecture for what uſe it was. Some ſpace from the Mountain towards the Valley, are ſeveral Coffins or Troughs of Stone, ſome whole, but moſt broken, in which one may preſume dead Corps have been laid. There are alſo ſome Relicks of Tanks, or Conſervatories of Water, towards which one may perceive the Aquæducts cut through the Mountain to lead.

Mayown Iſhmael's Town.

March 28. they came to a Town called *Mayown*, a place very delightfully ſeated, and well accommodated with ſweet Water, excellent Wine, plenty of Wood, and ſtore of Graſs; it belongs to their highly honoured Prophet *Iſhmael*, whoſe Tomb in a well built Machit, called *Emoom Iſhmael*, is here ſeen, and is endowed through the Liberality of many Princes and great Men, with the Yearly Maintenance of twelve thouſand Mawnd-ſhaws of Rice, and four thouſand of Barley.

O-jone.

Next Night they Lodged at *O-jone*, a Village conſiſting of 30 Families, moſt of them Prophets, or Prophets Children, which makes it a place of bad Entertainment, becauſe they drink no Wine, nor are allowed any Grapes, nor is their Water good, tho' they have good Tanks.

Tartang.

Over craggy and ſteep Hills they travelled to *Tartang*, a ſmall Town remarkable for a Meſchit, in which is the Tomb of the King's Great Uncle covered with Violet-coloured Velvet, and came the next Night to *Aſſepaſe*, which has nothing obſervable but an old Caſtle, ſometimes a Garriſon, in and about which inhabit no leſs than 4000 *Georgians* and *Sarcaſſes*, who are by profeſſion Chriſtians, but live in Captivity, and great Temptation, for if any of them turn *Mahometan*, they are immediately preferr'd beyond vulgar Merit. The Villages which followed in the way had nothing remarkable till they came to *Gombazallello*, where there is a good Carravansraw, and the beſt Wheaten-bread in *Perſia*, but in the Road is a Mountain of black Marble, where doubtleſs are alſo Quarries of Serpentine and Porphyry if the Earth were examined.

Gombazallello.

Out of this part of the *Perchoctrian* Mountains the River *Rhogamana* ſprings, which having watred *Shyraz* runs into the *Perſian* Gulph. The next Night they lodged at *Yezdecawz*, a Town which ſtands

Yezdecawz.

ſtands pleaſantly in a narrow Valley, and the next day paſſing through *De-Moxalbeytra* veſted to *Amnobaut*, or *Boyal*, a Village of 30 Families, but moſt Apoſtate *Georgians.* It is incloſed with an high, ſtrong and round Wall, with Battlements, which makes it reſemble a Caſtle. It is commanded by *David-chawn*, Brother to the Duke of *Shyraz*, who for his Apoſtacy was made an Eparch. Here is a neat *Carravans-raw*, with Banqueting-Houſes, and well ordered Gardens. From *Amnobaut* they rode to *Commeſhaw*, or *Caumaxa*, which boaſts in a thouſand Houſes, where the memorable Battel betwixt *Artaxerxes*, and his Brother *Cyrus*, was fought; and the next day came to *Mayeor*, a Town of about a thouſand Houſes, which tho' they are neat, are not comparable to their Dove-Houſes for curious Outſides. Which Bird they much reverence, partly in memory of *Semiramis*, who, as *Beroſus* relates, was in her Infancy nouriſhed, and at her Death transformed into a Dove; and partly from thoſe, which being taught to feed at *Mahomet*'s Ear, communicated to him (as the People believe, and he pretended) Intelligence from ſome Angel. The next Night they came to *Spahawnet*, a Village ſix Miles South from *Spahawn*, where having remained a day or two, till the Governour could provide for the Reception of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour, who was with them, they were conducted to *Spahawn*, *April* 10. by the Viſier, Sultan *Meloyembeg*, and *Hodge-Nazar*, the *Armenian* Prince, with a Cavalcade of about 4000 Horſe, and innumerable Foot, Men, Women, Children, and *Bannians*, who lined the Way and Bridges for above two Miles, and welcomed them with the Acclamations of *Hoſhomody*, *Soffowardy*; and the better ſort, *Hoſhgaldom*, *Soffogaldom*, *i. e.* Welcome, Welcome, heartily Welcome. The ancient Inhabitants of this Country are *Georgians*, intermixed with other Nations; and there is a Suburb of this City inhabited by *Georgians* and *Armenians*, called from thence *Jelphelius*, as ſome think. The Soil is for the moſt part Mountainous, much reſembling *Helvetia*, where the *Switzers* live. From the tops of ſome Hills, the *Caſpian* and *Euxene* Seas may be diſcovered. They derive their Name from St. *George* their Patron, and from the *Gordian* Hills, which they inhabit, tho' the *Greeks* derive their Name from Γεωργοὶ, Husbandmen, becauſe moſt of them are of this Profeſſion. Theſe People, through the goodneſs of God, with their Neighbours the *Carcaſhians* and *Armenians*, hold faſt their Chriſtian Profeſſion, notwithſtanding they are ſufficiently threatned by *Turk*, *Tartar* and *Perſian*, which ſurround them, and tell them that all *Natolia*, where once were the famouſeſt Churches in the World, is now overſpread with *Mahometans.* They were interdicted the Communion of the Orthodox, by *Dioſcorus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; nevertheleſs, under *Sapores*, twenty thouſand of them ſuffered Martyrdom. By Profeſſion, they are now moſt of them *Neſtorians* and *Jacobites*, and more inclinable to Arms than Trading, as their Neighbours the *Armenians* be. For comelineſs of Body, height of Spirit, and faithfulneſs in Truſt, they are in ſuch repute with the *Perſians*, that they are employed in the greateſt Commands againſt the *Turks*, and the King has the greateſt number of his *Cooſelbaſhes* from them, it being ſeldom or never heard that any of them prove falſe, or having ſerved the *Perſian* will turn *Turks.*

Amno-baut.

Commeſhaw.

Mayeor.

Doves honoured.

Spahawn deſcribed.

Their Conſtancy to Chriſtianity.

Now concerning the *Armenians.* They have their Name from their Country, *Armenia*, which is divided into *Major* and *Minor.* The leſſer is part of *Natolia*, and the greater lies between *Tartary* on the North, *Media* and *Aſſyria* on the South, and the *Euxene* and *Caſpian* Seas on the Eaſt and Weſt. It included anciently *Colchis*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, *&c.* which are now ſwallowed up in the Names of *Zuria*, *Mingrelia*, *Turcomania*, *&c.* The chief Cities of it are *Baranii*, *Arſenica*, *Carcathiocerta*, *&c.* and in the leſſer *Nicopolis*, *Cæſarea*, *&c.*

The *Armenians* deſcribed.

They have two Patriarchs who reſide, the one at *Jeruſalem*, and the other at *Sinah* in *Arabia.* They have 12 Titular Biſhops, who are very poor, tho' that ought not to render them deſpicable. They honour much the three firſt General Councils. They read the Old and New Teſtaments in their Mother Tongue, and have a Litany, part of which they Expound every Lord's-Day in the Church. They allow of two Sacraments only, and adminiſter the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and deny the real Preſence. They celebrate Baptiſm after the *Eutychian* ſort, as *Jacobus* Father of the *Jacobites*, and *Joannes Philoponus* miſtaught them; and moſt of them follow the condemned Opinion of *Neſtorius*, encouraged by *Cozroes* in hatred to *Heraclius* the Emperour. The Proſelyte *Gentiles*, or *Mahometans*, they ſign in the Forehead with a burning Croſs, but others they ſign only with the Croſs, as glorying in that Hieroglyphick, which the *Jews* and *Mahometans* eſteem ſo ignominiouſly of. They are great Lovers of Tradition, and do not pray for the Dead, believing that they come not either into a State of Happineſs or Torment till the laſt Judgment. They abſtain every Year five Sabbaths from Fleſh, Fiſh, Cheeſe and Butter, in memory of theſe five Ages, in which their *Gentile* Forefathers ſacrificed their Children to the Devil.

The Croſs uſed in Baptiſm.

They faſt on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* every Week, except between *Eaſter* and *Aſcenſion*, and are ſtrict Obſervers of *Lent*, refraining from their Wives, as well as Fleſh, Fiſh, Milk, Eggs and Butter, feeding upon Oil, Honey, Dates, Cucumbers, Herbs, *&c.* and drinking only Water; but at other times eat Fleſh of all ſorts, Pork it ſelf not excepted, which they account a dainty Fare. Before the three great Feſtivals they faſt twelve days.

Their Faſts.

They marry often at 9 or 12 Years old, the Laity twice, and the Clergy but once; but Trigamy is hated by all. They honour their Elders. They allow of no Images in Churches, and condemn the *Greeks* for doing the contrary, but have Images in their Houſes. They reſpect the Croſs, but worſhip it not. They do not believe a Purgatory. Their Churches are but mean. They pay Obedience and Reſpect to their Superiours, and puniſh Theft and Adultery. Yet they have ſome Idolatrous Cuſtoms among them, for at their Burials they lead a Lamb without blemiſh about the Church, which they after kill, and give to every one a bit, as a Symbol of Charity. On *Good-Friday* they repreſent the Burial and Death of Our Lord theatrically, with ſorrow in their faces; and on *Eaſter-day* they joyfully celebrate the Reſurrection, with a repreſentative Body, uſing the old Salvo which the *Greeks* do, in the Morning, *He is riſen indeed*, which they call an Angelical Note, and after celebrate it as a great Feſtival, the *Mahometans* and *Jews* not being allowed to mix with them. They faſt upon the Nativity. The *Jeſuits* have been very induſtrious to bring them over to the *Roman* Communion, but in vain. They inſiſt much upon Antiquity, and have a Catalogue of 200 Biſhops ſince their Converſion, and ſome of them were noble Martyrs. The *Armenians* at this day are the greateſt Travellers, Eaſt and Weſt, of any of the *Aſiaticks*, through a deſire of Gain, and affectation of Novelties, their Country lying convenient for Navigation upon the *Caſpian*, *Euxene*, and *Mediterranean* Seas, and the *Palus Meotis*; and tho' the *Turk* and *Perſian* often cauſeleſly quarrel with them, and domineer over them, yet they are averſe to War.

Their Marriages.

Their Antiquity.

Learning is not now in ſo great repute as it was formerly, yet they have Schools and Univerſities. They have *David*'s Pſalms, and ſome other parts of H. Scripture, which were tranſlated into the *Armenian* Tongue by S. *Chryſoſtom*, during his Baniſhment from *Conſtantinople* into that Country; as alſo the Works of *Gregory Nazianzene* and *Cyril*, tranſlated out of *Greek* into their own Language. Their Alphabet conſiſts of 28 Letters. They write from the Left Hand to the Right. Their Language is very difficult to learn, by reaſon of the harſh Aſpirations.

Their Schools and Univerſities.

Their Language.

Spahawn (now called *Iſpahan*) is ſeated in the 32 Deg. 39 Min. Northern Latitude, and 86 Deg. 30 Min. Longitude. This City is ancient, and in ſeveral Ages has changed her Name. Two thouſand three hundred Years ago it was called *Dura*, then *Hecatompulos*, after *Nymzamena.* *Ben Jonas* calls it *Aſphahen* and *Aeſpachan*, and *Cluverius Hagiſtan*, and the *Arabian* Geographer *Asbahawn.* At this day it is called by the Natives *Sphawhawn*, but by Writers *Spaha*, *Spachen*, *Acbahan*, *Aſpahan*, *Izpaan*, *Spahan*, and *Hiſpahan.* This City is the Metropolis of the *Perſian* Monarchy, and ſeated in the *Parthian* Territory (now called *Ayrac*) in the middle of the Empire: It is in compaſs about 9 Miles, including about ſeven thouſand Houſes, which contain about two hundred thouſand Souls; of which, beſides the Natives, there are Merchants of many Nations, as *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, *Poles*, *Muſcovites*, *Indians*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, *Jews*, and others, drawn thither by hopes of Gain. The Situation of it is pleaſant, the Buildings neat, of which the Mydan, Meſquets, Hummums and Palaces, are moſt obſervable; rich in Trade, and very full of People, as being the place of the uſual Reſidence of the Court. The Air is pure, quick and healthy, and the Soil is fruitful, being Watered by the River *Sindery*, which tho' ſo wide in rainy Seaſons as to require a Bridge of 35 Arches, yet in Summer is ſo low and ſhallow, (being drained by little Rivolets to water the Gardens) that Children can wade over it; and after it has gone a few Leagues further, it is drunk up by the thirſty Valleys, and never arrives at the Ocean.

The Names of *Spahawn.*

The Mydan.

The Mydan is as ſpacious and pleaſant as any in the Univerſe ; it is a thouſand paces from North to South, and above two hundred from Eaſt to Weſt. The Building is of Sun-dried Brick, and full of Shops within fraught of ſundry ſorts of Wares, arched above in Cupulo's terraſs-wiſe, and pargetted with blue Plaiſter, and being the nobleſt part, is placed in the heart of the City.

The King's Palace.

The King's Palace, called *Chonna Poſthaugh*, joins it on the Weſt-ſide, which poſſeſſes a large ſpot of ground backward, but is even with the other Buildings in the front ; it is pargetted and painted with blue and gold, embroider'd with Poeſies of *Arabick*, which after the *Groteſco* manner makes it ſhew very pleaſant. Within the Rooms are Arched, enlightened by Lattices, emboſſed above, and painted with red, white, blue and gold, and on the ſides with Sports and Landskips ; the Floors ſpread with Carpets of Silk and Gold, without other Furniture, terraſſed above, and garniſhed with a Tower over-topping many Moſques. The Garden, or Wilderneſs, fragrant with Flowers, and full of Birds.

The Hippodrome, *Vid* the form of it, Fig. 13.

Within the Hippodrome many of the Cavalry uſe to ride, from whence they repair to the Court-gate with their Lances in their Hands, and Swords and Quivers by their Sides, to attend the King, if he pleaſeth to go abroad ; if not, after they have waited a while, they depart. The North Iſle of the Mydan hath 8 or 9 arched Rooms, uſually hung with Lamps and Latten-Candleſticks, which make a great ſhew. Hither the *Potſhaugh*, and others, repair frequently for Paſtime, as Tumbling, Slight of Hand, dancing Girls, and painted *Catamites*.

The Mint.

At the fartheſt end North is the Mint, where they Coin Gold, Silver and Braſs, and by it are Cooks Shops : Before the King's Doors are 31 Demi-Cannons, and 12 Iron Culverins, brought thither from *Ormus*, or *Babylon*.

The Moſques.

Oppoſite to the Palace is a fair Temple, or Jewma-Machit, built round, but within diſtinguiſhed into Iſles. The outſide is Stone, and the inſide is lined 15 foot high, with white poliſhed Marble-Cupulo's, and compaſſed with Walls, and open to the Air, the Iſles excepted, which are covered. In the Center is a large Tank of pure Water, and at the Portal another. The other Moſques are much of the ſame form, tho' leſs ſumptuous ; and ſome have ſlender high Steeples, or Towers, terraſſed near the top.

The Hummums.

The Hummums in the City be many and beautiful, ſome 4 ſquare, but moſt round ; they are built for the moſt part of white Stone well poliſhed, the Windows are large without, but narrow inwardly, and the Glaſs thick and dark. The Roof is round, Tiled with counterfeit Turquoiſes, which is perfect blue, beautiful and laſting. The inſide is divided into many Cells, ſome for Delight, others for Sweating ; all for Uſe, for Bathing with the *Perſians* is as familiar as Eating and Drinking, and almoſt as neceſſary, becauſe they uſe much ſitting, and little Exerciſe. The Baths are of pure Stone, paved with black and chequer'd Marble. Men frequent them in the Morning commonly, and Women in the Afternoon. The price for Bathing is very ſmall, which makes them uſe it oftner ; ſo that the Gain is great.

The Baths.

The Uſe of Bathing.

The City deſcribed.

Bathing is accounted a Catholicon againſt moſt Diſeaſes, eſpecially Colds, Catarrhs, Flegm, Aches, Agues, the *French*-Pox, and the like. The City is built upon a Level ground, and in an Oval form, having many Streets, and ſcarce any Houſe but is accommodated with large Gardens full of Cypreſs-Trees. The City Wall is of no force againſt Cannon, but of uſe againſt Horſe and Lances. Some Parapets and Bulwarks it has, but more for Ornament than Uſe, the *Perſian* being ſo Magnanimous, as to Die rather than be Beſieged. It has 12 Gates, but 4 of them are lately ſhut. The Palaces are few, low built, pargetted and painted without, and gilt within, and ſpread with Carpets. They have all large Gardens beautified with Flowers, and plentifully Watered.

The Seraglio.

The Royal Seraglio is famous for the Treaſure and Beauties it contains ; but ſince 'tis dangerous to inquire into them, little can be ſaid of them. The Caſtle is large, ſtrongly Walled and Moated ; made Defenſive with ſome Pieces of Braſs, but more by the Troops of Eunuchs who guard the Ladies. The Gardens, for Grandeur and Sweetneſs, excel all others in *Aſia* ; ſo that you may call it another Paradiſe.

The King's Garden.

At the Weſt of *Spawhawn* is the King's Garden, called *Nazar-Fareeb*, which is very famous. From the Mydan you go to this Garden by *Cherbaugh*, through a Street two Miles long, moſt of the Way on both ſides being Garden-Walls, here and there adorned with Summer-Houſes, and planted all along with Chenaer-Trees, which ſerve both for Shade and Ornament. Being come to the Garden *Nazer-Jareeb*, you find it encompaſſed with a Wall about three Miles in Circuit, wide and well-built. From North to South 'tis about a thouſand paces, and from Eaſt to Weſt ſeven hundred, the Walks in 9 eaſie Aſcents paſſing through it both ways. In the middle of the Garden is a ſpacious Tank, having twelve equal ſides of 5 foot long ſet out with leaden Pipes, which ſpout up the Water in variety of Conceits. At the North-Gate is a Summer-Houſe erected for Proſpect and Pleaſure, garniſhed without, and within divided into 6 Rooms. The lower Rooms are adorned with Tanks of white Marble, and the higher Rooms are beautified with variety of Landskips, which repreſent their Manner of Sports, Hawking, Fiſhing, Riding, Shooting, Wreſtling, Courting, and other Fancies. The Roof upon the Parget is gilt and painted with blue, and other Colours. This Garden is repleniſhed with Trees of all ſorts for Medicine, Shade and Fruit, which are all ſo green, ſweet and pleaſant, that it may be termed the King's Paradiſe.

The Tank and Summer-Houſe.

Monuments of Antiquity.

Monuments of Antiquity, in or about this City, are only theſe few, *viz.* *Ruſtan*'s Tomb almoſt ruined, and only preſerved by *Gowers Cabala* : *Darius* (or *Xerxes's*) Mount, a riſing Hill, where *Xerxes* ſtood when he viewed his innumerable Army, and conſidering that none of them ſhould be living in a few Years, wept : *Demaund* Hills, through which *Abbas*, by the unſpeakable toil of 40 thouſand, and ſometimes 100 thouſand Men, in 20 Years time forced a River to *Spawhawn* : A Column or Pillar of Heads of Men and Beaſts, ſlain by *Abbas* for their Rebellion againſt him ; it exceeded the Steeples of many Moſques in *Spahawn* at firſt, but now is much ruin'd. The Heads of Beaſts are mingled with Mens, becauſe the Mufti perſwaded *Abbas* to ſpare the Men, that ſurvived the heat of his fury, and ſlay Beaſts inſtead of them.

Vid. the Fig. 14.

The Suburbs of Spahawn.

1. Jelphey.

Spahawn has many Suburbs, *viz.* *Jelphey*, *Gower-abaut*, *Abbas-abaut*, *Chanz-abaut*, *Azan-abaut*, and *Cheigh-Saban* : *Jelphey* is Governed by a peculiar Poteſtate, an *Armenian* Chriſtian Prince, ſtiled by them *Hodge-Nazar*, a Merchant by Profeſſion, but having a Superintendency over them. He and his Subjects enjoy freedom of Conſcience, but for Money Matters, and Publick Taxes, are at the ſole diſpoſition of the King. The Inhabitants of this Suburb are reckon'd 10000, and theſe in *Azen-abaut* 4000 Families. They are habited like the *Perſians*, but have greyer Eyes, and brighter Hair. They are for the moſt part Merchants, Factors for the King, who generally ſeizeth their Eſtates at their Death, if they are rich. They profeſs Chriſtianity, taught them erroneouſly by *Jacobus*, the *Syrian* Monothelite, and have two Patriarchs, one reſiding in *Jelphey*, the other at *Sis* near *Tharſus*, and ſometimes at *Ecmeaſin*. *Gower-abaut*, ſo called from the *Gowers*, who are Relicks of the ancient *Perſians*, and inhabit there. The other *Perſians* contemn them, partly becauſe they are more ancient, and partly becauſe they ſhame their Idleneſs by their Induſtry. They are Idolaters, and worſhip the Sun, whom they call *Mythra*, but build no Temple to it, becauſe they ſay no place is ſufficient capacious enough for it. Their Lawgiver was *Zertooſt*, or *Zoroaſter*, who firſt taught the *Perſians* Magick and Judicial Aſtrology. Their Flamens are a ſort of *Platoniſts*, for tho' they acknowledge many Creatures to be excellent, yet they ſay they are no way comparable to their Creator, who is the Center of all Perfection. Nevertheleſs they Deify an Elemental Fire, which they ſay doth never extinguiſh. Their Marriages are the ſame with the *Indian Perſees* above related. In reverence to the Fire they forbear to burn the Dead, as being Unclean things, but put them into the hollow of a Tree, ſtanding upright, till their Obſervation releaſeth them ; for if the Vultures pluck out the Right Eye, then they conclude that the Party's Soul is in Paradiſe, but if they pull out the Left, than an Evil Spirit vexes him, and ſo they Feaſt or Faſt as they think they have cauſe. Theſe People are for the moſt part Mechanicks, or Husbandmen, and very few Scholars or Merchants. Their Habit differs little from the common Mode, ſave that their Head-attire is after the *Hyrcanian* faſhion. The Women ſhew their Faces, and their Apparel and Hair is tinctur'd with yellow, and their Scarf is Flame-coloured, reſembling the Sun their Deity. Many of them, either out of Zeal or Poverty, go barefoot, uſing neither Shoes nor Sandals.

2. Gower-Abaut.

Portugueſe Friers among them.

The *Portugueſe* Friers, *Carmelites* and *Auguſtinians*, have two Houſes here, and their Chappels are neatly gilt and adorned with Organs, Altars, Crucifixes, Images, Candles, and other like Ornaments, with which they endeavour to convert the People to Popery, but the *Armenians* are rather Spectators than Auditors, and hate all Innovations, and the *Perſians* by their Principles contemn Images, yet are theſe Religious of great uſe to ſend Intelligence to *Goa*, and other parts of *Chriſtendom.*

Reig.

Leaving **Spahawn**, *May* 1. to go towards the Court, which lay at *Aſharaff* in *Mozendram*, 400 Miles diſtant Northward from it, they came to *Reig* on Horſe-back, and finding the weather intollerable hot, travelled the reſt of the way by Night, refreſhing themſelves by Day in Garavans-raws, where the Gnats were not too troubleſome.

Sardahan. Whoomg.

From *Reig* they travelled firſt to *Sardahan*, which is 16 Miles; then to *Whoomg*, 27 Miles, where they reſted.

Tawghtbaut.

Next they came to *Tawghtbaut*, an Houſe and Garden of the King's, which for beauty and ſweetneſs, equals any in *Parthia*, tho' 'tis planted in a barren Soil; for it not only abounds with moſt ſorts of Trees familiar to the Climate, but with *Perſian* Fruits and Flowers, *viz.* Pomegranates, Peaches, Apricocks, Plums, Apples, Pears, Cherries, Cheſtnuts, damaſk, red, and white Roſes, Tulips, and other Flowers in great variety, watered with Streams, beautified with artificial Grots, and having alſo Hummums of Stone, paved with white Marble.

The Summer-houſe.

The *Mohul*, or Summer-houſe has a dozen Chambers, delightful to the view, being emboſs'd with Gold, and painted with various Colours.

Bawt. Obigarmy.

From hence they paſſed firſt to *Bawt*, and then to *Obigarmy*, two of the King's Houſes, over an hoſpitable and ſandy Deſart, ten Miles broad, but an hundred long. The Ground is covered with a looſe and flying Sand, which being agitated by the Wind, moves like Waves of the Sea, and overwhelms Paſſengers, but the dryneſs of the Soil makes theſe Vapours not very common.

Suffedaw.

The next Night they rode 21 Miles to *Suffedaw*, and the Night following 30 to *Syacow*, as a good Caravanſraw, as the other was a bad one, made of white poliſhed Stone. This laſt Nights travel was upon a Stone Cauſey, broad enough for ten Horſes to go a-breaſt, built by extraordinary labour and expenſe, over a part of a boggy great Deſart, which will not bear Horſe or Camel, unleſs on the Cauſey, which thro' drifts of Sand and Salt, Travellers ſometimes miſs of, and ſo periſh. They had the like Cauſey further in their Road for 22 Miles, till they came to the Borders of *Old Parthia*, where they pitched, and the next Night came to *Ghezz*, which is 18 Miles, a pretty Lodge belonging to the King.

Ghezz.

The Nomades.

Here they met with ſome of thoſe Creats, or wandring Herds-men, called *Nomades*, who have no fixed Habitation, but for Profit or Delight, remove from place to place, as Fancy and good Paſturage invites them, with all their Families and Subſtance in Waggons of ſix Wheels, two Stories high, covered with Felt.

The Pylæ Caſpiæ.

Part of this Journey lay thro' the *Pylæ Caſpiæ*, or Valley of Mount *Taurus*, which is not more than four yards broad, and eight Miles long. This Paſs a Thief with 500 Horſe, undertook to keep againſt all Commers in *Abbas*'s Reign, to the great ſorrow of the King of *Larry-Joon*, and even *Abbas* himſelf, but an *Armenian*, with ſome few *Cooſal-Baſhaws*, undertook the conqueſt of them, which he effected by ſingle Combate with the Thief, whom he overcame and killing, by the help of the *Cooſel-baſha's*, ſcattered his Followers. *Abbas* was pleaſed with the bravery of the Action, and rewarded him, but not being able to bear the Glory of it long, commanded *Lollabeg* to cut off his Head.

Halvary.

Their next Night's travel was to *Halvary*, 18 Miles from *Ghezz*, a Village pretty well built, and delightfully ſeated by a ſweet Rivulet, and on a pleaſant Soil, which is uſually green, and produceth plenty of Olives, Wallnuts, Wheat, Wood, and other things.

Periſcow.

From hence they rode the next Night to *Periſcow*, 20 Miles, where the King has an Houſe, and ſometimes reſides here for the conveniency of Hawking, becauſe Pheaſants and other Game more abound here, than in moſt other parts of *Parthia*. This Town has very ſweet Water, and ſtands upon the Brow of a Hill very well wooded, but at this time was governed by a corrupt Man, one *Mahumed*, who ſought always to extort Bribes ever from Strangers.

Gheer.

After two days ſtay in *Periſcow*, they travelled to *Gheer*, 24 long Miles, and the next Night to a Village abounding ſo with Frogs, that their abode was unpleaſant there thro' their loathſome noiſe.

Aliavar.

Aliavar, 21 Miles further, was their next Manſion, a very pleaſant place for Earth, Water, and Wood: Here they found ſtore of Pheaſants, a Bird abounding in theſe *Hyrcanian* Towns, but originally proceeding from the River *Phapis* in *Mingrelia*, which empties it ſelf into the *Euxine* Sea, near *Trapezond.*

Necaw.

From thence they went to *Necaw*, 25 miles, where the King has an Houſe, and the other Buildings and Churches are like ours in *Europe*. Here, as in ſome other parts of *Hyrcania*, they are exceedingly peſtered with Flees and Gnats in Summer-time. The Fields alſo are much peſtered with Snakes, which will wind about the Horſes Legs as they travel, but do no other harm.

Aſharaff deſcribed.

Next Night they got to *Aſharaff*, a City upon the *Caſpian* Sea, where the Emperour of *Perſia* was at that time, expecting the *Engliſh* Embaſſador. The Sultan of the Town with 50 *Cooſal-baſhaes*, met the Embaſſador three Miles from the Court, and brought him with his Attendants civilly into *Aſharaff*, but the Ceremony was far below the State of ſo great a King, and the Perſon of the Embaſſador. *Aſharaff* is diſtant about two miles from the *Caſpian* Sea, ſeated in a low Ground, ſurrounded with many ſalt Marſhes, and but meanly watered, with a ſmall Spring only from the Mountains of *Taurus*.

The Soil.

The Ground is reaſonably fat, but not well cultivated, the greateſt part of the Inhabitants being Souldiers. There are about 2000 Families in this Town, but doubtleſs muſt increaſe, becauſe the King begins to affect the place, and has newly built him a Palace there, but not very large. The King has two other Palaces near, *viz.* at *Farrabaut* and *Abaſſabaut*, where there is a Summer-houſe, excelling all his others for Proſpect, Paintings, Hummums, Water-works, and a Forreſt ſtored with all ſorts of Game. The Palace here is not very regular, but rather confuſedly divides it ſelf into four Mohuls or Banqueting-houſes, which be gorgeouſly painted; and were they united, they would more delight the Eye. From them you have a pleaſant proſpect into the *Caſpian* Sea, and may ſee Mount *Taurus* at a diſtance. The Palace looks into very pleaſant Gardens.

The Bazar is but ordinary, and the Machits not to be admired: The Chambers of the Palace are large and ſquare, the Roofs arched and richly guilded, the Ground is ſpread with Carpets of Silk and Gold: In the midſt are Tanks full of ſweet water, and round about them Flagons, Ciſterns, and other Veſſels of Maſſy-Gold, which are ſometimes, upon ſpecial Occaſions, filled with Perfumes, Wine, Roſe-water, Flowers, &c.

Hyrcania or Mazendram.

This City lies in *Hyrcania*, or, as the *Perſians* now call it, *Mozendram*, which is a Country in moſt places of a good Soil and Clime, abounding in Graſs, Fruit, Corn, Flowers, &c. and having Cattle in great plenty; moreover for their manner of Huſbandry, Buildings and Civility, more reſembling *Europe* than any other part of *Aſia*. The Goodneſs of the Soil is much bettered by the many Rivers and Rivolets, which ſpringing from Mount *Taurus*, water the whole Country, and empty themſelves into the *Caſpian* Sea, ſuch as *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, which gave two Kings their name, *Araxy*, *Obſel*, *Connec*, *Mazeras*, *Bundana*, *Hydiro*, *Aragus*, and others. This Country in ancient times ſo abounded with Wood, that it was called *Sylva Hyrcania*, and nouriſhed ſeveral ſorts of noxious Creatures, as Snakes, Lions, Foxes, Wild-Cats, Boars, and Tygers, inſtead of which, now there is plenty of Cows, Buffalo's, Horſes, Camels, Sheep, Mules, Deer red and fallow, Antelopes, Hogs, Goats, and other Beaſts, as alſo Birds, Hens, Pheſants, Patridges, Nightingales, Pouts, Quails, Wood-cocks, Thruſhes, and other Birds: and Fiſh, as Sturgeon, Mullet, Muſſels, Dog-fiſh, Tunnyes, and others: It produces all ſorts of Grain, and Fruits, and Roots, in great variety.

The Grain and Trees.

Among the Trees that grow here, which are Oak, Elm, Aſh, Mulberryes, and the like, there is one that diſtils a Juice ſweet like Honey, which is called *Occbus*. The chief Towns of this Country are *Farrabaut*, *Aſheraff*, *Abaſſebaut*, *Periſcow*, *Omoal*, *Barfruſhden*, *Chacopero*, *Caban*, *Baldith*, *Baedz*, *Darabgier*, *Dengee*, *Sumachy*, *Erez*, and *Bachu*, nigh which laſt is a Spring of that rare kind of Oyl, or clammy Subſtance, called *Neft* or *Nephti*, which will take fire from the Sun-beams, or other heat. If it be not the ſame mentioned 2 *Macch.* 1. 36 'tis much like it. Near *Chacoporo* alſo is a Spring, whoſe Water is ſweet and profitable for eleven Months in the Year, but one Month is ſo brackiſh, that it is unfit both for drinking and dreſſing Meat. The Natives here for the moſt part are exceeding courteous to Strangers, and hoſpitable, induſtrious in Huſbandry. They have a Dialect of their own, but ſpeak *Perſian* for the moſt part, tho' imperfectly.

Nephti a rare Oyl.

The Tapiri.

The *Tapiri* inhabited here of old, who had a Cuſtom after they had three or four Children, to lend their Wives to their Neighbours to breed on, to which the Women as willing condeſcended; a Cuſtom now abrogated,

gated, but not wholly left. The Country is Champion, but incloſed near the Towns. The Paſtures are full of Snakes, and Woods of large Mulberry-Trees, which feed the Silk-worms, about which the People employ themſelves. This Worm came into *Perſia* from the *Seres*, or *Regio Serica*, in *Scythia*, towards *Indoſtan*: Theſe Worms produce the *Perſian* King 7600 Batmans of raw Silk yearly, which, they ſay, will be of that colour you lay before the Worm commonly, tho' it is uſually white, green, yellow, or Sand-colour.

Silk-worms.

Terrabaut deſcribed.

Upon *Whitſunday* they left *Aſheraff*, and came to *Terrabaut*, five Miles from it, and lying South-Eaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea. The Situation of this City is flat, the Soil rich, and beautified with Gardens full of Fruit, watered with a River of ſweet water 40 Paces broad, which ſpringing from Mount *Tauris*, incorporates here with the *Caſpian* Sea. The Air is not ſo pure here as it is higher up the Country. Inſtead of Walls it has a deep Moat, the Banks of which are planted with Willows and other Trees for Shade and Ornament. The Houſes are not flat above, according to the *Perſian* way, but the Roof is ſharp, and tiled as ours in *England*, and the Windows are glazed. This Town has about 3000 Families, the Streets are broad enough, but not regular. The Moſque is but ordinary, and the two Buzars not ſingular. Moſt Houſes have their Gardens, and ſome reach down to the *Caſpian* Sea. The King's Houſe at the North end of the Town is of moſt note. From the Balconies of it you have a fine proſpect on to the Sea. It has two large Courts, diſtinguiſh'd into Knots and Graſs-plats, which ſo abound with Flowers and Trees, as if they would ſurfeit the Senſes with delight. The Houſe is ſpacious, but low, the Rooms are high, but ſo long, that they reſemble Galleries. Three of the Chambers are moſt richly furniſhed with Seilings well painted, and emboſſed with Gold, Looking-glaſſes on the ſides, and *Muſcovian* Glaſs in large clear Panes, cemented with Gold. The Floors new laid with Velvet, and Carpets of Cloath of Gold.

The *Caſpian* Sea. *Vide* Fig. 15.

The *Caſpian* Sea, which lies near this City, is deſervedly reckoned one of the Wonders of the World: for greatneſs, taſte, and colour it reſembles the Ocean, but has this wonderful in it, That tho' it receives many great Rivers into it, and has no viſible vent, yet it never overflows the Banks. It is 3000 Miles in circumference, and the ſhape and figure of it is oval: from North to South 'tis 600 Miles in Diameter: 'tis ſhallow by the Shoar, and full of quick-ſands; but more off at Sea, 'tis deep and unfathomable. Upon the North it has a part of *Tartary*, called *Nagay*, on the Eaſt *Nagathas*, on the South *Hyrcania*, and on the Weſt *Media* and *Armenia*, ſurrounded with lofty Hills, furniſhed with Fiſh, and upon the Shoar hath many Towns well-peopled, and traded to by many Nations. 'Tis thought that it hath ſome ſecret courſe with the *Euxine*, and ſo much the rather, becauſe that Sea hath a Current Flux running from the Eaſtern Shoar, which is nigheſt the *Caſpian*, towards the *Thracian Boſphorus*. The ebbing and flowing, if any, is ſcarce diſcernable in this Sea. Ships in eight days will croſs this Sea from *Forrabaut*, or *Derbent*, to *Aſtracan*, if the Winds be favourable.

Aſtracan deſcribed.

This Town and Iſle lies in 47 Degrees of Northern Latitude, is ſeated upon a riſing Ground, and has a Line about it for defence, and upon the Works ſome Pieces of Cannon mounted. The Houſes are not many, nor well built, but ſufficiently peopled; for altho' the Soil be barren, and Air bad, yet ſuch is the Deſire of Gain, that it is much reſorted to by the Merchants of ſeveral Countries, who trade thither for Furs of Foxes, Sable, Woolverin, Ermyn, Luſern, Miniver, Bever, Otter, Squirrel, and the like, which are brought thither out of *Ruſſia* and *Tartary*, as alſo for Fiſh, which the Sea produces in great plenty, and eſpecially for Caveare and Potargo, which are made, the one of the Row of Sturgeon, and the other of the Mullets, and for Salt, which they make there of the Salt-water, and vend in great quantities.

Volga deſcribed.

Six Leagues from *Aſtracan* runs the great River *Volga*, or *Wolga*, which ſprings out of a Mountain about an hundred Miles from *Teraſlave* in *Ruſſia*, in 60 Deg. Northern Latitude, and after 2000 Miles Courſe, diſgorges it ſelf at ſeveral Mouths near this Iſle into the *Caſpian*. Were the depth of this River anſwerable to its breadth, it would afford an eaſie Paſſage into *Perſia* and the *Indies*.

Derbent deſcribed.

Derbent is a Poſt-Town upon the *Caſpian*-Shoar of great ſtrength, and no leſs Antiquity, being founded, as is ſaid, by *Alexander the Great*, who alſo erected the great and ſtrong Caſtle of *Kaſiow* adjoining. This Town for trade, is not inferiour to any other upon that Sea, which makes it rich and populous. It is a Garriſon, and made defenſive by regular Fortifications: the Circuit of the Wall is three Miles, and affords a proſpect to the *Caſpian* Sea. It is ſituate in that part of *Armenia* the Great, which is now called *Ziuria* and *Myral*, but *Albania* of old, in 41 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude. It ſtands in the Confines of the *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Dominions, and ſo has been often the Subject of Contention between thoſe two mighty Princes.

Araſh.

'Twixt *Aſtracan* and *Derbent* is the noted Emporium called *Araſh*, becauſe the River *Araxes* waters it, where ſuch an abundance of Silk is bred and ſold, that ſome think it the *Regio Serica*; and indeed many Camels load are carried from here unto *Caſhan*, where the Manufactures of Carpetting and other Silken-ſtuffs are made in perfection, much to the advantage of the Town. At this place alſo is ſtore of Cotton-wool and Galls, which Merchants value, and of Piſtachoes, Pomegranates, Grapes, Melons, Oranges, and other Fruits liked by Travellers, in great abundance.

Bactin.

From hence to *Bactin*, a ſmall Town, yet thought conſiderable enough by Geographers to give the *Caſpian* Sea the name of *Mare de Bactin*, is 18 *Engliſh* Miles. Near this place is a Spring, out of which the Inhabitants fiſh a blackiſh Oyl, which ſerves for Lamps and other Houſhold-uſes, and has no offenſive ſmell.

Oyl fiſhed out of a Spring.

Thence to *Bildith* is 14 Miles, thro' a level and fruitful Country, watered by *Araxes* and *Cyrus*.

Chacoporo.

From hence the way lay by the Sea-ſide to *Chacoporo*, 12 miles from *Ferrabaut*. This Town lies by a Beat of the Sea, which coſts the Inhabitants ſome charge to guard themſelves againſt. Here is a River which is ſalt one Month in the Year, but the Reaſon is not known.

Barfruſhdea.

The next Town they came to was *Barfruſhdea*, a large Town, well built and peopled, trading in Silk-worms, and having plenty of Wood and Water. The Inhabitants delighted much in Archery, an Exerciſe long uſed here; and then they travelled to *Omoal*, a large Town, built on the North ſide of Mount *Taurus*, and inhabited by 3000 Families, but a mixture of ſeveral Nations, *Armenians*, *Scythians*, *Perſians*, and *Jews*, *Curds*, *Banyans*, *Indians*, and *Maſcovites*, who tho' they make a Babel in Languages, yet live friendly together, all tolerating their own Forms, and having among them ſeven ſeveral Sabbaths; for the *Bannians* keep *Thurſday*, the *Perſians* *Friday*, the *Jews* *Saturday*, the *Armenians* *Sunday*, the *Peguans* *Munday*, the *Gowers* and *Curds*, or Fire-worſhippers, *Tueſday*, and if the *Scythians* beyond *Bochar* were there, they might compleat the Week. The Town is built in a large Level, but withal upon a very pleaſant and fruitful Soil; the Buildings are ruinous, but ſhew ſome ſigns of Greatneſs. The Caſtle is fair and ſtrong, being fortified with a deep Moat or Trench, full of Waters, which ſerves to defend them from Inſults of the Mountaineers of *Taurus*. Moſt of the Houſes have Gardens to them. The Cathedral or *Jeuma Mechit*, is moſt noted, in which they ſay, there are 444 Princes and Prophets entombed, which raiſe veneration among the People, and admiration among Paſſengers, eſpecially that of *Meer Agowmadeen*, to which they cheerfully offer the Myſteries of their Religion, and perform their Funeral Rites.

Omoal.

Seven Sabbaths in a Week.

Larry-Jon.

From *Omoal* they travelled to *Larry-John*, or *Joon*, 30 Miles, where Mount *Taurus* bounds the Kingdom of *Hyrcania*: This Mountain is reputed the greateſt in all the World, both for length and height; for it reacheth in length 3000 miles, from the leſſer *Aſia* to the fartheſt parts of *Eaſt-India*, and it is ſo high, that its top mounts a good way up into the middle Region, leaving the Clouds a great way below, as ſuch who have aſcended it, do witneſs. From the top of this Mountain you have a Proſpect Northward of a part of *Tartary*, which is ſo large a Country, that it not only contains a third part of *Aſia*, but extends it ſelf Eaſtward a great way in *Europe*. It is divided into *Sarmatia*, *Aſiatica*, *Scythia*, and *Cathaia*; or as others, into 1. *Tartary* the old, 2. *Zacathai* within *Imaus*, 3. *Cathai* without *Imaus*, 4. *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, and 5. *Tartary* the leſs. Their Name in *Hebrew* imports a Remnant or ſcattered Generation, as they really are, for they have no certain Habitation, but are ever wandring to and fro, they ſcarce know whither, their wealth wholly conſiſting in their Cattle.

Mount *Taurus*.

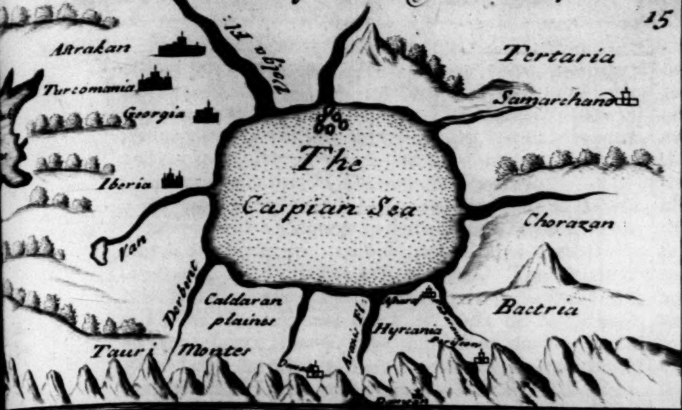
Tartary divided and deſcribed.

Polygamy allowed.

Polygamy they allow, and in their Marriages abſtain only from Mothers and Siſters: A fierce, perfidious and crafty People, expert in Riding, Darting, and Running, altogether barbarous, unleſs at *Zagathai*, where Commerce has taught them a little Civility. They ſeldom eat Bread, for Mares Milk, Fleſh half boiled, ſoure Milk and Herbs are the greateſt Dainties.

About

A description of Asia, Affrica &c. from S.r Tho. Herbert & others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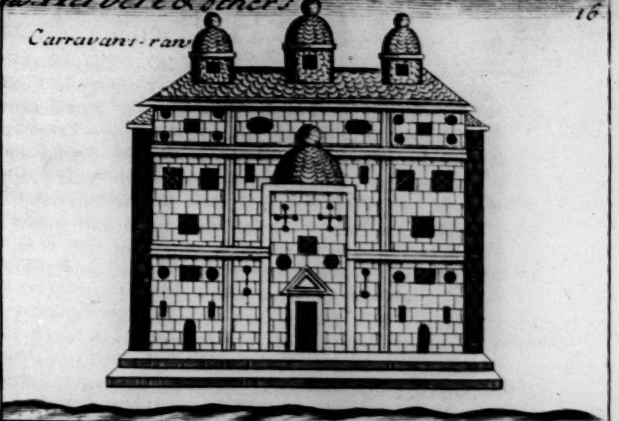
Astrakan
Volga Fl.
Turcomania
Georgia
Iberia
Van
The Caspian Sea
Tertaria
Samarchand
Chorazan
Bactria
Derbent
Caldaran plaines
Tauri Montes
Araxis Fl.
Hyrcania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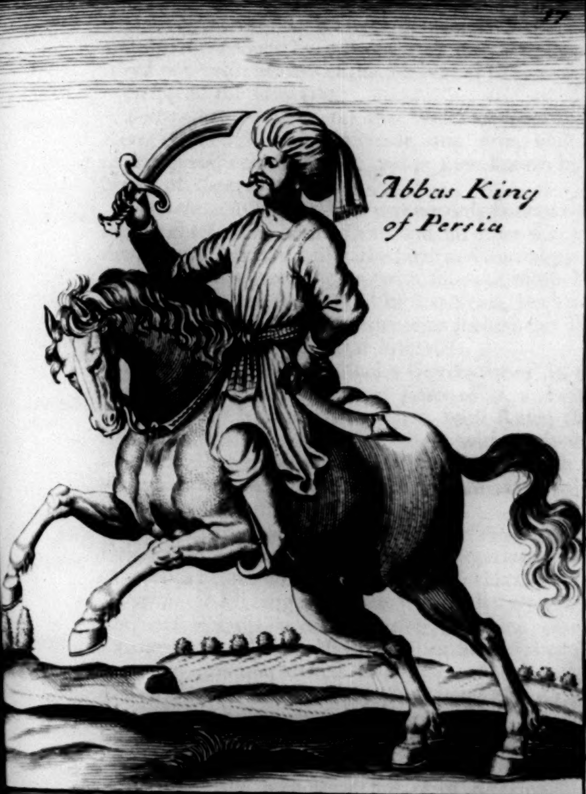
Carravans-ray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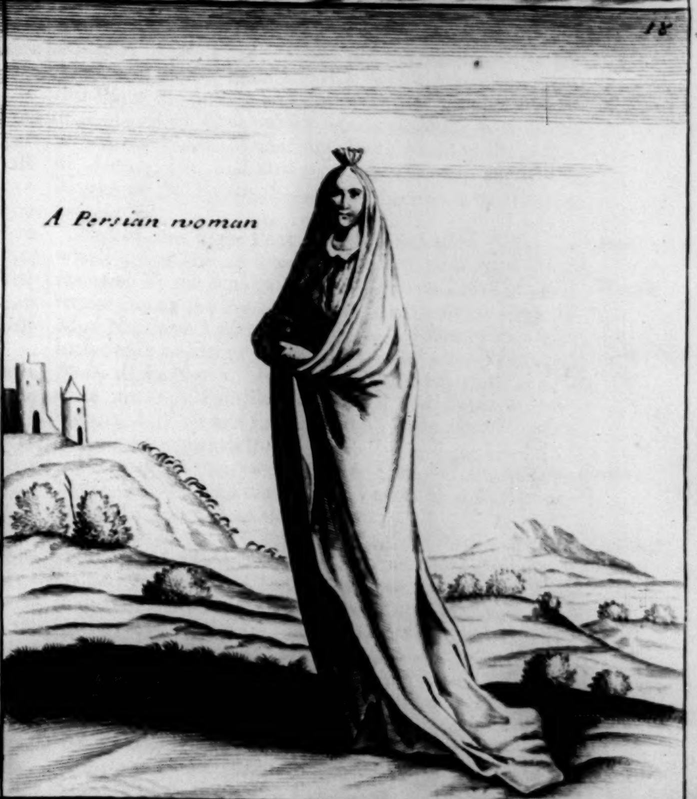
Abbas King of Persia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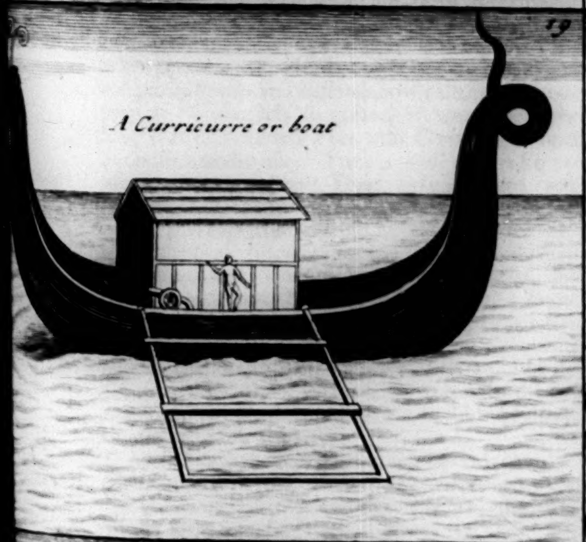
A Persian woman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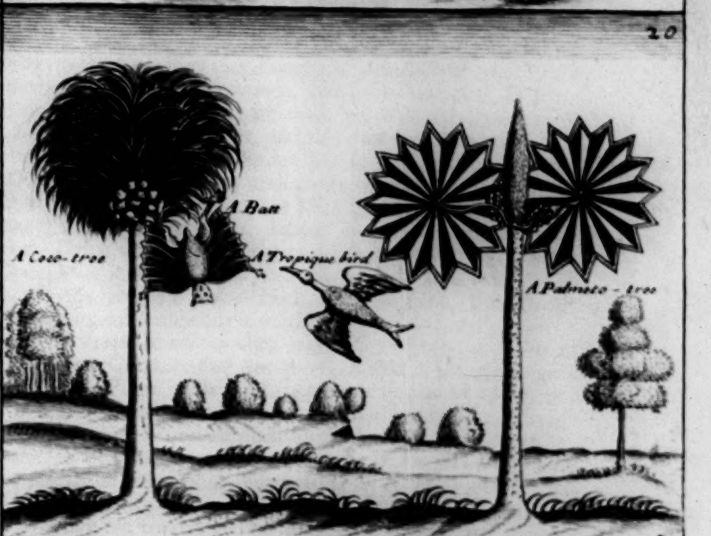
A Curricurre or boat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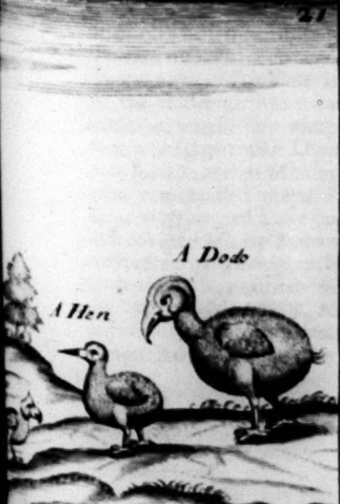
A Coco-tree
A Batt
A Tropique bird
A Palmeto-tree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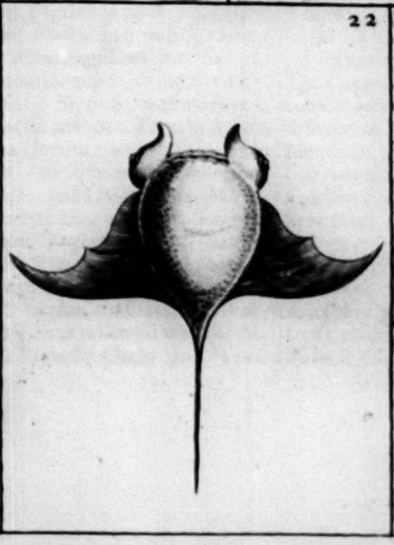
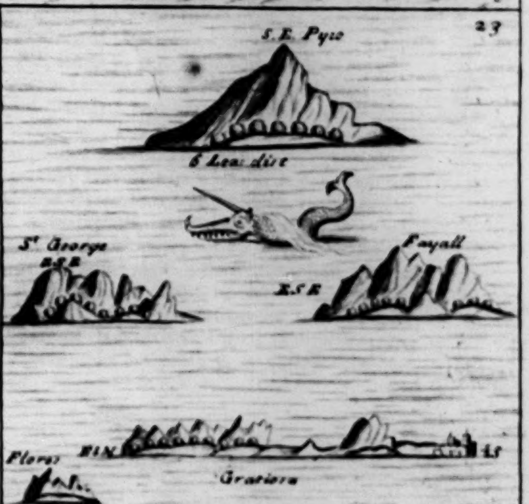
A Dodo
A Hen

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15

Mahometans and Chriſtians.

About the Year 1200 they received *Mahomet*'s Doctrine, yet have many *Jews* among them, and ſome *Hoords* profeſs *Chriſt*, tho' infected with Neſtorious Hereſy about two Natures in him. The *Muſcovites* have introduced Image-worſhip amongſt them, yet only in paint, and not in Sculpture, which laſt they think violates the Commandment only. The reſt are Gentiles.

Zagathai comprehends *Mergiana*, *Sogdiana* and *Bactria*.

Mergiana deſcribed.

Mergiana is a Country ſo fruitful for Corn and Wine, that as *Strabo* reports, one bunch of Grapes preſented to *Alexander*, filled a Baſket a Yard round. The Patriarch *Noah* is ſaid to have planted here after he forſook the Ark, and in his Memory was the City *Nyſſa* or *Noyſſa* built, and from hence *Nimrod*, and the reſt of the Builders of *Babel* being defeated in their Attempt by the confuſion of Tongues, diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral parts of the Earth.

Sogdiana deſcribed.

Sagdiana adjoins this Province, watered by the River *Orcus* or *Nycaphtae*: It was the Boundary of the *Perſian* and *Aſſyrian* Monarchy. From it at ſeveral times have iſſued out ſuch ſwarms of the People, as have well-nigh over-ſpread the Univerſe.

Bactria.

Bactria has *Mergiana* on the Weſt, *Sogdiana* and the River *Oxus* on the Eaſt and North, and *Aria*, with part of *Paropomiſſa* on the South, and is now known by the Name of *Corazan*.

Samerchand.

Samerchand in former Ages was not only famous for being the chief Mart both of this and all other Countries thereabouts, but for being the birth and burial-place of *Tamerlane*, that great Victor, who ſubdued more Nations in 8, than the *Romans* did in 800 Years, but 'tis now a poor place, and gives precedence to *Bochar*, the Birth-place of the great Naturaliſt *Aricenna*.

Aria deſcribed.

Aria, now called *Heri*, had a Governour of its own, *Sha-Abbas*. *Eri* is the principal Town of it, and is three Miles about. It abounds ſo much with Roſes, that it furniſhes all the Country round about with Roſe-water, much excelling ours in *Europe* for ſweetneſs, which they uſe in Sherbets, Banquets, and Entertainments, to perfume the Floors they ſit on, and places.

Tochariſtan.

The Turks, whence.

The Turkiſh Empire, how raiſed.

In theſe parts alſo lies *Tocchariſtan*, from *Tochara*: It is the Original Seat of *Torcis*, the Poſterity of *Togarmach*, the Son of *Gomer*, a People not appearing in the World till rouſed by *Heraclius*, in his long and fierce War with *Coſroes* the *Perſian*, and not till 200 Years after, breaking thro' the *Caſpian* Streight, ſome *Hoords* of them ſettled themſelves in part of *Armenia*, called *Turcomania*, where they ſerved *Mahomet*, Sultan of *Perſia*, againſt the *Calyph* of *Bagdat*, but being abuſed by his Captain *Tangrolipix*, made themſelves Maſters of *Perſia*. *Rabbi Ben Jonas* ſays, that the *Jews* carried captive by *Salmaneſſer*, aſſociated themſelves with theſe Forces of *Niſapire*. They were not heard of in *Europe*, till the Year 1200, and the Foundation of their vaſt Empire was not laid till 1300, when *Ottoman*, the Head of the *Oguzian* Family, having conquered *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, now called *Burſia*, and other parts of *Natolia*, left ſo great an Army to *Orchan* his Son, that he ventured over into *Europe*; and ſince, his Succeſſors under three Princes and eleven Emperours, within the ſpace of 300 Years, have enlarged their Dominions over much of *Africk*, more of *Europe*, and moſt of *Aſia*. The moſt conſiderable Towns are *Tuzz*, the great Birth-place of *Nazarradyn*, the great Mathematician, Tranſlator and Commentator upon *Euclid*, *Sarchas*, *Gelack*, and others, bounded by *Nycaphtac*, a Branch of *Imaus*. There is a part of this Country called *Maurenabar*, which hath to the South the River of *Gihon* or *Jehun*, and to the South-eaſt *Garneben*, a large, but deſolate Country now, tho' once ſo well governed by the *Gentiles*, that they puniſhed Murder, Theft, and Adultery, and diſallowed Idol-worſhip.

The Scythians

More North the *Scythians* beyond *Imaus* inhabit. Their Country was of old called the *Regio Serica*, by reaſon of the abundance of Silk and excellent Tapeſtry and Carpeting there found.

Mount Taurus deſcribed, and the things memorable in it.

Concerning Mount *Taurus*, the things moſt memorable are, 1. The *Pyree* of Idol-fire, which (according to their Tradition) has continued unextinguiſhed for full 50 Generations. The Fane is round, repreſenting Eternity, in the midſt an Altar raiſed 5 Steps from the Ground, under which the Fire was placed within a Trench, which they worſhipped with Divine Honour, and ſacrificed not only Children, but Men in it. 2. The *Meleike Bahaman*, who commanded many Hills and Dales in that Mountain, with mutual Love between him and his Subjects, tho' envied both by *Tartars* and *Perſians*. *Abbas* having conquered *Mazendram*, reſolved to be no longer bearded with this Mountainous King, who pried, as he pretended, into his Affairs, and to that end ſent *Methiculibeg* with 30000 Men againſt it, but when all warlike Attempts proved in vain, by Falſeneſs, Oaths and Treachery, he drew the Old King, and his three hopeful Sons, to a Banquet, where they periſhed; and ſo *Abbas* gained his Poſſeſſions and Kingdom. 3. The high Peak of *Damoan*, whoſe top, like a ſhaped Pyramid, ſurmounts all other parts of *Taurus*, from it the *Caſpian* Sea, tho' at Eightſcore Miles diſtance, is very viſible. At the top it is compoſed of Shulphur, which cauſes it to ſparkle like *Ætna*, and yields a pleaſant Object to the Eye, tho' it offends the Noſe. Moſt parts of *Perſia* and *Aſia* are furniſhed with Brimſtone from hence. The Sulphureous Veins in this Mountain produce hot Baths, which are wonderfully flocked to in *Auguſt* by diſeaſed People, not only from ſeveral Parts of *Perſia*, but of other remote Countries, and they receive from them notable Cures. Three of them are compaſſed with Walls for the Nobility, and the other two are open for all.

The *Jews* inhabit about this Mountain in great Multitudes, aſſerting, That they were ſettled here by *Salmaneſſer*, *A. M.* 3220. as is ſtoried, 2 *Kings* 17. 6. Theſe *Jews* will needs have it, that *Noah*'s Ark reſted upon this Pique of *Taurus*, and not upon that which is nearer *Armenia* called *Baris*, which ſignifies a Ship, as if it retained the Name of that Accident; for as to the Name of *Ararat*, that and *Caucaſus*, and *Taurus*, are all the Names of this Ridge of Mountains, which environ the *Caſpian* Sea.

Nova.

Damaont

Eaſt of this high Peak is a Town called *Nova*, in which are about an hundred Families, and hard by is *Damaon*, by the *Jews* called *Jehud*; it is a Town of good repute among the *Perſians*. It is ſituate in 36 Deg. 20 Min. Northern Latitude, and 88 Deg. Longitude. It is included in a Skirt of *Taurus*, and is the utmoſt Limit of *Media* to the North. It is watered by a branch of *Gozan*. Here are 200 Families of *Jews*. The Bazar is built high, and Wine and Fruits are ſold there at eaſie prices, becauſe very plentiful.

Bomahecm.

From hence they went to *Bomaheem*, in the ancient *Media*, a Province ſituate in the Center of *Aſia*, and accounted a rich and noble Country.

Media deſcribed.

The *Greeks* ſay it takes its Name from *Medus*, the Son of *Jaſon* and *Medea*, but the *Hebrews* more truly from *Madai*, *Japhet*'s third Son. It was anciently divided into the Greater and Leſs, but now into *Gheylan*, *Deilan*, *Vaaz-pracan*, which are the Leſſer *Media*; and *Aderbayon*, *Harran*, *Sultania* and *Trabriztan*, which is the Greater *Media*. It has Mount *Taurus* on the North, *Parthia* on the South, *Bactria* on the Eaſt, and *Armenia*, and part of *Aſſyria*, on the Weſt: A rich and puiſſant Country in the World's Infancy, but now barren and miſerable, yet Camels and Dromedaries make a ſhift to live upon the Sandy Plains, upon the Boughs of Trees and Shrubs, which they rarely meet with.

Theſe Beaſts are of one Deſcent, and vary according to the Countries they breed in. In *Bactria* and *Perſia* they have but one bunch, but in *Arabia* two. In Rutting-time the Males are mad, yet will not Couple with any but their Conſort, and this they do backward. The Female carries her Burden 20 Months, and Suckles her Young one (for they commonly have but one at a Birth) two Years, not loſing her Milk by a ſecond Conception. They live 60 Years, labour much, eat little, refrain Drink three days, but then drink immeaſurably. Their Milk is cordial, and their Fleſh rank and lean, yet in *Aſia* preferr'd before Beef, Veal, or Pork, becauſe the Alcoran commends it to them.

Tyroan.

The King's Garden. V. Fig. 16.

From *Bomaheen* they travell'd to *Tyroan*, a Town of ſome Greatneſs and Antiquity, ſeated in the midſt of a large Plain. The Air is temperate in the Morning, and at Night, but at Noon very hot. The Houſes are made of white Bricks hardned by the Sun, and are computed to be about 3000, of which the Bazar and Duke's Palace are the faireſt, but neither of them to be admired. A Rivolet in two Branches runs through the Town, making the Groves and Gardens very verdent and fruitful. The King has a Garden near the Town as large as the City. The Maſters of Families lodge with their Concubines, ſome 3, ſome 6, upon the tops of their Houſes. The Caravans-raw exceeds the Moſque for elegancy. The Inhabitants are ſtately, and the Women lovely, both deſirous of Novelties. *Tyroan* ſtands in 35 Deg. 40 Min. Northern Longitude, and 80 Latitude.

Charah.

From *Tyroan* they travell'd to *Charah*, a place for the ſcalding Sand and frying Sun Inhoſpitable, nevertheleſs, heretofore of ſome repute, when called *Kyr*, or *Chyr*, and gave Name to the Country round about. Here the *Aſſyrian* Prince *Tiglath-Pyleſer* ſettled the Inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, 2 *Kings* 16. 19. From hence to *Tauris* is two days riding. This City is the Metropolis of *Media*, ſituate in that part of it which is called *Atropatia*, now *Taberiz*, or *Teveris*. In Scripture it is called *Achmetha*, and *Ecbatan*, by which Name it was moſt famous, and was 16 Miles about, having Walls ſtrong and ſtately, 70 Cubits high and 50 broad, beautified with many lofty Turrets and Battlements. In it were many noble Palaces, and the chiefeſt of them was that which *Daniel* built, made afterwards the *Mauſoleum* of the *Median* Kings; and next the Palace of *Darius*, built of Cedar, the Roof being ſtudded and plaited with burniſhed Gold, but now there are no Remains of them. Now it is a City large and populous, famous for an In-land Trade, and ſo well governed, tho' there is a Garriſon kept in it, that Merchants may traffick there without fear or danger. It is ſituate near a part of *Taurus* called *Baronta*. It is compaſſed with a Mud Wall 5 Miles about. The Houſes after the common Mode are flat a top, and built of Sun-dried Bricks. The Bazar is large, and Gardens lovely, eſpecially that planted by King *Tamas*, which is now turned into a Paſture for Horſes. It is badly ſupplied with freſh Water. It was a long time a Seat of War, between the *Turks* and *Perſians*. *Selim*, *A. D.* 1514. ſent an Army againſt it under a Baſha that ranſack'd it; and *Solyman*, in 1530. pillaged it, and burnt it; and when it began a little to revive, *Ozman*, in 1585. utterly ruined it. But *Emyr-Hamze-Mirza*, Elder Brother to *Sha-Abbas*, recovering it from the *Turks*, to whom he gave a notable Overthrow betwixt this City and *Ardavil*, rebuilt and fortified it, and *Sha-Abbas* compleated its Grandeur in 1619, which it now enjoys under the *Perſian* Government.

Daniel's Palace.

Sumachy deſcribed.

Three days Journey from hence is *Sumachy*, or *Shamakie*, a Town conſiſting of 4000 Houſes, well Peopled, and much reſorted to by the *Ruſſian* and *Armenian* Merchants: It lies in 39 Deg. Northern Latitude. Near the Town is a Fountain, or Spring, which ſends forth a Liquor thick and clammy like Tar. From hence they travell'd to *Sanguirabaut*, a Town of about 100 Cottages, and ſo to *Shaw-dee*, *i. e.* the King's Town. The People dwell here in Cottages like Ovens, to ſhelter themſelves from the ſcalding Sun. In probability, this was the Land of *Nod*, *i. e. Cain*'s baniſhment from the preſence of the Lord, being Eaſt of *Eden*; and tho' the City of *Enoch* is not now to be found here, yet the Mountains *Enochi*, a part of *Taurus*, ſhew ſome footſteps of it.

The Land of *Nod*.

Casbyn deſcribed.

Rages.

From hence they haſted to *Casbyn*, or as the *Perſians* pronounce it, *Kazvin*; it was anciently called *Arſacca*, from *Arſaces*, the Founder of the *Median* Empire. It is likely this was *Rages*, mentioned in *Tobit*. It lies in 36 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude, and 85 Deg. 30 Min. Longitude. It was made the Metropolis of the *Perſian* Monarchy by King *Tamas*, to confront the *Ottoman* Kings. It ſtands in *Media*, in the Province of *Sheirvan*. It is at this day, for multitude of Buildings and Inhabitants, the chief City in *Media*, and equals any other City in the *Perſian* Empire, except *Spahawn*. It is ſeated in a large Champion, which yields ſtore of Grain and Grapes, but little Wood. Here *Epheſtion*, *Alexander*'s Favourite, was buried, but his ſumptuous Monument is devoured by Time. It is watered by a ſmall River, which helps the Induſtry of the Inhabitants, ſo that the Soil produces an abundance of Rice, Roots, Fruits and Flowers, in variety, for they have an Art here of drawing Rivers into Subterraneous Channels. Here are many pleaſant Gardens, which bear many ſorts of Fruit, as Grapes, Oranges, Limes, Limons, Pomecitrons, Musk, Water-Melons, Plums, Cherries, Peaches, Apricocks, Figs, Gooſeberries, Pears, Apples, Piſtachoes, Filberds, Hazle-nuts, Wall-nuts, Almonds and Pomgranates. This City is compaſſed with a Wall about 7 Miles in circuit, which contains about twenty thouſand Families in them, and near 200 thouſand People. The Bazar is large and pleaſant, the Meidan uniform and beautiful, and the King's Palace and Haram low, but built of raw Bricks, varniſhed within, and painted after the *Perſian* Cuſtom, the ground being ſpread with rich Carpets. Near the Palace-Gate is a great Tank of Water made at the Common Charge. The Hummums are many, and handſomly adorned with azure Tiles and pargetting. The Common Buildings content the Inhabitants, but have nothing of admiration. The Gardens are many and large, but not to be compared with thoſe of *Spahawn* and *Siraz*. The Moſques are neither ſo high, nor curious in Architecture, nor glorious within, as in many leſſer Towns, tho' they exceed in number. The Air in the Spring is temperate and pleaſant, but in the Summer exceeding hot, and in Winter as cold. Sir *Robert Sherley*, and Sir *Dudmore Cotton*, the two *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, with whom Sir *Tho. Herbert* travelled, died, and were bury'd in this City; ſo that his Retinue were forced to get a Phinnan, or Paſs-port, for their ſafe paſſage homeward, before they could travel farther, which by Importunity, and dancing a long Attendance upon *Mahomet-Ally-beg*, the King of *Perſia*'s Favourite, they hardly obtained, and it was to this effect:

Epheſtion's Tomb.

The form of a Paſs-port.

'The High and Mighty Star, whoſe Head is co-
'vered with the Sun, whoſe Motion is compa-
'rable to the Firmament, whoſe Imperial Ma-
'jeſty is come from *Aſheraffe*, and hath diſ-
'patched the Lord Embaſſador of the *Engliſh*
'King, &c. The Command of the Great King
'is, That his Followers be Conducted from
'Our Palace of *Cazbin* to *Saway*, by the *Dara-*
'*guod* of *Saway*, to the City of *Coom*, and by
'the Sultan of *Coom* to the City of *Caſhan*, &c.
'through all my Territories. Fail not my Com-
'mand. I alſo Command them a Safe travel.
July *Bahmen* Heg. 1008.

With this Leave, Sir *Tho. Herbert* and his Company left *Casbyn* by Night, to avoid the heat of the Sun, and came by *Periſſophoon*, *Aſaph* and *Begun*, where there is a Royal Caravans-raw, or Hoſpital of Charity, built by King *Tamas*, in every thing convenient, but wanting good Water, to *Saway*, a Town both great and fruitful, of Old called *Meſſabatha*, or *Ortacana*. It lies in 35 Deg. 7 Min. Northern Longitude. It is pleaſantly ſituated upon a riſing Hill, having twelve hundred Houſes, and refreſhed with a pleaſant Rivolet from the Mountain *Baronte*, which makes the Earth fruitful in variety of Grain, as Wheat, Rice, Barley, Figs, Pomgranates, Olives, and Honey. The Birds here make ſuch ſweet Muſick, eſpecially the Nightingales, that they much advance the delight of the place. From hence they paſſed over certain Plains full of Artificial Mounts and Trenches, where *Lucullus* and *Mithridates* encamped their Armies, but the Learned King became a Captive to the *Roman*, and came to *Coom*. This City is ſituate in 34 Deg. 40 Min. Northern Latitude, and is at this day a City of great Note in *Perſia*. It was anciently called *Arbacta*, and was one of the four beſt Cities of the Empire, equal to *Babylon*, if their Tradition be true, being at leaſt 50 Miles in compaſs, whereas *Babylon* is ſaid to be but 60, and *Rome* 50 Miles round. It has ſeveral Names, as *Coim*, *Kom*, *Kome*, *Como* and *Comm*. It is ſituate in a large and delightful Plain, the Country round about, for ſome Miles, being very fruitful, and air ſweet, never over hot or foggy, refreſhed with continual Breezes, and cool Gardens, which not only afford ſhadow, but delicious Fruits, *viz.* Grapes, Pomgranates, Melons of all ſorts, Pomcitrons, Apricocks, Plums, Pears, Piſtacho's, Almonds, Apples, Quinces, Cherries, Figs, Wall-nuts, Small-nuts, Peaches, Berries, and the beſt Wheat in *Perſia*, except that of *Gumbazellello*. It has about 2000 Houſes, moſt of them more than common Structures, well built, formed and furniſhed, and Streets ſpacious. The Bazar is beautiful, but the City is unwalled. The Moſque is famous and venerable, richly adorned, and beautified by the enſhrining of the Body of *Fatyma*, *Mortis-Ally*'s Wife, and their Prophet *Mahomet*'s Heirs. The Moſque is of the *Epirotick* form, the Tomb is three Yards high, covered with Velvet, and the Aſcent is by three or four ſteps of refined Silver. From *Coom* they rode to *Zenzen*, of Old called *Zoara*, and ſo to *Caſhan*, which is 36 Miles; the Way is eaſie and plain, tho' ſandy.

Saway deſcribed.

Coom deſcribed.

Caſhan ſtands in 34 Deg. 7 Min. Northern Latitude. It may worthily be reputed the ſecond City in *Parthia* for Grandeur, Wealth and Beauty. It is a City both great, lovely and ancient, well ſeated, comely built, and abundantly Peopled, but very hot, and incommoded with Scorpions, which breed in great Numbers hereabouts. It is a little Serpent, a Finger long, which alone ſtings with the tail, but ſo venomous is its Sting, that many die of the wound, and few eſcape Madneſs for a day at leaſt. The beſt Remedy againſt it is Oil of Scorpions applied to it, and Bleeding. This Noble City is about as big as *York*, and contains near 4000 Families. The Houſes are fairly built, pargetted and painted without; the Moſques and Hummums curiouſly adorned with Cupulo's, blue like Turquoiſes. The Bazar is ſpacious and uniform, furniſhed with Silks, Damasks, and Carpets of Silk and Gold, and ſtore of Spices, and other Merchandize. The People are Induſtrious, Civil, Active, trim and neat in their Attire, yet being never Idle, work abundance of Sattins, Silk, and Cloth of Gold. They have a ſingular Art in Dying Silks with curious Colours, ſtaining Linen Cloths like the *Indian* Pantadoes, and making lively Flowers and Knots upon Leather. Nor are places for Pleaſure wanting, having Gardens which abound with Fruits, and Fields yielding plenty of Corn, being Tilled by the Laborious *Tymars*.

Caſhan deſcribed.

Scorpions, their Sting, and a Remedy againſt it.

The Caravans-raw in this City is the Nobleſt in all

The Caravans-raw.

Perſia, being large enough to lodge the Court of the greateſt Prince in *Aſia*. The Foundation, riſing 6 foot above ground, is Marble, and the Superſtructure dried Brick pargetted, and adorned with knots and fancies in *Arabick* Characters, in azure, red, and white Colours, laid in Oil, after the manner of the *Romans*. It is a perfect Quadrant, and every ſide is 200 paces, and has in the middle a ſquare Tank of excellent Water, and to it are added noble Gardens. The People here have a Tradition, that the three Wiſemen, who went from the Eaſt to adore Chriſt in the Manger, came from this City; and tho' it wants not probability, yet it doth certainty.

Bizdebode.

Natane.

Aug. 23. they came to a Village called *Bizdebode*, 18 Miles from *Caſhan*, and reſted there that day; they came in the next Night to *Natane*. Here *Diana* has a Temple, and is called from thence *Nanea*. There is a Tradition, that *Darius* was here ſlain by *Beſſus*. It ſtands between two Hills, from whence there is a delightful proſpect into the adjoyning Country.

Reig.

From hence they went to *Reig*, and ſo to *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, paſſing through many ſmall Towns, in which is nothing worthy of Note, ſave that 'tis ſaid, that at *Coromon-ſhaboom* was decided that famous Conteſt for the *Perſian* Crown, betwixt *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*, recorded by *Xenophon*, and in memory of which, there are in the Concave of the adjoyning Mountain ſeveral Pictures of Men, Elephants, and other Beaſts.

Bagdat or *Babylon.*

Of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, ſince there are many things memorable of it under both Names, I ſhall deſcribe it under them. *Babylon* was of Old a City, ſtanding in the Country of *Shinar*, *Gen.* 11. 2. a Vale watered by *Euphrates*, one of the Rivers of Paradiſe. The Country was afterwards called *Chaldæa*; and laſtly, *Babylonia*. To the Eaſt it had *Suſcaria*, to the Weſt *Meſopotamia*, and the South the *Perſian* Gulph. The Name was taken from the Confuſion of Languages, which God ſent among thoſe preſumptuous Builders, who, under *Nimrod*, their audacious Leader, reſolved to ſecure themſelves an Aſylum againſt all Dangers, by building a Tower which ſhould reach up to Heaven, which tho' God permitted them to carry on by 30 Years labour, to an height of 5000 paces, as ſome ſay, yet by this Accident it was left unfiniſhed.

The Tower of *Babel.*

Nimrod the firſt King and Idolater.

But *Nimrod* ſettling by it 56 Years, increaſed it into a large City, and ſet up a Sovereignty over his conquered Neighbours. He firſt taught his People Idolatry, and dying, was Deify'd by the Name of *Sadormyn*, which the *Romans* afterwards changed into *Saturn*.

Belus.

Ninus or *Amraphel.*

Semiramis.

Obeliſks.

Two Palaces.

The Temple of *Belus.*

Belus, Surnamed *Jupiter Babylonicus*, ſucceeded in his Government, *A. M.* 1800. he was worſhipped under the Name of *Baal*, or *Bel*. His Son *Ninus* (called *Amraphel* in Scripture) ruled after him, and having conquered *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Media* and *Bactria*, became the firſt Univerſal Monarch. He enlarged *Niniveh the Great* upon *Tigris*, begun by his Great Grandfather *Nimrod*, and after by *Nebuchadnezzar* made the Capital City of *Aſſyria*. After his Death and Burial in the Temple he had built, and dedicated to *Belus* his Father, *Juno* his Mother, and *Rhea* his Grandmother, whoſe Statues he had erected in it to be worſhipped, *Semiramis* his Widow reigned. This Virago ruled 40 Years, and in that time enlarged the Empire from *Æthiopia* to *India*. She alſo made elegant Gardens in *Media*, but more eſpecially made one at *Babylon*, upon many high Pillars of Stone, and brought water out of the River *Orontes* into it. She alſo contracted *Euphrates*, and built the nobleſt Bridge over it that we read of in any Story. She raiſed two Obeliſks in *Babylon*, the leaſt of which was 134 foot high, and 25 in thickneſs, hewn out of *Ararat*, and brought down the *Tigris* thither. She alſo erected two incomparable Palaces on the Eaſt and Weſt-end of *Babylon*, the one extending 30, the other 60 Furlongs, and each encompaſſed with a ſtately Wall. But that which tranſcended all, was the noble Building erected in the middle of the City, of black poliſhed Marble, being a thouſand paces on every ſide at the Baſis, and having 8 Towers ſet upon one another, each 9 Furlongs high, and diminiſhing as they roſe. At the top was a Chappel, in which was a ſumptuous Bed and Table of Gold, in which were placed three golden Images, repreſenting *Jupiter*, i. e. *Belus*; *Ops*, i. e. *Nimis* her Husband, and *Juno* her ſelf, each Statue being 12 Cubits high, of pure Maſſy Gold; and theſe thoſe Idolaters worſhipped for many Ages, till the whole was demoliſhed by *Xerxes*, when he was beaten out of *Greece*. *Semiramis*, at her Death, was Interred at the bottom of it, and her Heart put in an Orb of Gold above. She alſo much enlarged the City it ſelf, and built a Wall about it more than 300 Furlongs in length, in height 50 Cubits, and in thickneſs 40 Foot, and ſo Battlemented on both ſides, that ſix Chariots might drive a-breaſt on the top of it, and not fall. It was alſo compaſſed with a broad Trench full of Water, and entred by an hundred Gates of Braſs. *Semiramis* began it, but it was perfected by *Amytis*, *Nebuchadnezzar's* Wife, as ſome ſay, but others ſay by *Nitocris* his Daughter. *Nebuchadnezzar* alſo built a Palace ſo magnificent here, that it extorted this impious Boaſt from him, *Is not this Great* Babel *that I have built?* This City, for many Generations, was the Reſidence of the Monarchs of the whole World, honoured with the Court of 49 Emperors, from *Nimrod* to *Belſhazzar*, for about 1600 Years; a City ſo beautiful and ſtately, that *Pauſanias* calls it the moſt Glorious that ever the Sun beheld, and the Scripture the Golden City, *Iſa.* 14. 4. The Princeſs and Glory of Kingdoms, *Iſa.* 47. and the Praiſe of the whole Earth: A City ſo large, that *Ariſtotle* ſaid one part knew not that the Enemy was entred, for three days after it was taken by *Cyrus*. A City ſo rich, that when *Alexander* took it, he found a Treaſure of 200000 Talents of Gold. But this great City, according to the Propheſies of Scripture, is fallen, and become a deſolation, *Jer.* 50. 51. *Rev.* 17. nevertheleſs, as her riſe was, ſo was her deſtruction by degrees. The greateſt blow given it was by *Seleucus Nicanor* in 3645, and 360 Years before Chriſt, who building another City 50 Miles North of it, at the place where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet, where *Chalne*, mentioned *Gen.* 10. 10. ſtood, which he called *Seleucia*, partly by perſwaſions, but principally by menaces, forced ſix hundred thouſand Souls out of *Babylon* to People his new City, and ſo laid it waſte.

Nebuchadnezzar's Palace.

Seleucus ruin'd *Babylon.*

Bagdat.

Bagdat is raiſed out of the Ruins of Old *Babylon*, and lies in 36 Deg. 20 Min. Northern Latitude; firſt at *Bugia*, for the Caliph's Charge, who disburſed two Millions of Gold to re-edify it, but it enjoyed not this Splendor long, for *Chyta* the *Tartar* ſacked it.

The beſt Buildings are, 1. The Bridge.

2. The Moſque.

1. The Sultan's Palace.

4. *Panch-Aſſy.*

5. The Coſio-Houſes.

6. The Bazar.

Almanſor the 23d Caliph, having by Magick found out a lucky time to reſtore her, as he thought, built a fine Moſque, and repaired the City, and ſeveral Caliphs perfected her beauty, tho' ſince ſhe has often changed her Governours, having ſometimes the *Turks*, and ſometimes the *Perſians* its Maſters; it is under the *Turks* now. At this day it ſcarce equals *Briſtol*, either for bulk or beauty, including about fifteen thouſand Families. It is watered by *Tigris*, which there is ſomewhat broader than the *Thames* at *London*, but not ſo Navigable, or Gentle. The Buildings moſt remarkable in it are, 1. The Bridge, which reſembles that at *Roan* in *Normandy*, being made upon 30 long Boats, which are boarded and chained one to another, and made to be parted at pleaſure. 2. The Moſque, which is large, round, and pleaſantly raiſed of white Free-ſtone brought down the *Tigris* from *Moſul*. 3. The Sultan's Palace, which joins the Bazar or great Market-place, is large, but low, and near it are ſome Braſs-pieces, which the *Turks* brought thither, or the *Perſians* took from *Ormus*. 4. A little Chappel called *Panch-Aſſy*, memorable for an Impreſſion of 5 Fingers, which they ſay *Morti-Aſſy* made in the ſolid Stone there. 5. The Coſio-Houſes, or Houſes of good Fellowſhip, where towards Evening many *Muſſulmen* commonly aſſemble to drink Coffee, and fuddle themſelves with Arack and Tobacco. Coffee is moſt eſteemed, becauſe they hold that *Mahomet* ſipp'd no other Broth ſave this, and that *Gabriel* invented it. 6. The Bazar is large and ſquare, the Houſes are comely, and Gardens ſweet, yet all put together are much inferiour to many later built Towns about her, tho' for her Antiquity ſhe is much honoured by Travellers. Twelve Miles lower towards *Euphrates* is ſeen a confuſed Mount, which ſome imagine to be the rubbiſh of *Nimrod's* Tower, but I rather ſuppoſe it to be the Ruins of *Belus's* Temple, built by *Semiramis*. *Bagdat* is diſtant from *Aleppo* 40 days Journey by the Caravan, and in the way 'tis worth our while to ſee Old *Suſhan*, which gives Name to the Province of *Suſcaria*.

Suſhan deſcribed.

Now called *Valdac* or *Baldach.*

Suſhan was one of the famous Palaces of the Kings of *Media*, where they ſpent three Months in the Spring, as they did the two Summer Months in *Ecbatan*, and the ſeven Winter Months at *Babylon*. It was built by *Darius* the Son of *Hiſtaſpes*, *A. M.* 3444. as *Pliny* relates. *Athenæus* derives the Name from the plenty of Lillies growing there, which in *Hebrew* are called *Suſhan*, but I rather ſuppoſe it derived from *Chus* (*Noah's* Grandſon) being called from him *Chuſiana*, from whence it ſtill retains the Name of *Chuſiſtan*. At this day 'tis called *Valdac*, or *Baldach*; it is watered with the River *Choaſpes*, which ariſes in the Mountains of *Jaare*, and falls into the *Perſian* Gulph near *Balſora*. The Water of this River was of ſuch account of Old with the *Perſian* Kings, that they would drink no other, as they would eat only the Wheat of *Aſſes*, and Salt of *Memphis*. *Shuſhem* was in compaſs 120 Furlongs; the Wall was Quadrangular. In Buildings, Walls, Houſes and Temples, it reſembled *Great Babylon.*

The Palace.

The Royal Palace is ſaid to be built by *Mordecai*; the Outſide and Pavement were *Moſaick*-work, made of ſmall pieces of Chequered Marble, arched alſo, and ſupported with Pillars richly gilded, and ſet with Stones of luſtre. The Roof is painted in the reſemblance of the Sky, and in all parts as rich and fine as Art or Nature could make it. It was alſo famous for its clear Springs, and more eſpecially for *Naphta*, an Oily liquid Subſtance, which being ſet on fire will inflame the very air. It had ſome form and beauty, till *Moſes*, Surnamed *Azkar*, *A. D.* 641. Heg. 21. depopulated it, but now 'tis like *Nineveh*, or *Moſul*, nothing but Ruins.

Naphta.

Paradiſe here.

Near this place was *Paradiſe*, or the Garden of *Eden*, where *Adam* was placed immediately after his Creation; for tho' there are found many wild Conceits in ſeveral Authors about the place where *Paradiſe* is, ſome ſaying 'tis in the middle Region of the Air, others in the Mountains of the Moon, others in *Happy Arabia*, and the like, yet the Rivers between which the Scriptures ſay it lay, and by which it was bounded, determine it to have been in *Meſopotamia*, in the place ſtill called *Eden*, for queſtionleſs it was watered with *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, which in their ſeveral Courſes, the one from *Periardo* in *Armenia*, and the other from Mount *Libanus*, divide themſelves into four branches, of which *Piſon* and *Gihon* are two; and tho' *Piſon* is ſaid to compaſs *Havilah*, 'tis not that in *India*, but in *Suſiana*, ſo that all things occur to fix the place here.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Compleat Succeſſion of the Perſian *Kings, from* Nimrod *to* Abbas *now Reigning.*

The Succeſſion of the *Perſian* Kings.

SIR *Tho. Herbert* having thus given us an account of his Travels, by his Chorographical Deſcriptions of the Countries he paſſed through, to make his Hiſtory compleat, adds an Hiſtorical Account of the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Perſia*, ſo far eſpecially, as they had relation to the places taken notice of in his Travels, and tracing them from the firſt Original, ſays, That *Noah* having forſaken the Ark, and in the ſpace of 130 Years peopled the Eaſt, ſent out ſome of his Children to plant the more Weſtern Parts, who accordingly travelling from the Eaſt, pitched in the Vale of *Shinar*, and began to build a City, and a Tower which might reach up to Heaven, God abominating their impious Deſign, deſcended to them, and confounded their Language; ſo that they were forced to diſperſe themſelves upon the face of the whole Earth.

Nimrod.

Nimrod, with a certain number of theſe Builders, remained ſtill in thoſe places, and being found a Perſon active, courageous and aſpiring, was choſen their Governour, and having ſubdued the neighbouring Plantations, became the firſt Monarch of the Earth, and the beginning of his Kingdom was *Babylon*, *Erech*, *Accad* and *Calneh*, in the Land of *Shirar*. For his Tyranny he became a Proverb, *As* Nimrod *a mighty Hunter before the Lord*. He ruled 25 Years as King, and dying about the Year of the World 1844. was buried at *Babylon*.

Belus.

Belus his Son ſucceeded him, who is ſtiled *Jupiter Babylonicus*, *Baal* and *Bel*, which in *Chaldee* ſignifies the Son, or Sovereign Lord. He at 60 Years of Age gave place to

Ninus.

The Original of Idolatry.

Ninus his Son, who imitating his Anceſtors, added to his Empire *Arabia*, *Armenia*, and the Countries that verge upon *Bactria*; and to Deify his Father *Belus*, erected his Statue of Gold, which he commanded his Subjects to worſhip. This was the Riſe of Idolatry. When he had reigned 50 Years, his Wife *Semiramis*, an *Aſcalonite*, on whom he doated, ſo captivated his Reaſon, that ſhe prevailed with him to leave the Supreme Command in her hands for five days, which ſhe ſo managed, as to deprive him both of Power and Life; and ſo ſhe ſwayed the Scepter without Competitor.

Semiramis.

Semiramis was a Woman of a Maſculine Spirit, and ſo enlarged the *Aſſyrian* Empire, that ſhe added to it not only *Æthiopia* and *Bactria*, but alſo ſeveral Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*: *Quo præter illam & Alexandrum nemo intravit*, ſays an Old Hiſtorian, but at laſt met with ſuch a misfortune as made her Victory inglorious, for *Staurobates* forced her to an haſty and confuſed retreat over *Indus*, which ſwept away all her Army but 20 Perſons, *viz.* three Millions of Foot, ten hundred thouſand Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Chariots. Her other memorable Actions are above related in the Deſcription of *Babylon*. Her Death, after 42 Years reign, is variouſly reported; ſome affirm it to have been Natural, but others ſay ſhe was ſlain by her Son

Ninias.

Ninias, or *Ninus* II. by others called *Zanes*, *Mars*, and *Amraphel*, to revenge his Father's Death; but however that be, he ſucceeded her in the Kingdom. He is ſuppoſed to be the Prince whom *Abraham* overthrew with *Keder Laomer* King of *Elam*, or *Perſia*, near *Damaſcus*, to Reſcue his Nephew *Lot*, whom they had carried away Captive from them. He began his Reign in the 2000th Year of the World, and reigned 38 Years.

Arius.

Arius, by ſome called *Thuras*, ſucceeded him, and after him followed 37 Emperours more, of whom we have hardly ſo much left as their Names, till * * *

* * * * * * *

Sardanapalus.

Sardanapalus, who began to reign over that Monarchy, *A. M.* 3124. Hiſtorians repreſent him to have been a Prince ſo degenerated from the Warlike Spirit of his great Anceſtors, that he is ſtiled, *Vir muliere corruptior*, A Man more effeminate than Woman, for he ſequeſtred himſelf from the Company and Buſineſs of Men, and gave himſelf up wholly to the Society of his Wives and Concubines, imitating them both in their Habit and Employments. In this Dreſs *Arbactus*, his Lieutenant of *Media*, having obtained admiſſion to him, with difficulty found him; and when he ſaluted him with all due Reverence, ſaying, *Salve Domine Imperator*, he anſwered, *Ne die me Dominum precor, Ego enim ſum Domina*, Call me not Lord, but Lady. The Lieutenant, aſhamed that ſo vaſt an Empire ſhould have ſo weak an Head, immediately rebelled; and having drawn *Belochus*, the *Babylonian* Governour, into the Conſpiracy, haſted to beſiege *Nineveh*, and depoſe him, but by the vigilancy and fidelity of the Governour it was ſo well Victualled, Manned and Defended, that it bid defiance to the Beſiegers, and at divers Sallies forced them to retreat. And thus it held out near two Years, till by the overflowing of the *Tigris* ſuch a breach was made in the Wall, for 20 Furlongs, that there was no way to keep the Enemy out. *Sardanapalus* being thus driven to deſpair, retired with his Wives and Concubines into his Palace, and ſetting it on fire, was conſumed with them in the flames. Thus the Succeſſion from *Nimrod*, which had continued for 1350 Years, ended, and the two Conſpirators divided his Empire to themſelves by agreement.

His Effeminacy.

His Death.

Arbactus.

Belochus.

Arbactus arrogated to himſelf *Media* and *Perſia*, with the adjacent Provinces, (tho' ſome ſay *Perſia* fell to *Achæmenes*, who aſſiſted them, and of whom *Cyrus the Great* was deſcended) but *Belochus* had for his ſhare *Babylon*, and the Eaſt of *Aſſyria*, *Nineveh* being included.

Arbactus having thus raiſed himſelf by *Sardanapalus*'s Fall to the Sovereignty of *Media*, died, and was ſucceeded by

Mandanes.

Mandanes, as ſome, or

Soſarmus.

Soſarmus as others. He ruled thirty Years, and by Death gave place to

Medidus.

Medidus, who reigned 25 Years, as ſome hold, or 40 as others, and then left his Kingdom to

Cardicas.

Cardicas, who, after 13 Years rule, bequeathed his Royal Scepter to

Diocles.

Diocles, or *Dejoces*, whom ſome repute to have been that *Arphaxad* whom *Nebuchadonoſor* ſlew in the Mountains of *Ragau, Judith* 1. 15. but the diſtance of time between *Nebuchadonoſor* and *Diocles* being 80 Years, it is not probable that *Arphaxad* was *Diocles*, but ſome of his Succeſſors; for *Diocles* dying *A. M.* 3291. was ſucceeded by

Phraartes. *Phraartes*, a Prince of great Courage and Succeſs. He died before the Walls of *Nineveh*, as he was beſieging it, and left the *Median* Crown to his Son

Cyaxares. *Cyaxares* I. He proſecuted the *Aſſyrian* War, begun by his Father, and laid cloſe Siege to *Nineveh*, but was forced to raiſe the Siege, upon the News that a great Body of *Scythian* Horſe had invaded his Country, and there reſted. This was an unexpected Chance of War, which he was forced to endure ſome Years, till by inviting the moſt conſiderable of their Officers to a Banquet, and picking a quarrel with them in their Cups, upon a Signal given by *Cyaxares* all their throats were cut, and ſo he recovered his Right; for this Accident was of that dread to the other *Scythians*, that they willingly departed into their own Country with this Character, that they were overcome more with their own Drunkenneſs than War. He reigned 40 Years, and then gave place to

Aſtyages. *Aſtyages* his Son, who was proclaimed King after his Father's death, and crowned with all due Ceremony. He is mentioned in the Apocryphal ſtory of *Bell* and the *Dragon.* He is memorable in Hiſtory, not for his Warlike Actions, but his neat Apparel, in which he excelled all the Princes of his time. His Daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by *Ariana* his Wife, he gave in marriage to *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*, Father of *Cyrus* the Great, whom fearing, becauſe the Aſtrologers had foretold by ſome Dreams of his, that he ſhould over-run all *Aſia*, and out-ſhame all his Poſterity, he endeavoured to make him away, but in vain. To him ſucceeded his Son

Cyaxares. *Cyaxares*, who is thought to be the ſame Perſon, who in Scripture is called *Darius* the *Mede*, who left this Kingdom, *A. M.* 3406, to

Belochus ſettled himſelf in the *Aſſyrian* Empire about the Year of the World 3146. and left it to

Pul Aſſer, called *Figlath Pileſer*, who is ſaid, 2 *Kings* 15. 29. to have over-run *Galilee*, one of the three Provinces of *Judæa*, and carried all the Inhabitants of *Naphtali* and *Damaſcus* Captives into *Aſſyria*. He reigned 23 Years, and

Salmanaſſar, by ſome called *Narbonaſſar*, who proſecuting his Father's Deſigns, plundered *Samaria*, and made the King of *Iſrael* to pay him Tribute; which becauſe *Hoſhea*, King of *Iſrael*, neglected to do, he again beſieged *Samaria* three Years, and taking it, carried away the ten Tribes into *Media*, and ſettled them in *Halah* and *Habor*, by the River *Gozan* (God permitting it for his Peoples ſins.) This Prince, after ten Years reign, was ſucceeded by

Sennacharib, who going againſt *Tirhakah*, King of *Æthiopia*, ſent a blaſphemous Meſſage to King *Hezekiah* by *Rabſhakeh*, thinking to fright him to ſend him a great Preſent, but *Hezekiah* commending his Cauſe to God by Prayer, God ſent his Angel and deſtroyed his numerous Army of 180000 in one night. *Sennacharib* frighted with this diſaſter fled to *Nineveh*, and as he was worſhipping his God *Neſroch*, was ſlain by his Sons *Adrammeleck* and *Sharezer*, who fled into *Armenia*, and his Son (after he had ruled 7 Years)

Eſarhaddon reigned in his ſtead. He revenged his Father's Death upon his two Brethren, but they oppoſing him, in the confuſion gave opportunity to

Merodach, or *Berodac Balladan*, Governour of *Babylon*, to rebel, and ſucceeding in his Attempt depoſed him, transferred the Seat-Royal to *Nineveh*, and reigned in his ſtead 40 Years, and left the Throne to

Ben-Merodach his Son, who after 20 Years left his Kingdom to

Nabopullozar, who vanquiſhed *Pharaoh Nectio*, King of *Ægypt*, and at the end of 25 Years, left his Government to his Son

Nebuchadonoſor, who by reaſon of his many Victories, was called the *Hercules* of the *Eaſt*: He was the Golden Head, to which God gave a Kingdom and Power both over Men and Beaſts: He made *Ægypt* a Province, burnt *Jeruſalem*, and carried the *Jews* Captives, ſubdued *Syria* and *Arabia*. In a Word, extended his Dominion to the Confines of the habitable World. He abaſed *Nineveh*, and beautified *Babylon*, erected a ſtately Wall and noble Palace for himſelf, of which he was ſo proud, that God ſo humbled him, cauſed him to dwell with Beaſts; yet at length reſtored him to his underſtanding again, and after 44 Years rule, he left his Throne to

Evil-Merodach, who was a Friend to the Captive *Jews*, and particularly to *Jehojachin*, *Jer.* 52. 31. yet being a Prince of no courage, *Amaſſi* revolted from him in *Ægypt*, *Aſtyages* in *Media*, and *Cyrus* in *Perſia*. Theſe raiſed an Army and marched againſt him, and in the end deprived him of his Life and Kingdom.

Belſhazzar ſucceeded him, a luxurious and tyrannical Prince, who tho' in a beſieged City, could not forbear carouſing in the Veſſels of the *Jews* Temples, and ſo by God's decree, was ſentenced to Deſtruction, which immediately befel him, for that Night the City was taken, and he ſlain. *Cyaxares* obtained his Empire two Years, and then left this, with the Command of *Media* and *Perſia*, to

Cyrus the *Perſian.*

Cyrus.

He was the Son of *Cambyſes* and *Mandane*, the Daughter of the King of *Media*: *Cambyſes* was Son of *Cyrus*, Son of *Darius*, Son of *Achemenes*, Son of *Perſes*, who gave his Name to *Perſia*. *Achæmines* was a Prince of that virtue and repute, as gave his Race for many Years the name of *Achemanidæ*. *Cyrus* (whoſe Name is derived from *Chyr Sherez*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies the Sun) calling to mind ſome Years before, the Deſtruction intended him by his Grandfather *Aſtyages*, Ambition predominating over all parental Reſpects, marched againſt him with a gallant Army of *Perſians*, under the Conduct of *Harpagus*, who had preſerved *Cyrus* from his Grandfather's cruelty, and having ſubdued him, ſent him Priſoner into *Hyrcania*, where he died ſoon after of grief. *Cyaxares* was old when he ſucceeded, and the *Chaldæan* Emperour, knowing that *Cyrus*, whoſe ſucceſs he diſliked, was his Heir, both by Birth and Conqueſt, proclaimed War againſt *Cyrus*, and drew *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, into a League with him. *Cyrus* knowing the deſign of the *Babylonian*, with a Body of Horſe, quickly marched into *Cappadocia*, to prevent their conjunction, and engaging the *Lydians* firſt, forced them to retreat into *Sardis*, which he aſſaulted and took, with their King. The *Chaldæans* apprehending their Danger by this Overthrow of their potent Ally, and fearing that *Cyrus* would make their Country a Seat of War, victualled *Babylon* with Proviſions of all ſorts for 20 Years ſiege. But *Cyrus* was preordained for the Conqueſt of that City and Empire, *Iſa.* 44. 28. 45. 1. by God, and tho' the *Babylonians* could out-brave Force, they could not withſtand their Fate; but while they ſecurely truſted to their Walls, which were inexpugnable, the crafty Enemy drains their River, and gains an eaſy entrance into the City, which being ſurprized, became a Prey to the Conquerour, the People flying, the King buried in Wine and Sleep, and all defenceleſs, and ſo the Miſtris of the World ſubmitted to the *Perſian* Yoke. The Fame of this Conqueſt ſerved to ſubdue the reſt of *Aſia* with little trouble, but *Cyrus* giving the Reins to his reſtleſs Deſires, muſt be conquerour of *Scythia*, and accordingly marched with a numerous Force againſt the *Scythians*: *Tomyris* was Queen of the *Scythians* at that time, and oppoſed him with an Army of equal number and reſolution: Both ſides were deſirous to engage, but *Tomyris* after a ſharp Conflict, was Victor, and having *Cyrus* in her Power, who had before ſlain her Son *Spargapizes*, ſhe commanded his Head to be cut off, and throwing it into a Bowl of Blood, ſaid, *Cyrus! now drink thy fill of Blood*, as *Herodotus* and *Juſtin* relates of his death, but *Valerius Maximus*, and *Strabo* report, that he died in peace at the Age of 70 Years, and in the 29th of his Reign, and was buried royally at *Paſargada*, a City in *Suſcana*, and his Son

His quarrel with *Aſtyages.*

Aſtyages Death.

Babylon, how taken.

Cyrus ſlain by *Tomaris.*

Cambyſes. *Cambyſes* ſucceeded him: He was infamous for Cruelty and Luſt, but his Reign was ſhort and turbulent: He ſubdued *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*, as far as *Elephantina*, and on a jealous Humour murdered his Brother *Smerdis*, by the Hands of that Villain *Prexaſpis*, for which being afterward grieved, he was almoſt enraged with a Frenzy, when he heard that 50000 of his Men whom he had ſent to burn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, were buried in the Sands. He alſo demoliſhed the Temple of *Anubis* at *Memphis*, and broke the Neck of their beaſtly God, and at *Damaſcus*, attempting the ſame Impiety, he was caſually wounded by his own Sword ſo mortally, that he could not be recovered, but in extremity died frantick and unpitied, when he had reigned not quite nine Years. The Deputy whom *Cambyſes* had left to govern *Perſia* in his abſence, had a Son, which reſembled

His Impiety.

Smerdis [illegible] *Smerdis*, whom *Prexaſpes* had ſlain, and bore the ſame Name: Him he veſted with the Imperial Robe and Crown which *Cyrus* left, and the Impoſture paſſed well enough (becauſe *Prexaſpes* denied that he had ſlain *Smerdis*) till *Ottanes*'s Daughter diſcovered it to her Father, that he had no Ears, by which he was know to be *Smerdis* the *Magician*. This begat a Conſpiracy againſt him among the ſeven Princes that governed the Realm, and they ſoon found a way to deſtroy him, when he had worn the Diadem eight Years. Theſe Princes after his Death not finding any right Heir to the Crown, agreed, That he ſhould reign whoſe Horſe neighed firſt the next Morning at the riſing of the Sun, which *Darius*'s Groom effected for his Maſter, by cauſing his Horſe in the Night to cover a Mare in the place where he was to come in the Morning; for coming there again, he neighed couragiouſly, and ſo his Maſter was crowned King at *Perſagard*, by the Arch-flamen, by the Name of

Darius Hiſtaſpis. *Darius Hiſtaſpis* (from his Horſe, which in the *Perſian* Tongues is called *Aſp* or *Aſpis*). During the Interregnum *Babylon* revolted, and by the Faithfulneſs of *Zopyrus*, was reduced. He was very kind to the *Jews*, who minding him of *Cyrus*'s good Intention to rebuild their City and Temple, obtained leave to proſecute that Deſign. The *Rabbi's* will needs have him to be *Ahaſhuerus*, who married *Heſter*, and preferr'd *Mordicai*. His Embaſſadors, which he ſent to *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, being ſlain for their laſcivious behaviour to the Women in their Cups, he took it for a Breach of the Law of Nations, tho' he much diſliked their Conduct, and marching with a great Army over the *Helleſpont*, he haraſſed *Greece* as far as the Plain of *Marathon*, where *Miltiades* with a ſmall number of *Athenians*, oppoſed his Progreſs, and gave him Battle. The *Perſians* it ſeems had been much afrighted with Apparitions before the Fight, and joining Battle, were ſo ſhamefully routed, that they never durſt rally, till they were got over the *Helleſpont*. This Defeat encouraged *Ægypt* to revolt, which together with the Diſcentions among his Sons for the Crown, broke his Heart with grief, ſo that he died ſoon after, when he had reigned 36 Years. He nominated for his Succeſſor (notwithſtanding *Arta Baſhanes* was his eldeſt Son) his ſecond Son, but firſt born after he came to the Throne, named

Xerxes. *Xerxes*, for his Succeſſor: He firſt reduced *Ægypt*, and then made mighty Preparations for the War with *Greece*, raiſing 180000 Foot, 80000 Horſe, and 1000 Ships, which is the moſt moderate computation. With this vaſt Army, which at a review extorted Tears from him, when he thought they muſt all die in a few Years, he marched into *Greece*, having made a Bridge with 600 Boats, coupled together, and planted over the *Helleſpont*: At the *Thermopylæ*, a narrow Paſs between the Mountains that ſeparate *Theſſaly* from *Greece*, not exceeding half an Acre, *Leonidas* the *Spartan* King, with 300 *Lacedæmonians*, oppoſed his Paſſage, and hindred his further progreſs, till they were all ſlain, with a great loſs to the *Perſians*. *Xerxes* having maſtered this Difficulty, kept on his march to *Athens*, which being abandoned by the *Athenians*, he fired it. In the way his Army plundered the Temple of *Delphos*, which was much enriched by the Gifts of many Princes and Kings. This Sacrilegious Act (for ſo it was thought, becauſe he acknowledged *Apollo* to be a God, tho to excuſe it, he ſaid, 'twas impious to confine the Celeſtial Gods to Earth) cauſed many Calamities to purſue him; for his firſt *Armado* was beaten and ſunk by *Themiſtocles*, the *Athenian* Admiral, which put him into ſuch a fright, that he fled into *Aſia*, and left *Mardonius* to manage the War in *Greece*, which he did with like Succeſs, being overthrown at *Platæa* by Land, and at *Mycale* by Sea in the ſame day. Theſe Defeats put him into ſuch a Frenzy, that he impriſoned *Neptune*, *Boreas*, and *Proteus*'s Images, and commanded their Hands and Legs to be loaded with Fetters, becauſe they had favoured the *Greeks* againſt him, and chained the *Palladium*, and fired *Minerva*'s Temple, becauſe ſhe was the Titular Goddeſs of the *Athenians*. Being arrived at *Babylon*, he pulled down part of the Walls, to ſhew that he put no confidence in their ſtrength, and demoliſhed the Temple of *Belus*, the nobleſt piece of Antiquity then extent in the World, taking away from thence the Statue of *Belus*, which was twelve Cubits high, of maſſy Gold, and ſlaying the *Flamens* that endeavoured to reſcue it. He alſo exerciſed the like Tyranny againſt Men, for he ſlew *Maſiſtis* the *Bactrian* Lieutenant, with his Wife and Children, which Fate *Artabazus* his Uncle fearing, conſpired with *Mithridates*, an Eunuch, his Chamberlain, and ſlew him. A Fact ſufficiently revenged on him by

Artaxerxes *Artaxerxes*, his Son and Succeſſor, who began his Reign *A. M.* 3500, and governed the Empire honourably full 44 Years. He was called *Longimanus*, or *Long-hand*, becauſe his Right-hand was longer than his Left. He made a Peace with the *Athenians* in the firſt Year of his Reign, by the advice of *Timagoras*, and reduced *Ægypt*. *Themiſtocles* being baniſhed by his ungrateful Country-men, fled to his Court, and was entertained kindly; but being deſired to ſerve under him in *Ægypt* againſt the *Græcians*, he poiſoned himſelf rather than be obliged to fight againſt his Country, tho' ungrateful to him, to pleaſe his Friend. The reſt of this King's Reign was peaceable. He was kind to the *Jews*, as appears from *Ezra*, c. 7. and *Nehemiah*, c. 2. and therefore by moſt is taken to be that *Ahaſhuerus*, who kept his Court at *Shuſhan*, his Name in the *Perſian* Language being *Arta-Shaſht*. He permitted *Nehemiah*, *Ezra*, and *Zorobabel*, to return and build *Jeruſalem*, that it might be again inhabited. He was contemporary with *Jojachim* the High-Prieſt, and died in a good old Age, and was buried at *Perſepolis*, as his Father *Xerxes* was.

Darius Nothus. *Darius Nothus*, or the Baſtard (after the death of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* Queen *Heſter*'s Children, who is ſaid to have been married to his Father *Artaxerxes*) poſſeſſed himſelf of the Empire, and held it 19 Years. *Ægypt* rebelled againſt him, and by making a defenſive League with the *Athenians*, preſerved their Liberty under his and his Succeſſors Reign. He had two Sons by an inceſtuous Marriage, *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*, a Prince ſo ambitious, that his Father was forced to keep him at a diſtance from him, by making him governour of *Aſia* the leſs, in which Poſt he was when his Father died, and left his Empire to his eldeſt Son

Artaxerxes II. *Artaxerxes* II. This Prince fell into great Troubles from the reſtleſs Ambition of his Brother *Cyrus*, who being encouraged by the favour of his Mother *Paraſatis*, and ſecret Inſinuations of *Teſſaphemes*, his pretended Friend, who told him he had moſt right to the Kingdom, becauſe he was born after his Father was King, whereas his Brother was born before, began to aſpire to the Government: *Teſſaphemes* being cautious of his Deſigns, informs *Artaxerxes* of it, who thereupon ſends for him to Court, and when he appeared, was ſecured in Fetters of Gold, but by the Interceſſion of his Mother, he was ſet at Liberty, and reſtored to his Lieutenancy of *Lydia* and the adjacent Provinces. *Cyrus*'s Ambition at his return was improved into revenge, and thereupon having obtained Aids from *Greece*, who were willing to widen the Breach in *Perſia*, to ſecure themſelves, raiſed Forces with a reſolution to win the Crown, or find a Grave. From *Syria* he marched into *Aſſyria*, and without oppoſition poſſeſſed himſelf of *Suſa* and *Babylon*, which made him think the reſt his own: But *Artaxerxes*'s approach with a huge Army of 900000 Men, altered his former Apprehenſions. The Armies no ſooner met, but they prepared for Battle, and quickly engaged. *Cyrus* full of Courage and Youth, ruſhing thro' the thickeſt of his Enemies, made at *Artaxerxes* himſelf, and aſſaulted him ſo fiercely, that 'twas thought he was ſlain; but *Artaxerxes* was only enraged by it, and returned his blows ſo heavily, that *Cyrus* gave ground, and being known by the falling off of his Train, was ſlain by *Mithridates*, a young *Perſian*, which ſo diſperited the Army, that they fled. The *Athenians* among whom *Xenophon* was, kept themſelves together, and in deſpight of the *Perſians*, made a ſafe retreat into *Greece*. *Mithridates* was after the Battle, highly rewarded, but ſoon after by *Paraſatis*'s Subtlety, cruelly put to death, and *Statira* for ſhewing a Deteſtation to the Fact, poiſoned. Among the Spoils, *Darius* the Prince light upon *Aſpaſia*, *Cyrus*'s Miſtreſs, and fell in Love with her: The old King alſo hearing her Beauty commended, deſired to ſee her, and fell alſo in love with her, but yielded to the Youth of his Son, that he ſhould have her, yet not being able to ſuppreſs his Paſſion, took her again from him, and ſhut her up in the Temple of *Anaya*, or *Diana* at *Ecbatan*. This Action ſo enraged the Prince, that he attempted to aſſaſſinate his Father in his Cloſet, for which he was condemned to die, and the Sentence was executed (the Conſpirators being moſt of them ſlain in the Attempt). The King approved of his Death at firſt, but upon reflection that he had loſt ſo hopeful a Man, it broke his Heart, and ſo he died, after he had reigned 36 Years, being buried at *Perſepolis*, *A. M.* 3600.

Ochus. *Ochus* his third Son was crowned King, and reigned 26 Years: He was guilty of as many tragical Actions, as any of his Predeceſſors. In reducing *Ægypt*, and conquering *Judea*, *Bactria*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, he ſpilt much Blood, giving little quarter any where. At home he inconſiderately made away his two Brethren, and as he was contriving further miſchief, was poiſoned by *Bagoas* the Eunuch, with a Deſign to have mounted the Throne himſelf; but finding that not feiſible, he raiſed the next Heir to it, whoſe Name was

Arſames. *Arſames*, but *Bagoas* fearing leaſt this King ſhould revenge his Father's death upon him, ſoon after ſlew him. In his Death the Royal Race of *Cyrus* the Great was at an end, after they had ruled the *Perſian* Empire about 230 Years. *Bageas*, altho' of great Power, yet for his treaſonable practiſes was grown ſo odious to the Subjects, that he found it in vain to attempt the Throne himſelf, and therefore he thought it the beſt way to ſecure himſelf by preferring his Friend, the Lieutenant of *Armenia* to it, named

Darius Codomannus.

Codomannus: He was of the Royal Blood, and of ſuch noted Valour and Courteſy, that he was no ſooner mentioned than approved. Being ſettled in the Regal Seat he aſſumed the Name of *Darius*, to ingratiate himſelf with the People, who had that Name in Veneration: He was a Man of as great Proweſs and Virtue as any of his Royal Predeceſſors, but the Supream Power had irreſiſtibly decreed his Ruin, and the downfal of the *Perſian* Empire, as *Daniel* had foretold, *c.* 11. 2. And in order to it, *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, ſo ſoon as he could prevail with the *Grecian* States to be their Captain-General, reſolved to invade *Aſia*, but his Deſign was oppoſed ſo effectually by *Memnon*, a *Rhodean* Officer under *Darius*, that *Philip* made little progreſs in it during his Life, and his Death ſeemed utterly to put an end to it.

Alexander's Intention to invade Greece.

Alexander ſucceeded him, and was for ſome time buſied with inteſtine Broils at home, which he had no ſooner compoſed, but he reſumed his Father's purpoſe of invading *Aſia*, to retaliate (as he pretended) the *Perſians* for the many Invaſions and Vexations they had given *Greece*, but principally to quench his Ambitious Thirſt, and ſo give the Reins to his boundleſs Spirit. He diſpoſed of his own Kingdom to *Antipater*'s Truſt, and diſtributed his Treaſure among his Friends, ſaying to *Parmenio*, *The Hopes of* Aſia *was ſufficient for him.* The Army which he provided for this Expedition was inconſiderable, *viz.* 30 thouſand Foot, 5 thouſand Horſe, and 150 Ships, but his Men were moſt of them old Souldiers, bred up in his Father's Wars. He landed in *Aſia* without any Oppoſition, bad Defiance to the *Perſians* at his firſt landing, by throwing a Dart, and offered a Solemn Sacrifice upon *Achilles*'s Tomb:

The Battle of Granicus.

Darius's Army under *Spithridates*, their General, met him about the River *Granicus*, in the *Adraſtian* Field, and encountered him; *Spithridates* performed the part of a gallant Commander in this Fight, but being ſlain, the Army fled, and *Alexander* gained a compleat Victory, with the ſlaughter of 20000 of his Enemies, but not above 30 both Horſe and Foot of his own. This Victory made him Maſter of the moſt parts of *Aſia* the leſs, and furniſhed him with Recruits and Proviſions. Paſſing thro' *Phrygia*, he cut the fatal Knot at *Gordis*, upon which the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, according to the *Oracle*, depended. *Darius* by this time began to think it ſeaſonable to ſecure himſelf, and reſolved with a numerous Army to engage *Alexander* in Perſon, and to that end raiſed 300000 Foot, and 100000 Horſe. All the Riches almoſt of *Aſia* marched along with this Army, the Prieſts, Chariots of the Sun, the King's Mother, Wives, and Concubines in their richeſt Apparel, and Chariots of Gold attending the King in this Royal Expedition.

Darius vanquiſhed.

The *Perſians* doubted not but their multitude would either affright, or oppreſs *Alexander*'s few Men, but they found the contrary, for hopes of ſuch vaſt Spoils tranſported them with a Deſire of fighting, ſo that they no ſooner met them than they engaged. The Fight was ſhort, for the *Perſians* being more careful to preſerve their Riches, than encounter a parcel of rough Fellows, fled, and the *Macedonians* purſuing them, ſlew of them 100000 Foot, and as many Horſe, took all the Treaſure, which was 2000 Camels and Mules loaded, and made *Darius*'s Mother, Wife, Children, and King, Priſoners, whom he uſed as a Noble Prince, not ſuffering them to be violated, or their Jewels to be taken from them: The Spoils of this Battle were very many and rich. Soon after this Battle *Parmenio* routed Prince *Memnon*'s Brigade, near *Damaſcus*, ſlaying the Prince, and taking not only the Wives and Daughters of moſt of the *Perſian* Nobility Priſoners but a further Maſs of *Darius*'s Treaſure, amounting to 6200 Talents of coined Money, and 500 Talents in Bullion, beſides other Wealth of great value. This Victory ſubjected *Phenice*, and the greateſt part of *Syria* to him, of which, that he might make a thorough Conqueſt, he beſieged *Tyre* and *Gaza*, and took them. Then he went up to *Jeruſalem*, but *Jaddas* the High-Prieſt, with his Brethren the Prieſts, meeting him in their Pontificals, he put off his Hoſtile Temper, and deſired a Bleſſing of him, as the Prieſt of the moſt High God. From thence he marched into *Ægypt*, which ſubmitted to him: Here he viſited *Jupiter Ammon*'s Temple with great Difficulties, paſſing thro' the ſcalding ſandy Deſarts, and was ſaluted by the name of *Jupiter*'s Son by the Oracle. Returning to *Memphis*, he marched toward the North part of *Aſſyria*, called *Adiabene*. About this time the *Perſian* King offered *Alexander* his Daughter, with all *Aſia* and *Egypt*, and 30000 Talents for her Portion; but *Alexander* had graſped the whole World in his Deſigns, and anſwered, *That the Firmament could not endure two Suns*, and ſo they prepared on both ſides for another Fight.

Darius vanquiſhed a ſecond time at Arbela.

Darius recruited his Army to 500000 Horſe and Foot, and *Alexander* to 50000. They ſoon met and engaged, and much Bravery was ſhewn on both ſides, but the Victory again fell to *Alexander*, tho' with the loſs of 300 of his beſt Men, of which were *Parmenios*, *Perduca*, and *Epheſtion*; but he ſlew above 40000 of his Enemies. This Victory broke the Hearts of the *Perſian* Nobility, and ſet the Imperial Crown upon his Head; for the Cities round about ſurrendred to him; firſt *Arbela*, near which the Battle was fought, then *Babylon*, which he moſt deſired and admired; *Mareus* or *Mariſtes*, the Governour, ſurrendred it to him, with all its Treaſure and Riches, and him he left to preſerve it with a Garriſon, and ſo departed to *Suſcaria* and *Perſepolis*, which were alſo ſurrendred to him by *Abutiles* and *Tiridates*, their Governours.

Anabarzanes's Valour.

Anabarzanes in this March, met him firſt in the *Pylæ Perſidæ*, and with a ſmall party of reſolute *Perſians* ſo defended it, that *Alexander*, after the loſs of more Captains and Men than in the two great Battles, he was forced to find another way, and then haſted to ſecure *Perſepolis* for his Maſter, but being denied Admiſſion by *Tiridates*, he wheeled about, and met the *Macedonian* Victor, and fought him in another place, where his former Succeſs failed, and he found his Grave.

Perſepolis burnt.

Alexander after this marched to *Perſepolis*, and tho' he was admitted without Oppoſition, yet he licenſed his Souldiers to kill and ſpoil as they liſted, and after he had taken to himſelf, beſides 12000 Talents in Coin, ſet the City and Palace on fire, to revenge the Miſchiefs done to *Greece* by *Xerxes*, it being the Principal Seat and Burying-place of the Kings.

Darius ſlain by Beſſus.

Alexander after this, having received Intelligence that *Beſſus* had perfidiouſly ſlain his Maſter *Darius*, who at his Death retained ſo greatful a Memory of his Civility to his Kindred, that he implored all his Gods, that *Alexander* might have his Deſires, and be conquerour of the whole World, gave order for a ſpeedy March in perſuit of this Regicide, and ſo with 20000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, marched towards *Bactria*, deſigning to carry on his Conqueſt towards the Eaſt at the ſame time. Having paſſed *Parthia* and *Hyrcania* in 15 days, he came to *Margiane*, where *Beſſus*, who was for his Treachery become the reproach of Men, being apprehended by his own Party, was brought to *Alexander*, who abhorring the ſight of him, ordered that he ſhould be delivered to *Oxatres*, *Darius*'s Brother, to be diſpoſed of as he thought fit. This done, he appointed the Interment of the Royal Embalmed Corps, which was performed in a military manner, himſelf being the Chief Mourner, and expreſſing ſo much grief in his Countenance, that he won the Hearts of the *Perſian* Princes to ſubmit voluntarily, whom before he had forced. This Funeral being thus performed,

Alexander King of Perſia.

Alexander paſſed his Army over the Rivers *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, and thirſting after the Conqueſt of *India*, directs his Courſe thro' part of the *Maſſagetes* Country. In this Part he laid the Foundation of twelve Cities, but falling into ſome Exceſſes, he ſlew *Clytus*, his old and truſty Servant. After this he marched to *Nyſa* and repoſed himſelf and Army there a-while. Hereabouts he was ſhewed a moſt ancient Monument of *Camari*, the fourth in deſcent from *Adam*, who reigned over the *Indians* of theſe parts before the Deluge. Here he conſtituted his *Argyraſpides*, who had their Armour filletted and damaſked with Silver.

Porus's Battle with Alexander.

Porus a valiant and powerful *Indian* Prince, having notice of *Alexander*'s approach towards his Country (which contain'd a great part of what the *Mogul* holds in *Indoſtan*) met him on the Banks of *Hydaſpes* with a great Body of Horſe and Foot, and many Elephants of War, where they fought, and gave the *Greeks* ſuch a Proof of their Valour, that tho' they got the Victory, yet they grew weary of conquering with ſo much difficulty, and deſired to put an end there to this tedious War. *Alexander* was unwilling to hear of ſuch Deſigns, and to put the Thoughts of them out of their Minds, he celebrated the *Bacchinalia*, and for fifteen days allowed the Army to indulge themſelves in all manner of Debaucheries,

The Army deſire to go home.

and then marched from the Mountain *Meros*, thro' *Dædala* and *Acadera*, where he took a Caſtle which could not be ſubjected by *Hercules*, with *Mazaga* and *Nora*, two principal places of ſtrength, and ſo with ſome difficulty paſſed his Army over the River *Aceſines*, a Branch of the River *Indus*, and ſet Foot in *India*.

The River Aceſines.

Here he acquainted his great Officers with his Deſigns to penetrate as far as *Ganges*, which they ſeemed to approve of, but when it was known to the Army, it raiſed ſuch a general diſcontent, that finding he could not allay it, either by Threats or

Diu.

The *Oxidracans* and *Mallians.*

Promiſes, he was forced to ſeem contented, and ſo he departed to *Diu*, anciently called *Patalec*, where muſtring his Horſe and Foot together, which had gone ſeveral ways, he invaded the Country of the *Oxidracans*, and ſtormed the Principal Fort the *Mallians* had, but raſhly mounting the Parapet, and leaping into the Town with two Officers only, had periſhed, had not the Army forced their Entrance as Men deſperate to reſcue him. After this he ſubdued the *Brachmans* Countrey, and preparing for his March againſt the moſt remote *Indians*, aſſembled on the River *Ganges*, the Camp broke out into freſh Murmuring, which not being able to appeaſe by all the Arguments he could uſe, he was forced to condeſcend, and ſo publiſhed his Reſolutions to treat, which was received with general Acclamations of Joy, tho' he had a Deſign rather to recruit his Army, by meeting with thoſe 15000 which were marched towards him as far as *Jaſquez*.

Alexander returns to Ormus.

Having therefore reſted a Month upon the Banks of *Indus*, he prepared for a March towards *Ormus*, diverting himſelf in that time with obſerving the Flux of the River, the Situation of the Sea Coaſts, the Largeneſs of the Horizon, and Proſpect of the Ocean, which for his further Recreation he would needs one day venture upon, and accordingly went aboard his Admiral riding near *Diu*, and ſailed 20 Leagues South-weſt on the Ocean, but the Contrariety of the Element having its uſual Effect, and the Sky threatning a Storm, it ſoon became unpleaſant to him, and ſo he haſtened to Land, being ſatisfied, that tho' he had ſubdued the Land, he muſt leave the Sea unconquerable. And now *Alexander* having given his Admiral Inſtructions to ſurround not only *Arabia*, but *Africke*, taken *Ambigor*'s City by ſtorm, and laid the Foundations of the City *Barce* (the laſt of 70 Cities which he had built in his nine Years Government) he bid *India* and the Ocean farewel with a Sigh, and advanced into the Country of the *Orytes*. Here he met with great ſcarcity of Proviſion for his Army, till he came into *Godroſia*, which compenſated them with as great plenty. Marching along the Coaſts, here he met with Recruits near the City *Arbis*, which is under the Tropick of *Cancer*, at which his Army tired, and near ſpent, greatly rejoiced. Here he ſolemnized the Feaſt of *Bacchus* again, with the former Luxury and Riot, and ſoon after at *Theſpacus* viewed his new Fleet, and took ſome recreation by Sea, but the Tradition of his coaſting about *Arabia*, and landing at *Socotora*, deſerves no Credit. Removing his Camp further to a convenient place for pitching his glorious Tent, he gave Audience to an hundred Embaſſadors, which were come from the remoteſt parts of *India* on this and the other ſide of *Ganges*, with rich Preſents to congratulate his Victories, and crave his Alliance. Theſe Strangers he entertained, and after Audience, feaſted them moſt magnificently upon an hundred Beds of Burniſhed Gold, and diſmiſs'd them with Preſents ſuitable to his Greatneſs. After this he marched thro' *Carmania* to *Lar*, and thence to *Perſagard* (now *Halquera*) where *Orſines*, a Prince of the Blood-Royal of *Perſia*, was inconſiderately put to death by *Alexander*, for robbing *Cyrus*'s Tomb, upon the falſe Accuſation of *Bagoas* his Enemy, who upon further Examination, was diſcovered to have wronged him, and ſuffered the ſame Puniſhment, his Houſe and rich Furniture valued at 600000 Crowns, being given to *Perducas*. Here *Calanus* the *Indian Brachman*, in contempt of death, built his own Funeral-Pile, and burnt himſelf alive. After this, *Alexander* returned to *Suſhan*, and married the *Perſian* Princeſs *Statira* himſelf, and gave her Siſter to his dear *Epheſtion*, and other *Perſian* Ladies to the great Officers of his Army; for the greater Magnificence of which Marriages, he made a Royal Feaſt for 9000 Gueſts, to each of whom he gave a Golden Cup for their Sacrifices, and diſcharged all the Debts of his *Macedonian* Souldiers out of his own Treaſury, which amounted to 9070 Talents, which is of our Money 500700000 Crowns. This was a great Sum for *Alexander* to ſpare, ſince his Yearly Revenue was 300000 Talents, beſides the vaſt Sums taken by him out of the Treaſury of *Babylon*, &c. Having ſome Apprehenſions of Death in going to *Babylon*, he turned with his Army towards the North, and came to *Ecbatan*, where his Favourite *Epheſtion* died of a Fever, which caſt *Alexander* into ſuch an extream Paſſion of Grief, that he cauſed a general Howling to be made thro' the Camp for ſeven days, ordered all the Horſes in the Camp to be ſhorn, and no Inſtruments of Muſick to be heard. For him he erected a Monument, which coſt him 12000 Talents, and cauſed his dead Corps to be worſhipped as a Deity, by offering Incenſe to him. While theſe Obſequies were performing, *Alexander* had notice that ſeveral Embaſſadors from *Carthage*, and ſeveral parts of *Africa* and *Europe*, attended his coming to *Babylon*, to congratulate his Succeſs in the Eaſt, and divert his Journey into the Weſt, by craving his Alliance, which cauſed him to haſten thither.

The *Chaldeans* oppoſe *Alexander*'s entrance into *Babylon.*

The *Chaldean* Magicians oppoſed his Entrance into it, and prevailed with him to turn aſide to *Byrſa* beyond *Euphrates*, but here meeting with *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher, who laughed at their Art, he returned to *Babylon*, where he made as ſplendid an Entrance as Art could invent. After Audience, he ſummoned a Parliament of the whole World, and gave them the moſt ſumptuous Entertainments, in which having given to *Perdicas Darius*'s Ring, with which he ſealed all his Commiſſions and Diſpatches, he died, not without ſupicion of Poyſon given him by *Caſſander* his Cup-bearer, at the Direction of his Father *Antipater*.

His Death.

Alexander died in the 33d Year of his Age, and 12th of his Reign.

Aridæus.

Arideus his Natural Brother by the Suffrage of the Army, was choſen to ſucceed him, and *Perducas* aſſigned his Governour, but were both ſlain not long after, the one by *Olympia* and the other by *Ptolemy*. After their Death, the Empire, tho' large enough to have ſatiated the Ambition of all, was torn into many pieces, till by the Sword it was all in a ſhort time reduced under four, of which

Seleucus.

Seleucus was one: He obtained the Government of *Syria*, and made *Perſia* a Subordinate Province of his Empire: Under this Prince and his Heirs *Perſia* remained 30 Years, notwithſtanding the Diſcontents of the *Perſian* Nobility, until *Theodatus* Governour of *Bactria*, which was then a rich Country, and far diſtant from *Syria*, revolted, and took upon him the Supream Title. His example encouraged the reſt of the Eaſtern People to ſhake off the *Macedonian* Yoke, and elect themſelves Kings of their own Countrey. Among them *Arſaces*, a Noble *Scythian*, being well acquainted with the Diſcontents of *Perſia*, but chiefly moved by Ambition, enters the Country in an hoſtile manner, defeats *Andragoras* the Lieutenant of the Province, over-runs *Hyrcania*, and having obtained the Aſſiſtance of *Theodatus*'s Son, affronted *Seleuchus*, called *Caleimachus*, in the Field, and having gained a compleat Victory, utterly aboliſhed the *Syrian* Government in *Perſia*, and arrogated to himſelf the Empire as Conquerour.

Arſaces.

Arſaces being thus raiſed by Fortune, *A. M.* 3718, invited the *Scythians* to be Sharers with him in his good luck, and named the Country *Parthia* from them (for *Parthi ſunt exules Perſarum*) keeping the Native *Perſians* in ſubjection to them: He enlarged the Bounds of his Dominion almoſt from *Euphratus* to *Indus*, living ſo highly honoured by his Subjects, that *Cyrus* was not more eſteemed by the *Perſians*, *Ptolemy* with the *Ægyptians*, or *Romulus* with the *Romans*, than *Arſaces* with the *Parthians*: He built *Dara*, afterwards called *Aſpadara*, and now *Spahawn*. The ninth from him called

Herodes.

Herodes, had the Honour to give the *Roman* General *Craſſus* a memorable Defeat at *Carras*; and his Succeſſor

Phraortes.

Phraortes forced *Marcus Antonius* with loſs ſufficient to retreat over *Araxis* into *Syria*, but *Ventidius* his Lieutenant two Years after redeemed his Credit, by ſlaying

Pacorus.

Pacorus, the King of it, in Battle, and had reduced the Country to the *Roman* Subjection, had not *Anthony* envying his Glory, recalled him; nevertheleſs the *Roman* Name was of ſuch Terrour by this Defeat, that the *Parthians* acknowledged Obedience to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who by his Election ſet over them

Phraortes II.

Phraortes II. in whoſe time our Saviour the Prince of Peace was born.

Orodes.

Orodes, whom ſome call *Dorideus*, ſucceeded him, and had for his Succeſſor

Vonones.

Vonones, to whom

Tiridates.

Tiridates, the laſt of the *Arſacide*, ſucceeded. He was ſlain by

Artabanus.

Artabanus, whom the *Perſians* call *Ard-Babamen*: twelve of this Prince's poſterity ſwayed the *Parthien* Sceptar after each other, until the laſt was treacherouſly ſlain by *Caracalla* the *Roman* Emperour, under a Pretence of a Marriage with the *Parthian* King's Daughter, which Breach of Faith ſo highly incenſed the *Parthians*, that they maintained a gallant and deſperate Fight againſt the *Romans* under

Caracalla.

Caracalla, nor would be reconciled, till they underſtood, that

Macrinus.

Macrinus, his General, had revenged their Quarrel upon *Caracalla*, and poſſeſſed his Throne: Nevertheleſs he enjoyed the Kingdom but one Year, and then gave place to

Heliogabalus.

Heliogabalus, who held the *Roman* Scepter three Years, and then gave place to *Alexander Severus*, who was buried at *York*. In his time the *Perſians* under the Command of *Artaxerxes*, endeavoured to recover their

Freedom, and after three days fight broke off the *Roman* Yoke.

Artaxerxes I. *Artaxerxes*, whom the *Perſians* call *Ard'yr-Baban-chan*, *i.e.* Father and Lord in War, was no ſooner Inveſted in the *Perſian* Throne, but conſidering how much the *Romans* had encroach'd upon his Empire, ſent his Embaſſador to them to demand Reſtitution. *Severus*, with a conſiderable Army, advances towards *Perſia* to return an Anſwer, but having divided his Men into three parts, ſo weaken'd himſelf, that he returned without effecting any thing, and tho' little Blood was ſpilt, yet this want of ſucceſs ſo raiſed the Spirits of the *Perſians*, that when *Valerianus*, about 25 Years after, hearing that *Artaxerxes* was dead, marched againſt them with hopes of ſucceeding better than *Severus* had done, it fell out worſe, for

Sapores. *Sapores* his Succeſſor beat the *Roman* Army, and took *Valerian*, Surnamed *Colobus*, Priſoner, whom, to his dying day, he made his Footſtool; a great contempt to the *Roman* Name, yet the deſerved puniſhment of this Emperour, who had been ſo great a Perſecutor of the Chriſtians, and had broiled S. *Lawrence* to Death. *Gallienus* ſucceeded *Valerian* in the *Roman* Empire, but neither he, nor any of his Succeſſors, for four turns, gave *Sapores* any moleſtation, ſo bad was the Entertainment their Predeceſſors had found againſt them: This gave him the more leiſure to exerciſe his Tyranny at home, and diſturb the World abroad, for he coaſted with his Army into *Syria, Cilicia, Meſopotamia, Cappadocia*, and at laſt was ſlain by *Odenatus* the *Palmyrian* King, when he had reigned 20 years.

Hormiſda I. *Hormiſda* reigned after *Sapores*; the *Perſians* called him *Kirman-ſha*, he ruled but 13 Months, and then yielded his place to

Vararanes I. *Vararanes*, who poſſeſſed the Throne 3 Years.

Narſes I. *Narſes*, called *Yezd-gird* by the *Perſians*, followed him, and after 16 Years reign left the Crown to his Son

Vararanes II. *Vararanes* II. Surnamed *Seganenſe*, whom the *Perſians* call *Beſaran*. He, after a few Months, left the Throne to a ſtranger named

Narſes II. *Narſes*: This Prince proſecuted the War with all poſſible rage againſt the *Armenians* and *Meſopotamians*, in whoſe behalf *Galerius*, the *Roman* Conſul, fought againſt him with bad ſucceſs at firſt, but venturing a ſecond Battel was Victor; which ſo diſheartned *Narſes*, that in the height of Deſpair and Impatience he burnt himſelf, after 8 years Government.

Mizdates. *Mizdates* reigned 7 years after him, and left the Throne to

Shapores. *Shapores*, or King *Porus*. He was a reſtleſs Adverſary to the *Romans*, and tyrannical to the *Perſians*, and to the Chriſtians moſt malicious. He was acknowledged Sovereign before he was born, the Crown at a venture being ſet upon his Mother's Belly before ſhe was delivered. *Julian* the Apoſtate raged not more againſt the Chriſtians in the *Leſſer Aſia*, than *Sapores* did at the ſame time in the *Greater*, the *Jews* perſwading him, that the *Chriſtians* favoured the *Romans*; and ſo from the Year 337 to 347, he Maſſacred above thirty thouſand Chriſtians, it being the practiſe in theſe Primitive Times, among the Chriſtians, to oppoſe force with patience only, and tho' theſe Tyrants thought, by theſe means, to deſtroy the Memory of Chriſt and his Doctrine, yet they found that the Blood of the Martyrs was indeed the Seed of the Church, according to the Old Verſe, *Sanguine fundata è Eccleſias Sanguine crevit*, &c. *Julian* out of Cruelty to the *Chriſtians*, as well as out of Ambition beſieging his Territories, was mortally wounded under the Walls of *Cteſiphon* by an Inviſible Hand, and expired with this deſpairing Exclamation, *Viciſti, Galilee, Viciſti*; and about the ſame time *Sapores* being at *Mopſiorior*, a Town under Mount *Taurus*, ſighed out his affrighted Ghoſt at the Age of 71 Years, and *A.C.* 380. leaving his Kingdom to his Brother

A great Perſecution in Parthia.

Julian's Death.

Artaxerxes II. *Artaxerxes*, who in the 11th Year of his Reign took his Farewel of the World, and

Sapores. *Sapores* ſucceeded him, but reigned but five Years.

Varanes III. *Varanes*, Surnamed *Cinnizat*, was the next Heir, and ruled ten Years.

Yezdgird. *Yezd-gird*, a conſtant Friend to the *Romans*, ſucceeded. *Socrates* reports, that he was Converted by *Maruthas* Biſhop of *Meſopotamia*, who was ſent into *Perſia* for that end by Pope *Innocent* and *Theodoſius* the Emperor, by whoſe perſwaſion he deſtroyed the *Pyræum*, or Idol-Temple, and extinguiſhed the Fire, which for many preceding Generations had by thoſe *Gentiles* been Heatheniſhly worſhipped. The *Perſian* Stories ſay he Apoſtatized; but that is not ſo certain, as that he died *A.D.* 426. in the 20th Year of his Reign.

Varanes IV. *Varanes* IV. or *Baharan*, Inherited the Regal Dignity. He is taxed with Cruelty to the Chriſtians, for whoſe Defence *Theodoſius* Jun. ſent *Ardaburius* with a gallant Army. *Varanes* diſtruſting his own ſtrength, requeſted Aid from *Alamandarus* an *Arabian Saracen*. Theſe Armies had their Rendezvous about *Babylon*, but before the Battel begun, ſuch a pannick fear ſeized the *Pagans* that they fled, and were above a hundred thouſand of them ſwallowed up in *Euphrates*, beſides what fell by the Sword of their Purſuers. The *Perſian* King ſeeing Divine Vengeance thus to purſue him, was Heart-broken with grief, and died, when he had tyrannized twenty Years. His Succeſſor was

Varanes V. *Varanes* V. he made a Peace with the Emperor *Martian*, and died in the 17th Year of his Reign.

Perozes. *Perozes*, or *Pheruz*, poſſeſſed the empty Throne. He was a Prince more raſh than valiant, and periſhed in his Wars with the *Scythians*, when he had reigned twenty Years.

Valens. *Valens*, or *Belax*, or *Julas*, was then choſen King, and ruled four Years.

Cabades. *Cabades*, or *Cobad* and *Canades*, got next into the Throne, and poſſeſſed it ten Years; and

Lambaſes. *Lambaſes* Depoſed him, and reigned four Years, and then was Depoſed for making a brutiſh Edict, that Women ſhould be common, and *Canades* placed in the Throne: But he being through too much lenity to his Brother made blind unexpectedly, the Tyrant was reſtored again. He made great Wars upon the *Romans*, becauſe they had induced *Zatus*, King of the *Lazars* in *Colchos*, to receive Baptiſm at *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor *Juſtinian* himſelf ſtanding the Godfather, and moſt of the Nobility of *Aſia* honouring the Solemnity. He ſlew many thouſand of the *Lazars* and *Armenians* in this War, and died when he had reigned 30 Years.

Coſhroe I. *Coſhroe*, his Son, was after the accuſtomed Solemnity crowned King in his ſtead: He was the moſt cruel Tyrant that ever reigned in *Perſia*. He made a Peace with *Juſtinian* the *Roman* Emperor for an hundred Years, but broke it ſoon, and exaſperated him to the uttermoſt. He put to Death his innocent Brother *Balax*, and aged Uncle *Aſpebides*; and when the People murmured at it, he commanded them to follow him into *Syria*, where he engaged them in a deſperate War againſt the *Palmyrians*, who, under *Zenobia*'s Conduct, beat them ſoundly. In revenge whereof, he plundered *Barrhoſa*, *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, *Apamola*, and other Parts thereabouts. In *Phœnicia* he raviſhed *Euphemia*, a Chriſtian Lady, and of her begot *Hormiſda*, who ſucceeded him, and commanded the Nymphs of *Daphne* to ſacrifice Incenſe to him, leaſt he ſhould raviſh them. He burnt *St. Michael*'s Church, beſieged *Sergiropolis*, and attempted to ſpoil *Jeruſalem*, but hearing that *Belliſanus* was approaching, he renewed his League with the *Romans* to avoid the ſtorm, which he never intended to keep, for he broke it the next Year. At this time the *Armenians* received the Chriſtian Faith, and the *Romans* received Complaints from the Chriſtians of *Coſhroe*'s Cruelty; whereupon *Juſtin* the Emperor ſends *Tiberius* to relieve them. *Coſhroe*, with an Army of equal ſtrength, meets the *Romans*, but was overpower'd and vanquiſhed. Many *Perſians* were ſlain upon the place, and many in the purſuit, *Coſhroe* himſelf eſcaping narrowly; but when he came to reflect upon his loſs, eſpecially of his Fire-god, he fell into ſuch deſpair, that he ſoon after died, and was buried at *Cteſiphon*, a City in *Suſcana*, not far from *Hercules*'s Altar, after he had reigned Eight and forty Years, leaving his Regal Power to

His Luſt and Impiety.

Hormiſda II. *Hormiſda* his Son. He was crowned King *A.D.* 589. His eight years Rule was very troubleſome, for in his third year *Mauritius*, Son-in-Law, and Lieutenant to *Tiberius*, entred *Perſia* with an Army, and acted all manner of Hoſtilities, altho' *Tama*, *Coſhroe*, &c. did all they could to prevent it. *A.D.* 589. *Philippicus*, with ſome *Roman* Legions, entred *Perſia*, to relieve the Chriſtians in thoſe Parts. *Cardarigas* being told by the *Magi*, that they were brought thither to be deſtroy'd by ſome uncontroulable Deſtiny, engag'd them, but loſt above thirty thouſand *Perſians* in the fight. *Barames*, a noble *Bactrian*, eſcaped from the *Romans*, but being forced by *Hormiſda*, who was almoſt diſtracted for this Overthrow, to put on Womens Garments, and with a Diſtaff in his Hand to brave the Enemy, he retreated into thoſe Parts which affected him; and prevailing with *Ferra-chan* and *Byndoes*, *Perſian* Noblemen of Account, to joyn with him, they ſpeedily raiſed ſuch a Force, as to ſeize the King and depoſe him, crowning in his room his Son

Coſhroe II. *Coſhroe*. The Soul of his cruel Grandfather ſeemed to be tranſmigrated into this Man, for he firſt cauſed his own Father to be Aſſaſſinated, whom the People had in in that eſteem, that they deify'd him. *Barames* abominating

nating this Cruelty, thought to have pulled him down, as he had raiſed him up; but the King having notice of his deſign, endeavoured to have raiſed ſome Forces for his defence, but not finding any that would appear in his Service, (ſo generally hated was he) he was forced, to ſave his life, to fly to *Byzantium*, with his Wife *Ceſarea*. *Mauritius* and his Empreſs receiv'd him courteouſly, and after he pretended to become a Chriſtian, he ſent an Army, commanded by *Narſes* and *Commentiolus*, to re-inveſt him in his Empire, which they effected, and *Coſhroe*, in gratitude, profeſſed to become a ſincere Chriſtian, ſending the Emperor a Croſs of great value in Gems and Gold, and a Chalice of the ſame Metal; but as ſoon as he heard of the Maſſacre of *Mauritius*, with his Wife and Children, by *Phocas* the Captain of his Army, and the Arrogance of Pope *Boniface*, who aſſumed the Title of *Univerſal Biſhop*, he denied Chriſt, yet vowed to Sacrifice himſelf in *Mauritius*'s quarrel. This done, *A. D.* 603. with an Army of a hundred thouſand Men he entred into *Syria*, and there did all the miſchief imaginable, as well as in *Paleſtine* and *Phœnice*. The *Leſſer Aſia* alſo underwent his fury, and he chaſed the poor Chriſtians to *Calcedon*. After that he takes *Capeſſa* and *Edyſſa*; and to his ſatisfaction, in 612, hears of the untimely Deaths of *Narſes* and *Phocas* his Enemies, who were beheaded by *Heraclius*. That Year alſo he ſacked *Apamee*, *Cæſarea*, *Cappadocia*, &c. and was overjoyed at a Victory over the Chriſtians at *Antioch*, which encouraged him to over-run *Paleſtine*, and ravage *Jeruſalem*, where he derided the Venerable Patriarch *Zacharias* to vex the Chriſtians, and took the Croſs from thence, and carried it to *Shyrazto*, where 'twas kept ſome Years.

Mauritius the Emperor ſlain by *Phocas*.

His Cruelty to the Chriſtians.

He much infeſted the *Roman* Empire, eſpecially in *Anatolia*, and Maſſacred three hundred thouſand Chriſtians, vowing that he would exterminate their very Name. *Heraclius* had his hands full at that time, and deſiring a Ceſſation of Arms, but not obtaining it, was forced to engage him once, and again, and was as often Victorious; and at the Battel of *Gazacot* put his Army to flight, and made him ſeek his own ſafety in *Media*. *Heraclius* ſought for *Coſhroe*, but could not find him, whereupon he executed his Wrath upon his Idols, ſacrificing the *Flamens* for it, and extinguiſhing the *Pyræum*, with which he mixed common Fire, and made it active to conſume the City to aſhes. *Coſhroe* by this time had gather'd a freſh Army out of *Hyrcania*, and ſent *Sha-Rablecca* to Forage *Albania*; but hearing they were in a good poſture of defence, he return'd to wait for *Sarbaras* with new Forces, which, had they joyned, would have done much miſchief, but *Heraclius* timely interpoſing, defeated both thoſe Armies in one day, neither knowing of the others loſs. *Mahomet*, the falſe Prophet, was a common Soldier in *Heraclius*'s Army at this time, and ſoon after this his Hegyra, or flight from *Mecca*, begins, becauſe the Inhabitants of that place threaten'd to kill him for his Innovations, *A. D.* 622. and of this Emperor's Reign 13.

Heraclius's Succeſs againſt him.

Mahomet's Hegyra began.

Coſhroe being of a reſtleſs temper, commands *Sarbaras* again to take the Field with a numerous Army, to try his fortune with *Heraclius*, who, as ſoon as he heard of it, advances toward him, and after an hot diſpute came off Victor; many loſt their lives, but the *Perſian* Horſe, with the General, made a fair retreat. The Emperor had his Winter-Quarters in *Paphlagonia*; but *Coſhroe* ſwells with paſſion, and reſolves to try another Battel before his laſt *Exit*, and to that end Muſters together an Army of 150000 Men, which he divides into three parts, giving one to *Sayn*, who was to go againſt the Emperor, another to *Sarbaras*, who was to march to *Conſtantinople*, and a third he commanded himſelf, ſtaying upon the Frontiers. *Heraclius* having Intelligence of his force and drift, divides his Army alſo into three parts, one part he haſtens into *Thrace*, and another under *Theodore* to oppoſe *Seyn*, who tho' he bravely behaved himſelf with his Regiment of *Chryſolocol*, which he truſted moſt in, was routed, and no wonder, ſince God viſibly helped the Chriſtians in *Heraclius*'s Army, by pouring down Hailſtones upon their Enemies. The *Perſians* fled, and *Seyn* himſelf was ſlain, but his Body was redeemed, which the Tyrant, inſtead of allowing it a decent Burial, commanded it ſhould be arrayed in Rags, perfumed with Dogs-turds, and cut in pieces. *Sarbaras* in the mean time entred *Thrace*, pillaged *Chalcedon*, and laid Siege to *Conſtantinople*, and for ten days ſtormed it; but ſuch was the reſolution of the Chriſtians, that they could not gain an entrance, but hearing of *Heraclius*'s coming they rais'd the Siege, and made a ſafe, tho' diſhonourable Retreat, into their own Quarters. The Emperor reſolving to retaliate the *Perſians* for this Violence, entred *Armenia* with a conſiderable Army, and in a long Battel obtained a Victory over the *Perſians*, and purſuing *Coſhroe*, made a forcible entry into *Cleſiphon*, which he firſt plundered, and then totally demoliſhed by Fire. *Coſhroe* hearing of *Sarbaras*'s ill ſucceſs in *Thrace*, was inflamed with paſſion, and ſent an Aſſaſſine to murder him, but the Emperors Son having notice of it, diſcover'd it to the General, who being provok'd by his Maſter's ingratitude, raiſed a dangerous Rebellion.

Heraclius vanquiſhes *Coſhroe's* Army a ſecond time.

Coſhroe's Death.

Coſhroe ſeeing things ſucceed thus unfortunately, fell into a Fever firſt, and then into a Flux, of which he died, having nominated *Mardeſes*, the Son of *Syra* his beloved Wife, for his Succeſſor, but before the Crown could reach his Head, he was ſlain by his Brother *Syroes* before his Father's face, which Fratricide, when *Coſhroe* curſed, his Son commanded ſome Villains to ſhoot him, and ſo he ſuffered for the Cruelty he had uſed towards his Father *Hormisda*, and breathed out his wretched Spirit when he had reigned, or troubled the World rather, 50 Years.

Heraclius hearing of *Coſhroe*'s Death, hoped that the old Quarrel was at an end, and therefore travell'd to *Jeruſalem* to preſent the Patriarch *Zacharias* with the Croſs he had reſcued from *Coſhroe*, and arrived there *Sept.* 17. 628. the ſame Year that *Boniface* publiſhed his *Univerſal Supremacy* to the World, and *Mahomet* his *Alcoran*.

The Pope's Supremacy and Alcoran publiſhed together.

Syroes.

Syroes, or as the *Tarick* calls him, *Scyrviah*, reigned ſix Years, and was then rewarded for his Parricide, being ſlain by *Sarbaras*, whom the *Perſians* call *Shawryr*.

Ardchyrben Xirviah.

Ardchyrben Xirviah was the next Heir to the Crown, but enjoyed it 3 Months only, being alſo Murdered by *Sarbaras*, who was within eight Months ſlain himſelf by *Joon-ſha*, or *Slyn-ſhaw*, Lord of that part of *Taurus* called *Larry-Joon*.

Joon-ſha.

Joon-ſha, at the end of three Months, was baniſhed by

Turvan.

Turvan, or *Turan-Doct*, Natural Daughter to *Coſhroe*, who at the end of 16 Months was made away by Poiſon, and died much lamented. To her followed

Jazan-Zeddah.

Jazan-Zeddah, who ruled 9 Months and then died; and after him ruled

Azurmy-Doct.

Azurmy-Doct, *Coſhroe*'s youngeſt Daughter, who governed but 16 Months and then died, leaving the Government to

Shezir.

Shezir, or *Kezir*, who at the end of 6 Weeks was ſlain by

Phorog-Zeddah.

Phorog-Zeddah, who was poiſoned, and gave place to

Yeſdgird.

Yeſdgird, who was forthwith made away by

Bornarym.

Bornarym, who met with the ſame fate from

Hormiſdas III.

Hormiſdas, who was taken Captive, and his Kingdom made ſubject to

Mahomet.

Mahomet, *A. C.* 640. Hegyra 20. And ſo *Perſia*, after a Succeſſion of 28 Kings, who ruled it for 400 Years, was forced for a time to ſubmit to the Power of the *Saracens*. *Mahomet* was then in the *Roman* Army, and firſt putting his *Arabian* Brigade into a Mutiny for want of Pay revolted, and being made their General, quickly reduced *Arabia*, *Ægypt* and *Syria*; and finding *Perſia* in a perplexed condition, ſeized it.

Ebubecar.

Ebubochar ſucceeded *Mahomet*; he is ſaid to have Warred againſt the *Abaſſines*, *Dybanes* and *Bernagaſſees*. He died in his great Climacterick Year, having ſat as Caliph, and King of *Perſia*, two Years, and was ſucceeded by

Omar.

Omar or *Heſhmar*, Son of *Kattab-Taruques*, a Wealthy Merchant. He purſued *Ally*, the Son-in-Law of *Mahomet*, for pretending to the Caliphſhip, and having raiſed a great Army, ſacked *Baſhra* an *Arabian* City, and proceeding as far as *Gabata*, tyrannized over *Syria* and *Ægypt*, Forraged *Paleſtine* and *Iberia*, and Invaded *Aſſyria*.

He Vows to extirpate Chriſtianity.

After theſe things coming to *Bagdat*, his head Quarters, he reſolves to repoſe there, and ſpend the remainder of his time in Exerciſes of Devotion, making a Vow to endeavour the utmoſt Extirpation of Chriſtianity, which he judged the ſureſt way to propagate the Alcoran. To this end he gave a Commiſſion to *Mavi*, and ſends him with a numerous Army firſt againſt the *Syrians*, and with ſmall oppoſition took *Damaſcus*, a City at that time very Wealthy, and ſo full of Delights, as *Mahomet* acknowledged, that he durſt not truſt himſelf there for fear of temptations.

How he propagated *Mahomet's* Doctrine.

In like manner he ſent ſundry other Captains, with conſiderable Forces, to reduce other Countries with the Sword; as *Ruſtan-beg*, with 15000 Horſe, to *Chuſiſtan*. But he being ſlain at the Siege of *Eſcair-Mecron*, *Moſes*, Surnamed *Aſher*, commanded after him, and ſubdued *Abawaz*, *Sabur-Arkan*, *Cowreſtan*, *Jaarown* and *Lar*, making them to acknowledge *Mahomet*, and Enrol themſelves *Omar*'s Tributaries.

Habi-

Habu-Obed-ben-Maſudli alſo, with 13000 Horſe, ſubdued *Irac*, *Waſit* upon *Diglat* and *Elſheer*, tho' at firſt repulſed with the loſs of 5000 Men; *Yeſdgird* the *Perſian* General oppoſed the *Saracens* at *Galula*, *Spahawn* and *Yezd*, but *Omar*'s Fortune in other places diſpirited his Men, ſo that they did nothing with ſucceſs. After *Yeſdgird*'s Death, *Hormiſda* laboured to repel the *Saracens*, and recover the Liberty of his Country, but was ſlain with his whole Army. *Omar*, about 6 Months after this Battel, was ſlain treacherouſly, and was buried in the *Alcaba* at *Mecca* near to *Ebubocar*, his Predeceſſor, after he had ruled 12 Years.

Ozman.

Ozman, in deſpight of *Ally*, ſucceeded him, and reigned ten Years, having the Pontificacy four Months. By *Hucba*, his Field-Marſhal, who commanded a great Body of Horſe, he ſubjected divers Parts of *North-Africk*, as *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, as far as *Tunis* or *Carthage*.

The *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes* demoliſhed.

Mavi, Sultan of *Damaſco*, over-run *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, where he acted many Cruelties; and among other things, demoliſhed the huge *Coloſſus* built by *Chares* of *Lyndus*, at the expence of 300 Talents in 12 Years, This huge Image was of gilded Braſs, 80 Cubits high, the Thumb as big as a large Man, the Legs ſtood on either ſide of the River, ſo wide, that a large Veſſel under Sail might paſs between them. In one Hand it held a Javelin pointing to the Eaſt, and in the Breaſt was a Mirrour, in which the Inhabitants of the Iſle could deſcry Ships at a diſtance. He ſold it to a *Jew* of *Emiſſa* for 200*l.* Sterling, who broke it down, and loaded 930 Camels with the Braſs of it. He alſo defaced 100 other *Coloſſus*'s, and 70000 coſtly Monuments. *Heraclius* the *Roman* Emperor died *A. C.* 640. after he had reigned 30 Years, and *Heraclius*'s *Conſtantinus* ſucceeded him. He was poyſoned in the 7th Month of his Empire, by *Martina* his Step-Mother, that ſhe might advance her Son *Heracleonas*, but contrary to their expectation the People baniſhed them both, cutting off their Noſes and Tongues, and *Conſtans* was ſaluted Emperor. *Ozman* by this time had finiſhed his Paraphraſe upon the Alcoran, which he digeſted into ſeven ſmall Tracts, and ſubdivided into an 114 Chapters. And ſince *Mahomet* in the ſecond and third *Azoara*, promiſes the greateſt ſhare in Paradiſe to ſuch as deſtroy moſt Unbelievers, *Ozman* having done his Church-work, deviſes from this Doctrine to enlarge his Empire, but under this Charitable pretence, to ſhew other Nations the way to Paradiſe; and to that end, promiſes his Bleſſing to any that would undertake the Conqueſt of *India*. *Abdal-Ben-Emyr*, a Man both Valiant and Superſtitious, accepts the Task, and with 30000 Men haſtens thitherwards, but by *Ozman*'s Inſtructions firſt directs his Courſe towards *Tartary*, and ſubdues *Aſia*, *Coraſan*, *Maurenahar*, *Gaſneken*, and *Dileman*, as far as *Jehun* and *Ador*, Rivers beyond the *Oxus*. *Ozman* by theſe Conqueſts made himſelf the moſt puiſſant Prince then living, yet the Multitude at home was ſo enraged againſt him, that he was forced to drink Poiſon voluntarily to eſcape being ſlain by them; and ſo he died in the 88 Year of his Age, in the 5th Year and 8th Month of his Caliphſhip, *A. D.* 655.

Conſtans Emperor of *Rome.*

His Conqueſts to propagate *Mahomet's* Doctrine.

Ally.

Ally, the right Heir, was after his Death ſaluted Caliph by the Army, which conſiſted of 10000 *Perſians*, and 20000 *Arabs*, at *Meccha*; but his Reign was full of trouble, for *Mavi* the *Syrian*, chief of the *Ommiari* Race, ſtorming at *Ozman*'s fall, and thinking himſelf worthy to ſucceed him, enters *Arabia* with a hundred thouſand Men, reſolving to Depoſe *Ally*, but in the firſt Encounter was well beaten, and loſt ten thouſand of his Men, but at the ſecond Battel, *Ally* loſt not only the Day, but his Life and Crown, and

Mavi, or *Mnavias.*

Mavi, or *Mnavias*, was ſaluted King. *Ally* died in the 63d Year of his Age, and was buried at *Moſqued* near *Cufe*, upon *Euphrates*. He left a Ring, with which the *Perſian* Kings Wed their Kingdom, and the Motto of it is, *Corde Sincero Deum Veneror*. By *Fatima*, *Mahomet*'s only Daughter, *Ally* had *Hocem*, who had twelve Children, which *Mavi* ſlew all, but *Muſa-Chereſim*, or *Mahomet-Mahadin* the youngeſt, who eſcaped, and is thought ſtill to be alive.

Mavi having thus ſtated himſelf in the Government, ſent *Suſindus* his Kinſman with a great Force againſt the *Gracians*, and to beſiege *Syracuſe* and *Byzantium*, but by *Conſtantine* the Emperor he was ſlain, with thirty thouſand other *Saracens* of his Army.

A great Plague.

The ſame Year the Plague raged ſo horribly in the *Mahometan* Empire, that the like had not ever been known, and *Mavi* himſelf died of it, in the 77th Year of his Age, and 24 of his Reign; his Symbol was *ignoſce precor*. He was ſo implacably bent againſt the Family of *Ally*, that beſides the Slaughter of his Son and Grandchildren, he cauſed an *Anathema* to be uſed daily in their Common-Prayer againſt him, which the *Ommiari* Family continued for eight Deſcents, till by *Omar* it was aboliſhed, and the Murder of *Ally*'s Family was revenged by *Abdulla-Sophy* the 22d Caliph, who inviting all the *Ommiari* Race, being 80 Perſons, to receive the Fealty, cauſed them all to be Murdered, and then had this Dirge ſung over them, *For the day of* Huſſan *and his eleven Sons*. About this time there were ſuch terrible Earthquakes in *Aſia*, that 600 Cities and Villages were overturned by them in one Night.

Terrible Earthquakes.

Toezed.

Toezed, or *Jezed*, followed *Mavi*: He was an eminent Poet, and put the Alcoran into Rhime. His Riot and Venery ſo exaſperated *Mutar-Mavia-Ben-Abdella*, that he made him away when he was but 40 Years old, having ruled but three Years.

Mutar

Mutar was as quickly Dethroned by

Abdel-Ben-Jezed.

Abdel-Ben-Jezed, a *Benbumian*, who ſat but 9 Months, and then was depoſed by

Marvan.

Marvan, who was diſpoſſeſſed by

Abdalla.

Abdalla, who was bereft of Life and Kingdom by

Aben.

Aben, or *Abdal-Melec*, who was forced to fly by

Didacus.

Didacus, as he himſelf was by

Oyledore.

Oyledore, who was ſlain by *Juſtinian*'s help by

Solyman.

Solyman, who was expulſed by

Abdal-Melec.

Abdal-Melec, who returning from Baniſhment, took revenge to the uttermoſt upon *Mutar*'s Murderers. The Chriſtians were the worſe for this Eſtabliſhment, for he forthwith Forraged *Syria*, *Armenia* and *Thrace*, and in the fifteenth Year of his Empire died, ordaining

Ubyt.

Ubyt, called *Ulitus*, and *Evelyd Mirahmimus*, to be his Succeſſor. This Caliph died of grief, becauſe the Armies, which he had ſent into *Spain*, rebelled againſt him.

Zulzemyn.

Zulzemyn ſucceeded him, and him

Omar Ben-Abdemazed

Omar-Ben-Abdemazed, who was depoſed by

Tezid.

Tezid, the Son of *Melec* the late Caliph.

Ebrahim.

Ebrahim marched off ſoon after him, a fool-hardy and unfortunate Prince. After his Death the Empire was divided between

Gezid and Walid.

Gezid and *Walid*, who having ſped ſo well in *Aſia* and *Africk*, invaded *Europe* with all the Forces they could get together. *Walid*'s Army, led by *Abdireme*, having firſt croſſed the Streight in Veſſels, marched into *Spain*, conquered *Granada*, and ſettled themſelves there for ſeven hundred Years, till of late *Ferdinand* and his Succeſſors drove them out, and forced them into *Barbary*. *Gezid*'s Forces, led by *Sha-Reblar*, entred *France*, but met with ſuch reſiſtance from *Charles Martel*, then King, and 30000 *French*, that after a long and ſmart fight, in ſight of the City of *Tours*, in *Touraine* in *France*, the *Saracens* were beaten, and three hundred thouſand of them ſlain, *July* 22. 726. The News of this misfortune ſo afflicted the two Caliphs, that they died mad.

Marvan.

Marvan was placed in their ſtead, in whoſe time *Hyllin* his General purpoſed to invade *Tartary* with an hundred thouſand Men, but in the way was aſſaulted by Sophy *Salyn*, St. *Azmulli*'s Son, deſcended from *Ally*, and in the conflict ſlain. *Marvan*, in revenge, invades *Perſia* with three hundred thouſand Men, and encounters *Selyn* near *Spahawn*, who vanquiſhed the *Arabian* with the loſs of an hundred thouſand of his Men. *Marvan* affrighted at this loſs flies to *Babylon*, and from thence by *Mecca* into *Ægypt*. *Salyn* purſues him, and by his Baniſhment or Death put an end to the Race of his inveterate Enemies the *Benbumians*, begun by *Mavi*. The Family of *Ally*, or *Ben-Abbas*, began by this means to recover the Scepter of *Perſia*, *A. D.* 750. Heg. 130. when

St. Azmulli.

St. *Azmulli* mounted the Throne. He was Crowned King at *Cufe*, and ſat as Caliph alſo; for altho' *Abuballa* oppoſed him for a while, yet he held it againſt him. About this time it was that the *Turks*, living then in the moſt Northerly Parts of *Zagathai*, made an Irruption through the *Caſpian Streights*, and for ſome time ſeated themſelves in *Turcomania*, a Province in *Armenia the Greater*. This *Azmulli* it was, that revived *Mutar*'s Tenents to the Honour of *Ally*, and Diſgrace of the three Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, publiſhed afterward by *Siet Gunet* of *Ardaveil*. St. *Azmulli* being dead, his Son

Salyn.

Salyn was ſaluted King, who living but 3 Years.

Almanſor.

Abubeer, called *Buzſafer* and *Almanſor*, ſucceeded him, *A. D.* 758. Heg. 138. He repaired *Bagdat*.

Mahadi-Abuballa.

Mahadi-Abuballa followed him, and next to him reigned

Moſes.

Moſes, or *Eladi Mirza*. In his time *Charlemagne* flouriſhed, and this Iſle under King *Edgar* changed its name from *Britain* to *England*. He was the Father of

Amarumlus.

Amarumlus, or *Aaron*, whom the *French* ſpeak ſo much of. He had a great amity with the Emperour *Charles*, and they ſent Embaſſadors and Preſents to one another: He is ſaid to have died a *Chriſtian*, In his time ſome Fanatick Schollars undertook to fly in the ſight of thouſands, but periſhed among the Rocks, tho' the Wind was high. *Aaron*, after 33 Years Rule, died, and was ſucceeded by

Mahomet.

Mahomet his Son, who reigned five Years.

Abdalea.

Abdalea came after him. He raged againſt the *Chriſtians*, and troubled ſeveral Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, and dying, was ſucceeded by

Mulla-cawn.

Mulla-cawn, who equally vexed the *Chriſtians*, diſturbed *Italy*, and alarmed *Rome*, but he in a ſhort time yielded to fate, and was ſucceeded by theſe *Caliphs* in order.

Wacke.
Almota.
Montacer.
Abbas.
Muſtaedren.
Almotez.
Matiad-Bila.
Almet-Hamed.
Mutazed.
Moctaſi-Byla.
Mortader.
Elbaker.
Raſha.
Rezi-Byla.
Muclaſi.
Moriah.
Tayaka.
Kaderkamet.
Mahomet.

El-Takeit, in whom ended the Caliphs of the *Arabick* or *Perſian* Stem; for then *A. D.* 1030, *Heg.* 410, came in

Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix the *Turcoman*, who was called into *Perſia* by the then *Sultan*, to aſſiſt him againſt the *Babylonian Piiaſtre*: When the *Turk* had freed *Mahomet* from his Danger, he deſired to go into *Armenia* to viſit his Kindred, who were lately ſeated there; but was denied, which he reſented with ſuch impatience, that before *Mahomet* could appeaſe the angry *Turk*, he was bereaved both of Life and Kingdom. In his Death the Family of *S. Azmulli* was eclipſed, till *Sa-Iſhmael* received the Splendour of it. From *Tangrolipix* deſcended

Ottoman, Son of *Ertogul* the *Oguzian*, who in 1300, *Heg.* 680. laid the Foundation of the *Turkiſh* Empire in *Aſia* and *Europe*, as the *Salghuicars* commanded *Perſia*, begun by

Togrul Beg

Togrul-Beg, Son of *Salghuicus*, Son of *Didacus* the *Turk* or *Tartar*. He was ſlain by Treaſon, and his Succeſſour was

Pharug zed.

Pharug-zed, *Maſue*'s Son, who was ſlain by *Olo-ben-Æſolan*, Prince of *Gaznehen*, and left his Government to

Ebraim-ben-Maſud.

Ebraim-ben-Maſud, whoſe Son *Maſud* having married the Daughter of *Melec-ſha*, King of *Turqueſtan*, entred *Perſia* with a great Army from *Coroſan*, and near *Tabriz* ſlew *Almodſtarſhad-bila-Caliph*, and in another Fight *Reſhed-bila*, his Son at *Spahawn*. To *Maſud* in *Gaznehen*, ſucceeded *Sha-Eſolam*, who was ſlain by *Baharon-ſha* his Brother, and *Coſrhao* his Son ruled in his ſtead, who after he had foraged *India*, died *Heg.* 640, and in him the *Sabutaque* Family came to an end. In thoſe times

Ghaladud-dawl.

Ghaladud-daul was Caliph of *Babylen*, and part of *Perſia*, whoſe ſeventh Succeſſor

Muſtaed-zem

Muſtaed-Zem, was ſlain by *Cingis-chan*, *An. Heg.* 580. and

Almoſtanſor-bila Manſor.

Almoſtanſor-bila-Manſor governed *Chaldæa* and *Perſia* in his place.

Charar-Mahomet.

Charar Mahomet the *Turk*, entred *Perſia*, *A. D.* 1415. *Heg.* 795, and having ruled three Years, left

Kara-Iſſuph.

Kara-Iſſuph to ſucceed him. He alſo died after three Years at *Casbyn*, and left ſix Sons, of which all of them died untimely, except

Joon-ſha.

Joon-Sha. In his time the *Ottoman* Race had ſo enlarged their Conqueſt in the *Leſſer Aſia*, that the *Grecian* Princes, (to ſtop that Impetuous Torrent) were forced by their Embaſſadors to beg the Protection of the Victorious *Tartar*, *Tamberlane*, who having lately received an Affront from the *Turk*, willingly undertook it, and with all the Force he could make, marcheth againſt *Bajazet*. Near Mount *Stella* (in the Plain where *Pompey* worſted *Mithridates*) was maintain'd a long and bloody Fight between them, but the Victor fell to *Tamberlane*, who ſlew many thouſand *Turks* to gain it, and having taken *Bajazet*, put him in an Iron Cage, as Men uſed to do Wild Beaſts, and carried him in that ridiculous poſture, thro' all his March, after which, the reſt of the *Turkiſh* Provinces ſubmitted to him, without any conſiderable reſiſtance. *Tamberlane* paſſing thro' *Media* towards *Samarchand*, gave a Friendly Viſit to *Syet*, or *Shec-Seffee*, a reputed Saint at that time, living in *Ardavil*, who perceiving that by *Hebare-Mirza*'s Advice, the Conquerour had decreed many thouſand Priſoners to Slavery or Death, begged their Liberty, which *Tamberlane* granting, this Mercy highly increaſed the Opinion of his Holyneſs. *Tamberlane* ſoon after died, *viz.* *A. D.* 1407, and was buried at *Anzar* in *Cathaya*, and three Years after the *Perſian* Saint followed, leaving a Son behind him, called *Siet Ganet*, who pretending to great Zeal, and Angelical Contemplation, fitted all things for the pulling down of *Joon-Sha*, which he thus effected: He invited

Acem.

Acem, or *Uſem*, otherwiſe called *Uſan-Caſſan*, the *Armenian* King, to the Conqueſt of *Perſia*, which by the Overthrow of *Malaonores*, and the death of *Joon-Sha*, was quickly effected, *A. D.* 1470. *Heg.* 850. The Saint of *Ardaveil* in the mean time compoſed a new Model of Church Affairs, with a Deſign to make a perpetual Schiſm between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, which the Victor was contented to permit. The Opinion of the *Syet*'s Holineſs made his new Doctrine to be received without Examination. He taught them, that *Ebubecri*, *Omar*, and *Ozman*, the three Caliphs that ſucceeded *Mahomet*, whom they had formerly eſteemed as Prophets, were Impoſtors, and Intruders upon the Caliph-Ship (it being *Ally*'s right, upon the account of his Marriage with *Fatima*, *Mahomet*'s only Daughter) and ſo it was thought fit that thoſe three pretended Prophets ſhould be expunged the Calendar, and reputed Hereticks. This has cauſed an irreconcilable Difference between the *Turks* and *Perſians*; ſo that the Former account the Latter Hereticks, and the *Mufti* declares it more meritorious to kill one *Perſian* than an hundred Chriſtians. This Breach was contrived by *Ganet* to advance his own Tribe, as deſcended from *Mirza Ceriſim*, the Grandſon of *Ally*, and to make his Acceſs to the Crown eaſier, which, when *Joon-ſha* perceived, *Gunet* withdrew himſelf into the *Arabian* Territories, where he married *Martha* the Daughter of *Uſan-Caſſan* to his Son *Ayder Myrza*, that his Acceſs to the Throne might be rendred more eaſy. *Uſan-Caſſan* ſtill kept what he had conquered, and lived long in Peace, maintaining a good Correſpondence with *Mahomet* the *Great Turk*, till being ſollicitated to it by the *Venetians*, he invaded the *Turks* Dominions, and fought ſeveral times ſucceſsfully with two great *Turkiſh* Generals, *Muſtapha* and *Amurath*, but at laſt was overpowered and worſted by *Mahomet*; for grief of which, together with Age, he died, in the Year 1477, and was buried at *Casbyn*. He left ſeven Sons, but moſt of them came to untimely ends, and their Children fell into many Quarrels among themſelves for the Diadem, till at length moſt of them being kill'd, and the reſt fled,

A Schiſm between the *Turks* and *Perſians.*

Elvan-beg.

Elvan-beg got the Poſſeſſion of it, and kept it peaceably five Years, till ſeeing *Ayder* his Brother-in-Law grown popular by his Sanctity, he grew Jealous of him, and ſo by the Suggeſtions of *Jacup*, he cauſed him to be murdered, and had done the like to his Son *Iſhmael*, but that having timely notice of it by a Friend, he withdrew to *Pyr-Ally*, the Governour of *Mozendram*, and ſo eſcaped the Danger. *Iſhmael* in the mean time, as his Years encreaſed, ſo did his Reputation with the *Perſians*, who ſeeing his Courage and Ingenuity, wiſhed for an Opportunity to raiſe him higher, which he was as ready to embrace. *Morad*, or *Amarath*, *Elvan*'s Brother, aiming at the Crown, gave *Iſhmael* an Occaſion to raiſe what Forces his Friend *Pyr-Ally* could aſſiſt him with, upon the juſt Pretence of ſecuring himſelf, and revenging his Father's Death; and ſo he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Sumacly*, which he fortified. *Elvan* immediately advanced with all his Forces to ſuppreſs theſe Rebellions, and fortunately worſted *Morad*, and obliged him to fly for ſafety into *Arabia*; but his Succeſs with *Iſhmael* was clear different; for *Iſhmael* having obtain'd many additional Recruits from *Tauris*, and eſpecially from *Arzenion*, firſt ſlew *Pharac-Iſſuph*, his Father's Murderer, and then joining Battle with his Uncle *Elvan*, at or near *Teſdicauz*, the Midway between *Spahawn* and *Slyraz*, after an hour's Fight, had the better, and put *Elvan*'s Army to flight, himſelf being ſlain in the purſuit, and ſo

Iſhmael Sophy.

Iſhmael, ſurnamed *Sophy*, both by Blood and Conqueſt, got the *Perſian* Scepter into his Hand, the People receiving him with univerſal Joy, for the Reſtauration of the Diadem to a Prince of their own Blood. The Crown was no ſooner on *Iſhmael*'s Head, but by Proclamation he ratified the Reformation his Grandfather had contriv'd, and declared the *Turks* Hereticks, and to aſſure them of his Fitneſs to govern, he entred *Diarbic* with a conſiderable Army, and reduced it, and ſoon after did the like to *Armenia*, *Albania*, *Ibena*, and *Sarcaſhia*, which he challenged for his Right, as deſcended of *Uſan-Cuſhan*, to the Amazement of the *Turks*. About 1506, *Techellis Aydars*, Diſciple, out of zeal to propagate his new broached Opinions, and force the erroneous *Turk* to a Conformity, with a conſiderable Party of Horſe, which *Iſhmael* gave him liberty to raiſe, and divide with his Fellow-Diſciple *Caſſan*, gave a notable Diſturbance to the *Turks* for ſome time, for having adjudged the *Turks* Hereticks, and proclaimed them Enemies to the Faith of the *Muſſalmen*, worthy to be proſecuted with Fire and Sword, they entred *Natolia* in an Hoſtile manner, with twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot. They defeated *Orcan*, the Governour of thoſe Parts, under *Bajazet*, in a pitch Battel, at *Iconium* near *Lycaonia*, and ſoon after did the like to *Caragozes*, and *Ally Baſha*, in the Plains of *Ancyra*; ſo that *Bajazet* himſelf was ſtartled at their Succeſs, as if *Tamerlane*'s Ghoſt were revived. And certainly, had *Iſhmael* furniſhed this Captain with Recruits, and given him ſuch encouragement as he deſerved, he had made a great progreſs againſt the *Turks*, but failing, he was forced to maintain his Men upon Plunder, which rendred him odious to the Country, and gave the *Turk* advantage againſt him; ſo that *Iſhmael*, to appeaſe the one and gratify the other, put *Techellis* to Death.

Bajazet makes Peace with *Iſhmael*.

This Storm being blown over, *Bajazet* obſerving that *Iſhmael*'s Prudence and Conduct might diſappoint his Deſigns of extending his Empire, both Eaſtward towards *Indus*, and Weſtward againſt the Chriſtians, thought it Wiſdom to make a Peace with the *Perſian*, that he might not be interrupted in his Deſigns. During this Peace, *Iſhmael* was as active as *Bajazet*, for he reduced *Shervan*, *Ghylan*, the Princes in *Hierac*, *Chuſiſtan*, *Kermoan*, and *Mairon*, that were not Feudatory to him; part of *Mezondram*, and made *Acen-Ally*, King of *Corazan*, an Homager to him. *Iſhmael* having thus enlarged his Dominions, directs his march, with all his Force, towards *Oxus*, and having paſſed that River, harraſſed and plundered all the Provinces, Cities and Towns, of that part of *Scythia*, as far as *Balke*, the Metropolis of the *Uſbeg-Tartars*; thus ſufficiently retaliating the *Tartar* for the Inroads and Diſturbances they had at ſeveral times given the *Perſian* to oblige the *Turk*.

Bajazet makes War on *Iſhmael*, who worſts him.

But hearing that *Bajazet*, at the importunity of the *Tartars*, was drawing towards the Confines of *Perſia*, with a great Body of Horſe and Foot, he retreated loaden with Spoil homewards. In a few days Intelligence was brought him, that the *Turks* were drawing towards *Rivan*, and that the *Meſopotamians*, under the *Turk*, had by treachery got into *Bagdat* and plundered it, uſing the *Perſian* Garriſon barbarouſly, by calling them Raffadins, or Hereticks, and cutting off the Noſes and Thumbs of many of them. *Iſhmael*, to revenge theſe Cruelties, fell into *Diarbec* with fifty thouſand Horſe, and harraſſed the *Turkiſh* Quarters to purpoſe, and engaging the Enemy near *Caramit*, had the better of them, and purſued them to the Banks of *Tigris*.

Bajazet poiſon'd, and *Selim* ſucceeds.

In the Year 1511. Heg. 891. *Iſhmael* again recovered *Bagdat* by the treachery of *Bamez-beg*, who for a certain Sum of Money let him in at a Poſtern. *Lemius* alſo, a *Portugueſe* Agent, was civilly treated by *Iſhmael* at *Caſhan*, and *Bajazet* was poiſoned by a *Jew*, and his Son *Selim* ſucceeded him. *Iſhmael* provoked him to make a War againſt him by harbouring *Morad*, or *Amurath*, his Elder Brother's Son, and putting him at the Head of ten thouſand Horſe; whereupon *Selim* in Perſon marched againſt him with an Army of 300000 Foot and Horſe, and paſſed the River *Araxis* by the help of their great Guns. *Iſhmael* having Intelligence of *Selim*'s approach, marched againſt him with thirty thouſand Horſe, and ſixty thouſand Foot (tho' the *Perſian* Annals allow not above half the number.) The Emperors and their Armies drew up in a large place, called the *Calderen* Plains, not far from *Coy*, and nearer unto *Naſſivan*, where for full 16 hours a moſt memorable Battel was fought, with equal fierceneſs and reſolution on both ſides, and tho' there was found ten *Turks* to one *Perſian* ſlain, yet for as much as there was no Chaſe, the Victory is not clear; but becauſe *Selim* immediately after the fight retreated into *Caramania*, it may ſeem to have inclined to the *Perſian* ſide. In his return he cauſed *Aladeules*, the King of *Anti-Taurus*, to be ſtrangled for his Correſpondency with *Iſhmael*, and his Nephew *Morad*. Soon after this, *Selim* with all his Force invaded *Ægypt*, and by the treachery of *Caer-beg*, the Sultan of *Aleppo*, vanquiſhed *Campſon Gaurus* the King of it, and made his Kingdom a Province, which the *Turk* holds to this day.

A Battel with *Iſhmael*.

Iſhmael's actions after.

In the mean time *Iſhmael* took care of his wounded Soldiers, and having recruited his Army, perfectly ſubdued *Mozendram*; and for the better preſervation of his Perſon and Honour, inſtituted a Life-guard for himſelf called *Coozel-Baſha's*, conſiſting at firſt of an hundred, but now of a thouſand Horſe, moſt of them *Georgians*, all well-experienced Men, and well-reputed for Arms, and for that reaſon they have extraordinary Pay. While theſe things were doing, *Bagdat*, by the treachery of *Mahomet A[illegible]*, was again delivered to the *Turk*, and *Sha-Tamas* was born at *Ardavil*; and in the five ſucceeding Years, *Iſhmael* had by ſeveral Wives 5 other Sons, *viz. Helcawn*, *Sermiza*, *Elias-beg*, *Sommiza*, and *Barben-cawn*.

Selim died, and *Solyman* ſucceeded.

In the Year 1520. *Selym* the Great *Turk* died, and was ſucceeded by *Solyman*. *Iſhmael* ſurvived him but five Years, and then left his Crown in the 20th Year of his Reign, and 40th of his Age, (being buried at *Ardavil* near his Anceſtors) to

Tamas.

Tamas, or *Tahamas-ſhaw*. In his time *Solyman* having gotten *Babylon*, reduced *Diarbec* and part of *Chuſiſtan*, with all the adjacent Countries that confine the North of *Arabia*, as far as *Balſora*. From hence the Great *Turk* had a fair proſpect into the *Perſian* Gulph, and began to think of Conquering all the Regions as far as *Indus*. To that end having built a great Navy at *Suez*, he ſent it under the Command of *Solyman Baſſa*, with ten thouſand Men, to ſurprize *Diu*. The *Portugueze* had private notice of the Deſign, and tho' ſecretly carried, had ſo well provided for them, that when the *Turks* came before it, they repulſed them with great loſs, and ſunk ſo many of their Ships, that not one third part of them lived to return; a Succeſs ſo grateful to the *Perſian* King and *Mogul*, that they Congratulated the Chriſtians for it.

Solyman invaded *Perſia*, and is routed by *Delementhes*.

Solyman was heartily vexed at his loſs and diſgrace, but thought fit to diſſemble it, and drawing up all his Horſe out of *Diarbec* and *Caramania*, he fell unexpectedly into *Media*, and entred *Tabriz* without oppoſition, where he cut down the Trees, ſpoil'd the Gardens, levelled the King's Palace, and other Houſes, to the ground, and carried away the rich Spoils to *Caramit* in *Diarbec*. *Tamas*, and the *Perſian* Nobility, who were ſufficiently incenſed by theſe Actions, was not idle in the mean time to find means to retaliate, and for that end ordered *Delementhes*, a Perſon who had many times engaged the *Turk*, with 6000 Horſe to follow them in the Rear, which he did, and much galled them; and when their Army was drawn up near *Betlis* to fight him, he fell into their Quarters in the Night with a mighty noiſe, and after a little reſiſtance put them into ſuch a Confuſion, that they fled where they could beſt to ſecure themſelves. In the purſuit, five Sanziacks, eight hundred Janiſaries, and twenty thouſand private Soldiers, were ſlain, forty Pieces of Cannon taken, and all his Seraglio of fine Women, on which Old *Solyman* doted. The two Baſſa's hardly eſcaped, and *Ebrahim* the chief fell under his Maſter's diſpleaſure, and was ſoon after ſtrangled. *Solyman* the next Year, in the Head of an hundred and fifty thouſand Men, re-enters *Perſia*; and *Sha-Tamas*, having had experience that the *Turks* had great advantage againſt them by their Ordnance, prevailed with the Vice Roy of *Goa* to furniſh him with 5000 *Portugueze*, good Fire-men, from their Garriſons, which they willingly granted, becauſe of the late Invaſion of *Diu* by the *Turks*. The *Portugueſe* brought with them a Train of twenty Pieces of Cannon, which in the fight ſo miſchieved the *Turks*, that the *Perſians* had the better, which they imputed to the good Services of the Chriſtians. *Solyman* by this miſchance was forced to draw back into *Natolia*, but hearing that *Muſtapha*, who had incurred his Father's diſpleaſure, had committed himſelf to the *Perſian*, he marches thither again with an Army of eighty thouſand Men, doing all the miſchief he could. *Tamas*, to prevent the ſpoiling of his Country, advanced with all the Force he had as far as *Erez*, where coming to an Engagement, the *Perſian* Horſe, not enduring the noiſe of Guns, forſook the Field and fled.

The *Perſians* worſt the *Turks*.

Muſtapha ſtrangled.

Muſtapha being thus left to ſhift for himſelf, fled to his Father's Tent, and beſought pardon for his Mother *Roxellana*'s ſake, but the inexorable *Turk* wanting bowels, ordered him to be ſtrangled, tho' his only Son then living by that *Venter*. Not long after it, Old *Solyman* died at the Siege of *Zigeth* in *Hungary*, and *Amurath* ſucceeded him, the Ambaſſadors from moſt parts Congratulating his Acceſs to the Crown. *Sha-Tamas* alſo diſpatched *Shaculy-chan* in an Embaſſy to *Conſtantinople*. The *Turks*, in the interim, took *Nicoſia* and *Cyprus* from the *Venetians*, which occaſioned a perpetual League with *Spain*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, and cauſed an Embaſſy to be ſent to the *Perſians*, to engage them to fall ſpeedily upon the *Turkiſh* Quarters; but *Sha-Tamas*, either through fear, or love of his own eaſe, would not yield to their deſires. Nevertheleſs, *Amurath* had no ſooner made an end of the *Cyprian* War, and recruited himſelf after the great defeat given him at the *Lepanto*, but he fell afreſh to quarrel with the *Perſian*. *Tamas*, not ſuſpecting his deſigns, was invading the *Uſbegs* Country, and happily took *Cabul*, but hearing that the *Turk* was about to make War upon his Country, forthwith retreated to the *Caſbyn*, where amidſt his Martial Conſultations and Proviſions, he was ſeized with Death, *May* 11. 1576. when he had reigned 50 Years, and lived 68. and was interred at *Ardevil* with all due

Amurath, who ſucceeded *Solyman*, invades *Perſia*.

Ceremony among his Royal Anceſtors. He left 12 Sons behind him, and 3 Daughters. *Mahomet* the Eldeſt claimed the Crown as his Birth-right, but could not have it, becauſe of the ſtrong Faction which ſtood for *Iſhmael* his ſecond Brother; ſo that he was forced to fly into *Georgia* for ſafety. In the mean time, *Peria-Conconna*, his Siſter, and *Sabamal-chan*, who headed *Iſkmael*'s Faction, put *Ayder*, and 8 other of the Sons of *Tamas*, to Death; and ſoon after, *Iſhmael* himſelf was ſerved the ſame Sauce by her. *Mahomet* at the ſame time was gathering Men in *Georgia* and *Curdiſtan*, to obtain his Right, and having got together 12000 Men, made his way by force to it.

Mahomet.

Mahomet was no ſooner arrived at the Throne, but he commanded his *Amazonian* Siſter's Head to be cut off, which was accordingly done, and preſented to him on a Spears Head. The *Turk* obſerving the advantage that theſe inteſtine Broils gave him, reſolves, with all the Forces he could draw out of *Natolia*, *Diarbec*, and the Parts about *Bagdat*, to make an entire Conqueſt of *Perſia*, and ordered *Muſtapha*, the cruel and perfidious Baſſa, to undertake the Task, which was ſo agreeable to his temper. *Mahomet*, in the interval, got himſelf quietly eſtabliſhed on the Throne, inſomuch, that upon the firſt News of the *Turks* approach, Sultan *Tocomac*, Governour of *Kervan*, an expert Soldier, and feared by the *Turks*, with a gallant Body of Horſe encounter'd them on the Frontiers of *Armenia*, in which Engagement, tho' he ſhewed a great deal of Reſolution, and routed the Van of *Muſtapha*'s Army, yet the wrathful Baſſa, advancing his whole Body, oppreſſed the *Perſian* ſo with numbers, that tho' they fought deſperately, they were forced to retreat, leaving 4000 of their Men dead behind them. *Muſtapha*, as a Trophee of this Victory, faced a Bulwark with the Heads of the ſlain; but finding upon a Muſter that he had loſt 40000 of his Men, by Fluxes and the Enemies Sword, he thought it beſt to retreat, but by the way being encouraged with a large Recruit of Men, led by *Menuchara* a *Georgian* Prince, he reſolved to re-enter *Shervan*.

The *Perſians* vanquiſhed by the *Turk*.

The *Perſians* rally and worſt the *Turk*.

Tocomac, the *Perſian* General, had no ſooner notice of it, but with a ſpriteful Party he beat up the *Turks* Quarters, as they lay diſperſed in a Valley by the River *Conac*, which being increaſed by ſome Rains, ſwept away above 10000 of them in the flight. Notwithſtanding this loſs, *Muſtapha* continued his march as far as the City *Erez*, which finding unpeopled, he put in a Garriſon of 5000 Men, moſt of them *Georgians*, and going on took *Samachy* without reſiſtance, and appointed *Oſman-beg* chief Commander in thoſe Parts, and then departed to *Erzerom* his Head Quarters. *Emyr-hamze*, *Mahomet*'s Eldeſt Son, having in the mean time got ſome Experience in the *Indian* War, ſo ill endured theſe Bravado's of the *Turks*, that he never left ſolliciting his Father, till he gave him a Commiſſion to raiſe what Horſe he could to oppoſe the *Turk*. This valiant Prince ſoon raiſed twenty thouſand Horſe, with which he proſecuted the Enemy ſo bravely and ſucceſsfully, that his fame ſpread through all *Aſia*, inſomuch that the *Turks* gave out that *Caſtriot* was revived, for he firſt defeated *Caytas* the Baſha, as he was a forraging, he took *Erez* by Storm, and ſent all the Cannon to *Casbyn* as a Preſent to his Father, he routed the *Becopence Tartar*, deſtroying moſt of their Men, and taking *Abdul-Cheray* their General Priſoner; he took *Sumachy*, making all the *Turks* Priſoners of War, and thus by his Valour broke in pieces the *Turkiſh* Army of ſeventy thouſand Men, ſo that for ſome Years after the Country had reſt.

Emir-Hamze's Victories

The *Turks* being thus happily expelled *Perſia*, *Emir-hamze*, loaden with Spoils as well as Victory, in triumphant manner returned into *Casbyn*, where he was embraced by the King, his Mother, and the young *Tartarian* Prince being in company. The *Tartar* had his liberty, giving his Parole to be a true Priſoner, but being allowed too much liberty with the Queen-Mother, the Sultans envied him, and cauſed him to be ſlain by the Rabble, which provoked the *Crim*, whoſe Brother he was, to joyn with the *Turks* to revenge his Death.

Amurath raiſes greater Forces.

Amurath, upon the News how formidable the Prince of *Perſia* was like to appear in the enſuing Spring, gave *Muſtapha* Orders to levy a greater Army, and proſecute the War with Fire and Sword, who accordingly drew together all the Cavalry the *Turk* had in *Syria* and *Armenia*, the *Greater* and *Leſs*, and a huge Body of Foot, and *Haſſan* Aga marched with the Van to *Teſlis*. *Emangoly-chan*, late Governour of *Genge*, was conſtituted General of the *Perſians*, and having notice of *Haſſan*'s intent to fall into *Shervan*, he took the advantage of a Paſs, and falling upon them, ſlew many of them, and ſcattered the reſt in the Woods, in which, while the *Perſians* ranged to find the Enemy, the *Turks* laid an Ambuſh for them at their return, and having ſlain many of them, took the *Perſian* General Priſoner, whom they kept under a Guard at *Erzerom* three Years, and would neither accept an Exchange, or Ranſom. *Haſſan* being now Maſter of the Field advanced to *Teſlis*, but was unexpectedly charged by the *Perſians*, and that with ſuch admirable Courage, as the *Turk* was put to flight, and their Train and Treaſure taken; *Haſſan* eſcaped on his Horſe, and carried *Muſtapha* the News of his defeat, which the Old Man was ſo angry at, that he had ſtrangled him, had not his taking the *Perſian* General, and his relation to the Grand Viſier, pleaded for him. This Diſaſter, and the approaching Winter, cauſed *Muſtapha* to ſend his Army into their Winter-Quarters, and ſo gave the *Perſians* time to prepare againſt the Spring.

The *Perſian* Gener. taken Priſoner.

Muſtapha diſcharged.

Amurath having notice of theſe actions of his Favourite, which were miſrepreſented by his Enemies, ſummoned him to *Stambul* to anſwer his Miſcarriage, and was diſcharged his Command, and had loſt both his Life and Eſtate, had not the Sultana interceded for him. *Sinan-Baſſa*, his Enemy, was put into his place, which vexed him moſt of all. During this, the differences between the two Brothers, *Emir-hamze* and *Abbas*, Governour of *Aſia*, hindred the neceſſary preparations againſt the *Turk*, ſo that the *Perſian* King choſe rather to ſue for a Peace by *Maxut-chan*, his Embaſſador, with a rich Preſent, than proceed in the War. The Grand Seignior accepted the Preſent, but would not grant a Peace, unleſs the *Perſians* would deliver *Tabriz*, *Casbin*, and all *Sheirvan*, to the *Turk*, to be enrolled for ever in the Provinces under that Crown. The Embaſſador would give no anſwer to theſe Demands, till he had conſulted with his Maſter, and therefore ſent to *Mahomet* about them, who called his Chief Officers together to conſult about it, and the reſult was, *That no inch of Earth ſhould be given the* Turk *more than he could gain by his Sword.* To prevent which, a great Army under the Victorious *Emir-Hamze*'s Command was ſent to the Frontiers of *Armenia*, and *Abbas-Miaza* was ſent with another Army to proſecute the War againſt the *Mogul*. *Maxut-chan* was immediately called home, and that he might diſcover their Order and Force, he paſſed through the Enemies Quarters, of which he gave ſuch a ſatisfactory account, when he came to *Casbyn*, that he was made Treaſurer, a place both honourable and profitable; but *Emir-chan* made him ſo uneaſie in it, that he was forced to withdraw, and live privately at *Van*, rather than run any further hazards. *Emir-Hamze* drawing towards the *Turk*, entruſted *Simon-chawn* the *Georgian*, and *Tocomac* the *Perſian*, with part of his Forces, and ſo formed an Ambuſcade, into which they drew the *Turk*, and ſlew above 6000 of them; the reſt eſcap'd to *Erzerom*, the Baſſa's head Quarters, a Town of great ſtrength as well by Nature as Art, and very convenient for Proviſions, which may be brought thither from the Midland, *Euxin* and *Caſpian* Seas. It ſtands in *Cappadocia*, called of Old *Leuco Syria*, and has *Armenia* on the one hand, which the River *Euphrates* divides from it and *Caramania*, which comprehends the ancient *Lycia*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia* and *Cana*, on the other. *Amurath* reſolving to fall into *Hungary*, and thoſe parts, thought fit to call home *Sinan-Baſſa*, to adviſe with concerning that War, and conſtitute *Mahomet-Baſſa* (Nephew to *Muſtapha*, who was lately dead of Age and Grief, but ſome rather think of Poyſon) General againſt the *Perſians*. At *Erzerom* he muſter'd all his Army, and the Seaſon being good, marched without reſiſtance as far as the River *Araxis*, burning and doing all the Spoil he could. *Emir-Hamze*, by his Scouts, having notice of their number and approach, ordered *Tocomac*, with *Simon* the *Georgian*, to ſtop their progreſs as well as they could, till he came up with his Horſe and Dragoons. Theſe Captains falling upon the *Turks*, in their march towards *Tauris*, made good their ground, till they were over-powered by *Mahomet*'s Horſe, but when he underſtood by ſome Priſoners that the *Perſian* Prince was at hand, he thought beſt to retreat; which, when the Prince knew, he purſued them with unuſual haſte, and killed many in the Rear, as well as cauſed many to be drowned in their paſſing the Rivers haſtily, but he continued his march till he came to *Teſlis*.

The *Perſians* renew their preparations againſt the *Turk*.

Erzerom deſcribed.

The *Perſian* Embaſſador affronted at *Conſtantinople*.

Ebrahim-chawn, Embaſſador of the *Perſian* King at *Conſtantinople*, received an Affront at the Circumciſion of his Eldeſt Son *Mahomet* without any provocation, being made a Priſoner ſome time, with his Attendants; but *Mahomet* would take little notice of it, becauſe the difference between his Sons threatned a Civil War, but at length they were ſeemingly reconciled. In the mean time, *Ferrat-chan* was made General of the *Turks* againſt the *Perſians*, but doing little in that place, he was called home, and *Oſman-Baſſa* put in his place. This *Baſſa* was quick of Reſolution, and by Nature fierce, and having raiſed an Army of 200000 Horſe and Foot, with a ſuitable Train of great Guns, he marched thro' *Media*, almoſt in view of *Tauris*, deſtroying his Enemies Country all along. *Emir-Hamze*, the *Perſian* General, knowing the way of the *Turks* March, advanced againſt them with 10000 good Horſe, the King following with 80000 Horſe and Foot more. The *Perſian* Prince encamped five Leagues Southward of *Tauris*, and expected the coming of *Oſman*, who knowing that the *Perſian* Horſe were afraid of his Artillery, continued his March with a reſolution to try the Fortune of a Field, but *Oſman* not thinking it convenient to have *Tauris* on his Rear, reſolved to take it; *Alliculi-chan* was the Governour, and before he could ſummon it, made ſuch a ſally out upon the *Turks*, as killed them a thouſand Men, and retreated with a little loſs. This unexpected Aſſault ſo enraged the *Turk*, that he haſtened his approach, and having planted his Batteries, plaid ſo furiouſly upon the Wall, that he made a large Breach, and reſolved to ſtorm it. The beſieged ſeeing their Danger, beat a Parley, and ſurrendred the Town upon Conditions; but ſome of the Inhabitants breaking them by making away ſome Janizaries in a Stove, the incenſed *Turk* gave the Souldiers liberty to plunder, kill, raviſh, and do what they liſt, ſome few only eſcaping to the *Perſian* Camp. *Emir-Hamze* hearing the Relation of this Cruelty, drew out a Party to be revenged of the Enemy, but *Oſman* ordering a Party of 40000 to beat him back, he was forced to retreat, yet ſo gradually, as ſhewed their Valour.

Perſians conquer the *Turks*.

Soon after this, the whole Armies engaged, but the *Perſians* had the better, tho' the *Turks* by the help of their Artillery, made a pretty good retreat, leaving 6000 Men to the Mercy of the Enemies Sword. Upon this the Prince ſent a Defiance to the *Turkiſh* Army, which was accepted by the General, and within five Days both Armies drew out for Battle. The *Turks* were upwards of 100000, but the *Perſians* ſcarce amounted to half the number, yet being ſuperiour in Reſolution, gain'd the Victory; for after that the *Baſſa* of *Caramit* fell by *Emir-Hamre*'s Sword, the *Turks* gave Ground, and fled in Confuſion, having loſt the *Baſſa* of *Frepizorid*, ſix *Sanziacks*, and 20000 Common Men, and had not the *Turks* great Guns diſordered now and then the *Perſian* Horſe, they had obtained a compleat Victory: The *Perſians* loſt 2000. *Oſman* was ſo daunted with this ill ſucceſs, that having conſtituted *Giaffer-chan* Governour of *Tauris*, with whom he left a good part of his Army to defend it, he went himſelf to *Erzorom*, to recover his Flux, but tho' *Ozman* got thither ſafe with his Guard, yet his Foot and Train, which marched ſlower, were interrupted, for the *Perſian* Horſe croſſing a nearer way, got before them, and ſkirmiſhing with them, ſiezed their Caravan near *Sancazan*, which conſiſted of above 6000 Camels and Mules, with valuable Burthens, beſides *Aſmegoes* loaden with Proviſions, and when the whole Army came up, there followed another Engagement. The *Turks* (tho' *Oſman* was abſent) were ſo well commanded, that tho' the *Perſians* had the better, yet 'twas with a conſiderable loſs, which they requited with the death of 20000 *Turks*. The Relation of this Encounter being carried to *Ozman* by the reſt of the Army, was ſo unpleaſant to him, that it increaſed his Diſtemper, inſomuch that within a few Days after he gave up the Ghoſt, leaving the Conduct of his ſhattered Army to *Baſſa Sinan Cicala*, a good Souldier, and Wary, who when he came to take his Muſters at *Erzerom*, found that *Ozman*, one way or another, had loſt 100000 Men. The *Perſian* Prince after theſe Victories, returned to *Casbin*, where he was embraced by his aged Father, honoured by all the Officers, and little leſs than adored by the Vulgar; but after a little Refreſhment he was uneaſy that *Tauris* was in the Hands of the *Turk*, and became reſtleſs in his Deſires to reduce it, but was retarded in his Preparations by the envious Contrivances of his Brother *Abbas* and *Alliculy-chan*, who ſought all ways to eclipſe his Glory, and leſſen him in his Father's Opinion, whom popular applauſe had made jealous of him. In the mean time *Ferrat Baſſa*, with a great Army was marching with a ſeaſonable Relief to *Tauris*, which was diſtreſſed for Victuals, and by Fluxes and other Diſtempers, had loſt moſt of its Men. The *Perſian* King rous'd by this Advance of their Enemy, by the Perſwaſions of his Son *Abbas*, Commiſſioned *Alliculy-chan* his Friend, to go Commander in chief of an Army diſtinct from that, which his Brother *Emir-Hamze* commanded. *Emangely-chan* alſo brought another Army of 15000 Men, but the Prince had the Command of the main Body of Horſe and Foot, being about 40000 more; *Emangely-chan* by the Prince's Order, went to diſcover the Enemy, and in beating up the Quarter of *Zeynal-chan* near *Salmas* did ſome execution, but as ſoon as *Alliculy-chan* ſaw the *Turkiſh* Army, he drew back, and ſuffered the Enemy to proſecute their way, harraſing the Countrey. This treacherous Act of *Alliculy-chan* angred the Prince, but it not being ſeaſonable to puniſh it, he reſolved to join with *Emangely-Chan*, and encounter the Enemy, to which he was encouraged by the coming in of many Volunteers to ſerve him; but when he was in the height of his hopes, he was ſlain by an Eunuch as he lay ſleeping on a Pallat in his Tent, ſuppoſed to be done by the Procuration of his Brother *Abbas* and *Alli-culy-chan*. His death over-whelmed *Perſia* with Grief, and made the Army heartleſs and careleſs to give any further reſiſtance to the *Turks*, who rejoiced at it as their greateſt Fortune. The Eunuch was ſeverely tortured, and the Prince buried at *Ardevil*, with all Demonſtrations of Love, *Sept.* 1586, near the Dormitories of his Anceſtors. *Ferrant-chan* the *Turkiſh* General, tho' he could not but ſhew ſome Tokens of Sorrow for this Noble Heroe's Death, yet let not the Advantage ſlip, but in a ſhort time made tributary the whole Territory about *Garge*, and forced a Contribution from *Sumachy* and all the Country betwixt that and the *Caſpian-Sea*. When he was called home, *Cicala-Baſſa*, Governour of *Bagdat*, had the Charge of the *Perſian* War. He waſted the *Median* Territories, which ly upon the Frontiers of *Diarbec*; but while *Mahomet* was ſending *Emangely-chan* to oppoſe his Motions, *Amurath* the better to proſecute his intended War in *Europe* by his Embaſſador, deſired a Ceſſation of Arms with the *Perſian*, who willingly condeſcended to it, that he might have leiſure to enlarge his Dominions towards *Candahor* and *Chabul*, and ſo Articles were agreed and ſigned. *Hoſtage* exchanged, and the Peace proclaim'd at *Conſtantinople* and *Casbyn*. *Shaw-Mahomet*, tho' he had quiet in his Dominions, yet had none in himſelf; *Emir-Hamre*'s Death was ſuch a wound to him, that he never had one joyful Day more, but ſpent his Life in continual Sorrow, till Death put an end to his diſconſolate Life, in the Year of our Lord 1597, and with all due Ceremony he was buried among his Princely Anceſtors, and in his place

Alliculy-chan's treachery.

Emir-Hamze ſlain.

Abbas. *Vide* his Effigies, *Fig.* 7.

Abbas his Son was proclaimed, and ſoon after crowned King. Embaſſadors from moſt parts of the World came ſoon after to congratulate his Acceſs to the Crown, and among the reſt, one from *Turkey*, who after that Complement, threatned *Abbas* with War, unleſs he ſent his Son, or ſome eminent Hoſtage inſtead of the King's Nephew lately dead, which being done before the other Embaſſadors, was ſo highly reſented by *Abbas*, that he commanded him to be gone, at which when the Embaſſador ſmiled, the King fell into ſo great a Paſſion, that he ordered him to be ſlain, but this Sentence was after recanted, and being chabucht on the Soles of his Feet, he was ſent away miſerably diſgraced, partly to ſhew how little he valued the *Turks* Amity, and partly to be quit for the uncivil Treatment a *Perſian* Embaſſadour had not long before received at *Conſtantinople*. *Amurath* looked upon this uſage of his Embaſſador as an high Affront, and blaſpheming, breathed Defiance, vowing the utter Extirpation of the *Sophian* Race; but being forced to reſpite his revenge by reaſon of ſome Wars in *Hungary*, and Troubles at home, he died before the Execution of it, in 1604, leaving *Sultan Achmar* his Succeſſor, who being intent upon the entire Conqueſt of *Hungary*, ſtill put off the Revenge he deſigned the *Perſian*. *Abbas* by this means had time given him to compaſs his Deſigns, and underſtanding that *Cicala-Baſſa*, Governour of *Babylon*, was abſent from his Charge in proſecution of *Zel-Ally*, a famous Relet, he cauſed ſeveral of his Officers, and *Coorel-Baſha's*, to be diſguiſed like Merchants, and under colour of a Caravan, enter *Bagdat* unſuſpected; and ſo he became Maſter of the place. *Cicala* having made his Peace at Court, levied a powerful Army to invade *Perſia*, and beſiege *Bagdat*, and accordingly the next Spring fell upon the Viceroy's Quarters at their Van, ſpoiling all he could; but young *Emir-Hamze-Mirza*, *Abbas*'s eldeſt Son, with a ſtrong Body of Horſe, meeting him about *Sultany*, gave him ſuch a blow, that in a little time after all the *Perſian* Provinces were cleared of the *Turks*. *Sha-Abbas* now moving in his own Orb to ſecure himſelf the better againſt his Inveterate Enemies, ſent his Embaſſadors to the Emperour *Rodolphi* King of *Poland*, *Henry* IV. of *France*, *Philip* IV. of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*, to engage them in a joint League againſt their common Enemy, which *Achmat* knowing, ordered *Naſſaph Baſſa* to raiſe all the Forces he could, to find him work at home; but before either

A *Turkiſh* Embaſſador treated ill by the *Perſians*.

the Peace or Levies for War were finiſhed, a Peace upon the *Perſian* Embaſſadour's arrival at *Conſtantinople*, was concluded between theſe two *Mahometan* Princes, and *Sha-Abbas* to confirm it, ſent an extraordinary Preſent in 1613, to the Port, that he might more vigorouſly proſecute the War with the *Great Mogul*. But this Peace did not hold long, for in 1618. the *Turk* by way of *Erzerom*, entred *Media*, the Army being commanded by *Ally-Baſſa*, and taking the Opportunity of the King's abſence, plundered as far as *Ardevil*, but *Emir-Hamze* advancing toward them, they came to truce again, but ſoon broke it, and inſiſted upon the reſtitution of *Tauris*. The Command of the *Perſian* Army was given to *Emir-Hamze*, whom the *Turk* dreading, thought not fit to proſecute the Deſign, and ſo things ſeemed quiet, till *Abbas* having ſettled things about *Larry-Joon* in *Mozendran*, returned home, and then taking the Opportunity of the *Turks*, he engaged in *Hungary*, in the Head of a Royal Army, he cleared *Shervan*, expelled their Garriſons, cut off *Van* and *Teflis*, and ſoon after maſtred *Balſora* and *Bagdat*, which ſoon revolted to the *Turks* again. In the mean time the *Perſian* having Intelligence from *Conſtantinople* of the Deſtructions there, *viz.* That the *Janizaries* had upon ſome ſlight diſguſt put to death *Oſman* and *Muſtapha*, the *Grand Seigniors*, which they had made ſucceſſively, and *Delavir* the *Grand Viſier*, and ſet up *Achmat* the Brother of *Ozman*, invaded *Diarbeck* with a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Dragoons, and having bribed one of the principal Officers of *Bagdat*, got entrance into it, and became abſolute Maſter of it, before the Governour *Achmat* had any notice of it for prevention. *Achmat* hereupon not daring to truſt himſelf in it, withdrew with a ſmall party of Horſe into *Karaniania*, and by his Flight ſo diſcouraged all he left behind, that not only the whole Province, but all the Countries from *Armenia* to *Balſora*, ſubmitted to the *Perſian* Crown, the *Turks* which ſtood out, flying either into *Syria* or *Egypt*. The *Perſian* after this Succeſs caſt his Eye upon *Natolia*, where *Abaſſi-Baſſa* commanded, who being obnoxious for his late Revoult, the *Perſian* doubted not but he would eſpouſe their Cauſe for his own Defence, but trying him to deliver *Erzeram* to them, the crafty *Turk* ſlew a thouſand of their Men that they ſent to take Poſſeſſion of it, for which being pardoned his former Revoult by the Port, and preſented, he fell into *Diarbe*, with all the Force he could make, and gave a conſiderable defeat to a Body of *Perſian* Horſe and Foot: *Abbas* was ſtartled at this Loſs, and having notice of his ſtrength, and of his ſummoning *Bagdat*, he marched in the Head of 30000 Horſe toward the Enemy, who were double his number. The *Turks* neverthelcſs reſolved to continue the Siege, and entrenched themſelves, but *Abbas* giving them continual Alarms, and cutting off their Proviſions, reduced them to ſo great want, that the *Turks* were forced to draw off, and retreat with Bag and Bagage; but being retarded by their Artillery, the *Perſians* purſued them ſo for ten days, that few of them eſcaped. *Abbas* having thus ſufficiently ſcoured the Weſtern Parts, was no leſs active and ſucceſsful elſewhere; for the next Year, *viz.* in 1627, by the good Conduct of *Kurchiki-cawn*, he drove out the *Turk* quite out of *Shervan* and *Gheylan*, and reduced the Natives to their Allegiance; and by *Tamas-Cooli-beg*, likewiſe annexed *Mozendram* to his Empire, having done the like a little before by *Lolla-beg* and *Emangely-cawn*, in the Conqueſt of *Lar*, *Karmaen*, *Ormus*, *Chaſiſtan*, *Macron*, and part of *Ajaman* and *Jazirey*, ſo as he extended his Territories, one way from *Indus* to *Euphrates*, and the other from the *Caſpian-Sea* to *Babylon*, and the Gulph of *Perſia*, which to this Day the *Perſians* keep to the Honour of their Crown and Terrour of their Neighbours.

His Death.

Abbas having attained to this great Degree of Glory, died in the Year 1628, *Heg.* 1008. after he had lived 80 Years, and ruled 43. His Body was carried from *Casbyn* to *Ardevil*, and there buried by his great Anceſtors, and he was ſucceeded by *Sophi* his Grandſon, who after 15 Years reſigned the Crown to his Son *Abbas* now reigning, and was buried at *Coom*.

Sophi Abbas now reigning.

Chap. XXIV.

Some Miſcellaneous Obſervations relating to the Perſons, Cuſtoms, and Manners of the Perſians.

Miſcellanies.

SIR *Tho. Herbert* having given us a brief Account of the Revolutions of State amongſt the *Perſians*, under a long Succeſſion of Kings, has added many other uſeful Obſervations concerning the Country and People, which not being capable to be reduced to one Head, are ſet down promiſcuouſly in this Chapter, which follow in order.

The Names of *Perſia*.

Concerning the Names of the Country, he obſerves, that no Nation hath had greater Changes and Variation of Names than *Perſia*; for in *Nimrod*'s days 'twas called *Chuſa* or *Cuth*, from *Cuth* the Son of *Cham*, who firſt ſettled here: In *Chedarlaomer*'s days it bore the Name of *Elam*, from *Elam* the Son of *Sem*, from whom the People were called *Elamites*, or *Elemæans*; and ſo it continued, till *Daniel*'s time, after which 'twas called *Perſia*, from *Perſeus* a *Grecian* Hero, who ſubdued it. In the time of the *Parthians* it was called *Arſaca*, from *Arſaces* their beloved King, and after that *Artea*, which ſignifies, a Noble Country; and from thence many of their Kings and Nobles have taken their Fore-names, as *Artaxerxes*, *Artabanus*, &c. Since the *Tartars* over-running it as they did the greater part of *Aſia*, have named it *Chorſoria*, or rather *Corſace*. The *Arabians*, *A. C.* 598, when *Mahomet* ſubdued it, named it *Saracenia*, and the *Turks* *Azenica*. The *Scythians* call them *Aramei*; and *Siet Gunet*, the late Reformer of the *Alchoran*, calls it *Ernizaria* and *Agamia*.

Extent of it.

The Empire is bounded with *India*, *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, the *Caſpian* and *Perſian* Seas. From *Candahor* to *Babylon* it ſtretches 440 Pharſangs, or 1320 Miles *Engliſh*; and from *Jeiphy* near *Van* in *Georgia*, to Cape *Gwadir* in *Gedroſia*, 496 Pharſangs, or 1488 Miles *Engliſh*; ſo that the Compaſs is not much leſs than 4000 Miles. The North and Eaſt part of the Country is fertile in Graſs, Corn and Fruit, becauſe the Air is temperate, and the Soil often moiſtened with Showers; but the South and Weſt (except by the Rivers) is barren, mountainous, and ſandy, having no Rains, becauſe of the Heat, yet habitable, by reaſon of the frequent Breezes. In general, the Air is healthy, tho' with variety of Heat and Cold.

The Revenue of the *Perſian* Kings.

Concerning the Revenue of the Kingdom, he ſays, he muſt go upon conjecture much, becauſe nothing is more uncertainly computed than the Wealth and Revenues of a Kingdom. The publick Revenue of old was 14560 *Euboic* Talents, which being brought to the King's exchequer in different ſorts of Coin from the ſeveral Provinces, was melted down as ſoon as it came in, and kept in Earthen Pots till there was occaſion to coin it for uſe. The preſent Revenue of the *Perſian* Kings is about 357000 *Tomans*, which amount to about 1190000 *l.* Sterling, which is raiſed from Raw Silk, Cottons, and Cuſtoms. The *Perſian* King thinks no way of getting Money diſhonourable, for he ſends into the Market every day Preſents of Fruits and Flowers in moſt of his Towns, which are 90 walled Towns, and above 40000 Villages, who muſt return his Preſents with Gold and Silver. He has alſo his Factors abroad, who return, ſome in three, others in five or ſeven Years, giving no Account to their Commiſſioners; and if they return empty, they are rarely ſent again, but if they come full fraught to his liking, he rewards them conſiderably, and further gratifies them with a Woman out of his Haram, an Horſe, a Sword, a Mandil, or the like. The Caravans from *Indoſtan*, *Tartary*, and *Arabia*, which paſs thro' his Country every Year, importing Merchandizes of ſeveral ſorts, as *China* Ware, Sattens, Silk, Stones, Drugs, &c. he finds Arts to make them ſell at moderate Rates, or pay well for their ſafe Paſſage, and ſo gains greatly by them. Beſides, by a Cuſtomary Law, he makes himſelf Heir to whom he pleaſes, ſo that few rich men die, but he claims

their

Preſents to the King.

their Goods, and none dare diſpute his Title. He alſo, according to an Old Mode, expects Annual Preſents from his great Men. The Duke of *Shyraz* lately preſented the King with as many Larrees as were valued at 465000 Florins, 49 Goblets of Gold, 72 of Silver, and other Rarities, too great a Preſent for a Subject, unleſs he were allowed all ſiniſter ways to enrich himſelf, as indeed the Governours under all *Mahometan* Princes are. They have Power of Life and Death, condemn without hearing, and diſpoſe of Mens Perſons and Eſtates, when, and how they pleaſe, without any reſpect of Right, eſpecially at Mens Deaths, where there is any conſiderable Eſtate, their Heir ſeldom coming in for above a tenth part.

The *Perſian* King how honoured.

Concerning the Honour they give their Kings, it is the Cuſtom in *Perſia*, as in other Eaſtern Countries, to adore their Kings; ſo that as of Old, they are not content to reverence him as the Image of God, who by his Infinite Wiſdom governs and preſerves all things, but they have a more tranſcendant Opinion and Eſteem concerning him, making proſtrations before him, not preſuming to ſpit or cough in his preſence, nor pull their Hands out of their Sleeves, ſwearing by his Head, bowing their Bodies, and kiſſing the Letters that come from him. In his Titles, to illuſtrate his Perfections, they give him the Epithets of *Amber*, *Nutmegs*, *Roſes*, and ſuch ſweet Odours and Flowers as moſt delight the taſte, which is the Cuſtom all over the Eaſt. But tho' in Government they are Abſolute, yet they have certain Ordinances of War to be obſerved by their Soldiers, and a kind of Imperial Law to be obſerved by all other Subjects, which they have Judges conſtituted to Execute; but they are ſo ſubject to Bribery, unleſs in Criminal Matters, that little Juſtice is to be had from them.

His Laws in War and Peace.

The Nature of the People.

Concerning the Natives, they are generally well-limb'd and ſtraight; the Zone they live in makes them tawny, the Wine cheerful, and Opium luſtful. The Women paint, the Men love Arms; all affect Poetry. They allow no hair in any part of the Body, but on the upper-lip, on which they wear it long, thick, and turning downward, and on the top of their Heads, by which they are made to believe, that their Prophet, at the Reſurrection, will lift them up into Paradiſe; which fancy, 'tis probable, that *Mahomet* took from *Ezek.* 8. 3. where the Angel took up that Prophet by a lock of his Head, and lifted him up between the Earth and Heaven, or from the *Apocryphal* Story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, where *Habakkuk* the Prophet is ſaid to be tranſported from *Judæa* to *Babylon*. The reſt of their hair is ſhaven off, and made incapable of growing again by the Oil *Dow ic*, with which they anoint the places thrice.

Their Turbants.

Inſtead of hair, they wreath about their Head rolls of Linen, not only for Ornament, but to keep off the heat of the Sun, and defend them againſt an Enemy. Moſt of the *Perſians* wear them large and valuable, tho' for the moſt part of Callico; and the Superiour ſort of People have them woven with Silk and Gold, with a rich Fringe or Taſſel of Gold and Silver at the end, but at Feaſts and Entertainments they wreath them with Ropes of Orient Pearl, and Chains of Gold ſet with precious Stones of great value. The Kings differs not in ſhape from others, but in bigneſs only, or in that he ſets it more upright. With theſe Turbants the *Perſians* go covered all day long, and are never uncovered neither at their Devotion, nor in the King's Preſence, becauſe they count it irreverent, but they expreſs their complaint by bowing the Head towards the Heart; but both theſe Cuſtoms were brought in among them by *Mahomet*, for before they wore a kind of Hat, or Bonnet, and uncovered their Heads both at Salutations and in the Preſence of their Superiours, and ſtill to Strangers they will do it ſometimes in Complaiſance.

Their Garments.

They wear no Bands, and their Alijoba, or upper Garment, is of Callico ſtitch'd with Silk, or quilted with Cotton. The better ſort have Garments of Parti-coloured Silk, as Sattin, or Gold and Silver Chamlots, for variety beſt pleaſeth them. No colour diſpleaſeth but black, and that is never worn, becauſe 'tis diſmal and unlucky. Their Sleeves are ſtraight and long, their Veſt reacheth to their Calves Their Waſtes are girt with Saſhes of Silk and Gold eight Yards long. They diſtinguiſh the Qualities of thoſe that wear them; Dukes and Nobles have them of Gold, Merchants and *Cooſalbaſhes* of Silver, and Men of inferiour Rank of Silk and Wool. Their Shirts are of Cotton, their Breeches have Stockins ſewed to them, which do not touch their Shoes by two inches. Their Shoes are of Leather of any colour they fancy, well-ſtitched, ſharp-toed, with high heels, and nailed, yet not for Thrift, but out of Cuſtom. Over their other Cloaths they throw a ſhort Cloth-Coat without Sleeves, and furred. In hot Seaſons they wear Stockins of *Engliſh* Cloth heeled with Leather.

Their Rings.

Gloves, or Gold Rings, are of no eſteem among them, but they wear Silver Rings in Memory of *Mahomet*'s Ring left to *Oſman* for a Legacy. They paint their nails and hands with Alcanna, or Chaa-powder, into a red or tawny colour, not for Ornament only, but to cool their Liver, and make them Valiant in War. In their Rings they wear Agats or Torquoiſes, which of all Stones they moſt delight in; but ſome have their Name, or a Word out of the Alcoran engraven in them.

Their Learning and Writing.

Their Mullah's, or Clergy, engroſs all their Learning. They write with a Reed or Cane, and kneel uſually while they write for their eaſe. Their Paper is very gloſſy, made of Bombaſine, or Cotton-wool; and dropping Oiled colours, they vein it like Marble.

They waſh with great Ceremony, joyning the tops of their Fingers together of both Hands, both before and after Meals, and upon their natural Occaſions, which they do in the open Streets.

Their Swords are more bending than the Faulchions, of pure Metal, and as ſharp as a Razor. The Hilts are without Wards, being of Gold, Silver, Horn, Ivory, Steel and Wood.

Perſian Scimitars worſhipped.

Their *Perſian* Scimitars were of that value with the *Scythians*, that they worſhipp'd them as the Image of *Mars*. Their Scabbards are of Camels Hide, cover'd with Velvet on Feſtivals, and embroidered with Gold, or ſet with Stones of price. They ſeldom ride without Bows and Arrows, the Quiver being wrought or cut very artificially, the Bow ſhort, but ſtrong, and the Arrows long and well-headed. They are ſo Skilful in Archery, in which they chiefly delight, that they can in a full career cleave an Orange hung croſs the Hippodrome, and when paſt the Mark, turn backward and hit the reſt. They have ſome Cannon mounted at *Lar*, &c. but ſeldom uſe them in Field-Services, which give the *Turks* ſome advantage againſt them, who diſorder the Horſe with the noiſe of them. The uſe of Muskets they have learn'd from the *Portugueſe*, and uſe them well.

Their Women, their Perſons and Garb. *Vid. Fig.* 18.

The Women veil their faces in Publick. They are low in ſtature, but ſtraight and comely, more corpulent than lean, for Wine and Muſick fatten them. Their complexion is naturally pale, but by painting made ſanguine. Their hair is black and curled, their forehead high, skin ſoft, eyes black, have high noſes, pretty large mouths, thick lips, and round checks. Honeſt Women, when they go abroad, ſpeak to none in their Way, nor unveil their faces. When they ride, the vulgar ſort ſit aſtride, but the better ſort are mounted on Camels in Cages of Wood covered, to keep them from the ſight of Men. Their hair curling hangs about their ſhoulders, and ſometimes is plaited in a Cawl of Gold; round about their face and chin they uſually hang a Rope of Pearl. Their Eye-lids are coloured Coal-black with a fine Pencil dipped in the Mineral called *Alcohole*. They make alſo Incitions in their fleſh of various ſhapes and forms. Their Noſes are hung with Jewels of Gold ſet with rich Stones, and their Ears have Rings of equal luſtre. They beautify their Arms, Hands, Legs and Feet, with painted Flowers and Birds.

Their Courtezans.

The Courtezans have a more laſcivious Carriage and Dreſs: They force every Limb to dance to the Muſick of their Bells and Timbrels. Their Habit is looſe and gawdy, reaching to their mid-leg; under which they wear Drawers of Cloth of Gold Sattin, tiſſued Stuffs, or coſtly Embroidery. They are of no Religion, look temptingly, drink notably, and covet Men and Money greedily. The Queen is preſent with the *Perſian* Kings at Supper and Banquets, but withdraws when the King is diſpoſed to drink and be merry, for then they call for Muſick and Courtezans, for they will not have their Wives privy to their Intemperance and Wantonneſs.

The Arms of *Perſia*.

Concerning the Arms of *Perſia*, *Zenoras* obſerves, that in Old time they bore *Luna*, an Eagle crowned with the Sun, diſplayed *Saturn*, which continued till *Cyrus* altered it, who, as *Xenophon* tells, had an Eagle hung upon a long Spear for his Arms. The *Perſian* Kings bore this Eſcutcheon, till *Craſſus* was overcome by them, and then they Blazoned a Sagittary on their Royal Standard, with which alſo their Doricks (a piece of Gold of 15 *s.* value) was ſtamped. But *Mahomet*, when he had conquered them, and introduced his Law, rejected theſe, and choſe a *Mercury*, and Moon Creſcent, with this Impreſs, *Totum dum impleat Orbem*, alluding to an Univerſal Command, which the *French* have tranſcribed and ſet up at *Fountainbleau*. *Siet Gunet* changed *Mahomet*'s Coat, and invented a new Enſign, *viz.* *Venus*, a Lion couchant Sol; the Sun Orient in his face of the ſame, Minted alſo in their Braſs Medals, and as a tye of Amity accepted of by the

Great Mogul and Neighbouring Princes. The *Cawns*, *Beglerbegs*, *Sultans*, *Aga's*, *Soldagars*, and *Cooſel-baſhes*, bear no Coat-Armour, becauſe they are ignorant in Heraldry. No honour among the *Perſians* is Hereditary. They are very civil and noble in their Natures to one another, and eſpecially to Strangers. They allow Degrees among themſelves, and other People, and give a due reſpect to Men according to their Degrees, Quality, or Merit. In Old time they were Idolaters, as the Governours now are, but by converſing with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, they have learned to worſhip Dæmons, and aboliſhed their Cæleſtial Worſhip. They honoured *Jupiter*, or the Firmament, but *Apollo*, *i. e.* the Sun, or *Mythra*, they moſt affected, and to him they dedicated many Temples, and giving him Titles of Honour, Health and Gentleneſs. The Moon alſo they had no adoration of, ſuppoſing her to be eſpouſed to *Apollo*, and ſtill they bowed to it at its firſt appearance. *Venus* alſo had equal Reverence, and the Elements were Deify'd. Reward and Puniſhment came alſo into the Number of their Gods. *Zertooſt* commanded them to keep a continual Fire, not to be fed with common Fuel, nor kindled with profound Air, but ſuch as ſhould come from the Beams of the Sun, Lightning, Flints, or the like. The Water they would not allow to be corrupted with dead Carkaſſes, Dirt, Urine, or any other naſty thing. Images they little regarded, performing their Religious Rites in Groves, Mounts, or other places. Their Marriages they commonly celebrated in the Spring about the Æquinox, and the Bridegroom eat nothing but Apples and Camels Marrow. Polygamy they approve of, not only from the Example of their Kings, but becauſe they honour ſuch moſt as have many Children.

The Education of their Children.

They ſeldom ſaw their Children till they were four Years old, from which Age to twenty they learn to ride and ſhoot, fare meanly, lodge hard, watch. The Old Men went plain, but the Young Mens Habit was rich, their Arms and Legs being hung with Chains of burniſhed Gold, or Braſs, which imitated the Sun's brightneſs. In their War they wore Coats of Mail, or Steel, curiouſly linked, and their Breaſt-plates ſcaled: Their Targets were of Ox-hide, large and round, and their Cap of Linen in many folds. Bows, Swords and Axes, were their Arms, which they kept well, and managed dexterouſly. The great Mens Tables were ſplendid in rich Furniture and Diſhes of Gold, but in Meats very ordinary and ſparing. They were much given to Drunkenneſs, with which they ſealed all their Negotiations and Bargains with, nevertheleſs their Complements are hearty, embracing their Equals, and giving the Head and Knee to Superiours. Superſtitious they are, and care not to act in any Affair, unleſs by caſting the Die they light of a Fortunate Chance. In Sickneſs and Troubles ſome uſe Sorcery, preſcribing Charms, Croſs-Characters, Letters, and the like, taken commonly out of the Alcoran. Necromantick Studies they much admire, becauſe above common reach, and few of their *Siets* but can exerciſe. *Friday* is their Sabbath, which they keep licentiouſly.

Their Callings, Buſineſs, Arts and Sciences.

Concerning their Callings, Buſineſs, Arts and Sciences. The Soldiery is moſt in requeſt among them, of which they have four degrees, *viz.* *Chawns*, *Cooſel-baſhes*, *Aga's*, and *Cheliby*, or *Coridſchey*. The *Timars*, or *Turqmars*, are more deſpicable. Upon the Muſter, the *Perſian* King can march three hundred thouſand Horſe, and ſeventy thouſand Foot or Muſquetoons, ſuch force he can advance, but ſeldom exceeds fifty thouſand, becauſe 'tis as many as can be Forraged in ſuch barren Countries, which afford little Paſturage, or other Provender for Horſes, and therefore they feed them with chopt Straw and Barley, which renders them leſs apt to Diſeaſes, and keeps them in as good heart as ours, which have better Proviſion. In Peace they are not idle, but exerciſe themſelves in ſundry ſorts of Martial Feaſts. They love to hunt and chaſe the Stag, Antelope, Gazal, Tyger, Boar, Goat, Fox, Jackal, Wolf, and the like. They know well how to uſe the Bow, Dart, Scimitar, Gun and Javelin. Their Harquebuz is longer than ours, but thinner, and they uſe it well, but deteſt the trouble of Cannon, and ſuch Inſtruments of War, as require Carriage. They have large Greyhounds, of ſuch Courage, as to encounter Lions. They have Spaniels, but not ſo good as their Hawks might challenge, for they have Eyeries of Eagles, Lannars, Gawſe-hawks, and Hobbies, with excellent Falcons, out of *Ruſſia* and *Scythia*, which they fly commonly at Hares, Jackals, Partridge, Pheaſant, Hern, Pelicans, Poots and Oſtriches. The Vulgar ſort delight in Morrice-dancing, Wraſtling, Bandying, Swinging on the Ropes, Ram and Cock-fighting, in which Exerciſes they ſpend both Time and Money. Cats are more in requeſt with them than Dogs, which they frequently carry in their Arms, in imitation of their Prophet *Mahomet*, who uſually carry'd a Cat in his Sleeve. Merchants are in eſtimation among them, who trade into *Turkey*, *Ruſſia*, *India*, and other Parts of *Aſia*, but ſeldom into *Europe*. Their Mechanicks are induſtrious and ingenious in working Silk and Cotton, dying and weaving Carpets, and printing Flowers of all ſorts in Leather and in Colours, of which they make Buſkins, Sandals, Saddles, and Furniture for Houſes.

Their Phyſicians.

Their Phyſicians are great admirers of Nature, doting ſo much thereon, that they often make the Inſtrument the Cauſe. They are well Moralled, and civil in Language and Guarb, which beget them eſteem from all that converſe with them, but are Covetous, and love Magick Studies. They have degrees tranſcending one another in Title, as their Skill and Seniority merits. They are moſt of them Philoſophers, but their Libraries are ſmall, and their Books uſually Arabick, but choice and uſeful. They prefer Plants and Vegetables before Minerals. In their Schools they affect Silence, and ſitting croſs-legged, wag their Bodies, imagining that motion advantages their Study, and ſerves for Exerciſe. The Doctors are named *Hackeems*, *i. e.* Learned Men, but their Mountebanks *Shitan-Tabib*, *i. e.* the Devils Chirurgeons. They are Maſters of much Knowledge, and delight much in Judicial Aſtrology. Many Arabick Writers, learned both in Natural Philoſophy and Mathematicks, have flouriſhed in thoſe Parts, and their Books they read, *viz.* *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, *Averroes*, *Alfarabius*, *Avicenna*, *Razis*, *Albumazar*, &c. In Geography they have *Abulfæda*, and in Oratory *Alphraganus*, which they read and become admirable. They have plenty of Herbs, Druggs, Gums and Odours, which they underſtand the uſe of, and can apply ſeaſonably.

Some of their Medicines.

For Fluxes they give Sloes, Rice, Cinnamon, Pomegranates, and Barbaries. To purge Melancholy, Aloes, Senna and Rhubarb. For Flegm, Turbith; and for Colds and Sweatings, Oils of Beavers, Leopards, Jackals, *Herba Maris*, and *Ladies Roſe*. The Country affords plenty of *Galbanum*, *Scammony*, *Ammoniac*, *Manna*, *Piſtacho's*, *Dates*, *Rhubarb*, *Opoponax*, *Sarcocolla*, and *Aſſafætida*; which laſt is found in greateſt quantities about *Lahor*, and the River *Indus*. But Sweating is the Epidemick Phyſick, being of leaſt Charge and moſt Uſeful, inſomuch that ſome Cities have three hundred Hummums, or Baths, and others many, tho' not ſo numerous. By frequent Bathing their Skins are made ſoft and fine, and their Bodies tender and active. They compute their Years by Moons, and not by the Sun, ſo that the number of Days in the whole Year with them amounts but to 353, which our computation by the Sun exceeds 12 Days, and makes a great difference between their Hegyra and our Year of the Lord.

Such as practiſe Manufactures are of an Inferiour account to the Soldiers, nevertheleſs they live plentifully, and out of the reach of the King's jealous Eye, which often ruin the great ones. The Peaſants are Slaves, and can call nothing their own, becauſe they are ſo ſubject to the Rapine of the *Begs* and *Cooſel-baſhes*, tho' upon complaint they find reaſonable Juſtice from the *Cauſees*. They are of a gentile and obliging Nature, facetious, harmleſs in Diſcourſe, and little inquiſitive after Foreign News, ſeldom inquiring more about any Country than, Whether they have good Wine, fair Women, ſerviceable Horſes, and well-temper'd Swords. Few of them can read, becauſe that Science is ingroſſed by Church-men, Clerks, Santo's and Merchants, yet honour ſuch as can.

Their Muſick and Poetry.

Some little Skill they have in Muſick, which reſembles the Doric and Phrygic, a ſoft and lofty Conſort. Above all Poetry lulls them, but their Poems are Amorous and Laſcivious. *Abul-Caſen*, who lived *Anno Heg.* 385. *Elgazzuly*, *Ibnal-farid*, and *Elfargani*, are their principal Poets in thoſe fancies; nor is Poetry rewarded better any where than there. *Mahomet* the Great, *Almanſor*'s Son, gave Poet *Marvan* for ſeventy Diſticks, which he preſented him with, 70000 Staters: And *Taher*, King *Abder-Haymon*'s General, for three Verſes, which a Poet gave him, requited him with three hundred pieces of Gold; and tho' their Verſes be but lame, yet their ſinging them makes them harmonious.

Their dancing.

The Men affect not dancing, yet take no ſmall pleaſure in the Boys and Girls that do, who to admiration conform the parts of their Bodies by ſtrange windings and geſticulations to the ſound of Bells, Timbrels and Cimbals. The Art of painting the Face in theſe Countries, is more ancient than commendable, not only Women, but Men uſing it.

Perſia

Eunuchs, their Antiquity and Uſe.

Perſia continues the ancient Cuſtom of emaſculating Youths, not only to preſerve the Excellency of their Voice in ſinging, but principally for the guarding of the Seraglio of great Perſons, which tho' it ſufficiently effeminate them, yet ſome Eunuchs have neither wanted Courage nor Reputation, but have been elected Generals for the Field. They are of ancient ſtanding in the Court of *Perſia*, and were formerly made by the Exciſion of the Teſticles only, but now all the Secrets are cut off, becauſe a jealous *Turk* obſerved one of theſe Geldings covering a Mare. Honeſt Women rarely ſhew their faces, covering their beauty with a white Sheet; and no Man dares to praiſe anothers Wife, for fear of ſtirring up the Jealouſie of her Husband.

Circumciſion how uſed in *Perſia*.

Concerning Circumciſion; it is here uſed, and none can be called a *Muſſul-man* without it. Men, and ſometimes Women, conform to it; the Men for Paradiſe, and Women for Honours ſake. The Males are Circumciſed at *Iſhmael*'s Age, which was thirteen Years old, and the Women between nine and fifteen, as is practiſed in and about *Cairo*. The *Arabians* practiſed it before *Mahomet*, who is thought rather to have permitted than commanded it; a Fee is to be paid at the Ceremony, and for want of it, the pooreſt ſort are ſeldom cut. The Ceremony is more or leſs, according to the difference of degree, performed either at home, or in the Moſques. If a Son to a *Mirza*, *Cawn*, *Sultan*, or *Chelaby*, be to be Circumciſed, it is done with great pomp, for his Kindred and Friends, in their beſt Equipage, aſſemble at the Parents Houſe, and as a Symbol of their Joy, preſent him with Gifts of ſundry prices. After a ſmall ſtay, they mount the Boy upon a fine Horſe, with rich trappings. He is finely Cloathed, holding in his Right Hand a Sword, and in his Left Hand the Bridle. Two Slaves go on each ſide him, one bearing a Lance, the other a Flambeau. Before goes the Muſick, and the Father follows, whom the reſt of the Kindred attend in Order, according to the nearneſs of their Relation. The *Hodgee* attends at the entrance of the Moſque, helps him down, and hallows him, and then they go immediately to their Work: One holds his Knee, a ſecond Diſrobes him, and a third holds his Hands, whilſt others, by ſome trivial conceit, ſeek to divert his thoughts, to extenuate his enſuing pain. The Prieſt having ſaid his Prayers, delates the Fore-skin, and in a trice, with his Silver Scizzars, Circumciſeth him, and then applies an healing Powder of Salt, Date-ſtones, and Cotton-wool. The Standers by, to joy his initiation into *Mahometaniſm*, throwing down their *Munera Natalitia*, ſalute him by the Name of a *Muſſul-man*, but if the Ceremony be performed at home, they provide a Banquet, before which the Boy enters before the Company uncloathed and circumciſed; and in memory of it they Feaſt three days, as *Abraham* did when *Iſaac* was weaned. At the end of theſe days, the Child is led about in State, bath'd and purged, and having a white Turbant upon his Head, is ſaluted with Acclamations.

Apoſtate Chriſtians how Circumciſed.

But Apoſtate Chriſtians go before the *Cadi*, who leads them to the Moſque, where they are without any ceremony Circumciſed; which done, they ſpurn at the Croſs with their feet, and ſpit thrice at it, making their profeſſion in theſe words, *La, la, la, illah, &c.* God is firſt, praiſe him, and next to him *Mahomet*. Then they hold up one finger, to renounce the Trinity, and he receives a new Name. Then he is led upon an Aſs ſlowly through the City, that every one may obſerve that he is become a Proſelyte of *Mahomet*; but praiſed be God, we have few Examples of ſuch Chriſtians.

Marriage, by whom uſed, and how celebrated.

Concerning their Weddings, they have not much variety. All marry, as they pretend, to furniſh the Emperour with Soldiers for Defence, and Paradiſe with Saints, to ſing the Praiſes of *Mahomet*, except their *Dervies*, which are an Order of begging Friars among them, who from a tranſcendant conceit of their own Purity forbear Matrimony. Such as intend to marry, provide a Sum of Money to buy the Woman's good-will he has a mind to, her Parents having no more to do but to bath and purify her. They chuſe their Wives more by report of others than by their own knowledge, the Friends of either Party recommending and concluding the Match. On the day of Marriage the Bride is Veiled with Lawn, and bravely Mounted, a Troop of Friends accompanying her to the Church, and in the Mid-way ſhe is met with as many more, and all to greaten the Ceremony. Entring the Moſque, the *Mulay* takes the Proteſtation of their good liking, and ſhe demands three things, as the *Jewiſh* Women did of Old, Bed-right, Food and Cloathing. Their Fathers having declared their Conſent, the Prieſt circles them with a Cord, joyns their Hands, takes a reciprocal Oath, and calls *Mahomet* to witneſs; and then the *Caddi* having enrolled their Names, with the Day, Hour, Month and Year of their Nuptials, diſmiſſes them with an *Euge*. The firſt day is ſpent in Feaſting and Jovialty, the Men and Women aſunder. At Night the Bride is waſhed and perfumed, that ſhe may be better accepted by her Husband. The next Night they bathe together, and ſo continue ſeven days Feaſting, in which time, if the Man diſcover the Woman not to be a Virgin, ſhe is returned to her Parents with diſhonour, otherwiſe ſhe is kept till Death makes a Divorce.

Inceſtuous Marriages allowed, and Divorces.

The Alcoran allows Inceſtuous Marriages, under a pretence of preſerving Love in Families. If a Man be weary of his Wife, or ſhe be barren, he acquaints the *Mulay* with it, who will give him a Divorce upon his allowing his Wife a Dowry; and if they agree again, they may be married again, and that often. They may not marry any of another Religion, but uſe them as Slaves or Concubines. They refrain from them in their Diſeaſes. Their Law allows four Wives, and Concubines without number. They never wed Proſtitutes. The Women give ſuck two Years. They permit not Widows to marry again, till 120 days be expired from their Husband's Death.

Their Death and Burials.

Concerning their Death and Burials. They retain many of the ancient Ceremonies uſed by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; when a Man dies, the next of Kin cloſeth his Eyes, as did *Joſeph* and *Telemachus*. The nobler ſort have their Sepulchres in the ſides of the Mountains about *Perſepolis*, in very deep Pits; and ſome are Embalmed, their Brains being drawn out with a Silver Inſtrument, and their Belly (as ſoon as the Bowels are taken out) being filled with Spices, but the poorer ſort uſe only Bitumen, or the Juice of Cedar, which reſiſts putrefaction. Their moſt uſual way of Burial is this: They waſh the Corps firſt with clean Water, and then carry it to the Grave orderly, and with ſilence, and lay it in their Church-yards, where none have lain before, for they never bury in their Moſques, or Churches. They place his Head towards *Medina*, and the next a-kin watch for ſeven days to keep the Evil Angel from his Grave, ſinging Pſalms of Lamentation for the Dead. Others take a different Method: In the firſt place go Kindred of the Dead, then his Slaves naked to the Waſte, who, to expreſs their Zeal, ſcratch their Arms and Breaſts, and cut and print Circles in their Fleſh, ſo that the Blood runs down in many places. Next follow ſome Youths, who carry on their ſhoulders ſome Texts of the Alcoran, while they utter the praiſes of the Dead. Next theſe go many Perſons of the beſt rank, who put their hands to the Cord that draws the Hearſe, and on every ſide throng the Multitude with Laurel, Cypreſs, or Flowers in their hands. In the laſt place go the *Præficæ*, or Mourning Women, who tear their hair, and counterfeit tears, and ſhrieks to provoke others to paſſion. In this manner they go ſlowly with ſilence to the Burial-place, and having firſt cried out, *Lala-Hillulla, i. e.* Let us praiſe God, uncloath, waſh, and anoint the Carkaſs, and ſo wrapping it in fine Linen bury it, with his Head towards *Meccha*, his Face towards Heaven, and his Arms ſpread out to embrace *Mahomet*. Upon the Grave they fix two ſtones, one at the Head, and the other at the Feet, on which his Name, Quality, and time of his Burial, is noted in *Arabick* Characters. There they leave him, but go twice a day to ſing his Requiem, beſeeching *Mahomet* to ſuccour him againſt his bad Angels, of whom, as a part of their Creed, they hold this Opinion, *viz.* That ſo ſoon as any *Muſſul-man* is buried, forthwith *Muengar* and *Quarequar*, two ugly Devils, aſſail him, one with an Iron Club, and the other with an Hook of flaming Braſs, in which poſture they view the Carkaſs, command him to lift up his Head, and falling on his Knees beg his Soul, which then returns to him, that he may give an account of his former life. If upon his Confeſſion it appear good, the Devils flee away, and give place to two Angels apparelled in white Silk to comfort him, not leaving him till the day of Doom, nor ſeeming unwilling to protect him; but if upon Examination his Life appear bad, the two Devils, one beating him down into the Earth with a Club, the other pulling him up again with his Hook, torment him in that manner till *Mahomet* calls a Parliament to give him deliverance. In former times they uſed to burn the Bodies of the Dead in a Linen called *Linum Vivum*, made of the ſtone *Asbeſtos*, which will not conſume in the Fire, but preſerves the aſhes in it unmixt from the aſhes of the Pile; but this Cuſtom is now left off, and they bury their Dead in the ground.

Their Opinion about the Angels that attend the Dead.

The Furniture of their Houſes and Diet.

Concerning the Furniture of their Houſes and Diet: A Pan, a Platter, and a Carpet, is the Epitome. Their

Diet

Their Bread. Pelo. Maza. Paſties. Salads. Mutton. Camels. Goats. Pheaſants. Herbs. Locuſts. Cheeſe and Butter. Sherbet. Coffee, its Virtues.

Diet is ſoon dreſs'd, quickly eaten, and as readily digeſted as deſcribed. Their Table is uſually the ground, covered with a Carpet, over which they ſpread a Pintado, and ſit croſs-legged as Taylors do. Before every Man they lay five or ſix Cakes of Wheat like Pancakes, which are their only Bread; they tear it in pieces with all their fingers. Spoons with handles half a Yard long, and large Bowls, lie ſcattered up and down the Board. They ſeldom go beyond *Pelo*, but will make forty ſeveral ſorts of Diſhes of it, by dreſſing it ſeveral ways, *viz.* with Butter, Fruits, Turmerick, Saffron, Onions, Garlick, Almonds, Raiſins, which give it a different colour, *&c.* or without, giving it ſeveral Names, as *Chelo*, *Ciſhmy-Pelo*, *Cherry-Pelo*, &c. They have alſo a Meat reſembling *Maza*, which was Meal mixed with Water and Oil, with Gobbets of fleſh. They have alſo little Paſties of haſhed Meats, like the *Turks* Sambouſes. They eat Rice, becauſe they call it an Holy Grain, ſprung from *Mahomet*'s Civet. They eat alſo Salads, Achairs, and hard Eggs. Their Mutton is ſweet, but fat principally in the Tail, which commonly weighs twenty pound. The Country yields Camel, Goats and Pheaſants, and their Law allows the eating of them, but prohibits Beef, Veal, Pork, Hare and Buffolo. They ſell Camels fleſh in the Markets roaſted upon Scuets, or cut in Mammocks and Carbonado'd; three or four Spits are ſold for two pence. The Poor content themſelves with dry Rice, Herbs, Lentils, Roots, Fruits and Flummery, and are well ſatisfied with ſuch ſlender Diet. They ſometimes eat Locuſts, and Dates preſerved in Syrrup mixed with Butter; Milk is with them a precious Food. Their Cheeſe and Butter is the worſt that ever was taſted, the Cheeſe is blue and hard, bad to the eye, worſt to the taſte, and worſt of all to the digeſtion. Their Butter is ſluttiſh, full of hairs, and unſalted. Their Drink is ſometimes fair Water, Sugar, Roſe-Water, and Juice of Limons mixed, and confected with Citrons, Violets, and other ſweet Flowers; and for more delicacy, an addition of Amber, which we call Sherbet. They alſo drink Wine, pretending a peculiar Privilege indulged them by *Ally* and *Siet Gunet*, which the *Turks* are not worthy of. They alſo drink Arack and Aquavitæ, and take Tobacco much, which they ſuck through Water; but above all, affect Coffee, or Coho, a drink as black as Soot, wholſome as they ſay, but not toothſome, if ſupped hot it comforts the Brain, expels Melancholy and Sleep, purges Choler, lightens the Spirits, and begets an excellent Concoction, and by Cuſtom becomes delicious; but all theſe Virtues beget not their liking of it ſo much as this Romance, that it was invented and brewed by the Angel *Gabriel* to reſtore *Mahomet*'s decay'd moiſture, which it did ſo effectually, as that he did Wonders both in *Mars* and *Venus*'s Camp.

Opium and its Virtues.

Opium is much uſed among them: They chew it, and ſay it helps Catarrhs, Cowardice, Epilepſies, ſtrengthens much; ſo that Foot-Poſts are enabled by it to run Day and Night without intermiſſion. The *Perſians*, for the moſt part, eat in Porcellane, or other Earth, not valuing Silver, becauſe, they ſay, *Mahomet* going into Hell, ſaw the Devils at Dinner ſerved in Silver. In feeding they uſe no Knives, but feed themſelves with four fingers, which is enjoyned them by Tradition. They never cut, but break or rend their Bread, becauſe *Ozman* in his Parody tells them, that *Shitan*, or the Devil, cuts all he eats. At their Meals they are the merrieſt Men alive: No People in the World have better ſtomachs, drink more freely, and eat more plentifully, condemning the Epithets given Wine in the Alcoran, that 'tis Giants Blood, and Devils Gall.

Their Drinking.

They never quarrel in their Cups, nor deſire any Man to ſit longer, or drink more than he pleaſes. They never drink Healths, nor one to another, as the Chriſtians do, who have that civil Cuſtom, but too often abuſe it.

Their Bed.

Their Beds are Cots of two Foot high, or four low Poſts ſtrengthened with Girth-Web, a Shag, or Yopangee ſpread a top, which is of double uſe, for it ſerves as an Umbrella abroad, and at home for a Coverlet. In Summer their Slaves attend about them, ſome to waft, and beget cool air, others to ſcare away the Gnats, and ſuch like buzzing Vermine, which trouble them exceedingly in hot Weather. The Men account it a ſhame to make Water ſtanding, becauſe Dogs do it, and when they piſs, they have Slaves attending with Silver Ewers filled with Water to cleanſe the pollution.

Their Riding and Horſes.

The better ſort ride ſo often on Horſeback, tho' but a few Rods, that they count a Mad Man that walks. Their Horſes for Service are of the *Arabian* breed, faſhioned like Jennets, but ſwifter, and of more courage: They curb their Metal in with ſharp Bits. Their Bridles are long, and ſometimes ſtudded with Gold, of which Metal are their Stirrups and Pummels often. The Saddles of the better ſort are uſually of Velvet, high and cloſe like our great Saddles, and the Trees are curiouſly painted. Their Horſes are generally in good liking, tho' their fare be mean, *viz.* Chopt Straw and a little Barley. Mules with them are as valuable as their Horſes, becauſe more ſerviceable in Ways ſandy and mountainous. Men commonly uſe Horſes, and Women Mules and Camels. On every Camel they hang two Cajua's, which hold two Women apiece. They are a ſort of Wooden Cages, covered with Cloth, in which they ſit. When any Haram travels, they are guarded with Eunuchs armed with Bows and Swords, both for Offence and Defence.

The Perſian Religion.

Now concerning their Religion, or Superſtition rather, it varies not from the *Turks* in any particle of the Alcoran, and yet they account one another Hereticks. The Schiſm was begun *A. D.* 1400. by *Siet Gunet*, the better to advance the *Sophian* Title, and is held up ſtill ſo furiouſly, that thoſe two Mighty Monarchs proſecute one another with an hatred irreconcileable.

Mahomet's Pedigree and Life. His Marriage.

Mahomet was the Son of *Abdar* a Pagan, and *Emma* a Jeweſs, born at *Jathreb* in *Arabia*, *Anno Chr.* 574. *Juſtinian* governing the *Roman* Empire, and *Coſhroes*, the Father of *Hormisda*, the *Perſian*. His Parents were poor, and therefore he became an Apprentice to *Zayed-ben-Hartah*, a rich Merchant, who dying, left his Servant a conſiderable Legacy, but Traffick decaying by reaſon of the Wars between *Coſhroes* and the *Romans*, *Mahomet* liſted himſelf firſt under *Heraclius*, and after under the *Perſian*, not caring who was vanquiſhed ſo he gained. Having much increaſed the Eſtate his Maſter left him by the War, he ventured to ſet up for himſelf, and having Credit enough to Command many *Tartars* and *Arabians*, he attacks firſt the Chriſtian Forces, and then the *Perſian*, and beats them both. Upon this Occaſion, obſerving the Diſcords among the *Romans* by the Death of *Mauritius*, whom *Phocas* ſlew, he gives it out, that he was Ordained from the beginning of the World to Eclipſe the Power of the Pope, to Inſtruct the World in a better way than *Moſes* or *Chriſt* had; that he was the Comforter, and ſent to advance the *Arabian* Name above all other in the Univerſe. The *Jews* at firſt cried him up for the *Meſſiah*, but when they ſaw him eat Camels fleſh abhorred him; but the Savages ſtill admired him, credited his Revelations, and hoped he would effect his Promiſes. But before he could effect them, the *Perſians* broke in upon him and his Men, and ſo miſerably beat them, that he was forced to fly for his life upon his Dromedary, leaving his Men to the fury of the *Perſians*, and loſing all his Money. This Misfortune filled his Heart with ſad reflections for a time, but afterward conſidering that he might retrieve all again if he had but Money, laid cloſe Siege to *Chodaige*, a Woman of great Wealth, and by ſome thought Queen of *Coraſan*, and by his amorous aſſaults won her. By her he had three Sons, and as many Daughters: His Sons died young, and his Eldeſt Daughters *Fatyma* and *Zaynab* were married to *Ally*, and his Younger *Om-Kalthom* to *Abubeker*. He had many other Wives and Concubines. And now having raiſed himſelf again in the World, he began to think of diſcharging his promiſe in giving the World a more excellent Doctrine than *Moſes* or *Chriſt* had, and having taught certain Doves to feed out of his Ear, and Camels to expect their Food from him, he got ſo great a reputation for Holineſs, that all *Arabia* expected great things from him.

His helps to compoſe. His Alcora

Having therefore the help of *Sergius* an *Italian* Monk, a *Sabellian*, diſcontented becauſe he miſſed of the Biſhoprick of *Byzanth*, and *John* of *Antioch* an Heretical *Neſtorian*, two ſubtle Spirits, he furniſhed his Alcoran by mixing Truth with Falſhood, *A. D.* 620. being then 46 Years of Age. Having compoſed his Alcoran, he went to *Mecca* to have it received, but the *Arabs* perceiving his deſign, and knowing his Birth and Breeding, baniſhed him, and had deſtroyed him, had not his Wives Relations ſaved him. *Mahomet* was ſo diſheartned at this repulſe, that he once reſolved to burn his Book, but *Sergius* telling him that ſo great a Work could not fail of Oppoſition, revives his hopes, and ſecludes himſelf from Company for two Years, and then again ventures to divulge his Doctrine, to which by gifts, and other perſwaſions, he attracted ſo many Followers, that within ſeven Years his Alcoran was received at *Mecca*, and from thence ſpread it ſelf into all the Eaſt. *Mahomet* ſoon after dies, in his Climacterick Year, *A. D.* 637. Heg. 17. ordaining *Ally* to ſucceed him, and his Corps to be Entombed in *Ayſces* Grave in *Jathrip*, which he new named *Medina Talnabi*. His Alcoran or Sunna, *i. e.* the Book of

Truth,

The Contents of the Alcoran.

Truth, or Legend for the Faithful, is ſtuffed with Philoſophy, both Moral and Natural, and mixed with ſo many Fancies and Inventions, as renders the whole abſurd and ridiculous. In the Preface 'tis ſaid, that the Book was ſent from God by *Gabriel* to *Mortis-Ally*, but he miſtaking the right Man gave it to *Mahomet*, but God ſeeing him indued with equal Virtue, the Angel was not blamed, but the Gift was confirmed. They report alſo, that as ſoon as he was born, the Angel brought him three Keys, by which a threefold Dominion was conferred on him, *viz.* over Law, Victory and Prophecy.

The Names of it.

The *Alcoran*, called by them *Kurrawn*, i. e. Scripture, *Aleſalem*, i. e. the Law of Peace, and *Alcacan*, i. e. Judgment, was digeſted by *Ozman*, 15 Years after *Mahomet*'s Death, into a Volume twice as big as *David*'s Pſalms, and divided into 114 *Azaora's* or Chapters, put by *Ozman* into a kind of Rhime, and writ originally in *Arabick*. It contains not ſo much Rules for Devotion and a good Life, as a Relation of his own Acts, intermixed with the Art of War and Peace, Syſtems of Rhetorick, Mathematicks, and Ethicks, borrowed out of *Ariſtotle*, and other Philoſophers, but groſly and confuſedly handled. His Mother inſtructed him in the *Jewiſh* Rites, and *Sergius* in the Goſpel; from whence it is that he mentions *Noah*, *Jonas*, *David*, and other Prophets, commending their Writings, and quotes St. *Luke*'s Goſpel at large. It ſays of *Chriſt*, That he is the *Meſſias*, Word, Spirit, and Light of God, not omitting his Aſcenſion; yet he will not own him to be the Son of God. He ſays, that he was the moſt Holy, Chaſt, and Powerful Saint that ever lived upon Earth, and ſays, he ſhall ſave the *Chriſtians*, as *Moſes* ſhall the *Jews*, but in another place he aſſerts, that no Soul ſhall be ſaved but by the Alcoran. No Man therefore among them dares undervalue our Bible, but practice it ſo far as is commanded by the *Alcoran*. And ſo they reverence *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, and viſit his Sepulchre and the Saints Tombs, yet with *Arrius* it denies Chriſt's Divinity, with *Sabellicus* the Trinity, with *Macedonius* the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and with *Manichelus* the Death of Chriſt. In Chap. 32. he politickly Commands that no Man be ſo impious as to queſtion any tittle of his Law, or diſpute about it. Their Commandments are eight, *viz.*

The Doctrine about Chriſt.

The Commands of the Alcoran.

I Commandment. *There is but One Great God, and* Mahomet *is his Prophet.*

The *Muezins* and *Talismans*, every fourth hour, ſing this aloud from the Steeple-tops of every Moſque. This Command is borrowed either from the Decalogue, or 4th of *Ezekiel*. The ancient *Bards* and *Druids* made it an Article of their Faith in thoſe dark Times.

II Commandment. *'Tis neither Good nor Juſt that any* Muſſul-man *live unmarried, leaſt the Profeſſors of the* Alcoran *be diminiſhed.*

Polygamy allowed.

Polygamy is tolerated by this Law, yea, ſuch are thought moſt Honourable, who ſuperabound in Wives and Concubines. *Mahomet* boaſts in his Alcoran, that he had ſtrength enough to ſatiate 40 Women; and 'tis to be thought, that in this Precept he had reſpect to the Natural Diſpoſition of the *Arabians*, who are better pleaſed with ſuch Freedom and Voluptuouſeſs than Virtue, not caring how, ſo he could make them Obey him.

III Commandment. *It behoves* Muſſul-men *to be Charitable, and to hate Contention.*

Hoſpitals for Beaſts and Birds.

Travellers find ſpecial Advantage by this Commandment, for whereas there are no Inns in theſe Countries, they have erected Buildings for the Accommodation of Travellers, which are always open and clean kept, and near them is a large and convenient Stable: Yea, ſo remarkable is their Charity, that they not only erect Hoſpitals for the lame and diſeaſed, but ſometimes for aged, ſtarved, or hurt Birds, Beaſts, and ſuch Creatures.

IV Commandment. *It behoves* Muſſul-men *to invocate their Prophet every day five times at leaſt, and to attend his coming patiently.*

Their manner of Praying, and Names of it.

They accompliſh this Precept with ſo much regard, that when the *Muezin* call from the Steeple of the Moſque, they fall to Prayer, whatever buſineſs they are about. Before they enter the Moſque they waſh their Feet, lay aſide their Shoes, and being aſſembled, turn their Faces all one way. In their Prayers they ſhut ſometimes their Eyes and Ears, and ſometimes drop their Beads, and at every Name of *God* or *Mahomet* kiſs the Earth. They often repeat *Llay-lala*, or *Hilula*, *i. e.* Praiſes, and then ſay a Prayer to this effect: *In the Name of the Good and Holy God, praiſed be the Sovereign of all Worlds, the Merciful God of Doom. Thee we ſerve, thee we call upon, ſhew us the beſt way, that which thou haſt revealed to* Mahomet, *not that whereby thou puniſheſt the Ungodly.* Another Prayer they have, which is a Tautology of the Names of God, which they uſe often in all *Mahometan* Countries. Theſe are the moſt uſual Prayers, but they are not without other ſet Forms of Prayer, compiled by *Ozman* in his Parody, and more largely by the famous *Almotannabby*, who in his high-flown Conceits endeavoured to exalt his Name and Reputation above *Mahomet*'s. Theſe Prayers are for the ſafety of their Kings, an happy Iſſue, the welfare of their Country, thanks that they are *Muſſul-men*, or true Believers. Their five Canonical hours are, 1. About break of Day. 2. Noon. 3. Three in the Afternoon. 4. Sun-ſet. 5. Midnight. The firſt hour is performed by four *Teſſalems*, and two Prayers. The ſecond by ten times kiſſing the Earth with five *Elfata's*. The third by eight Grovelings, and four Ejaculations. The fourth by five *Sizeda's*, or kiſſing the ground, and three Orations. The fifth hath fifteen *Teſſalems*, and eight Repetitions. Howbeit, the *Perſians*, ſince their Reformation, think it enough to pray thrice, *viz.* Morning, Noon and Night, in 24 hours. On their *Guyumaa* or Sabbath, they aſſemble in their Moſques, (which are without Seats and Bells) firſt waſhing their Faces, Hands, and Arms to the Elbow, then kneeling with their Faces toward *Medina*, ſpeak not one to another, nor ſpit or cough, if they can avoid it.

Their hours of Prayer.

V Commandment. *See thou obſerve Yearly a Month* Lent, *a* Byram, *with the other Feſtivals.*

Their Lent, whence Inſtituted.

The *Lent*, or *Ramadan*, begins commonly at the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, in imitation of our *Lent*, or rather the forty days of *Moſes* abode in the Mount, tho' they ſay in memory of *Mahomet*'s hiding himſelf in the Deſart, when the People of *Mecca* perſecuted him for divulging his Alcoran, or rather for his remaining ſo long in the ſixth Heaven, when he ſays, He had the Honour to ſhake hands with the Almighty, (which he ſays was ſeventy times colder than Ice) and to prove it to the People, commanded the Moon to deſcend, *&c.* During this *Ramadan*, they eat nothing all the day, and he is accounted a Heretick that abſtains not; but the Sun is no ſooner down but their Carnival begins, and they let out their Appetite to all manner of Pleaſures, and Epicurize in all manner of Dainties. This Feaſt they keep twenty nine days, or one Moon, for tho' the Alcoran commands forty days, yet thoſe of the New Reformation have limited it to a Month.

Their Byram or Eaſter.

The *Byram* begins as ſoon as their *Lent* is ended, which they celebrate for three days with the greateſt Merriment, and on the laſt of them uſually reſolve upon a Pilgrimage to viſit their Prophet's Sepulchre, not entombed in an Iron Coffin, and hanged between two Load-ſtones, as ſome have reported, but laid under a fair Marble, poliſhed, and engraven with Arabic Sentences out of the Alcoran. In the Way they wallow in all kind of Turpitude, and are no where miſuſed, being cloathed with a Pilgrim's Coat, and Hypocritick Sanctity.

The Buccarie.

The *Buccarie* they ſolemnize in *November*, in commemoration of the Ram ſacrificed by *Abraham*, at which time as *Iſhmael* (as they ſay) ſhould have been Offered.

The Oudhuſſan.

Oudhuſſan, a Feſtival kept in Memory of *Hocem*, or *Huſſan* the Son of *Ally*, who was ſlain, with eleven of his Sons, by *Mavy* the Caliph of *Damaſcus*, Nephew to *Oſman*, as a Triumph againſt the *Benhumians*, who left no means unattempted to have rooted out the Family of *Ally* root and branch, which nevertheleſs was providentially preſerved in one of the Stem, named *Mirza Shereſim*, from whom *Azmully*, *Siet Gunet*, and the preſent Sophian Race, is deſcended. On this day they puniſh *Mavy*, by a deformed Image of him with a black Face, Noſe pierced through with a Dart, and clad with Straw, which they drag through the Streets in great Multitudes, curſing and tormenting of it in the vileſt manner. In token of Joy, they unanimouſly ſing their *Epinicia*, and crying aloud, *Tough Ally*, ſtrive to rend the Clouds with Clamours. At a ſet-time they ceaſe, and giving fire to a Train of Gun-powder, blow up the deteſted *Syrian*, Squibs ratling, and the People making an hideous noiſe at his Funeral. *Huſſan*'s Ghoſt after this ſleeps quietly, as they think, and each *Perſian* commending one another's Zeal, ſpend the following Night in Merriment.

Mavy's puniſhment.

Jedt-Ouſant

Jedt-Ouſant, which is kept in Memory of the aforeſaid *Huſſan*, *Ally*'s Son, who they believe was loſt in a Wilderneſs, where thirſt, or rather *Mavy* the Caliph killed him. Nine days they wander up and down, ſhaving neither Head nor Beard, nor ſeeming Joyful, but inceſſantly beating their Breaſts; and ſome tear their Garments, crying *Huſſan, Huſſan*, in a melancholy Note, ſo long and loud, till they are hoarſe. The *Dervices*, and other *San toons*, being in the Croud, expreſs their Zeal by turning round with incredible ſwiftneſs for a long time. The tenth day they find an Imaginary *Huſſan*, at

The Dervices Devotion.

which they ſhout with all their Might, till they bring him to his Grave, where he ſleeps till next Year's Zeal fetch him out to accompany their Devotion. This Feaſt is like the Heathen Feſtival of *Adonis*, the *Ægyptian* of *Oſyris*, and the *Jewiſh* for *Tamuz*, *Ezek*. 8. 14.

Their *Nowrouz*. The *Nowrouz* is in imitation of our New-Years-Day, only they begin their Year at the Vernal Æquinox. This is a Feſtival of Jollity, wherein few Prayers, but all manner of Pleaſures are uſed. For the reſt of the Year, very few Women of Quality appear in publick, and thoſe veiled from the ſight; but in theſe 12 days of the *Nowrouz* all places are full of them, they diſcover their Faces, friſking in amorous Poſtures, and drawing the Eyes by a forced Magick. They alſo ſend Gifts and Preſents up and down one to another, as Silk, Gold, Horſes, Fruits, and the like. Nothing but Riding the Horſe, Drinking, Cock-fighting, Fortune-telling, Singing, ſwinging in the Air, Courting, and the like, being obſerved to the laſt minute of the Feſtival.

Women appear publickly.

The *Imamy*. The *Imamy* is kept in Memory of *Mahomet*'s Camel. In *November*, the Prieſt of *Mecca* ſends a Camel by his Son to *Spawhawn*, where it is welcomed by many thouſand *Muſſul-men* with extreme Joy for ſo Holy a Preſent. The *Hodgee* that brings it, perſwades them to a thankful remembrance, and Bleſſes them. The Multitude thronging about it lead it into a Field, and having plucked off the hair with admirable dexterity, which they keep as a ſacred Relick prevalent againſt ſudden Death, Hunger, Thirſt, Poverty, and the like, the *Hodgee* ſigns it for ſacrifice; and then the *Darraguod* pierces it with his Javelin, the Viſier beheads it and gives it the King, and then the Multitude tear the Carkaſs in pieces, greedy to obtain a Charm of long Life and Plenty, as they imagine it to be.

The Sacrifice of a Camel.

The *Caddyer-Ally*. The *Caddyer-Ally* is a Feaſt in Memory of *Ally*'s Victory over the three Caliphs of *Mecca*, Conquered by Death, not *Ally*. After ſome Lamentations they utter many Prayers, Sing-ſongs, and beſtow Alms. The King is at moſt Charge at this Solemnity, becauſe of the Honour which reflects on him by the Memory of his Anceſtors.

The *Auwtpatſion*. Tho *Auwtpatſion* (or *Owdt-baptſion*) is celebrated in Memory of *Mahomet*'s Baptiſm by *Sergius*. Many of the ordinary ſort of *Mahometans* aſſemble at this Feaſt, and when the *Darraguod* has ended his Sermon, promiſcuouſly ſprinkle one anothers Faces with Water, then beſmear their Fleſh with Dirt and Filth; (which to pleaſe the King the great ones will alſo ſometimes do) at laſt they waſh themſelves, and ſuppoſe themſelves purer than ever.

The *Sephian*. The *Sophian* is a Solemnity of Faſting, Feaſting and Praying, for the proſperity of their King, and continuation of the Line of the *Sophi's*.

The Feaſt of *Roſes and Daffidils*. The *Feaſt of Roſes and Daffidils*, is begun by a Proceſſion of *Santoons* at the firſt budding of thoſe Flowers, and for thirty days is celebrated with all manner of Sports and Recreations. This Feaſt ſeems to be derived from the times of the ancient Kings of *Perſia*, who had the Supreme Monarchy of the World. At the keeping of this Feaſt they ſet up an infinite number of Tents, which are full of Men, Women, Boys and Girls, who ſport themſelves with Arms, Muſick, Songs and Dances, much like the Games of *Olympus*, or *Orgyes* of *Bacchus*.

VI Commandment. *Reverence thy Parents.*

How they perform this Law, many Tragical Stories daily ſhew us.

VII Commandment. *Curſed be the Slayer.*

A Law ſo well practiſed in *Perſia* through the rigour of the Governours, that one may travel in their Country in any place, and at any time, without dangers; for tho' they are bred up to War, and are great lovers of Wine, they ſcarce ever quarrel, or kill any Man. Yet to enlarge their Territories, and propagate their Faith, they think it a Meritorious Act to kill and ſlay their Enemies, without any tincture of Mercy.

VIII Commandment. *Do ſo to others, as thou wouldſt others ſhould do to thee.*

This Law obliges them to be Humane and Courteous, as they generally are, but whoever reſorts to them for Juſtice, will ſoon diſcern that Bribery, which is lately crept in among them, hinders the Obſervation of this Law in the true ſenſe of it.

The Paradoxes of the Alcoran. The Alcoran being a Miſcellany of divers Sciences, contains many Paradoxes in it. In the 33 *Azaora*, he ſays, That *Dagial*, or *Shytan*, *i.e.* the Devil, at length ſhall be ſaved by *Mahomet*'s means. And in the 72 *Azaora*, he adds, That *Elgebenny*, *i.e.* the Infernal Ghoſts, ſhall after I know not how many Years be freed. In the 85 *Azaora* he treats of the Zodiac; and in the 91, 92, 93, of the Moon, Night and Morning, and in the 113 of the Fimament, but his Philoſophy ſavours of his Ignorance, who declares of himſelf, That he could neither Read nor Write, and therefore pretends his Learning was Supernatural. In one Chapter he ſays, *Solomon* was a great Magician, and that he learned it of *Marot* and *Arot*, two bad Angels; but we may with more reaſon ſay; *Mahomet* was one, if that be true which he ſays of himſelf, that being on a time compaſſed with a great Aſſembly of *Arabians*, he pointed at the Moon with his Thumb and long Finger, and in Obedience to him it immediately clove aſunder, and fell upon the Hill of *Mecca*, where *Mahomet* at that time ſtood, and having embraced *Mortus-Ally*, aſcended again. In another place he aſſures his Proſelytes, that *Mecca*, *Medina* and *Jeruſalem*, be holy Cities, built by *Adam* in Paradiſe, but framed in Heaven; but *Elmedin* in *Chaldæa*, *Antioch* in *Syria*, *Vaſtat* in *Ægypt*, and *Eb-beram* in *Armenia*, ſprung out of Hell, becauſe they reſiſted the progreſs of his Alcoran.

Mahomet a Magician.

Mahomet's Aſcenſion into Heaven. In the 47th *Azaora* he records his aſcent into Heaven, where he ſaw rare Objects, and from whence he brought a deſcription of the ſeveral Spheres, Heavens, Hell and Paradiſe, as alſo of Angels and Saints, Judgment, the Reſurrection, Joy and Pain. Their Authors tell it thus: One Evening, as *Mahomet* was ſporting with *Ayſce* his young Wife at *Mecca*, *Gabriel* (called by the *Perſians Seraphiel*) entred the Chamber in a flaſh of fire, and thus ſaluted *Mahomet*, *Hail thou beloved Man! I come to fetch thee: God, whom thou ſo zealouſly worſhippeſt, deſires to ſee thee at his own Habitation.* *Mahomet* demands how he ſhould aſcend? The Angel ſhews him an Aſs, called *Albarack*, and bids him mount him, and he carried him to *Jeruſalem* at four ſteps, where the Angel taking him into his Protection, carried him into Heaven, into which *Gabriel* the Porter, who keeps ſeventy thouſand Keys, for ſo many Diviſions in Paradiſe, let him in.

The ſeven Heavens. He paſſed the ſeven Heavens in a moment, (tho' he ſays they are 500 Years travel) and ſays, The firſt is of refined Silver, in which all the Stars are fixed with Chains of burniſhed Braſs. The ſecond is of Gold, tried ſeven times in the Fire. The third of Pearl. Here he ſaw innumerable Troops of Saints and Angels, as *Adam*, *Enoch*, *Samuel*, *Abraham*, &c. They ſaluted him, and he prayed for them. The fourth was of *Smaragdus*, where he ſaw innumerable Companies of other Angels inceſſantly praiſing God. Among them he ſaw *Phatyr*, the Angel of Mercy, who keeps the Holy Pen with which God regiſters all things paſt, preſent, and to come, with Ink of pure Light, and in ſuch a myſterious Character, that none but himſelf and *Seraphael* can read it. The fifth Heaven is of Diamonds, where he ſaw the Wiſeſt of all the Angels, who keeps the Book wherein all Mens Names are written, and as he blots them out they die. The ſixth is of *Turquoiſe*, and the ſeventh of *Alabab*, *i.e.* Fire and Light congealed. All theſe incloſe one another like Pearl, or Onions, and are of tranſparent Metal.

The Heaven of Heavens. Above all is the Heaven of Heavens, full of Light and Silence. There *Mahomet* ſaw the higheſt Throne, ſupported by ſeven Angels, and on it the Almighty, who laid his hand on *Mahomet*'s Face in a ſign of Welcome; at which *Mahomet* bluſh'd for ſhame, and ſwet for fear. From him, after he had received full Inſtructions, he deſcended with his Alcoran.

The Nature of Angels. Of Angels he ſays, they are either good or bad, both are ſubject to Death: The Good, becauſe they conſiſt of flame, an Element, and to ſin, becauſe *Lucifer* for his Ambition was driven out of Paradiſe. Bad Angels are impriſoned in Dogs, Swine, Toads, Wolves, Bears, Tygers, &c. After the Day of Doom they ſhall be tormented in Hell ſome Millions of Years, but in the end ſhall be delivered.

The Day of Judgment and the manner of it. Of the Great and General Judgment he ſays, 'Tis as certain as the Day of Death, and will happen ſuddenly, when the World is wrapt up in careleſs Security. The Angels know not the time, till *Mahomet* points it out by a great and fearful Duel between *Adriel* and Death, whom in the end he vanquiſheth, but becomes thereby ſo enraged, that he deſtroys all the living Creatures of the World. After this enſues an Univerſal Earthquake, attended with a ſhower of purling Brimſtone, which deſtroys all Graſs, Trees and Vegetables, and turning the Earth topſy-turvy, reduceth them to their firſt Chaos. Forty days it remains in this condition, and then God will for forty days and nights more rain a ſhower of Mercy, and then by a gracious and gentle breath reduce the World into a freſh and glorious Eſtate. Then he will call up *Seraphiel*, and bid him ſound his Trumpet. At the firſt ſound ſhall enſue a revivification of Men and Angels, and at the ſecond Angels ſhall reſume their Glories, and Men their Fleſh. Then *Michael* ſhall in his Balance poiſe every Man's Deeds, and they, whoſe good Actions over-poiſe their bad, are put upon the Right-hand, and all others on the Left. Such as are loaden with ſins, are to paſs over a narrow and weak Bridge to Hell; ſuch as have few ſins go over ſafely, but they that have many break the Bridge, and fall into an Abiſs. The Alcoran then tells us what Hell is, *viz.* That 'tis in the middle of the World, encompaſſed with a thick Wall of Adamant, entred at ſeven Gates of flaming Braſs, divided into many Cells; ſome of which are more loathſome, and fuller of torment than others. Some have ſharp Pikes and Swords placed upright to torture Souls, ſome are full of Oil and Brimſtone ever flaming; others abound with Toads and Serpents, and all the noiſome Creatures imaginable. The Damned eat nothing but forbidden Fruit, which being in their Bowels, burns like Sulphur, and makes them roar continually. Some Rivers are full of Crocodiles, and others ſo cold as to make them gnaſh and chatter: Howbeit, their Doctors teach, that theſe pains ſhall not endure for ever, but after each Soul has ſuffered ſo many thouſand Years as their ſins deſerve, *Mahomet* will deliver them, and the Devils alſo.

What Hell is.

What Paradiſe is.

The nature of Paradiſe he ſays is this: 'Tis a place of as much delight as *Mahomet*'s Carnal imagination is able to fancy. He ſuppoſes it will be upon the Earth after the Day of Doom. The Alcoran ſays, 'tis as many Miles about as there be Motes in the Sun, the Wall is Gold nine times refined, it has ſeven Gates, the firſt of Carbuncle, ſecond of Pearl, third of Emerald, fourth of Turquoiſe, fifth of Jacinth, ſixth of Smaragd, and ſeventh of Amethyſt. It is divided into ſeven ſpacious Gardens, which are ſubdivided into ſeventy times ſeven places of delight, each filled with Inhabitants, Muſick, Wine, and all Senſual pleaſures imaginable. All have cool refreſhing Rivolets of Chryſtal, drilling over Pibbles of Amber. Summer-houſes it hath alſo ſhaded with Trees ever fruitful and verdant. In the center of this *Elizium* is ſo broad a Tree, that all Paradiſe is delightfully ſhaded by it; the Trunk of it is Diamond, and Leaves Gold. From ſeveral Quarters come four ſtreams of pureſt Water, Milk, Coho and Honey. Aromatick Flowers are there in abundance, which raviſh both Eye and Smell. The Birds pleaſe with far more delightful Singing than the ſweeteſt Nightingales. The Air is compounded of ſelf-raviſhing Odours. *Mahometans* (for *Chriſtians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles*, have not ſuch Glory) are ever young and ſprightful there. The Women are exceeding beautiful and courteous, and the Males have a complexion brighter than the Sun. Theſe are the Fanatick Doctrines of the Alcoran, which are firmly believed by the *Aſiaticks*.

A Tree in the midſt of Paradiſe.

Their ſeveral Orders of Churchmen and Religious.

There are ſeventy Orders or Degrees among them, and tho' their Tenets are very ridiculous, yet they are ſo eſteemed of here, that in their defence they will become Martyrs; for theſe falſe Teachers are ſo raviſhed and tranſported by having gained a Dominion over the Faith and Conſciences of Men, that no Perſecution can make them leave it. They have various ſorts of Eccleſiaſticks. The Mufti is the Chief in hearing and deciding Caſes of Error, which if he fail in, the Prieſt of *Mecca* determines it. The *Caddi-Cadaleſtris* are next. The *Hodgee's*, *Emeri's*, and *Mulai's*. The firſt are Expoſitors, the other are Mendicants, who eat their Bread in Idleneſs. The *Tylalli* converſe moſt, and the *Dervices* are wandring Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing. The *Taliſmans* regard the hours of Prayer, by turning the four Hour-glaſs. The *Muyezim* cry from the tops of the Moſques, *Llala-Hillala*. The *Calenderi*, *Abdalli* and *Derviſlari*, are Pæderaſts, and dangerous to meet in Solitary places. The *Terlaqui* and *Cobtini*, are of the Family of Love. The *Leſhari* and *Papaſis*, are Fortune-tellers and Star-gazers. The *Suuni*, *Naappi*, and *Tecuai*, Vow Silence and Aſſaſſinate. The *Sietti* and *Imami*, ſometimes pull out their Eyes, having ſeen *Medina*, and others their Tongues. The *Haquiemals* ſing amorous Songs, ſome for Pennance go naked, and others are covered with aſhes. The *Doanni* are Fools and Madmen, yet thought Inſpired. The *Mandeæ* afflict their Bodies by Thirſt, laſhing and wounding themſelves, and in Charity carry Burdens, or do any ſervile Work *gratis*. Some abjure Fleſh, Fiſh, Wine, and Roſe-water; ſome live like Hermits, others build Houſes to Safe-guard Birds and Beaſts, and feed them, and have Muſick to keep them from melancholy. Others build Hoſpitals, Inns, Baths, Moſques, and the like. Some are Poets, others Mimicks. Others have Seeds and Charms to make Women fruitful. Some ſcorch their Skins in the Sun, and others anoint their naked Bodies with Honey, to invite the Flies and Waſps to torment them; and this they do, as they think, out of Pity and Piety. Theſe, and many other ſuch like things, they do in Obedience to their Alcoran, and are paſt all Conviction in theſe Follies, becauſe the Crafty Lawgiver, perceiving his Divinity and Philoſophy inſufficient to abide the trial, has Commanded them, that none upon pain of Damnation ſhould preſume to queſtion a Syllable of his Law, and therefore as few, but the Eccleſiaſticks, will ſtudy it; ſo all by a reverenc'd Ignorance and Obſtinacy hope to be ſaved by it.

CHAP. XXV.

Sir Tho. Herbert*'s Travels into other Parts of* India, *with his Obſervations of things moſt remarkable in them.*

SIR *Tho. Herbert* and his Company, having ſpent ſome time in travelling over *Perſia*, returned again to *Swalley*, and on *April* 12. ſet Sail to make ſome Obſervations upon other Parts of *India*, than which the World for Pleaſure and Wealth has none more conſiderable. Being three or four leagues off at Sea, they had a proſperous gale, and had ſight of ſome noted Towns, *viz. Gundavee*, *Daman*, *S. John de Vacas*, *Choul* and *Dabul*. Moſt of theſe Towns were ſubjected by *Alberquerq* to the Crown of *Portugal*.

Dabul deſcribed.

Dabul, of Old called *Dunga*, is ſituate in 17 degrees and 35 min. Northern latitude; heretofore it was under the Command of the King of *Decan*, but now is ſubject to the *Portugueze*, to whom *Fr. Almeida* gained it by ſtratagem. It is ſeated upon an high, pleaſant, and fruitful Hill, from whence ſtreams a Rivolet of freſh Water, very uſeful in that hot Clime. The Road is reaſonable good for Anchorage. The Houſes appear to the Seaward beautiful, tho' they are but low, and terraſſed a top to qualify the heat and cold. An old Caſtle, and a few Temples, is all ſhe boaſts of at preſent, for the Bazar is but ordinary, the Streets narrow, and her Mart inconſiderable, her Trade being removed to *Goa*, and *Calicut* on the South, and *Surat* and *Cambaia* on the North.

Choul deſcribed.

Choul lies in 18 deg. 30 min. Northern latitude; it was taken from the King of *Decan* by *Almeida* in 1507. and to ſecure it to the *Portugueze* he built a Fort, which he fortified with Cannon. *Miſamoluc*, the King of *Decan*, endeavoured to recover it with a numerous Army of Horſe and Foot, beſides Elephants, but by the gallant Defence made by the *Portugueze*, he was forced to raiſe the Siege with loſs and ſhame. The Inhabitants are a mixture of *Portugueze* and *Bannians*; it affords nothing elſe obſervable. After five days Sail they came cloſe to the Iſle of *Goa*, where they found the air ſo hot, that they were forced to ſweat and live like Salamanders.

A Fly called Cacaroch.

Delyn's Bay.

Here they were troubled much with an *Indian* Fly called *Cacaroch*, which alive vexes the fleſh with its biting, and dead the Noſe with an odious ſmell. This Weather continued but a Week, and then having a freſh gale, they came to an Anchor *April* 23. in Mount *Elly*, or *Delyn*'s Bay, a Port in the Dominions of the *Mallabar*. Here the treachery of the Inhabitants kept them in their Ships, who yet brought them in their Canoes Coco's, Mango's, Jacks, Green Pepper, Caravances, Buffolo's, Hens, Eggs, and other things, which they ſold dear. Here they had the Wood called *Calambuco*, a Tree much valued and uſed at Funerals; it is very ſweet and delightful to the ſmell, grows high and even. It is found commonly in the lofty Mountains of *Chamoys*, in *Cochin-China*, and being hardly got, is ſold at exceſſive Rates, becauſe the *Bannians* delight to have this Wood in their Obſequies; and the *Japonians* value it for Ornament in their Houſes, for they imagine no Pillow ſo wholſome to ſleep on. The Richer ſort alſo burn *Arabian* Gums with the Dead, which they firſt wrap in pure white Linen, ſweet and fine, or tranſparent Taffata. Here are the faireſt Limons, as alſo Pappa's, Coco's, Banana's and Plaintains, very ſweet and delicious. The Oranges are juicy and dainty, and of ſo curious a reliſh, as that they affect the Eater beyond meaſure, and the Rind is no leſs pleaſant than the Juice. The Tree has bloſſoms, green and ripe Fruit all together. The Banana's are no leſs delightful, the Tree is low, but ſpreads gracefully; the Fruit is like a Sauſage for ſhape, but moſt pleaſant in taſte, they are yellow when ripe, and the Rind peels off eaſily, and the Fruit diſſolves in the Mouth with an incomparable reliſh. The Jack grows upon a Tree very low, it is in ſhape like a Pumpion, without of a yellow colour mixed with Veins, and within full of Kernels, which lie in golden Cloves; the Fruit is ſomewhat unpleaſant at the firſt taſting, but of double benefit in the ſtomach, being reſtorative and good for the back. The Anana is as big as the Jack, ſpringing from a Root like an Artichoak, and never riſing above two foot high, and ſo eaſily gathered. It has an hard Rind, but pleaſant within, and the ſtomach much covets it, being eaſie of digeſtion. The Duroyen reſembles the Jack, beautiful on the outſide, and excellent within; being opened it ſmells like a rotten Onion, but the Meat is white and cordial, nutritive and dainty. It abounds moſt in *Malacca* and *Java*; Arec and Betele are here much uſed. The Arecca-Tree grows high, and is like the Palmeto, the Wood is fuzzy, and the Fruit like a Walnut, but like good Oil has neither taſte nor ſmell, but being wrapped in a Leaf of Betel, or Be-tree, and chewed, they ſay it cures the Cholick, removes Melancholy, kills Worms, purges the Maw, preſerves Teeth, prevents Hunger, and ſtupifies the Senſe, which makes the *Indian* Women to chew it when they are to be burned with their dead Husbands.

Beſt Limons and Oranges.

Banana's.

Jacks.

Anana's.

The Duroyen.

The Arecca.

Mount Elly is in 12 deg. latitude, and 55 deg. 30 min. longitude; 'tis as hilly place as any in the *Indies*, and parts the two rich and populous Kingdoms of *Decan* and *Mallabar*. Stormy Weather is uſually here when the Sun is neareſt, and makes their Summer; and from the Summer-Solſtice to the Autumnal Æquinox, it continues windy and rainy. Theſe extraordinary Rains cauſe the overflowing of the *Menan* in *Siam*, and *Suhan* in *Pegu*, as the like Weather about the ſame time in *Æthiopia* raiſes the Waters of the *Niger* and *Nilus*. This is the Winter of the Eaſtern People, the Weather being always fair for the other 8 Months, and more eſpecially along the *Indian* Coaſt of *Malabar*, of which a little.

Mount Elly.

The *Menan* and *Suhan*.

Malabar is at this day a great and famous part of *India*, extending from *Batticala*, a Port in 14 deg. to Cape *Comryn*, which is about 7 degrees North of the Æquinoctial, but 400 Miles in length, but no where above an hundred in breadth, and in ſome places not more than fifty. The Country is ſo populous, that the *Samoryn* of *Calicut* is able, upon occaſion, to take the Field with two hundred thouſand Men, to oppoſe his powerful Neighbours the Kings of *Narſinga*, *Decan* and *Golcunda*. It is verdant for the greateſt part of the Year, abounding with Cattel, Corn, Silk-worms, Peppers, Ginger, Tamarinds, Caſſia, Cardamom, Rice, Myrobalans, Anana's, Pappa's, Melons, Dates, Coco's, and other Fruits; and has ſeveral Defenſive Towns and Harbours, as *Coulam*, *Cochin*, *Calicut*, *Mangabore*, &c. The Roads about it are anchorable and ſecure, and afford as good Harbours as any in the *Indies*. *Malabar* is divided into ſeveral Petty Governments, which are all ſubject to the Great *Samoreen*, a naked Negro, but mightily exalted by being the principal *Brachman*, and no leſs tyrannical than proud. The *Nayroes* are his Nobles, who exerciſe no leſs Authority over their Inferiours, than the *Samoreen* doth over them, being freely tolerated an Arbitrary liberty, Life excepted. They are extremely Libidinous, provoking their appetites by Art and Diet, and eſpecially by the uſe of the Herb *Deutroa*, which heightens their Security and Recreation. They are Proud and Lazy, and uſually go armed. They load their Necks and Arms with Silver, Bracelets, Ropes of Pearl, and other Effeminate pieces of Bravery, and are ſo ſtately, that they expect more than ordinary reſpect, for they will not allow an inferiour Perſon to look them in the face, or appear within fifty paces. Of colour, they are rather black than olivaſter, their hair curls, and grows longer than the *Africans*, and tho' they wear their hair, yet they wreath about their Temples a curious ſort of Linen, ſometimes wrought with Silk and Gold. They wear about their Waſte a piece of Callico, but are naked in all other parts of their Body. The Vulgar wear about their Waſte a parti-coloured Plad, and pink their Skin. The Women Veil themſelves like other *Indians*. Their greateſt pride is expreſſed in adorning their Ears, with many weighty Baubles to dilate them, and their Noſes with Jewels of Silver, Braſs and Iron, and hanging their Arms and Legs with rich Chains.

Malabar deſcribed.

The Defenſive Towns and Harbours.

The King and Nobles.

Their Colour and Habit.

Concerning their Marriages, it was formerly a Cuſtom that the *Brachman* had the firſt Nights Company with the Bride, but that Cuſtom is wholly abrogated. The *Samoreen* confers his Command on his Siſter's Iſſue, thinking they were of his Blood. They are a People addicted more to Arms than Arts, and tho' the *Portugueze* thought them eaſie to overcome, becauſe they were naked and unlearned, yet were deceived in both, Nature inſtructing them in the ways of their Defence.

Their Marriages.

The Country abounds with Minerals and Stones of price, and no part of it is deſtitute of Fruit and other Proviſion; but the Land, eſpecially by the Sea-ſide, is Wooddy and Mountainous; and in thoſe Parts that lie between *Narſinga* and *Malabar*, there are many Wild Beaſts, that make the Ways dangerous, and Serpents that have Wings and Feet, if Report may be believed.

The Product of the Country.

Moſt of the People in their Diet abſtain from Fleſh and Wine; yea, Wine-Vinegar and Strong-Water, not allowing themſelves the Liberty of Radiſh-Roots, Onions, Garlick, or other Roots and Herbs, that have a tincture of red, and reſemblance of blood, that they may keep to the Rules of the Shaſter, and Example of their Anceſtors, contenting themſelves with Milk, Rice, Sugar, Herbs, and Fruits of ſeveral ſorts and Spices, being of the *Bannian* perſwaſion, who will not take away any Creatures life to preſerve their own. Paſſing from hence they came before

Their Diet.

Callicut, thought to be *Ptolemy*'s *Canthapis*, and anciently called *Callicaris*, once a Town of Trade, but now ruined by the *Portugueze*, who have transferred their Mart and Staple to other Towns, and ſo made this place poor and deſolate. It lies in the 11 deg. Northern latitude, and ſtanding in the hot Zone, muſt needs at ſome time of the Year be very hot. The Earth is but meanly fruitful in Graſs, but the Gardens, by the help of Brooks brought into them by Art, are for the greateſt part of the Year redundant in variety of Flowers and Fruits. The City is of it ſelf large, but the Houſes are low, thick and dark, and the Streets narrow. The Harbour is at ſome diſtance from the Town, and but indifferent to anchor in; there are near it the Remains of two ſtrong Forts, raiſed by the *Portugueze*, but demoliſhed by the *Malabar*. The *Somareen* uſually reſides in this City, a Prince of great Power and Awe, black in colour, and treacherous in diſpoſition. They worſhip many *Pagotha's* here, pretending that they adore not Idols, but the *Deumo's* they repreſent; the *Portugueze* have defaced moſt of them. Their Grand *Cacc-Deumo*, whoſe Chappel is uncovered, and the Walls about three yards high, has upon his Head a Diadem, whence iſſue out four great Ram's Horns. His Eyes are ſmall and ſquint, and his Mouth large, opening like a Port-cullice, from which branch out four great Tusks. His Noſe is flat, and his Beard ſpreads like the Rays of the Sun. His Hands reſemble the Claws of a Vulture. His Thighs and Legs are ſtrong and hairy, and Feet and Tail are like a Monkies. All which put together, make the Devil like himſelf, and the People groſs Idolaters.

Callicut deſcribed.

Other Temples they have full of Pagods, equally deformed, yet all differing in their ſhapes, ſome black, ſome red. Every Morning the Prieſts (a Jogue) perfumes and waſhes them, the Devil it ſeems leaving a filthy ſmell behind him. Every Morning, the Prieſt attired in Lawn, Sacrifices a live Cock, which having killed with a ſharp Silver Knife, and embowelled, he ſends to the *Somareen*, who receives it as Food ſent him from his *Duomo*, and what he leaves is given not to the Poor, but to the Crows, his Serviteurs.

Their Temples and Sacrifice.

They exchange Wives, and tolerate Polygamy both in Men and Women, and the Iſſue is bequeathed as the Woman nominates. They write in Sedge and Palmeto Leaves, as the Ancients did, but inſtead of a pin of Iron, they write with a piece of hardened Wood cut ſharp. Then they paſſed by

Polygamy.

Cowlam, it is a Town and Province, and ſtands in 9 deg. North. About 200 Years ago the Town was rich, great and populous, traded to by many *Indians*, enlarged ſo by the *Somareen*, that it numbred 100000 Inhabitants, but now the period of her Excellency is come, *Callicut* and *Goa* have Monopolized the Trade

Cowlam deſcribed.

from

The *Bannian* deſcribed.

from her. The *Bannians* all along this Coaſt ſwarm in Multitudes, ſucking in gain by an unmeaſurable thirſt and induſtry, which is raviſhed from them by Drones, the *Moors* and *Gentiles*, who are Lords over them: For the *Bannian* is no Swaggerer nor Royſter, he abhors Domineering and Fighting, and ſuffers himſelf to be fleeced by any Man, rather than reſiſt, or ſhed Blood by breach of Peace, or making the leaſt Oppoſition; they love no Tumult, no Innovation, are content to ſubmit rather than govern. They are Morally honeſt, courteous in their Behaviour, temperate in Paſſion, decent in Apparel, abſtemious in Diet, induſtrious in their Callings, charitable to the Needy, humble, merciful, and ſo innocent, as not to take away the Life of the ſillieſt Vermin, leaſt by deſtroying any living thing, they ſhould diſlodge the Souls of their Friends from their Manſions, for they believe the tranſmigration of Souls into Beaſts.

Chriſtians of S. *Thomas*.

Among them are mixed ſome Chriſtians whoſe Anceſtors were converted by St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, as indeed there are Chriſtians almoſt in all *Mahometan* Countries, becauſe the *Mahometans* allow Liberty of Conſcience, according to a Chapter in their Alcoran, That none are to be diſſwaded from the Religion they have ſucked in from their Cradle. Theſe *Indian* Chriſtians have ſundry Ceremonies and Forms, of long time practiſed among themſelves, differing from the uſages both of Papiſts and Proteſtants. Their Churches are low, and poorly furniſhed, but neatly kept, and without painted Images. They aſſemble cheerfully, and at their entrance ſhut their Eyes for contemplation. They kneel with their faces toward the Altar, where the Prieſt is ſeated, whom they ſalute with humble Reverence, and he returns his Bleſſing by lifting up his Hands and Eyes. At a ſet hour Prayer begins, and the whole Service ſeldom laſts above two hours. They firſt make a brief Confeſſion of Sin, and then Expound ſome part of the Scripture, to which the People attend with gravity and ſilence. They ſing an Hymn, and at their going out of the Church re-ſalute the Miniſter, who ceaſeth not to elevate his Hands till they are departed. At home they uſually read a Chapter out of each Teſtament in their Mother-Tongue, into which they held St. *Thomas* tranſlated them out of the Originals. Every firſt *Sunday* in the Month the Prieſt reads an Homily, written, as they ſay, by the ſame Apoſtle, or ſome of his Scholars.

Their Baptiſm with the Sign of the Croſs.

Divorce and Viſitation of the Sick.

They baptize commonly at the fortieth day after the Birth, if the Parents deſire it not ſooner, and at it. They ſign with the Croſs on the Forehead, and then waſh all over with Water. The Lord's Supper they Adminiſter in both kinds, and the Communicants receive it kneeling. They obſerve two days Preparation, in which time they eat no Fleſh, revel not, and company not with Women; and in the Church, if need be, make their Confeſſion. The Clergy marry but once, the Laity twice: Widows, if they marry before the Year be expired, are ill reported of. None, unleſs in caſe of Adultery, are allowed to Divorce. In Sickneſs the Prieſt is uſually ſent for, both to Pray and give the Euchariſt, it deſired; which done, they take their farewel of their Wife, Children, and other Friends, and ſo rid themſelves of Worldly diſtractions, that by contemplating on the Joys of Heaven, they may mitigate the grim aſpect of approaching Death.

Their Burials.

Their Faſts and Feaſts.

Being dead, the Survivors rather Joy than Mourn, and having firſt waſhed the Corps, lay it in clean Linen. Friends accompany him to the Grave, and place the Body with the Head Weſt, and five days after viſit the Family. They Feaſt and Faſt according to our Cuſtom. Their *Lent* begins in the Spring, and is obſerved forty days. Their Year is Solar. Our three chief Feſtivals they celebrate, and on the firſt of *July* commemorate the Martyrdom of S. *Thomas*. They have many *Protomiſts*, and the chief of them reſide in an Houſe built upon a Mountain 9 Miles from *Cranganor*. Since the *Portugueze* have ſettled in *India*, they ſhave their Heads. Laicks pay Tithes, affect Juſtice, profeſs Truth, practiſe Humility, and believe no Purgatory.

Brin-John.

May 7. they came cloſe to *Brin-John*, an high Mountain, and paſſing Cape *Comryn* ſailed by the *Maldives*, the King of which ſtiles himſelf Emperor of 13 Provinces, and 12000 Iſlands, and ſo kept on their Courſe to

Zeilon deſcribed.

Chriſtianity planted here.

Zeylon, called by the Inhabitants *Chingal*, who are a very comely People, and well-featur'd, nothing like the *Africans* ſave in colour. They are very ingenious, and good Mechanicks. The better ſort wear Silks, but the Vulgar are naked from the Waſte upwards. The air is very hot, being within 8 degrees of the Æquinoctial. The length of it is about 70 leagues, breadth 40, and circuit 250, or thereabouts. The Seeds of Chriſtian Knowledge were ſown in this Iſland very early, perhaps by Queen *Candace*'s Eunuch; ſince *Dorotheus*, who lived in *Conſtantine*'s days, ſays he preached the Goſpel in many parts of *Arabia* and *India*, and ſundry Iſles thereabouts, but now they are moſt of them turned Apoſtates. In *Claudius*'s days, ſome of the Natives of this Iſland came to *Rome*, and pretended much to the Knowledge of Aſtronomy and the Sphere, which 'tis probable they derived their Skill of from the *Gymnoſophiſts* the Scholars of *Zoroaſter*. *Laurentius*, the Son of *Almeida*, diſcovered it in 1500.

Their Idols.

At preſent 'tis over-run with Heatheniſm, and there is ſcarce any Village or Mount without its inanimate Pagod, their ſuppoſed Deity, or *Male-Geny*. Among others was the infamous Idol called *Hanimant*, or *Apes-Tooth*, which was highly eſteemed and reſorted to by Millions of *Indians*, till *Conſtantine*, the Vice-Roy of *Goa*, took it away from them at *Columbo*, and tho they offered him 300000 Ducats burnt it; yet a Crafty *Bannian* forged another ſo well, that the *Jogues* believed it the ſame, and ſo he ſold it to the joyful *Zeilonians* for great price.

Not far from *Mattacala* ſtands another famous *Pagotha*, of which the *Jogues* report, that *Joſhua* their King believing it a ſenſeleſs Idol, the Image on a time, when he entred his Temple, breathed out Fire, his Eyes ſeemed to ſparkle with rage, and his Scimitar in his Hand wrathfully bent againſt him; at which the King being amazed, cried out for help, accuſes his Infidelity, and having ſatisfied for his Error, became a zealous Idolater.

Adam's Footſtep.

Upon *Columbo*'s-*Peak* they ſhew the foot-ſteps of Old *Adam*, who they believe was born and buried there; and not far from it is a Lake of Salt Water, ſaid to be the tears of *Eve*, which ſhe ſhed for her Son *Righteous Abel*, for whom ſhe wept 100 Years.

The Cinnamon-tree deſcribed.

The Soil is good, and abounds with ſundry ſorts of Spices, as Pepper, Ginger, *&c.* but there is the greateſt plenty of Cinnamon, which is a precious Bark. The Tree is ſtraight, and the Boughs grow in a comely Order; it reſembles the Olive-tree in height, but the Bay in leaves. The Bloſſoms are very white, the Fruit round, hard, and dark coloured. It is covered with a thick Bark, of which the Peaſants ſtrip it in the Summer, and dry it in the Sun. This Iſland affords many other Rarities, as Oranges, Dates, Coco's, Anana's, Plantains, Maſtick, Elephants, Buffalo's, Cows, Sheep and Hogs, Smarages, Rubies, Balaſs-Diamonds, Amber-greeſe, *&c.* Theſe things firſt invited the *Danes* to trade hither; and then the *Portugueze*, under the Victorious *Almeida*, to covet it, who in ſpight of their united Heptarchy, in 1506. made them pay the Annual Tribute of 250000 pound weight of their beſt Cinnamon to their King *Emanuel*. Store of Pearl-Oyſters have been taken between Cape *Comryn* and *Zeylon* of good value. Here alſo is no want of Gold, but the King thinks Porcellane-Diſhes more valuable.

Coromandel.

From *Zeylon* they ſailed by the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, which ſtretches above 300 leagues from Cape *Comryn* under 8 deg. North, towards the *Æſtuarium* of *Ganges*, now called the Gulph of *Bengal*. Upon this Coaſt are ſeveral Towns of Note, as *Negapatan*, *Meliapore*, *Polycat*, *Armagun*, *Narſinga*, *Meſlipatan*, *Bipilipatan*, and ſundry others; in ſome of which the *Engliſh*, and in others the *Dutch*, have Factories.

The *Ganges* deſcribed.

The *Ganges* is one of the largeſt Rivers in the World, it holds its Courſe of 3000 Miles, and is increaſed by 50 other Rivers that run into it, and for above 100 Miles is double the breadth, and thrice the depth, that *Euphrates* is at *Babylon*. It divides *India* into two parts, and branches it ſelf into ſeveral ſtreams. Upon the Banks of it ſtand many noted Towns, and at length at 5 Mouths, of Old called *Cambyſum*, *Magnum*, *Cambericum*, *Pſeudoſtomum* and *Antibolum*, empties it ſelf into the Gulph of *Bengal*, and then into the *Indian* Sea. The *Bannians* have the Water of *Ganges* in that great eſteem, that they covet to have their Mouths wetted with in deadly Fits.

Negapatan deſcribed.

Negapatan, ſo called from the River *Nega*, on whoſe Banks it ſtands, lies in 12 deg. Northern Latitude, and odd Minutes, in a Clime hot and unwholſome through the high Winds and unſeaſonable Rains, which are common here ſome part of the Year, yet they have good Water, well-reliſhed Fruits, which nouriſh much. The People are blackiſh, and unfit for Studies, much vexed with Fevers, Fluxes, and other diſtempers. The Heat is ſo great here, that it weakens their ſtomachs, and makes them unfit for Labour. They wear a fine Shuddery, or Veil, over their Secrets, and a ſmall Wreath about their Heads, going naked in the reſt of their Body in all ſorts of Weather. They have Gold, precious Stones, and other Merchandizes, which draw Trade to them. They tolerate all Religions.

Their Marriages.

The manner of their Marriages is extraordinary. The Prieſt with a Cow, and the Man and Woman, go to the Water-ſide, where the *Bramyn* mutters a ſhort Prayer, and then links their hands about the Cows tail, pours upon them all his hallowed Oil; and laſtly, forces the Beaſt into the River, into which ſhe goes willingly ſo far as till they be up to the middle in the Water, nor do they return till the waves force them. Being come on ſhore they untie, and hold this Myſterious Conjunction forcible and ſacred for ever after.

Women burnt with their Husbands when dead.

The Heathens are averſe to Law and Morality here, and as if they were ignorant of the Law of Self-preſervation, allow their Wives to burn with their Husbands; ſo that Death having ſeparated them, the Wife conceits her ſelf a dead Carkaſs, and reſolves to make her ſelf an Holocauſt. To this end ſhe Cloaths her ſelf with Lawn, Fetters her Arms, Legs and Thighs, with Chains, expreſſing Love, but her Ears, Noſe and Fingers, are adorned with Pearl and precious Stones. With one hand ſhe holds a Noſegay of Flowers, and in the other a Ball, both which they account Emblems of Paradiſe. She is attended with a great number, ſome accompanying her for love, others for civility, but moſt to encourage her, and grace the Ceremony. The Prieſt all the way deſcribes the Joys ſhe ſhall poſſeſs with her Husband, whom ſhe ſhall immediately enjoy in Paradiſe. She returns a modeſt ſmile, trips on, and chews ſomething in her Mouth to intoxicate her Brain. Upon the ſight of the Pile ſhe ſeems tranſported with ſatisfaction; and when her Husband's Carkaſs is laid upon it, and it begins to burn, having bid farewel to Parents, Children and Friends, ſhe, like a mad Lover, whirls about the Pit, and willingly throws her ſelf into the midſt of the flames, which ſoon turn both of them into aſhes. Muſick of ſundry ſorts, with the Acclamations of the Spectators, make a great noiſe, both for the greater honour of the Obſequy, and that the ſhrieks of the poor wretch may not be heard to diſcourage others. The *Mahometans*, ſince they have come into theſe Parts, have prohibited them the uſe of this barbarous Cuſtom, but ſome Women have made themſelves away, yet others more wiſe do refuſe it; but then, by way of ignominy, they are commanded to ſhave their Heads, and ſequeſter themſelves from Company, as a puniſhment. This Cuſtom, that the Wife ſhould be burnt with the Husband, is not ſo ancient as that of burning the Dead is, but was brought in upon this Occaſion: Several laſcivious Wives, upon ſome ſlight provocation, or other diſtaſte, did ordinarily poyſon their Husbands, for prevention of which, this *Draco's* Law was deviſed and enjoyned the Widow, which tho' it ſeems a ſevere Inſtitution, yet it was neceſſary to extirpate ſo bad a Cuſtom. Nor is ſome part of their Devotion leſs Tragical, as well as Lewd and Wicked, as this inſtance may prove: Upon a certain Feaſt they ſet a Maſſy Pagod, or Idol of Metal gilt, upon a Chariot of eight Wheels richly gilded, into which they aſcend by ſeveral eaſie ſteps; upon it the *Jogues*, and ſeveral proſtituted Girls are placed (for through an helliſh Zeal the Parents deſtinate their pretty Children to Lewdneſs.) Thus mounted they go on the Proceſſion, and happy is the Man, (in their eſteem) be he rich or poor, great or baſe, that can lend an hand to draw the Chariot; yea, they account them happieſt, who out of a frantick Zeal raſhly throw their naked Bodies in the way, to the end, that by the weight of the Chariot they may be cruſhed to Death, and become thereby the Devils Martyrs. But enough of theſe things, let us come now to

The Original of burning the Wives with their dead Husbands.

Meliapore deſcribed.

Meliapore, a famous Town in the Kingdom of *Biſnagar*, lying in 13 deg. 20 min. Northern latitude. It was firſt called *Salamina*, then *Melange*, after that *Meliapore*, and now S. *Thomas*, becauſe that Apoſtle is ſaid to have ſuffered Martyrdom here, after he had finiſhed his Labours in publiſhing the glad Tydings of Salvation through *Perſia*, *Hyrcania*, *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and many other Parts of *India*. His death happened about thirty Years after our Saviour's Paſſion, and a Commemorative Feaſt in his Memory is celebrated *July* 1. by all the Native Chriſtians of *India*. This is all that makes this Town famous at this day, for it's but ſmall and poor in it ſelf, and has but little Trade to it, unleſs for Cotton-Ware, and ſome common Commodities. It is ſaid that the Inhabitants of this place have this mark ſet upon them for their Cruelty to S. *Thomas*, that one Leg is always bigger than the other in the Calf. S. *Thomas* Sepulchre remained in this Town, and was much reſorted to and honoured by the *Indian* Chriſtians, till about 50 Years ſince, when the Relicks of this holy Apoſtle were taken away and enſhrined in the Virgin *Mary*'s Church at *Goa*, by the Command of *John* III. King of *Portugal*. Near this Town are *Polycat*, *Armagun*, *Caleture*, *Tanaſſery* and *Petipoly*, *Engliſh* Factories, and all in the way to

S. *Thomas*'s Feaſt.

His Sepulchre.

Narſinga deſcribed.

Narſinga, a noble Part of *India*, and famous all over *Aſia*, bounded by *Malabar*, *Golcunda*, *Bengal*, and the Ocean. The King is ſo rich, that he deſpiſes his Neighbours, and ſo powerful, that he values neither *Mogul*, *Decan*, *Somaryn*, nor *Peguan*. The Country is ſo full of all things neceſſary for Uſe and Pleaſure, as fair Towns, ſtrong Forts, pleaſant Fields, and choice Minerals; and has ſuch Rivers, as ſo enriches the Earth, that it abundantly produces Corn, Cattel and Fruits, inſomuch, that he is reputed as conſiderable a Monarch as any is in *India*. His Annual Revenue is computed to be two Millions of Money. The *Bannians* ſwarm like Locuſts in this Kingdom, and the *Brachmans* are no where more reputed of, having ſeveral Temples, of no fine Structure, but full of Idols.

Biſnagar deſcribed.

Biſnagar (which is the *Binagra* of *Ptolemy*) is now the ſecond City for Grandeur and Trade in that Kingdom, encompaſſed with a Wall of near four Miles in Circuit, regularly fortified, well built, and no leſs Wealthy. The Haven is good, and the City frequented by Ships from *Europe*, and Junks from all parts of *India*, *Perſia* and *Arabia*. The Cuſtom heretofore was, that a Traveller, when he came to the Court, had civil Entertainment, and was many times invited by the King, the better to ſhew his Bravery, for his Coat was thick ſet with Stones and Gems of luſtre, which when he was Cloathed with, he ſo nearly reſembled the Sun, whom they worſhip, that he was little leſs than adored. His Court was full of Majeſty, and his Guards conſiſted of a thouſand Men. Polygamy he affects, and reckons it one of his principal Titles, that he is the Husband of 1000 Wives, many of which have him all his life in ſuch eſteem, that at his Death they voluntarily burn themſelves with him. More Northward upon this Coaſt is

Meſulipatan deſcribed.

Meſulipatan, or by contraction *Meſſipatan*, a Town ſituate in 16 deg. and half Northern latitude, and in the Skirt of the *Bengalan* Gulph; the Province has a mixture of Idolaters. The *Gentiles* are moſt numerous, but *Mahometans* are moſt powerful, ſince it has been made ſubject to the *Mogul*. The Town is neither for bulk or beauty conſiderable, being about 50 Years ago almoſt unpeopled and made deſolate by a raging Mortality and Famine. The Streets are but few, and thoſe narrow; the Houſes are low, and Fields parched by the extreme heat that rages there from *March* to *July*, from which time to *November*, Wind and Rain as inceſſantly diſturb them, ſo that of 12 Months they have but four, *viz.* from *November* to *March*, wholſome and moderate. Neverthelefs, the Rains ſo prepare the Earth for the reception of Seed, that they uſually reap two Harveſts of Rice, Caravans, and other Grain. The *Engliſh* at preſent have their Reſidence here, and bring a Traffick hither for Rice, Callico's, and the like Commodities, which will increaſe daily, unleſs the deceitful diſpoſition of the People occaſion their remove thence to *Armagun* and *Polycat*, Towns upon the ſame Coaſt, and neighbouring to *Meſulipatan*, where they may ſit down with more Eaſe and leſs Charge, and have as great variety of Merchandize.

Two Harveſts in a Year.

Caſta deſcribed.

Near this place is an unchaſte Town, tho' its Name ſeems to import otherwiſe, being called *Caſta*; a Town Infamous for Idolatry. The Moſques ſhew Art in the Sculpture, but are hateful in their impious Devotion, their Pagods bearing ſome reſemblance with the Images of *Priapus* and *Pan*, which *Servius* deſcribes with great Eyes, a flat Noſe, wide Mouth, four great Horns, a long Beard, claws for Hands, and Crook-legg'd, all over deformed. The Feaſts of *Bacchus* are ſtill here Celebrated, for they cover themſelves with Skins, adorn their Heads and Treſſes with Ivy, in one Hand holding a Javelin, and in the other Cimbals of Braſs and Timbrels, attended by many Boys and Girls, which ramble like ſo many diſtracted People up and down, and ſtriving to rend the Air with their continued Clamours.

Cows adored here.

The Cow is here adored as the *Ægyptian Apis*, or Py'd Bull was, and ſo are the Sun, Moon and Stars, as Celeſtial Souls. Others there be among them, that have Rivers and Trees in Veneration, as the *Celtæ* deſcribed by *Tacitus* had. In one of their Feſtivals they have a wicked Cuſtom to faſten ſick and needy Men to an Engine, which elevating him equal with the Pagod, the Blood trickles from his wounded ſhoulders, and at his deſcent he is daſhed againſt a Tree. Then after he has Invocated the *Deumo* to accept his Offering, he returns home with hopes to thrive the better ever after. They often Sacrifice in the Night, making the Streets bright with Lights.

They

Their Burials.

They have a different kind of Burial from what we find in moſt other places, for here the Corps is placed either in a deep Cave, which is long and narrow, or elſe between two Walls built on purpoſe, wherein the ſimple Relict voluntarily incloſes her ſelf, expecting Death by Famine, which is the moſt languiſhing and formidable Death. They go for the moſt part naked, the heat of the Zone excuſing Cloathing.

Their Curricurries, *Vid.* the Fig. 19.

They delight in Fiſhing and Sporting upon the Water in Boats, or Curricurries. From this Coaſt they ſailed to

Malacca deſcribed.

Ophir here proved.

Malacca, which is in, or near the *Aurea Cherſoneſus*, places ſo Celebrated for the plenty of Gold that has been brought from thence, that *Ophyr* is not without reaſon fixed hereabouts; for tho' *Rabianus Maurus*, and after him *Chriſtopher Columbus*, places it in the Gulph of *Mexico*, and *Geropius* in *Peru*, which retains the Name of *Pervaym*, a Name of the ſame import as *Ophyr*; and *Ortelius* would perſwade us, that he has found it in *Æegeſymba*, or South *Africk*, at a place called *Phura*, a part of *Soffola*, yet that *Ophir* was at and about *Malacca*, or at leaſt in ſome contiguous Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*; and that *Joktan*, with all, or moſt of his Sons, were planted in the *Eaſt-Indies*, appears by the continuation of the Names of the principal Planters ſtill remaining in theſe Parts, for the Old Name of *Ganges* is *Joktan*, and the *Taphin* near it retain *Ophir*'s Name plainly. In *Pegu* is a Country call'd *Ava*, *Chava* and *Chavilah*, and the Inhabitants *Eulæi*, which ſhew *Havilah* to be their Founder. Of *Hadoram*, the *Aramæi* in *Guzurat* ſeem to be deſcended. *Abimael* is the Father of the *Malls*, or People of *Malabar*, as they were called of Old. Of *Obal* are the *Obolites*, and *Abelotes*, which Hiſtorians place about *Ganges*. From *Elmodan*, the *Emodian* Mountains may be ſuppoſed to take their Name without ſtraining. The Town and Province of *Joor*, or *Jehor*, plainly retains the Name of *Jerah*, and the *Sabæi*, who in conjunction with the *Tococæ* oppoſed *Alexander*'s Conqueſt, bear the Name of *Sheba*; ſo that there are plain footſteps, that *Ophir* was hereabouts. *Malacca* is ſituate in 5 deg. Northern latitude, and is a City in the Kingdom of *Siam*, to whoſe King it was ſubject till *Alberquerq* took it from him, and put it under the King of *Portugal* his Maſter, and made a Garriſon, fortifying it with 3000 Ordnance. He alſo ſeized the King's Exchequer, in which he found above 1250000 pieces of Rials of Eight, but the Death of the King was ſo ill reſented by the King of *Siam*, and the neighbouring Potentates, that combining together, and taking the Advantage of *Albuquerq*'s Abſence, they ſuddenly appeared before the Town, and by a deſperate Storm maſtered the City and Citadel, yet generouſly gave the *Portugueze* leave to Ship themſelves away, commanding their Works to be demoliſhed. Nevertheleſs, it was not long after brought under the Crown of *Portugal*, and ſo continued, till it was lately wreſted from them by the *Hollander*, who have gotten many Plantations in thoſe Parts, and by their Naval Force have not only engroſſed to themſelves the *Molucco* Iſlands, but almoſt all the Trade of the Eaſt. *Malacca* is a place of good account both for Strength and Trade, tho' being a low Land 'tis not reputed healthy. The Town is long, extending about two Miles, but not half ſo much in breadth. The Buildings are low and ordinary, and the Streets narrow. The Bazar is the only place of beauty in it. It is watered by the *Gaza*, which here admits a Bridge tho' near the Sea, 'tis 3 leagues wide. For its defence it has a Caſtle ſtored with Cannon, and a Wall reaſonably flankered and ſtrengthned by a latt Graff and Counterſcarp. The *Siamites*, who being baniſhed their own Country ſettled here, being civil and induſtrious have invited the Trade hither, and ſo made the Town wealthy and conſiderable. The Gardens and Fields about it abound with Fruit, among which the Duroyen and Pine-Apple are the principal, and the Land being low, and Soil fat, it encourages them to plant Corn, and ſeveral ſorts of Grain. But being near the Æquinoctial Line, the Air is uſually very warm, and ſometimes above meaſure. They have frequent Thunder, but qualify'd with long nights, and frequent ſhowers and breezes. Here the Manzoons blow W. N. W. from *Auguſt* to *October*, about which time the Wind veers N N. E. until *March* be ended, and then it turns S. and holds till the beginning of *Auguſt*. The *Indians* are numerous hereabouts, the better ſort wear rich Apparel, but the Vulgar go for the moſt part naked. They are generally Witty and Hoſpitable, love Muſick and Novelties, civil in Peace, fierce in War, deceitful if too much credited. Their Language is Copious, as the *Latin* and *Arabick* are. *Sincapura* divides this Continent from *Sumatra*, being ſcarce half a degree to the North of the Æquinoctial and the moſt Southernly Cape of the *Aſian* Continent. It was a place of great Trade with the *Chineſes*, *Javans*, *Sumatrans*, and the People of other Iſles thereabouts, until *Malacca* drew the Commerce from thence. The Streight is not above a Muſket-ſhot over, and ſo rocky, that it affords a dangerous paſſage. From *Malacca* 'tis not above 12 hours travel to

Their Fruits and Corn.

The Indians deſcribed.

Sincapura deſcribed.

Patania deſcribed.

Patania, called *Potinga* by *Ptolemy*: It lies in 7 deg. Northern latitude in the Gulph of *Bengal*, called *Sinus Argaricus extra Gangem*, between *Malacca* and *Siam*. It affords many Commodities, which draw the Merchants thither. 'Tis under a Regal Government, and the Princes derive themſelves from one *Gingee* Son, and Vice-Roy to the King of *Delly*, ſettled here when *Patania* was ſubdued. The *Mogul*, his great Neighbour, has often threatned to Dethrone him, but he keeps his own, being defended by the *Ganges*, and ſmall Iſlands in it, which he has well fortified. The Town is by ſituation ſtrong, which is increaſed by 12 braſs Ordnance; one of which is 26 foot long. Here are ſome Idol Temples, but the Monuments of moſt Note are the Tombs of their Kings. The People are black, and by reaſon of the heat go for the moſt part naked. They take great delight in chewing Betel and Opium, and drinking Arack, a ſtrong Liquor, which they do to exceſs. The better ſort uſually eat in their Plates of Gold, others in Porcellane. The People uſually ſpeak three Languages, which are written as many different ways, *viz.* the *Malai*, from the Right-hand to the Left, as the *Hebrew*; the *Siameſe*, from the Right-hand to Left, as we; and the *Chineſe*, downright; all three are uſeful to ſuch as Traffick. They are a mixture of *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, the one worſhip God, as the other do their Pagods, both erroneouſly. They are very hoſpitable to ſuch as come to reſide among them for Novelty or Gain, and enquire not after their Country, Buſineſs or Religion, but they are ſo addicted to Vice, that Strangers had need to pray for Grace to reſiſt Female temptations, for the Women are fooliſhly frolick, and fearleſly merry; idleneſs and heat provokes them ſo, that they wallow in all manner of Turpitude. The Grape moves them to Wickedneſs, for they delight their Palate with the choiceſt Wines, Arac and Fruits, but by their Intemperance they ſhorten their days. Near it is

Their Languages.

Their Hoſpitality and Vice.

Siam.

Their Idols worſhip.

Siam, called anciently *Sabanna*, and *Cortatha*, a City and Kingdom diſtant from the Æquinoctial 14 deg. a great and famous part of *India*. The King of it has a large Juriſdiction, *Joor*, *Malacca*, a great part of *Pegu*, *Brama* and *Cambogia* were Tributary to him, *Patania* alſo; *Jamobay*, *Odjea*, and other Territories, watered by *Ganges*, acknowledged him, ſo that within the memory of Man, he was able to bring into the Field 500 Elephants, and 200000 fighting Men armed with good Swords, Bows and Arrows, Shields and Lances. He pretends to a long Race of Royal Anceſtors. The Zone is hot, which makes the Men black, and Cloathing almoſt needleſs, ſo that they content themſelves with a Cambolin of Lawn of ſad colour, trebled about their ſhoulders, and carry a Sambrero in their hands to abate the heat. They wear no Sandals, that the ſcorching Sands may mortify their fleſh. They allow liberty to Chriſtians, Moors, and other Superſtitions, yet the Natives are tranſcendent Idolaters, worſhipping Deities in the ſhapes of *Pan* and *Priapus*, with other Goatiſh fancies, and in ſuch poſtures as are not fit to be mentioned. They have Groves and Altars, on which they Offer Fleſh, Fruits and Flowers; and many times, when their *Tallapoi* tells them their *Duomo* is melancholy, they make harmonious Muſick to them to make them chearful. Others by break of day, run to their Pagods with a Baſket of Rice, hoping that day will be happier. The Kings of *Arrachan*, *Tanaſſery*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, *Auva* and *Tangu*, are all *Gentiles*, and have their Temples ſtuffed with Pagods. The *Tallapoi* preach uſually every *Monday* (their Sabbath) in the Market, and call the People together by the ſound of a Copper Baſon. They ſeem Mendicants by Profeſſion, yet what by their Policy, and what by their Incantations (for they foretel future Events, and have great Knowledge in things paſt, preſent, and to come, by Magick, and Moral Obſervations, reſolving, diſſwading, applauding, and directing them) they are had in very great Eſtimation. Theſe are their Prieſts. Their People are very great Sodomites, a Sin which Nature abhors. Sedge and Palmeto leaves are uſed for Paper. The uſual place of the King's Reſidence is at *Indy*, a Town ſituate in an Iſle compaſſed with the *Menan*. His Palace is large, pretty well built, and held defenſible. The other Houſes are low and mean, and the Streets narrow, but very uſeful to keep out the extreme heat which ſometimes rages. The Inhabitants of *Coromandel* and the *Chineſes*, trade hither with Sattens, Porcellanes, and, other Commodities of value, which make the place more noted. The Boys often paint themſelves with blue from top to toe, and cut, gaſh, and pink their Skins, for Beauty and Ornament. The Men affect Perfumes, and practiſe Complements.

The Soil and its Product.

The Soil, tho' watered with the *Menam*, is but indifferent for Graſs, but abounds in rich Stones, as Diamonds, Chryſolites, Onyx, Magnets and Bezoars. It bears plenty of Lignum Aloes, Benjamin and Cotton. It has alſo Mines of Iron and Copper. There is Gold and Silver alſo, but moſt of their Silver comes from *Japan*. They have ſuch plenty of Proviſions brought to them from other Parts, that they are bought here cheaper than in many other places.

The Blood-ſtone.

Among Stones, the Cabriz or Blood-ſtone, which is here generated, is moſt memorable; the Vertue of which is ſo marvellous, that 'tis ſaid, when the *Portugueze* killed a Man who had one about him, tho' they gave him many wounds he bled not till they pulled it from him, to their great admiration. The Beaſt out of which it is taken is called a Caball. The *Chineſes* reſiding at *Bantam* underſtand it beſt, tho' ſome ſay that in *Siam* and *Java* they are ſeen ofteneſt. Near this Kingdom lies

Pegu deſcribed.

Pegu, called by *Ptolemy Leſiarum Regio*, bounded by *Siam*, *Ganges*, and the Ocean, was a greater Monarchy 50 Years ago than now it is, becauſe the *Siamites* have taken many wealthy Seigniories from it, but is ſtill Commander of many Territories and Iſlands. It is the *Braman* Metropolis, and is ſituate in 16 deg. 40 min. Northern Latitude. The City is walled with Stone, beautified with Turrets, has 4 fair Gates, and 12 Poſterns, but is chiefly defended by a large deep Graff that compaſſes it. The Streets are not many, but large and broad, which is rare in the hot Countries. Before moſt of their Doors do grow Trees, uſeful for Shade and Fruit. It is divided into the New and Old, but this laſt is largeſt, and beſt inhabited. The Country is now bare of Wood, tho' anciently well Timbred. They are Worſhippers of Devils, for their Varella's are ſtuffed with ugly Idols; and that at *Dogonnee*, for Structure without, and Ornament within, excels any in the Eaſt.

The Product of it.

This Kingdom abounds with all ſorts of Nature's Bleſſings, *viz.* ſtore of Gold, Silver, Lead and Iron, as alſo Smaragds, Topazes, Rubies, Saphires, Garnats, Emeralds, Eſpinels and Cats-eyes; alſo plenty of Rice, Caravans, Long-Pepper, Sugar, Benion, Muſk, Lac, Bamboos, Cotton and Callicoes. It is probable S. *Thomas* preached the Goſpel here, but they delighted in darkneſs rather than light, for they now wallow'd in abominable Sins, and their Kiacks are full of filthy Idols.

Their ſtrange Opinions.

Yet *Bomferius* tells us of remarkable Opinions among them, *viz.* They believe that the World (conſiſting of Heaven, Sea and Earth) conſiſted of 4 Creations, and that for Impiety it was 4 times deſtroyed, *viz.* by Fire, Wind, Water and Earthquakes. Each Age was governed by a Guardian Deity, which was Tranſitory and Mortal. They reckon that the Deſtruction of the World, and the Death of their laſt God, was 30000 Years ago, and that all ſhall once more ſuffer a Chaos. They alſo imagine that a great Lord, who is Omniſcient and Omnipotent, and Rules in Heaven, but they do not worſhip him, becauſe Satan aſſures them he deſires it not, and does them no hurt, and therefore they worſhip him that he may do them no miſchief. They believe a Reſurrection of the Body after Death, and a Re-union with the Soul, and as (*Bomferius* tells us) a threefold Receptacle of Souls departed, *Naſhac*, *Niſhac* and *Scheca*, *i. e.* Heaven, Hell and Purgatory. Their Habit is a thin fine Lawn, they wear no Beards, and dye their Teeth black, becauſe Dogs-teeth are white, whom they hate to be like. They cut and pink their fleſh to become as Modiſh as their Neighbours. The Crows and Parrots here are uſually grey, as they are in *Africk*. The Land is low in many places, and ſubject to Inundations; but that which troubles them moſt is, the multitude of ravenous Beaſts among them, as Tygers, Wolves, and the like offenſive Creatures, to avoid which they raiſe their Houſes upon Arches, or Poſts of Bamboos, and get up to them by Ladders.

The Kingdom of *Pegu*.

About 100 Years ago the King of *Pegu* was a very formidable Monarch, having 12 Wealthy Provinces which acknowledged him their Sovereign, *viz. Siam*, *Auva*, *Chavilan*, *Brama*, *Jangomer*, *Tangram*, *Cablan*, *Lauran*, *Meliotalke*, *Arrachan*, *Tangu* and *Rachan*, out of which he Yearly extracted 2 Millions of Crowns, and a Million of Men, to ſerve him upon all Occaſions; but this would not content him, he muſt have all his neighbouring Princes in contempt, which begat a Rebellion firſt from the Vice-Roy of *Siam*, and then from thoſe of *Brama*, *Tangu* and *Rachan*, who miſerably harraſſed his Kingdom by Civil Wars, till by a Marriage the Kingdoms of *Siam* and *Pegu* are now divided, but ſettled in Peace, and begin again to flouriſh.

Veſſels brought to *Pegu*.

To *Pegu* from *Bengal*, *Negran-bar* and *Coſmin*, are brought in Paro's or Boats by Water, Veſſels which are pretty large, and ſowed together with *Cairo* (as 'tis here called) which is a Cord made of the Rind of Coco's, for they have no Iron, their curious Quilts and Carpets, ſtitch'd and wrought with raw Silk and threads of Gold and Silver, and the Bark of a Tree called *Moga*, Callico's, Rice, Pepper, Ginger, Sugar, Honey, Butter, Lac and Wax, with other Merchandizes. At *Coplen* are found Stones of price.

A white Elephant Worſhipped.

This Monarch, when he will appear in his Majeſty, loads his Head, Ears, Arms, Hands, Noſe and Legs, with Gems, which ſet him out like Stars, and when he Worſhips, Deifies a white Elephant of an unuſual bigneſs.

Elephants deſcribed.

The Elephant is for growth and underſtanding the chief of Senſitive Creatures. They go two, and ſometimes three Years with Young, and have extreme torment in their Labour. Their Teat is between their Fore-legs, which the Young Ones eaſily find. At three Years of Age they wean themſelves, and eat Herbs, Shrubs, Boughs of Trees, and other Vegetables, but when they are in Service, they are allowed more dainty Fare to increaſe their Strength and Courage, as Corn, Fruits, Roots, Sugar-Canes, Milk, Whey, and the like. They grow till they are 15 Years Old, and are uſually 18 foot high, and ſome of the higheſt mount to 24 foot high. Notwithſtanding their bigneſs, they are not dull and unweildy, but nimble and briſk ſpirited. They can, and uſually do lie down, as other Beaſts; and *Suetonius* ſays, one at *Rome* was taught to dance upon a Cable. They are highly commended for Courage, and tho' their Tusks and Proboſcis are their beſt Weapons, yet they can frame their mighty Body into Offenſive and Defenſive poſtures. In Rutting-time, which is in the hotteſt Seaſon, the Males are mad, and can hardly be ruled without a Females company. His Trunk is compoſed of ſmall Nerves, which be full of ſtrength, and very active; his Skin is rough and Aſh-coloured. His Teeth are proportionable to his Body, 13 Foot long ſome, and weigh upwards of 130 pound. Muddy Rivers, and cool ſhady Places, are his delight, but he hates Swine, Serpents and Mice. The Growing of a Cock alſo offend him.

Muſk-Cats.

Here are alſo ſtore of Muſk-Cats, a Beaſt bigger than a Caſtor, with a little Head, clear Eyes, long Muzzle, ſharp Teeth, parti-coloured, hard and briſtly hair, yellow above, and white below. His Pocket is near his Genitals, which is ſcraped with a Stick or Spoon when he is in Services, but when free, ſends it out voluntarily, and it is diſcovered by the ſmell. By theſe Countries lie ſeveral Iſlands, the Deſcription of which follows.

Sumatra deſcribed.

Sumatra, called of Old *Taprobane*, or *Taparvane*, and by ſome ſuppoſed to be *Ophir*, or *Parvaym*. By the Inhabitants called *Salytra*, or *Sabutra*. It is one of the largeſt Iſles in the Univerſe, in length 600, and breadth 240 Miles. *Alvaro Telezzo* diſcovered it in 1506, and ſince moſt Merchants in the World trade thither. 'Tis under the Æquinoctial, ſo that our Pole-ſtar is not viſible to them. It is governed by many Petty-Kings, but the King of *Acheen* is the moſt powerful. All of them have ſtore of Gold and Stones, but miſerable in their Superſtition. Moſt of them, not many Years ſince, adored Cats, Rats, Dogs and Devils; but ſince the Alcoran has been received there, the worſhip of theſe Elementary Creatures has been aboliſhed. Both Sexes go naked. The Soil is good by the Rivers-ſides, but barren where the Gold is found. Here are ſeveral Towns of Note, as *Acheen*, by the People called *Aſhey*, *Peder*, *Pacem*, *Daya*, *Tyco*, *Byaman*, *Jambee*, *Tycoa*, *Baruzec*, *Cattatinga*, *Menantabo*, *Gambar*, *Aru*, *Daru*, and *Paſſaman*, which has plenty of Gold. *Manancabo* is the moſt Inland Town, which does not want Gold. In the Streight betwixt this Iſland and the Continent, againſt *Jor*, which the King of *Acheen* conquered in 1613, are the *Barellæ*, and other ſmall, but pleaſant Iſlands. The Rivers abound with Fiſh, and might prove more delightful for the Net and Angle, did not the Crocodiles, which ſwarm here in greater numbers than in the *Nile*, fruſtrate both.

Crocodiles deſcribed.

Theſe Creatures are the greateſt Wonders we meet with in Nature, in that from as ſmall a beginning as an Egg, not much bigger than a Turkies, it increaſes to 8 or 10 Yards in length, and whereas other Creatures have their growth unto a period, and then decay, the Crocodile grows bigger and bigger until its Death. Their Bodies are no longer than their Tails, which they uſe as the Elephant doth his Proboſcis. Their Mouth is ſo wide, that they can ſwallow an Horſe or Man whole; their Teeth are engrailed. They have no Tongue, and cannot move their Upper-Jaw. Their Belly is penetrable, but their Back can hardly be pierced. They eat nothing all the Autumnal Quarter, but all the reſt of the Year greedily devour all ſorts of prey. The Number 60 is notable in the Female. Before ſhe lays Eggs 60 days paſs, and ſhe lays uſually 60 Eggs; ſhe conceals them 60 days, and ſits on them 60 days before hatching. She has 60 Teeth and 60 Joints, and they uſually live 60 Years. It is a Monſter, being neither Beaſt, Fiſh, nor Serpent, but the moſt noxious of Monſters. The *Ægyptians* make it the Hierogliphick of Impudence, becauſe it's daring to all but ſuch as are very bold, to whom it is very fearful. The *Ichneuphons* aws it, becauſe it often ſteals into its Belly, and gnaws its Guts, while he opens his Chaps to let the *Trochilus* into his Mouth to pick his Teeth, which is the Food that Creature lives on. The fleſh of it is ſo good and ſweet, that by many it is accounted a dainty. From hence they ſailed by ſome ſmall Iſles called *Marrah* and *Lampon*; in the Streights of *Sunda* to

The *Ichneumon* and *Trochilus*,

Java deſcribed.

Java Major, is an Iſland ſituate in 7 deg. 40 min S. Latitude, and in an 120 deg. Longitude, a very great and noble Iſle, for from Eaſt to Weſt it ſtretches 150 Leagues, or 450 Miles, and from North to South 90 Leagues, or 270 Miles *Engliſh*. The Midland is for the moſt part Mountainous, and thinly Peopled, but the Sea-Coaſts is low and very populous. The Uplands are very ſubject to Wind, but healthy, but the Coaſts are marſhy and unwholſome. It is a Compendium of the World, for it abounds with all things that be either uſeful or excellent. The Coaſt (by reaſon of the Trade for Pepper) has Towns beſt built and moſt wealthy. Upon the North-ſide and to the North-Eaſt are *Bantam*, *Palamban*, *Jackatra*, (new-named by the *Dutch Batavia*) *Japarra*, *Tuban*, *Joclan*, *Grecy*, *Cheringin*, *Serabaya*, &c.

Bantam.

Bantam lies in 6 deg. 20 min. Southern Latitude, and 3 deg. of Weſterly variation. It is the biggeſt City in the Iſland, as the Natives own, and ſtretched almoſt two Miles in length. The moſt remarkable places in it are the *Pengrans* Palace, the Bazar, a few irregular Streets, and at the fartheſt end the *Chineſes* joyn together, as the *Jews* do at *Amſterdam*, but their Houſes are nothing ſo ſplendid. The Town of its own growth affords little, ſave Rice, Pepper and Cotton-wool, but the greateſt quantities of Pepper are brought by the Induſtrious *Chineſes* in Junks, or Praws, every *January*, from *Jamby* in *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Malacca*, and other places, making *Bantam* the Magazine, out of which, by Money or Exchange for Commodities, they furniſh the *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and other Nations.

The *Chineſes* deſcribed.

The *Chineſes* are no quarrellers, tho' Voluptuous, Venereous, coſtly in their Sports, great Gameſters, and in trading too ſubtle for young Merchants: Oftentimes ſo great Gameſters at Dice, that when they have loſt their Eſtates they'll ſtake their Wives and Children, yet in a little time, *Jew* like, by gleaning here and there they'll redeem all; but if they do it not by the day appointed, they are ſold in the Market for the moſt advantage. The Iſle has one Sovereign Prince, whom they call the *Mattaran*, who has four Deputy-Governours, and is ſo powerful as to be able to carry 200000 Men into the Field upon Occaſion, who are indeed ignorant of Martial-Diſcipline, eſpecially as we uſe it, but of approved Courage and Dexterity, and ſufficiently ingenious, as to the invention of their Arms and Execution.

They commonly uſe Lances, Darts, Arrows and Shields, but the greateſt Bravery is in their Crizes, a Weapon two foot long, and four inches broad, waved, ſharp both in the edge and point, but, contrary to the Laws of Nature and Nations, venomed. The handle of them is uſually of Wood or Horn, (but ſometimes of Gold, Silver or Ivory) cut into the form of a miſ-ſhapen Pagod, which they Idolize; for after they have committed any Murder, they ask the Pagod on their Creſt pardon, as *Lewis* XI. the King of *France*, did the Crucifix in his Hat. The *Javans* are a corrupt People, and trade in Murder, Adultery, Theft, Rapine, Deceit, and all other Wickedneſs. Magick and Aſtrology delights them, and their Prieſts are excellent in thoſe Studies, in which Satan inſtructs them to oblige him in gratitude to worſhip him. The Natives, till of late, were not acquainted with Navigation, but in the Art of ſwimming (as moſt Negroes) are moſt expert. Such as dwell at ſome diſtance from the Sea make Hunting their chief Recreation, a Sport which tries their Courage, as well as their Agility, for the Iſle has ſtore of Tygers, Ounces and ſuch Beaſts, as will bear chaſe and reſiſt. The Alcoran is received in this Iſland as well as its Neighbours. They are very friendly to the *Engliſh*, eſpecially ſince the *Dutch* have forced *Jacatra* from them, betwixt whom there is an irreconcileable Enmity. The *Oran-kays* are the chief ſort of People, who are lazy and ſociable, but deceitful. They repute themſelves deſcended from *China*, and have a Tradition, that their Anceſtors in a Junk were caſually driven upon that Iſle by a Tempeſt 700 Years ago. They are a very proud Race, wear their hair pretty long, and about their Heads ſometimes wreath a valuable Saſh, which none but themſelves dare touch. Elſewhere they go naked to the Waſte, where they gird themſelves with a parti-coloured Mantle, which falls no deeper than their knees. Their ordinary Food (and that bought not at eaſie rates) is Rice, Pinange, Wheat, Betel, Opium, Goats, Hens, Eggs, Coco's, Plantans and Jacks. They have excellent good Water to drink, and for Wine, Rack-a-pee, which being temperately drunk, cheers the Heart, kills Worms, cures Fluxes, and helps Digeſtion, but immoderate drinking it haſtens Death. Theſe Countries, for the greateſt part of the Year, are ſubject to ſuch loud thunders and flaſhes of Lightning, as are very dreadful.

Pepper deſcribed.

In this Iſle nothing but Pepper and Cotton is worthy our noting. Pepper comes of Seed firſt ſown, and in the growth is ſupported by Poles like Hops or Vines, till by its maturity it gets the ſtrength of a buſhy, round and pleaſant Tree. The Pepper hangs in many Cluſters, four Inches in length, and one about, and yield each about 50 or 60 Corns, which be full, round and fragrant, but the ſmooth are beſt accounted of.

The Cotton-tree.

The Cotton-tree is ſlender, but ſtraight, a Yard high, but like a Briar. At the top it divides it ſelf into ſeveral ſmall branches, which are each of them charged with many Balls, round, and like a Wallnut, which contain the Bombaſt. When they are ripe, they beat the Cotton out with Flails, to the great enriching the Owner.

Baly, an Iſle.

Baly is an Iſle near *Java*, lying on the Eaſt-ſide of it, inhabited by *Gentiles*. The Women there continue the Cuſtom as yet of burning at their Huſband's Funeral, more than in any other places in *India*, where the *Mahometans* have Dominions. The Way from *Java* to the *Celebes* is North-Eaſt, diſtant from *Bantam* 200 Leagues.

The *Celebes* deſcribed.

Celebes, of Old called *Caſſiteria*, and *Solis Inſula*, now *Makaſſer*, from the beſt City in it, is an Iſle for quantity and quality very conſiderable; it ſtretches from the Æquator 6 degrees South, is of an Oval form, and is at leaſt 200 Miles long, well-peopled, but with bad Men, being till of late the worſt of Savages, Men-Eaters, which is now reformed by their receiving of the Alcoran, tho' the greateſt part of the Inhabitants are ſtill *Gentiles*. The Iſle is fruitful, tho' under the moſt frying part of the Torrid Zone; they go naked, ſave that they tie a few Fig or Plantain-leaves about their middles. Their day is Sun, but complexion Night. The better are Tulip-painted, and wear a thin Shirt, with a pure white Shuddero, for Ornament, to ſet off their black hue. The Women paint their Faces and Body, but are very impudent and amorous, and ſo Skilful in the Art of poyſoning, that they can ſing ſafety to themſelves while they deſtroy others. They have Poyſons that deſtroy immediately, others operate in an hour, the Veins and Body rotting to amazement. This place is an Hell upon Earth, no ſtaying in it, and ſo they haſted to

The *Moluccoes* deſcribed.

The *Moluccoes*, called *Solis Inſulæ* in former Ages, are five in number, *Molucco*, *Gillolo*, *Ternate*, *Tidore* and *Machan*, or *Matan*, where *Magellan*, after his long Voyage in 1520, ended his Life, thro' the treachery of thoſe *Barbarians*, to whoſe Prince he had a little before given Aſſiſtance. The *Engliſh* were the firſt Chriſtians that traded hither, but the *Dutch* have thruſt them out. *Gillolo* is the biggeſt, and *Ternate* the higheſt of theſe Iſlands; all of them bear Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Ginger, Pepper, Oil, Aloes, and Honey. They lie under the Æquinoctial, but by the daily ſhowers and breezes, which the nearneſs of the Sun cauſes, the Fruits ripen ſooner, the Earth ſmells more Aromatical, and the Air is more Nutritive there, than in moſt other places thereabouts.

The Clove-tree.

The Clove-tree differs in proportion according to the Soil where it grows; ſome are as big as the Bay-tree, which it reſembles, the Leaves being only ſomewhat narrower, others no bigger than the Box-tree, or other Trees of little growth. 'Tis for the moſt part of the Year green, having Leaves long and ſmall, ſpreading into many branches. It bloſſoms early, but the Flowers change their colour three times a day. In the Morning they are pure white, at Noon a diſtempered red, and at Night black. The Cloves diſcover themſelves at the very tip of the branches, and in their growth ſend out ſuch a ſmell, as raviſhes the Senſes. They are pruned thrice every Year, and gratefully return a treble Vintage; and tho' it be perfected but once in three Years, yet it proves a great advantage. Phyſicians ſay, that Cloves are hot and dry in the third degree, ſtrengthen the ſtomach, help concoction, and ſuck up moiſture ſo exceedingly, that no other Plant will thrive near it. The Nutmeg-tree, like the more excellent ſort of Trees, is

The Nutmeg-tree.

not

Mace.

Birds of Paradiſe.

not very lofty, ſcarce riſing ſo high as the Cherry; ſome have liken'd it to the Peach, but it differs in the ſhape of the leaf and grain, and affects more compaſs. The Nut is compaſſed with a coarſe defenſive huſk, reſembling the thick Rind of a Wall-nut, but at full ripeneſs diſcovers her treaſure, the Mace with a Vermilion bluſh twining round it, and both ſending forth moſt pleaſing ſmells. The Mace in a few days turns yellow by the Sun's beams, and invites the Gatherer. In theſe Iſles only are found thoſe rare and beautiful Birds called commonly *Manucodiatæ*, or Birds of Paradiſe; he is of the bigneſs of a Parrot, the Feathers upon his Head are ſo ſmall, as rather reſemble Hair than Feathers, his Train thick, very long, and curiouſly coloured, being in ſome parts of his Body green, and in others yellow. His Wings are large, and of a bright colour, but he has no Feet; in flying he mounts exceeding high, and continues long in motion, Travellers much eſteem it, but the Natives ſuperſtitiouſly reverence it.

Amboyna, how gotten by the *Dutch*.

Several other Iſlands of Note there are hereabouts, ſome of which, namely *Amboyna*, were in the quiet poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, until they were diſſeiſed by the treachery and cruelty of the *Dutch*, who, under a ſhew of Friendſhip, invited their Factors to a Feaſt, and not only got poſſeſſion of the place, but put them to Death, with moſt cruel and exquiſite Tortures, to the everlaſting Diſgrace of their Perſons and Nation.

Banda deſcribed.

The *Dutch* in poſſeſſion of them.

Banda lies near the *Moluccoes*, in 4 deg. 30 min. of Southern Latitude, and 20 Leagues from *Amboyna*; it has many ſmall Iſles round it, *viz.* *Putavay*, *Lantore* the biggeſt, *Batan*, *Labatacka*, *Nero*, *Tycobaſſa*, *Cumber*, *Pulareen*, *Salymo*, and others, which are called by the Name of *The Iſles of Banda*, they appear like one continued Wilderneſs of Nutmeg and Clove-trees, Pepper, Vines and Olives. Our *Engliſh* Merchants firſt traded hither alſo, and the People by their means contracted a perpetual Amity with our King, but the *Dutch* have now expelled our Merchants from thence by force, and now entitle themſelves Lords of *Bandæ*, caring for no Man's Right nor Intereſt but their own, altho' 'tis well known that the *Dutch* traded thither after the *Engliſh*, and that till the Year 1598, they had no trade in any part of the *Indies*, in which Year 3 Ships and a Pinnace ſet forth from *Amſterdam*, being their firſt Venture into the *Eaſt-Indies*, but what they wanted in Time, they have got by unjuſt Craft, and now are increaſed to the wonder and admiration of the Natives. Near theſe Iſles lies

Borneo deſcribed.

Bezar deſcribed.

Lignum Aloes.

Borneo, called by *Ptolemy Porne*, is directly under the Æquator; it is ſuppoſed to be the *Inſula bonæ fortunæ*, and is of an Oval form. The greater part inclines to the North, towards which it is extended 7 deg. but to the South but three; it was accidentally firſt diſcovered by Mr. *de Breu*, and is ſubject to the *Spaniſh* Government and Avarice, which is indefatigable and inſatiable after Gold. It has many Villages, which are full of People, but they are poor, and miſerable Idolaters. The plenty of Gold, Diamonds, and other Merchandize, which is found here, as Bezar, Lignum, Aloes, Muſk, Civet, Benjamin, Amber, Sanguis Draconum, Wax, Rice, Rattans, or Canes, draw a great concourſe of Merchants and Travellers thither. Her beſt Sea-Towns and Ports are *Socodania*, which lies in 1 deg. 35 min. South, and from *Bantam* N. E. an 150 Leagues, or thereabouts, and *Bemermaſſin*; the reſt are ſcarce worth regard. Bezar, or as the *Perſians* call it, Pezar, and Pazahar, is of two ſorts, one ſort found in *Aſia*, *viz.* in *Perſia*, and at *Pegu* and *Borneo*, which is the beſt, and the other in *America*, but inferiour to it. It is found in the Stomach or Maw of a Goat, and other Beaſts, but that which is taken from Beaſts which feed upon Theriacal Herbs is moſt Soveraign, and of greateſt Vertue to expel Poyſon; it is of divers ſhapes, for ſome reſemble a Plumb, a Date-ſtone, or Doves-egg; others are like Cheſnuts, Goats-kidneys, but all blunt at the end. The colour alſo is as various, for ſome are red, or pale green, others are Dark-yellow or Sky-coloured; the laſt are beſt. They conſiſt of many Scales, which like Onions incloſe one another, and as they grow leſs, yield more ſplendor, and increaſe in vertue. Many are Counterfeit, and to diſcover the Cheat, they either pierce them with hot Bodkins, or having firſt weighed them, ſteep them in cold Water 4 hours; if they do not crack, nor increaſe in their weight by lying in the Water, they are held good, but if they do either, 'tis a ſure ſign they are baſe and vile. The Bezars of *Borneo* are not above half the value with the *Perſian* Lignum Aloes, called by the *Javans* and *Malayans Garro*, by the *Indians* and *Portugueze D'Aquila*, and by the *Chineſes* and *Cochin-chineſes Calamba*; it is formed of large round Sticks of a clouded grain, mixed with veins of Aſh-colour. It is pleaſant to the eye, weighty in the hand, bitter to the taſte, but aromatick to the ſmell, and takes fire very quickly; upon which account it is that the *Indians*, *Malayans*, *Siamites*, *Peguans*, *Cambogeans*, and *Borneans*, uſe no other Wood when they burn the Corps of their deceaſed Parents, which with them is the nobleſt way of Burial.

Muſk.

Muſk is bred in the Navel of the Cat, and is either yellow, brown, or black; the firſt is the beſt, and the laſt the worſt. The choiceſt is of an Amber-colour, not unlike Spikenard, and is covered with a Skin, which ſhoots out ſome briſtly hairs; this ſort is of ſo ſtrong a ſmell, that to many it ſeems offenſive, and being taſted affects the ſtrongeſt Brain. Sweet Spices take away the ſmell of it. If it diſſolves ſoon in the Mouth, and ſlowly in the Hand, 'tis known to be good.

Civet.

Civet (which is a ſort of Muſk bred in a little Bladder within the Teſticles of a certain Creature not unlike a Cat) is of different colours; the deepeſt yellow is uſually the beſt, the worſt is white and greaſy, nevertheleſs, when it is new, 'tis pale, and gradually turns yellowiſh.

Benjamin.

Benjamin, which is called by the *Malayans Menyan*, and by the *Indians Benyan*, is either white or yellow, and both ſorts are ſtreaked; this Gum iſſues from a Tree which is high and ſmall, ſpreading with fruitleſs branches, the Leaves are ſomewhat like the Olive. *Arabia* breeds good, but *Pegu* and *Siam* better; that from *Sumatra*, *Priaman* and *Barrouſe*, is coarſe and bad.

Amber.

Amber is of many ſorts, grey, brown, white and black; the grey is reputed the beſt, the black the worſt, and the other two indifferent. The beſt ſort of grey is pure, and interlaced with aſhy veins, and not ſubject to ſink; it is for the moſt part gotten in *Soffala*, *Magadoxa*, *Monibaſſa*, *Moſambique*, *Madagaſcar*, *Mohelia*, *Melinde*, and other parts of South *Africk*, but at great hazards.

Places moſt famous for Jewels.

Concerning Gems, the places reported moſt famous for them are theſe: The Emerald *Calchedon*, Onix and Sardonix *Sardis*; Bezar, Amber, Hemathiſt and Turquoiſe, are for the moſt part to be had in *Arabia*, *Indoſtan* and *Perſia*. Pearls, Beryls, Saphires, Adamants, at *Zeylon*; Jaſper, Cornelion, Chryſolite, Agate, Hiliotrope and Jacinth, in *Malabar*, *Narſinga*, and *Cochin-china*. Diamonds come from *Borneo*, *Golconda*, *Biſnagar*, *Delly*, and the Iſles near the *Greater Java*. Gold, Silver, Rubies and Porcellane, from *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Bengal*, *Sumatra*, *Japan* and *China*.

Pearl.

The beſt and moſt Orient Pearl are fiſhed near *Bahrim*, in the *Perſian* Gulph, where they ſay have been found no leſs than 100 Pearls, great and ſmall, in one Oyſter; nevertheleſs, ſtore of ſmall Pearl are had in Oyſters, Muſcles, and other Shell-fiſh, all along the Coaſts of *India*. Not far from *Borneo* was found a Pearl, round and orient, as big as a Dove's-Egg, and of great value; and the *Mogul* has Pearls of an incredible bigneſs.

Mindano.

By a N. N. E. Courſe they ſailed by *Mindano*, an Iſle as big as *Sicily*, extending from 6 to 9 deg. North. The *Philippines* lie Northward of *Mindano*, and near them all the *Manilles*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Inſulæ Satyrorum*. They are nameleſs, becauſe numberleſs, but the biggeſt of them, and moſt famous, is called *Luconia*, which lies 14 deg. North.

Cambogia.

Weſt of this Iſland lies *Cambogia*, a rich part of the *Aſiatick* Continent; and North, *Shyma* and *Shicoca*, two Iſles beſt known to the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan*.

Formoſa.

Formoſa, an Iſle very advantageouſly ſituated for Trade, ſtands in 22 deg. and is 150 Miles in length, and 50 in breadth, lies in the way to *Japan*, neighbouring upon *China*; it was firſt inhabited by the *Spaniards* and *Mulattoes*, who grew very numerous and rich, till the *Dutch* thruſt in a Colony among them.

Corea.

Corea is a long, narrow Peninſula, famous in the Situation, but infamous in the Inhabitants, who are a People that live by Spoil, and doing miſchief to their Neighbours; more ſubtle than the *Chineſes*, or *Japoneſes*.

Japan deſcribed.

Japan was unknown to the Old Geographers, and firſt diſcovered by *Motus*, *Peſhotus*, and *Zeymorus*, three baniſhed *Portugueze*, who ſeeking their Fortune in a Veſſel, were driven by Storm upon this Iſle in 1542, and from that time it became well known to that Nation; but the *Engliſh* did not trade thither till 1613, and the *Dutch* more lately. Whether it be an Iſle or no is diſputable, tho' ſome pretend to know the Dimenſions of it, and accordingly limit it between the 35 and 48 Degrees, aſſerting it to be 230 Leagues long, and 109 broad. The Soil is barren and coarſe, but fruitful in Minerals. The Towns of beſt Note and Traffick are *Meaco*, the Metropolis, a Midland City, *Surunga*, *Ozacca*, till of late the Reſidence of the Court; the Buildings in them are very ordinary. Of beſt Note are the *Foliques*, which are filled with *Manada's*, to which the *Japonians* are exceedingly addicted.

Their Religion.

The Jeſuits have taken great pains to Convert the People to Chriſtianity; and in *Xaverius*'s days there were many that profeſſed their Belief in Chriſt, but they have ſince Apoſtatized, and the greateſt Number becoming *Gentiles*, have Maſſacred the conſtant Profeſſors of the Faith, inſomuch, that there are now but few Chriſtians among them, the People rather inclining to the Alcoran, which is of late come very near them, and agrees beſt with their Senſual Appetites.

Their Government.

The Government is Monarchical, above 60 Petty-Princes doing Homage to the Emperor of *Japan*. The Country is for the moſt part Mountainous, but full of Rivolets, which make it abound with Corn, Graſs and Minerals. The North and Eaſt Parts are leſs Peopled than the South and Weſt. The Old *Roman* puniſhment of Crucifixion is here uſed, a Death not more full of torture than Ignominy. The People are Valiant, and reaſonably Civil, but affecters of Novelties, very jealous and revengeful upon Occaſions. They pretend much to Learning, and eſpecially pride themſelves in their Skill in Geography, tho' ignorant of that Art, as uſed in *Europe* and *Africk*. They divide the World into three Parts only, *China*, *Japan* and *Siam*, which ſufficiently ſhews their Skill in it. At their Entertainments they ſit long and fare well, and in their eating uſe Sticks, or Forks, and ſhift the Table, as new Courſes are ſerved. In riding they mount on the Right-ſide. Their Alphabet contains but 20 Letters. At Funerals they wear white. They deny themſelves to be deſcended of the *Chineſes*, but are really Exiles of *China*, baniſhed above 600 Years ago for an Inſurrection; upon which account they retain an implacable Animoſity to the *Chineſes*, and rob and prey upon them on all Advantages, yea, abominate them in their Prayers, and in all their Complements and Ceremonies are oppoſite to them as may be. The Children are ſo ſenſible of their Reputation, that to vindicate themſelves from a falſe Accuſation they'll cut off a Joint from their Fingers, and wiſh it may never heal if it be true. Murder, Theft, Treaſon and Adultery, are puniſhed ſeverely, either by Crucifying, or Beheading with a Cuttan. *Ozacca* is 80 Leagues from *Bungo*, a Port of good Note, but in nothing ſo remarkable as for a Caſtle, regularly fortified, and of excellent ſtone, varniſhed and tiled with Plates of Gold, the Walls are 20 foot thick, and the whole is encompaſſed with a large deep Trench full of Water, over which are ſome Draw-bridges. This Caſtle was of late the Priſon of *Coja-zamma*, Eldeſt Son of *Fiqua-zamma* the late Emperor, whoſe Father *Faxiba-zamma* ſubjected all the other Princes of *Japan* to himſelf, and made them by Oath to acknowledge him their Sovereign. Over-againſt *Ozacca*, on the other ſide of the River, ſtands *Sacay*, a Town traded to by the Chriſtians. *Edo* is not far from it, a place ſtrongly Walled and well Peopled. Fifteen Leagues from thence is *Oringee*, a Town that affords good Anchorage. *Firando* and *Fuccate* are *Engliſh* Factories. *Fuccate* is a pretty Town, watered with a ſweet River, and defended by a Caſtle: a Forreſt of 3 Miles long encompaſſeth the Town almoſt, and under the lofty Pines and ſpreading Sycamores the People pay their Idolatrous Worſhip, for under thoſe green Trees are many ſmall, but richly tiled Fotiques, where they adore their Pagods in the ſhape of *Pan* and *Priapus*, yea, Satan himſelf in his uglieſt Forms; ſo in all the Country, where there are moſt Trees and Corn, there are moſt Idolaters. In *June* and *July* they ſeldom fail of prodigious Storms, called Tuffons, or Hurricanes, that for 24 hours thunder moſt dreadfully in the Air. In *Meacco* are 60 Temples and Colleges, in which ſome have numbred 3333 *Chamebræ*, or little gilded Deities, called by them *Manada's*, of which *Shaca* and *Amida* (as the *Bonzees* ſay) have the higheſt rank in their Calendar. Among them is a Monſtrous Image erected by *Tyco-zamma* of *Ari-calke*, ſo large, that the Chair he ſits in is 70 foot high and 80 broad, his Head big enough to hold 15 Men, and his Thumb 40 Inches in compaſs, and the reſt of the Body proportionable. At *Dabys* is ſuch another *Coloſſus*, of hollow Copper raiſed, 24 foot high: But the *Fotique* at *Tencheday* is moſt remarkable, where Satan often appears. This Temple is of an extraordinary Structure, and ſerved by many *Bonzees*.

Their hatred to the *Chineſes*.

Their Ports.

Fuccate deſcribed.

An huge Idol.

A Damoſel preſented to the Idol.

Among other Sacrifices or Forms of Worſhip uſed here, this is one: That a Damoſel every New Moon is brought into the Temple by a *Bonzee*, and placed right againſt the Idol. At her entrance the Room is forthwith illuminated with *Lignum-Aloes* burning in Lamps of Gold, but ſoon after the Lamps are extinguiſhed miraculouſly, and in groſs Darkneſs the Deity is ſaid to company with her. At her return ſhe is entertained with Muſick and Songs, and the Enthuſiaſtick Girl reſolves them many Queſtions, and is of more repute with them ever after. A Notable Deluſion of Satan. Due Weſt from *Japan* is

China deſcribed.

China, this Country is the moſt Eaſterly part of the Continent of the *Greater Aſia*, a Kingdom no leſs Great than Wealthy, and as Famous as Great, but not well diſcovered, becauſe they are jealous of Strangers. It has many Names, becauſe it is a Cuſtom among them, that every new King gives Names both to themſelves and the Kingdom. *Ptolemy* calls them, *Sinarum Regio*, and other Geographers *Seres*. The Inhabitants call their Nation *Tamen*, and themſelves *Tameginês*. It is a ſpacious Monarchy, extending from 17 to 47 deg. of Northern Latitude; it is almoſt ſquare, and from every ſide 1500 Miles, and ſo is 4000 Miles in compaſs. The Country is full of ſweet and navigable Rivers, ſome of which are no leſs inhabited than the Cities, which are ſaid to be 600, beſides Walled Towns 2000, Unwalled 4000, Caſtles 1000, and Villages almoſt innumerable, which contain (as the Friars eſtimate them) above 60 Millions of Men; beſides Women and Children, 4 times more than all *France* is ſuppoſed to have. The whole Empire is divided into 15 Provinces, governed by ſo many *Quonfu* and *Lauſiæ*, who have their Deputies called *Tutons* and *Chyans*. Each Province has a Metropolis, but the chief of them are *Paquin*, *Nanquin*, *Cantam* and *Quinzay*. *Paquin* has now the precedency, tho' *Quinzay* had it formerly; it elevates the Pole 41 deg. 15 min. and is, if the Relation of ſome be true, not only the greateſt and beſt Peopled City in all *Aſia*, but the whole World, for they ſay it hath 30 *Dutch* Leagues in circumference, in which are many ſtately Buildings, 24000 *Mandarins* Sepulchres, the meaneſt of them are not without ſome beauty, and as many little gilded Chappels, beſides 3800 Idol-Temples, as many Gates and Poſterns as there be Days in the Year, 120 Bazars, and above 1000 Bridges. This City is diſtant about 100 Miles from that marvelous Wall built 1000 Years ſince by *Chriſnagol*, or as others call him, *Zaintzan*, their 117th King, to keep out the *Tartar*. The Wall is 1200 Miles long, 12 Yards thick, and 6 Fathoms high, and was 27 Years erecting, by the continual Labour of 750000 Men; nevertheleſs, it could not hinder the *Tartar* of late from over-running, and ſubjecting this great Empire to them, by forcing their paſſage through it. *Nanquin* is the ſecond City for Grandeur in the *Chineſe* Empire, once the Metropolis of it; it is ſituate in 35 deg. Northern Latitude, and is 8 Leagues from the Sea. It is 12 Leagues about, being encompaſſed with ſtrong Walls and Ditches. The King's Palace is very large, and the other Buildings many, being accounted 200000, but not beautiful. The Temples are 2000, the Streets fair, and People induſtrious. It is 600 *Engliſh* Miles from *Paquin*, the Way for the moſt part being Navigable. *Cantam* lies in 25 deg. Latitude; it is a rich and ſpacious Town, Ships ride commonly in view of it, but from *Paquin* it is little leſs than 2 Months travel. Here Merchants are permitted to go aſhore, but when they enter the City-gate, uſually Enrol their Names in a Book, engaging themſelves upon a Penalty to go on board at Night, but of late they are allowed a little more liberty. The Merchants trade hither for Musk, Gold, Silks of all ſorts, Cabinets, Porcellane, and ſeveral other rich Commodities. *Quinzay* borders on *Cochin-china*; it was of Old the greateſt, and is at this day the moſt remarkable City in the Orient for variety of ancient Rarities, of which the moſt Notable are their *Meani*, or Idol-Temples. The Country is Champain, and exceeding Fruitful. The Rivers abound with Fiſh, which the *Chineſes* not only Feaſt themſelves with, but upon Frogs, Snakes, Rats, Hogs, Dogs, and ſuch like Creatures, which other Nations abominate; and for better diſpatch, they fiſh with Cormorants. The People are Olive-coloured, more black or white as they live at a diſtance from the Æquinoctial. They wear their hair long and filletted, but their Beards are thin and ugly. Their Eyes are commonly black and ſmall, Noſes little, Nails almoſt as long as their Fingers, but ſerving to diſtinguiſh their Generoſity. The better ſort have their Cloathing of Silk, and a ſlight ſort of Sattin, and the meaner in black Cloth made of Cotton. Both wear their Coats long and quilted, made to tie on the Left Arm; their Sleeves are long, and the Wriſts very ſtrait. Their Shoes are of ſuch Stuff as their Coats, but ſome have them richly embroider'd, the Soal being of Cloth or Callico. The greateſt variety is in their Head-attire; ſome knit their hair in Cawls of Silk, or Horſe-hair, others with Fillets of Gold and Silver. Others wear high round Caps made with fine twigs ſtitched with Silk of divers Colours, but others fancy an Antick ſort of Hat, which is high-crown'd and round, and one half without a brim. No colour pleaſeth them ſo much

Paquin.

Nanquin deſcribed.

Cantam.

Quinzay.

as tawney. The Women are Modeſt, and differ nothing in their Apparel. They cover themſelves with a Veil of white Linen, ſo that nothing appears but their Feet, which from their Infancy they ſo ſtraiten to make themſelves A-la-mode, that they become many of them lame. They Tolerate Polygamy, and that odious Sin of Sodomy, and are not aſhamed to expoſe them to publick view by paintings. They are a proud, lazy, jealous and voluptuous ſort of People. Muſick, Poetry, Painting and Stage-plays, delight them exceedingly, and they care not what they ſpend in Luxury and Fire-works. They eat in Porcellane, and put their Meat in ſeveral ſmall Diſhes, which they love to Mince, and take it up with two Sticks of Bone, or Ivory, or with their Nails, which ſome wear very long for that Uſe, for they account it abſurd to touch either their Mouths or Meat with their Fingers. Their Drink is commonly hot, and appears to be Coffee by the colour and taſte. They drink a little and often. The *Louthayas* eat on Tables, ſit on Stools, and will be ſerved on the Knee.

No Beggars.

Tho' they are given to Idleneſs, yet they have few or no Beggars; for if a young Perſon beg he is whipped, if an old one, he is ſent to an Hoſpital to be provided for.

Their puniſhments.

Murder and Theft they puniſh with Death. The leaſt puniſhment they uſe is the Strapado. Their Juſtice is ſevere, their Priſons ſtrong, and Executions quick. They honour their *Mandarins*, reverence the *Chyams*, and almoſt adore their King. No Subject can have recourſe to him but by Petition. His Wives Children and Eunuchs only have acceſs to him. Ambaſſadors enter not into his preſence without ſome Gifts of value. The People are much pleaſed with Novelties, and more eſpecially love to ſee ſtrange Arts, which they practiſe with delight.

Their Arts and Trades.

Few of them but have Skill either in Tillage, making *China*-Diſhes, Painting, Singing, Playing, or ſome other Art which is uſeful and modeſt. They affect Mathematicks. They uſe no Letters, but Characters, of which they have above 40000. They write downward with Pencils made of Horſe-hair, ſuch as Painters uſe. Their Language is almoſt all Monoſyllables. Moſt of them have a Vein of Poetry and Muſick, and are ſtudious in all the Liberal Sciences. Scholars and Merchants are in greater eſteem with them than Men of War.

Their honour to their King.

No People in the World honour their King more than they, for they ſuppoſe him too Glorious to look on. They obey his Will in every thing, they fill his Exchequer Yearly with above 100 Millions of Crowns, and call him the Undaunted Emperor, Lord of the whole World, Son of the Sun, and Beauty of the whole Earth.

Their Duty to their Parents.

Nor do any People expreſs more filial Reſpect to their Parents than they, for they obey them at all times, and in all places; marry not without their Conſent, leave their Childrens Names to them, honour them be they never ſo mean, maintain them be they never ſo poor, and at their Death expreſs all Symptoms poſſible of Duty, Mourning in white Linen as the *Jews* did of Old, ſeldom leſs than two or three Years; the longer they mourn, they think they better expreſs their filial Affection.

Their Pride.

They arrogate to themſelves the Invention of all Arts and Knowledge in the Liberal Sciences, and it can't be denied but they have ſome of them, as Logick, Rhetorick, Muſick, Arithmetick and Aſtronomy. They are, they ſay, the moſt unmix'd People in the Univerſe, have all from their own Ingenuity, and borrow nothing from others. They boaſt that they firſt invented Characters, Guns, Painting, Tillage and Navigation, in which if they do not falſify, yet they come far ſhort of the *Europeans* in the perfection of thoſe Arts, for their Guns are ſhort like Piſtols;

Their Guns.

their Painting is with mean Deſigns and filthy Poſtures, tho' their Colours are good. They ſhadow but meanly, in which conſiſts the excellency of Painting.

Husbandry.

Their Husbandry is without much Art, for tho' their Grain is good, the Soil rich, and the Zone moderate, yet is neither their Corn ſo good, various, and certain as ours.

Navigation.

Their Navigation is lame, they build many Ships, but without beauty or ſtrength. Nor have they much Skill in Sailing, having no good Mathematick Inſtruments, nor knowing the Uſe of the Compaſs. They are ignorant of the Load-ſtone, uſing the *Dog-Star* and *Urſa Minor* for their beſt Directors; yet, they ſay, they ſee with both Eyes, the *Europeans* with one, and all other People are blind.

Their love of Gaming.

They love Gaming exceſſively, and will Stake their Wives and Children in their playing, which if they loſe, they willingly part with them till they can redeem them. They are Hoſpitable one to another, and believe a Reſurrection, for they will ſometimes lend Money to be paid in another World. Stage-plays, Masks, Fire-works, and ſuch Devices, pleaſe them wonderfully, nor care they what Money they expend in ſuch Sports, if their expectation be not fruſtrate. Their Houſes are meanly built, and as badly furniſhed.

Their Temples.

Their *Meani* have no external Beauty nor Grandeur as might be expected in ſo rich a Country, and among ſo Superſtitious a People, but they are many times lined with excellent good Porphyry, Serpentine, and like Marble.

Their Colleges.

Their Colleges and Temples expreſs, by ſome Invention or other, their Infernal Art and Familiarity with the Old Magician, to whom they devote ſome Enthuſiaſtick Boys, who pronounce ſomewhat that points at his Worſhip and their Obedience.

Their Feſtivals.

They Celebrate their Birth-days very ſolemnly for a Fortnight, ſpending the Day in Paſtimes, and the Nights in Feaſting, indulging themſelves much in choice Fruits and Wines. *New-years-Day*, which is with them in *March*, they keep with all ſolemnity, ſtriving to exceed each other in the fancies of their Pageants, and adorning their Doors with Paper-Arches and Images by Day, and with Lanthorns and Lights by Night. Their Weddings have more or leſs Ceremony, according to the Quality of the Perſons.

Their Funerals.

Their Funerals are thus Celebrated: When a Man dies, they firſt Waſh, then Perfume, and laſt of all put his beſt Cloaths on, and covering his Head, ſet him in a Chair. Then his Wife having paid her Reſpects, goes to him and kiſſes him, and takes her leave of him with all the ſorrow imaginable; and after her, the Children and Relations do all the ſame in their Order. This done, after three days they lay him in a Coffin of precious Wood, which they cover with a Silk Cloth, and over it place his Picture. For 15 days the Corps reſts in that ſort, and every day a Table is ſpread before it well-furniſhed with Meat, which the Prieſts, who burn Incenſe and offer Sacrifice, are allowed to eat in the Night. When they carry it to the Grave, Women are hired to howl, to move others to compaſſion; and upon the Coffin ſometimes they ſet the Image of a Dead Man, who is to ſhew him the readieſt way to *Elizium*.

Their Mourning.

When the Burial is over, the Widow and Children keep themſelves from Company ſome few days, and when they go abroad, wear Sackcloth next their Skin, have long and plain Cloaths, and for three Years ſpace are not ſeen to laugh or joy in any thing, but to the utmoſt of their power ſhew their love by their continued lamentation, abſtinence from Feaſts and Paſtimes, and ſubſcribing their Letters by the Name of ſuch a ones (*viz.* the Dead Man being named) Diſobedient Widow, Son, &c.

CHAP. XXVI.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *Return home from* China *into* England; *and the things remarkable in his Way.*

The Iſle of *Digarroys.*

THE Raviſhing Delights, and Magical Excellencies of the Orient, tho' pleaſing his Mind, could not take his thoughts off from his own beloved Country, but *Ovid*'s *Neſcio quâ Natale Sola*, &c. was always the cloſe of his Obſervations; and ſo ſetting Sail homeward upon *June* 7. after a long Voyage through Storms, endured with much patience, he came to the Iſle of *Digarroys*, which is 50 Miles about, and in the 20 deg. South Latitude. Here they would not anchor, becauſe they knew that the Iſle of *Mauritius* was but 90 Leagues diſtant upon a W.N.W. Courſe, and there they expected ſome refreſhment. The Iſle of *Digarroys* was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueze*; it is a deſolate Iſland without Inhabitants, but plentifully furniſhed with Wood, Tortoiſes, Dodo's, and the like Fowl. At the South-Weſt are Shoals, which are long and dangerous. By the benefit of a conſtant Wind, they ſoon arrived at *Mauritius.*

Mauritius an Iſland.

Coral.

Trees, Ebony.

The Palmeto, *Vid.* Fig. 20.

The Birds. The Dodo deſcribed, *Vid* his form Fig. 21

Hawks.

Fiſh. The Man-atee, *Vid.* the ſhape, Fig. 22.

The Torpedo, or Cramp-fiſh.

The Eagle-fiſh.

Tortoiſes.

Hens.

Bays.

The Soil.

England's Foreſt, an Iſle.

Mauritius is an Iſle ſituate within the Torrid Zone, under 20 deg. 5 min. Southern Latitude, and 20 deg. 20 min. Longitude from Cape *Comeryn.* The variation is 24 deg. and 19 min. It properly belongs to *Africa*, and is removed 100 Leagues, or thereabouts, from *Madagaſcar* to the Eaſt. For variety of Temporal Bleſſings, this Iſle may compare with any place in the Univerſe. It was firſt diſcovered by the Induſtry of the *Portugueze*, who gave it the Name of *Do-cerne*, which the *Dutch* changed into that of *Maurice*, for reaſons not known to us. It was thought by the firſt Diſcoverers, that Chriſtians had formerly inhabited this Iſle, by the Croſſes, and other Symbols found there. It abounds with, and is capable of all things neceſſary for Humane Life, which can be required in the Zone that 'tis placed in. The Land upon the Sea-coaſt is high, but elſewhere Champian and Plain. It is of an Oval ſhape, and in Circuit not above 100 *Engliſh* Miles. The Air exceeding good; and the Soil, tho' untilled, ſo fruitful, that it produces without Seed, Graſs, Herbs and Flowers. Ambergreeſe is often found floating about this Iſland, but how generated is not known, but it is highly valued according to its Nature. Here is alſo Coral in abundance: 'Tis a green Shrub or Plant in the Salt Sea, but has no Leaves. It beareth white Berries, which by force of the Sea and Air turn into Stone, and when it turns red it is valuable. It grows alſo upon the *Malabar* Coaſt, in the Red-Sea, and ſome other Parts of the *African* ſhore, and near the *Philippine* Iſlands. It produceth Trees of ſeveral ſorts, ſome good for Timber, others for Food, all for Uſe. The moſt rare Trees are the Ebony, which affords Wood of different Colours, as black, white, red and yellow, all of great Uſe; but the black is moſt valuable. The Tree is commonly high, and very ſtraight, covered with a ſmooth Bark. They were found here in great plenty, but the *Dutch* and *French* have carried away ſuch abundance, that the plenty is much abated. Here alſo grows that Phænix in Nature the Palmeto or Date-Tree; the Trunk of it is ſlender, but very high and round, not branching but near the top, and then reſembling Sedge rather than Boughs, which are ever green. Under the Sedge appears a ſoft pulp, not unlike a Colliflower, but becauſe the vegetative Vertue of the Tree conſiſts in it, it will not thrive after it is ſevered, but while that ſubſtance remains it yields a Liquor like the Toddy, which is in colour and reliſh not unlike Muſt, or new Wine, which iſſues out of the Bark, when it is pierced, the quantity of a Pottle in an hour. It is a kind of Tree-honey, and being drunk with moderation comforts the Spirits, purges and helps Obſtructions, and kills Worms, but being immoderately taken intoxicates the Brains, and diſpoſes to Fluxes, but being ſet two days in the Sun, turns acid, and then is binding. Here are alſo Coco-Trees, both Male and Female; they both bear Bloſſoms, but the Female is only fruitful, and that by inoculating a flowering branch of the Male into it, or planting it near it, and not otherwiſe. Lizards and Parrots, and other Birds, flock to the Trees that are pierced, when Men are gone, to ſuck up the remaining Liquor. Several other ſorts of Trees there are, which differ in quality and form, which tho' they had a reſemblance to Pines, Sycamores and Limes, and the Fruit to Artichokes, Plums, Nuts, &c. yet were in Nature different. This Iſle has great variety of Birds, and ſome of them very rare, as the Dodo, whoſe Body is round and fat, which cauſes its ſlow pace, and is ſo big, as to weigh no leſs than 50 pounds. It is better to the Eye than Stomach, for the fleſh is ſo oily and cloying, that only ſtrong Stomachs can digeſt it. It is of a melancholy Viſage, and has ſuch ſmall Wings as are unable to hoiſt her from the ground. Her Head is half covered with down of a dark colour, and the other half naked; the Bill is hooked, and from the thrill or breathing place to the end, is of a light green colour mixed with a pale yellow, her Eyes are round and bright, ſhe has fine down inſtead of feathers, which grow only 3 or 4 at her Tail, her Legs are thick and black, her Tallons great, and her Stomach ſo hot as to digeſt Stones. Here are alſo Aeries of Hawks, and ſundry other Birds, as Goſhawks, Lannars, Hobbies, Paſſe-Flemingoes, Geeſe, Pouts, Swallows, Kites, Black-birds, Sparrows, Robins, Herons, white and beautiful, their fleſh good, but feathers more valuable: Cacato's fierce, and not to be tamed, Bitterns, Hens, and many others, but the Parrots are moſt curious in their feathers, and more eſteemed for their prating. In the Rivers are found great variety of Fiſh; the rareſt are the Man-atee, a Fiſh which uſes both Elements, their Fins ſerving for Stilts on Land, as they do for Oars in the Sea. The Fleſh differs little from Veal in taſte. They affect ſhoal'd Waters, and uſually ſwim near the ſhore, that they may graze upon it; their eyes are ſmall, their bulk about three Yards long, and in breadth about half ſo much. A gentle Fiſh, delighted in beholding Man's face, and valuable for a Stone found in the Head, which being pounded and drank in Wine faſting, cures the Stone and Colick. The Torpedo, or Cramp-fiſh, which by hiding it ſelf in the Mud, catches leſſer Fiſh very ſtrangely, for by his coldneſs he benums ſuch Fiſh as ſwim over him, or lodge near him, and ſo preys upon them. When they are taken, they affect the Hand of the Catcher with a ſudden trembling, by evaporating a cold breath, which ſtupifies the touch. The Eagle-fiſh, made more for Admiration than Food, the Eyes are 5 quarters aſunder, and the Fins, from one end to the other, 4 Yards; its Mouth is ſo wide, and Teeth ſo long, that it reſembleth a ſmall Port-cullice. The Tail alſo is very long and ſmall. Other ſtrange Fiſh are alſo met with here, ſome have the ſhapes of Hedgehogs, other of Cats, ſome round, and ſome triangular. More ordinary Fiſh are found alſo here in abundance, as Dolphins, Boneta's, Albicores, Cavallo's, Porpices, Grampaſſes, Mullets, Breams, Tench, Trout, Soals, Flounders, Tortoiſes, Eeles, Pikes, Sharks, Crabs, Lobſters, Oyſters, Craw-fiſh and Cuttle-fiſh, Rock-fiſh and Lampits. Moreover, this Iſle affords Goats, Hogs, Beeves, and Land-Tortoiſes, ſome of which are ſo big, as to ſuffer two Men to ſit on them, and ſo ſtrong as to carry them; yea, ſome report that 15 Men have ſtood upon one of them. The Sailors uſe to eat them, but they are better Meat for Hogs than Men; as are alſo their Rats, Bats and Monkies. Hens excel them, and are eaſily catched, for they flock together in companies of 30 or 40 together; and if you kill one, they will none of them be frighted at it. In this Iſle are ſeveral good places to anchor in, but two are moſt frequented, the one on the North-Weſt, and the other on the South-Eaſt; both which Bays ſeem to be Land-locked, and have Ouzy-ground, ſo that Ships ride ſafe there in 5, 10, 15, or 20 Fathoms, no where dangerous. The Soil of it is ſtony towards the ſhore, but at more diſtance has rich Mould, covered with Graſs and Herbs, and bearing Wood in abundance. It has Springs of good Water, and nothing wants which may delight the Eye, or ſatisfy the Taſte. It is uninhabited, but ſuch invitations 'tis like will be ſoon accepted. From the Iſle of *Maurice* they ſet ſail, and on the 5th day came to an Iſland called *England*'s-*Foreſt*, ſo named by Capt. *Caſtleton*, Commander of the *Pearl* in 1613, but ſome of late have given it the Name of Seignior *Maſcarenas.* This pleaſant Iſle is about 50 Miles in Circuit, it lies in 20 deg. 55 min. Southern Latitude, and is diſtant from the Iſle of *Mauritius* 37 Leagues. The ground is very high, and raiſeth it ſelf a good way into the middle Region; the Earth is every where green, eſpecially in tall Trees. It had no Creatures in it but Birds, till the *Engliſh* put ſome Hogs and Goats into it, that by multiplication they might be an happy Relief to Paſſengers. Here are plenty of Fiſh, and the Eels are of a remarkable bigneſs, ſome of them weighing 30 pounds, and they are very moiſt and ſweet to the taſte. The Birds are much the ſame as thoſe mentioned in the Iſle of *Mauritius.* From hence they ſailed into the *Mare de Zur*, where for many hundred Miles they were recreated with many ſhoals of Fiſh, that play'd about their Ship, and among others the Whale, ſome of which ſeemed longer than their Ship, tho' of great burden. This Fiſh uſually exceeds any other Creature in bigneſs, being near 40 Cubits long, and a 4th part in thickneſs; yea, *Nearchus* told *Alexander*, he ſaw one 50 Cubits long. And *Pliny*, in his Nat. Hiſt. lib. 32. ſays, there are ſome 603 foot long. After 70 days ſail they came to the Iſland of

S. Helena, an Iſle, deſcribed.

Mr. Candiſh put in here.

Aſcenſion-Iſle.

The Iſles of *Gorgades.*

The *Azores*, or *Flemiſh* Iſlands, Vid. Fig. 23.

Tercera, the biggeſt of them, deſcribed.

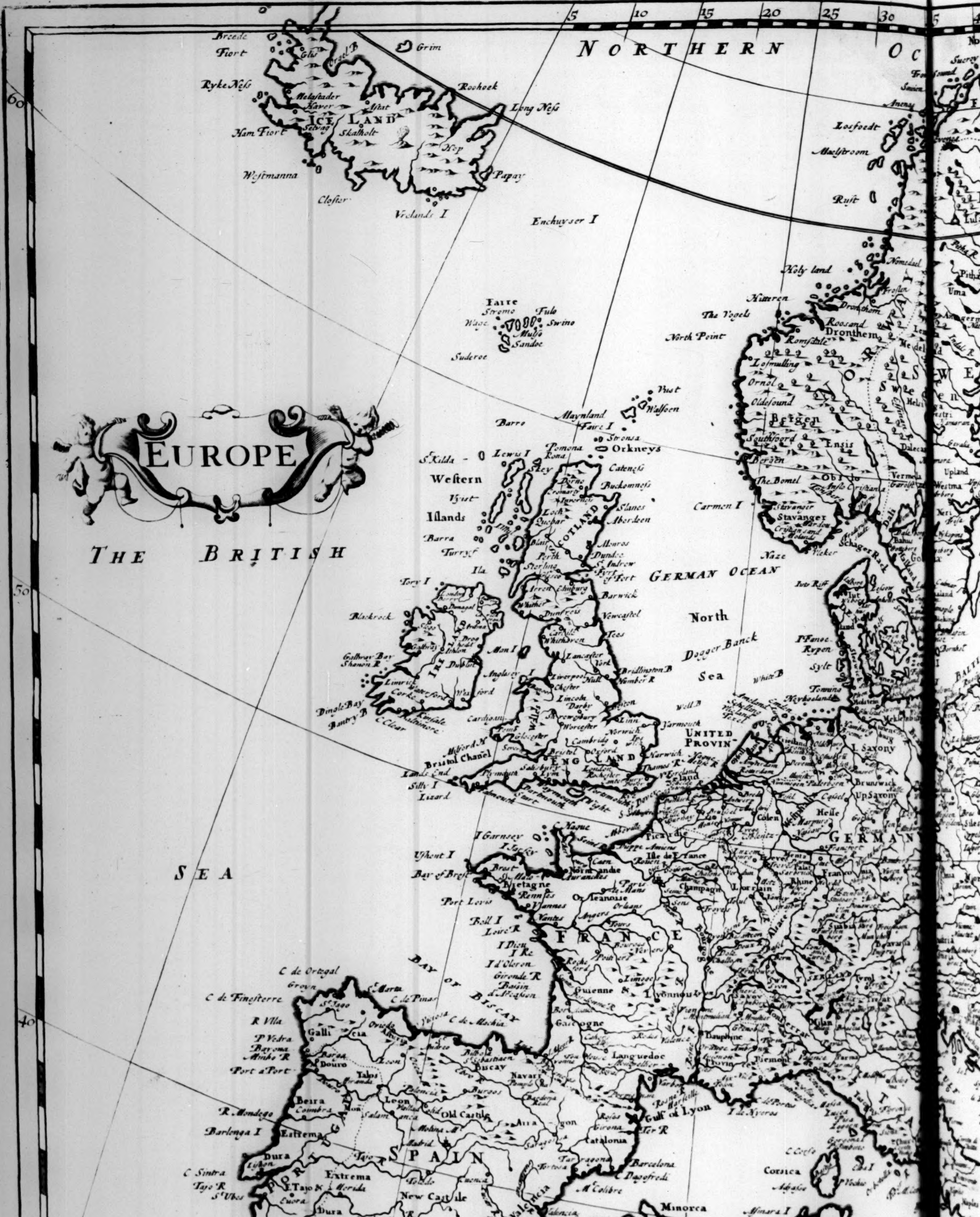
Earthquakes in theſe Iſ

The Iſle *Corve.*

The true Meridian

S. Helena, placed in a rough Sea, but ſecured from Inundation, not ſo much by its height, tho' extraordinary, as by the Supreme Providence, which ſets Bounds to the Sea. It has no Iſles near it, but ſtands in an equal diſtance between the Ports of *Rio Grandi* in *Braſile*, and Cape *Negro* in the Kingdom of *Congo* in *Africk*; its Name was given it by *John de Nova* about the Year 1502, becauſe he diſcovered it in his return from *India* to *Lisbon*, *May* 3. a day Conſecrated to the Memory of the Moſt Religious Empreſs *Helene*, the Mother of *Conſtantine* the firſt Chriſtian Emperor. This Iſle lies in 16 deg. of Southern Latitude, and from the utmoſt Promontory of South *Africk* 22 deg. Longitude. It is diſtant from the Lands end of *England* 4500 *Engliſh* Miles, and from the *Cape of Good Hope* 1740. It belongs to *Africa.* It is but ſmall, not exceeding 30 *Engliſh* Miles in circumference, but ſo exceſſive high, that it veils its head often in the Clouds, which ſend down ſufficient moiſture to cool the Sun's ardour. Nevertheleſs, the Land is not more eminent in its height than the Sea is profound in its depth, being ſo deep, that it affords ill anchoring ſave at the N. W. where 'tis but 20 fathoms; yet to ride ſecurely, 'tis beſt to carry the Anchors aſhore. The flux and reflux of the Sea hardly appears here, becauſe of the great depth. The Land is ſo ſteep that it can hardly be aſcended, inſomuch that the Sailors thus deſcribe the Way up to it: *That 'tis ſuch, as that a Man may chuſe whether he will break his Heart in going up, or his Neck in coming down*; but being once up, ſcarce any place can yield a more large and delightful proſpect. The Land is very even and plain a top, without any Hills. It has ſome Springs, which are ſweet at their riſing, but running through the Salt Hills, and drawing near the Sea, where they meet with a ſaltiſh Vapour, they are brackiſh. There are but two noted Rivolets in it, the one running down towards the Chappel, built there for God's Worſhip by the *Spaniards*, but pulled down by the *Dutch*, and put to common Uſes; the other running into *Limon-Valley*, ſo called from a Limon-Tree growing there. There are ſome Ruins of a little Town lately demoliſhed by the *Spaniard*, becauſe it was become a Magazine of a private Trade from both *Indies*; other Monuments or Antiquities there are none. There are no Inhabitants at preſent, but plenty of Hogs and Goats, who multiply there to admiration. Here are alſo ſtore of Pheaſants, Pouts, Quails, Hens and Partridges, as alſo of Herbs and Roots, tho' not naturally growing here, but ſown by the *Portugueze*, as Wood-Sorrel, Three-leaved-Graſs, Scurvy-Graſs, and the like; all Herbs ſoveraign againſt the Scurvy, the uſual diſeaſe at Sea, and moſt predominant with the Iſlanders, Baſil, Parſley, Mint, Spinage, Fennel, Anniſe, Radiſh, Muſtard-ſeed, Tobacco, and the like. Mr. *Candiſh*, in his Voyage round the Globe, putting in here, found ſtore of Limons, Oranges, Pomgranates, Pomcitrons, Figs and Dates, but now none of theſe Fruits are found here, ſave one Limon-Tree, which how it comes to paſs none can tell. After a Weeks refreſhment here they took their leave of this Iſle, a proſperous Gale inviting their departure, and on *Octob.* 16. came juſt under the Sun. The *Thurſday* after they had a proſpect of *Aſcenſion-Iſle*, ſo named by *John de Nova* in the Year 1502, becauſe he diſcovered it firſt upon that Feaſt. It lies in the 7th deg. of Southern Latitude, and is little more than 30 Miles in Circuit; 'tis neither well wooded nor watered, has nothing obſervable in it. From *St. Helena* 'tis 720 *Engliſh* Miles, or thereabouts. On the 27th day they croſſed the Æquinoctial a fourth time. The Weather here is very hot, ſave that it is qualified by the continual blowing of the Manzoons and Tornadoes, which cauſe a variable Weather, *viz.* loud blaſts of Wind, naſty ſhowers of Rain, and terrible Thunder and Lightning. On *November* 11. they became parallel to *Cape de Verd*, and thoſe Iſles called by the Poets *Gorgades*, becauſe they feign that thoſe three Iſlands were the Habitations of the three *Gorgons*, *Meduſa*, *Stenia* and *Uriabe*, making them Furies inſtead of Beauties, contrary to *Perſeus*'s report of them. Leaving theſe Iſles upon the more Weſterly Courſe, they coaſted part of the *American* Continent, *viz.* *Guiana*, *Florida*, *Virginia* and *New-England*, and other Parts of *Norembega.* Here they obſerved, that the Sea in many places, as they ſailed, was ſo covered with green Weeds, and ſmall Berries, even where the Water was not to be fathomed, that it rather ſeems a Field of Graſs than the Ocean, and much retarded their way in Sailing. About the beginning of *December* they had ſight of the *Azores*, or *Flemiſh* Iſlands, which Name ſeems to infer as if they were found out by the *Dutch*; for according to Tradition, a Merchant of *Bourges*, bound for *Lisbon* in 1449, was by ſtreſs of Weather driven ſo far Weſt, as unexpectedly, betwixt the Latitude of 38 and 40 degrees, he deſcried ſeveral ſmall Iſlands in view one of another, but at that time without ſhew of any Inhabitants. He called them the *Flemiſh* Iſlands. Coming ſoon after aſhore at *Andaluſia*, and reporting his Adventure, the *Portugueze*, by his Compaſs, eaſily found the Way to them, and quickly planted them with Men, and whatever elſe was neceſſary, giving them at the ſame time the Names of *S. George*, *S. Michael*, *S. Mary*, three Saints, to whoſe Patronage the Captain thought fit to recommend three of the Iſles; *Fayall*, from the Beach-Trees which then abounded in this Iſle, *Pyco*, from the Pyramidal ſhape it bears, and *Tercera*, becauſe it reſembles three Iſles. This is the biggeſt and fruitfulleſt of them, for it abounds with Wine, Oil, Corn, Fruit and Oade. *Angra* is her beſt Town, and *Braſile* her ſtrongeſt Fort, which alſo command the Haven. *Pyco* is extraordinary high Land, and ſurges in a Peak, or Spire, like *Teneriff*, ſo far above the Clouds, that the top is uſually covered with Fogs, and is ſeldom to be diſcerned by the Sailors. This Iſle is not above 10 Miles in compaſs; the higher Earth is for the moſt part Sulphur, and ſhews many hollow places, at which ſmoke and flame often evaporate, and now and then ſend forth Brimſtone, but in the Valleys are delightful Shades, and cool Rivolets, into which when the Fire is vomited, it cauſes a terrible noiſe, to the terror and amazement of Strangers. Theſe Iſlands are more ſubject to Earthquakes than other places. In 1591, in *S. Michael*'s Iſland, there happened an Earthquake which continued ſhaking from the 26th day of *July* to the 12th of *Auguſt*, to the extreme affrighting of the Inhabitants, for by the force thereof, they perceived the Earth to remove from place to place; and *Villa Franca*, the beſt Town, it had quite demoliſhed, the Ships that rode at Anchor in the Bay trembled and quaked, inſomuch that the Inhabitants thought verily that Dooms-day was at hand. The *Spaniards* report for a truth, that the Iſle *Corve*, adjoyning to the former, roſe out of the Sea, being before under Water; but this Miracle is not ſo credible, as that this Iſle and *Flores* was diſcovered by the *Spaniards*. Theſe Iſlands ſuffered much from the *Engliſh* in the quarrel they had with *Spain*, for in 1588, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſacked *Flores* and *Corve*, and gave *S. Michael* to be plundered by the Soldiers, and the next Year *Fayall* underwent the ſame Fate. In 1597, *Pyco* was made a prey to the *Engliſh* under Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, ſo that the Inhabitants of theſe Iſles had reaſon to curſe the Catholick ambition. At *S. Michaels* the true Meridian is only found, for there the Needle ſhews no variation either Eaſterly or Weſterly, contrary to what is obſerved in other places. Leaving the *Azores*, the Wind being fair they entred the *Cantabrian* Ocean, and at length came to anchor at *Plimouth*, giving God hearty thanks for their preſervation from ſo many Dangers in their long Voyage.

Navigantium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S. Kilda
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Aberdeen
Mones
Dundee
S. Andrew
Firth of Fort
SCOTLAND
Berwick
Newcastel
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GERMAN OCEAN
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Piemont
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C de Finesterre
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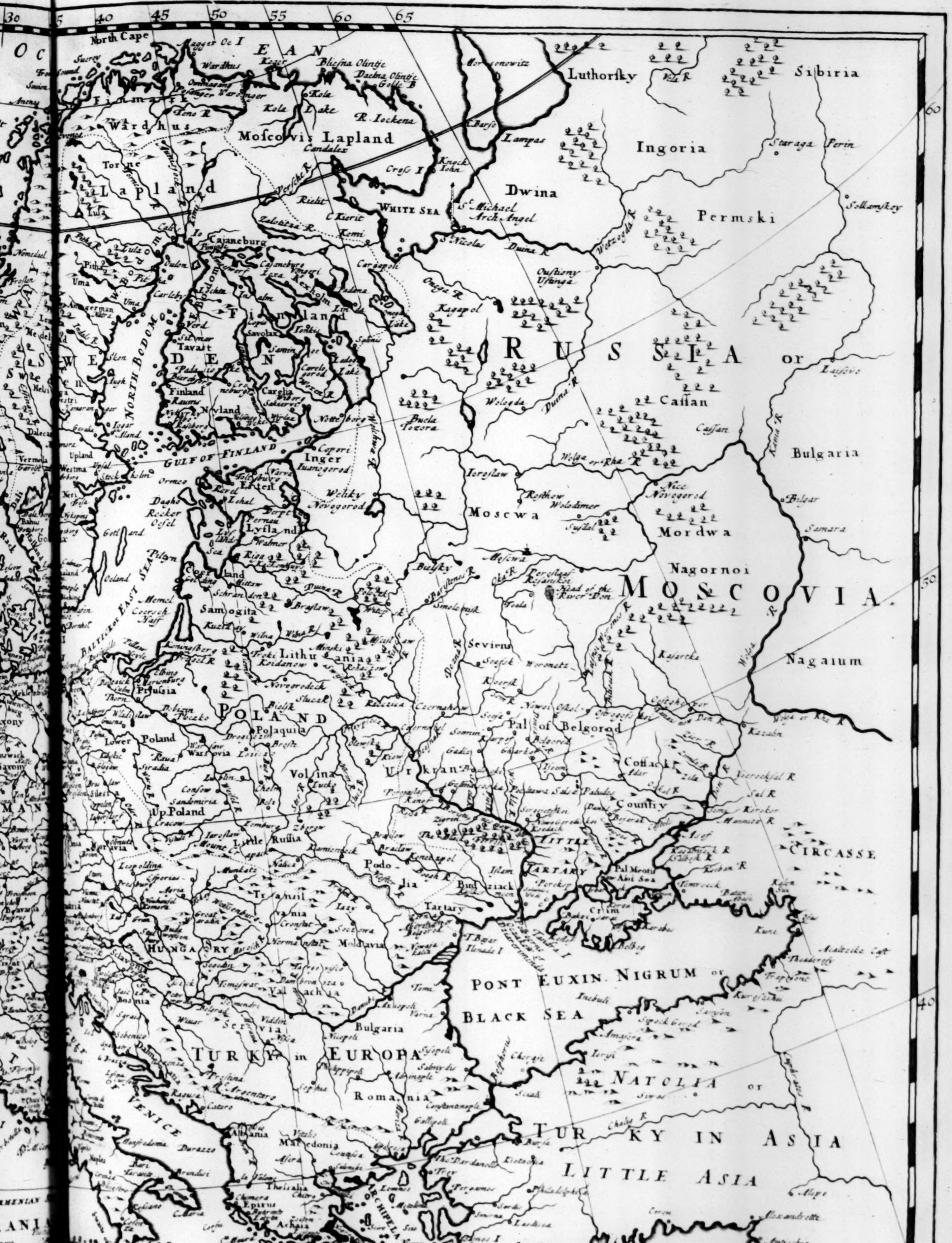
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North Cape
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Torne
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St. Michael Arch Angel
St. Nicolas
Luthorsky
Sibiria
Ingoria
Dwina
Permski
Lampas
Cajaneburg
Finland
NORTH BODOM
SWEDEN
Carelia
Nyland
Wiborg
GULF OF FINLAND
Inger
Ivanogorod
Welikj Novogorod
Revel
Estent
Lyfland
Riga
Curland
Samogita
Gotland
Oeland
Memel
BALTICK or EAST SEA
Ofsel
Dagho
Upland
Stockholm
RUSSIA or
Wologda
Cassan
Bulgaria
Ieroslaw
Moscwa
Mordwa
Nagornoi
MOSCOVIA
Nagaium
Samara
Bulgar
Smolensk
Seviens
Lithuania
Prussia
Konigsberg
POLAND
Polaquia
Poland
Warsovia
Lower Poland
Up Poland
Cracow
Volinia
Little Russia
Ukran
Kiow
Pal of Belgorod
Cossacks Country
Podolia
LITTLE TARTARY
Budziack
Crim
Perekop
Pal Meotis
Asof
CIRCASSE
Tartary
Transilvania
Moldavia
Walachia
HUNGARY
Buda
Servia
Bulgaria
Bosnia
TURKY in EUROPA
Romania
Constantinople
Macedonia
Albania
Durazzo
Thessalia
Epirus
Achaia
Morea
ARCHIPELAGO ISLES
Candia
Rhodes
PONT EUXIN NIGRUM or BLACK SEA
NATOLIA or
TURKY IN ASIA
LITTLE ASIA
Cyprus
SYRIA
Aleppo
Alexandretta
Antiochia
Tripoli
Jerusalem
LEVANT
SEA
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Navigantium atq; Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING

Voyages, Trafficks, and Diſcoveries TO RUSSIA AND The Northern PARTS.

CHAP. I.

The Journal of William de Rubruquiſh, *a* French-man, *of the Order of the* Minorite Friers, *into* Tartary *and* China; *Written to* Lewis IX *King of* France, 1253.

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IN the Year of our Lord 1253, I departed from *Conſtantinople*, and paſſing the *Euxine* Sea, arrived in the *Tartars* Country, who have no ſetled place of abode, but travel toward the South in Winter, and when the Spring approaches, they remove again towards the North. Their Houſes are made of Wickers platted together and placed in Carts, ſome of which are ſo large, that meaſuring once the breadth between the Wheel-ruts of one of their Carts, I found it to be 20 Foot over, and when the Houſe was upon the Cart, it reach'd over the Wheels on each ſide five Feet at leaſt. I told 22 Oxen in one Team, drawing an Houſe upon a Cart, eleven a breaſt. The Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge bigneſs, like to the Maſt of a Ship. The Man that drove the Oxen ſtood in the Door of the Houſe. They go a ſlow pace, and when they come to any place where they intend to make ſome ſtay, they take down their Houſes from their Carts, and turning the Doors Southwards, the Maſter's Bed is placed at the North end of the Houſe. If he have more Wives than one, ſhe with whom he ſlept the Night before, ſits by his ſide the Day following, and all his other Wives muſt that Day reſort unto the ſame Houſe to drink.

How they make their Coſmos.

In Winter they make excellent Drink of Rice, and alſo of Honey: In Summer they care not for any Drink but *Coſmos*, which is Mares Milk prepar'd after this manner. They faſten a long Line unto two Poſts ſtanding firmly in the Ground, and unto the ſame Line they tye the young Foals of thoſe Mares they intend to milk; then come the Dams to ſtand by their Foals, gently ſuffering themſelves to be milked; and if any of them be unruly, they put her Foal under her to ſuck her a while, and removing it away again, a Man milks the Mare. When they have gotten a quantity of this Milk, they pour it into a great Bladder or Bag while it is new, and beat the Bag with a Club, till it begins to boil like new Wine, and to be ſowre and ſharp of taſte. It bites the Tongue like Wine of Raſps, leaving a taſte behind it like to Almond Milk; it intoxicates weak Brains, and ſtrongly provokes Urine.

Caracoſmos.

The *Caracoſmos* or black *Coſmos*, for Men of quality to drink, is made on this manner. They beat the Milk till the thickeſt part deſcend to the bottom like the Lees of White-wine, which is given to Servants, and makes them ſleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear, their Maſters drink, and is a very ſweet and wholſome Liquor.

Their Butter.

Their Cows Milk is churned into Butter, which is boiled and put into Rams Skins and reſerved for Winter. They put no Salt in it, and yet it putrifies not, by reaſon of the long boiling. The Milk that remains after the Butter, they let ſtand till it be as ſowre as may be, then boil it till 'tis all turned into Curds, which they dry in the Sun until they are as hard as the Droſs of Iron, and ſtore it up in Bags againſt Winter; at which time when Milk faileth, they put the ſaid Curds, called *Gryut*, into a Bladder, and pouring hot Water into it, beat it till the Curds are diſſolved, and the Water become very ſowre, and then drink it.

Of their Diet.

As to their Food, they eat all manner of Carrion without Exception, and among ſo many Droves it cannot be, but ſome Cattle muſt needs die. But in Summer, as long as their Mares Milk laſts, they care not for any Food. When a Horſe or Ox dies, they cut the Fleſh into thin ſlices, and hanging it up againſt the Sun and Wind, it preſently dries without Salt, and alſo without ſtench or Corruption. They make better Puddings of

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their Horſes than of their Hogs, which they eat being new made; the reſt of the Fleſh they reſerve till Winter. When they eat a Ram, they mince the Fleſh in a Bowl with Salt and Water, (other Sauce they have none) and the Maſter of the Houſe taking what he pleaſes for himſelf, gives to the reſt of the Company a Morſel or two upon the Point of a Knife or a little Fork, which the Receiver muſt eat alone, and not impart any of it to another. If he cannot eat it all, he puts the reſt in a ſquare Budget, which they commonly carry with them for the ſaving their Proviſions, and wherein they lay up their Bones when they have not time to gnaw them throughly.

Their Women.

The Women are for the moſt part very fat, and the leſſer their Noſes are, the handſomer they are eſteemed. Their Duty is to drive Carts, to lay their Houſes upon their Carts, and to take them down again, to milk Kine, to make Butter and *Gryut*, to dreſs Skins and make Garments, which they ſow with Thread made of Sinews. They never waſh any Apparel, nor their Diſhes or Bowls, but when their Meat is boiled, they waſh the Platter wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot Broth out of the Pot, and then pour the ſaid Broth into the Pot again. The Womens Garments differ not from the Mens, only that they are ſomewhat longer.

The Men.

The Men ſpend their time in making Bows and Arrows, Stirrops, Bridles and Saddles, building Houſes and Carts, keeping Horſes and Camels, milking Mares, Sheep or Goats, dreſſing and tanning Hides, which is done with Sheeps Milk thickned and ſalted.

Marriages.

As to their Marriages, no Man can have a Wife among them until he has bought her, whereby their Maids are often very ſtale before they are married. They inviolably obſerve the firſt and ſecond Degrees of Conſanguinity, but have no regard to the Degrees of Affinity, but will marry two Siſters ſucceſſively or together. Widows never remarry, becauſe they believe that every Widow after death ſhall return to her own Husband.

Laws.

Murder, Adultery and Sacriledge, are puniſhed with death.. The Criminal muſt be taken in the Fact, or confeſs the ſame, which if he refuſe to do, they put him to torture. Small Thefts are puniſh'd with cudgelling, and if the Executioner gives 100 Strokes, he muſt uſe 100 Staves. If two Men fight, no Man dare intrude to part 'em, nor may the Father help his own Son; but he that is worſted, muſt appeal unto the Court of his Lord, which may be done preſently and without delay; and whoſoever offers violence to him after appeal, is put to death.

At our firſt arrival among theſe barbarous People, after they had made us wait a long time, while they were ſitting in the ſhadow under their Carts, they came to us on horſeback. The firſt Queſtion was, If we had ever been with them before? and we anſwering that we had not, they impudently began to beg our Victuals, whereupon we gave them ſome of our Bisket and Wine, and when they had drank one Flagon, they demanded another, telling us, That a Man goes not into the Houſe with one Foot: But we gave them no more, excuſing our ſelves that we had but little. We were five Perſons in company, and had with us four covered Carts. They ask'd what I had in them, whether Gold, Silver, or precious Garments, to carry unto *Sartach* their Duke? I anſwered, That they had nothing to do to ask ſuch Queſtions, but that their Duke ſhould ſee what we had brought when we ſhould come to him. With this Anſwer they ſeemed ſatisfied, giving us Horſes and Oxen, and two Men to conduct us. Whilſt they were furniſhing us with theſe Neceſſaries, they ceaſed not to beg our Bread for their Children, wondring at all things they ſaw, as our Knives, Gloves, Purſes and Points, and deſiring to have them; for they think themſelves Lords, and that nothing ſhould be denied them by any Man. That Evening our Guides gave us ſome *Coſmos*, which was very ſavoury, and made me ſweat extreamly. In the Morning we met the Carts of *Scacatai*, a Prince of that Country, unto whom the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* had written Letters of Requeſt to let me paſs thro' his Territory. The Carts cover'd with Houſes ſeemed like a mighty City. There were with them huge droves of Oxen and Horſes, and flocks of Sheep. Our Guide told me that I muſt preſent ſomething to *Scacatai*, and went before to give notice of our coming. His Interpreter advanced to us, asking us what we would preſent unto his Lord. We took a Flagon of Wine with ſome Bisket and Fruit; but he was not contented, becauſe we had not brought ſome rich Garment.

Court of Scacatai.

When we were admitted to his Preſence, we found him ſitting on his Bed with a Citron in his Hand, and his Wife ſitting by him, the upper part of whoſe Noſe ſeemed to be pared away, that ſhe might ſeem flat noſed, and the place was anointed with a black Ointment. I beſought him that he would vouchſafe to accept of that ſmall Gift at our hands, excuſing my ſelf that I was a Monk, and that it was againſt my Profeſſion to poſſeſs Gold, Silver, or precious Garments, and therefore had not any ſuch thing to give him. Hereupon he cauſed our Preſent of Wine, *&c.* to be received, and diſtributed it among his Men, who were met together to drink and make merry. I delivered him alſo the Emperour of *Conſtantinoples*'s Letters. He asked us if we would drink any *Coſmos* (for thoſe Chriſtians which live among them, as the *Ruſſians*, *Grecians*, &c. will never drink of it, and account themſelves no Chriſtians after they have once drank it, and their Prieſts reconcile them to the Church as if they had renounced the Chriſtian Faith). I anſwered, that we had as yet ſufficient of our own, and that when it ſhould fail us, we muſt be conſtrain'd to drink ſuch as ſhould be given us. He then asked what Words we would deliver to Duke *Sartach*; I anſwered, the Words of Chriſtian Faith. He asked again, what theſe Words were, for he was deſirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my Interpreter, the Apoſtles Creed, which when he had heard, he ſhook his Head. When we had travailed in his company until *Whitſunday*, he order'd two *Tartars* to drive our Carts, and one to conduct us to Duke *Sartach*, alſo one Goat and many Bladders of Cows Milk; but their *Coſmos* is ſo highly eſteem'd, that he gave us but little of it. Our *Tartar* Servant would intrude upon us, when we ſet under our Carts in the ſhade, to avoid the vehement heat at that time, and would eat up our Victuals; and had ſo little manners as to lay their Tails in our preſence while they were diſcourſing with us. Thus we travelled with great toil, till we arrived at the Bank of the River *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*. It is here as broad as the River *Sein* at *Paris*. We were firſt ferried over, and then our Carts in two Boats bound together, one Wheel in each Boat. The *Tartars* move no further northwards than this place, but in the beginning of *Auguſt* return ſouthwards.

Court of *Sartach*. *Coiat* the *Neſtorian*.

On the laſt of *July*, we arrived at the Court of Duke *Sartach*, within three days journey of the River *Volga*. He had ſix Wives and each of them about 200 Carts. Our Guide addreſſed himſelf to one *Coiat* a Neſtorian, a Man of great authority, whoſe Office is to introduce Forreigners. When I came before him, I told him for what purpoſe I was come, and requeſted ſo much favour at his hands, as to bring my Letters to the ſight of his Lord, excuſing my ſelf for bringing no Preſent to him or his Lord, by reaſon of my being a Monk, not receiving nor uſing any Gold, Silver, or other precious things, ſave only our Books, and the Veſtments wherewith we ſerved God. He anſwered very courteouſly, that being a Monk, in ſo doing I did well, for ſo I ſhould obſerve my Vow; neither did he ſtand in need of any thing we had, but was ready to beſtow upon us ſuch things as we wanted, and cauſing us to ſet down and drink of his Milk, he requeſted us to ſay our Devotions for him. Then he enquired who was the greateſt Prince among the *Franks*; I ſaid the Emperor; He replied *No*, but the King of *France*. Then returning to our Lodging, we ſent him next Morning a Flagon of *Muſcadel*, and a Box of Biscuits, which was more acceptable to him. The next Morning he commanded me to come to Court, and to bring the King's Letters and my Veſtments and Books with me, becauſe his Lord deſired to ſee them. We went accordingly, lading one Cart with Bisket, Wine, and Fruits, and another with our Books and Veſtments, which he cauſed to be laid open, and demanded whether I would beſtow all thoſe things upon his Lord. We anſwered, That our humble requeſt was, that our Lord his Maſter would vouchſafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Preſent, becauſe it is too mean, but as a Benediction, leſt we ſhould come with an empty Hand before him; and when he ſhall ſee the Letters of my Soveraign Lord the King of *France*, he will by them underſtand for what cauſe we are come unto him, and then our ſelves and all that we have, ſhall ſtand to his courteſy; but as to our Veſtments, they are holy, and it was unlawful for any but Prieſts to touch them. Then he commanded us to put on the ſaid Garments, that we might go before his Lord, and we did ſo. I put on the moſt precious Ornaments, and took in my Arms a very fair Cuſhion, and the Bible which your Majeſty gave me, and a moſt beautiful Pſalter which the Queen beſtowed upon me, wherein were goodly Pictures. My Aſſociate took a Miſſel and a Croſs, and the Clerk having put on a Surplice, took a Cenſor in his Hand. When we came near, the Felt hanging before his Door was

lifted

1253. lifted up that he might behold us. Then they cauſed the Clerk and the Interpreter to bow the Knee thrice, but of us they required no ſuch ſubmiſſion. They diligently admoniſh'd us, that in going in and coming out, we ſhould not touch the Threſhold, and requeſted us to ſing a Benediction; We entred in, ſinging *Salve Regina*: The *Moals* or rich *Tartars*, thruſting in with us, preſſed us very much: All his Wives were there aſſembled. Then *Coiat* carried to his Lord the Cenſor with Incenſe, which he took in his Hand, and beheld very diligently. Then he carried the Pſalter to him, which he, and his Wife that ſate by, looked earneſtly upon. Laſtly, he carried the Bible to him, and *Sartach* asked if the Goſpel were contained therein: I told him it was, and all the Holy Scriptures beſides. He took the Croſs in his Hand, and asked if the Image upon it were the Image of *Chriſt*: I ſaid it was. Then he commanded all to ſtand aſide, that he might the better ſee our Ornaments. I delivered to him your Majeſties Letters, with a Tranſlation into *Arabick* and *Syriack*. When he had heard them, he order'd our Bread, Wine and Fruits to be received, and permitted us to depart with our Veſtments and Books to our Lodging: But in the Morning early, a Prieſt, who was Brother unto *Coiat*, came to us, and requeſted to have our Box of Chriſme, becauſe *Sartach* (as he ſaid) was deſirous to ſee it, and ſo we gave it him. In the Evening *Coiat* ſent for us, ſaying, Your King hath written good words to my Lord and Maſter *Sartach*, but there are ſome Difficulties in them, concerning which, he dare not determin without the advice of his Father *Baatu*, and therefore you muſt go thither, leaving your Veſtments and Books in my cuſtody, becauſe my Lord is deſirous to take a more diligent view of them. The next day he ſent a *Neſtorian* Prieſt, who took them from us.

Court of *Baatu*.

Then came our Guide, telling us we muſt depart immediately; and ſo travelling eaſtward, we came on the third day to the River *Volga*, and paſſed down ſtream in a Bark to the Court of *Baatu*, which when I beheld, I was aſtoniſh'd at the ſight; for the Houſes or Tents ſeemed like a huge and mighty City, the People ranging about it for the ſpace of three or four Leagues. The Court is called in their Language *Horda*, which ſignifies the Middle, becauſe the Chief among them always dwells in the midſt of his People, excepting that directly towards the South, no Subject may place himſelf, becauſe toward that Region the Court Gates are open, but to the right and left, they may extend themſelves as far as they will, and every one knows on which ſide of the Court he ought to place his Houſe when he takes it from the Cart. The next day we were brought unto the Court of *Baatu*, and cauſed a large Tent to be erected, becauſe his Houſe or ordinary Tent would not contain ſo many Men and Women as were aſſembled. Our Guide admoniſhed us not to ſpeak, till *Baatu* ſhould give us Commandment ſo to do, and that then we ſhould ſpeak our minds briefly. When we came into his Preſence, the firſt Queſtion he ask'd us was, Whether your Majeſty had ſent Ambaſſadors unto him or no; I anſwered, That your Majeſty had ſent Meſſengers to * *Ken-Can*, and would not have ſent to him or *Sartach*, if you had not heard that they were converted to Chriſtianity. Then leading us unto his Pavillion, we were charged not to touch the Cords of the Tent, which they think equivalent with the Threſhold of the Houſe. *Baatu* ſate on a Bed guilt all over, with three Stairs to aſcend to it, and one of his Ladies ſate by him. At the entrance of the Tent was a Bench furniſh'd with *Coſmos*, and ſtately great Cups of Silver and Gold, richly adorned with precious Stones. We ſtood before him in our Habits bare footed and bare headed: After he had beheld us earneſtly, he commanded us to ſpeak: Then our Guide gave us direction to bow our Knees and ſpeak: Whereupon I bowed one Knee, but he ſignified that I ſhould kneel upon both Knees, and being loth to contend about Circumſtances, I did ſo. And the Prince again commanded me to ſpeak; then I thinking of Prayer unto God, becauſe I kneeled on both Knees, began to pray on this manner. " *Sir*, We beſeech the Lord, from whom all " good things do proceed, and who hath given you theſe " Earthly Benefits, that it would pleaſe him hereafter to " make you Partaker of his Heavenly Bleſſings, becauſe " the former without theſe are but vain and unprofitable. *And I added further*, Be it known unto you for " certain, that you ſhall not obtain the Joys of Heaven, " unleſs you become a Chriſtian; for God ſaith, *Whoſoever believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved, but he that believeth not, ſhall be condemned.* At theſe Words he modeſtly ſmiled, but the *Moals* began to clap their Hands and to deride us, and my Interpreter himſelf was abaſhed and utterly daſhed out of countenance. After ſilence made, I ſaid unto him, I came unto your Son, becauſe we heard that he was become a Chriſtian, and I brought unto him Letters from my Soveraign Lord the King of *France*, and your Son ſent me hither unto you; the cauſe of my coming is therefore beſt known unto your ſelf. Then he cauſed me to riſe up, and enquired your Majeſties name and my name, and the names of my Aſſociate and Interpreter, and order'd them all to be put down in writing. He demanded (having been inform'd that your Majeſty was departed from your own Countries with an Army) againſt whom you waged War. I anſwered, againſt the *Saracens*, becauſe they had defiled the Houſe of God at *Jeruſalem*. Then he ordered us to ſit down, and gave us *Coſmos*, which is accounted a great favour when any Man is admitted to drink it in his own Houſe. As ſoon as we had taken our leave, our Guide came to us and ſaid, Whereas your Maſter requeſts that you may remain in this Land, *Baatu* cannot grant it without the conſent of *Mangu-Can*, wherefore you and your Aſſociate with your Interpreter muſt go to him, but the Clerk and the Lad ſhall return to the Court of *Sartach*, and tarry there till you come back. I intreated him to ſpeak to *Baatu* that the Clerk might go with us; He ſaid, *No more Words*, it being reſolved that ſo it ſhall be, and therefore I dare not go to the Court any more. Thus we parted with tears, the Clerk and the Lad being ſent back to the Court of *Sartach*, where (as I afterwards underſtood) they found the *Neſtorian* Prieſts in his preſence, adorned with our Veſtments. 1253.

* *Can* ſignifies a Diviner or South-ſayer, and *Ken-Can* is the ſuppoſed *Preſbyter John*.

I with my Aſſociate and Interpreter, rode forward with *Baatu* along the Bank of *Volga* for five Weeks together; at length, about the middle of *September*, a *Moal* came to us ſaying, I am the Man that muſt conduct you to *Mangu-Can*; we have thither a Journey of four Months long to travel, and there is ſuch extream cold in thoſe parts, that Stones and Trees are riven aſunder; therefore I would wiſh you to conſider with your ſelves whether you be able to endure it. I ſaid, I hoped by God's help, we ſhould be able to brook that which other Men can endure. Then he bid us to ſhew him all our Garments, and what he thought leſs needful for us, he willed us to leave behind, and the next day they brought each of us a furred Gown made of Rams Skins, with the Wool ſtill upon them, and Breeches of the ſame, with Buskins and Shoes made of Felt, and Hoods of Skins after their manner.

On the 16th of of *September* we ſet forward, having three Guides to direct us. We had on the North ſide *Bulgaria* the greater, on the South the *Caſpian* Sea. We rode continually eaſtward over the Plains of *Cangle* 46 days, travelling almoſt every day as far by my eſtimation, as from *Paris* to *Orleans*, and ſometimes further, as we hapned to be provided with Poſt-horſes; for ſome days we had change of Horſes twice or thrice a day; at other times we travelled two or three Days together, and ſaw no People, and then were conſtrained not to ride ſo faſt: We being Strangers had always the worſt Horſes. They always mounted me upon a ſtrong Horſe, becauſe I was corpulent and heavy, but whether he went eaſie or not, I durſt not queſtion. We endured much Hunger, Thirſt and Cold, eating no Victuals but in the Evening: In the Morning we ſupt off ſome ſodden Millet, and at Night we had ſome Rams Mutton, and every Man a meaſured quantity of Broth to drink, which fleſh Broth did much refreſh us: We were ſometimes for want of Fewel, fain to eat our Fleſh half boiled or almoſt raw, having ſeldom any other Fewel but the Dung of Horſes and Oxen, unleſs it were a few Thorns in ſome places. There are Woods growing on the Banks of ſome Rivers, but are very rare. Our Guide at the firſt ſeemed to diſdain us, and it was tedious to him to conduct ſuch baſe Fellows; but when he began to know us better, he directed us to the Habitations of rich *Moals*, who live diſpers'd over this vaſt Deſart. They marvelled that that we would receive neither Gold nor Silver at their Hands: They inquired concerning the great Pope, whether he was ſo old as they had heard, it being reported among them that he was 500 Years old: They enquired alſo of our Countries, whether there were abundance of Sheep, Oxen and Horſes. On the Eve of *All-Saints* we forſook the way leading towards the Eaſt, and went directly ſouthward, and on the 9th day came to Mount *Caucaſus*, not far from which ſtands the City of *Coilac*, where we tarried 15 days for *Baatu*'s Secretary, who ought to have accompanied our Guide for the diſpatching ſome Affairs in the Court of *Mangu*. Thence we continued our Journey until the 27 of *December*, at which time we arrived at the Court of *Mangu-Can*, and on the fifth of *January* were admitted to his preſence.

1253. Court of *Mangu-Chan* First, ſome *Neſtorian* Prieſts came to us, demanding of us what Reverence we would do to *Chan*, whether after our own faſhion or theirs: I anſwered, That we were Prieſts given to the Service of God, but would humble our ſelves to all Men for the Lord's ſake: and that if they pleaſed, we would firſt ſing Praiſes to God, who had brought us ſafe hither from a far Country, and would afterwards do whatſoever their Lord ſhould pleaſe, provided that he command us nothing againſt the Worſhip and Honour of God: Then they entring the Houſe, deliver'd what we had ſaid, and their Lord being contented, they placed us before the Gate of the Houſe, lifting up the Felt which hung before it, and becauſe it was *Chriſtmas* we began to ſing,

A Solis ortus Cardine
Et uſque Terræ limitem,
Chriſtani canamus Principem,
Natum Mariâ Virgine.

From the firſt Eaſtern Land
To furtheſt Weſtern Strand,
Let us Chriſt laud and ſing,
Bleſt Virgins Son, our King.

When we had ſung this Hymn, they ſearched us to ſee if we had any Knives about us; then we were admitted. In the Entrance there ſtood a Bench with *Coſmos*, by which they order'd our Interpreter to ſtand, and cauſed us to ſit on a Form before the Ladies. The whole Houſe was hung with Cloath of Gold, and on a Hearth in the middle of the Houſe, a Fire was made of Ox Dung, Thorns, and Wormwood Roots, which grow there very big: He ſate on a Bed cloathed with a ſpotted Fur, ſhining like a Seals Skin. He was a flat noſed Man, of a middle ſtature, about the age of 45 Years, and his Wife, a little pretty young Woman, ſate by him; and one of his Daughters who was marriageable, with divers little ones, ſate next to them upon a Bed. He had that Daughter by a Chriſtian Lady whom he dearly loved, and altho he had married that young Wife, yet the Daughter was Miſtreſs of all that Court which had been her Mothers. He made them aſk us what we would drink, whether Wine or Rack, *i. e.* Drink made of Rice, or Cows Milk, or Mead. I anſwered, Sir, we are not Men who take pleaſure in drink, What pleaſes you ſhall content us: Then he commanded ſome of that made of Rice to be given to us, clear and ſavoury as White Wine, whereof I taſted a little for Reverence ſake; but our Interpreter (to our misfortune) ſtanding near the Butlers, they gave him much Drink and he was quickly drunk. Then *Chan* cauſed Falcons and other Birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his Fiſt, and after a long time commanded us to ſpeak, which I did as followeth.

“ We firſt give Thanks and Praiſe to God, who hath brought
“ us from remote Parts of the World to ſee *Mangu-*
“ *Chan*, to whom God hath given ſo great Power upon
“ Earth; and we beſeech our Lord, by whoſe Com-
“ mand we live and die, to grant him a long and proſpe-
“ rous Life, Sir, we heard that *Sartach* was become a
“ Chriſtian, whereat the Chriſtians, but eſpecially the
“ King of *France*, rejoiced, and ſent us with Letters to him,
“ wherein are Words of Peace, teſtifying whoſe Ser-
“ vants we are, and intreating him to permit us to a-
“ bide in his Country, it being our Office to teach Men
“ to live according to the Law of God. *Sartach* ſent us
“ to *Baatu* his Father, and *Baatu* hath ſent us hither
“ unto you. Ye are they to whom God hath given great
“ Dominions upon Earth, we therefore intreat your
“ Highneſs to give us leave to continue in your Country,
“ to do the Service of God for you, your Wives, and
“ your Children. We have neither Gold nor Silver
“ nor precious Stones to preſent unto you, nor any thing
“ but our ſelves, whom we preſent to ſerve and to pray
“ unto God for you. At the leaſt give us leave to continue till the cold be paſt, my Companion being ſo weak that he cannot travel. He then anſwered, " As the Sun
“ ſpreads his Beams every where, even ſo our Power and
“ *Baatu*'s ſpreads it ſelf, ſo that we have no need of your
“ Silver and Gold. Hitherto I underſtood my Interpreter, but further I could not perceive any perfect ſentence, whereby I found that he was drunk, and *Mangu-Can* was drunk alſo, as I thought. He ſeemed to be diſpleaſed that we went to *Sartach* before we came to him, but my Interpreter being out of order, I held my peace, only beg'd, his Highneſs would not be diſpleaſed at what I had ſpoken of Gold and Silver, becauſe I ſpoke it not as if he had need of ſuch things, or deſired them, but becauſe we were willing to honour him with temporal as well as ſpiritual things; then making our Obeiſance to him, we withdrew, his Secretary and Interpreter accompanying us, who were very inquiſitive of the Kingdom of *France*, whether there were many Rams, Oxen, and Horſes there. They appointed one to attend on us; 1253. In the Evening the Interpreter came again to us, ſaying, *Mangu-Can* hath compaſſion on you, and gives you two Months time to ſtay, in which time the extream cold will be paſt; and further ſays, that within ten days journey towards the North, there is a good City called *Caracarum*, if ye will go thither, he will furniſh you with Neceſſaries, or if ye will abide here you may, but it will be a troubleſome thing for you to follow the Court. I anſwered, The Lord preſerve *Mangu-Can*, and grant him a proſperous and long life, but by the good Providence of God, we have found here a Monk, who we think to be an holy Man, wherefore we would willingly ſtay with him, becauſe we would pray together for the Life of *Chan*, which Anſwer being carried to him, he ſent to the Monk to know if he would have our Company, who gladly anſwer'd that he would; and ſo we dwelt with him till our departure to *Caracarum*.

On *Septuageſſima Sunday* the *Armenian* Prieſts went in proceſſion to the Houſe of *Mangu*, and the Monk, my ſelf and Aſſociate (being firſt ſearched if we had Knives) went in with the Prieſts. As we were entring, I obſerved one of the Servants carrying out the Shoulder-Bones of Rams burnt to the blackneſs of Coals: Upon enquiry I was informed, that the *Chan* never does any thing, not ſo much as permit a Man to enter into his Houſe, before he have conſulted with thoſe Bones, which is done in this manner.

Manner of Divination by Blade-Bones. He cauſes three Bones to be brought unto him unburnt, and holding them in his Hand, he thinks of the Thing whereof he would conſult, whether he may do it or not, and then delivers the Bones to be burnt. When they are burnt black they are brought unto him, and if the Bones by the heat of the fire are cleft forth right, then he concludes that he may do it; but if the Bones be cracked athwart, or round pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not; yet if one of the three be cleft forth right, he doth it. We were admoniſh'd at our entrance not to touch the Threſhold, but my Companion coming out laſt, turned his Face about and bowed to *Chan*, and then haſtily following us, ſtumbled at the Threſhold, whereupon, they that obſerved the Threſhold, laid hands on him, and commanded an Officer to carry him to *Bulgai*, Threſhold Superſtition. who is the Judge of thoſe that are arraigned of life and death. When I looked back and ſaw him not coming, I thought they had detained him to give him ſome lighter Garments, he being weak and ſo laden with Pelt Garments, that he could ſcarce go. The next day *Bulgai* came, and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take heed of touching the Threſhold; I anſwered, Sir, our Interpreter not being with us, how was it poſſible we ſhould underſtand? ſo he pardoned him, but would never after ſuffer him to come into any of the Houſes of *Mangu-Can*.

About *Paſſion Sunday* the *Chan* began his Journey to *Caracarum*, and the Monk and we followed him: As we paſſed between the Hills it was extream cold, with much Wind and Snow, whereupon he ſent about mid-night to the Monk and us, intreating us to pray unto God that he would mitigate that Wind and Cold, becauſe the Beaſts in the Train being with young and ready to bring forth, were in danger of their Lives. The Monk ſent him Incenſe, requiring him to put it on the Coals and offer it to God, which whether he did or no, I know not, but the Tempeſt ceaſed, which had continued two days. On *Palm Sunday* we entred *Caracarum*, carrying the Croſs aloft with the Banner. *Caracarum* The City is encloſed with a Mud Wall, and hath four Gates, two Churches for the *Mahometans*, one for Chriſtians, but moſt of the Inhabitants are Idolaters, called by them *Tuinians*.

One day I was ſent for to the Court, and the chief Secretaries were very urgent with me to know the cauſe of my coming, telling me that *Chan* knows well enough that you have no meſſage unto him, but only come to pray for him, as many other Prieſts do, but if you have any thing elſe to ſay to him, declare it. I told him I had nothing more to ſay to him, unleſs I ſhould ſpeak the Words of God unto him, which I would gladly do, if he would hear them. They asked what Words of God I would ſpeak unto him; I ſaid, This is the Word of God: *To whom much is committed, more is required at his hands; to whom more is forgiven, he ought to love more.* I told *Mangu* himſelf, *that God had given him much; for the Power and Riches he hath, were not given him by the Idols of the* Tuinians, *but by the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heaven and Earth, in whoſe Hands all Kingdoms are, and tranſlates them from Nation to Nation for the Sins of Men;*

wherefore if ye love him, it ſhall go well with him, if otherwiſe, let him know that God will require all theſe Things at his hands. Then one of them ſaid, *Is there any Man that loves not God?* I anſwered, *God ſaith, if any Man love me, he will keep my Commandments; therefore he that keepeth not the Commandments of God, loveth not God.* Then ſaid he, *Have you been in Heaven that you might know the Commandments of God?* No, ſaid I, *but he hath given them from Heaven to Holy Men, and at laſt he himſelf deſcended from Heaven to teach us; and we have theſe things in the Scriptures, and can ſee by the Works of Men, whether they keep them or no.* He replied, *Will you then ſay that* Mangu-Chan *keeps not the Commandments of God?* I anſwered, *If it pleaſe* Mangu-Chan, *I will recite to him the Commandments of God, and he ſhall be his own Judge, whether he keep them or not.* So they departed and told him that I ſaid that he was a *Tuine* or Idolater, and kept not the Commandments of God: Whereupon he called me before him, and ſaid, Tell me the truth, whether you ſaid that I was a *Tuinian*? I anſwered My Lord, I ſaid not ſo; but if your Highneſs pleaſe, will recite the Words I ſpake: Then reciting what I had ſaid, he replied, I thought you ſaid not ſo, for it is a Word you ſhould not ſpeak, and your Interpreter hath not rightly interpreted. Then holding forth his Staff to me, he ſaid, *Fear not, we* Moallians, ſaid he, *believe that there is but one God, through whom we live and dye; and we have an upright Heart towards him. As God hath given unto the Hand divers Fingers, ſo hath he given many Ways to Men; God hath given the Scriptures to you, and ye Chriſtians keep them not. Ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you ſhall diſpraiſe another;* Do you find it? ſaid he; No ſaid I, but I told your Highneſs from the beginning, that I would not contend with any: *I ſpeak it not,* ſaid he, *as to you. In like manner, ye find it not, that for Money a Man ought to decline from Juſtice.* No Sir ſaid I, neither came I into theſe Parts to get Money; nay, I have refuſed that which was given me. *I do not ſpeak it,* ſaid he, *for that God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not, but he hath given us Southſayers, and by doing that which they bid us, we live in peace.* Then he began to ſpeak of my Return, ſaying, You have ſtaid a long time here, my pleaſure is therefore that you return: Will you carry my Letters? I anſwered, That if he could make me underſtand his Words, and that they were ſet down in writing, I would endeavour to deliver them ſafely. Then he asked if I would have Gold or Silver; I ſaid, we received no ſuch things, but we have not wherewith to defray our Expences, and without your help we cannot get out of your Country. Then ſaid he, I will provide you all Neceſſaries through my Country; how far would you be brought? I ſaid, let our Paſs bring us into the King of *Armenia*'s Country, if I were there, it were enough. He anſwered, I will cauſe you to be conveyed thither, and after look to your ſelf; ſo I departed from his Preſence, and never ſaw him more.

The Faith of the Tartars.

Aſſoon as the Letters were diſpatched, they called me and interpreted them, the Tenor whereof I wrote, as I could underſtand them by my Interpreter, which is this.

Mangu-Chan's Letters to Lewis, the King of France.

“ *THe Commandment of the Eternal God is this; There*
“ *is but one Eternal God in Heaven, upon Earth there*
“ *is but one Lord, Chingis Can Temingu Tingij,* that is to
“ ſay, *the ſound of Iron* [they call *Chingis* the ſound of
“ Iron, becauſe he was a Smith] This is the Word
“ which is ſpoken to you; whatſoever *Moals* we are,
“ whatſoever *Naymans*, whatſoever *Merkets*, whatſoever
“ *Muſulmans*, whatſoever Ears may hear, whereſoever
“ Horſe may go, there cauſe it to be heard
“ and underſtood, that ſince they have heard my
“ Commandment and would not believe it, and
“ would levy an Army againſt us, ye ſhall hear and
“ ſee, that they ſhall be, as having Eyes and not ſeeing,
“ and when they would hold any thing, they ſhall be
“ without Hands, and when they would walk they ſhall
“ be without Feet. This is the Commandment of the
“ Eternal God, by the Vertue of the Eternal God, by
“ the great World of the *Moal*. The Commandment of
“ *Mangu-Chan* is given to *Lewis* the King of *France*, and
“ all other Lords and Prieſts, and to the great World of
“ the *Franks*, that they underſtand my Words, and the
“ Commandment of the Eternal God, made to *Chingu*
“ *Chan*. A certain Man called *David*, came to you as an
“ Ambaſſador of the *Moals*, but he was a Lyar, and
“ with him you ſent your Ambaſſadors to *Chen-Can*, who
“ arrived not at his Court until after his death. *Charmis* his
“ Wife ſent you ſome Cloth called *Naſic*, but how ſhould
“ that wicked Woman, more vile than a Dog, know
“ Matters appertaining to War and Peace, to ſettle the
“ great World in quiet, and to do good? Thoſe two
“ Monks which came from you unto *Sartach*, were ſent
“ by him to *Baatu*, who, becauſe *Mangu-Chan* is the
“ greateſt over the World of the *Moals*, ſent them unto
“ us; but now, that the great World, and the Prieſts
“ and Monks might live in peace, and enjoy their Goods,
“ and that the Commandment of God might be heard
“ among you, we would have ſent our Ambaſſadors of
“ *Moal* with your Prieſts; but they anſwered, that be-
“ tween us and you, were many bad Men and trouble-
“ ſome Ways, ſo that they feared they could not bring
“ them ſafe unto you; but if we would deliver them
“ our Letters containing our Commandment to King
“ *Lewis*, they would carry them. Wherefore we have
“ ſent the Commandment of Eternal God by your ſaid
“ Prieſt, it is the Commandment of the Eternal God,
“ which we haven given you to underſtand; and when
“ you ſhall hear and believe it, if you will obey us, ſend
“ your Ambaſſadors unto us, ſo ſhall we be certified
“ whether ye will have Peace with us or War. When
“ by the Power of the Eternal God the whole World
“ ſhall be in Unity, Joy, and Peace, from the riſing of
“ the Sun unto the going down of the ſame, then ſhall
“ it appear what we will do; but if, when ye ſhall hear
“ and underſtand the Commandment of the Eternal
“ God, and will not hearken to it, nor believe it, ſay-
“ ing, Our Country is far off, our Hills are ſtrong, our
“ Sea is great, and in this Confidence ſhall levy an Army a-
“ gainſt us, to know what we can do; he who made
“ that which was hard, eaſy, and that which was far off,
“ near, the Eternal God himſelf knows it.

On the ninth of *July*, we were called to Court, and one of the Officers holding three Garments or Coats, ſaid to us, Ye have ſtaid long here praying for *Chan*, and will not receive Gold nor Silver, he intreats you, that at the leaſt every one of you would receive a ſingle Garment, that ye depart not empty from him; then we received them out of reſpect to him, for they take it very ill if their Gifts are contemned; ſo taking our leave we went to *Caracarum*.

A vaſt Deſart.

My Companion, who had been long ſick, deſired to ſtay here, ſo we parted with tears in our Eyes, and I proceeded on my Journey with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one Servant. We were two Months and ten Days travelling from *Caracarum* to *Baatu*, in all which time we ſaw ſome Graves but no Town, nor token of any Houſe. Sometimes we had no Suſtenance but *Coſmos* for two or three days together, and were once in great danger, not being able to find any People, our Horſes tired, and our Proviſion failing us.

In the end of *Auguſt* I met *Sartach*, who was then travelling to *Mangu-Chan*, with his Wives and Children, Flocks and Herds: I paid my Duty to him, ſaying, I would willingly have ſtaid in his Country, but *Mangu-Chan* would have me return to my own and carry his Letters. He anſwered, That I muſt perform the Will of *Mangu-Chan*, and meeting with *Coiat* in his Train, I required him to reſtore our Cloths and *Books*: He replied, Did you not bring them to *Sartach*? I ſaid, Tho' I brought them to *Sartach*, yet I gave them not to him, and that he knew. He anſwer'd, you ſay true, and none can reſiſt the truth, I left your Goods with my Father, who is near *Sarai*, a new Town *Baatu* hath made on the Eaſt ſide of *Volga*, but our Prieſts have ſome of the Veſtments. I told him, if he liked any thing, he might keep it, ſo my Books be reſtored. He being in haſte to be gone, ſaid, The Train of Ladies follows us near at hand, you ſhall alight there, and I will report what you ſay to *Sartach*, and ſend you his Anſwer by this Man. In the Evening the Man returned with two Coats, ſaying, Behold two Garments, the one *Sartach* hath ſent to you, and the other, if it ſeem good to you, you ſhall preſent to the King on his behalf. I told him I wear no ſuch Garments, I will preſent them both unto my King, in honour of your Lord. He gave me alſo *Sartach*'s Letter to *Coiat*'s Father, to reſtore all that belonged to me, ſo ſetting forward, we came to the Court of *Baatu* the 16th of *December*, 1254, the ſame day I departed thence the Year paſt: I found the Clerk and the Lad I had left there in good health, tho' they had ſuffered much Want, and if the King of *Armenia* had not comforted them and recommended them to *Sartach*, they had periſhed. The *Tartars* thinking I had been dead, had demanded of them if they could keep Oxen or milk Mares, and if I had not returned, they had certainly been made Slaves.

Baatu hearing of my coming, commanded me to appear before him, and ordered the Letters which *Mangu-Chan* ſends unto your Majeſty to be interpreted to me; for *Mangu* had written to him to add, leave out, or exchange what he ſhould think fit. Then ſaid he, You ſhall carry theſe Letters, and cauſe them to be underſtood. When *Coiat*'s Father had read *Sartach*'s Letter which I brought him, he reſtored my Veſtments, except three *Albes* and an *Amice* trim'd with fine Silk, a Stole, a Girdle, and a *Tualia* adorned with Golden Embroidery and a Surplice: He reſtored alſo all the Silver Plate, except the Cenſor and a little Box where the Chriſme was, all which, *Sartach*'s Prieſt had gotten: He gave me all my Books again, except our Ladies Pſalter, which I could not deny him, becauſe he ſaid *Sartach* took much delight in it.

I travelled a Month with them before I could have a Guide, and then parting from them, being the firſt of *November*, we went toward the South; for the firſt five days we ſaw not a Man, and were in great danger by reaſon of thirſt.

On the 11th we came to the Mountains of the *Alani*, and in two days more to *Porto Ferrea* or *Derbent*, built by *Alexander* the *Great*: The City is above a Mile long, with a ſtrong Caſtle on the top of the Hill: Here we found Vineyards, and drank Wine again.

Four days Journey hence we came to a great City called *Samag* or *Shamaki*, and then entred a great Plain, thro' which the River *Cur* flows, from which the *Curgi* have their name, whom we call *Georgians*.

Then leaving *Perſia* and the *Caſpian* Mountains on the left towards the South, and *Curgia* on the right, we directed our Journey S. W. till we came to a City called *Naxnan*, formerly the Metropolis of a great Kingdom, wherein was 800 *Armenian* Churches, but the *Tartars* have made it a Wilderneſs, and there are now but two ſmall ones left, in one of which the Clerk and I kept the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas* as well as we could. An *Armenian* Biſhop told me, there was a Church not far diſtant, where St. *Bartholomew* and St. *Judas Thaddæus* were martyred.

Near this City is a Mountain called *Maſſis*, on which they ſay the Ark of *Noah* reſted; and there is a little Town near it called *Cemainum*, which ſignifies Eight, ſo called, ſay they, from the eight Perſons that founded it, who came forth of the Ark. They ſay many have eſſayed to climb the Hill, but could not, tho' it did not ſeem ſo high to me, but that Men might well get unto it: An old Man gave me this Reaſon why none ſhould climb it, becauſe, ſaid he, *Maſſis* is the Mother of the World.

The ſecond Sunday in *Lent* we came to the River *Euphrates*, by which we deſcended eight Days, always going to the Weſt. Thence we paſſed weſtward through very hilly Countries and deep Snow. There was ſo great an Earthquake there that Year, that in the City of *Arſengen* 10000 Perſons of note periſhed, beſides poor People, of whom no notice was taken. Riding three days together, we ſaw the gaping of the Earth as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and heaps of Earth which came from the Mountains and filled the Valleys; ſo that if a little more of the Earth had been moved, that which *Eſay* ſpeaks had been literally fulfilled, *Every Valley ſhall be filled, and every Mountain and little Hill ſhall be humbled.* We continued our Journey to *Iconium*, thence to *Curcum* a Haven of *Cilicia*, from whence I paſſed into *Cyprus*, where I arrived 16 *June*, and at *Tripolis*, *Auguſt* 15, 1255.

Mountain whereon *Noah's* Ark reſted.

Chap. II.

Sir Hugh Willoughby's *unfortunate Voyage to diſcover and ſettle a Trade in* Ruſſia, 1553.

1553. IN the laſt Year of the Reign of *Edward* VI. three Ships were ſet forth by the *Company of Merchants Adventurers for the Diſcovery of Places unknown*, whereof *Sebaſtian Cabota* was Governour, *viz.* the *Bona Eperanza* of 120 Tuns, Admiral, commanded by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*; the *Edward Bonadventurer* of 160 Tuns, commanded by *Richard Chancellor*; and the *Bona Confidentiæ* of 90 Tuns, whereof *Cornelius Duforth* was Maſter.

They departed from *Deptford* the 11th of *May*, and on the ſecond of *Auguſt* at Night, being near the Coaſt of *Fiamark*, the *Edward* loſt ſight of the other two, in very foul weather, and ſteering their Courſe for *Wardhouſe* in *Norway* (as it had been agreed upon) they tarried there ſeven days, expecting the arrival of the other two Ships, but they not appearing, Mr. *Chancellor* in the *Edward* purſued his Voyage, and firſt diſcovered the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, where anchoring, he eſpied ſome Fiſhermen in a Boat, who being amaz'd at the ſtrange Greatneſs of his Ship, endeavoured to eſcape from him, but he overtaking them, was informed by them that the Country was called *Ruſſia* or *Muſcovy*, and that the Duke's name was *Juan Vaſiliwich*.

The Governour of the place ſent advice hereof to the Court, and the Meſſenger returned with Orders for Poſt-horſes and Sleds to be gotten for Mr. *Chancellor* and his Company without any Money; and after a long Journey of near 1500 Miles, he arrived at *Moſco*, the chief City of the Kingdom. Twelve Days after his arrival, the Secretary advertiſed him, that the Duke's Pleaſure was, that he ſhould attend with the King of *England*'s Letters He was firſt brought to an Anti-chamber, where ſate about 100 Gentlemen all in Cloth of Gold, and from thence was conducted into the Counſel-Chamber, where ſate the Duke himſelf, in a long Garment of beaten Gold and an Imperial Crown upon his Head. When he had delivered his Letter, the Duke told him he was welcome, and enquired of the health of the King his Maſter, and then inviting him to dinner. In the middle of the Dining-Room was a Table covered with Cups of Gold: The number of Perſons that dined were about 200, all ſerved in Veſſels of Gold, and the Gentlemen that waited were all in Cloth of Gold. Before the Service came in, the Duke ſent to every Man a piece of Bread, and the Bearer called the Party ſo ſent to, by his name aloud, and ſaid, John Baſiliuich, *Emperour of* Ruſſia, *and great Duke of* Muſcovia, *doth reward thee with Bread*; at which Words all Men ſtand up, and ſo likewiſe when he ſendeth drink. Dinner being done, he departed to his Lodging, an hour within night.

1554. Mr. *Chancellour* having obtained a Priviledge written in *Ruſſe*, with the Great Duke's Seal, did in the beginning of the Year 1554, return with the ſaid Ship *Edward* to *London*. The other two Ships attempting further Northwards (as appears by Sir *Hugh Willoughbies* Papers) were in *September* encountred with ſuch extream cold, that they put back to ſeek a Wintring Place, and miſſing the ſaid Bay of St. *Nicholas*, fell upon a Deſart Coaſt in *Lapland*, and entred into a River called *Arzina*, which was ſoon frozen up. They ſent out three Men S. S. W. three days journey to ſee if they could find People; then they ſent out three Men Weſtward four days journey; and laſtly, three Men S. E. three days journey, who all returned without finding of People or any Habitation: Here they all periſhed, being 70 Perſons, for want (as ſome think) of making Caves and Stoves. Their Bodies were found in the Ships the next Summer by *Ruſſian* Fiſhermen, and it appears by a Will found in Sir *Hugh Willoughbies* Ship, written by his Kinſman *Gabril Willoughby*, that he and moſt of the Company were alive in *January*, 1554.

1554.

A Copy of the Letters Miſſive, from Edward *the* VI. *to the Kings, Princes, and Potentates, inhabiting the North-Eaſt Parts of the World, when Sir* Hugh Willoughby *attempted his Voyage thither,* Anno Dom. 1553. *and in the ſeventh and laſt Year of his Reign.*

Edvardus ſextus *Angliæ, Franciæ,* & *Hiberniæ,* Rex, Omnibus Regibus, *&c.*

EDward *the* VI. *by the Grace of God, King of* England, France *and* Ireland, *&c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges and Governours of the Earth, and all others having any excellent Dignity on the ſame, in all places under the univerſal Heaven, Peace, Tranquility and Honour be unto you, and your Lands and Regions under your Dominions, and to every of you as is convenient.*

Foraſmuuch as the Great and Almighty God hath given unto Mankind above all other living Creatures, ſuch an Heart and Deſire, that every Man ſeeks to join Friendſhip with other, to love and be loved, alſo to give and receive mutual Benefits, it is therefore the Duty of all Men according to their Power, to maintain and increaſe this Deſire in every Man, with well deſerving to all Men, and eſpecially to ſhew this good Affection to ſuch, as being moved with good Deſire, come unto them from far Countries; for how much the longer Voyage they have attempted for this Intent, ſo much the more do they thereby declare, that this Deſire hath been ardent in them. Furthermore the Examples of our Fathers and Predeceſſours do invite us hereunto, who have ever gently and lovingly treated ſuch as of friendly mind came to them, as well from Countries near hand as far remote, committing themſelves to their protection; and if it be right and juſt to ſhew ſuch humanity towards all Men, doubtleſs the ſame ought chiefly to be ſhewn to Merchants, who wandring about the World, ſearch both the Land and the Sea, to carry ſuch good and profitable things as are found in their Countries, to remote Regions and Kingdoms, and to bring thence ſuch things as they find there commodious for their own Countries, as well that the People to whom they go, may not be deſtitute of ſuch Commodities as their Countries do not produce, and that they themſelves may be Partakers of ſuch things wherein they abound; for the God of Heaven and Earth, in providing for Mankind, would not that all things ſhould be found in one Region, to the end, that one ſhould have need of another, that by this means Friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed among all Men, and every one ſeek to gratify all. For the eſtabliſhing and furtherance of which univerſal Amity, certain Men of our Realm moved hereunto by the ſaid Deſire, have taken a Voyage upon them by Sea into far Countries, to the Intent, that between our People and them, a way may be opened to bring in and carry out Merchandize, deſiring us to further their Enterprize: Who aſſenting to their Petition, have licenced the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, *Knight, and other our truſty and faithful Servants with him, according to their Deſire, to go to Countries to them yet unknown, as well to ſeek things as we lack, as alſo to carry unto them from our Regions, ſuch things as they want; ſo that hereby Commodity may enſue, both to them and us, and an indiſſoluble and perpetual League of Friendſhip be eſtabliſhed between us both: We therefore deſire your Kings and Princes, and all other to whom there is any Power on the Earth, to permit unto thoſe our Servants, free Paſſage by your Regions and Dominions; for they ſhall not touch any thing of yours, you being unwilling. Conſider you that they alſo are Men, if therefore they ſhall ſtand in need of any thing, we deſire you of all humanity, and for the Nobility which is in you, to aid and help them with ſuch things as they lack, receiving again of them ſuch things as they ſhall be able to give you in recompence. Shew your ſelves ſo towards them, as you would that we and our Subjects ſhould ſhew our ſelves towards your Servants, if at any time they ſhall paſs by our Regions.*

Thus doing, we promiſe you by the God of all things that are contained in Heaven, Earth, and the Sea, and by the Life and Tranquility of our Kingdoms, that we will with like humanity accept your Servants, if at any time they ſhall come to our Kingdoms, where they ſhall as friendly and gently be entertained as if they were born in our Dominions, that we may hereby recompence the Favour and Benignity you have ſhewed to our Men. Thus after we have deſired you Kings and Princes, &c. with all Humanity and Favour to entertain our well beloved Servants, we will pray our Almighty God to grant you long Life and Peace, which never ſhall have end. 1554.

Written in *London*, which is the chief City of our Kingdom, in the Year from the Creation of the World 5515, in the Month of * *Iiar*, the fourteenth Day of the Month, and the ſeventh Year of our Reign.

Copy of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*'s Letters, ſent to King *Edward* the VI. by the Hands of *Richard Chancellor*, 1554.

T*HE Almighty Power of God, and the incomprehenſible Holy Trinity, rightful Chriſtian Belief, &c. We great Duke* Juan Vaſilivich, *by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all* Ruſſia, *great Duke of* Volodemer, Moſco *and* Novogrod, *King of* Kazan, *King of* Aſtracan, *Lord of* Pleſco, *and great Duke of* Smolansko, *of* Tweria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, *&c. Lord and great Duke of* Novograd *in the* Low Country, *of* Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Roſtove, Yaruſlaveley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, *and* Condenſa, *Commander of all* Siberia, *and of the North Part, and Lord of many other Countries greeting. Before all, right, great, and worthy of Honour,* Edward *King of* England, *&c. according to our moſt hearty and good Zeal, with good Intent and friendly Deſire, and according to our Holy Chriſtian Faith and great Governance, and being in the light of great underſtanding, our Anſwer by this our honourable writing unto your Kingly Governance, at the requeſt of your faithful Servant* Richard Chancellor *with his Company, as they ſhall let you wiſely know, is this. In the ſtrength of the 20th Year of our Governance, be it known, that at our Sea Coaſts arrived a Ship with one* Richard *and his Company, and ſaid that he was deſirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his Requeſt, hath ſeen our Majeſty and our Eyes; and hath declared unto us your Majeſties Deſire, as that we ſhould grant unto your Subjects to go and come, and in our Dominions and among our Subjects, to frequent free Marts with all ſorts of Merchandiſe, and upon the ſame to have Wares for their return; and they have alſo delivered us your Letters, which declare the ſame Requeſt. And hereupon we have given Orders, that your faithful Servant* Hugh Willoughby *be well entertained wheresoever he ſhall land or touch in our Dominions, who as yet is not arrived, as your Servant* Richard *can declare.*

And we with Chriſtian Belief and faithfulneſs, and according to your honourable Requeſt and my honourable Commandment, will not leave it undone, and are furthermore willing that you ſend unto us your Ships and Veſſels when, and as often as they may have paſſage, with good aſſurance on our part to ſee them harmleſs; and if you ſend one of your Majeſties Counſel to treat with us, whereby your Country Merchants may with all kind of Ware, and where they will, make their Market in our Dominions, they ſhall have their free Mart with all free Liberties through my whole Dominions, with all kind of Wares to come and go at their pleaſure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our Letter, our Word, and our Seal, which we have commanded to be under ſealed.

Written in our Dominion, in our City, and our Palace in the Caſtle of *Moſco*, in the Year 7060, the ſecond Month of *February*.

This Letter was written in the *Muſcovian* Tongue, in Letters much like to *Greek*, very fair written on Paper, with a broad Seal hanging to the ſame, much like to the broad Seal of *England*, having on one ſide a Man on Horſeback fighting with a Dragon. Under this Letter was another Paper written in *Dutch*, which was the Interpretation of the other.

The ſecond Voyage to Ruſſia.

THE Company ſent two Ships for *Ruſſia* this Year, *viz.* the *Edward Bonadventure* and another, with divers Agents and Factors, who had with them Letters from their Majeſties King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* to the *Great Duke*. They paſſed up the *Dwina* to *Vologda*, where 1555.

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* For *Iiar* poſſibly we ought to read *Mair*, which in the *Saracean* Language is *February*, interpreted by them the Month to ſet Ships to Sea.

where leaving the reſt of my Company, *Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, Edward Price*, and *Robert Beſt*, went forward in Poſt Sleds to *Moſco*, where arriving the fourth Day of *October*, and giving notice of the ſaid Letters, Houſes and Diet were appointed for them and their Train, and they were ſoon after conducted thro' the City of *Moſco* to the Palace. They paſſed thro' ſeveral Rooms, wherein were many ancient grave Perſons in long Robes of Gold, Tiſſue and Violet, with Caps, Jewels and Chains. Theſe proved to be no Courtiers, but Merchants and other ancient Inhabitants, who were thus furniſhed from the Wardrobe and Treaſury, to wear them for a time, and ſo to reſtore them.

Then entring into the *Preſence*, being a large Room flored with Carpets; there ſate above 100 Men in richer Habits, who when the *Engliſh* came in and paid Reverence, all ſtood up, the Prince only ſitting, and yet riſing when the King or Queen's name was mentioned: They were then admitted to kiſs his Hand, and invited to Dinner; the Prince ſate bare headed, his Crown and rich Cap upon a Pinnacle by. Not far diſtant ſate his Metropolitan, with divers of his Kindred and chief *Tartarian* Captains. A Table was appointed for the *Engliſh*, in the midſt of the Room, directly againſt the Prince, who ſent them ſeveral Meſſes from his own Table, in Diſhes of maſſy Gold, which were delivered to them by their Chriſtian Names, as *Richard*, *George*, *Henry*, &c. likewiſe Bread and ſeveral ſorts of Drink of purified Mead made of clarified Honey. At their riſing, the Prince called them to his Table to receive each of them a Cup of Drink from his Hand, and took into his Hand Mr *Killingworth*'s Beard, which would reach over the Table, and pleaſantly delivered it to the Metropolitan, who ſeeming to bleſs it, ſaid in *Ruſſe*, *This is God's Gift*: His Beard was thick, broad, of a yellow colour, and in length five Foot and two Inches of aſſize. Then taking leave, being night, they were accompanied by many People, carrying Pots of Drink and Diſhes of Meat dreſſed to their Lodging.

Mr *Killingworth* being informed that the two Ships, with the dead Bodies of Sir *Hugh Willoughby* and his People, were found by *Ruſſian* Fiſhermen, ſent thither, and much of the Goods and Victuals was recovered and ſaved.

1555.

The Letters of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, to *Juan Vaſilivich*, Emperor of *Ruſſia*; written the firſt of *April*, 1555. and in the ſecond Voyage.

PHilip *and* Mary, *by the Grace of God, King and Queen of* England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, *and* Ireland, *Defenders of the Faith, Princes of* Spain *and* Sicily, *Archdukes of* Auſtrich, *Dukes of* Burgundy, Milan, *and* Brabant, *Counts of* Haſpurg, Flanders, *and* Tirol, *to the right High, right Mighty, and right Excellent Prince, garniſhed with all Gifts of Nature, by God's Grace,* John Vaſilivich, *Emperour of all* Ruſſia, *Great Duke of* Volodemer, Moſco, *and* Novogrod, *King of* Cazan, *King of* Aſtracan, *Lord of* Plesko, *and Great Duke of* Smolensko, *of* Tueria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, *and others, Lord and great Duke of* Novogrod *of the* Low Country, *of* Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Roſtove, Yeraſtave, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria *and* Condenſa, *Commander of all* Siberia, *and of the North Parts, and Lord of many other Countries, greeting. Whereas by the Conſent and Licence of our moſt dear and entirely beloved late Brother, King* Edward *the* VI. *whoſe Soul God pardon, ſundry of our Subjects, Merchants within the City of* London, *within this our Realm of* England, *did at their own proper Coſts and Adventure, furniſh three Ships to diſcover, ſearch and find Lands, Iſlands, Regions, and Territories, before this Adventure not known, nor commonly haunted and frequented by Seas; one of which three Ships, named the* Edward Bonadventure (*whereof our right well beloved* Richard Chancellor *was then Governour and Great Captain*) *chanced by the Grace of God and good Conduct of the ſaid* Chancellor, *to arrive and winter in the North Part of your Empire of* Ruſſia. *Foreſmuch as we be credibly informed by the Report of our truſty and welbeloved Subject, that your Majeſty did not only call him and certain of his Company to your Imperial Preſence and Speech, entertained and banqueted them with all Humanity and Gentleneſs, but alſo being requeſted partly by the Letters of our ſaid Brother, and partly by the requeſt of the ſaid* Richard Chancellor, *have by your Letters Patents under your Seal among other things granted, That all ſuch Merchants as ſhall come forth of any of our Realms of* England *or* Ireland *with all manner of Wares, if they will travel or occupy within your Dominions, they may freely and at their liberty, travel out and in, without hindrance or any manner of loſs; and of your further ample goodneſs, have promiſed that our Embaſſadors, if we ſend any, ſhall with free good Will, paſs to and from you without any hindrance or loſs, with ſuch Meſſage as ſhall come unto you, and to return the ſame to our Kingdoms well anſwered, as by the ſame your Letters written in your Lordly Palace and Caſtle of* Moſco, *in the Year 7063. the Month of* February *more at large appeareth. Like as we cannot but much commend your Princely Favour and Goodneſs, and in like manner thank you for the abundant Grace extended to the ſaid* Richard Chancellor, *and others our Subjects Merchants, even ſo theſe are to pray and requeſt you to continue the ſame Benevolence towards them, and other our Merchants and Subjects, which do or ſhall hereafter reſort to your Country: And for the more Aſſurance and Encouragement to trade and exerciſe the Feat of Merchandiſe with your Subjects and all other Merchants within your Dominions, that it may pleaſe you at this our contemplation, to aſſign and authoriſe ſuch Commiſſaries as you ſhall think meet, to trade and confer with our welbeloved Subjects and Merchants, the ſaid* Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth, *and* Richard Gray, *Bearers of theſe our Letters, who are by us authoriſed for that purpoſe; and to confirm and grant ſuch other Liberties and Privileges, unto the Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants and Commonalty of the Fellowſhip of the ſaid Merchants, as the ſaid Bearers in their name, propoſe and required by you to be granted for their ſafe Conduct, good Government, and order to be erected and continued among them in your ſaid Dominions; and this with ſuch your Clemency and Expedition, as we upon the next arrival of the ſaid* Richard Chancellor, *may be informed of your gracious Diſpoſition and Anſwer, which your Benevolences ſo to be extended, we be minded to requite towards any your Subjects Merchants that ſhall frequent this our Realm, at your Contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right High, right Excellent, and right Mighty, Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, have you in his bleſſed keeping.*

Given under our Seal at our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the firſt of *April*, in the Year from the bleſſed Incarnation of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, 1555. and in the firſt and ſecond Years of our Reigns.

A Copy of the firſt Priviledges granted by the Emperour of *Ruſſia* to the *Engliſh* Merchants, in the Year 1555.

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‘ *JOhn Vaſilivich* by the Grace of God, Emperour of *Ruſſia*, Great Duke of *Novogrod*, *Moſcovia*, &c. To all People that ſhall ſee, read, hear or underſtand theſe Preſents, greeting. Foraſmuch as God hath planted all Realms and Dominions, in the whole World with ſundry Commodities, ſo as the one hath need of the Amity, and Commodities of the other, and by means thereof Traffick is uſed from one to another, and Amity thereby increaſed; and becauſe amongſt Men nothing is more to be deſired than Amity, without which, no Creature being of a natural good Diſpoſition, can live in quietneſs; ſo that it is as troubleſome to be utterly wanting, as it is perceived to be grievous to the Body to lack Air, Fire, or any other Neceſſaries moſt requiſite for the Conſervation and Maintenance thereof in health, conſidering alſo how needful Merchandiſe is, which furniſheth Men with all that which is convenient for their Living and Nourture, for their Clothing, Trimming, the ſatisfying of their Delights, and all other things convenient and profitable for them, and that Merchandize bringeth the ſame Commodities from divers Quarters in ſo great abundance, as by means thereof nothing is lacking in any Part, and that all things be in every place (where entercourſe of Merchandizes is received and imbraced) generally in ſuch ſort as Amity thereby is entred into and planted to continue, and Injoyers thereof be as Men living in a Golden World: Upon theſe Reſpects and other weighty and good Conſiderations, us thereunto moving, and chiefly upon the Contemplation of the Gracious Letters, directed from the Right High, Right Excellent, and Right Mighty, Queen *Mary*, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, &c.

‘ in

1555. in the Favour of her Subjects, Merchants, the Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers for diſcovery of Lands, &c.

‘Know ye therefore that we of our Grace ſpecial, meer Motion and certain Knowledge, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents for us our Heirs and Succeſſours, do give and grant as much as in us is and lieth, unto *Sabaſtian Cabota* Governour, Sir *George Barnes* Knight, &c. Conſuls, Sir *John Greſham*, &c. Aſſiſtants, and to the Commonalty of the aforenamed Fellowſhip, and to their Succeſſours for ever, and to the Succeſſours of every of them, theſe Articles, Grants, Immunities, Franchiſes, Liberties and Priviledges, and every of them hereafter following expreſſed and declared, *Videlicet*.

‘Firſt, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, do by theſe Preſents give and grant free Licence, Faculty, Authority, and Power, unto the ſaid Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and Commonalty of the ſaid Fellowſhip, and to their Succeſſours for ever, that all and ſingular the Merchants of the ſame Company, their Agents, Factors, Doers of their Buſineſs, Atturneys, Servants, and Miniſters, and every of them, may at all times hereafter for evermore, ſurely, freely and ſafely with their Ships, Merchandiſes, Goods, and things whatſoever ſail, come and enter into all and ſingular our Lands, Countries, Dominions, Cities, Towns, Villages, Caſtles, Ports, Juriſdictions, and Diſtricts by Sea, Land, or freſh Waters, and there tarry, abide, and ſojourn, and buy, ſell, barter and change all kind of Merchandizes, with all manner of Merchants and People, of whatſoever Nation, Rite, Condition, State or Degrees they be, and with the ſame or other Ships, Wares, Merchandizes, Goods, and Things whatſoever they be unto other Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Parts, and to any other place or places at their Pleaſure and Liberty, by Sea, Land or freſh Waters, may depart and exerciſe all kind of Merchandizes in our Empire and Dominions, and every part thereof, freely and quietly, without any Reſtraint, Impeachment, Price, Exactions, Preſt, Straight, Cuſtom, Toll, Impoſition or Subſidy to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demanded, taxed, ſet, levied or inferr'd upon them or any of them, or upon their Goods, Ships, Wares, Merchandizes, and things, of, for, or upon any Part or Parcel thereof, or upon the Goods, Ships, Wares, Merchandizes, and Things of any of them, ſo that they ſhall not need any other ſafe Conduct or Licence, general nor ſpecial of us, our Heirs or Succeſſours, neither ſhall be bound to ask any ſafe Conduct or Licence in any of the aforeſaid places ſubject unto us.

2. *Item.* ‘We give and grant to the ſaid Merchants this Power and Liberty, that they nor any of them, nor their Goods, Wares, Merchandizes or Things, nor any part thereof, ſhall be by any means within our Dominions, Lands, Countries, Caſtles, Towns, Villages, or other Place or Places of our Juriſdiction, at any time hereafter attached, ſtayed, arreſted nor diſturbed for any Debt, Duty, or other thing, for the which they be not principal Debtors or Sureties, nor alſo for any Offence or Treſpaſs committed, or that ſhall be committed, but olny for ſuch as they or any of them ſhall actually commit, and the ſame Offences (if any ſuch happen) ſhall be by us only heard and determined.

3. *Item.* ‘We give and grant that the ſaid Merchants ſhall and may have free Liberty, Power and Authority, to name, chooſe, and aſſign Brokers, Shippers, Packers, Weighers, Meaſurers, Waggoners, and all other meet and neceſſary Labourers for to ſerve them in their Feat of Merchandizes, and miniſter and give unto them and every of them a Corporal Oath, to ſerve them well and truly in their Offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their Oath, may puniſh and diſmiſs them, and from time to time chooſe, ſwear and admit others in their Place or Places, without Contradiction, Let, Vexation or Diſturbance, either of us, our Heirs or Succeſſours, or of any other our Juſtices, Officers, Miniſters or Subjects whatſoever.

4. *Item.* ‘We give and grant unto the ſaid Merchants and their Succeſſours, that ſuch Perſon as is or ſhall be commended unto us, our Heirs or Succeſſours, by the Governour, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Fellowſhip reſiant within the City of *London*, within the Realm of *England*, to be their chief Factor within this our Empire and Dominions, may and ſhall have full Power and Authority to govern and rule all *Engliſh* Men that have had or ſhall have Acceſs, or Repair in or to this ſaid Empire and Juriſdiction, or any Part thereof, and ſhall and may miniſter unto them, and every of them, good Juſtice in all their Cauſes, Plaints, Quarrels and Diſorders between them moved, and to be moved, and aſſemble, deliberate, conſult, conclude, define, determine and make ſuch Acts and Ordinances, as he ſo commended with his Aſſiſtants, ſhall think good and meet for the good Order, Government and Rule of the ſaid Merchants, and all other *Engliſh* Men repairing to this our ſaid Empire and Dominions, or any part thereof, and to ſet and levie upon all and every *Engliſh* Man, Offender, or Offenders, of ſuch their Acts and Ordinances made, and to be made, Penalties and Mulcts, by fine or impriſonment. 1555.

5. *Item.* ‘If it happen that any of the ſaid Merchants or other *Engliſh* Men, as one or more do rebel againſt ſuch chief Factor or Factors, or his or their Deputies; and will not diſpoſe him or themſelves to obey them and every of them as ſhall appertain, if the ſaid Rebels or Diſobedients do come and be found in our ſaid Empire and Juriſdictions, or any Part and Place thereof, then we promiſe and grant, that all and every our Officers, Miniſters and Subjects, ſhall effectually aid and aſſiſt the ſaid chief Factor or Factors, and their Deputies, and for their Power ſhall really work to bring ſuch Rebel, or diſobedient Rebels, or Diſobedients, to due Obedience, and to that Intent ſhall lend unto the ſame Factor or Factors, and their Deputies, upon requeſt therefore to be made, Priſons and Inſtruments for Puniſhments, from time to time.

6. *Item.* ‘We promiſe unto the ſaid Merchants and their Succeſſours, upon their Requeſts, to exhibit and do unto them, good, exact and favourable Juſtice, with Expedition in all their Cauſes, and that when they or any of them ſhall have acceſs, or come to or before any of our Juſtices, for any their Plaints moved, and to be moved between any our Subjects or other Strangers, and them or any of them, that then they ſhall be firſt and forthwith heard, as ſoon as the Party which they ſhall find before our Juſtices, ſhall be impeached, which party being heard forthwith, and aſſoon as may be, the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants ſhall be rid and diſpatched, and if any Action ſhall be moved by or againſt any of the ſaid Merchants being abſent out of our ſaid Empire and Dominions, then ſuch Merchant may ſubſtitute an Attorney in all and ſingular his Cauſes, to be followed as need ſhall require, and as ſhall ſeem to him expedient.

7. *Item.* ‘We grant and promiſe to the ſaid Merchants and to their Succeſſours, that if the ſame Merchants or any of them ſhall be wounded, or (which God forbid) ſlain in any part or place of our Empire or Dominions, then good information thereof given, we and our Juſtices and other Officers, ſhall execute due Correction and Puniſhment without delay, according to the Exigence of the Caſe, ſo that it ſhall be an Example to all others not to commit the like; And if it ſhall chance the Factors, Servants, or Miniſters of the ſaid Merchants or any of them to treſpaſs or offend, whereby they or any of them ſhall incur the Danger of Death or Puniſhment, the Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, and things of their Maſters ſhall not therefore be forfeited, confiſcated, ſpoiled nor ſeized by any means by us our Heirs or Succeſſours, or by any our Officers, Miniſters or Subjects, but ſhall remain to their uſe, frank, free, and diſcharged from all Puniſhment and Loſs.

8. *Item.* ‘We grant, that if any of the *Engliſh* Nation be arreſted for any Debt, he ſhall not be laid in Priſon, ſo far as he can put in ſufficient Surety and Pawn; neither ſhall any Sergeant or Officer lead them or any of them to Priſon, before he ſhall have known whether the chief Factor or Factors, or their Deputies ſhall be Sureties, or bringing in Pawn for ſuch arreſted; then the Officers ſhall releaſe the Party, and ſhall ſet him or them at liberty.

9. *Item.* ‘Moreover we give, grant and promiſe to the ſaid Merchants, that if any of their Ships or other Veſſels ſhall be ſpoiled, robbed, or Damnified in ſailing, anchoring, or returning to or from our ſaid Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Merchants, or other Perſons, whatſoever he or they be, that then and in ſuch caſe, we will do all that in us is, to cauſe Reſtitution, Reparation, and Satisfaction to be duly made to the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants, by our Letters and otherwiſe, as ſhall ſtand with our Honour, and be Conſonant to Equity and Juſtice.

10. *Item.* ‘For us our Heirs and Succeſſours, we do promiſe and grant to perform, maintain, corroborate,

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‘ authenticate and obſerve all and ſingular the aforeſaid Liberties, Franchiſes, and Priviledges, like as preſently we firmly do intend, and will corroborate, authentick and perform the ſame by all Means and Ways that we can, as much as may be, to the Commodity and Profit of the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants, and their Succeſſours for ever.

‘ And to the Intent that all and ſingular the ſaid Gifts, Grants, and Promiſes may be inviolable obſerved and performed, we the ſaid *John Vaſilvich*, by the Grace of God, Emperour of *Ruſſia*, great Duke of *Novogrod*, *Moſco*, &c. for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, by our Imperial and Lordly Word inſtead of an Oath, have and do promiſe by theſe Preſents, inviolably to maintain and obſerve, and cauſe to be inviolably obſerved and maintained, all and ſingular the aforeſaid Gifts, Grants and Promiſes from time to time, and at all and every time and times hereafter: And for the more corroboration hereof, have cauſed our Signet hereunto to be put.

Dated in our Caſtle of *Moſco*, the 20th Day of
in the Year

The Charter of the Merchants of Ruſſia, *granted upon the Diſcovery of the ſaid Country, by King* Philip *and Queen* Mary.

‘ PHilip and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen, *&c.* To all manner of Officers, true Jury Men, Miniſters and Subjects, and to all other People as well within this our Realm or elſewhere under our Obeyſance, Juriſdiction, and Rule, or otherwiſe unto whom theſe our Letters ſhall be ſhewed, ſeen, or read, greeting.

The diſcovery principally intended for God's Glory.

‘ Whereas we be credibly informed, that our right truſty, right faithful, and welbeloved Counſellors, *William* Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord High Treaſurer of this our Realm of *England*, *Henry* Earl of *Arundel* Lord Steward of our Houſhold, *John* Earl of *Bedford* Lord Keeper of our Privy Seal, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord High Admiral of this our ſaid Realm of *England*, &c. have at their own Adventure, Coſts, and Charges, provided, rigged, and tackled certain Ships, Pinaces, and other meet Veſſels, and the ſame furniſhed with all things neceſſary, have advanced and ſet forward, for to diſcover, aſcribe, and find Iſles, Lands, Territories, Dominions, and Seigniories unknown, and by our Subjects before this not commonly by Sea frequented, which by the Sufferance and Grace of Almighty God, it ſhall chance them ſailing Northwards, North-eaſtwards, and North-weſtwards, or any Parts thereof, in that Race or Courſe which other Chriſtian Monarchs (being with us in League and Amity) have not heretofore by Seas trafficked, haunted, or frequented, to find and attain by their ſaid Adventure, as well for the Glory of God, as for the Illuſtrating of our Honour and Dignity Royal, in the Increaſe of the Revenues of our Crown, and general wealth of this and other our Realms and Dominions, and of our Subjects of the ſame: And to this Intent our Subjects above ſpecified and named, have moſt humbly beſeeched us, that our abundant Grace, Favour and Clemency may be graciouſly extended unto them in this behalf: Whereupon we inclined to the Petition of the foreſaid our Counſellors, Subjects and Merchants, and willing to animate, advance, further and nouriſh them in their ſaid godly, honeſt, and good Purpoſe, and, as we hope, profitable Adventure, and that they may the more willingly and readily atchieve the ſame, of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, have granted, and by theſe Preſents do grant, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, unto our ſaid right truſty, and right faithful, and right welbeloved Counſellors, and the other before named Perſons, that they by the name of Merchants Adventurers of *England*, for the diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions, and Seigniories unknown, and not before that late Adventure or Enterpriſe by Sea or Navigation, commonly frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall be from henceforth one Body and perpetual Fellowſhip and Commonalty of themſelves, both in Deed and in Name, and them, by the Names of Merchants Adventurers for the diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, and Seigniories unknown, and not by the Seas and Navigations, before their ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe by Sea or Navigation commonly frequented, we do incorporate, name and declare by theſe Preſents, and that the ſame Fellowſhip or Commonalty from henceforth ſhall be, and may have one Governour of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers.

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Sebaſtian Cabota firſt Governour of the *Moſcovy* Company.

‘ And in conſideration that one *Sebaſtian Cabota* hath been the chiefeſt Setter forth of this Journey or Voyage, therefore we make, ordain, and conſtitute him the ſaid *Sebaſtian*, to be the firſt and preſent Governour of the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, by theſe Preſents, to have and enjoy the ſaid Office of Governour, to him the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabota* during his natural Life, without amoving or diſmiſſing from the ſame Room.

‘ And furthermore, we grant unto the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty and their Succeſſours, that they the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſors after the deceaſe of the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabota*, ſhall, and may freely and lawfully in places covenient and honeſt, aſſemble themſelves together, or ſo many of them as will or can aſſemble together, as well within our City of *London*, or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe them, in ſuch ſort and manner as other worſhipful Corporations of our ſaid City have uſed to aſſemble, and there yearly name, elect and chooſe one Governour or two of themſelves and their Liberties, and alſo as well yearly during the natural life of the ſaid *Sebaſtian Cabota*, now Governour, as alſo at the election of ſuch ſaid Governour and Governours before his deceaſe, to chooſe, name and appoint 28 of the moſt ſad, diſcreet, and honeſt Perſons of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchant Adventurers, as is above ſpecified, and four of the moſt expert and ſkilful Perſons of the ſame 28, to be named and called Conſuls, and 24 of the reſidue, to be named and called Aſſiſtants to the ſaid Governour or Governours, or Conſuls for the time being, which ſhall remain and ſtand in their Authority for one whole Year then next following: And if it ſhall fortune the ſaid Governour, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, or any of them ſo to be elected, and choſen as is aforeſaid, to die within the Year after his or their election, that then and ſo often, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, to elect and chooſe of themſelves other Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, in the place and ſtead of ſuch as ſo ſhall happen to dye, to ſerve out the ſame Year.

Sir *George Barnes*, *William Garret*, *Anthony Huſie*, *John Suthcot*, the firſt four Conſuls.

‘ And further we do make, ordain, and conſtitute *George Barnes* Knight and Alderman of our City of *London*, *William Garret* Alderman of our ſaid City, *Anthonie Huſie*, and *John Suthcot*, to be the firſt and preſent four Conſuls of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty by theſe Preſents, to have and enjoy the ſaid Offices of Conſuls to them the ſaid *George Barnes*, *William Garret*, *Anthony Huſie*, and *Suthcot*, for term of one whole year next after the Date of theſe our Letters Patents; and we do likewiſe make, ordain, and conſtitute, Sir *John Greſham* Knight, Sir *Andrew Judde* Knight, Sir *Thomas White* Knight, Sir *John Yorke* Knight, *Thomas Offley* the elder, *Thomas Lodge*, *Henry Herdſon*, *John Hopkins*, *William Watſon*, *William Clifton*, *Richard Pointer*, *Richard Chamberlaine*, *William Mallorie*, *Thomas Pallie* the elder, *William Allen*, *Henry Becher*, *Geffrey Walkenden*, *Richard Fowls*, *Rowland Heyward*, *George Eaton*, *John Ellot*, *John Sparke*, *Blaſe Sanders*, and *Miles Mordin*, to be the firſt and 24 Aſſiſtants to the ſaid Governour and Governours, and Conſuls, and to the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty by theſe Preſents, to have and enjoy the ſaid Offices of Aſſiſtants to them for term of one whole Year, next after the date of theſe our Letters Patents. And further, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, as much as in us is, will and grant by theſe Preſents unto the ſaid Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Company of Merchants Adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſours, that the ſaid Governour or Governours, four Conſuls, and 24 Aſſiſtants, that now by theſe Patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers, or the more part of them which ſhall be then preſent, ſo from time to time to be choſen, ſo that there be 15 at the leaſt wholly agreed thereof, the ſaid Governour or Governours, or one of them, and two of the ſaid Conſuls ſhould be there, and twelve of the reſidue of the ſaid number of 15, ſhall be of the ſaid Aſſiſtants, and in the abſence of ſuch Governour, that then three of the ſaid Conſuls and twelve of the ſaid Aſſiſtants at the leaſt for the time being, ſhall and may have Uſe and Exerciſe, full Power and

Authority to rule and govern all and ſingular the Merchants of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and to execute and do full and ſpeedy juſtice to them, and every of them, in all their Cauſes, Differences, Variances, Controverſies, Quarrels, and Complaints, within any our Realms, Dominions and Juriſdictions only moved, and to be moved touching their Merchandiſe, Trafficks, and Occupiers aforeſaid, or the good Order or Rule of them or any of them.

‘ Alſo we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſo much as in us is, do likewiſe by theſe Preſents grant, that the ſaid Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſours ſhall and may have perpetual Succeſſion, and a common Seal, which ſhall perpetually ſerve for the Affairs and Buſineſs of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty. And that they and their Succeſſours ſhall and may be for ever able Perſons, and capable in the Law, for to purchaſe and poſſeſs in fee and perpetuity, and for term of Life or Lives, or for term of Years or otherwiſe, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, and other Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever they be, by the name of the Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of the Merchants Adventurers by Seas and Navigations for the diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions and Seigniories unknown, and before the ſaid laſt Adventure or Enterpriſe by Seas not frequented, as before is ſpecified, and by the ſame names, ſhall and may lawfully alien, grant, let and ſet the ſame or any part thereof, to any Perſon or Perſons able in the Law to take and receive the ſame; ſo that they do not grant nor alien the ſame, or any part thereof into Mortmain, without ſpecial Licence of us, our Heirs or Succeſſours, firſt had and obtained.

‘ Alſo we for us our Heirs and Succeſſours have granted, and by theſe Preſents do grant unto the ſaid Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants and to their Succeſſours, that they and their Succeſſours, ſhall and may lawfully purchaſe unto them and their Succeſſours for ever, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments whatſoever, of the clear yearly value of threeſcore and ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four pence of lawful Money of *England* and not above, as well of ſuch Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, as be holden or ſhall be holden of us, our Heirs or Succeſſours, as of any other Perſon or Perſons, the Statues provided againſt Alienations into Mortmain, or any of them, or any Article or Clauſe in them or any of them contained, or any other Law, Cuſtom, Statute or Proviſion to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding: And that they by the name of the Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers, for the diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions and Seigniories unknown by the Seas and Navigations, and not before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe by Seas frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall and may be able in the Law to implead, and be impleaded, to anſwer and to be anſwered, to defend and to be defended before whatſoever Judge or Juſtice temporal or ſpiritual, or other Perſons whatſoever, in whatſoever Court or Courts, and in all Actions perſonal, real, and mixt, and in every of them, and in all Plaints of *novel Diſſeiſon*, and alſo in all Plaints, Suites, Quarrels, Affairs, Buſineſſes and Demands, whatſoever they be, touching and concerning the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and the Affairs and Buſineſs of the ſame only, in as ample manner and form, as any other Corporation of this our Realm may do.

‘ Moreover, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant unto the ſaid Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſours, that the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, and their Succeſſours, in manner, form and number afore rehearſed, ſhall have full Power and Authority from time to time hereafter, to make, ordain, eſtabliſh and erect all ſuch Statues, Acts and Ordinances, for the Government, good Condition, and laudable Rule of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers aforeſaid, as to them ſhall be thought good, meet, convenient and neceſſary, and alſo to admit unto the ſaid Corporation and Fellowſhip to be free of the ſame, ſuch and as many Perſons as to them ſhall be thought good, meet, convenient and neceſſary. And that every ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall fortune hereafter to be admitted into the ſaid Fellowſhip, Commonalty and Corporation, ſhall from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the ſame. And alſo we will, and by theſe Preſents grant for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, unto the ſaid Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſours, that the Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants of the ſame, in manner, form and number afore rehearſed, and their Succeſſours for the time being, ſhall and may have full Power and Authority by theſe Preſents from time to time, as to them ſhall ſeem good to limit, ſet, ordain and make Mulcts and Penalties by Fines, Forfeitures and Impriſonments, or any of them upon any Offender of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, for any Offence touching the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and alſo that all Acts and Ordinances by them or their Succeſſours to be made, which time ſhall think not neceſſary or prejudicial to the ſaid Fellowſhip or Commonalty, at all times to revoke, break, fruſtrate, annihilate, repeal and diſſolve at their pleaſure and liberty. And further we will, that if any of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty ſhall be found contrarious, rebellious or diſobedient to the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls, and the ſaid Aſſiſtants for the time being, or to any Statues, Acts or Ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls, and the ſaid Aſſiſtants, in manner, form, and number above ſpecified, for the time being, ſhall and may by vertue of theſe Preſents, mulct and puniſh every ſuch Offender or Offenders, as the Quality of the Offence requireth, according to their good Diſcretions.

‘ And further, we will that none of the ſaid Offender or Offenders ſhall decline from the Power of the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, in manner, form and number aboveſaid for the time being; ſo always, that the ſaid Acts, Statutes, and Ordinances, do only touch and concern the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of our before named Merchants Adventurers, or the Men of the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and none other; And ſo always, that ſuch their Acts, Statutes and Ordinances be not againſt our Prerogative, Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of our Realms and Dominions, nor contrary to the ſeveral Duty of any of our Subjects towards us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, nor contrary to any Compacts, Treaties or Leagues, by us or any of our Progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by us, our Heirs and Succeſſours to be made, to or with any foreign Prince or Potentate, nor alſo to the Prejudice of the Corporation of the Mayor, Commonalties and Citizens of our City of *London*, nor to the prejudice of any Perſon or Perſons, body Politick, or corporate, or incorporate, juſtly pretending, claiming, or having any Liberties, Franchiſes, Privileges, Rights or Preheminences, by vertue or pretext of any Grants, Gift, or Letters Patents, by us, or any our Progenitours heretofore given, granted or made.

‘ Moreover, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, will, and by theſe Preſents, do grant unto the ſaid Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of our Merchants aforeſaid, that their ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, and their Succeſſour in the time being, in manner, form and number above rehearſed, ſhall have full Power and Authority to aſſign, conſtitute and ordain one Officer, or divers Officers, as well within our aforeſaid City of *London*, as alſo in any other place or places of this our Realm of *England*, or elſewhere within our Dominions, which Officer or Officers, we will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the Fellowſhip or Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants, and that the ſaid Sergeant or Sergeants, ſhall and may have full Power and Authority by theſe Preſents, to take, levy and gather all manner of Fines, Forfeitures, Penalties and Mulcts of every Perſon or Perſons of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, convict and that ſhall be convicted upon, or for breaking of any Statutes, Acts, or Ordinances, to be made by the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants for the time being.

‘ And further, we will and alſo grant for us our Heirs and Succeſſours, that the ſaid Officer or Officers ſhall have further Power and Authority for the Default of Payment, or for Diſobedience in this behalf (if need be) to ſet hands and arreſt as well the Body and Bodies, as the Goods and Chattles of ſuch Offender and Offenders, and Tranſgreſſors, in every place and places not franchiſed. And if it ſhall fortune any ſuch Offender or Offenders, their Goods and Chattles or any part thereof, to be in any City, Borough, Town Incorporated, or

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other place franchiſed or priviledged, where the ſaid Officer or Officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Mayor, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other head Officers or Miniſters within every ſuch City, Borough, Town, Incorporate, or place or places franchiſed, upon a Precept to them or any of them, to be directed from the Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Fellowſhip, in number and form aforeſaid, under the common Seal of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty for the time being, ſhall and may attack and arreſt the Body or Bodies of ſuch Offender or Offenders, as alſo take and ſieze the Goods and Chattles of all and every ſuch Offender or Offenders, being within any ſuch place or places franchiſed, and the ſame Body and Bodies, Goods and Chattles of all and every ſuch Offender and Offenders, being within any ſuch Place or Places franchiſed, and every part thereof ſo attacked and ſiezed, ſhall, according to the Tenor and Purport of the ſaid Precept, return and deliver unto the ſaid Officer or Officers of the aforeſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty.

‘ And further, we will and grant for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours by theſe Preſents, that all and every ſuch Mayor, Sheriff, Bayliff, or other head Officers or Miniſters of any City, Borough, Town Incorporate, or other places franchiſed, ſhall not be impeached, moleſted, vexed or ſued in any of our Court or Courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the ſaid Precept or Precepts.

‘ And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant Grace, meer Motion, and certain Knowledge, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, as much as in us is, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant unto the ſaid Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers, and to their Succeſſors, and to the Factor and Factors, Aſſign and Aſſigns of every of them, full and free Authority, Liberty, Faculty and Licence, and Power to ſail to all Ports, Regions, Dominions, Territories, Lands, Iſles, Iſlands, and Coaſts of the Sea, whereſoever before their late Adventure or Enteppriſe unknown, or by our Merchants and Subjects by the Seas not heretofore commonly frequented, under our Banner, Standard, Flags and Enſigns, with their Ship, Ships, Bark, Pinnaces, and all other Veſſels of whatſoever Portage, Bulk, quantity or quality they may be, and with any Mariners and Men as they will lead with them in ſuch Ship or Ships, or other Veſſels at their own proper Coſts and Expences, to traffick, deſcry, diſcover and find, whatſoever Iſle, Iſlands, Countries, Regions, Provinces, Creeks, Arms of the Sea, Rivers and Streams, as well of Gentiles, as of any other Emperour, King, Prince, Governour, or Lord whatſoever he or they ſhall be, and in whatſoever part of the World they be ſituate, being before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe unknown, and by our Merchants and Subjects not commonly frequented, and to enter and land in the ſame without any manner of Denying, Pain, Penalty or Forfeiture to be had or taken by any of our Laws, Cuſtoms or Statutes to our uſe, or to the uſe of our Heirs or Succeſſours for the ſame.

King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* hereby do diſanul Pope *Alexander*'s Diviſion.

‘ And we have alſo granted, and by theſe Preſents, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, do grant unto the ſaid Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and to their Succeſſours, and to their Factors and Aſſigns, and to every of them, Licence for to rear, plant, erect and faſten our Banners, Standards, Flags and Enſigns, in whatſoever City, Town, Village, Caſtle, Iſle, or main Land, which ſhall be by them newly found, without any the Penalties, Forfeitures or Dangers aforeſaid, and that the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſours, Factors and Aſſigns, and every of them ſhall and may ſubdue, poſſeſs and occupy all manner of Cities, Towns, Iſles, and main Lands of Infidelity, which is or ſhall be by them or any of them newly found or deſcried, as our Vaſſals and Subjects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, Title, and Inſurrection of the ſame Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Villages, Iſles, and main Lands, which ſhall be by them or any of them, newly diſcovered or found unto us, our Heirs and Succeſſours for ever.

Conqueſt permitted.

‘ And furthermore, whereas by the Voyage of our Subjects in this laſt ‖ Year attempted by Navigation, towards the diſcovery and diſcloſure of unknown Places, Realms, Iſlands and Dominions by the Seas not frequented, it hath pleaſed Almighty God to cauſe one of the three Ships by them ſet forth for the Voyage and Purpoſe above mentioned, named the *Edward Bonadventure*, to arive, abide, and winter within the Empire and Dominions of the high and mighty Prince our Couſin and Brother, Lord *John Baſilvich*, Emperour of all *Ruſſia*, *Volodomer*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, &c. who, of his Clemency, for our Love and Zeal, did not only admit the Captain and Merchants our Subjects into his Protection and Princely Preſence, but alſo received and entertained them very graciouſly and honourably, granting unto them by his Letters addreſſed unto us, frank Acceſs in all his Seigniories and Dominions, with Licence freely to traffick in and out with all his Subjects in all kind of Merchandiſe, with divers other gracious Priviledges, Liberties and Immunities, ſpecified in his ſaid Letters under his Signet: Know ye therefore that we of our further Royal Favour and Munificence, of our meer Motion, certain Knowledge, and ſpecial Grace, for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant unto the ſame Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty above named, and to their Succeſſours, as much as in us is, that all the main Lands, Iſles, Ports, Havens, Creeks, and Rivers of the ſaid mighty Emperour of all *Ruſſia*, and great Duke of *Moſco*, &c. and all and ſingular other Lands, Dominions, Territories, Iſles, Ports, Havens, Creeks, Rivers, Arms of the Sea, of all and every other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and Governour, whatſoever he or they before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe not known, or by our aforeſaid Merchants and Subjects by the Seas not commonly frequented, nor by any Part nor Parcel thereof lying Northwards, North-eaſtwards or North-weſtwards, as is aforeſaid, by Sea ſhall not be viſited, frequented nor haunted by any our Subjects, other of than the ſaid Company and Fellowſhip, and their Succeſſours without expreſs Licence, Agreement and Conſent of the Governour, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty above-named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforeſaid, for the time being, upon pain of Forfeiture and Loſs, as well of the Ship and Ships, with the Appurtenances, as alſo of all the Goods, Merchandiſes, and things whatſoever they be, of thoſe our Subjects, not being of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, which ſhall attempt or preſume to ſail to any of thoſe places, which be or hereafter ſhall happen to be found, and trafficked unto, the one half of the ſame Forfeiture to be to the uſe of us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, and the other half to be to the uſe of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty. And if it ſhall fortune any Stranger or Strangers for to attempt to hurt, hinder or endamage the ſame Merchants, their Factors, Deputies or Aſſigns, or any of them in ſailing, going or returning at any time in the ſaid Adventure, or for to ſail or trade to or from any of thoſe Places, Lands or Coaſts, which by the ſaid Merchants, their Factors, Deputies and Aſſigns, have been, or ſhall be deſcried, diſcovered and found, or frequented, as well within the Coaſts and Limits of Gentility, as within the Dominions and Seigniories of the ſaid mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and every other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler, and Governour, whatſoever he or they be, before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe not known by any of our ſaid Merchants and Subjects, by the Seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, North-weſtwards, or North-eaſt-wards as aforeſaid, then we will and grant, and by theſe Preſents do licence, and authoriſe for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, the ſaid Merchants, their Factors, Deputies, and Aſſigns, and every of them to do their beſt in their defence, to reſiſt the ſame their Enterpriſes and Attempts. Willing therefore, and ſtraightly commanding and charging all and ſingular our Officers, Mayors, Sheriffs, Eſcheators, Conſtables, Bailiffs, and all and ſingular other our Miniſters and Liege Men and Subjects whatſoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping, and aſſiſting unto the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and to their Succeſſors and Deputies, Factors, Servants, and Aſſigns, and to the Deputies, Factors and aſſigns of every of them, in executing and enjoying the Premiſſes, as well on Land as in the Sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you ſhall be thereunto required. In witneſs whereof, &c.

Anno 1554.

1555. The Muſcovites Priviledges unto the Engliſh.

The largeneſs of the Priviledge of the Muſcovite Company.

‖ Anno 1555.

Apud Weſtmonaſterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum noſtrorum primo & ſecundo.

Further

Further Priviledges granted to the Merchants of Ruſſia.

‘THeſe Letters Patents were confirmed by act of Parliament, 8. *Eliz.* 1566. wherein it is enacted, That by reaſon the name by which the ſaid Fellowſhip is incorporated by the Letters Patents aforeſaid is long, and conſiſteth of very many words, that therefore the ſaid Fellowſhip, Company, Society and Corporation, ſhall from henceforth be incorporated and called only by the name of the *Fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants for diſcovery of new Trades.* Provided that it ſhall be lawful for any of the Subjects of this Realm to ſail to the Port, Town, Territory or Caſtle of *Wardhouſe*, or to any part of *Norway*: Not to tranſport any Cloth or Kerſies before the ſame ſhall be dreſſed, and for the moſt part died within this Realm, upon forſeiture of five Pound for every Cloth and Kerſy, one half to the Queen, the other half to the Maſter or Warden of the Cloth-Workers of *London*. Nor to tranſport any Commodity of this Realm but only in *Engliſh* Ships, and ſail for the moſt part by *Engliſh* Mariners, on forfeiture of 200 Pound, one Moiety to the Queen, the other to the head Officers of any Port-Town, having any Haven or Harbour decayed, by whatſoever name they be incorporated, to the reparation of ſuch Harbour, that will ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, by Action, Bill, Plaint or Information, wherein no Eſſoin, Protection or Wager of Law for the Defendant ſhall be allowed.

‘Provided alſo, that whenſoever the ſaid Company ſhall willingly withdraw, and diſcontinue wholly by the ſpace of three Years, in time of Peace, the diſcharging of their Merchandiſes at the Road of St. *Nicholas* Bay in *Ruſſia*, and do not diſcharge their ſaid Merchandizes at ſome other Port or Road lying on that North Coaſt of *Ruſſia*, or other Territory now ſubject to the ſaid Prince, hitherto by the Subjects of this Realm not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any ſuch diſcontinuance and withdrawing as is aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful to all the Subjects of this Realm to trade to the *Narve* only in *Engliſh* Bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The Third Voyage to Ruſſia.

1556. THE Company ſent two Ships to *Ruſſia* this Year, *viz.* the *Edward* and the *Philip* and *Mary*, with Supernumerary Maſters and Mariners, to bring home the *Bona Speranza* and the *Confidentia* that had been frozen up in *Lapland*. They touched at *Lapland*, and thence ſailed to the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, from whence they came all together on the 20th of *July*, bringing with them a *Ruſſian* Embaſſador, named *Oſep Napea*, with 16 of his Retinue, who were ſhipped with Mr. *Chancellor* in the *Edward*, but by contrary Winds and violent Tempeſts they were ſeparated. The *Confidentia* was ſeen to periſh on a Rock on the Coaſt of *Norway*; the *Speranza*, wherein were divers *Ruſſe* Merchants and Servants of the Embaſſador, was never ſince heard of. 'Tis ſuppoſed, that by two Years wintering in *Lapland*, ſhe became unſtaunch, and ſunk. The *Philip* and *Mary* arrived in the *Thames* the 18th of *April*, 1557. the *Edward* on the tenth of *November* 1556. arrived in the Bay of *Pettiſlego*, in the North of *Scotland*, where forced from her Anchors, ſhe was ſplit upon the Rocks in the Night, and Mr *Chancellor* with ſeven *Ruſſes* and divers Mariners were drowned, the Embaſſador with a few others, with much difficulty eſcaping.

As ſoon as the News of this Diſaſter came to *London*, the ſixth of *December*, the Company obtained Letters from the Queen to the Queen Dowager and Council of *Scotland*, in favour of the ſaid Embaſſador, and immediately diſpatched *Lawrence Huſſy*, Doctor of the Civil Law, and *George Gilpin*, into *Scotland*, with Money and other Neceſſaries to relieve him, and conduct him with his Retinue into *England*. They arrived at *Edingburgh* the 23d of *December*, and after viſiting the Embaſſador, repaired to Queen Dowager with their Letters, who gave them hopes of ſpeedy reſtitution, and in order thereunto, ſent Commiſſioners with an Herald of Armes to *Pettiſlego*, commanding by Proclamation all Perſons as had any part of ſuch Goods as were ſpoiled, and taken out or from the Ship, to bring them in and reſtore the ſame; ſo that after much Trouble, Time and Charges, ſome ſmall Parcels of Wax, and other ſmall trifling things of no value, were by the poorer ſort of *Scots* brought to the Commiſſioners, but the Jewels, rich Apparel, Preſents, Gold, Silver and coſtly Furs, were concealed and embezel'd. Whereupon the Queen at the requeſt of the Ambaſſador, cauſed about 180 of them to appear before her and anſwer the ſame, whereof not only good Teſtimony by Writing was produced, but alſo the things themſelves found in the Hands of the *Scottiſh* Subjects, who by ſubtil and crafty dealing and connivance of the Commiſſioners, abuſed the Embaſſador and his Attendants, ſo that no effectual Reſtitution was made; whereupon he departed towards *England* on the fourteenth day of *February*, and on the 18th came to *Berwick*, where by the Queen's Command, he was honourably received by the Lord *Wharton*, and on the 27th was met twelve Miles from *London* by 80 Merchants with Chains of Gold, well mounted, and all their Servants in one Livery, and conducting him to a Merchants Houſe four Miles from *London*, he there received a quantity of Gold, Velvet and Silk, with all Furniture thereunto requiſite, wherewith he made him a riding Garment, repoſing himſelf that Night. The next day he was conducted to *London* by 140 Merchants of the *Ruſſian* Company, and as many of their Servants in one Livery, and by the Queen's Command was met on the way by the Lord *Mountague*, with 300 Horſe, who conducted him to the North part of the City, where four eminent Merchants richly apparell'd, preſented him a fair large Gelding, with rich Trappings and a Foot cloth of Crimſon Velvet. The Embaſſador being mounted, was met at *Smithfield Bars* by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen in their Scarlet, and rode thro' *London* between the Lord-Mayor and Lord *Mountague* to his Lodgings in *Fenchurch Street*, a great number of Merchants riding before, and their Servants following after.

1556.

Here he tarried, expecting the King's return from *Flanders*, which was the 21ſt of *March*, during which time he was daily viſited by the Aldermen and chief of the Company, who ſent him a rich Cup-board of Plate, and provided all kind of Victuals for his Table and his Servants, with all ſorts of Officers to attend upon him.

The Queen alſo preſented him with a rich piece of Cloth of Tiſſue, a piece of Cloth of Gold, another piece of Cloth of Gold raiſed with Crimſon Velvet, a piece of Crimſon Velvet in grain, a piece of Purple Velvet, a piece of Damask purpled, and a piece of Crimſon Damask, all which he thankfully accepted.

On the 25th of *March* he was conducted into the preſence of the King and Queen, where, after he had deliver'd his Letters, made his Speech, and preſented their Majeſties with two Timber of Sables (the reſt being loſt in the Shipwrack) he was diſmiſs'd with much Honour and Reſpect. A Timber is twice 40.

The time of the Year approaching for his departure, he received the Preſents from their Majeſties to the Emperour, which were,

1 Two rich pieces of Cloth of Tiſſue.
2 One fine piece of Scarlet.
3 One fine Violet in grain.
4 One fine Azure Cloth.
5 A pair of Brigandines, with a Murrain covered with Crimſon Velvet and gilt Nails.
6 Two Lions, a Male and Female.

Gifts given to the Embaſſador at his departure.

1 A Chain of Gold of 100 *l.* value
2 A large Baſon and Ewer of Silver gilt.
3 A Pair of Pottle Pots gilt.
4 A pair of Flagons Gilt.

Gifts ſent from the Emperour of *Ruſſia* to the King and Queen of *England*, ſpoiled by the *Scots* after the Shipwrack.

1. Six Timber of Sables, rich in colour and Hair.
2. Twenty entire Sables, exceeding beautiful, with Teeth, Ears, and Claws.
3. Four living Sables, with Chains and Collars.

4 Thirty Luſarns, large and beautiful.
5 Six large and great Skins, very rich and rare, ſuch as are worn by the Emperour only.
6. A large and fair white Jerfoulcon for the wild Swan, Crane, Gooſe, and other great Fowls, with a Drum of Silver, uſed as a Lure to call the Hawk.

1556. This Year alſo the Company ſet out a Pinnace, called the *Search Thrift*, *Stephen Barrow* Maſter, to diſcover the Harbours in the Northern Seas. He went beyond the Bay of St. *Nicholas* as far as the Iſland *Vaygats*, but meeting with much Ice and Snow, and continual North-eaſt and Northerly Winds, and the Nights beginning to grow dark, he thought it beſt to return to the 22. *Aug.* Bay of St. *Nicholas*, where he arrived at *Colmogro* the 11th of *September*, and there wintered, intending upon the approach of next Summer to proceed in the diſcovery of the River *Ob*, but being ſent to *Wardhouſe* next Spring in ſearch of the *Engliſh* Ships, the Deſign for that time was laid aſide.

The Fourth Voyage to Ruſſia, *&c.*

Written by ſome of the Engliſh, *who then went over to ſerve the Emperour.*

1557. THE Company ſet out four Ships this Year, *viz.* the *Primroſe*, the *John Evangeliſt*, the *Ann*, and the *Trinity*: The Embaſſador *Oſep Napea* was Shipped on the *Primroſe*, whereof *Anthony Jenkinſon* was Commander. They departed from *Graveſend* the twelfth of *May*, and arrived in the Bay of St. *Nicholas* the thirteenth of *July*, having ſailed from *London* unto the ſaid Bay 750 Leagues.

The Embaſſador and his Company with great joy went aſhoar, and as many of us *Engliſh* Men as came to ſerve the Emperour, travelled with him to *Moſco*: We went up the River *Dwina* to *Vologhda*, being 1000 Verſts, and every Verſt is three fourths of an *Engliſh* Miles. There we laded our Cheſts and things in ſmall Wagons with one Horſe, and we were fourteen days in travelling from *Vologhda* to *Moſco*, which is 500 Verſts.

The twelfth of *September* we arrived at *Moſco*, and were brought by *Napea* and two of the Emperour's Gentlemen unto a large Houſe, where every one of us had his Chamber appointed.

The fourteenth of *September* we were commanded to come unto the Emperour, and were immediately admitted to his Preſence, and kiſſed his Right-hand: He ſate in a Chair of State, with a Crown on his Head, and a Staff in his Left-hand, garniſhed with coſtly Stones. He told us by his Interpreter that we were all welcome, and willed us to dine with him; ſo we gave Thanks and departed till Dinner was ready. When Dinner time approached, we were brought into the Dining Room, and were placed at a Table over againſt the Emperour, that he might behold us all.

At the upper end of one Table ſate the Emperour, his Brother, and the King of *Cazan*, who is a Priſoner: About two Yards lower ſate the King of *Cazan*'s Son, a Child of five years of age, and beneath him ſate many of the Nobility.

At another Table near to the Emperour's, ſate a Monk alone, who was in all points as well ſerved as the Emperour. At another Table ſate *Chirkaſſes*, entertained by the Emperour to ſerve againſt his Enemies.

All the Tables were covered only with Salt and Bread, and after we had ſate a while, the Emperour ſent to every one of us a piece of Bread, the Meſſenger uſing the Words, *The Emperour and great Duke gives thee Bread this Day.* There came in ſix Singers, who ſtood in the middle of the Chamber with their Faces towards the Emperour, whoſe Voices were not delightful to our Ears.

The Emperour did not put a morſel of Meat into his Mouth until he had firſt bleſſed it, and in like manner when he drank; for he was very religious in his way, and eſteemed his Religious Men above his Noble-Men.

The Dinner laſted five Hours, and the Tables being taken away, we came into the middle of the Room, and reverenced the Emperour, who delivered to every one of us with his own Hands a Cup of Mead, and gave us leave 1557. to depart. He ſent to our Lodging the ſame Evening, three Barrels of Mead of ſeveral ſorts, in all about a Hogſhead.

The 16th of *September* the Emperour ſent to our Lodging for every one of us a *Tartar* Horſe, the Streets of *Moſco* being very dirty in the Summer.

The 18th he ſent us furred Gowns of branched Velvet and Gold, and ſome of red Damask; that of Doctor *Standiſh* our Phyſician was furred with Sables, and the reſt with white Ermin, and ſome with grey Squirrel, and all faced and edged round about with black Beaver.

The 10th of *October* the Emperour gave Dr. *Standiſh* Dr. of Phyſick, 70 Rubles in Money, and to the reſt of us that were Men of Occupations, thirty Rubles a piece. A Ruble is worth about 13 Shillings Sterling.

The hallowing of the River. Every year upon Twelfth Day, they hollow the River *Moſcua*, which runs thro' the City, after this manner. They make a hole in the Ice three Fathom ſquare, the ſides whereof are trimmed with white Boards; then at at nine in the Morning they come out of the Church in Proceſſion as followeth.

Firſt, young Men with Wax Tapers burning; then follow Banners, the Croſs, Images of our Lady, St. *Nickolas*, and other Saints; then about 100 Prieſts; then the Metropolitan led between two Prieſts, and after him the Emperour with his Crown upon his Head, attended by his Nobility. When they came to the Hole, the Prieſts ſate themſelves in order about it: On one ſide of the Hole was a Scaffold, with a Chair in which the Metropolitan ſate, but the Emperour ſtood upon the Ice; then the Prieſts began to ſing their Service and bleſſed the Water, which done, the Metropolitan took a little in his Hands and caſt it upon the Emperour and his Nobles, and then they returned to the Church with the Prieſts. When the Emperour was gone, there was a great Crowd, for there came above 5000 Pots to be filled with that Water, a *Muſcovite* thinking himſelf unhappy if he hath not ſome of this Water. Many went naked into the Water, Men, Women and Children, divers ſick People were thrown in, and plucked out quickly, and when the Crowd was gone, the Emperour's beſt Horſes were brought to drink of the ſame Water, and many other Men brought their Horſes to drink, and by that means make their Horſes as holy as themſelves.

The *Ruſſes* begin their *Lent* eight Weeks before *Eaſter*; Their Lent. the firſt Week they eat Eggs, Milk, Cheeſe, Butter, Pancakes, and ſuch things, viſiting one another, and from that Sunday until our *Shrove-Sunday*, there are but few *Ruſſe* ſober, and it is accounted no reproach among them.

The next Week being our firſt Week of *Lent*, they keep a great Faſt, and the People are perſwaded that the Metropolitan neither eats nor drinks any thing for the ſpace of ſeven Days, and they ſay there are many Religious Men which do the like.

The Emperour eats but one Morſel of Bread and drinks but one draught of Drink in a day during that Week, and none of reputation come out of their Houſes in that time, ſo that the Streets are void of company, except a few poor People: The other ſix Weeks they keep as we do ours, but not one of them will eat either Butter, Cheeſe, Eggs or Milk.

On *Palm-Sunday* they have a Solemn Proceſſion in this manner.

Firſt, there is a Horſe covered with white Linen down to the Ground, his Ears being made long with the ſame Cloth like to aſſes Ears. Upon this Horſe the Metropolitan ſits on one ſide like a Woman; In his Lap lies a fair Book with a golden Crucifix upon the Cover, which he holdeth faſt with his Left-hand, and in his Right-hand he hath a Croſs of Gold, wherewith he bleſſeth the People as he rides.

There are about 30 Men who ſpread their Garments before the Horſe, and as ſoon as the Horſe is paſt over any of them, they take them up and run before and ſpread them again, ſo that the Horſe always goes on ſome of them. They which ſpread the Garments are all Prieſts Sons, and for their labour the Emperour gives them new ones.

A Nobleman leads the Horſe by the Head, but the Emperour himſelf going on foot, leads the Horſe by the Reins of his Bridle, holding a Branch of a Palm-Tree in his other Hand: Then followed the Nobility and Gentry, and a great number of People. In this order they went to Church, and then the Emperor and ſome of the Nobility dined at the Metropolitan's Houſe. The Emperour leads the Metropolitan's Horſe in proceſſion.

The reſt of this Week until *Eaſter Day*, they kept very ſolemnly, continuing in their Houſes for the moſt part, and upon *Monday* or *Thurſday*, the Emperour always receives the Sacrament, and ſo do moſt of his Nobles. Upon *Good Friday* they continue all the Day in Contemplation and Prayers, and they uſe to let looſe a Priſoner inſtead of *Barrabas*. The Night following they go to the Church, where they ſleep until the next Morning. They have a Cuſtom to colour Eggs red, of which every Man and Woman gives one to the Prieſt of their Pariſh upon *Eaſter-Day* in the Morning; and they carry ſuch Eggs in their Hands on that day and three or four days after. They uſe it they ſay as a Token of their unanimous Joy for the Reſurrection; for when two Friends meet in the Holydays, they take one another by the Hand, and one ſays, *Chriſt the Lord is riſen*, the other anſwers, *It is ſo of a truth*, and then they kiſs and exchange their Eggs, both Men and Women, continuing in kiſſing four Days together. The Emperour hears all Complaints himſelf, and gives Sentence with expedition, but refers Religious Matters to the Metropolitan.

Kiſſing in the Greek Church.

The Hoſpitality of their Monaſteries.

They have Monks, Fryers, and Nuns in many great and rich Monaſteries, who keep great Hoſpitality, and relieve many poor People daily: They eat no Fleſh during their lives, as is reported, but they may eat Fiſh every day. Many of theſe Monks are great Merchants, and have Boats which traffick in the Rivers from place to place.

Want of Preachers cauſe of Ignorance and Idolatry.

They have no Preachers, whereby they live in groſs Ignorance and Idolatry: The Prieſts are married and wear the ſame Garments with other Men: Their Crowns are ſhaven, the reſt of the Hair hanging over their Shoulders: They never ſhave their Beards. If a Prieſt's Wife die, it is not lawful for him to marry again.

Communion.

At the Communion the Prieſts breaks the Bread, and puts it into the Wine, and takes it out together with a Spoon.

Images.

Their Churches are full of Images, unto which the People bow, and knock their Heads againſt the Ground before them, that ſome will have large Knobs on their Foreheads. Their Service is in the *Ruſſian* Language, but few of the common People underſtand one half of what is read in their Churches.

Baptiſm.

When a Child is born, it is not baptized until the next *Sunday*, and then they may take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, who ſettle themſelves about a Table in the Church, whereon ſtands an Earthen Pot full of warm Water, every one holding a ſmall Wax Candle burning; then they repeat certain Words after the Prieſt, among which is, that the Child ſhall forſake the Devil, at which Words they all ſpit: Then he bleſſes the Water in the Pot, and breaths over it, and taking all the Candles which the Goſſips have, holds them all in one Hand, and lets part of them drop into the Water, and then gives every one his Candle again. After the Water is thus ſanctified, he holds the Child in a ſmall Tub, and one of the Godfathers takes the Pot with warm Water, and pours it all upon the Child's Head.

Then follow many more Ceremonies, as anointing the Childs Ears and Eyes with Spittle, and making Croſſes with Oyl upon his Back, Head and Breaſt: Then the Prieſt taking the Child in his Arms, carries it to the Images of St. *Nicholas* and our Lady, *&c.* and ſpeaking to the Images, deſires them to take charge of the Child that he may live, and believe as a Chriſtian ought to do, *&c.* Then clipping off ſome of the Childs Hair, he delivers the Child to the Godfathers and Godmothers, one of whom hangs a Croſs about the Child's Neck, which he muſt always wear, for that *Ruſſe* who has not a Croſs about his Neck, they eſteem no Chriſtian.

Matrimony.

Their Matrimony is performed in this manner: The Man ſends to the Woman a ſmall Box, wherein is a Whip, Needles, Thread, Silk, Linnen Cloth, Sciſſars, *&c.* as alſo ſome Raiſins, Figs, *&c.* to let her know, that if ſhe offend ſhe muſt be puniſhed, but if ſhe do well, no good thing ſhall be withheld from her; and ſhe ſends to him a Shirt, Handkerchiefs, *&c.* of her own making. When the day of Marriage is come, the Bride reſiſts and ſtrives with thoſe that would have her out of the Houſe, and pretends to weep; yet in the end two Women get her out and lead her to the Church, her Face covered, that her Diſſimulation may not be perceived, becauſe ſhe makes a great noiſe as if ſhe were ſobbing and weeping, until ſhe come at the Church, and then her Face is uncovered: Then cometh the Man accompanied with his Friends, who bring with them a Pot of Wine or Mead: Then the Prieſt joins them together, much after our Order, they promiſing to love and ſerve each other during their Lives; which done, the Woman drinks to the Man, and when he hath drank, he lets the Cup fall to the Ground, haſting to tread upon it, and ſo doth ſhe, and which of them treads firſt upon it, they think will have the Victory, and be Maſter at all times after, which for the moſt part happens to be the Man, becauſe he lets it fall himſelf, and ſo is moſt ready to ſet his Foot upon it: Then they go home, the Woman's Face uncovered, the Boys in the Streets following them and uttering immodeſt Words. When they come home, the Wife is ſet at the upper end of the Table, and the Huſband next to her; then they drink till they be all drunk, and ſometimes have a Fidler or two, and two Men who led the Bride from Church, dance naked a long time before the Company. When they are weary of drinking they go to bed, and the Bridegroom puts ſome Money into one of his Boots, which ſhe muſt pull off, and if ſhe happen on the Boot where the Money is, ſhe hath it for her pains, and is excuſed from pulling off his Boots for all time to come; but if ſhe miſs the Boot where the Money is, ſhe is bound from that day forward to pull off his Boots continually.

They marry very young, the Sons at 16 or 18, and the Daughters at 12 or 13. Men of credit keep their Wives very cloſe, ſo that they are rarely ſeen, but when they go to Church at *Chriſtmas* or *Eaſter*, or to viſit ſome of their Friends.

Moſt part of the Women ride aſtride in Saddles with Stirrops as Men do. Painting their Faces is counted no ſhame among them, and they colour their Eye-brows as black as jett.

Burial.

When any one dies, they ſtretch him out, and put a new pair of Shoes on his Feet, then wind him in a Sheet, and the Prieſt puts a Certificate into his Right-hand, to aſſure St. *Nicholas* that the party died a Chriſtian; but thoſe who are hanged or beheaded, have no ſuch Teſtimonial with them.

Bread made of Straw.

Many poor People among them periſh for want of Food; ſome are forced to dry Straw and Stamp it, and eat it inſtead of Bread; In the Summer they make good ſhift with Graſs, Herbs and Roots, Bark of Trees is good Meat with them at all times. No People in the World live more miſerable than the Poor in theſe Parts, moſt of thoſe who have ſufficient for themſelves and others, are ſo unmerciful, that they care not how many they ſee die of Hunger in the Streets.

Stoves.

The Country is ſubject to many Diſeaſes, and they hold the beſt Remedy is, to go often into the Stoves or Baths, and almoſt every Man hath one of his own which he heats commonly twice a Week, and all the Houſhold ſweat and waſh themſelves therein.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The ſeveral Voyages of Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon, *the firſt whereof was in the* Primroſe, *with the Ambaſſador* Oſep Napea, *in the year* 1557.

1557. MR *Jenkinſon*, Commander of the *Primroſe*, having ſet the Embaſſador aſhore at the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, 12 *July* 1557, as was ſaid in the laſt Chapter, he tarried there till the ſaid four Ships were diſcharged and laden again, which departed for *England* the firſt of *Auguſt*.

He arrived at *Moſco* the 6th of *December*, and on the 25th dined with the Emperour: The Entertainment was very ſplendid, but being deſcribed already in the laſt Chapter, I ſhall not repeat it here.

The City of *Moſco*, he ſays, is great, the Houſes for the moſt part of Wood, and ſome of Stone, with Windows of Iron, which ſerve for Summer. There are many fair Churches of Stone, but more of Wood, which are made hot in Winter. The Emperour's Palace is in a fair large Caſtle ſituate upon a Hill, two Miles about, and the River on the South-weſt ſide of it; It hath 16 Gates in the Walls, and as many Bulwarks.

The Country is full of moriſh Ground, and plain, abounding with Woods and Rivers, and produces great plenty of Corn. They have many ſorts of Meat and Drink when they Banquet, and delight in eating of groſs Meats and ſtinking Fiſh: Before they drink they uſe to blow in the Cup, and their greateſt Friendſhip is in drinking. They are great Talkers and Lyars, without any Faith or Truſt in their Words, Flatterers and Diſſemblers.

In every good Town there is a Tavern, called a *Curſemay*, which the Emperour ſometimes lets out to Farm, and ſometimes beſtows for a Year or two on ſome Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his Service; and during that time he is Lord of all the Town, robbing and ſpoiling, and doing what he pleaſes, and when he is grown rich, the Emperour removes him, and ſends him to the Wars again.

In the Winter they travel upon Sleds, the Way being hard and ſmooth with Snow, and the Waters and Rivers all frozen; and one Horſe with a Sled will draw a Man upon it 400 Miles in three Days; but in Summer the Ways are deep with Mire, and travelling is very ill.

A *Ruſſe*, if he be a Man of Ability, never goes out of his Houſe in Winter, but upon his Sled, and in Summer upon his Horſe: In his Sled he ſits upon a Carpet, or a white Bears Skin. The Sled is drawn with a Horſe decked with Foxes and Wolves Tails about his Neck, and is guided by a little Boy on his Back: His Servants ſtand upon the Tail of the Sled.

Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon's *Voyage from* Moſco *to the City of* Boghar *in* Bactria, *Anno* 1558.

THE 23d of *April*, 1558 (having obtained the Emperor of *Ruſſia*'s Letters to divers Kings and
1558. Princes through whoſe Dominions I ſhould paſs) I departed from *Moſco* by Water, having with me two Servants, *Richard* and *Robert Johnſon*, and a *Tartarian* Interpreter, with ſeveral parcels of Wares.

On the 11th day of *May* we came to a fair Town and Caſtle, ſituate at the falling of the River *Occa* into the River *Volga*, called *Nyſe Novogrod*, where we tarried till the nineteenth, for the coming of a Captain, who was ſent by the Emperour to rule at *Aſtracan*, who being arrived, and having 500 great Boats under his Conduct, with Victuals, Soldiers, Munition and Merchandiſe, we departed all together the ſaid 19th day, and on the 29th day came to *Cazan*, formerly a City of great wealth, where we tarried till the 13th of *June*, and the next day paſſed by a goodly River, called *Cama*, on our Left-hand, and all the Country from thence to *Aſtracan*, and from thence on the North ſide of the *Caſpian* Sea, to a Land of the *Tartars*, called *Turkmen*, is called *Mangat* or *Nagay*, whoſe Inhabitants are *Mahometans*, and were all deſtroyed in 1558 (while I was at *Aſtracan*) by Wars among themſelves, accompanied with Famin and Peſtilence, ſo that the ſaid Country is now deſolate, to the great content of the *Ruſſes*, who have had cruel Wars with them for a long time. Theſe *Nagayan*, when they flouriſhed, were divided into Companies called *Hords*, every *Hord* having a Ruler, whom they obeyed as their King, and was called a *Murſe*. They had no Towns or Houſes, but lived in the open Fields, every *Murſe* having his *Hord* about him, with their Wives, Children, and Cattle, who when they had conſumed the Paſture in one place, removed to another; and when they remove, they have Houſes like Tents ſet upon Wagons or Carts, which are drawn from place to place with Camels, and therein their Wives, Children, and all their Wealth, which is very little, is carried about, and every Man hath at leaſt four or five Wives, beſides Concubines. Uſe of Money they have none, but barter their Cattle for Apparel and other Neceſſaries. They delight in no Art or Science, except it be that of War, wherein they are expert, but for the moſt part they are paſturing People, and their Riches conſiſts in Cattle. They eat much Fleſh, eſpecially the Horſe, and drink Mares Milk, wherewith they are often drunk. Corn they ſow not, neither do they eat any Bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, ſaying, that we diſable our Strength, by eating the top of a Weed, and drinking a Drink made of the ſame, and impute their own Strength to their great devouring of Fleſh and drinking of Milk. But to proceed on my Journey.

The River of Cama.

Nagayan Tartars.

Hords.

All the Country on the Right-hand of the River *Volga*, from over againſt the River *Cama* unto the City of *Aſtracan*, is the Land of *Crim*, whoſe Inhabitants are alſo *Mahometans*, and live for the moſt part like to the *Nagayans*, having continual Wars with the *Ruſſians*: They are valiant in the Field, and are ſupported by the *Turks*.

Crim Tartars.

The 28th we came to a great Hill, being the juſt mid-way between *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, which is about 200 Leagues; it is in the Latitude of 51 Degrees 47 Minutes.

The fourteenth of *July* we arrived at *Aſtracan*, conquered by this Emperour of *Ruſſia* ſix Years paſt, 1552: It is from *Moſco* to *Aſtracan* 600 Leagues. The Town is ſituate upon an Iſland on the ſide of a Hill, having a Caſtle within the ſame, walled about with Earth and Timber. The Town is alſo walled about with Earth, the Houſes for the moſt part are very mean. The Iſland is deſtitute of Wood and Paſture, and the Ground will bear no Corn.

Aſtracan.

The Air is infected by reaſon of much Fiſh, eſpecially Sturgeon, which is the chief Food of the Inhabitants, Fleſh and Bread being very ſcarce. They hang up their Fiſh in the Streets and Houſes to dry for their Proviſion, which cauſes ſuch abundance of Flies, as the like was never ſeen in any Land.

Store of Sturgeons.

There was a great Famin and Plague while I was there, eſpecially among the *Nagayan Tartars*, who come thither in great numbers to ſeek for Succour from the *Ruſſians*, their ancient Enemies; but they were but ill entertained, a great number of them dying for hunger, and lay dead in heaps all over the Iſland, very pitiful to behold. Many of them were ſold by the *Ruſſes*; I could have bought 1000 *Tartar* Children of their own Parents, a Boy or a Girl, for a Loaf of Bread not worth above ſix pence in *England*.

Famin and Plague at Aſtracan.

Aſtracan is the furtheſt Hold that the *Ruſſians* have taken from the *Tartars* towards the *Caſpian* Sea: The Trade there is but ſmall and beggerly, altho' there come Merchants from divers places: The *Ruſſes* bring red Hydes,

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red Sheep-Skins, Veſſels of Wood, Bridles and Saddles, Knives and other Trifles, alſo Corn, Bacon, and other Victuals: The *Tartars* bring Wares of Cotton-wool, and wrought Silks: The *Perſians* from *Shamaki* bring coarſe Sowing Silk, Craſto-Girdles, Shirts of Mail, Bows, Swords, and ſuch like things, and ſome Years Corn and Walnuts, but all things in ſuch ſmall quantity, that there is no hope of any Trade in thoſe parts worth following.

The Iſland is 12 Leagues long and three broad, and lies Eaſt and Weſt, in Latitude 47 Deg. 9 Min. We tarried there till the ſixth day of *Auguſt*, and having bought and provided a Boat, in company with certain *Tartars* and *Perſians*, we laded our Goods and embarked our ſelves, and the ſame day departed; my ſelf and the two *Johnſons* having the whole charge of the Navigation down the River *Volga*, being very crooked and full of Flats near the Mouth thereof. We entred the *Caſpian* the 10th of *Auguſt*, being 20 Leagues from *Aſtracan*, in Lat, 46 Deg. 27 Min. And on the 19th, being at an Anchor near a River called *Jaic*, and all our Men aſhoar (except my ſelf then very ſick, and five *Tartars*, whereof one was reputed a Holy Man, becauſe he came from *Mecca*) there came unto us a Boat with 30 Men, well armed, who boarding us, began to enter into our Bark, which our holy *Tartar*, named *Azy*, perceiving, asked them what they would have, and withal made a Prayer; whereupon the Rovers ſtaid, declaring that they were Gentlemen baniſhed from their Country, and in great want, and came to ſee if there were any *Ruſſes* or other Chriſtians in our Bark. *Azy* anſwered them reſolutely, that there were none, avowing the ſame by great Oaths of their Law (which lightly they will not break) whom the Rovers believed, and upon his Words departed; and ſo thro' the fidelity of this *Tartar*, I with all my Company and Goods were ſaved, and our Men being come aboard, we departed, ſteering Eaſt South Eaſt, and on the 27th there aroſe ſuch a Storm, that we thought verily we ſhould have periſhed: It continued three days, and put us from the Port we deſigned, and forced us to anchor in a bad Haven, and ſending ſome of our Men on Land to talk with the Governour and People, for Proviſion of Camels to carry our Goods from the Sea-ſide to a place call'd *Sellyzure*, which is 25 days journey, our Meſſengers returned with comfortable Words, and fair Promiſes of all things.

Wherefore the third of *September*, 1558, we diſcharged our Bark, and I with my Company were civilly entertained by the Prince and People; but before our departure we found them to be a very bad and brutiſh People, for they ceaſed not daily to moleſt us, either by fighting, ſtealing or begging, raiſing the Price of Horſes, Camels, and Victuals, double what it was wont to be, and forced us to buy the Water that we drank, which made us to haſten away, and to conclude with them for the hire of Camels, *&c.* according to their own demand; ſo that for every Camels load, being but 400 weight of ours, we agreed to give three Hides of *Ruſſia*, and four wooden Diſhes, and to the Prince or Governour, one ninth and two ſevenths, that is to ſay, nine ſeveral things, and twice ſeven ſeveral things; for Money they uſe none.

And thus being ready the 14 of *September*, we departed, being a Caravan of a thouſand Camels; and having travelled five days journey, we came to another Prince's Dominion, and upon the way were met by certain *Tartars* on Horſeback, well armed, and Servants to *Timor Sultan*, Governour of the Country of *Manguſlave*, where we meant to have arrived and diſcharged our Bark, if the Storm had not diſappointed us. Theſe *Tartars* ſtayed our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opening our Wares, took ſuch things as they liked beſt, for their Prince, without Money. They took from me a ninth, whereupon, after much contention, I rode unto the Prince, and preſented my ſelf before him, requeſting his Favour and Paſport to travel thro' his Country, and not to be robbed and ſpoiled by his People. He granted my Requeſt, entertaining me very civilly, and commanded me to be well feaſted with Fleſh and Mares Milk, for Bread they have none, nor other Drink except Water; But he had no Money to give me for ſuch things as he took of me, which were worth about 15 Rubbles, however he gave me his Letter, and a Horſe worth about ſeven Rubbles, and ſo I departed from him, glad when I was gone, for he was reported to be a very Tyrant, and if I had not gone to him, I underſtood his Commandment was, that I ſhould be robbed and deſtroyed.

This *Sultan* lived in the Fields, without Caſtle or Town, and ſate in a little round Houſe made of Reeds, and covered with Felt without, and with Carpets within. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wild Country, eſteemed by the People as much as the Biſhop of *Rome* is in moſt parts of *Europe*, with many more of his chief Men. The *Sultan* and he demanded of me many Queſtions of our Kingdoms, Laws, and Religion, as alſo the cauſe of my coming into thoſe parts. To whom I anſwered as to me ſeemed beſt, which they took in good part.

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Twenty days journey in the Deſert.

So I departed and overtook our Caravan; we travelled 20 days in the Deſarts, from the Sea-ſide, without ſeeing Town or any Habitation, carrying our Victuals with us, yet were neceſſitated to eat one of my Camels and a Horſe for our part, as others did the like; and during the ſaid 20 days we found no Water, but ſuch as we drew out of old deep Wells, very brackiſh, yet paſſed ſometimes two or three days without it. And the fifth of *October* we came to a Gulph of the *Caſpian* Sea again. Here the Cuſtomers of the King of *Turkmen* met us, who took Cuſtom, of every 25 one, and ſeven ninths for the ſaid King and his Brethren.

Having refreſhed our ſelves, we departed the next day, and on the ſeventh arrived at a Caſtle called *Sellizure*, where the King, called *Azim Can*, reſided, with three of his Brethren, and on the ninth day I was commanded to come before him, to whom I delivered the Emperor of *Ruſſia*'s Letters, and gave him alſo a Preſent of a Ninth, whereupon he entertained me very well, and cauſed me to eat in his Preſence as his Brethren did, feaſting me with Fleſh of a wild Horſe, and Mares Milk, without Bread. And the next day he ſent for me again, and asked me divers Queſtions about the Affairs of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, as alſo concerning our Country and Laws, and at my departure, gave me his Letters of ſafe Conduct.

The 14th we departed from *Sellizure*, and on the 16th arrived at a City called *Urgence*, where we payed Cuſtom as well for our own Heads as for our Camels and Horſes; and having there ſojourned one Month, the King called *Aly Sultan*, Brother to the forenamed *Azim Can*, returned from a Town called *Coraſan*, within the Borders of *Perſia*, which he had lately conquered from the *Perſians*, with whom he and the reſt of the Kings of *Tartaria* have continual Wars. Being commanded to come before him, I preſented the Emperour of *Ruſſia*'s Letters, and after asking me divers Queſtions, he gave me his Letters of ſafe Conduct.

Urgence ſtands on a plain Ground, with Walls of Earth, by eſtimation four Miles about; the Buildings are alſo of Earth. It hath one long Street, covered above, which is the place of their Market. It hath been won and loſt four times within ſeven Years, by Civil Wars, by means whereof there are but few Merchants in it, and they are very poor, ſo that in all that Town I could not ſell above four Kerſies. All the Country from the *Caſpian* Sea to *Urgence* is called *Turkman*, ſubject to the ſaid *Azim Can*, and his five Brethren. The chief of them is call'd *Can*, but is little obeyed except in his own Dominion; for every one will be King of his own Portion, and one Brother is perpetually ſeeking to deſtroy another; for being begotten of divers Women, they have no natural Affection, and are commonly the Children of Slaves, either Chriſtians or Gentiles, whom the Father keeps as Concubines, and every *Can* or *Sultan* hath four or five Wives, beſides young Maids and Boys; and when there are Wars between the Brethren (as they are ſeldom without) he that is vanquiſhed flies to ſome watering places in the Deſarts, with ſuch Company as will follow him, and there lives by robbing and ſpoiling as many Caravans of Merchants and others, as he is able to overcome, until he be in a capacity of invading ſome of his Brethren again. From the *Caſpian* unto the Caſtle of *Sellizure*, and in all the Countries about the ſaid Sea, People live in the open Fields, removing from one place to another in great Companies, with their Cattle, whereof they have ſtore, as Camels, Horſes, and Sheep, both tame and wild. Their Sheep are of great ſtature, with Buttocks weighing 60 or 80 Pound.

Wild Horſes.

There are many wild Horſes killed by the *Tartars*, with their Hawks, who are taught to ſieze upon the Horſe's Head or Neck, till the Hunter can come up with him and kill him with an Arrow or Sword. In all this Land there grows no Graſs, but a certain Bruſh or Heath, whereon the Cattle feeding, become very fat.

The *Tartars* are good Archers, and never ride without their Bow, Arrows, and Sword. They are great Devourers of Fleſh, which they cut in ſmall pieces, and eat it greedily by handfuls, eſpecially Horſe-Fleſh.

The 26th of *November*, We departed from *Urgence*, and the ſeventh of *December* arrived at a Caſtle called *Kait*, ſubject to a *Sultan* called *Saramet*, who deſigned to rob all the Chriſtians in the Caravan, had it not been for fear of his Brother the King of *Urgence*, as we were informed by one of his chief Counſellors, who willed us to make him a Preſent, which we did, and beſides for Cuſtom, one red Hyde of *Ruſſia* for every Camel, and ſome petty Gifts to his Officers.

Thus proceeding on our Journey, the tenth of *December* at Night being at reſt, and our Watch ſet, there came to us four Horſemen, whom we taking as ſpies, diſarmed and bound them; upon Examination they confeſſed, that they had ſeen the Tract of many Horſemen and no footing of Camels, and aſſured us that there were Rovers and Thieves abroad, becauſe few People travel in that Country, but in company of *Caravans*, where are many Camels; and the print of Horſes Feet newly made, without Camels Feet, was to be ſuſpected: Whereupon we conſulted, and ſent a Poſt to the ſaid *Sultan* of *Kait*, who immediately came himſelf with 300 Men, and examined theſe four ſuſpected Men ſo ſtrictly, uſing many Threats, that they at laſt confeſſed, there was a baniſh'd Prince with forty Men three days journey forward, who lay in wait to deſtroy us, and that they themſelves were of his Company.

The *Sultan* thereupon appointed a Captain with 80 well armed Men to conduct us; the *Sultan* himſelf returned back again, taking the four Thieves with him. Theſe Souldiers travelled with us two days, conſuming much of our Victuals, and the third day very early in the Morning, they ſet out before our Caravan, and ranging the Deſert for the ſpace of four Hours, they came towards us as faſt as their Horſes could run, telling us they had found the Tract of Horſes not far from us, and therefore willed us to make ready to receive our Enemies, and asked us what we would give them to conduct us further, or elſe they would return. We offered as we thought good, but they refus'd our Offer, and would have more, and ſo not agreeing they departed from us, and returned to their *Sultan*, who (as we conjectured) was Privy to the Conſpiracy.

The *Tartars* manner of Divination.

As ſoon as they were gone, certain *Tartars* of our Company, called Holy Men, becauſe they had been at *Mecca*, cauſed the whole Caravan to ſtay, and would make their Prayers, and divine whether we ſhould meet with any ill Company or no, to which our whole Caravan did agree: Then they killed ſome Sheep, and firſt ſod the Blade-bones of them, and then burnt them, and mingling the Sheeps Blood with the Powder of the ſaid Bones, they wrote certain Characters with it, uſing many other Ceremonies and Words, and by the ſame divined and found, that we ſhould meet with Enemies and Thieves to our great trouble, but ſhould overcome them: I and my Company gave little credit to their Sorcery, but we found it true, for within three Hours after the Departure of the Soldiers, we deſcried far off divers Horſemen making towards us, whereupon we gathered our ſelves together, being 40 of us, well appointed and able to fight, and then going to Prayers, every one after his Law, we profeſſed to live and die together. The Robbers were 37, well armed with Bows, Arrows and Swords, and the Captain a Prince baniſhed from his Country. They called us to yield our ſelves, or elſe to be ſlain; but we defyed them, whereupon they ſhot at us all at once, and we at them very hotly, and ſo continued fighting from Morning until two Hours within Night, divers Men, Horſes and Camels being wounded and ſlain on both ſides, and had it not been for four Hand Guns, which I and my Company uſed, we had been overcome and deſtroyed, the Robbers being better armed, and alſo better Archers than we: But after we had ſlain divers of their Men and Horſes with our Guns, they durſt not approach ſo near, but came to a truce with us till next Morning. We encamped our ſelves upon a Hill, encloſing our Camp with Packs of Wares, and placing our Horſes and Camels within the ſame, to ſave them from the Enemies Arrows: The Robbers alſo encamped within an Arrow ſhot of us, but they were betwixt us and the Water, to our great diſcomfort, becauſe neither we nor our Camels had drank in two days before.

Thus keeping a good Watch, when half the Night was ſpent, the Captain of the Robbers ſent a Meſſenger half way to us, requiring to talk with our Captain, whom they call the *Caravan Baſha*, who anſwered the Meſſenger, I will not depart from my Company to go into the half way to talk with thee, but if thy Prince with all his Company will ſwear by our Law to keep the Truce, then will I ſend a Man to talk with thee, or elſe not. Which the Prince underſtanding, he and his Company ſwore ſo loud, that we might all hear, and then we ſent one of our Company, reputed a Holy Man, to talk with the ſame Meſſenger. The Meſſage was pronounced aloud thus, *Our Prince demandeth of the* Caravan Baſha, *and all of you that be* Buſſarmans (*that is to ſay Circumciſed*) *not deſiring your Blood, that you deliver into his Hands as many* Caphars, *that is, Unbelievers* (*meaning us the Chriſtians*) *as are among you, with their Goods, and in ſo doing, he will ſuffer you to depart with your Goods in quietneſs, otherwiſe, you ſhall be handled with no leſs cruelty than the* Caphars, *if he overcome you, as he doubteth not.* To which our *Caravan Baſha* anſwered, That he had no Chriſtians in his Company, nor other Strangers, but two *Turks* which were of their Law, and altho' he had, he would rather die than deliver them, and that we were not afraid of his Threatnings, and that he ſhould know when Day appeared. The Robbers in the mean time, contrary to their Oath, carried away our Holy Man to their Prince, crying with a loud Voice in token of Victory, *Ollo*, *Ollo*, which much diſcouraged us, fearing that the Holy Man would betray us, but he, tho' ſtrictly examined and cruelly handed, would not confeſs any thing that might be prejudicial to us, nor yet what Men of ours were ſlain and wounded the day before. Day appearing, we prepared our ſelves to Battle again, which they perceiving, required to come to an agreement with us, demanding much of us, and moſt of our Company being unwilling to hazard another Battle, they having but little to looſe, and a ſafe Conduct to paſs, we were forced to agree, and to give the Robbers 20 Ninths, that is to ſay, twenty times nine ſeveral things, and a Camel to carry away the ſame, which being received, they left us, and we went forward, and that Night came to the River *Oxus*, where we refreſhed our ſelves, having been three days without Water, and tarried there all the next day, making merry with our ſlain Horſes and Camels, and leſt we ſhould meet any more of that Gang, we left the High-way by the River ſide, and went thro' a ſandy Deſert, where we were four Days before we came to Water, and then came to a Well, the Water whereof was very brackiſh, and we were then in great need of Water and Victuals, being forced to kill our Horſes and Camels to eat.

Here we were in danger of falling again into the Hands of Robbers; for one Night being at reſt, there came certain Scouts, and carried away ſome of our Men which lay at a little diſtance from the Caravan, wherewith there was a great Shout and Cry. We thereupon immediately led our Camels and departed, being about midnight and very dark, and drove hard till we came to the River *Oxus* again, and then feared nothing, being defended by the ſaid River; and whether it was that we had gotten the Water, or that the Rogues were far from us when the Scouts diſcovered us, we know not, but we eſcaped that Danger.

Boghar.

Upon the 23d of *December* we arrived at the City of *Boghar* in *Bactria*. The City is very great, the Houſes for the moſt part of Earth, tho' there are alſo many Houſes, Temples, and Monuments of Stone ſumptuouſly built and guilded, eſpecially *Bath Stoves*, ſo artificially built, that the like is not in the World.

Worm breeding in the Leg.

There is a little River running thro' the middle of the City, but the Water thereof is very unwholſome, breeding a Worm of an Ell long in the Legs of ſome that drink it, eſpecially Strangers; it lies between the Fleſh and Skin, and is pluckt out about the Ankle with great skill, every day about an Inch, which is rolled up, and if it break in pulling out, the Party dies: And yet it is there forbidden to drink any thing but Water or Mares Milk, and whoſoever is found to break that Law, is cruelly whipped through the open Markets; and there are Officers who have Authority to go into any Mans Houſe, and ſearch if he have *Aqua Vitæ*, *Wine*, &c. and if they find any, break the Veſſels, ſpoil the Drink, and ſeverely puniſh the Maſter of the Houſe; and many times if they perceive by the Breath of a Man, that he hath drank any ſuch Liquor, he ſhall be puniſhed without further Examination.

There is a Metropolitan in *Boghar*, who cauſes this Law to be ſo ſtrictly kept: He is more obeyed than the King, and will depoſe the King, and ſubſtitute another at his pleaſure, as he did by the laſt King, whom he betrayed, and in the Night killed him in his Chamber: He was a Prince that loved all Chriſtians well.

This Country was heretofore ſubject to the *Perſians*, whoſe Language they now ſpeak, but is now a Kingdom of it ſelf, and hath continual Wars with the *Perſians* about Religion, altho' they be all *Mahometans.* One Occaſion of their Diſcord is, becauſe the *Perſians* will not cut the Hair of their upper Lips, as the *Bogharians* and all other *Tartars* do, which they account great Sin, calling them *Caphars*, or Unbelievers, as they do the Chriſtians.

The King hath no great Power or Riches, his Revenues are but ſmall, being chiefly maintained by the City, taking the tenth Penny of all things that are ſold, as well by the Craftſmen as the Merchants, to the great impoveriſhment of the People, whom he keeps in great ſubjection, and when he lacks Money, he ſends his Officers to the Shops of the Merchants, to take their Wares to pay his Debts, as he did to pay me ſome Money that he owed for 19 pieces of Kerſey. Their Money is Silver and Copper, for Gold they have none current: They have but one piece of Silver, worth twelve pence *Engliſh*, and their Copper Pieces are called *Pooles*, whereof 120 are equal to one piece of twelve pence, and are more common in payment than the Silver, which the King raiſes and falls to his moſt advantage every Month, and ſometimes twice a Month, not caring how much he oppreſſes his People, becauſe he expects not to reign above two or three years, before he be either ſlain or expelled, to the great Deſtruction of the Country and Merchants.

The 26th day of the Month I was commanded to come before the King, to whom I preſented the *Ruſſian* Emperour's Letters: He entertained us very civilly, cauſing us to eat in his Preſence, and often ſent for me, and diſcourſed familiarly with me in his ſecret Chamber, about the Power of the Emperour and the *Great Turk*, as alſo of our Country, Laws and Religion, and made us to ſhoot in Hand-guns before him, himſelf alſo practiſing upon the ſame. But after all this great Entertainment, before my departure, he ſhewed himſelf a very *Tartar*, for he went to the Wars owing me Money, and tho' he gave order for my Payment, yet I was but ill ſatisfied, being forced to rebate part, and to take Wares in payment for the reſt, contrary to my Expectation; but of a Beggar better Payment I could not have, and was glad to be ſo paid and diſpatched.

But one thing I muſt needs commend in this barbarous King which was, that as ſoon as he was informed of our trouble with the Robbers, he diſpatched 100 Men well armed, with charge not to return before they had either ſlain or taken them, who according to their Commiſſion, ranging the Deſart, ſlew part of them, and four they took and brought unto the King, two of whom had been ſore wounded by our Guns in the Skirmiſh; and after the King had ſent for me to come and ſee them, he cauſed them all four to be hanged at his Palace Gate, becauſe they were Gentlemen, to the example of others; and of ſuch Goods as were gotten again, I had part reſtored to me, and this good Juſtice I found at his Hands.

There is yearly a great Reſort of Merchants to this City, who travel in great *Caravans* from *India*, *Perſia*, *Balgh*, *Ruſſia*, &c. and heretofore from *Cathay*, when there was paſſage; but they are ſo beggerly and poor, and bring ſo ſmall quantity of Wares, lying two or three Years to ſell the ſame, that there is no hope of any trade there worth the following: The chief Commodities brought thither are as followeth.

The *Indians* bring fine Whites, which the *Tartars* roll about their Heads, and other kind of Whites made of Cotton-wool and *Craſca*, which ſerve for Apparel, but Gold, Silver, precious Stones and Spices, they bring none. They carry back wrought Silk, red Hides, Slaves and Horſes, &c. but of Kerſies and other Cloth they make but little account. I offered to barter Kerſies with ſome Merchants that came from *Bengala* and the River *Ganges*, but they would not barter for ſuch Commodity as Cloth.

The *Perſians* bring *Craſca*, Woolen-Cloth, Linen-Cloth, divers kinds of wrought Silks, *Argomacks*, &c. and do carry thence, red Hides, other *Ruſſian* Wares, and Slaves of divers Countries, but Cloth they would buy none, for they brought it thither themſelves, being ſupplied with it, as I was informed, from *Aleppo* in *Syria*.

The *Ruſſes* bring red Hides, Sheeps Skins, Woolen Cloth, Wooden Veſſels, Bridles, Saddles, &c. and carry thence Wares made of Cotton-Wool, divers kinds of Silks, *Craſca*, &c.

From *Cathay* were brought in time of Peace, when the Ways were open, Musk, Rhubarb, Sattin, Damask, &c.

During my ſtay at *Boghar*, there came Caravans from all theſe Countries, except from *Cathay*; and the Reaſon why none came thence, was the Wars between the Cities of *Taskent* and *Caskar*, directly in the Way betwixt *Boghar* and *Cathay*; ſo that for three Years before our being there, no Caravan had gone between *Boghar*, and *Cathay*, and when the Way is clear, it is nine Months Journey.

The time of year being come for all Caravans to depart, and the King being gone to the Wars, and news came that he was fled, I was advertized by the Metropolitan himſelf to depart, becauſe the Town was like to be beſieged. I determined firſt to have gone thence into *Perſia*, and to have ſeen the Trade of that Country, but was diverted by the Wars newly begun between the *Sophy* and the Kings of *Tartaria*, which made the Roads unſafe; and there was a Caravan that came from *India* and *Perſia* with ſafe conduct, was robbed about ten days journey from *Boghar*, and many of them ſlain. Alſo the Metropolitan of *Boghar* took the Emperour of *Ruſſia*'s Letters from me, without which I ſhould have been taken Slave in every place. And beſides, all ſuch Wares as I was forced to take of the King and his Nobles for payment of Cloth they had of me, were not vendible in *Perſia*; for which and divers other Reaſons, I was conſtrain'd to return to the *Caſpian*-Sea the ſame way I came; ſo that on the 8th of *March*, 1599, we left *Boghar*, being a *Caravan* of 600 Camels, and if we had not departed when we did, I and my Company had been in danger to have loſt Life and Goods; for ten days after our departure, the King of *Samarcand* laid ſiege to the City, while the King was abſent, and gone to war againſt another Prince who was his Kinſman.

The 25th of *March* we came to the aforeſaid Town of *Urgence*, and eſcaped the Danger of 400 Rovers, who lay in wait for us back again, moſt of them being of Kindred to that Company of Robbers whom we met with going forth, as we perceived by four Spies whom we took. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two Embaſſadors to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, one from the King of *Boghar*, the other from the King of *Balgh*; and after we had tarried at *Urgence* and the Caſtle of *Selliſure* eight days for the aſſembling our Caravan, we departed the ſecond of *April*, having four more Embaſſadors in our Company, ſent from the King of *Urgence* and his Brethren, unto the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, with Anſwers to ſuch Letters as I brought them; and the ſame Embaſſadors were alſo committed to my charge by the ſaid Princes, to whom I promiſed faithfully, and ſwore by our Law, that they ſhould be well uſed in *Ruſſia*, and permitted to depart thence again in ſafety, as the Emperor alſo had written in his Letters. They were ſomewhat fearful, becauſe none had gone from *Tartary* to *Ruſſia* in a long time before.

The 23d of *April* we arrived againat the *Caſpian*-Sea, where we found the Bark we had left there, but neither Anchor, Cable nor Sail, but having brought Hemp with us, we ſpun a Cable our ſelves, with the reſt of our Tackling, and making a Sail of Cloth of Cotton-Wool, we rigged our Bark as well as we could, but Boat or Anchor we had none. In the mean time, while we were contriving to make an Anchor of a Cart Wheel, there arrived a Bark from *Aſtracan* with *Tartars* and *Ruſſes*, which had two Anchors, with whom I agreed for one; and thus being in a readineſs we ſet ſail, I and the two *Johnſons* being Maſter and Mariners, having in our Bark the ſaid ſix Embaſſadors, and 25 *Ruſſes*, who had been a long time Slaves in *Tartary*, nor ever had before my coming, Liberty or Means to get home, and theſe Slaves ſerved to row when need was. Thus ſailing along the Coaſt, and ſometimes out of ſight of Land, the 13th of *May*, having a contrary Wind, we came to an Anchor three Leagues from the Shore, and there aroſe a Storm which continued 44 Hours, which brake our Cable, and being upon a Lee-ſhore, and no Boat to help us, we hoiſed our Sail and ſtood in with the Shore, looking for preſent death; but as God provided for us, we ran into a Creek full of Oze, where we lived in great fear for a time; for if our Bark had periſhed, altho' we had eſcaped with our Lives, yet we had either been deſtroyed or made Slaves by the wild People of that Country, who live like Beaſts without Habitation. The Storm being over, we went out of the Creek again, and having ſet the Land with our Compaſs, and taken Marks during the Tempeſt, while we rode at Anchor, we went directly with our Bark to the place where we rode, and found our Anchor we had loſt, the *Tartars* much marvelling how we did it. Two days after, there aroſe another Storm at North-eaſt, and we lay a try, being driven far into the Sea, and had much ado to keep our Bark from ſinking, the Billow was ſo great; but at laſt, having fair Weather, we fell in with the River *Yaik*, according to our deſire, whereof the *Tartars* were very

They recover their loſt Anchor.

glad, fearing we ſhould have been driven on the Coaſt of *Perſia*, then at war with the *Tartars*.

On the 28th of *May* we arrived at *Aſtracan*, where we remained till the tenth of *June*, to provide Boats to go up againſt the Stream of *Volga* with our Goods. Note, that in our Paſſage over the *Caſpian*, we ſet up the red Croſs of St. *George* in our Flags, in honour of the Chriſtians, which I ſuppoſe was never ſeen in that Sea before. The red Croſs ſet up in the *Caſpian* Sea.

The *Caſpian* is in length about 200 Leagues, and in breadth 150; it hath on the Eaſt, the great Deſart Country of the *Tartars*, called *Turkmen*, on the Weſt the Country of the *Chirkaſſes*, the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, and the *Euxine*-Sea, diſtant from the *Caſpian* 100 Leagues, on the North is the Land of *Nagay*, and the great River *Volga*, and on the South are *Media* and *Perſia*. The Water of this Sea is freſh in many places, and in ſome places as ſalt as the Ocean; altho' many great Rivers fall into it, yet it hath no Out-let, unleſs it be under ground. The River *Volga* alone, by the *Tartars* called *Edel*, is one of the greateſt Rivers in the World; it ariſes out of a Lake in a Mariſh not far from *Novogrode* in *Ruſſia*, and it is from thence to the *Caſpian*-Sea, above two thouſand *Engliſh* Miles.

I enquired touching the Trade of *Media* and *Perſia*, bordering on the *Caſpian*, and find it much like the Trade of *Tartary*. The few Ships upon the *Caſpian*, want of Port, Poverty of the People, and the Ice, are Hindrances to Trade.

I offered at *Aſtracan* to ſome Merchants of *Shamaky* in *Media*, to barter Kerſies for their Wares, but they would not, ſaying, they had them as cheap in their Country as I offered them, which was ſix Rubbles for a Kerſy: And while I was at *Boghar*, Cloth and other Commodities of our Country, were brought thither from *Perſia*, and ſold as cheap as I could afford ours.

The 10th of *June* we departed from *Aſtracan* towards *Moſco*, with 100 Gunners in our Company at the Emperour's Charges, for the ſafe Conduct of the *Tartarian* Embaſſadors and me, and the 28th of *July*, arrived at the City of *Cazan*, without any refreſhment of Victuals in that time, there being no Habitation in all that way.

The 7th of *Auguſt* we left *Cazan*, and came by Water to the City of *Morum*, from whence we tranſported our Goods by Land. On the ſecond of *September* we arrived at the City of *Moſco*, and four days after I kiſſed his Majeſties Hand, and preſented him a white Cows Tail of *Cathay*, and a Drum of *Tartary*, which he well accepted. I then brought before him all the Embaſſadors that were committed to my charge, with the 25 *Ruſſian* Slaves; and that day I dined in his Majeſties Preſence, who ſent me Meat by a Duke, and asked me divers Quſtions touching the Countries where I had been.

On the 17th of *February* I obtained leave from the Emperour to depart, and on the 21ſt came to *Vologhda*, and there remained till the breaking up of the Year; and then having ſeen all the Goods laden in Boats, I departed with the ſame, and arrived at *Colmogro* the 9th of *May*, 1560.

A Letter of Sigiſmond *King of* Polonia, *written in the 39th Year of his Reign, to* Elizabeth, *the Queens moſt Excellent Majeſty of* England, *&c.*

1559. Sigiſmund Auguſtus, *by the Grace of God, King of* Polonia, *Great Duke of* Lituania, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Maſſovia, *and* Samogetian, *&c. Lord and Heir,* &c. *to the moſt Noble Princeſs, Lady* Elizabeth, *by the ſame Grace of God, Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *&c, our dear Siſter and Kinſwoman, greeting and increaſe of all Felicity. Whereas your Majeſty writeth to us that you have received two of our Letters, we have looked that you ſhould have anſwered to them both; Firſt to the one, in which we intreated more at large, in forbidding the Voyage to* Narve, *which if it hath been done, we had been unburdened of ſo often writing of one Matter, and might have anſwered your Majeſty much better to the purpoſe; Now we thus anſwer to your Majeſty to thoſe Matters of the which you write to us, the third of* October, *from* Windſor. *Firſt, foraſmuch as your Majeſty at the Requeſt of our Letters hath diſcharged the Arreſt of Merchants Goods, and of the Names of Men of* Danske, *our Subjects, which was ſet upon them by the Commandment of your Majeſty, and alſo have reſtored the old and ancient Liberty of Traffick, we acknowledge great Pleaſure done unto us in the ſame, and alſo think it to be done according to common Agreement made in times paſt. Neither were we ever at any time of any other Opinion touching your Majeſty, but that we ſhould obtain Right and Reaſon at your Hand: Foraſmuch as we likewiſe ſhall at all times be ready to grant to your Majeſty, making any Requeſt for your Subjects, ſo far as ſhall ſtand with Juſtice, yet ſo far are we from yielding to any thing to your Majeſty in Love, Benevolence, and mutual Office, that we judge every good Turn of yours to be recompenced by us to the utmoſt, and that ſhall we prove as occaſion ſhall ſerve, therefore we ſhall command the Arreſts, if any be made by our Subjects (as it is unknown to us) of Merchants Goods and* Engliſh *Names, to be diſcharged, and ſhall conſerve the old Liberty of Traffick, and all other things which ſhall ſeem to appertain to Neighbourhood between us and your Majeſty, provided that none of the Subjects of your Majeſty, hereafter preſume to uſe the Navigation of the* Nerve *forbidden by us, and full of danger, not only to our Parts, but alſo to the open Deſtruction of all Chriſtians and liberal Nations, which as we have written afore, ſo now we write again to your Majeſty, that we know and feel of a ſurety, the* Muſcovite, *Enemy to all Liberty under the Heavens, daily to grow mightier by the Increaſe of ſuch Things as be brought to the* Narve, *while not only Wares, but alſo Weapons heretofore unknown to him, and Artificers and Arts be brought unto him, by means whereof he maketh himſelf ſtrong to vanquiſh all others, which Things, as long as this Voyage to* Narve *is uſed, cannot be ſtopped. And we perfectly know your Majeſty cannot be ignorant how great the Cruelty is of the ſaid Enemy, of what Force he is, what Tyranny he uſeth on his Subjects, and in what ſervile ſort they be under him. We ſeemed hitherto to vanquiſh him only in this, that he was rude of Arts, and ignorant of Policies; if ſo be that this Navigation to the* Narve *continue, what ſhall be unknown to him? therefore we that know beſt, and border upon him, do admoniſh other Chriſtian Princes in time, that they do not betray their Dignity, Liberty and Life of them and their Subjects, to a moſt barbarous and cruel Enemy, as we can no leſs do by the Duty of a Chriſtian Prince; For now we do foreſee, except other Princes take this Admonition, the* Muſcovite *puft up in Pride, with thoſe things that be brought to the* Narve, *and made more perfect in Warlike Affairs, with Engins of War and Ships, will make aſſault this way on Chriſtendom, to ſlay or make abound all that ſhall withſtand him, which God defend. With which our Admonition divers Princes already content themſelves, and abſtain from the* Narve. *The others that will not abſtain from the ſaid Voyage, ſhall be impeached by our Navy, and incur the Danger of loſs of Life, Liberty, Wife and Children. Now therefore if the Subjects of your Majeſty will forbear this Voyage to the* Narve, *there ſhall be nothing denied to them of us. Let your Majeſty well weigh and conſider the Reaſons and Occaſions of our ſtopping of Ships going to* Narve, *in which ſtopping, our Subjects of* Danske *be in no fault, as we have already written to your Majeſty, neither uſe we their Council in the ſame. In any other Matter, if there be any fault in them againſt your Majeſty or your Subjects, we will gladly do juſtice upon them, that your Majeſty may well underſtand that we be careful of you and your Subjects. Neither think we it meet to take* Hamburgh *or any other place to judge the Matter; for we have our Council and Judgment Seat at* Rie, *where your Majeſty and your Subjects, or any other, ſhall have Juſtice adminiſtred unto them, with whom we have had ancient League and Amity; and thus much we have thought good to let your Majeſty underſtand. Farewell.*

Dated the ſixth of *Decem.* the 39th Year of our Reign.

Sigiſmundus Auguſtus, Rex.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon's *Second Voyage from* London *to* Moſco, *and thence over the* Caſpian-*Sea into* Perſia, Anno 1561.

1561. THE *Swallow* and two other Ships were this Year ſet out by the Company of *Merchants Adventurers*, and on board the firſt I embarked. We departed from *Graveſend* the 14th of *May*, 1561, in the third Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and on the 14th of *July* arrived at *Colmogro* in the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, and after ſome ſtay there, I came to *Vologhda*, diſtant from *Colmogro* 700 Miles, where having tarried four days, I arrived at *Moſco* the 20th of *Auguſt*, and notifying my coming to the Secretary, and that I had Letters from the Queen's Majeſty to the Emperour, he informed him thereof. But I was told that the Emperour was then going to be married to a *Chircaſſian* Lady of the *Mahometan* Law, and had commanded that no Stranger, Embaſſador, or other, ſhould come before him for a time, and that during the three days of the Feaſt, the Gates of the City ſhould be ſhut, and that no Perſon, Stranger or Native, ſhould ſtir out of their Houſes during that time.

On the 6th of *September* the Emperour made a great Feaſt, whereunto all Embaſſadors and Strangers of quality were invited, among whom I was one; but the Secretary requiring me to come to him and ſhew him the Queens Letters, I refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, I would deliver them to the Emperor's own Hands, and not otherwiſe: The Secretary replied, that unleſs he might firſt peruſe them, I ſhould not come into the Emperour's preſence; ſo I was not at the Feaſt: But I was told by a Nobleman, that the Emperour enquired for me, and that the cauſe of my abſence was to him unknown. The next day I gave a Petition into his Majeſties own Hands, ſetting forth the cauſe of my coming, ſignified by the Queens Letters, and the Anſwer I had from his Secretary, beſeeching him to accept her Majeſties Letters with ſuch Honour and Friendſhip, as his Letters ſent by *Oſep Napea*, were received by the hands of our late Soveraign Lady Queen *Mary*, or elſe that it would pleaſe his Highneſs to diſmiſs me, ſaying, I would not deliver the ſaid Letters but in to his own Hands, as is uſe in our Country. After ſome Conſideration, I was commanded to come with the ſaid Letters before his Majeſty, and delivered the ſame into his own Hands, with the Companies Preſents, which were gratefully accepted, and the ſame day I dined in his Preſence with great Entertainment. Shortly after I deſired to know whether I might be licenced to paſs thro his Majeſties Dominions into *Perſia*, according to the Queens requeſt: I was anſwered, that I ſhould not paſs thither, becauſe his Majeſty intended to ſend an Army that way into *Chircaſſia*, which would make my Journey dangerous, and if I ſhould periſh therein, it would be much to his diſhonour. Thus having received his Anſwer, neither to my Expectation nor Content, I remained there a good part of the Year, and having in that time ſold moſt part of the Kerſies and other Wares appointed for *Perſia*, when the time of Year required to return for *England*, I deſired Paſport and Poſt-horſes for Money, which was granted: But being ready to come away, *Oſep Napea* came to our Houſe, and perſwaded me that I ſhould not depart that day, ſaying, that the Emperour was not truly informed, imputing great fault to the frowardneſs of the Secretary, who was not my Friend. The next day I met them both together, and when after much conteſtation, they perceived that I would depart, they willed me to ſtay until the Emperour were ſpoken with again touching my Paſſage: And three days after, the Secretary ſent for me, and told me that the Emperour's pleaſure was, that I ſhould not only paſs thro' his Dominions into *Perſia*, but alſo have his Letters of Recommendation to forreign Princes, with ſome of his own Affairs committed to my charge. Whereupon I prepared my ſelf for the Voyage, and the 15th of *March* dined again in his Majeſties preſence, in company of a *Perſian* Embaſſador and others; and receiving a Cup of Drink at his Majeſties Hands, I took my leave of him, and departed from *Moſco* the 27th of *April*, 1562, down the River *Volga*, in company of the ſaid *Perſian* Embaſſador, with whom I had great friendſhip, and arrived in health at *Aſtracan* the 10th of *June*.

As ſoon as I came there, I went to the Captain, unto whom the Emperour had given charge, not only to ſupply me with all things needful during my abode there, but alſo to conduct me with 50 Gunners in two Brigantines into the *Caſpian* Sea, until I had paſſed ſome dangerous places where Pirates do haunt; and having prepared my Bark for the Sea (the *Perſian* Embaſſador being gone before in a Bark of his own the 15th day of *July*) we departed from *Aſtracan*, and the next Evening paſſed the Mouth of the River, lying South-eaſt from *Aſtracan*, 20 Miles diſtant. The 22d aroſe a great Storm, which laſted to the 30th, and made our Bark ſo leaky, that with continual pumping we had much ado to keep her above Water, altho' we threw much of our Goods overboard.

On the fourth of *Auguſt* we arrived at *Derbent*, in the Latitude of 41 Degrees, where I and my Company going aſhoar, we dined with the Captain, to whom I gave a Preſent, and then taking in ſome freſh Water, we ſailed South-eaſt about 80 Miles, and the 6th of *Auguſt* we arrived at *Shabran*, where we unloaded, and being in my Tent, the Governour, called *Alcan Murcy*, came to me and entertained me very civilly, unto whom giving a Preſent, he appointed 40 armed Men to watch and ward with me. *Derbent.*

On the 12th, Orders came from the King of *Shiruan* that I ſhould repair to him with all ſpeed, and 45 Camels, with Horſes for me and my Company, were in readineſs; ſo departing thence we came on the 18th to a City called *Shamaky*, where my lodging was appointed, and the next day I was ſent for to come before the King, named *Obdowlocan*, who then kept his Court in Tents upon the Mountains, 20 Miles from *Shamaky*, to avoid the Heats. On the 20th I came into his Preſence, and kiſſing his Hands, he invited me to dinner, and commanded me to ſit down not far from him. The King with his Nobility richly attired, ſate croſs leg'd upon rich Carpets, and perceiving it was painful for me ſo to ſit, he cauſed a Stool to be brought in, and willed me to ſit thereupon after my faſhion. I told in the firſt courſe 140 Diſhes, and in the ſecond, conſiſting of Fruit, *&c.* 150 Diſhes. Dinner ended, the King ſaid unto me, *Queſh queld*, that is to ſay, *Welcome*, and calling for a Cup of Water, drawn from a pleaſant Fountain that ſtood before him, he taſted of it and delivered me the reſt, asking how I liked it, and if there were ſo good in our Country. Then he asked me divers Queſtions about the Religion and ſtate of our Country, and whether the Emperour of *Germany*, *Ruſſia*, or the *Great Turk* had moſt Power; to all which I anſwered to his content. Then he demanded the cauſe of my coming, and if I intended to go any further: I told him that I was ſent from the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty of *England* unto the *Great Sophy*, to intreat Friendſhip and free Paſſage for *Engliſh* Merchants to trade in his Dominions, with the like to be granted to his Subjects when they ſhould come into our Countries, to the Honour and Profit of both Realms. The King anſwered, that he would not only give me paſſage, but alſo ſend Men to conduct me to the *Sophy* then at *Casbin*, 30 days journey from *Shamaki*. Three days after he ſent for me again, and I coming in the Morning before he was up (for ſpending the Nights in banquetting with his Women, being 140, he ſleeps moſt part in the Day) he ordered that I ſhould ride on Hawking with ſome Gentlemen of his Court, and that they ſhould ſhew me as much ſport as they could; which was done, and many Cranes killed. We returned about three in the Afternoon, the King being then riſen, and ready for Dinner; to which I was invited, and at the entry of his Tent was met by two Gentlemen with two Garments of that Country faſhion, one of Silk, the other of Silk and Gold, ſent to me from the King, and cauſing me to put off my upper Garment, being a Gown of black Velvet furred with Sables, they put the Garment upon my Back, and ſo conducted me to the King, before whom doing reverence and kiſſing his Hand, he commanded me to ſit not far from him, and ſo I dined in his Preſence, he being very merry, and asking me many Queſtion. Dinner ended, I requeſted his ſafe Conduct to the *Sophy*, who diſmiſſing me with great favour, and appointing his Embaſſador, who came lately from *Ruſſia*, and others to conduct me, he gave me at my departure a fair Horſe, with all Furniture, and diſmiſſing me with all my Goods Cuſtom free; ſo returning to *Shamaky*, I tarried there until the ſixth of *October*, to provide Camels, Horſes, and other Neceſſaries for my Journey: And then leaving *Shamaky*, we travelled 60 Miles, and came to a Town called *Yavate*, and paſſing thro' a fruitful Country, on the 16th we arrived at a City called *Ardouil*, where we lodged in an Hoſpital built with fair Stone, by *Iſmael*, Father to the preſent *Sophy*, wherein all Travellers have Horſe meat and Mans meat for three days, and no longer. This ancient City is in the Latitude of 38 Deg.

Ardouil.

auris.

Four days journey to the Weſtward, lies the City of *Tauris*, the greateſt City in *Perſia*, but not of ſuch trade as it hath been, or as others be at this time, becauſe the *Turks* have conquered all the Country almoſt as far as the City, and once ſack'd the City it ſelf, which has cauſed the *Sophy* to remove his Court ten days journey from thence, to the City of *Caſvin*.

The 21ſt we departed from *Ardowil*, travelling over Mountains in the Night, and reſted in the day, being deſtitute of Wood, and were forced to uſe for Fewel, the Dung of Horſes and Camels, which we bought of the paſturing People at a dear rate.

Casbin.

On the ſecond of *November* we arrived at *Casbin*, where our Lodging was appointed near the King's Palace. After two days the *Sophy* commanded a Prince called *Shally Murzey*, Son to *Obdolowcan* King of *Shiruan* aforeſaid, to ſend for me to his Houſe, who asked me in the Name of the *Sophy*, how I did, and if I were in health, ſaying, I was welcome, and invited me to dinner, where I had great entertainment, and then returned to my Lodging. The next day I ſent my Interpreter to the *Sophy*'s Secretary, declaring, that I had Letters directed from our moſt gracious Soveraign Lady, the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty of the Realm of *England*, unto the ſaid *Sophy*, deſiring that I might be admitted into his Majeſties preſence, who advertiſing the *Sophy* thereof, ſoon after anſwered me, that there were great Affairs in hand, and that I ſhould have admiſſion as ſoon as they were finiſhed, willing me in the mean time to make ready my Preſent, if I had any to deliver.

The *Turk's* Embaſſador to the *Sophy*.

An Embaſſador from the *Great Turk* arrived four days before me, who was ſent thither to conclude a perpetual Peace with the *Sophy*, and brought with him a Preſent in Gold, fine Horſes, rich Furnitures, *&c.* worth forty thouſand Pound. The Peace was concluded with Feaſts and Triumphs, corroborated with ſtrong Oaths by their Law or *Alcoran*, to obſerve the ſame, and to live as ſworn Brethren, aiding each other againſt all Princes that ſhould war againſt them or either of them: And upon the concluſion of this Peace, the *Sophy* put to death the *Great Turk*'s Son, name *Briſet Sultan* (a valiant Prince, who fled from his Father to the *Sophy*, and had remained in his Court four Years) and ſent his Head as a Preſent to his Father.

Shaw Thamas.

The 20 of *November* I was ſent for to come before the *Sophy*, called *Shaw Thamas*, and at three in the Afternoon I came to the Court, and alighting from my Horſe at the Court Gate (before my Feet touched the Ground) a pair of the *Sophy*'s own Shoes, ſuch as he wears when he riſes in the Night to pray (as his Cuſtom is) were put upon my Feet, otherwiſe I might not be ſuffered to tread upon his Holy Ground, being a Chriſtian, called by them *Gower*, that is, Unbeliever and Unclean. At the Court Gate my Preſents were diſtributed to Servants of the Court to carry before me, none of my Company being permitted to enter into the Court with me beſides my Interpreter. Thus coming before his Majeſty with ſuch Reverence as I thought fit to be uſed, I delivered the Queens Letter with my Preſent, which he accepting, demanded of what Country of *Franks* I was, and what Affairs I had there to do. I anſwered, that I was of the famous City of *London*, in the noble Realm of *England*, and that I was ſent thither from the moſt excellent and gracious Soveraign Lady *Elizabeth*, Queen of the ſaid Realm, to treat of Friendſhip and free Paſſage for our Merchants to repair and traffick in his Dominions, to bring our Commodities and carry away theirs, to the mutual Commodity of both Realms. He then demanded in what Language the Letters were written; I anſwered, in *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Hebrew*; He replied, We have none in our Realms who underſtand thoſe Tongues. Whereunto I anſwered, that ſuch a famous and worthy Prince as he was, wanted not People of all Nations within his large Dominions to interpret the ſame.

The *Sophy's* Queſtions.

Then he queſtioned me about the State of *Europe*, and who had moſt Power, the Emperour of *Germany*, the King of *Spain*, or *Great Turk*; I anſwered him to his content, not diſpraiſing the *Great Turk*, their late concluded Friendſhip conſidered. Then he reaſoned with me about Religion, demanding whether I was a *Gower*, that is to ſay, an Unbeliever, or a *Muſelman*, that is, of *Mahomet*'s Law: I anſwered, that I was neither Unbeliever nor *Mahometan*, but a Chriſtian. What is that ſaid he unto the King of *Georgia*'s Son, who being a Chriſtian, was fled unto the *Sophy*, and he anſwered, that a Chriſtian was he that believes in *Jeſus Chriſt*, affirming him to be the Son of God, and the greateſt Prophet. Doſt thou believe ſo, ſaid the *Sophy* unto me: Yea that I do, ſaid I. Oh thou Unbeliever, ſaid he, we have no need to have friendſhip with the Unbelievers, and ſo willed me to depart; I being glad thereof, did reverence, and went my way, accompanied with many of his Gentlemen and others, and after me followed a Man with Sand, ſifting all the way that I had gone within the Palace, from the place I had diſcourſed with the *Sophy*, unto the Court Gate.

That Night *Shally Muarzy*, Son to the King of *Hircania*, who favoured me much becauſe I was recommended to him by his Father, willed me not to doubt of any thing, putting me in hope that all would end well.

There daily reſorted to me divers Gentlemen ſent by the *Sophy* to confer with me, eſpecially touching the Affairs of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and to know by what way I intended to return into my Country, whether by the way that I came, or by the way of *Ormus*, and ſo with the *Portugal* Ships. I anſwered, that I durſt not return by the way of *Ormus*, the *Portugals* and we not being Friends; for I was advertiſed that the *Sophy* intended war againſt them, and would have charged me for coming as a Spy thro' his Dominions unto the *Portugals*, thinking them and us to be all one People, and calling all by the name of *Franks*; but by the Providence of God this was prevented.

After this the *Sophy* conferred with his Nobility and Council concerning me, who adviſed him that he ſhould not entertain me well, nor diſmiſs me with Letters or Gifts, conſidering that I was a *Frank*, and of a Nation that was Enemy to the *Great Turk* his Brother; for if he did otherwiſe, and the News thereof ſhould come to the knowledge of the *Turk*, it would be a means to break the new League and Friendſhip lately concluded. Adding further, that he had no need, neither was it requiſite for him to have friendſhip with Unbelievers, whoſe Countries lay far from him, and that it was beſt for him to ſend me with my Letters unto the *Turk* for a Preſent: And this (I heard) he was fully determined to do, as ſoon as he ſhould ſend his Embaſſador to the *Great Turk*, which was intended to be very ſpeedily. But *Shally Murzy* hearing of this, ſent a Man in poſt to his Father, to impart it to him, who wrote unto the *Sophy*, that it would not ſtand with his Majeſties Honour, to do me any harm or diſpleaſure, but rather to entertain me kindly, becauſe I came into his Dominions of my free will, and not by conſtraint, whereas if he ſhould uſe me ill, few Strangers would reſort into his Country, which would be much to his hindrance, *&c.* which after the *Sophy* had conſidered (much eſteeming the ſaid King of *Hircan*, being a valiant Prince and his near Kinſman) he changed his mind, and on the 20th of *March* ſent me a rich Garment of Cloth of Gold, and ſo diſmiſſed me without harm.

While I ſojourned at *Casbin*, ſome *Indian* Merchants told me they could bring all ſorts of Spices if they were ſure of vent: I gave them encouragement, and doubt not but great ſtore may be there provided.

The ſaid 20th of *March*, 1562, I returned from *Casbin*, where I had reſided all the Winter, having ſent away all my Camels before, and on the 30th came again to the City of *Ardouil*, and on the 15th of *April* to *Zavat* aforeſaid, where King *Obdowlocan* was at preſent, who immediately ſending for me, declared, that if it had not been for him, I had been utterly ruined, and ſent to the *Turk* for a Preſent, by the Perſwaſion of the *Sophy*'s wicked Council: That the Holy Men were the firſt Movers thereof: That the *Sophy* intended me much good at firſt, and had ſo done if the League had not been concluded between him and the *Turk*. Neverthelеſs, ſaid he, the *Sophy* hath written to me to entertain you well, and you are welcome into my Country, and ſo tarrying there ſeven days, he uſed me very civilly, and gave me Letters of ſafe conduct, and two Garments of Silk, and then diſmiſſed me with great favour, ſending with me his Embaſſador again to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*. On the 10th of *April* I came to the City of *Shamaky*, where tarrying certain days to provide Camels down to the Sea-ſide, I ſent ſome Men before to get my Bark in readineſs; and leaving *Shamaky* on the 16th, I came to the Sea-ſide on the 21ſt of the ſaid Month, and lading my Goods, attended a fair Wind.

On the 30th day of *May*, 1563, we arrived at *Aſtracan*, having paſſed no leſs Dangers upon the Sea in our return, than we ſuſtained in our going forth, and tarrying at *Aſtracan* until the 10th of *June*, having 100 Gunners appointed for my ſafe guard to conduct me up the River *Volga*, I arrived at *Cazan* the 15th of *July*, and at *Moſco* the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1563.

Soon after my arrival, I came before the Emperour, and preſented him the Apparel given unto me by the *Sophy*; after much conference about the Affairs he had committed to my charge, he ſaid, I perceive your good Service, for which I thank you, and will recompence you for it. I anſwered, That I heartily rejoiced that my Service was ſo acceptable to his Highneſs, that all I had done was but my duty, beſeeching him to continue his favour to the *Engliſh Ruſſian* Company, and that he would be pleaſed to give them a new Privilege more ample than the firſt, all which he immediately granted, and ſo I departed. Afterwards having penned a brief Note how I meant to have the ſame Privileges made, I repaired daily to the Secretary for perfecting the ſame, and obtained it under his Majeſties broad Seal, which at my coming away I delivered to Mr *Tho. Glover*, Agent for the Company there; and ſo having ſojourned all that Winter at *Moſco*, I departed thence the 28th of *June* by Poſt, and coming to *Colmogro*, and ſo down to the Sea-ſide, I embarqued on the *Swallow* the ninth of *July*, and after great danger of loſs of Ship, Goods and Life, arrived at *London* (God be praiſed) the 28th of *September*, 1564.

The Queen's Majeſties Letters to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, requeſting Licence and ſafe Conduct for Mr. *Anthony Jenkinſon* to paſs through his Kingdom of *Ruſſia* into *Perſia*, to the *Great Sophy*, 1561.

Elizabeth *by the Grace of God, Queen of* England, *&c. to the right excellent and right mighty Prince, Lord* John Baſiliwich, *Emperour of all* Ruſſia, *&c. greeting, and moſt happy Increaſe in all Proſperity. Right mighty Prince, the Amity of your Majeſty towards us and our Subjects is very pleaſant to us to be remembred, which being begun by the Goodneſs of God in the Reign of our moſt dear Brother of happy memory, King* Edward VI. *and afterwards through your not only ſingular Humanity fed and nouriſhed, but alſo through your incredible Goodneſs increaſed and augmented, is now firmed and eſtabliſhed with all manner of Tokens of your benevolence, that now we doubt not, but that from henceforth during many Ages, the ſame ſhall endure to the Praiſe of God, to both our Glories, to the publick great Commodity of our Realms on either Part; and to the private deſired Hope and certain Felicity of all your Subjects. And although that this your Goodneſs hath been abundantly extended to all our Subjects that have at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which we give (as reaſon is) your Majeſty right hearty Thanks, and will again ſhew the like unto yours, right willingly, whenſoever Opportunity ſhall require; yet the abundance of your Benignity, both in receiving and alſo entertaining our faithful and beloved Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *the Bringer of theſe our Letters, is unto us for him privately very thankful: For beſides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not only by your Majeſties ſufferance, but alſo your Commandment, enjoyed much Liberty and great Friendſhip, your Goodneſs not ceaſing in this your Domeſtical Diſpoſition of Clemency, did right willingly and of your own abundant Grace, commend the ſame our welbeloved Servant, by your Letters ſealed with your Imperial Seal, to ſundry forreign Princes, unto whom he was minded to Journey, which your Magnificence did purchaſe unto him happily, according to his deſire, both paſſage without all peril, through your notable Credit, and alſo atchieving of his Journey thro' your Commendation. Therefore like as theſe your duplicated Benevolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our Subjects frequenting that your Realm, and alſo this the other extended apart to this our right faithful Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *is right aſſuredly faſtened in our remembrance, not only for a perpetual and grateful memorial, but alſo for a mutual and meet Compenſation; ſo we deſire of your Majeſty to vouchſafe from henceforth to conſerve and continue in the geminate diſpoſition of your Benevolencies, both generally to all our Subjects, and alſo privately to this our beloved Servant. And we doubt not, but that at our requeſt, you will again graciouſly ſhew unto the ſame* Anthony, *now admitted into our Service, the like favour as heretofore your Majeſty of your meer motion did exhibit unto him, being then a private Perſon; and therefore we deſire your Majeſty again to grant to the ſame our Servant, your Letters of Licence, Paſport and ſafe Conduct, through the Tenour, Authority and Help whereof, he, his Servants, together with their Merchandizes, Baggages, Horſes, and Goods whatſoever, that ſhall be brought in, or carried out, by or thro' all your part, and there tarry ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him; and from thence return whenſoever it ſhall ſeem good to him or his. And as we doubt not but that your Majeſty in the goodneſs of your Nature, will graciouſly and abundantly grant all theſe good Offices of humanity, ſo we do heartily deſire that your Majeſty will likewiſe vouchſafe to commend the ſame our Servant, together with all his Goods, by your Letters to other forreign Princes, and eſpecially to the* Great Sophy *and Emperour of* Perſia, *into whoſe Empire and Juriſdictions, the ſame our Servant purpoſeth with his to journey, chiefly for tryal of forreign Merchandizes.*

We therefore do truſt that all theſe our Demands ſhall tend and have effect, according to the hope of our Servant, and to our Expectation, for your Wealth, for the Commodity of both our Subjects, lucky to him, thankful to us, acceptable to your Majeſty, and very profitable to our Subjects on either part. God grant your Majeſty long and happy felicity in Earth, and everlaſting in Heaven.

Dated in our famous City of *London* the 25th day of the Month of *April*, in the Year of the Creation of the World, 5523, and of our Lord God *Jeſus Chriſt* 1561, and of our Reign the third.

The Queen's Majeſties Letters to the *Great Sophy* of *Perſia*, ſent by Mr. *Anthony Jenkinſon*, 1561.

Elizabetha, Dei gratia, *Angliæ, Franciæ*, & *Hiberniæ*, Regina, Potentiſſimo & Invictiſſimo Principi, *Magno Sopi, Perſarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum*, Populorum cis & ultra Tigrim Fluvium, & omnium intra Mare *Caſpium* & *Perſicum*, ſinuum Nationum atque Gentium Imperatori ſalutem, *&c.*

Elizabeth by the Grace of God, Queen of England, *&c. to the right mighty and moſt victorious Prince, the* Great Sophy, *Emperour of the* Perſians, &c. *of the People on this ſide and beyond the River* Tigris, *and of all Nations between the* Caſpian-*Sea and the Gulf of* Perſia, *greeting, and moſt happy increaſe in all proſperity. By the goodneſs of Almighty God it is ordained, that thoſe People whom not only vaſt diſtance of Lands, and the invincible wideneſs of the Seas, but alſo the very Quarters of the Heavens do fartheſt ſeparate, may neverthleſs by writing communicate their Thoughts and Deliberations with other grateful Offices of Humanity. Therefore whereas our faithful and right welbeloved Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *Bearer of theſe our Letters, is determined with our Licence, Favour, and Grace, to paſs out of this our Realm, and by Gods permiſſion to travel into* Perſia, *and other your Juriſdictions; We mind truly with our good Favour to ſet forward and advance that his right laudable Purpoſe, and that the more willingly, becauſe this his Enterpriſe is only grounded upon an honeſt Intent, to eſtabliſh trade of Merchandiſe with your Subjects, and others trafficking in your Realms; wherefore we have thought good to write to your Majeſty to vouchſafe at our requeſt, to grant to our ſaid Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *good Paſports and ſafe Conducts, by means and authority whereof, it may be free and lawful for him, together with his Familiars, Servants, Carriages, Merchandizes, and Goods whatſoever, through your Realms, Dominions, Juriſdictions, and Provinces, freely and without impeachment to journey, go, paſs, repaſs, and tarry ſo long as he ſhall pleaſe, and from thence return whenſoever he or they ſhall think good. If theſe Holy Duties of Entertainment, and ſweeet Offices of Natural Humanity may be* *willingly concluded, ſincerely embraced, and firmly obſerved between us, and our Realms and Subjects, then we do hope that the Almighty God will bring it to paſs, that from theſe ſmall Beginnings, greater moment of things ſhall hereafter ſpring, both to our Furniture and Honours, and alſo to the great Commodity and Uſe of our People; ſo it will be known that neither Earth, the Seas, nor the Heavens, have ſo much force to ſeparate us, as the godly diſpoſition of natural Humanity and mutual Benevolence have to join us ſtrongly together. God grant unto your Majeſty long and happy Felicity in Earth, and perpetual in Heaven.*

Dated in *England* in our famous City of *London*, the 25th day of the Month of *April*, in the Year of the Creation of the World, 5523, and of our Lord and God *Jeſus Chriſt*, 1561, and of our Reign the third.

CHAP. V.

The ſecond Voyage into Perſia, *made by* Tho. Alcock, George Wren, *and* Richard Chenie, *Servants to the* Ruſſian *Company, in the Year* 1563.

1562. THE 10th of *May*, 1563. we departed from *Teraſlave*, and arrived at *Aſtracan* the 24th of *July*; and departing thence the ſecond of *Auguſt*, on the fourth we entred the *Caſpian*, and on the 11th arrived at our Port in *Media*. On the 21ſt of the ſaid Month we came to *Shamaky*, where King *Obdowlocan* then was, who calling us before him the third day after our arrival, we gave him a Preſent, and he entertained us very well.

The King ſate upon the Ground in his Tent, with his Legs a-croſs, the Ground covered with Carpets; we were commanded to ſit down, the King appointing every Man his place to ſit; and the King ordered the Emperour of *Ruſſia*'s Merchants to riſe up, and to give us the upper hand.

Tho. Alcock ſlain. The 20th of *October Thomas Alcock* departed from *Shamaki* towards *Casbin*, and in his return was ſlain in the way between *Leuvacta* and *Shamaky*: Some think his death was procured by a Nobleman whom he had offended, by earneſtly demanding his Debt; others are of opinion, that riding from the Court with out Company, ſome Rogues thinking he had much about him, ſet upon him and ſlew him.

The Third Voyage into Perſia, *begun in the Year* 1565, *by* Richard Johnſon, Alexander Kitching, *and* Arthur Edwards, *Servants to the* Ruſſian *Company.*

1565. WE departed from *Aſtracan* the 30th of *July*, 1565, and by reaſon of contrary Winds, it was the 23d of *Auguſt*, before we arrived at our deſired Port called *Nazavoe*. On the fifth of *September*, having procur'd Camels, we departed thence and came to *Shamaky* on the 11th, and on the 17th we preſented to *Obdowlocan* the King of that Country, one Timber of Sables, one Neſt of Silver Cups, part gilt, three Morſes Teeth, four Arſhines of Scarlet, three pieces of Kerſies, with 40 red Foxes.

He received our Preſents, and thanked us for our good Wills, demanding if Mr. *Jenkinſon* were in good health, and if he would return into theſe parts again. He commanded us alſo to ſit down before him, the diſtance of a Quoits caſt from his Tent, where he ſate with divers of his Council and Nobility, ſending us ſuch Meat as was before him. He told us, that if he ſhould hear of any wrong done to us by any Man, he would puniſh him for an example to others. He gave us a little Houſe for the Preſent, until a better could be provided in ſuch place as we ſhould think moſt meet; and at our taking leave, he willed us to put our Requeſts in writing, that he might the better underſtand our Deſires; but while we were doing ſo, God took this good King, our Friend, out of this preſent Life, the ſecond of *October*, 1565, whereby we loſt all hopes of recovering Mr. *Alcock*'s Debts, which had not been loſt if the King had lived.

Obdolowcan King of Hircania dies.

Great Troubles inſued the death of this King, which much hindred the ſale of our Goods; ſome of the old King's Council and great Officers were caſt into Priſon, others fined, and ſome were ſent for by the *Shaugh*.

On the 26th of *April*, Mr. *Arthur Edwards* was appointed by the Agent Mr. *Richard Johnſon* to go in Company with ſome Noblemen to *Casdin*, having with him an Interpreter and two Servants, where he arrived the 15th of *May*, and of his Negotiation there, he gave the Company the following Account.

Right Worſhipful, *&c.* On the 29th of *May*, 1556, I was brought before the *Shaugh*, and diſcourſed with him about two Hours. He commanded me twice to come nearer him, demanding what were my Requeſts; and having heard them, promiſed me his gracious Letters. Afterwards he called me twice again to come nearer him, and talked with me about the Affairs of *Europe*. Then he ſaid he would have the Company to ſend him all ſorts of Cloths, but one eſpecially, which Maidens do make (as he ſaid) called *Karengi*, I ſuppoſe he meant Weſtern Dozens died into Scarlets. It was ſtrange to his People (conſidering our Religion) to ſee me ſo long in talk with him. *Arthur Edwards Letter to the Ruſſian Company.*

After my firſt Audience, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them who had my Privilege in writing, that I might have it in readineſs at my next appearance before him, which was on the 29th of *June*. I was then in Apparel that he gave me, and received your Letters or Privileges, ſealed and firmed with the *Shaugh*'s own Hand. That day is one of their chief Feſtivals, at which all his Nobility were preſent. He ſaid to me, that if my Letters were not to my mind, in time to come they ſhould be mended; whereupon I made my Reverence, and ſaid, that with as much ſpeed as might be, our Queen ſhould underſtand his Kindneſs towards our Merchants, and ſo departed.

Since the receiving of the *Shaugh*'s Letters, I have eaten with Dukes and others, who before would not come near me; and every day ſome would come to my Shop, and eat and drink with me out of my own Diſh; and at my return to *Shamaky*, when I ſate down to dinner on the Road, they would come and eat with me unbidden, when I wiſhed them further off; for I ſpared them that which gladly I would have eaten my ſelf.

I was asked by the *Shaugh* if the Company were able to bring him yearly one hundred thouſand pieces of Kerſies and Cloths. I anſwered him, that you were able to furniſh his Country with two hundred thouſand, whereat he rejoiced; for I was told that the *Turk*'s Embaſſador laſt year, had put the *Shaugh* in deſpair, by telling him that the *Turk* would not permit any Cloth to be brought into his Country.

There are many *Venetians* dwelling at *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and others that come yearly there and buy Wools, Galls, Tallow, Saffron, Skins, Cotton and other Wares, and great ſtore of Spices: And the *Armenians* receive from the *Venetians*, Kerſies in barter for raw Silks, giving ſometimes 60 pieces of Kerſies for 70 Batmans of Silk of this Country, and forty pieces for *Groſſing* Silk. Alſo Kerſies ſold commonly for ready Money in *Aleppo*, at 11 and 12 Duckets the Piece (the Ducket being here worth 12 Shillings) may coſt the firſt penny 132 and 144 *Shaughs* a Kerſy. By report it is one Month's travel from *Shamaki* to *Aleppo.* Here is much *Venetian* Cloth worn, being crom-pliſted, a Yard and half broad, and ſold here from 24 to 30 *Shaughs* their *Arſhine*, being longer by two Inches than the *Ruſſian Arſhine.* You would do well to ſend of *London* Cloths three or four of all ſorts for a Sample, being well ſhorn and dreſt. Violets in grain, and fine Reds be moſt worn, but other good Colours will away, when they ſhall ſee them: I wore a Garment of *London* Ruſſet, which was much eſteemed. You ſhall do well to ſend ſuch ſorts as are lively to the ſight, and ſome Blacks for Womens Garments, with ſome Orange Colours and Tawnies. Here is much broad Cloth worn, and they talk much of *London* Cloths; they that know the wearing of them, prefer them before others: But forget not to ſend ſome Weſtern Kerſies, *viz.* Dozens, which are well thickned, and cloſe ſhut in the weaving, being died into fine Reds and ſome Scarlets; for I think there is no ſuch Cloth for their Caps.

The *Armenians* and others are deſirous to barter with us, giving Silk for Kerſies, and will ſerve us with all kind of Spices, to be delivered to us in *Shamaky* at theſe prices.

A *Shaugh* is Six-pence. A Batman is about ſix Pound *Engliſh* weight.

Pepper 18 *Shaughs* the Batman.
Mace large, 40 *Shaughs* and 45 the Batman.
Cloves 40 *Shaughs* the Batman.
Nutmegs 16 and 18 *Shaughs* the Batman.
Cinamon 40 *Shaughs* the Batman.

I was told the *Armenians* bring from *Aleppo* yearly four, five and ſix thouſand pieces of Kerſies and Cloths, beſides thoſe which other Men bring. Sixty Batmans of Silk is a Mule's lading, and it is reported that one Village of the *Armenians* yearly carries 400 and 500 Mules lading of Silk to *Aleppo*, and brings thence 800 or 1000 Mules laden with Kerſies and *Venice* Cloths; 18 pieces of Kerſies are a Mules lading.

From *Ormus* to *Casbin* is ſix Weeks travel, and from *Casbin* to *Shamaky* is ſixteen Days with Camels laden; but if one travel with a good Mule unladen, it may be gone in ſeven or eight Days; but here Travellers muſt carry their own Proviſions on Horſes, and ſo muſt travel but a foot pace.

The 15th of *July* I left *Casbin* and came to this Town of *Shamaky*: As for *Galls* here to be bought, there is no profit to be made by them: They are brought from *Aleppo*, and ſold here not under three or four *Shaughs* their Batman, being ſix Pounds *Engliſh* Weight. Grain that you die Scarlet withal is worth the Batman in ready Money, 200 *Shaughs*, which computing the *Shaugh* at 6 *d. Ruſſe*, may be ſix Rubbles for their *Batman.*

The Privileges *granted by the* Shaugh *to the Company is as followeth.*

Privileges granted to the Company by the *Sophy.*

1. ‘ THat you ſhall pay no manner of Cuſtoms or Toll,
‘ now, nor in time to come; And that ſuch
‘ *Engliſh* Merchants as you ſhall appoint now and here-
‘ after, ſhall paſs and repaſs into all his Dominions and
‘ Countries adjoining, to buy and ſell all ſorts of Com-
‘ modities with all manner of Perſons.

2. ‘ That in all places where any of our Merchants
‘ ſhall reſort or abide, his chief Governours, Rulers,
‘ and Juſtices, ſhall aid and defend us againſt all evil
‘ Perſons, puniſhing thoſe that ſhall do us any wrong.

3. ‘ That for all ſuch Debts as ſhall be owing by any
‘ Perſon, Juſtice ſhall be done on the Party, and we paid
‘ at the day.

4. ‘ That no manner of Perſons, of whatſoever State
‘ or Degree they be, ſhall preſume to take any kind of
‘ Wares or Gifts, without leave and good will.

5. ‘ If by Chance-medly any of our Merchants or
‘ Servants (which God forbid) ſhould kill any of his
‘ Subjects, that no part of your *Goods* ſhall be touched or
‘ medled withal nor any *Party* but the Offender; and
‘ true Juſtice to be miniſtred, and none of us to ſuffer
‘ without the Prince's Knowlege and Advice.

6. ‘ That all Debts ſhall be paid to any of us in the
‘ abſence of the other, be the Party dead or alive.

7. ‘ That no Perſon return any kind of Wares back
‘ again, being once bought or ſold.

8. ‘ That when God ſhall ſend your Goods to ſhore,
‘ his People ſhall preſently help us on Land with
‘ them.

The *Shaugh* cauſed his Secretary to write the ſaid Articles in the four Letters he gave me (whereof two are in the *Turkiſh* Language).

I have computed all Charges from hence to *Colmogro*, to which adding the Fraight to *England*, at three pound *per* Tun, the whole will not ſtand you in above 18 or 20 Shillings *per* Hundred. God grant me in health to ſee your Worſhips, *&c. Shamaky* in *Media*, the 8th of *Auguſt*, 1566.

Arthur Edwards.

Chap. VI.

The Fourth Voyage into Perſia, *in the Year* 1598. *by Mr* Arthur Edwards, *Agent*, Lawrence Chapman, *and other Servants to the* Ruſſian *Company.*

1568.

WE departed from *Teraſlave* in *July*, 1568, and arrived at a Port called *Bilbil*, on the 14th of *Auguſt*. The People were not ſo ready to aid us in bringing the Ship into Harbour, and unlading the Goods nor ſo obedient to the *Shaugh*'s Privileges as we expected. As ſoon as our Goods were got on Shoar, we were compelled to open and ſell it at their price, or elſe it would have been worſe for us.

We departed thence as ſoon as we had got Camels, and came to *Shamaky* the firſt of *September*. Thence we came to *Ardouil*, where we ſold nine pieces of Kerſies at 150 *Shaughs* the Piece.

And being then not far from *Tauris*, the Agent ſent thither Mr *Chapman* and an Interpreter, with 54 Kerſies, but he found there ſuch ſtore of broad Cloth and Kerſies brought thither from *Aleppo*, that no Man offred more than 140 *Shaughs* for a Kerſy.

At *Amadia*, ſix days journey from *Tauris*, grow abundance of Galls, bought up yearly by the *Venetians*, and ſold there for two *Biſtes* the *Tauris* Batman, about ſix Pound *Engliſh* weight. Many Drugs were to be ſold both at *Tauris* and *Casbin*, but in goodneſs, nothing like ſuch as are brought into *England* from other places; and the price ſo high, that there would be but ſmall gain in buying them. The price of Spices at our being there (enhanced by reaſon of War againſt the *Portugals* at *Ormus*) Pepper 25 *Shaughs* the *Tauris* Batman; Cloves 50 *Shaughs*; long Pepper 25 *Shaughs*; Mace large, 50 *Shaughs*; Ginger 24 *Shaughs*, and the beſt raw Silk is 60 *Shaughs* the *Tauris* Batman.

Mr. *Edwards* the Agent proceeded in his Journey to *Casbin*, and when he firſt came into the *Sophy*'s Preſence, ſtanding far off, the *Sophy* (who ſate in a Royal Seat) commanded him three times to come near him, until he came ſo near that he might have touched him with his Hand; then asking what Country-man he was, he anſwered, that he came from *England*. The *Sophy* asked his Noblemen if they knew any ſuch Country, which *Edwards* perceiving, he named it *Inghilterra*, as the *Italians* call it. Then one of the Nobles ſaid *Londro*, to which Mr. *Edwards* replied, that was the name of the chief City of *England*, as *Tauris* was of *Perſia*. The Diſcourſe laſted two Hours, wherein after many Queſtions about the State of *Europe*, he demanded of him what was the chief cauſe of his coming into his Realm;

to which Mr. *Edwards* anſwered, that it was to promote Merchandizing, and that if his Majeſty would grant us free Paſſage into all his Dominions, with ſuch Privileges as might ſecure our Lives and Goods, we would furniſh his Countries with fine Kerſies and broad Cloths of all ſorts and Colours, as Scarlets, Violets, *&c.* in ſhorter time, and cheaper than he could have them at the *Turks* Hands. Whereupon new Privileges were granted to us, written in Azure and Golden Letters; one Article whereof was, That if any Merchants or their Servants would turn *Mahometans*, that then the Agent might impriſon ſuch Perſon wherever he ſhould find him, and that no Man ſhould keep or conceal him. Before we obtained this Privilege, ſome Servants would rob their Maſters, and then turn *Mahometans*, that their Maſters might have no Law againſt them, either to puniſh them or recover their Goods. A young Man, Servant to one of our Merchants, rather than abide the Correction of his Maſter, would forſake his Faith; but as God would have it, he fell ſuddenly ſick and died, before he gave himſelf to the Devil. If he had turned *Mahometan*, it would have cauſed much trouble to the Merchants, for if he had ſaid that half their Goods had been his, they would have given credit to him; for, before the *Sophy* granted Privileges to our Nation, the People abuſed them very much, and ſo hated them that they would not touch them, calling them *Caſars* and *Gawers*, that is, Unbelievers, and thought it no wrong to defraud or rob them, bear falſe witneſs againſt them, and ſuch Merchandizes as they had bought or ſold, make them take it again, and change it as often as they liſted, and for the Debts of any Stranger, would take the Goods of any other of the ſame Nation, with many other ſuch like Abuſes.

CHAP. VII.

The Fifth Voyage into Perſia, *by* Thomas Baniſter *and* Geofrey Ducket, *Servants to the* Ruſſian *Company; begun in the Year* 1568, *and continuing to the Year* 1574.

1568. UPon the third day of *July*, 1568, they embarked at *Yeraſlave*, in a Bark called the *Thomas Bonadventure*, of 70 Tuns, accompanied with *Lionel Plumtree*, and twelve *Engliſh* and 40 *Ruſſes*. About 40 Miles on this ſide *Aſtracan*, they were aſſaulted by the *Nagayan Tartars* in 18 Boats, ſome armed with Swords, ſome with Spears, and ſome with Bows and Arrows, in all about 300 Men. The Fight continued two Hours, and they ſo galled the *Tartars* with their Fire-arms, that they fled with the loſs of 200 of their number, as they were informed by a *Ruſſian* Priſoner, who eſcaped from the *Nagayans* and came to *Aſtracan*, where they arrived the 20th of *Auguſt*.

The *Engliſh* Bark aſſaulted by the *Nagayan Tartars.*

Here they were compelled to tarry ſix Weeks, and then proceeding on their Voyage, they arrived at *Bilbil* towards the end of *October*; from thence they went to *Shauaran*, where, as they lodged in their Tents, they were much troubled with a ſort of Foxes, who ſtole their Victuals from them, and in one Night devoured to the bare Bones a mighty wild Boar, that was ſent unto them as a Preſent from the Governour.

Having ſtaid here three or four days, they travelled in four days to *Shamaky*, where ſpending the Winter, in *April* following they took their Journey towards *Ardouil*, a place of great account by reaſon of the Sepulchre of the *Perſian* Kings: Here they tarried ſix Months, finding but ſmall Traffick, the City being more frequented by Noblemen and Gentlemen than Merchants.

The Emperour *Shaw Thomas* ſent a Meſſenger to this place for our Men to come to his preſence at *Casbin*; Mr. *Ducket* being ſick, could not go, but Mr. *Baniſter* went, and was received with great favour, moſt of his Requeſts being granted to him, this only excepted, that whereas he deſired leave to carry ſome Horſes out of his Dominions into *India*, the *Shaugh* ſeemed unwilling to yield to it, and yet did not altogether deny it, but referred it to ſome further time. The *Shaugh* bought of him many Kerſies making good payment, and would oftentimes ſend his Money before the Wares were delivered.

There is one thing I thought fit to remember, That whereas he purpoſed to ſend a great Sum of Money to *Mecca* in *Arabia*, for an Offering to *Mahomet*, he would not ſend any of his own coin, but ſent to the *Engliſh* Merchants to exchange it for theirs, giving this Reaſon for it, That the Merchants Money was gotten by good means, and was therefore worthy to be made an Oblation to their Holy Prophet; but his own Money was gotten by Fraud, Oppreſſion, and diſhoneſt Means, and therefore was not fit to ſerve for ſo holy a uſe.

After ſix Months ſpent in *Casbin*, Mr. *Baniſter* went thence to *Tauris*, where he found Mr. *Ducket* well recovered, whom he had left ſick at *Ardouil*. There is a place within one Day's Journey of *Tauris*, where great ſtore of Galls grow; Mr. *Ducket* bought many of them, and other Merchandize, he continuing in *Tauris* two years and a half, making ſale of the Companies Commodities.

Mr. *Baniſter* returned from *Tauris* to *Shamaky*, and thence went to *Arraſh*, four days Journey with Camels from *Shamaky*, to buy raw Silk, but there, by the unwholſome Air, and corrupt Water in the hot time of the Year, he with *Lawrence Chapman* and ſome other *Engliſhmen* died, which being made known to Mr. *Ducket*, he immediately came from *Tauris* to *Arraſh*, to take poſſeſſion of the Goods, for otherwiſe by the Cuſtom of the Country, had there been no Merchant or other Friend to enter upon what was left, all had fallen into the *Shaugh*'s Hands; which Goods notwithſtanding could not be recover'd from the Officers who had ſiezed and ſealed up the ſame, until Mr. *Ducket* had been in Perſon with the *Shaugh*, and procured his Order for the delivery of them.

The death of *Thomas Baniſter* and *Lawrence Chapman.*

Whilſt Mr. *Ducket* was at *Casbin* in ſute for Goods, *Lionel Plumtree* by perſwaſion of certain *Bogharians*, made proviſion for a Journey to *Cathaia*, with Carriages and Commodities, and having all things ready, departed ſecretly with a Caravan; but being ſix days journey upon his way, 50 Horſemen by procurement of *Humphry Greenſel* (who was afterwards burnt by the *Portugals* in the Inquiſition at *Ormus*) were ſent after him in Poſt by the *Shaugh*'s Lieutenant, to fetch him back again, for fear of divers Inconveniences that might follow.

Humphry Greenſel burnt at *Ormus.*

Mr. *Ducket* returned from *Casbin* to *Shamaky*, and thence went to *Caſſan*, four days journey, carrying with him four Mules laden with Money.

In his way he paſſed thro' *Perſepolis*, heretofore the Royal Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, but there remains nothing now to be ſeen but two Gates, diſtant twelve Miles from each other, and ſome few Pinnacles in the Mountains, and Conveniences for freſh Water.

Perſepolis.

Caſſan is a Town of great traffick, much frequented by *Indian* Merchants; no idle Perſon is ſuffered to live among them; playing at Cards or Dice is by the Law preſent death. Here they tarried ten Weeks, and then returned to *Shamaky*, and thence to *Bilbil* again, where their Ship was in Harbour, and ſetting ſail the 8th of *May*, 1573, by reaſon of contrary Winds and dangerous Flats in the *Caſpian*-Sea, they beat it up and down 20 Days; and on the 28th riding at Anchor upon the Flats, about 150 *Ruſſe Caſſaks*, which are Out-laws and baniſhed Men, having intelligence of them, and of the great wealth they had with them, came to them in divers Boats under colour of Friendſhip, and armed with Calivers and other Weapons, entred their Ship, and ſlew divers *Ruſſians* that belonged to the Ship; whereupon Mr. *Ducket*, *Plumtree*, *William Smith* the Maſter, and *Amos Rial*, being under the Spar-deck, did ſo behave themſelves, that they ſcoured the Hatches,

Caſſan.

The *Engliſh* Ship taken by the *Caſſaks.*

and ſlew 14 of them, and wounded about 30 more; Mr. *Ducket* and the reſt in the mean time received divers wounds, and were ſo overpower'd with the multitude of their Enemies, that they were at laſt conſtrained to ſurrender their Ship to the *Caſſacks*, they ſwearing upon their Crucifixes to do no further harm to their Perſons.

The Ship thus taken, and all the *Engliſh* grievouſly hurt, the *Caſſaks* put them all into the Ships Boat, with two or three *Perſian* Targets full of Horſe-fleſh and Swines-fleſh, without other Victuals or Relief. In this caſe they made what haſt they could to *Aſtracan*, and being come to the Town, Mr. *Ducket* made great ſute to the Captain to have Men and Boats ſet out for recovery of the Ship, if poſſible, who immediately ſent out his Son with 40 Boats and 500 Men to purſue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rode at Anchor with the Ship, but by their folly in ſtriking up their Drums before they were come near them, the *Caſſaks* diſcovering the Boats, cut their Cables and put to Sea, whereupon the Boats not being able to follow them, returned to *Aſtracan*. Then ſixty other Boats were ſent to purſue them the ſecond time, who came to a place where they found many of them, and ſlew them, and found out the places where they had hid ſome of the Goods in the Earth in the Ship's Cheſts, all which they recovered again for the *Engliſh* Merchants, to the value of 5000 *l.* out of 30 or 40000, but all the reſt the *Caſſaks* in the Ship had carried away.

In the ſame place they found alſo divers of the *Caſſaks* ſlain by the *Engliſh*, buried in the Earth, and wrapt, ſome in 40 or 50 Yards of Sattin or Taffata, and ſome in *Turky* Carpets cut and ſpoiled by thoſe Pirats, of whom as many as could be taken by the *Perſians* (who entirely loved the *Engliſh* Merchants) were put to moſt cruel Torments in all places according to their deſerts.

Our Men thus ſpoiled of their Goods and wounded in their Bodies, remained two Months at *Aſtracan* for their cure, and then went up the *Volga* to *Cazan*, with ſuch Goods as they had recovered from the *Caſſaks*. From *Cazan* they went towards *Teraſlave*, but were intercepted by ſuch a Froſt in the Night, about the beginning of *October*, that their Boats were cruſhed and cut aſunder with the Ice, whereby they were in danger of loſs of Life and Goods, but as much as they could preſerve, they convey'd over land in Sleds to *Vologhda*, and thence to St. *Nicholas* to be laden in Ships for *England*.

But Mr *Ducket*, *Plumtree* and *Rial* went with certain Parcels to *Moſco*, and ſold ſome to the Emperour, who pitying the mighty Loſs they had ſuſtained from his own rebellious Subjects, bought himſelf as much as he liked, and payed preſent Money for the ſame. So ſpending that Winter in *Moſco*, in providing ſuch Wares as ſerved for *England*, they embarked at St. *Nicholas* in *Auguſt*, and after a terrible Paſſage of nine Weeks and three Days, with want of Victuals, they arrived at *London* in *October*, 1574, and ſo made an end of an unfortunate Voyage, which if it had pleaſed God to proſper, that all things had come as ſafely as they were carefully provided, and painfully laboured for, it had proved the richeſt Voyage, and moſt profitable Return that had ever been undertaken by *Engliſh* Merchants, who notwithſtanding all Misfortunes, loſt nothing of their principal Adventure, but only the Intereſt and Gain that might have riſen by the uſe of their Stock in the mean time.

Further Obſervations concerning Perſia, *by Mr.* Ducket.

THE King of *Perſia* (whom we call the *Great Sophy*) is not there ſo called, but is called the *Shaugh*; It were dangerous to call him by the Name of *Sophy*, which in the *Perſian* Tongue ſignifies a *Beggar*. He lives at *Casbin*, ſituate in a fertile Valley three or four days Journey in length. The City is ill built, being for the moſt part of Brick, not hardned with fire, but only dried in the Sun, as is moſt part of the Building in all *Perſia*. The King hath not come out of his Palace in 33 or 34 Years, whereof the cauſe is not known, but as they ſay, it is upon a Superſtition of certain Propheſies, to which they are greatly addicted. He is now about 80 years of age, and very luſty: He hath four Wives and about 300 Concubines, and once every Year he hath all the fair Virgins and Wives that can be found thereabouts brought to him, and taking ſuch as he likes, he puts away ſome of them he had before, and with them gratifies ſuch of his Officers as have done him beſt Service; and if he chance to take any Man's Wife, her Huſband is very glad of it, and in recompence of her, he oftimes gives the Huſband one of his old ſtore, whom he thankfully receives.

Many Concubines.

When any Chriſtian comes before him, he muſt put on a new pair of Shoes made in that Country, and from the place where he enters, there is raiſed as it were a Cauſey all the way until he come to the place where he ſhall talk with the King, who ſtands always above in a Gallery when he talks with any Strangers; and when the Stranger is departed, then is the Cauſey caſt down, and the Ground levelled again.

The Religion of the *Perſians* is the ſame with the *Turks*, only they differ about the right Succeſſor of *Mahomet*; the *Turks* ſay it was one *Omer*, and the *Perſians* ſay it was *Mortus Ali*, whoſe return they have long expected, and the King always keeps a Horſe ready ſadled for him. They ſay that Chriſt was a Holy Man and a great Prophet, but not like unto *Mahomet*, who being the laſt Prophet by whom all things were finiſhed, was therefore the greateſt.

Religion of the *Perſians*.

There is often great mutiny among the People which of *Mortus Ali*'s Sons was greateſt; and I ſaw in *Tauris* a Man coming from one of theſe Skirmiſhes with four Mens Heads in his Hand, holding them by the Hair of the Head; for tho' they weekly ſhave their Heads, yet they leave a Tuft of Hair about two foot long.

The *Caſpian*-Sea neither ebbs nor flows, but ſwells very high in tempeſtuous weather. The Water is very ſalt, unleſs it be at the Mouth of the great River *Volga*, where the Water is freſh at leaſt 20 Leagues into the Sea. It is very full of Fiſh, but no monſtrous Fiſh, yet has it many ſorts which are not in theſe parts of the World.

Deſcription of the *Caſpian Sea*.

CHAP. VIII.

The Embaſſy of Thomas Randolph, *Eſq; to the Emperour of* Ruſſia, Anno 1568. *briefly written by himſelf.*

1568.

THE 22d of *June* I went aboard the *Harry* in *Harwich* Road, having in my Company about 40 Perſons, whereof one half were Gentlemen deſirous to ſee the World. In our Voyage was nothing remarkable, but the great number of Whales engendring together, and the *Sperma Ceti* ſwimming upon the Sea. On the 32d day after our departure, we anchored in St. *Nicholas* Road, and landed there the 23d of *July*, where there ſtands an Abby of about 20 Monks. Their Prior preſented me with two great Loaves of Rye, Fiſh ſalt and freſh, one live Sheep. The Abby is built of Wood; the Church full of painted Images, Tapers, and Candles; the Monks eat together, are much given to drunkenneſs, unlearned, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their Prayers.

There were no Houſes at St. *Nicholas*, beſides three or four near the Abby, and another built by the *Engliſh* Company for their own uſe.

This part of the Country is for the moſt part Wood, and not inhabited by reaſon of the cold in Winter. St. *Nicholas* ſtands in 64 Degrees; the River that runs there into the Sea, is called *Dwina*, very large but ſhallow; It hath its beginning about 700 Miles up in the Country, and upon this River ſtandeth *Colmogro*, and many pretty Villages. The River is pleaſant, running between high Hills covered with tall Fir-Trees, and other Wood.

At *Colmogro*, being 100 Verſts or 75 *Engliſh* Miles from St. *Nicholas*, we tarried three Weeks, until a Gentleman came from the Emperour to conduct us, and furniſh us with all Neceſſaries at the Emperour's charge. The allowance of Meat and Drink, was for every day two Rubbles, beſides the charge of Boats, and 80 Poſt-horſes and 100 Carts to carry my Wines, *&c.*

Colmogro.

Vologhda.

Colmogro is a great Town built of Wood, not walled, and the Houſes ſcattering. I was five whole Weeks upon the River *Dwina* before I came to the *Vologhda*, 1000 Verſts, or 750 *Engliſh* Miles, being drawn with Men againſt the Stream, there being no other paſſage: It ſtands upon the River of *Vologhda*, which falls into *Dwina*. The Town is great and long, built of Wood, as all their Towns are: In it are many Churches, ſome of Brick, ſome of Wood; Many Monks and Nuns: It is a Town of great Traffick, and many rich Merchants therein.

From hence we paſſed by land towards *Moſco* in Poſt, being 500 great Verſts, which are equal with our Miles. The Country we paſſed thro' was plain and pleaſant, well inhabited, abounding with Corn, Paſture, Meadows and Woods.

His arrival at *Moſco.*

At *Teraſlave* we paſſed the River *Volgha*, more than a Mile over, and arrived at *Moſco* about the end of *September*, received by no Man, not ſo much as our own Country-men ſuffered to meet us, which bred ſuſpicion in me, of ſome other Courſe intended, than we had hitherto found.

We were brought to a large Houſe, built on purpoſe by the Emperour for Embaſſadors. Two Gentlemen were appointed to attend upon me, the one to ſee us furniſhed with Victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperour's Allowance; the other to ſee that we ſhould not go out of the Houſe, nor permit any Man to come in to us, in which they left nothing undone that belonged to their charge; but eſpecially he that looked to our Perſons watched us ſo ſtrictly, that we had no ſmall cauſe to doubt that ſome evil had been intended us: No Supplication could take place for our Liberty.

Having paſſed over 17 Weeks in this manner, the Emperour ſent us word that we ſhould be ready againſt *Tueſday* the 20th of *February*, at eight in the Morning.

The Hour being come, the two ſaid Gentlemen, *Priſtaves* (as they call them) came unto me in much better Apparel than before I had ever ſeen them. They preſſed us to depart, being mounted upon their own Horſes, and I upon ſuch a one as I had borrowed, my Men marching on foot to their great grief. The two *Priſtaves* conveyed me into a Room where I tarried two long Hours before I was ſent for to the Emperour. In the end, meſſage being brought that the Emperour was ſate, I was conveyed by the ſaid *Priſtaves* up a pair of Stairs thro' a large Room, where ſate about 300 Perſons upon three ranks of Benches, all in rich Robes taken out of the Emperour's Wardrobe for that Day, that they might reſemble Men of Quality and Honour.

His admiſſion to the Emperour's preſence.

At my firſt entry into the Chamber, I with my Cap gave them reverence, ſuch as I judged their ſtately ſitting, grave Countenances, and ſumptuous Apparel required, but ſeeing that it was not anſwered again by any of them, I covered my Head, and ſo paſſing to a Chamber where the Emperour was, two of his Councellors received me at the Door from the two *Priſtaves*, and ſhewing me to the Emperour, brought me into the middle of the Chamber, where I was willed to ſtand ſtill, and deliver what I had to ſay; I by my Interpreter opened my Meſſage as I received it from the Queen my Miſtreſs, at whoſe Name the Emperour ſtood up, and asked divers Queſtions of her Health and State: He gave me his Hand in token of my Welcome, cauſing me to ſit down and asking me many Queſtions.

The Queen's Preſent.

This done, I delivered her Majeſties Preſent, which was a notable great Cup of Silver curiouſly wrought, with Verſes engraven in it, explaining the Hiſtories engraven on the ſame.

All things ſaid and done to his contentment, he licenced me and all my Company to depart, who were all in his Preſence, and were ſaluted by him with a nod of his Head, and ſaid unto me, I dine not this day openly, by reaſon of great Affairs I have, but I will ſend thee my Dinner, and give leave to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our Allowance to thee in token of our Love to our Siſter the Queen of *England*.

I with reverence took my Leave, being conducted by two others of greater Dignity than thoſe who brought me to the Emperour's Preſence, who delivered me to the two firſt Gentlemen, who conveyed me to my Lodging.

Within an Hour came to my Lodging a Duke richly apparell'd, accompanied with 50 Perſons, each of them carrying a Silver Diſh with Meat, and covered with Silver. The Duke firſt delivered 20 Loaves of Bread, having firſt taſted the ſame, and delivered every Diſh into my own Hands, and taſted of every kind of Drink that he brought. The Duke and his Company ſate down with me, and took part of the Emperour's Meat, filling themſelves with all ſorts, and went not away from me unrewarded.

Not long after the Emperour ſent for me in the Night to ſpeak with me ſecretly, where, after above three Hours diſcourſe, I was diſmiſſed towards Morning, and he going next day to *Slonoda*, his Houſe of pleaſure, I heard no more from him in ſix Weeks, which was in the beginning of *April*, and the Emperour then returning, he ſent for me again. I then dealt effectually with him in behalf of our *Engliſh* Merchants, and found him ſo graciouſly inclined towards them, that I obtained my whole Demands. Then he commended to my conduct into *England*, a Nobleman of his called *Andrew Savin*, as his Embaſſador, who embarked with me at St. *Nicholas* about the end of *July*, and arrived ſafely at *London* in *September* following.

CHAP. IX.

The Fourth Voyage of Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon, *Embaſſador from the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, to the Emperour of* Ruſſia, Anno 1571.

Note, That Mr. *Jenkinſon* made a third Voyage into *Ruſſia*, 1566.

1571. ON the 26th day of *July*, 1571, I arrived in St. *Nicholas* Bay, with the *Swallow* and the *Harry*, and ſent away my Interpreter to *Moſco* to advertiſe the Emperour of my coming, and to know his pleaſure for my further acceſs. Diſcourſing there with ſome of the Companies Servants, they told me that I was entred into great peril and danger of my Life, and that they heard at *Moſco* that the Prince's diſpleaſure was ſuch againſt me, that if ever I came into his Country again, I ſhould looſe my Head. Whereat I was ſo diſmay'd, that I doubted whether I ſhould proceed, or return home again with the Ships for the ſafe-guard of my Life: But calling to mind my Innocency, and not knowing that I had offended his Majeſty in Word or Deed, I reſolved to put my Life in his Hands, and proſecute the Charge committed to me rather than to return home in vain. Wherefore leaving the ſaid Ships on the 29th, I arrived the firſt of *Auguſt* at *Colmogro*, where I attended the return of the Meſſenger; but the Country being viſited with the Plague, none might paſs on pain of death, and my Meſſenger being 800 Miles upon his way, was ſtopt at a Town called *Shasko*, and not ſuffered to come further, or return back, nor to ſend to me; ſo that in four Months I could not hear what was become of him. In the mean time I found means to ſend another Meſſenger with a Guide by an unknown way, thro' a Deſert Country a thouſand Miles about, thinking that way he might paſs without hindrance; but it proved contrary, for after he had paſſed a great part of his Journey, he fell into the Hands of a Watch, and eſcaped narrowly from being burnt, both he and his Guide, and their Horſes, according to a Law provided for ſuch as would ſeek to paſs by indirect Ways, whereof many have felt the ſmart, who had not wherewith to buy off the pain; neither could that Meſſenger return back to me.

And thus I remained at *Colmogro* until the 18th of *January*, without any Gentlemen to protect me, or lodging appointed me, or allowance of Victuals according to the Country faſhion for Embaſſadors, which as it argued his Majeſties grievous diſpleaſure towards our Nation, ſo the *Ruſſes* perceiving it, uſed ſome Diſcourteſies towards me and my Company; but about the 28th day of *January*, the Plague ceaſing, and the Paſſages being opened, order came from his Majeſty that I ſhould have Poſt-horſes to go to *Peraſlave*, near to the Court, his Majeſty being newly returned from the Wars againſt the *Swedes*.

I arrived there the third day of *February*, where I remained under the charge of a Gentleman, having a Houſe appointed for me, and allowance of Victuals, but ſo ſtrictly kept, that none of our Nation or other, might come or ſend to me, nor I to them.

On the fourth of *March* I was ſent for to the Court, and being within three Miles of the ſame, a Poſt was ſent to the Gentleman who had charge of me, to return back again with me to *Peraſlave*, and there attend his Majeſties further pleaſure, whereat I was much diſmayed, marvelling what that ſudden change meant, and the rather, becauſe it was a troubleſome time, and his Majeſty much diſquieted with the ill ſucceſs of his Affairs.

On the 20th I was ſent for again to the Court, and on the 23d came before his Majeſty, who cauſed me to kiſs his Hand, giving gracious Audience to my Oration, and gratefully accepted the Queen's Letters and her Preſent, in the Preſence of all his Nobility. The Emperour, who all this while ſate in Royal State, ſtood up and ſaid, How doth Queen *Elizabeth* my Siſter? is ſhe in health? To whom I anſwered, God doth bleſs her Majeſty with Health and Peace, and doth wiſh the like unto thee Lord her loving Brother. Then his Majeſty ſitting down again, commanded all to depart but the Secretary and one more of his Council, and willing me to approach near to him with my Interpreter, ſaid unto me theſe Words.

‘ *Anthony*, the laſt time thou waſt here, we did commit unto thee our truſty and ſecret Meſſage, to be declared unto the Queens Majeſty her ſelf, thy Miſtreſs at thy coming home, and did expect thy coming unto us again at the time we appointed, with a full Anſwer of the ſame from her Highneſs; and in the mean time there came unto us at ſeveral times, three Meſſengers, the one called *Manly*, the other *George Middleton*, and *Edward Goodman*, by the way of the *Narve*, about the Merchants Affairs; to whom we ſent our Meſſenger to know whether thou *Anthony* was returned home in ſafety, and when thou ſhould'ſt return to us again: But thoſe Meſſengers could tell us nothing, and did miſcal and abuſe with evil Words, both our Meſſenger and thee, wherewith we were much offended; and underſtanding that the ſaid *Goodman* had Letters about him, we cauſed him to be ſearched, with whom were found many Letters, wherein was written much againſt our Princely Eſtate, and that in our Empire were many unlawful things done, whereat we were much grieved, and would ſuffer none of thoſe rude Meſſengers to have acceſs unto us. And ſhortly after we were informed that one *Thomas Randolph* was come into our Dominions by the way of *Dwina*, Embaſſador from the Queen, and we ſent a Gentleman to meet and conduct him to our City of *Moſco*, at which time we looked that thou ſhould'ſt have returned to us again. And the ſaid *Thomas* being arrived at our ſaid City, we ſent unto him divers times that he ſhould come and confer with our Counſel, whereby we might underſtand the cauſe of his coming, looking for anſwer of thoſe our Princely Affairs committed unto thee, but he refuſed to come to our ſaid Council, wherefore and becauſe our ſaid City was viſited with the Plague, the ſaid *Thomas* was longer kept from our preſence, which being ceaſed, we forthwith gave him acceſs and audience; but all his talk with us was about Merchants Affairs, and nothing touching ours. We know that Merchants Matters are to be heard, becauſe they are the ſtay of our Princely Treaſures; but firſt Princes Affairs are to be eſtabliſhed, and then Merchants. After this, the ſaid *Thomas Randolph* was with us at our City of *Volsghda*, and we dealt with him about our Princely Affairs, whereby Amity between the Queen's Majeſty and us might be eſtabliſhed for ever; and Matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Embaſſador and us, and thereupon we ſent our Embaſſador into *England* with him to end the ſame, but our Embaſſador returned unto us again, without finiſhing our ſaid Affairs, contrary to our expectation, and the Agreement betwixt us and your ſaid Embaſſador.

His Majeſty having thus made a long Diſcourſe, I humbly beſeeched his Highneſs to hear me graciouſly, to give me leave to ſpeak without offence, and to believe thoſe Words to be true which I ſhould ſpeak, which he granting, I ſpake as followeth.

‘ Moſt noble and famous Prince, the Meſſage your Highneſs ſent by me unto the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, touching your Princely and Secret Affairs, immediately, and as ſoon as I came home, I did declare both ſecretly and truly unto the Queens Majeſty her ſelf, word for word as you commanded me, which her Highneſs did willingly accept, and being mindful thereof, and willing to anſwer the ſame, the next Shipping her Majeſty ſent unto your Highneſs, her Embaſſador *Thomas Randolph*, whoſe approved Wiſdom and Fidelity was unto her Majeſty well known, and therefore thought meet to be ſent to ſo worthy a Prince, who had Commiſſion not only to treat with your Majeſty about Merchants Affairs, but alſo thoſe of Princely and Secret Affairs committed unto me. And the cauſe (moſt gracious Prince) that I was not ſent again was, by reaſon I was employed in ſervice upon the Seas againſt the Queen's Majeſties Enemies, and was not returned home when Mr. *Thomas Randolph* departed with the Ships to come into your Majeſties Country, otherwiſe I had been ſent. And whereas your Majeſty ſays that *Thomas Randolph* would not treat with your Council about the Matters of his Legation, he did therein according to his Commiſſion, which was, firſt to deal with your Majeſties own ſelf, as is commonly uſed among all Princes when they ſend their Embaſſadors about Matters of great weight. And whereas the ſaid *Thomas* is charged that he agreed and concluded upon Matters at the ſame time, and promiſed the ſame ſhould be performed by the Queens Majeſty; and thereupon your Majeſty ſent your Embaſſador with him into *England*: In anſwer thereunto, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to underſtand, that as the ſaid *Thomas Randolph* doth confeſs that he had divers times diſcourſed with your Highneſs and Council about Princely Affairs, even ſo he denies that ever he did agree, conclude, or make any promiſe in any condition or order, as is alledged, otherwiſe than it ſhould pleaſe the Queen's Majeſty to approve of at his return home; all which he did juſtify to your Highneſs's Embaſſador's Face in *England*; wherefore moſt mighty Prince, it well appears, that either your Embaſſador did not rightly inform your Majeſty, or elſe your Princely Mind, and the true meaning of the Queen's Embaſſador, for want of a good Interpreter, was not well underſtood; and how thankfully the Queen's Majeſty did receive your Highneſs's Commendations and Letters ſent by your Majeſties Embaſſador, and how graciouſly ſhe gave him audience ſundry times, uſing him with ſuch Honour in all Points for the ſake of your Majeſty, her loving Brother, as the like was never ſhewed to any Embaſſador in our Realm; and how honourably with full anſwer in all things, her Majeſty diſmiſſed him, when he had finiſhed all your Princely Affairs (as it ſeemed) to his own content, may appear by a Certificate lately ſent with her Majeſties Letters unto your Highneſs, by her Meſſenger *Robert Beaſt*, and her Majeſty did ſuppoſe that your Embaſſador would have made report accordingly, and that by him your Highneſs would have been ſatisfied in all things, otherwiſe ſhe would have ſent her Embaſſador with him unto your Majeſty

' again, but now her Highneſs perceiving that your Majeſty is not fully ſatisfied in your Princely Affairs, neither by *Thomas Randolph* her Highneſs's Embaſſador, nor by your own Embaſſador *Andrea Savin*, nor yet by her Majeſties Letters ſent by the ſaid *Andrea*, and alſo underſtanding your great diſpleaſure towards Sir *William Garret* and his Company, Merchants trafficking in your Dominions, hath thought good to ſend me at this preſent unto you Lord Emperour and Great Duke, as well with your Highneſs's full mind touching your Princely Affairs, as alſo to know the juſt cauſe of your Majeſties ſaid diſpleaſure towards the ſaid Company of Merchants, and hath commanded me to anſwer all things in their behalf, and according to their true Meanings; for her Highneſs doth ſuppoſe your Majeſties Indignation to proceed rather from the evil and falſe Reports of your late Embaſſador in *England*, and of ſuch wicked Perſons of our own Nation reſident here in your Higneſs's Dominions, Rebels to her Majeſty and their Country, than from any juſt Deſerts of the ſaid Merchants, who never willingly deſerved your Highneſs's Diſpeaſure, but rather Favour in all their Doings and Meanings; and ſince the firſt time of their trafficking in your Majeſties Dominions, which is now 19 Years, the ſaid Merchants have been, and are always ready and willing truly to ſerve your Highneſs with all things meet for your Treaſury, in time of Peace or War, in deſpite of all the Enemies (altho' the Princes of the Eaſt Seas were agreed to ſtop the *Sound* and the Way to the *Narve*) and have brought, and do bring from time to time ſuch Commodities to your Highneſs, as her Majeſty doth not ſuffer to be tranſported forth of her Realm to any other Prince of the World; and what great Loſſes the ſaid Sir *William Garret* with his Company, have ſuſtain'd of late Years in this Trade, as well by Shipwrack as by falſe Servants, is manifeſtly known; and what Service the ſaid Companies Ships did unto your Majeſty againſt your Enemies, two Years paſt in going to the *Narve*, when they fought with the King of *Poland*'s Free-booters, burning the ſame, and ſlaying the People, and delivering as many as were taken alive unto your Captain at the *Narve*, I truſt your Highneſs doth not forget. Wherefore moſt mighty Prince, the Premiſes conſidered, the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty your loving Siſter, doth requeſt your Highneſs to reſtore the ſaid Sir *William Garret* with his Company to your Princely Favour again, and their Priviledges for free traffick, with your accuſtomed Goodneſs and Juſtice, to be miniſtred unto them throughout all your Majeſties Dominions, as aforetime; and that the ſame may be ſignified by your Princely Letters directed to the Officers in all places, any Commandment or Reſtraint from your Highneſs to the contrary notwithſtanding. And further, that it will pleaſe your Majeſty not to give credit to falſe Reports and untrue Suggeſtions of ſuch as are Enemies, and ſuch as neither would have mutual Amity to continue betwixt your Majeſties, nor yet entercourſe betwixt your Countries. And as to ſuch Rebels of our Nation, as *Ralph Rutter* and others, who lie lurking here in your Highneſs's Dominions, ſeeking to ſow Diſſentions betwixt your Majeſties by falſe Surmiſes, ſpending away their Maſters Goods riotouſly, and will not come home to give up their Accounts, advancing themſelves to be Merchants, and able to ſerve your Highneſs with all things fit for your Treaſury, whereas indeed they are of no credit, nor able of themſelves to do your Majeſty any Service at all, the Queen's Highneſs requeſt is, that it would pleaſe your Majeſty to command that ſuch Perſons may be delivered unto me to be carried home, leſt by their remaining here, and practiſing with ſuch as are not your Highneſs's Friends, their evil Doings may be a cauſe hereafter to withdraw your Goodneſs from Sir *William Garret* and his Company, who have true meaning in all their Doings, and are ready to ſerve your Highneſs at all times: Uſing many other Words to the advancement of your Credit, and the diſgracing of your Enemies, and ſo I ended for that time.

Then ſaid his Majeſty, ' We have heard you, and will conſider of all things further, when we have read the Queen our Siſters Letters: *To whom I anſwered*, That I ſuppoſed his Majeſty ſhould by thoſe Letters underſtand her Highneſs's full mind to his Contentation, and what wanted in Writing, I had credit to accompliſh in Word. Wherewith his Majeſty ſeemed to be well pleaſed, and commanded me to ſit down; and after pawſing a while, his Majeſty ſaid, ' It is now a time which we ſpend in Faſting and Praying, being the Week before *Eaſter*, and becauſe we ſhall ſhortly depart hence towards our Borders of *Novogrod*; we cannot give you anſwer nor your diſpatch here, but you ſhall go hence and tarry for us on the way, where we will ſhortly come, and then you ſhall know our Pleaſure and have your Diſpatch. And ſo I was diſmiſſed to my Lodging, and the ſame day had a Dinner ready dreſt, ſent me from his Majeſty, with divers ſorts of Drink, and the day following being the 24th of *March*, a Gentleman came to me from the chief Secretary, to acquaint me the Emperour's Pleaſure was, I ſhould immediately depart towards a City called *Otwer*, 300 Miles from *Sloboda*, and there to tarry his Higneſs's coming unto a place called *Staryts*, 60 Miles from *Otwer*.

Sloboda is a Houſe of Pleaſure near *Moſco*.

Then ſending my Interpreter to the Secretary, I requeſted him to ſhew his Favour to our Merchants in their Sutes, which they ſhould have occaſion to move in my abſence; who anſwered, That they ſhould be well aſſured of his Favour in all. And forthwith Poſt-horſes were ſent me with a Gentleman to conduct me, and ſo departing from *Sloboda*, I arrived at *Otwer* the 28th of *March*, where I remained till the 28th of *May*. Then I was ſent for to come unto his Majeſty to the ſaid *Staryts*, where I arrived the 10th, and on the 12th was appointed to come to the Secretary, who at our meeting ſaid unto me theſe Words.

' Our Lord Emperour and Great Duke, hath not only peruſed the Queen's Majeſties Letters ſent by you, and thereby perceives her mind, as well touching their Princely Affairs, as alſo her earneſt requeſt in the Merchants behalf, but hath alſo well pondered your Words, and therefore his Majeſties Pleaſure is, that you let me underſtand what Sutes you have to move in the Merchants behalf, or otherwiſe, becauſe to morrow you ſhall have acceſs again unto his Highneſs, and ſhall have full anſwer in all things, with your diſpatch away.

Then after long Conference had with him of divers Matters, I gave him in writing certain brief Articles of Requeſts, which I had drawn out ready as followeth.

I. ' THE Queen's Majeſties requeſt is, that it would pleaſe the Emperour to let me know the juſt cauſe of his great diſpleaſure fallen upon Sir *William Garret* and his Company, who never deſerved the ſame to their knowledge.

II. ' That it would pleaſe his Highneſs not to give credit to falſe Reports by ſuch as ſeek to ſow Diſſention, and break Friendſhip betwixt the Queen's Highneſs and his Majeſty.

III. ' That it would pleaſe his Majeſty to receive the ſaid Sir *William Garret* with his Company into his Favour again, and to reſtore them to their former Privileges and Liberties, for free Traffick in, and thro' and out of all his Majeſties Dominions, in as ample manner as aforetime, according to his Princely Letters of Privilege and accuſtomed Goodneſs.

IV. ' That it would pleaſe his Highneſs to grant, that the ſaid Company of Merchants may have Juſtice of all his Subjects, as well for Money owing to them, as other their Griefs and Injuries, throughout all his Dominions, ſuffered ſince the time of his Diſpleaſure, during which time, the Merchants were forced by ſevere Juſtice to anſwer all Mens Demands, but theirs could not be heard.

V. ' Alſo that his Majeſty would underſtand that many Debts are owing to the ſaid Merchants by divers of his Nobility, whereof part are in durance, and ſome executed; and that the ſaid Merchants know not how to be paid and anſwered the ſame, except his Highneſs pity their caſe, and command ſome order to be taken therein.

VI. ' That it would pleaſe his Highneſs to command that the ſaid Merchants may be paid all ſuch Sum or Sums of Money as are owing and due unto them by his Majeſty, for Wares, as well *Engliſh* as *Shamaky*, taken into his Highneſs's Treaſury by his Officers in ſundry places; the long forbearance whereof hath been, and is great hindrance to the ſaid Company of Merchants.

VII. That ſome *Engliſh* Merchants now in *Perſia*, would have come to *Aſtracan* laſt Year, but that the Ship with ſome of our Merchants and Mariners appointed to go for them, was ſtopt at *Aſtracan* by his Highneſs's Captain there, to the great prejudice of the ſaid Merchants: wherefore it may pleaſe his Majeſty to direct his Letters to his Captains at *Aſtracan* and

Cazan, to ſuffer our People to paſs with their Ships, Barks, *&c.* and to be ſafely conducted upon the *Volga*.

VIII. ‘ That whereas lately our Merchants coming from *Shamaky*, have been ill uſed by his Majeſties Cuſtomers both at *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, where they were forced to pay Cuſtom, altho’ they ſold none of their Wares, the ſaid Cuſtomers exacting more than was due, and for want of preſent Money, took Wares much exceeding their exacted Cuſtom, and kept the ſame as a Pawn: That it may therefore pleaſe his Highneſs to direct his Cuſtomers to reſtore and ſend the ſaid Goods to *Moſco*, the Merchants paying ſuch Cuſtom as his Majeſty ſhall appoint.

IX. ‘ That it would pleaſe his Highneſs to grant that the Company may eſtabliſh their Trade at *Colmogro*, and that ſuch Wares as ſhall be brought out of our Country fit for his Treaſury, may be looked upon and received by his Officers there; and that his Majeſties People trafficking with our Merchants may bring down their Goods to *Colmogro*, whereby the *Engliſh* avoiding great trouble and charge, in tranſporting their Goods ſo far, may ſell the ſame better cheap, to the benefit of his Majeſties Subjects.

X. ‘ That the whole Trade from *Perſia* and other Countries beyond the *Caſpian*, may be eſtabliſhed at *Aſtracan*.

XI. ‘ And foraſmuch as it pleaſed his Majeſty immediately after the burning of *Moſco*, to command that the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants ſhould give in a Note into his Treaſury for their Loſſes ſuſtain’d by the ſaid Fire, which was accordingly done, and the Particulars amounted to 100000 * Rubbles and above; it may pleaſe his Highneſs of his accuſtomed Goodneſs and great Clemency to conſider of the ſame, and to give the Company ſo much as ſhall ſeem good unto his Majeſty towards their ſaid Loſſes.

* Or Marks.

XII. ‘ That it would pleaſe his Highneſs to underſtand that the Queen at the earneſt Sute and Requeſt of *Andrea Savin* his Embaſſador, did not only pardon and forgive *Thomas Glover* his great Offences againſt her Highneſs committed, for his Majeſties ſake only, but alſo command Sir *William Garret* with his Company, to deal favourably with the ſaid *Glover* in his Accompts, to whom he was greatly indebted, and being their Servant, detained their Goods in his Hands a long time. Whereupon Sir *William Garret* and Company counted with the ſaid *Glover*, ending all things to his contents, and he was found to be Debtor to the Company above 4000 Rubbles, and bound himſelf by his ſolemn Oath and his Hand-writing, to pay the ſame immediately after his return into *Ruſſia* with the ſaid *Andrea Savin*, unto the Companies Agent there; But altho’ it is now two Years paſt ſince the ſaid Agreement, and that the Agent hath often requeſted the Money of the ſaid *Thomas*, yet will he not pay the ſame, but makes delay from time to time, alledging, that his Majeſty owes him a great Sum of Money, without payment whereof he cannot pay the Company. In conſideration hereof, that it may pleaſe his Highneſs to give order that the ſaid *Glover* may be paid, and that he may diſcharge his Debt to the Company, and the rather becauſe he found ſuch Mercy and Favour in *England* for his Majeſties ſake only.

XIII. ‘ And foraſmuch as *Ralph Rutter*, a Rebel to the Queen’s Majeſty, an Enemy to his Country, and to Sir *William Garret* and his Company, hath a long time remained here, living on the Spoils and Goods of the ſaid Merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his Hands, riotouſly ſpending the ſame, during the time he was their Servant, and would not come home when he was ſent for; and alſo becauſe the Queen does underſtand, that the ſaid *Ralph* with his Adherents, ſeek by all falſe means to ſow Diſſention betwixt their Majeſties, and to overthrow the Trade of the ſaid Merchants, her Highneſs’s requeſt is, that the ſaid *Ralph* with his Complices may be delivered to me, to be carried home, and none other of her Majeſties Subjects, not being of the Company, to be ſuffered to traffick within his Highneſs’s Dominions, but to be delivered to their Agent to be ſent home, becauſe the ſaid Merchants with great Charges and Loſſes, both by Shipwrack and riotous Servants, did firſt find out this Trade, and have continued the ſame 19 Years to their great hindrance.

XIV. ‘ And whereas divers Artificers of our Nation here in his Majeſties Service, are grieved that they cannot have Licence to depart home into their native Country, the Queen’s requeſt is, according to her writing in that behalf, that not only it will pleaſe his Majeſty to permit ſuch Artificers here reſident in the Service of his Highneſs, to have free Liberty to depart and go home with me if they requeſt the ſame, but alſo thoſe which ſhall come hereafter to ſerve his Majeſty, to have free Liberty to depart likewiſe at their will and pleaſure.

XV. ‘ That during my long ſtay at *Colmogro*, attending his Highneſs’s pleaſure for my further acceſs, I and my Company, with the Merchants there, were ill uſed by one *Beſſon*, your Majeſties chief Officer, who diſhonoured me, and ſmote my People, and owes the ſaid Merchants much Money and will not pay them; wherefore may it pleaſe his Highneſs to ſend a Gentleman with me to *Colmogro*, to enquire into his evil Behaviour towards her Majeſty and me her Embaſſador, and to puniſh him accordingly, and that he may be forced to pay all the Money he owes to the ſaid Merchants without delay.

XVI. ‘ And whereas the Company hearing of the great dearth in his Majeſties Dominions, by licence from the Queen (not otherwiſe permitted) hath ſent certain Ships laden with Corn into his Highneſs’s Country of *Dwina*, rather for the Relief of his Majeſties Subjects than for any gain; yet the Good Will of the ſaid Merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to ſell the ſaid Corn, to their great diſcouragement hereafter to ſend any more: Wherefore may it pleaſe his Highneſs to accept the Good Will of the ſaid Merchants, as well in ſending the ſaid Corn as in all other things ready to ſerve his Majeſty, and to order his Officers of *Dwina* to permit the Merchants to ſell the ſaid Corn, without paying Cuſtom.

Theſe Articles being delivered to the Secretary, I returned to my Lodging; the next day, being the 13th of *May*, I had warning early in the Morning to be at Court betwixt ten and eleven, at which time, being brought before his Majeſty, who ſate ſumptuouſly apparelled with a rich Crown upon his Head, garniſhed with precious Stones, his eldeſt Son ſitting by him, and many of his Nobility about him: After my duty done, he commanded me to approach very near him, and ſpake as follows.

‘ *Anthony*, the Queen our loving Siſters Letters we have cauſed to be tranſlated, and do well underſtand the ſame, and of all things as well by us contained, as by word of Mouth by you to us declared, we have well conſidered, and do perceive that our ſecret Meſſage unto you committed, was done truly according to our mind (altho’ we were advertiſed to the contrary) and now we are by you fully ſatisfied. And when we ſent our Embaſſador into *England* about our great and weighty Affairs, to conclude the ſame with the Queen our Siſter, he could end nothing for want of ſuch Aſſurance as was requiſite in Princely Affairs, according to the manner of all Countries, but was diſmiſſed unto us again, with Letters of ſmall effect, and no Embaſſador ſent with him from the Queen, which cauſed us to think that our Princely Affairs were little regarded, wherewith we were at that time much grieved; for which cauſe, and for the evil behaviour of your Merchants here (who have divers ways tranſgreſſed and broken our Laws, living wilfully in all their Doings) we did lay our heavy diſpleaſure upon them, and did take away from them their Privilege, commanding that the ſame throughout all our Dominions, ſhould be void and of none effect, and thereupon did write to the Queen our Siſter touching our Griefs.

The Cauſes of the Emperour’s diſpleaſure.

‘ And now her Highneſs hath ſent unto us again you her Embaſſador, with her loving Letters and full mind, which we do thankfully receive, and are thereby fully ſatisfied; And becauſe our Princely and Secret Affairs were not finiſhed to our content at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we do now leave off all thoſe matters, and ſet them aſide for a time, becauſe our mind is now changed, but hereafter, when occaſion ſhall move us to the like, we will then talk of thoſe matters again; and ſince it hath pleaſed the Queen our loving Siſter, to ſend unto us at this Preſent, and doth deſire to continue in friendſhip with us for ever (which we do graciouſly accept and willingly agree to the ſame) we of our Goodneſs for her Highneſs’s ſake, will not only from henceforth put away and forget all our diſpleaſure towards Sir *William Garret* and his Company (as tho’ they had never offended us) but will alſo reſtore them to their Privileges and Liberties in and throughout all our Dominions, and we will ſignify the ſame by our Letters, to all Towns and Cities where the ſaid Merchants do traffick, and will ſhew them favour

‘ as formerly, if they deſerve not the contrary: And if the Queen our Siſter had not ſent thee *Anthony* unto us at this preſent, God knows what we ſhould have done to the ſaid Merchants, or whether we ſhould have called back our Indignation.

Then I humbly beſeeched his Majeſty to let me know the particular Offences committed by the ſaid Merchants and the Offenders Names, that I might be able to make report thereof to the Queen my Miſtreſs accordingly, and that the Offenders might have juſt puniſhment for their Deſerts: He anſwered, I ſhould not know them, becauſe he had clearly remitted all Offences: and further, that it was not Princely to forgive, and after to accuſe the Parties, whereby her Majeſties diſpleaſure might fall upon them at home; Notwithſtanding, I afterwards came to know ſome of them, by other means.

Then his Majeſty proceeding, ſaid, ‘ As to the Articles of Requeſt, concerning the Merchants Affairs, which you Yeſterday delivered to our Secretary, we have read the ſame, and appointed our Secretary to declare unto you our mind, and anſwer the ſame; and becauſe we are now upon our Journey towards our Borders, and ſhall depart hence ſhortly, we will diſmiſs you to the Queen our loving Siſter, your Miſtreſs, with our Letters, and full mind by word of mouth, touching all your Requeſts, and will ſend a Gentleman of our Houſhold to conduct you to your Ships, and of our Goodneſs will give you Victuals, Boats, Men, and Poſt-horſes, as many as you ſhall need; and then his Majeſty ſtanding up, and putting off his Cap, ſaid, ‘ Give our hearty Commendations to our loving Siſter Queen *Elizabeth*, unto whom we wiſh long life and happy ſucceſs; and therewith extended his Hand for me to kiſs, and commanded his Son ſitting by him, to ſend the like Commendations, which he did, whoſe Hand I likewiſe kiſſed, and then cauſing me to ſit down, he commanded Wine and divers ſorts of drink to be brought, whereof he gave me to drink with his own hand, and ſo I departed.

The next day I was ſent for to come to the Secretary and one other of the Council with him, who at our meeting ſaid, ‘ We are appointed by the Emperour to give anſwer to your Requeſts deliver'd in writing, which his Majeſty himſelf hath peruſed, and anſwered as followeth.

I. ‘ TO the firſt Requeſt it is anſwered, that all his Majeſties Grief and Diſpleaſure (now put away from the Merchants) did grow, becauſe the Queens Majeſty did not accompliſh and end with his Embaſſador, his ſecret and weighty Affairs, according to his expectation, and the promiſe made by *Thomas Randolph* at his being here, and alſo by reaſon of the ill behaviour of your Merchants reſident here in our Country, as his Majeſty did himſelf yeſterday declare unto you.

II. ‘ To the ſecond, his Majeſty willed you to underſtand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moved to break Friendſhip with the Queens Majeſty without good and juſt cauſe.

III. ‘ To the third, you are anſwered by the Emperour himſelf, that his Favour to the Merchants ſhall be reſtored, and the ſame to be known by his gracious Letters of Privilege now again granted.

IV. ‘ To the fourth, his Majeſty hath commanded that your Merchants here reſident ſhall exhibit and put in writing, unto me his Majeſties Secretary, of all their Griefs and Complaints, as well for Debts as Injuries offered to them ſince the time of his Highneſs's diſpleaſure, and they ſhall have Juſtice truly adminiſtred throughout all his Majeſties Dominions without delay.

V. ‘ To the 5th, his Majeſty doth not know any Debts due unto the Merchants from any of his Noblemen, as is alledged, and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not; the Truth whereof muſt be tried, and thereupon anſwer to be given, and hereafter his Majeſty would not have the Merchants to truſt his People too much.

VI. ‘ To the ſixth it is anſwered, that his Majeſty hath commanded ſearch to be made, what Money is owing to the Merchants for Wares received into his Treaſury, as in the Article, (moſt of the Books of Accounts being burnt in *Moſco*) and ſuch as is due, and found meet to be paid, ſhall be paid forthwith to the Merchants, their Factors or Servants, who ſhall come for the ſame; and for payment of the reſt, his Majeſties further pleaſure ſhall be ſignified hereafter.

‘ The 7th and 8th are granted.

‘ To the 9th and 10th Articles, his Majeſty will conſider of thoſe Matters, and hereafter will ſignify his Princely pleaſure therein.

XI. ‘ To the 11th, as touching an Inventory given into the Treaſury, what Goods the Merchants had burnt in their Houſes at *Moſco*, his Majeſties pleaſure was to underſtand the ſame, to the intent he might know the Loſſes of all Strangers at that preſent, but not to make reſtitution, becauſe it was God's doing, and not the Emperour's.

XII. ‘ To the 12th, concerning *Thomas Glover*, his Majeſty was informed by his Embaſſador, of the Queen's great Mercy and Clemency towards the ſaid *Thomas*, for his ſake, which his Majeſty received in good part, but what Agreement or Dealings was between Sir *William Garret* and his Company, and the ſaid *Glover*, or what he owes unto the ſaid Merchants, his Majeſty knows not; and as for the Money which the ſaid *Thomas* ſaith is owing unto him by the Emperour, his Majeſties Pleaſure is, that ſo much as ſhall be found due, and growing upon Wares delivered into the Treaſury, out of the time of his Majeſties diſpleaſure, ſhall be paid forthwith to the ſaid *Thomas*, and the reſt is forfeited to his Majeſty, and taken for a Fine, as appertaining unto *Rutter* and *Bennet*, accounted Traitors unto his Highneſs, during the time of his diſpleaſure.

XIII. ‘ To the 13th Article, concerning *Rutter* to be delivered unto you to be carried home, the Anſwer was, that as his Majeſty will not detain any *Engliſh-men* in his Country, who is willing to go home, according to the Queen's Requeſt, ſo he will not force any to depart that is willing to tarry with him; yet his Highneſs to ſatisfy the Queen's Requeſt, is contented at this preſent to ſend the ſaid *Ralph Rutter* home with you, and hath commanded that a Letter ſhall be written to his chief Officer at *Moſco*, to ſend the ſaid *Rutter* away with ſpeed, that he may be with you at *Vologhda* by the end of *May* without fail; and touching the reſt of your requeſt in the ſaid Article, his Majeſties pleaſure ſhall be ſignified in the Letters of Privilege granted to the ſaid Merchants.

XIV. ‘ The 14th Article is granted.

XV. ‘ The 15th touching *Beſſon*, the Emperour is much offended with him, and will ſend down a Gentleman with you to inquire into his ill behaviour, as well for ſpeaking undecent Words againſt the Queen's Majeſty as you have alledged, as alſo againſt you, and for his Outrages againſt the Merchants, mentioned in the Article: And the ſaid *Beſſon* being found guilty, to be impriſoned and puniſhed by ſevere Juſtice accordingly, and after to put in Sureties to anſwer the Emperour's high diſpleaſure, or elſe to be brought up like a Priſoner by the ſaid Gentleman, to anſwer his Offences before his Majeſty; and his Highneſs doth requeſt that the Queen would do the like upon *Middleton* and *Manly*, her Meſſengers ſent hither two Years paſt, and upon all others for their ill behaviour towards his Majeſty, as may appear by Letters ſent by *Daniel Silveſtre* from his Highneſs, leſt by bad demeanour of ſuch lewd Perſons, the Friendſhip between their Majeſties might be diminiſhed.

XVI. ‘ To the 16th and laſt Article, touching the Corn brought into the Emperour's Dominions by the Merchants, his Majeſty doth greatly commend them for ſo well doing, and hath commanded to give you a Letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his Officers of *Dwina*, to ſuffer the ſaid Merchants to ſell their Corn at pleaſure, without paying Cuſtom.

Thus having received my Anſwer to the 16 Articles by me exhibited in writing, with the Emperour's Letters alſo to the Queen, I then requeſted that the new Letters of Privilege granted by his Highneſs, might be diſpatched that I might carry the ſame with me, and alſo that ſuch Money due to the Company, which his Majeſty had commanded me to be paid, might be delivered to me.

Touching the Letters of Privilege the Secretary anſwered, it is not poſſible you can have them with you, for they muſt be firſt ſhewed to the Emperour, and then three to be written of one Tenor, according to your requeſt, which cannot be done with ſpeed, becauſe his Majeſties pleaſure is, that you ſhall depart this Night before him, who removeth himſelf to morrow towards *Novogrod*, but without fail the ſaid Letters ſhall be ſent after you with ſpeed to *Colmogro*, and as to the Money you require, it cannot be paid here, becauſe we have not the Books of Accounts, for want whereof we know not what to pay: wherefore it will be beſt that you ſend one of the Merchants after the Emperour to *Novogrod*, and let him repair unto me there, and without fail I will pay all ſuch Money as ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty to be paid after the Books ſeen.

But there being none of the Companies Servants with me, I requeſted the Secretary that I might leave *Daniel* my Interpreter with him, as well for the Receipt of Money, as for the ſpeedy Diſpatch of the Letters of Privilege, but it would by no means be granted that I ſhould leave any of my own Company behind me, and thereupon I took my leave and went to my Lodging, where preſantly there came a Gentleman who had charge to conduct me, and to provide Boats, Men, Poſthorſes, and Victuals, all the way to the Sea-ſide, being 1300 Miles, and alſo to do juſtice upon *Beſſon* aforeſaid, and ſaid unto me, The Emperour's pleaſure is, that you ſhall preſently depart hence, and I am appointed to go with you. So that Night being the 14th of *May*, I departed from *Starites*, and arrived at *Vologhda* the laſt of the ſaid Month, where I remained five days, expecting a Meſſenger with the new Letters of Privilege, as alſo the coming of *Rutter* whom the Emperour himſelf had commanded before my Face to be ſent unto me without fail, and I did ſee the Letters written to the chief Officers at *Moſco* about it. Neverthelefs the ſaid *Rutter* did not come, neither could I hear of him after, nor know the cauſe of his ſtay, contrary to the Prince's own Word and Meaning, as I ſuppoſe; I therefore diſpatched *John Norton*, one of the Companies Servants with Letters to *Novogrod*, where the Court then lay, to advertiſe his Majeſty that *Rutter* was not ſent to me according to his Highneſs's Order, as alſo about the diſpatch of the ſaid Letters of Privilege, and receipt of the Money, giving the Meſſenger ſtrict charge to return unto me again before the departing of the Ships; and the firſt day of *June* I departed from *Vologhda* by Water towards *Colmogro*, where I arrived the 21ſt, and remained there until the 23d of *July*, expecting the return of my Meſſenger, who had time enough to have diſpacthed his buſineſs and come back again, but he came not, it being otherwiſe determined before his going, as I did after underſtand, and ſhall at large declare unto the Worſhipful Company as ſoon as I ſhall arrive in *England*.

CHAP. X.

The Voyage of Arthur Pett *and* Charles Jackman, *in two Barks, the* George *and the* William, *ſet forth by the* Ruſſian *Company, for the diſcovery of the North-eaſt Parts of the World,* Anno 1580. *Written by* Hugh Smith.

1580.

UPon *Monday May* the 30th, we departed from *Harwich*, and on the 23d of *June*, we put into *Wardhouſe*, to ſeek the *William*, whoſe Company we loſt on the 6th, and to ſend Letters into *England*; At one in the Afternoon the *William* arrived, with all her Company in health.

July.

They part from the William.

On the firſt of *July* the Wind coming fair, we ſailed from *Wardhouſe*. On the ſecond we bare down to the *William*, who ſailing very ill, Mr. *Jackman* told us he was willing to go to *Kegor*, to mend her Sterage. Mr. *Pet* anſwered him, that if he thought himſelf not able to keep the Sea, he ſhould do as he thought beſt, and that he in the mean time would bear with *Willoughbies* Land (it being part of our Inſtructions) and would meet him again at *Vaigats*; and ſo we ſet our courſe E. N. E.

A ſight of perfect Land to the Northward.

The third we were by our reckoning 50 Leagues E. N. E. from *Kegor*, no Ground in 120 Fathom. The 4th we haled S. E. by E. Lat. 71 Deg. 38 Min. On the fifth we ſaw Land, but could not come at it, the Wind being Northerly. On the 6th we met with Ice, and on the ſeventh there appeared more Land North from us, being perfect Land: The Ice was between us and it, ſo that we could not come nearer to it.

An Iſland.

On the tenth at ten in the Morning, we ſaw Land again, but durſt not bear with it by reaſon of a thick Fog. That Night we came with our Ship within an Iſland, where we rode all Night, and went into a Bay to ride near the Land for Wood and Water.

The main Land.

The 11th, about a League from us to the Eaſtward, we ſaw a very fair Sound or River, that paſt very far into the Country in two or three Branches, with an Iſland in the midſt.

Bearbay.

The 12th at eleven in the Morning, there came a great white Bear to the Water-ſide, and took the Water of his own accord; we chaſed him with our Boat, but for all that we could do, he got to Land and eſcaped from us: We named the place *Bearbay*.

This Afternoon we ſet ſail, and on the 13th met with great ſtore of Ice, and on the 14th were ſo embayed with it, that it was by God's great Mercy we came out of it, otherwiſe it had been impoſſible; Lat. 70 Deg. 26 Min. We lay along the Coaſt North Weſt, thinking it to be an Iſland, but finding no end in rowing ſo long, we ſuppoſed it to be part of *Nova Zembla*.

From this time to the 18th, we were conſtrained to go many Points of the Compaſs, as the Ice would give us leave, and on the 18th had ſight of the South part of *Vaigats*. We had but four Fathom Water, ſometimes three, and two and a half, and one and a half. There anchoring, we ſent our Boat to ſound, and all to Leeward had four Foot, three Foot, and two Foot; there was not Water for the Boat between *Vaigats* and the other ſide. Finding no more Water, there was no other way but to go back as we came in.

On the 20th we plied to the Northwards, and got into ſix or ſeven Fathom Water.

On the 21ſt we haled along the Coaſt North and North-weſt, and had eight, nine, and ten Fathoms.

On the 22d the Wind blew much with great Fog, and we lacking Water and Wood, bare with an Iſland, where we found ſtore of both. Under a Point of Land we found a Croſs ſet up, and a Man buried at the Foot of it: Upon the ſaid Croſs Mr. *Pett* did engrave his Name, with the Year of our Lord, and ſo likewiſe upon a Stone at the Foot of the Croſs, to the end, that if the *William* ſhould chance to come thither, they might know that we had been there.

The 23d the Wind came S. W. a Sea-board we ſaw ſix fair Iſlands, we haled N. E. and E. N. E. as the Land did trend. At eight very much Wind at S. E. with Rain and Fog, and great ſtore of Ice a Sea-board. At twelve it became calm on a ſudden, and the Wind coming W. N. W. we took in our Boat, and there came down ſo much Wind as we were not able to ſteer afore it with Courſe and Bonnets of each. We found the Ice to ſtretch into the Land, that we could not get clear to the Eaſtward, ſo we laid it to the Shoar, and found it clear near the Shoar, and we found alſo a very fair Iſland, which makes a good Harbour, and within are twelve Fathoms.

This Iſland is four or five Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Vaygats*; the Land of the Main tends S. E. and S. E. by E. It is an even and plain Coaſt, with ſix or ſeven Fathom Water a League from the Shoar. This day we found the Pole to be elevated 69 Deg. 14 Min. We put into the Ice to ſeek ſome way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to have ſome clear Paſſage that way, but there was nothing but whole Ice. At nine in the Afternoon we had ſight of the *William*, and there was a great Land of Ice between us, ſo that we could not come one to the other, but we ſounded our Trumpet and ſhot off two Muskets, and ſhe put out her Flag upon her Fore-top-maſt, in token that ſhe did ſee us. We ſhortned ſail, ſeeking a way thro' the broken Ice, and at twelve at Night moored our Ship to a piece of Ice to tarry for the *William*.

The *George* and the *William* met.

The 25th at five in the Morning, the *William* came to us, to our mutual Joy; the *William* had her *Stern-poſt* broken, ſo that the Rudder hanging clean beſides the Stern, ſhe could in no wiſe port her Helm. With all hands we lightned her Stern and trimmed her Head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, we brought a Cable under her Stern, and with our *Capſten* did wind up her Stern, and ſo made it as well as the place would give us leave, and in the end brought her to ſteer again. We acknowledge this our meeting to be a great bleſſing of God for our mutual Comfort, and gave the divine Majeſty thanks for it. All that Night we took our reſt, being made faſt to a piece of Ice, and indeed we were ſo incloſed with Ice, that we could not tell which way to paſs. Winds we have had at will, but Ice and Fog too much againſt our Wills, if it had pleaſed the Lord God otherwiſe.

The 26th, the Wind at W. N. W. we ſet ſail to the Northwards, to ſeek if we could find any way clear to paſs to the Eaſtward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the Ice, ſo that we could go no further, but were conſtrained to moor upon another piece of Ice. I think we ſailed in all a League this day; here we found 15 Fathoms Oze, and this Oze is all the Channel over. This day Mr. *Jugman* did ſee Land E. N. E. from us, as he did think, whether it were Land or no, I cannot well tell; it was very like Land, but the Fogs have many times deceived us.

The 27th, the Wind at N. W. we ſet ſail to ſeek the Shoar; further into the Ice we could not go, and at ſeven in the Afternoon, we moored to a piece of Ice, the *William* being with us, here we had 14 Fathoms Oze. We wrapt from one Ice to another, and moored again to a piece of Ice until next day: All this Night it did ſnow, with much Wind at W. N. W. N. W. and by Weſt.

The 28th, the Wind at S. W. and S. S. W. a very fair day, Mr. *Pet* and Mr. *Jackman* conferred together what was beſt to be done, conſidering the fair Winds we had, and yet we were not able to paſs for Ice; they agreed to ſeek the Land again, and ſo to *Vaigats*, and there to confer further. We warped from one piece of Ice to another, to get free of them if it were poſſible. Here were pieces of Ice ſo great, that we could not ſee beyond them out of the top.

The Current runs with the Wind.

The 29th, the Wind S. W. we plied to the Shoar, making many turns among the Ice to ſmall purpoſe, for with the Wind doth the Current run.

The 30th, the Wind at S. E. and by S. we did our beſt to ſeek our way as the Ice would give us leave; ſometimes we lay South, ſometimes Weſt, and ſometimes Eaſt.

The 31ſt, the Wind at S. W. we did our beſt in turning to windward, but the Current would not give us leave; for, as I ſaid, the Current goes with the Wind. Perceiving that we did no good, we faſtned our Ship to a piece of Ice: All this day the *William* lay ſtill, and did as much good as we that had taken ſo much pains. This day the Pole was elevated 69 Deg. 20 Min. and here we had 17 Fathoms Oze.

Auguſt.

The firſt day of *Auguſt* was very calm in the Morning, the Wind at W. N. W. and continued ſo that Night with great Fog.

The ſecond day the Wind at S. W. all day with Rain and Fog, we lay ſtill, being incloſed with Ice; here we had 21 Fathoms Oze.

The third day, the Wind at Weſt, and W. N. W. we lay ſtill, incloſed in Ice, the Weather being dark with Fog. Thus abiding the Lord's leiſure, we continued with patience, and ſounding we had 21 Fathoms.

The fourth day we lay ſtill incloſed with Ice, the Wind at W. N. W. the Ice every day increaſed upon us, yet putting our truſt in God, we hoped to be delivered out of it in good time.

The fifth it rained all the Morning with very much Wind at S. S. E. then we ſet ſail, and preſently it became calm for an Hour, and then the Wind came to N. N. E. and we made way among the Ice S. W. and S. S. W. and W. as we could find a way for the ſpace of three Hours; then meeting with a whole Land of Ice, We could go no further, but mored our Ship to tarry for a further opening: Here we found 45 Fathoms Oze, and all the Night was very dark with Fog.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th, the Wind from W. by S. to W. by N. we lay ſtill, being incloſed with Ice that we could not ſtir, labouring only to defend the Ice as it came upon us, the Wind towards Night came to S. S. W. and then the Ice began a little to open: Here we had 70 Fathoms Oze, the Night foggy.

The 9th the Wind at N. W. by W. we lay ſtill becauſe the Ice did yet incloſe us Latitude by Obſervation, 70 Deg. 4 Min. the Night very fair, but it freezed, ſo that in the Morning we had much ado to go thro it, and we feared that if it ſhould freeze ſo much the Night following, we ſhould never get out of it. This Night one Star appeared to us.

Stars appearing a ſign of Winter.

The 10th, the Wind at E. N. E. we with Sail and Oars, made way thro' the Ice, and that Night it ſnowed very much.

The 11th, the Wind at S. W. by great force we made our way through the Ice, which we thought a thing impoſſible, but Extremity makes Men do much, and in the Weakneſs of Man, God's ſtrength moſt appears: This Night we had 97 Fathoms.

The 12th the Wind from S. E. to W. S. W. all the day very dark with Snow and Fog. At ſix in the Afternoon we ſet ſail, the Wind at N. N. E. and bare away S. W. all this Night we found the Ice more favourable to us than it was before, which gave us good hopes to get out of it.

The 13th the Wind at N. E. with a blow againſt a blow againſt a piece of Ice, we brake the Stock of our Anchor, and many other great blows we had, that it was marvellous the Ship was able to abide them. The ſide of our Boat was broken by the recoyling of our Ship, the Boat being betwixt a great piece of Ice and the Ship, and it periſhed the Head of our Rudder, This day was a very hard day with us, and all Night it blew very much Wind, ſo that we drove with the Ice, and our drift was South, and we had great ſtore of Snow.

The 14th the Wind continued Northerly, we faſtned our Ship to a piece of Ice, and drove with it.

The 15th, the Wind at N. E. at nine in the Morning we entred into a clear Sea without Ice, whereat we rejoiced, and not without great cauſe, giving God the praiſe. We had 19 Fathom Water, and at twelve a Clock had ſight of the Land three Leagues from us. This Day we had the Pole elevated 69 Deg. 49 Min. we ran along the Coaſt in ten and nine Fathoms peppered Sand; It is a bold Coaſt without Sands or Rocks.

The 16th the Wind was at Eaſt; we were troubled again with Ice, but we got between the Shoar and it. At twelve we were thwart of the South-eaſt part of *Vaigats*, all along which there was great ſtore of Ice, ſo that we doubted of paſſage, yet with much difficulty we got between the Shoar and it. The day was dark with Fog, we haled N. by W. and ſometimes N. by E. for ſo the Land trends.

The 17th we haled Weſt, for ſo the Land lies: The Wind at S. E. very dark with Fog, and in running along the Shoar we came aground, but God be praiſed, without hurt, for we were preſently off again. The *William* came to an Anchor to ſtay for us, and ſent ſome of their Men to help us, but before they came we were under ſail: We went within ſome of the Iſlands, and haled W. S. W.

The 18th, 19th, and 20th, the Wind Eaſterly, at ſeven this Morning we had 30 Fathom black Oze, and at twelve were upon the ſudden in ſhoul Water, among great Sands, and could find no way out. By ſounding and ſeeking about, we came aground, and ſo did the *William*, but the Wind being off the Shoar, we had no hurt, and the Night being calm, we did our beſt all Night, but could not ſet her afloat. Theſe Shoals lie off of *Colgoyeve*, it is very flat a great way off, and it does not high above two or three Foot Water; it flows N. E. and S. W.

The 21ſt, the Wind at S. W. and being fair Weather, we did lighten our Ship as much as was poſſible for us to do, by reaſon of the place. The ſame high Water, by the help of God, we got both afloat, and the Wind being at S. W. did help us, for it cauſed it to flow the more Water, Latitude 68. Deg. 40 Min. We ſet ſail to ſeek a way out of theſe Sands, our Boat a head ſounding, having ſix, ſeven and eight Fathom. We bare to the Southward, and the *William* bare more to the Eaſtward.

They loſe ſight of the *William*.

The 22d at eight in the Morning, we ſaw the *William* under our Lee as far as we could ſee her, and in a great Fog loſt ſight of her, and never ſaw her more.

On the 23d we had ſight of the Land of *Hugri*, and and on the 27th we ſaw Land again, which we made to be *Kegor*; and on the 31ſt we doubled the North Cape.

We met afterwards with Southerly Winds, which obliged us to put into divers Sounds in *Norway*, where we lay until the firſt of *December*, and then departing from *Scop* Sound, on the ninth we had ſight of *Scotland*,

and on the 26th anchored at *Ratclif*, and praiſed God for our ſafe return.

Charles Jackman in the *William* arrived at a Port in *Norway*, between *Fronden* and *Roſtock*, in *October* 1580, and there did Winter; and from thence departed again in *February* following, and went in Company of a Ship of the King of *Denmark*'s, towards *Iſland*, and ſince that time he was never heard of.

CHAP. XI.

The Voyage of Sir Jerom Bowes *Knight, her Majeſties Embaſſador to* Juan Vaſilvich, *Emperour of* Ruſſia, An. 1583.

1583. THE Emperour having the laſt Year ſent an ancient diſcreet Gentleman of his Houſhold named *Pheodor Andreuich Phiſemsky*, as his Embaſſador to *England*, who had in ſpecial charge to ſollicit her Majeſty to ſend over with him to his Maſter an Embaſſador from her, to treat of important Affairs concerning both Realms; Her Majeſty made choice of Sir *Jerom Bowes*, a Gentleman of her Court, who being attended with 40 Perſons, whereof many were Gentlemen, took his leave of her Majeſty the 18th of *June*, and with the other Embaſſador embarked at *Harwich* the 22d of the ſame, and after a ſtormy Voyage at Sea, arrived at St. *Nicholas* the 23d of *July* following.

The *Ruſſe* Embaſſador having repoſed himſelf one day in the Abby, took his leave of the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, and departed towards *Moſco*.

The *Engliſh* Embaſſador tarried four or five days, and then went to *Colmogro*, about 80 Miles diſtant from St. *Nicholas*.

You muſt here underſtand, that before the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors going into *Ruſſia*, the *Hollanders* had intruded into our Trade, notwithſtanding a Privilege was long before granted to the *Engliſh* for the ſole trade thither. The *Dutch* had by chargeable means won three of the Emperour's chief Counſellors to be their aſſured Friends, namely *Mekita Romanovich*, *Bodan Belskoy*, and *Andrew Shalkan* the Chancellor; for beſides daily Gifts which they beſtowed upon them all, they took ſo much Money of theirs at Intereſt at 25 *per Cent.* as they paid to one of them 5000 Marks yearly for the uſe of his Money; and the *Engliſh* Merchants at that time had not one Friend in Court.

The Embaſſador having ſpent five Weeks at St. *Nicholas* and *Colmogro*, there came a Gentleman from the Emperour to conduct him up the River towards *Moſco*, and to provide Victuals for him on the way.

This Gentleman being a Follower of *Shalkan* the Chancellour, was by him (as it ſeemed) foiſted into that Service, on purpoſe to offer Diſcourteſies and Occaſions of Diſtaſt to the Embaſſador; for the Chancellour with the other two great Counſellours were reſolved to oppoſe themſelves directly againſt her Majeſties Embaſſage, eſpecially in that Point, for the barring all Strangers from trading into the Emperour's Country.

This Gentleman conducted him 1000 Miles up the River *Dwina*, as far as *Vologhda*, where he was received by another Gentleman of greater quality than the other, who preſented the Embaſſador from the Emperour, with two fair Geldings, well furniſhed after their manner.

At *Teraſlave* he was met by a Duke well accompanied, ſent from the Emperour, who preſented him from the Emperour with a Coach and ten Geldings, for the more eaſy conveying him to *Moſco*, from whence the City was diſtant 500 Miles.

Two Miles on this ſide *Moſco* the Embaſſador was met by four Gentlemen accompanied with 200 Horſe, who after a little ſalutation, not familiar without embracing, told him that they had ſomewhat to ſay to him from the Emperour, and would have had him alight on foot to hear it, themſelves ſtill ſitting on Horſeback, which the Embaſſador refuſing to do, they ſtood long upon terms, whether both Parties ſhould alight or not, which at laſt was agreed upon, yet there was great niceneſs whoſe Foot ſhould not be firſt on Ground.

Their Meſſage delivered, they embraced each other, and the Embaſſador was by them conducted to his Lodgings at *Moſco*, a Houſe built on purpoſe for him, themſelves being placed in the next Houſe to it, to furniſh him with Proviſions, and to be uſed by him upon all other Occaſions.

The Embaſſador having been ſome days in *Moſco*, was ſent for to Court, and was accompanied with about 40 Gentlemen, well mounted and ſumptuouſly arraied; and in his paſſage from his Lodging to the Court, ſtood five or ſix thouſand Muſqueteers of the Emperour's Guards. At the entry of the Court he was met by four Noblemen in Cloth of Gold and rich Furs, their Caps embroider'd with Pearl, who conducted him till he was met by four others of greater quality than them, who conducted him to the Emperour's Chamber-door, in which Paſſage there ſtood along the Walls, and ſate upon Benches in rows, ſeven or eight hundred Perſons, ſaid to be Noblemen and Gentlemen, all in coloured Sattins and Cloth of Gold. At the Door he was received by the Emperour's Herald, and all the great Officers of his Chamber, who conducted him to the place where the Emperour ſate in ſtate, having three Crowns ſtanding by him, *viz.* of *Muſcovia*, *Cazan*, and *Aſtracan*, and two young Noblemen on each ſide of him, apparell'd in white, each of them with a fine broad Ax upon his Shoulder, and there ſate upon Benches about 100 Noblemen in Cloth of Gold.

The Embaſſador thus brought to the Emperour to kiſs his Hand, after ſome Complements and Inquiry of her Majeſties health, he willed him to ſit down in a place provided for that purpoſe, nigh ten Paces diſtant from him, from whence he would have had him to ſend him her Majeſties Letters and Preſent, which the Embaſſador thinking not reaſonable, ſtept forward towards the Emperour, but was intercepted by the Chancellour, who would have taken his Letters, to whom the Embaſſador ſaid, that her Majeſty had directed no Letters to him, and ſo went on, and delivered them himſelf to the Emperour's own Hands.

He was thence conducted to the Council Chamber, where, after ſome conference, he was ſent for again to the Emperour, where he dined in his preſence at a ſide Table near unto him, and all his Company at another Board by; there alſo dined at other Tables in the ſame Room, about 100 of the chief Noblemen that were about the Court. The Emperour uſed many Favours to the Embaſſador, and about the middle of Dinner ſtood up, and drank a great Carouſe to the Health of the Queen his good Siſter, and ſent him a great Bowl full of Rheniſh-wine and Sugar to pledge him.

The Embaſſador after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference with the Emperour and his Council, touching both Embaſſages, which divers times raiſed many Jars; and in the end, after ſundry Meetings, the Emperour being diſſatisfied, becauſe the Embaſſador had not power by his Commiſſion to yield to every thing he thought fit (as a Man whoſe Will was ſeldom uſed to be gainſaid) let looſe his Paſſion, and with a ſtern and angry countenance told him, that he did not reckon the Queen of *England* to be his Fellow, for there are (quoth he) that are her Betters.

The Embaſſador greatly diſliking theſe Speeches, and being very unwilling (how dangerous ſoever it might prove to his own Perſon) to give way to the Emperour to derogate from the Honour and Greatneſs of her Majeſty, with like Courage and Countenance to his, told him, that the Queen his Miſtreſs was as great a Prince as any was in Chriſtendom, equal to him that thought himſelf the greateſt, well able to defend her ſelf againſt the Malice of any whomſoever, and wanted no means to offend any that either ſhe had, or ſhould have cauſe to be Enemy unto. Yea (quoth he) how ſaiſt thou to the *French* King, and the King of *Spain*?

Truly (quoth the Embaſſador) I hold the Queen my Miſtreſs as great as either of them. Then what ſaiſt thou (quoth he) to the Emperour of *Germany*? The Embaſſador anſwered, Such is the Greatneſs of the Queen my Miſtreſs, that the King her Father had not long ſince the Emperour in his pay, in his Wars againſt *France*.

This Anſwer ſo diſpleaſed the Emperour, that he told him, if he were not an Embaſſador, he would throw him out of the Doors: whereunto he anſwered, that he might do his will, for he was now faſt within his Country, but he had a Miſtreſs, who (he doubted not) would be revenged of any Injury ſhould be done unto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great heat, bid him get him home, and he with no more reverence than ſuch uſage required, ſaluted the Emperour and departed.

The Embaſſador was no ſooner gone, and the Emperour's choler ſomewhat ſetled, but he commended the Embaſſador before his Council, becauſe he would not endure one ill word to be ſpoken againſt his Miſtreſs, and therewithal wiſhed himſelf to have ſuch a Servant.

About an Hour after he came to his Lodging, the Emperour ſent his Principal Secretary to him to tell him, that notwithſtanding what had paſt, yet for the great love that he had for the Queen his Siſter, he ſhould very ſhortly be called again to Court, and have a reſolution of all the Matters in queſtion: And further imparted to him, that the Emperour would ſend a greater Nobleman home with him in Embaſſage to the Queen his Siſter, than ever he yet at any time ſent out of his Country; and that he determined alſo to ſend to the Queen a Preſent worth 3000 *l.* and to gratify himſelf at his departure, with a Gift that ſhould be worth 1000 *l.* and told him alſo that the next day the Emperour would ſend a great Nobleman to him, to confer with him about certain Abuſes done to him by *Shalkan* the Chancellour and his Miniſters.

And accordingly on the day following, he ſent *Bodan Bleskoy*, the chiefeſt Chancellour he had, and moſt in credit with him, who examined all the Embaſſador's Grievances, righting him in all things wherein he had been wronged, and ſupplying him with what he wanted.

Soon after, the Emperour ordered a larger Allowance of Diet for the Embaſſador than he had before. It was ſo great, that the Embaſſador oftentimes ſought to have it leſſen'd, but the Emperour would not by any means.

The Scroul of the new Diet was this.

One Buſhel of fine Meal for three days.
One Buſhel of Wheat Meal for a day and a half.
Two live Geeſe for a day.
Twenty Hens for a day.
Seven Sheep for a day.
One Ox for three days.
One ſide of a Pork for a day.
Seventy Eggs.
Ten Pound of Butter.
Seventy Penny white Loaves of Bread.
Twelve Penny Loaves of Bread.
One Gallon of Vinegar.
Two Gallons of ſalt Cabbages.
One Peck of Onions.
Ten Pound of Salt.
One Altine or ſix penny worth of Wax Candles.
Two Altines of Tallow Candles.
A Quart of Cherry Mead.
As much of *Mallynovo* Mead.
Two Quarts of burnt Wine.
One Gallon of ſodden Mead.
Three Gallons of ſweet Mead.
Ten Gallons of white Mead.
Fifteen Gallons of ordinary Mead.
Four Gallons of ſweet Beer.
Fifteen Gallons of Beer.
Half a Pound of Pepper.
Three Ounces of Saffron.
One Ounce of Mace.
One Ounce of Nutmegs.
Two Ounces of Cloves.
Three Ounces of Cinamon.

Provender.

One Buſhel of Oats.
One Load of Hay.
One Load of Straw.

Now he began ſo much to diſcover his Purpoſe and Affection towards her Majeſty and her Country, that he ſent to the Embaſſador, intreating him that Mr. *Cole* his Preacher, and Doctor *Jacob* his Phyſician, might ſet down the Points of the Religion in *England*, which was done accordingly, and ſent unto him, who ſeemed ſo well to like them, as he cauſed them to be publickly read (with good approbation) before divers of his Council and many others of his Nobility.

Then he ſeemed very eager to marry ſome Kinſwoman of her Majeſties, and ſaid, he would ſend again into *England* to have one of them to Wife, and if her Majeſty would not upon his next Embaſſage ſend him ſuch a one as he required, he would then go into *England*, and carry his Treaſure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you muſt underſtand, that laſt Year he had ſent to her Majeſty by his Embaſſador, to have had the Lady *Mary Haſtings* in Marriage, which Treaty by means of her inability of Body, much Sickneſs, or perhaps by reaſon of no great liking either her ſelf or Friends, or both, took no place.

The Embaſſador was now ſo far grown into the Emperour's Favour, that thoſe great Councellours who were his great Enemies before, were now deſirous of ſome publick Courteſies at his Hands for their Advantage to the Emperour: Nor durſt they now any more interpoſe betwixt the Emperour and him; for not long before this, the Emperour had grievouſly beaten *Shalcan* the Chancellour, for abuſing the Embaſſador, and ſent him word that he would not leave one of his Race alive.

The Embaſſadour improving his Favour with the Emperour, obtained divers Suits from him for the Benefit of his Countrymen, among which was an old Debt of 3000 Marks, a Debt ſo deſperate, that it had been left out of their Accounts four Years, and in the opinion of all the Merchants, not fit to be mentioned for fear of offending the Emperour too much, and was therefore left out of his Inſtructions from her Majeſty.

He obtained alſo the repayment of 1500 Marks, which had been exacted from them the two laſt Years before his coming thither.

Alſo that all Strangers were forbidden to trade any more into *Ruſſia*, and that the Trade in all the Emperour's Northern Coaſt, from *Wardhouſe* to the River *Ob*, ſhould be only free to the *Engliſh* Nation.

He obtained alſo for the *Engliſh* Merchants, the abatement of all Cuſtom, which they had long before paid, and agreed ſtill to continue, amounting to 2000 *l.* yearly.

And among his private Grants, he got leave for *Jane Ricardo* to return home; ſhe was the Widow of Doctor *Bomelius* a *Dutch-man*, and Phyſician to the Emperour, who for practiſing Treaſon with the King of *Poland* againſt the ſaid Emperour, was roaſted to death at *Moſco*, in the Year 1579.

All theſe were granted, ſome of the Money already repaid, the old Privileges ſigned, ſealed, and was to be delivered to him at his next coming to Court, before which time the Emperour died of a Surfeit, on the 18th of *April*, 1584. having reigned 54 Years.

The death of the Emperour *Juan Vaſilivich*

The caſe was now wonderfully alter'd with the Embaſſador, who now fell into the Hands of his great Enemies, *Mekita Romanovich* and *Andrea Shalkan* the Chancellour, who after the death of the Emperour, took the Government upon themſelves, and preſently cauſed the Embaſſador to be ſhut up a cloſe Priſoner in his own Houſe, for the ſpace of nine Weeks, where he was ſo ſtrictly guarded and badly uſed, as he daily ſuſpected ſome further miſchief to have followed: At laſt he was ſent for to Court to have his Diſpatch, and to take his leave of the Emperour, whether being conducted (not after the uſual manner, and brought to the Council Chamber, there came to him only *Shalkan* the Chancellour and a Brother of his, who without more Words, told him for the Sum of his Diſpatch, That this Emperour would not treat of further Amity with the Queen, than ſuch as was between his late Father and her, before his coming thither; and they would not hear any reply to be made by the Embaſſador, but preſently cauſed him and all his Company to be diſarmed, and go towards the Emperour. In his Paſſage ſuch Outrages were offered him, as, had he not uſed more patience than his natural diſpoſition afforded him, he had not in likelyhood eſcaped with Life, yet at laſt was brought into the Emperour's preſence, who ſaid nothing to him more than what the Chancellour had ſaid, but offered him a Letter to carry to her Majeſty, which the Embaſſador (becauſe he knew it contained nothing concerning his Embaſſy) refus'd, till he ſaw his Danger grow too great. Neither would the Emperour ſuffer the Embaſſador to reply, nor could he well, becauſe they had taken away his Interpreter, that the Emperour might not know how diſhonourably he had been uſed. He was ordered to depart from *Moſco* before the Coronation of the new Emperour,

perour, and there was no Favour or Friendſhip left for him, *Shalkan* the Chancellour having ſent him word that the *Engliſh* Emperour was dead. He had only one Gentleman appointed to accompany him to the Sea-ſide, and underſtanding before he left *Moſco*, that ſome ſudden revenge was deſigned againſt him upon the way, he provided the beſt he could for his defence, by arming his Servants, and commanding the *Engliſh* Merchants in her Majeſties name to accompany him, that if any ſuch attempt ſhould be made againſt him, the Aggreſſors ſhould die with him for Company: This Reſolution of his was thought to contribute to his ſafety, altho' none of the *Engliſh* Merchants did accompany him. He was forced to digeſt many Injuries upon the way before he reached St. *Nicholas*, and then recollecting his ill uſage at *Moſco*, and the poor and diſgraceful Preſent ſent him (in the name of the Emperour) inſtead of that which was intended for him by the old Emperour, knowing all this to be done in diſgrace of her Majeſty and himſelf, he reſolved now to be diſcharged of the Letter and Preſent, and ſo furniſhing and placing his Men to anſwer any aſſault that ſhould be offered him in getting to his Ship, he bid farewel to the uncourteous Gentleman that brought him thither, and then ſent three or four of the moſt valiant and diſcreet Men he had, with his Majeſties weak Letter and worſe Preſent to be delivered to him or left at his Lodging, and then recovered his Ship in ſafety, altho' preſently after there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receive the ſame again, but they failed of their purpoſe; ſo departing from St. *Nicholas* the 12th of *Auguſt*, he arrived at *Graveſend* the 12th of *September*, in the Year 1584.

CHAP. XII.

A ſhort Narrative of the Tragical Revolutions in Ruſſia, *after the death of* Juan Vaſilowich.

Demetrius murthered.

IVan Vaſilowich dying in 1584, in the 54th Year of his Reign, left two Sons, *Pheodore* aged 25 Years, who ſucceeded him, and *Demetrius* an Infant, who was ſent with his Mother to a Town called *Ouglets*. He left alſo one Daughter married to the Lord *Boris*, whoſe Siſter *Irenia* was married to the Emperour *Pheodore*. This Lord aiming at the Soveraignty, procured the death of the young Prince *Demetrius* in this manner. The great Bell at *Ouglets*, being rung as is uſual in caſe of Fire, ſome were ſet to kill him as he came forth. The Inhabitants, to put away ſuſpicion from themſelves, killed ſuch of the Family as they met in their fury; notwithſtanding which, *Boris* exerciſed ſevere Tortures and terrible Executions upon them. Not long after, the Emperour *Pheodore* died in the Year 1598, not without ſuſpicion of being poyſoned by *Boris*, having reigned 14 Years. He was impotent in Body and Mind, and very ſuperſtitious in Religious Matters, ſo that his Father was wont to ſay of him, *That he was fitter to ring Bells in Churches, than to govern an Empire.*

Death of *Pheodore*.

The Empreſs ſucceeds.

As ſoon as the Funeral was over, his Will was read, whereby the Empreſs (Siſter to the Lord *Boris*) with the Patriarch, were intruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Government. Hereupon a general Aſſembly of the States was held at *Moſco*, and their Oaths given to the Empreſs, who immediately went into a Nunnery, there to paſs the 40 days of mourning; in which time, either by her own Inclination, or her Brother's Perſwaſion, ſhe renounced the World, and transferred the Government upon the *Boiarens*, that they according to their Wiſdom, and Love to their Country, might take care thereof; whereupon the People were ſo moved, that they came thronging to the Nunnery Gates, imploring her care in ſo perilous a time, whom alone they were bound to ſerve. She commanded them to go to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, but they proteſted againſt them, ſaying, That they had ſworn to her, and would be ordered by Lord *Boris* her Brother. Hereupon *Boris* went out to appeaſe the Multitude, and undertook, together with the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, to adminiſter the Government during the 40 days of mourning, in which time the Empreſs profeſſed her ſelf a Nun, changing her Name to *Alexandria*.

She enters into a Nunnery.

And profeſſes.

The time of mourning ended, the People were called into the Caſtle, where the Chancellor made an Oration, perſwading them to ſwear Obedience to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, which they with Out-cries diſclaimed, ſaying, they would do it to none but the Queen and Lord *Boris*. The Council ſitting to conſider thereof, the Chancellour came forth and commanded them to ſwear to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, the Queen being now become a Nun, wheupon they unanimouſly named Lord *Boris* as one worthy of the State, to whom they were ready to ſwear. He being preſent, roſe up and modeſtly excuſed himſelf, proteſting his unwillingneſs and unworthineſs, and willed them to chooſe ſome other more worthy; and going thence immediately toward the Church, they laid Hands on him, with loud Cries and Lamentations, beſeeching him not to forſake them. He weeping, ſtill refuſed, alledging his inſufficiency, and the more to inflame their deſire, abſented and hid himſelf a whole Month with his Siſter in the Nunnery. The People fearing his flight, beſieged the place, and with continual clamours, urged the Queen to perſwade her Brother to accept the Empire. She again ſends them to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, upon the mentioning of whoſe Names they began to mutiny. *Boris* then went forth and told them, if they were no quieter, he alſo would take Sack-cloth, and enter into a Monaſtery, as his Siſter had done; whereupon they caſt out ſome deſperate threats of looking to themſelves, ſince the Commonwealth was ſo neglected. At laſt the Queen by their importunity, perſwaded her Brother no longer to reſiſt God's Will, who had put this conſtancy into the Peoples Minds, and to accept that which God ſeemed thus to command.

Boris after many Excuſes, at laſt ſeemed to be overcome by his Siſter's Intreaties, and aſſented to her, who ſignified as much to the People, to whom ſhe preſented him, praying them to be as loyal to him, as they had been earneſt for him. *Boris* alſo ſpake unto them in this manner. ‘Foraſmuch as it ſeemeth good to the ‘Divine Grace and Providence whereby all things are ‘governed, that by common Conſent and continual ‘Prayers, I take upon me the Principality over you ‘and all the Provinces of *Ruſſia*; I will no longer re‘ſiſt, how heavy ſoever I conceive this Burthen to my ‘Shoulders, but have determined to undertake your ‘Protection with greateſt Fidelity, being ready to ‘ſway the *Ruſſian* Scepter and Government, as far as ‘God's Grace ſhall enable me; on the other ſide, be you ‘faithful to me and to my Command, as God may ‘you help. I am your moſt gentle King.

Boris his Speech.

Joyful Acclamations followed, with Proteſtations of their Fidelity and future Obedience. He entring the Monaſtery, after Prayers received the firſt Benediction, and the Bells of *Moſco* (of which are reckoned 3000) reſounded the publick Joy. All the Magiſtrates, and ſuch as received Salaries of the King, preſented him, according to cuſtom, with Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Bread and Salt, humbly deſiring his acceptance, with Wiſhes of long Life and Happineſs: He rendring them thanks, accepted the Bread and Salt only, ſaying, *Theſe were his, the reſt they ſhould keep themſelves.* Then inviting them to a Feaſt, he with *Mary* his Wife, *Theodore* his Son of ten, and *Arſenica* his Daughter of 16 Years of Age, went out of the Monaſtery in ſolemn Proceſſion to the Caſtle. The like Preſents were offered to his Wife and Children, who accepted the Bread and Salt only.

The Feſtival ended, a ſolemn Oath was taken from all the Governours: Then came News that the *Crim Tartars* had entred the Borders, hoping to find all things in confuſion; whereupon he aſſembled an Army of 300000 Men, and marched in Perſon againſt them; the *Tartars* hearing how things went, ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperour's Tents, and returned home, whereupon he marched back to *Moſco*, where he was ſolemnly crowned by the Patriarch.

Boris crowned.

Twelve days together all Orders were feaſted in the Caſtle, and the Magiſtrates and Officers had a Years pay given them; the *German* Merchants had Money lent them, to be repaid ſeven Years after without uſury, and Immunities and Privileges were granted to thoſe of other Countries: Alms were diſtributed to Widows, Orphans, and other poor Perſons: *Pheodore*'s Obſequies were ſolemnly performed, the Prieſts richly rewarded, and the whole Empire, which ſeemed to be dead, received a glorious Reſurrection.

And now to eſtabliſh what he had begun; his firſt care was to increaſe his Treaſure; and as at firſt he was popularly prodigal, ſo after a ſmall time he became very penurious, ſhortning the Allowance of the Court from what it had been in former times. His next care was, to hold good Terms with other Princes, and by forreign Alliances, to ſettle on his own Race, this new gotten Empire. He is ſaid for this end, to have ſought a Wife for his Son out of *England*, and a Huſband for his Daughter out of *Denmark*. His Wife being a Woman of a haughty Spirit, thought her too good for any *Hollop* (ſo they call their Slaves, and ſuch ſhe eſteemed all her Subjects and for that reaſon refuſed to give her in Marriage to *Peter Baſman*, the beſt Commander in the Army.

His Policies.

But while his Sun now ſhined in the height of his Courſe, there aroſe ſuch groſs Vapours out of *Demetrius*'s Grave, as not only eclipſed his Imperial Glory, but engendred ſuch a bloody Storm, as not only overwhelmed him and all his Family, but alſo the whole Empire.

Demetrius.

About the middle of *October*, 1604, news was brought to Court, that one who named himſelf *Demetrius Evanowich Beala*, who was ſuppoſed to have been murther'd at *Ouglets*, was up in Arms for his Right and Inheritance. This *Demetrius* was in his youth ſhorn a Friar in a Monaſtery, from whence making his eſcape he went into *Poland*, where calling to mind the fond conceit among the *Ruſſes*, that *Demetrius Evanowich* was ſecretly conveyed away, and that ſome other was murthered in his ſtead, and knowing the general diſtaſt of the Government of *Boris*, having alſo many Circumſtances of Time, Age, and Features, to advantage and ſecond his Pretence; firſt made himſelf known to the Principal Jeſuits in *Poland*, to whom he promiſed, if he might receive help for the recovery of his juſt Inheritance, his firſt care ſhould be to reduce the *Ruſſians* to the union of the *Roman* Church. The *Jeſuits* communicated the Matter to the Pope, and brought him to the Palatin of *Sendomir*, a potent Man in that Kingdom, whoſe Daughter he covenanted to marry if he ſucceeded in his *Ruſſian* Enterpriſe. The *Palatin* brought him before King *Sigiſmund*, who gave him a Chain of Gold, and promiſed to aſſiſt him.

Thus by the King's Favour, the *Palatine*'s Money, and the *Jeſuits* Induſtry, he raiſed an Army of 10000 Souldiers in *Poland*, and in his march was joined by 10000 *Caſſacks*. *Boris* ſent an Army of 100000 Men againſt him; he alſo ſent Embaſſadors into *Poland*, to put them in mind of the League between both Nations, and to deſire that this Counterfeit *Demetrius*, a Prieſts Baſtard, might be delivered to him alive or dead, adding Threats if they perſiſted: The Patriarch alſo with the Biſhops and Spiritual Men of *Ruſſia*, wrote unto the Spiritual Men of *Poland*, declaring unto them what that Heretick and Traitor was, from whence he came, and the occaſion of his running away, as alſo the manner of the making away of Prince *Demetrius*, and withal requeſting the Rulers and Spiritual Men of *Poland*, that they now knowing what a Runnagate this was, would not give credit to him, nor break the League concluded between them.

But ſuch was the prevailing Power of the Pope and Jeſuits in *Poland*, that no credit was given to theſe Writings. Both Armies meeting, *Demetrius* confident (as he made ſhew) in the Juſtice of his Cauſe, called upon God, ſo as he might be heard of all, with his Hands ſtretched forth, and his Eyes lifted up to Heaven, in ſuch like Words, *O moſt juſt Judge, kill me firſt with a Thunder-bolt, deſtroy me firſt and ſpare this Chriſtian Blood, if unjuſtly, if covetouſly, if wickedly I undertake this Enterpriſe; thou ſeeſt mine Innocency, help the just Cauſe; to thee O Queen of Heaven, I commend my ſelf and theſe my Souldiers.* *Demetrius* got the Victory, which he uſed with great modeſty; *Boris* hereupon ſent ſome with large Promiſes to murther him, and the Patriarch excommunicated all that favoured him. *Demetrius* wrote hereof modeſtly to the Patriarch, and to *Boris* alſo, offering fair Conditions if he would reſign his uſurped Empire, which he with Indignation rejected, and is ſaid to have been in ſuch a chafe, that he fell down ſuddenly, much Blood paſſing from his Mouth, Noſtrils, and Ears, and in the end of *April* died, ſome ſay of an Apoplexy, others that he poyſoned himſelf, having reigned ſeven Years.

Demetrius his Prayer,

The death of *Boris*.

His Wife and Son being advanced to the Throne, and the Nobility ſworn to them, *Peter Baſman* their great General, who had performed many honourable Services, and was the Man of greateſt hope and expectation in the whole Empire, was ſpeedily diſpatched with an Army, but upon his march revolted to *Demetrius*, and with him all the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Flemings*. They were all kindly received by *Demetrius*, who marching towards *Moſco*, ſent Meſſengers with Letters to the Lords of the Council, which entring the Suburbs, were conducted by infinite numbers of the Commons to a ſpacious Plain before the Caſtle Gate, where the Council then ſate, and were ſummoned by the ſaid Meſſengers, to come and hear their rightful King *Demetrius Ivanowich*, ſpeaking unto them by Letters; many of them came, for otherwiſe the Commons were reſolved to fetch them out; then the Emperour's Letters were read aloud to this effect.

Peter Baſman revolts to *Demetrius*.

'That he much wondred, having ſent many Letters 'and Meſſengers to them, with manifeſt Proofs of being 'their lawful Prince, as being the Son of *Juan Vaſilowich*, and the only Brother of *Pheodore*, ſelf-Upholder 'of happy memory, their late Emperour; yet notwith'ſtanding his long Patience, they had not only refuſed to 'anſwer his Princely Letters, but had been ſo preſump'tuous as to detain his Meſſengers; all which, notwith'ſtanding, he being confident of his juſt Title, and wil'ling to ſpare his Subjects Blood, had in his Princely 'Wiſdom and Clemency, again wrote, theſe his laſt 'Peace-requiring and Grace-offering Letters, and to this 'end had ſent Men of great Birth, with Commiſſion to 'diſplace his Enemies the *Gedonoves*, and others, till his 'further Pleaſure were known; and if they would now 'ſubmit themſelves to him, as to their lawful Prince and 'Soveraign (as he was well ſatisfied they in their Conſciences knew him to be) they ſhould yet find him a gracious 'and merciful Lord, if not a ſevere and juſt Avenger of 'their many miſdeeds, *&c.*

Demetrius his Letters.

But before this Letter was half read, the Multitude ran violently into the Caſtle, and releaſed two of *Demetrius* his Meſſengers, who had been miſerably tortured, whipt, and roaſted. Then the Prince, Empreſs, and Princeſs were taken into Cuſtody, and *Demetrius* was by conſent of the Nobles, (ſome few excepted) declared their right and lawful Emperour.

The Empreſs adviſed the young Prince and Princeſs to follow their Father's example, and murder themſelves by Poyſon, promiſing to bear them Company; the Mother drank firſt, and was pledged by the Son, who both died immediately, but the Princeſs drinking but little, ſurvived. Others aſcribe this Murther to the command of *Demetrius*, and that this Self-murther was a pretence only.

The Empreſs and Prince poyſon themſelves.

He entred *Moſco* the 19th of *June*, with pompous Proceſſion of Soldiers and Prieſts, the latter carrying Banners, with Pictures of the Bleſſed Virgin and *Nicholas*, their tutelar Saint. *Demetrius* mounted on a white Palfey, and attended by the Patriarch and others, went firſt to the Temple of our Lady, and after Prayers to St. *Michaels* Church, wherein *Juan Vaſilowich* lay buried, and hearing that *Boris* lay there interred, he preſently commanded his Body to be taken up, and to be removed to a meaner Chapel without the City. Then paſſing by the Houſe of *Boris*, he was ſo offended at the ſight, that he ſent Workmen preſently to raze the ſame. Thence proceeding to the Imperial Palace, and taking upon him the Government, he ſhewed more favour to the *Poles* and other Forreigners, than to the *Ruſſes*, which haſtned his ruin. Seventy noble Families of the Kindred or Faction of *Boris* were exiled, that their Goods and Lands might be ſhared among Strangers.

But his Clemency was remarkable to *Suisky*, his Succeſſour in the Empire, who being condemned for refuſing to acknowlege him as Emperour, and uttering reproachful Speeches on him, as, that he was of baſe Parentage, and had conſpired with the *Poles* to overthrow the *Ruſſian* Nobility and Religion; yet when he was at the place of Execution, after he had ended his Prayers, and on his Knees expected the fatal Stroke, received his Pardon.

his Clemency to *Suisky*.

The firſt of *September* being New-years-day with the *Ruſſes*, was appointed for his Coronation, and *Martha* the Empreſs (his ſuppoſed Mother) Widow of

Juan Vaſilovich was ſent for, from the Monaſtery far from Court, where *Boris* had placed her. An honourable Convoy was herein employed, and he with great ſhew of Piety went to meet her, embraced her with Tears, and bare-headed on Foot, attended her Chariot to the Caſtle. To the *Jeſuits* he allotted a fair place not far from the Caſtle, for the exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion, and would have then declared himſelf in that point, but fearing *Suisky*, he waited a fitter Opportunity.

Embaſſage to *Poland.*

His next care was to recompence the *Poles,* to enter into a League with that Nation, and to conſummate the marriage; for which reaſon he ſent *Athanaſius* his Treaſurer with 300 Horſemen, and Jewels for the Lady and her Father, worth 200000 Crowns, who in *November* came to *Cracovia*, had audience of King *Sigiſmund*, where he with all thankfulneſs, acknowledged the King's forwardneſs with his Nobles in recovering his Maſter's Right, to which God hath given ſucceſs beyond expectation; That he deplored the *Turkiſh* Inſolencies in *Hungary* and other parts, and would willingly join with the *Pole* and other Chriſtian Princes againſt them. In the mean time that he was willing to make an everlaſting League with him, and to that end intreated his good Leave to take upon himſelf a Wife out of *Poland*, namely, *Anna Maria*, Daughter of *George Miecinſie*, Palatine of *Sendomir*, in purſuance of a Contract made with her at the time of her being in *Poland*, which is as followeth.

Copy of the Contract of Marriage in the time of his being in *Poland.*

‘We *Demetry Evanowich*, by the Mercy of God, Prince of all *Ruſſia*, &c. calling to memory our former Life, being not in that form and manner, as in other great Monarchies, as was in the time of our Predeceſſours, and other Chriſtian People. Neverthelcſs, by the Providence of Almighty God, from whom proceedeth a beginning and an end, and from whom cometh Life and Death, we have by him eſpied and made choiſe unto our ſelf, with good liking in the time of our being in the Kingdom of *Poland*, of a Companion of great and honourable Birth, and of Godly Education, and is ſuch a Companion, with whom we ſhall by the Mercy of God live peaceably, which is the reſplendant and noble Lady *Marina*, Daughter to the great Palatin *Sendemersko*, and upon this Occaſion have taken him for our Father, and in regard that we are not yet in our own Kingdom, we do therefore purpoſe hereafter to take order for her coming unto us, with the ſaid General *Sendamersko*. Likewiſe when I ſhall come to live in my own Kingdom, then ſhall the Palatin *Sendamersko* remember his faithful and true Promiſe with his Daughter, the Lady *Marina*, her Vow, my ſelf remembring my own Vow, and ſo both of us to hold it faithfully with Love and Affection, and to that end do we bind our ſelves by our Writings. Likewiſe firſt and principally in the name of the Holy Trinity, I do give my faithful and true Princely Promiſe, that I will take in Marriage the Lady *Marina*; if on the contrary I do not, then I wiſh that I might give this as a Curſe upon my ſelf, alſo as I ſhall enter into our Kingdom and Heretage of *Moſco*, then will I give the Palatin her Father, a Reward of 100000 Pieces of *Poliſh* Gold, and to the Lady *Marina* our Wife, in conſideration of her great and long Journey, as alſo for the providing and furniſhing her ſelf, I will give out of my Treaſure, Velvets wrought with Silver and Gold, and the Meſſenger that ſhall be ſent to me from the Lord her Father, or from the Lady her ſelf, I ſhall not hold or keep, but ſhall let them paſs, and ſhall reward them with Gifts, which ſhall be a Token of our Princely Favour. Secondly, as ſoon as we ſhall come to the Imperial Throne of our Father, then preſently will we ſend our Embaſſador to the reſplendent King of *Poland*, And to the forenamed Lady *Marina* our Wife, we give two Lordſhips, viz. *Novogrod* the *Great*, and *Vobsko*, with all the Provinces belonging to the ſame, with Counſellors, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, and Prieſts fitting for a Congregation, to rule and govern freely, with full Authority, in the ſame manner and form as if we ruled; and my ſelf to have no more Right, Title, or Authority in the ſaid two Cities; and do wholly give and beſtow all on the ſaid Lady *Marina*, that is contained in this Writing, as ſoon as by God's help, we ſhall be married together, and thereunto have given this our Writing, ſealed with our Princely Seal; But if our Wife ſhall not have by us any Children, then in thoſe two Lordſhips before ſpecified, ſhe ſhall place Men in Authority of her own, to govern and do juſtice: And it ſhall be free for the ſaid Men in authority, to give Lands and Inheritance to their own Souldiers, and to trade freely at pleaſure, as if it were in their own true and lawful Dominion, and to build Monaſteries, and ſet up the *Romiſh* Religion, and to have *Latin* or *Romiſh* Prieſts and Schools, but ſhe herſelf to abide and remain with us. And concerning her Prieſts, to have as many as ſhall be needful to be kept for her own Godly *Romiſh* Religion, without all let or hindrance; and as we our ſelf by the Mercy of God, are already inclined to the ſame, ſo will we likewiſe with earneſt care, ſeek by all means to bring all the Kingdom of *Moſco* to the knowledge of the *Romiſh* Religion, and to ſet up the Church of *Rome*. Alſo if God ſhould not grant unto us good ſucceſs, whereby this be performed within a Year, then it ſhall be at the pleaſure of our Father to ſeparate me and his Daughter *Marina*; but if it ſhall pleaſe him to forbear till another Year, then do I paſs this my Bill with my own Hand-writing, and thereunto I have ſworn my ſelf, and given a Vow according to the Holy Order, and all in this Bill to hold and keep carefully; as alſo that I ſhall bring all the *Ruſſe* People to the *Latin* Religion. Written at *Sambore* the 25th of *May*, *Anno* 1604.

He promiſes to eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* Religion.

Prince *Demetry* of *Ouglets*.

At the end of eight Days the Contract was ſolemnly finiſhed by the Cardinal Biſhop of *Cracow*, and the Embaſſador with her Parents were feaſted by the King.

Demetrius his Marriage. Both crowned.

In the end of *January*, the Bride, her Father, Uncle and train of Women, accompanied the *Ruſſian* Embaſſador in his return, and arrived at *Moſco* in the end of *April*, where they were married by the Patriarch, and both of them ſolemnly crowned.

Demetrius had brought a Guard of *Germans* with him from *Poland*, which being without example of his Predeceſſors, and ſeeing it diſliked of his Subjects, he diſmiſſed, together with all foreign Souldiers. They being thus ſent away without pay, returned with the caſhiered *Polanders* to the Borders, where they committed many Outrages, to the great diſcontent of the *Ruſſes*, many of whom were offended at his too much reſpect to the *Poles*, others queſtioned his Birth, whereupon he entertained many *Lieflanders* and *Germans* for his Guards, to whom he added 100 *Engliſh* Halberdiers, with as many *Scots*, and 100 *French* armed with Partiſans.

At this time came an Embaſſador with Letters from *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, which becauſe they gave him not the Title of Emperour, were not received nor opened. In excuſe whereof, the Embaſſador uſed Words unſufferable to *Ruſſian* Patience, telling him that he ſhould go and deprive the *Great Turk* of thoſe Titles. *Demetrius* diſſembled his Reſentment in regard of the Aſſiſtance he formerly had, and might ſtill expect from the *Poles*.

A bloody Day.

On the ſixth day after the Marriage, being the 17th of *May*, a ſolemn Feaſt was held, wherein the Emperour and Empreſs ſate crowned in the Hall, at which the *Poliſh* Embaſſador refuſed to be preſent, except he might ſit at the Princes Table, as the *Ruſſian* Embaſſador had been honoured at *Cracow*; the *Ruſſes* denied ſtifly, but *Demetrius* at laſt yielded. The *Poles* had domineer'd over the *Ruſſes* as if they had been a conquer'd People, whereupon the Nobility and Commons taking the advantage of this time, when the *Poles* ſtood leaſt on their guard, came to the Court at three in the Morning, and *Suisky* their Leader having cauſed the great Bell to be rung in token of Fire, that *Demetrius* might be rais'd and come forth of his Apartment, *Peter Beſman*, who came running out half naked, was ſlain by one of his own Servants, and *Demetrius* awakned with the noiſe, and now ſeeing a greater danger than Fire, took a *Turkiſh* Sword, and ſlipping down from a Window, brake his Leg with the fall, whereby he was eaſily taken, and by *Suisky*'s command, carried into the great Hall where Embaſſadors have Audience; where ſome upbraiding him with his Impoſtures, he with his Sword laid one of them on the Ground, and then deſiring the Nobility that he might be permitted to ſpeak to the People, it was denied. Some ſay that he obtained of *Suisky*, that he might be tried by the Teſtimony of the Empreſs *Martha*, Widow of *Juan Vaſilowich*, who being brought out of the Nunnery, affirmed before the Nobles on her Oath, that her Son *Demetrius* was many Years before murthered by the command of *Boris*, executing her former Acknowledgments of this Impoſture, as proceeding from her Fear, and the general acceptance he found among the People, whereupon they ran upon him, and with many Wounds

Peter Baſman ſlain.

Demetrius ſlain.

ſlew him. His Body was dragged thro' the Mire into the Market-place, expoſed ſome Days to publick view, and then burnt

Among his Papers was found the Contract between him and the *Palatine*, before his coming out of *Poland*, That asſoon as he ſhould acquire the Kingdom of *Moſco*, he would take his Daughter to Wife, and give her the Provinces of *Novogrod* and *Vobsko*, therein freely to build and ſet up Monaſteries, and eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* Religion. There were found alſo by him, Letters from the Pope and Cardinals to that effect, and that he ſhould be mindful to take in hand ſpeedily, what he had promiſed and vowed to *Sigiſmund* and the Cardinals, *viz.* To be himſelf of the *Romiſh* Religion, and to bring all the People of *Ruſſia* into the ſame, not only thoſe that of themſelves were willing, but others alſo, and to put them to death that ſhould ſeek to oppoſe it.

The Palatine *Sendomir*, Father of the Empreſs, was blocked up in his Houſe: The miſerable Bride was ſpoiled of all her Apparel and Jewels, without Garment to cover her, or Bed to lie on, careful only of her Father and Uncle, and wiſhed that ſhe with them might ſave their Lives and recover their Country.

Many *Engliſh* and other Merchants ſuffered in this Tumult; *Ambroſe Cellar* loſt his Life, and 30000 Crowns; *James Win* was beheaded with his own Sword; *Nathan* loſt 150000 Florins; *Nicholas Limborough* 50000; twelve hundred *Poles* loſt their Lives; many of them were ſaved by the *Boiarens*; 400 *Ruſſes* were ſlain; at Night the Tumult ceaſed; the new Empreſs, her Father, his Brother, with other *Poles*, to the number of 8 or 9000, were committed to ſafe cuſtody.

Suisky's Speech.

After the Tempeſt was calmed, the *Boiarens* aſſembling in Council, *Suisky* made a Speech to them, profeſſing himſelf ſorrowful for what had paſſed in the execution of a juſt Zeal for the Imperial Family and his Country, and in hatred of a cruel Tyrant. That *Juan Vaſilewich* (how injuriouſly ſoever taxed by ſome) had left Kingdoms annexed to his Inheritance, as Monuments of his Magnanimity. That *Pheodore* ſucceeded, but *Boris* ruled, who firſt murthered the youngeſt Brother, as was thought, and after that poyſoned the other, to attain the Empire. That for theſe Reaſons *Demetrius* (whoſoever he was) found Friends, himſelf amongſt others; but when Religion was endanger'd, Forreigners advanced, Laws violated, Exotick Faſhions introduced, and Liberties ſuppreſſed, he withſtood him with the Peril of his Life, which it grieved him to have enjoyed by his Grant, who being a Robber, had no Right to take it. Yet ſeeing their forwardneſs in ſo juſt a cauſe, he (more regarding his Countries Safety than Rumors and Reports) had been their Captain, to do that which God, the Diſpoſer of Kingdoms, by the ſucceſs had approved; ſo that it remained now, ſeeing the Imperial Family was extinct, they ſhould ſeek one of the nobleſt Blood, moſt religious Zeal, and experienced Wiſdom, who would eſteem his Peoples Hearts his ſtrongeſt Forts, to become their Prince.

He is choſen Emperour.

Thus was he choſen Emperour, who not long before was at the Block to be beheaded, for reporting that he had ſeen the Body of the true *Demetrius* after he was dead, and did help to bury him. This *Suisky* was 50 Years old, never married, a Prince of great Wiſdom, and a Favourer of the *Engliſh* Nation.

One of his firſt Acts was to ſend an Embaſſy into *Poland*, to complain of their obtruding that Changeling on *Ruſſia*, whereby above 200 of their principal Nobility had loſt their Lives, demanding Reſtitution of the Monies which that Impoſter had cauſed to be tranſported into *Poland*, or elſe he would, with King *Charles* of *Sweden*, enter *Poland* with an Army, to be revenged on them for breaking the League they had ſworn to. *Sigiſmund* anſwered modeſtly, excuſing their helping him whom they conceived to be the right Heir, and deſired that the Peace might continue.

A ſecond Demetrius.

But when things were better ſetled in *Poland*, and grown worſe in *Ruſſia*, by the Diſlike conceived againſt *Suisky*, another *Demetrius* aroſe, who pretending to have made his eſcape on the day of the Maſſacre, ſo cunningly and confidently related particular Paſſages of paſt Occurrents, that the Lady of *Demetrius* was by him bedded, and being aſſiſted by the *Poles*, he raiſed an Army and laid ſiege to *Moſco*.

There was at that time ſome difference between *Chares* King of *Sweden* and *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, who laid claim to the Crown of *Sweden*. *Suisky* takes hold of this Advantage, and is aſſiſted by the King of *Sweden*, with an Army conſiſting chiefly, of *Engliſh*, *French* and *Scots*, under the command of *Pontus de la Gardie*, a *French-man*. Theſe march to *Moſco*, then beſieged by the new *Demetrius*, and *Poles*, and put him into ſuch fear, that not truſting the *Poles*, he ſtole away by Night with a ſmall Retinue; the *Poles* obtained Articles of Compoſition, and departed. But *Demetrius* raiſing another Army of ſuch *Ruſſes* as voluntarily came to him, again laid ſiege to *Moſco*, wherein *Suisky* then was, while *Zolkiewasky* a *Poliſh* General beleagred another part thereof with 40000 Men, whereof 1500 were *Engliſh*, *Scots* and *French*. *Suisky* ſeeing no hope to withſtand them, betook himſelf to a Monaſtery. The *Muſcovites* ſoon after ſurrendred their City to the *Poles*, and joined with them againſt *Demetrius*, who thereupon fled, and was afterwards killed in his Camp by a *Tartar*. *Suisky* having loſt his Liberty and Empire, was carried Captive into *Poland*, where, after he had been expoſed to ſcorn, and manifold Miſeries, he died in Priſon.

Demetrius ſlain.

Suisky dies in *Poland*.

Vladiſlaus choſen Emperour.

The *Muſcovites*, to reſcue themſelves from their preſent Miſeries, agreed with the *Poliſh* General *Zolkiewsky*, to elect *Vladiſlaus*, Son of King *Sigiſmund*, for their Emperour, but whether for Breach of Conditions on his part, or out of an inveterate hatred to the *Poles*, or natural jealouſy and diſtruſt of Strangers, or a National Inconſtancy, they ſoon grew weary of him, and began to think how they might reſtore their former Government, which they effected in this manner.

Encouraged thereunto by a Butcher.

There dwelt in the North about *Dwina*, a bold Fellow, a Butcher, who railing at the baſeneſs of the Nobility, and Corruption of the Officers, ſaid, If they would chooſe a good Treaſurer, and pay Souldiers well, they might ſoon have thoſe that would fight and expel their Enemies the *Poles*, provided they would firſt chooſe a worthy General, for which place he recommended to them a poor maimed Gentleman, named *Pozarsky*, who had done good Service, but being neglected, did now live retiredly. The Multitude approved his Council, and choſe *Pozarsky* for their Leader, and the Butcher for a Treaſurer, delivering into his Hands what Money they had, which he ſo faithfully diſburſed, and *Pozarsky* ſo well diſcharged his truſt, that a great Army was gathered, and *Moſco* then beſieged by the *Poles*, was relieved. And for further ſecurity againſt the *Poles*, and to recompence the Sufferings and Impriſonment of the *Ruſſian* Chancellour, then in *Poland*, they elected his young Son *Micallowich*, under whoſe Empire (having a good Council appointed) they might live happily; the Butcher alſo was made a Councellor. Embaſſadors were ſent to divers Princes to mediate between them and the *Poles*, and by the Countenance and Interceſſion of the Emperour, the King of *Great Britain*, and other Princes, the young Emperour was peaceably ſetled in his Dominions, and making a truce with the *Poles* for 14 Years, he obtained thereby his Fathers liberty, who was after conſecrated Patriarch of all *Ruſſia*.

Micallowich Son to the Chancellour, choſen Emperour.

CHAP.

C h a p. XIII.

An Account of the Engliſh *Affairs in* Ruſſia, *after the death of* Juan Vaſilowich. *Written by* Mr. Jerom Horſey, *then remaining in* Ruſſia, *as Servant to her Majeſty*, 1584.

1584. JUan *Vaſilowich* being dead the 18 of *April*, 1584 his Son *Pheodore Juanowich*, aged 25 Years, was crowned with great Solemnity on the 10th of *June* following. As ſoon as the Ceremony was over, Mr. *Horſey* was called to the Emperour as he ſate in his Imperial Seat, and then *John de Wale*, a famous Merchant of the *Netherlands*, lately come to *Moſco*, and pretending himſelf a Subject to the King of *Spain*, was called alſo. Some of the Nobility would have preferr'd him before Mr. *Horſey*, to which Mr. *Horſey* would not agree, ſaying, He would have his Legs cut off, rather than yield to ſuch an Indignity offered to the Queen his Soveraign, as to bring a Preſent to the Emperour, after a Subject of the King of *Spain*, or any other whatſoever. The Emperour perceiving the Controverſy, ſent his Lord Treaſurer and another of his Council to them, who returning and declaring to the Emperour what they had heard, Mr *Horſey* was firſt admitted, and made his Preſent to the Emperour in behalf of the *Engliſh* Merchants trading thither, wiſhing him joy, and long to Reign in tranquility, and ſo kiſſed the Emperour's Hand, who accepted the Preſent, and ſaid, that for his Siſter's ſake, Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample manner as ever his Father had been. After him, the ſaid Subject of the King of *Spain* was admitted with his Preſent, whom the Emperour willed to be no leſs faithful and ſerviceable to him, than the Queen of *England*'s Subjects had been, and then the King of *Spain*'s Subjects ſhould receive Favour accordingly.

Not long after Mr. *Horſey* was ſent from the Emperour on a Meſſage to the Queen of *England*. He departed from *Moſco* the fifth of *September*, and travelling over Land, delivered his Letter to the Queen, and was forthwith commanded to repaſs into *Ruſſia*, where he arrived by Sea on the 20th of *April*, 1586. He now obtained ſuch ample Privileges for the Merchants, as in 20 Years before would not be granted; the Heads whereof are as follows.

The Emperour's Privileges to the *Engliſh* Merchants.

‘ THrough the Will of the Almighty, and without beginning God, which was before this World, whom we glorify in the Trinity, one only God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, Maker of all things, Worker of all and every where, Fulfiller of all things, by which Will and Working, he both loveth and giveth Life to Man; that our only God, which inſpireth every one of us, his only Children, with his Word, to diſcern God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the holy quickning Spirit of Life now in theſe perilous times, eſtabliſh us to keep the right Scepter, and ſuffer us of our ſelves to reign to the good profit of the Land, and to the ſubduing of the People, together with the Enemies, and to the maintenance of Vertue.

‘ We *Pheodore*, the Off-ſpring of *John*, the Great Lord, Emperour, King, and Great Prince of all *Ruſſia*, &c.

‘ For our Siſter's ſake Queen *Elizabeth*, and becauſe the *Engliſh* Merchants do alledge, that they have had great Loſſes by Sea, I have granted that they ſhall trade into all parts of our Dominions, without paying Cuſtom.

‘ But they ſhall not bring in nor carry out of our Dominions, any other Mens Goods but their own, nor ſell them, or barter them away for them.

‘ Alſo our natural People, ſhall not buy or ſell for them, or from them, neither ſhall they keep any of our Subjects Goods, or Pawns by them to colour them.

‘ Alſo they ſhall not ſend any of their Ruſſe Servants, into any City to ingroſs Commodities, but into what City they themſelves ſhall come, they ſhall buy and ſell, and ſhall ſell their own Commodities and not ours.

‘ Alſo they ſhall ſell all their Commodities by whole ſale and not by retail.

‘ And they ſhall buy, ſell, and exchange their own Commodities themſelves, and the *Ruſſe* Merchants ſhall not make ſales, or exchange for them or from them any of their Commodities.

‘ In caſe of Shipwrack on our Coaſt, we will cauſe the Goods to be ſought out in true Juſtice, and to be given to the *Engliſh* which ſhall at that time reſide in our Country; and if it ſhall ſo happen that there be no *Engliſh-men* within our Realm, then will we cauſe theſe Goods to be laid up in a place together, and when the People of *England* ſhall come into our Realm, then all thoſe Goods to be delivered to them.

‘ And whereas we have gratified the *Engliſh* Merchants with a Houſe at *Moſco*, and alſo at *Teraſlave*, *Vologde*, *Colmogre*, and at the Haven of the Sea, we have commanded that there ſhall not be taken of them any yearly Rent for thoſe Houſes, neither ſhall they pay any Duty or Tax with any of the Townſmen of thoſe places.

‘ Our Officers and ſworn Men at *Colmogre*, ſhall take an account in writing, of the Commodities of *England* and *Ruſſia*, what the Merchants ſhall declare themſelves, but they ſhall not overlook their Commodities, nor unbind any of their Packs.

‘ And if any Controverſy happen concerning Merchandiſe or Injuries, then they ſhall be judged by our Treaſurers and Secretary of the Embaſſadors, who ſhall do Juſtice between both Parties; and if the Truth cannot be diſcovered by Law, then it ſhall be ſought out by Oath and Lot, and the Judges or Juſtices ſhall take of them no kind of Duty, for matters of Law, in any place throughout our Realm.

‘ Given in our Princely Palace within the City of *Moſco*, in the Year from the Foundation of the World, 7095, in the Month of *February*.

CHAP. XIV.

A Treatiſe of Ruſſia, *by Doctor* Giles Fletcher, *Embaſſador from Queen* Elizabeth *to* Theodore, *Emperour of* Ruſſia, A. D. 1588.

1583.

THIS Country formerly called *Sarmatia*, is bounded on the Northwards by *Lapland*, and the North Ocean; on the South by the *Tartars* called *Chrims*; on the Eaſt by the *Nagayan Tartars*, who poſſeſs all the Country on the Eaſt ſide of *Volga*, towards the *Caſpian* Sea; on the Weſt and South-weſt by *Lithuania*, *Livonia*, and *Polonia*.

The Country is of great length and breadth; from *Narva* in the Weſt to *Siberia* in the Eaſt, is 4400 Verſts, or thereabouts; and from *Cola* to *Aſtracan*, is reckoned 4260 Verſts. A Verſt by their reckoning is 1000 Paces, yet leſs by one quarter than an *Engliſh* Mile.

Of the Soil and Climate

The Northern parts towards *Cola*, St. *Nicholas*, and *Siberia*, are all very barren, by reaſon of the extream cold in Winter, nothing growing there but great Woods of Fir and Birch, and conſequently but few Inhabitants; ſo likewiſe along the River *Volga*, between *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, altho' the Soil be very fruitful, there are but few People, by reaſon of the Neighbourhood of the *Chrim Tartars*, who will neither build Towns, nor ſuffer the *Ruſſes* ſo to do. The Country differs very much from it ſelf according to the Seaſon of the Year; ſo that a Man would marvel to ſee the great alteration between Winter and Summer in *Ruſſia*. The whole Country in Winter lies under Snow, ſometimes a yard or two thick, but greater towards the North. The Rivers are all frozen up a yard thick or more, how ſwift or broad ſoever they be; and this commonly from the beginning of *November* till the end of *March*, at which time the Snow begins to melt; ſo that it would breed a Froſt in a Man to look abroad in that time and ſee the Winter Face of that Country. The ſharpneſs of the Air you may judge of by this; Water caſt up into the Air, congeals into Ice before it come to Ground: In the extremity of Winter, if you hold a Pewter Diſh or Pot in your Hand, or any other Metal (except where their warm Stoves be) your Fingers will freeze faſt to it, and draw off the Skin at parting When you paſs out of a warm Room into a cold, you ſhall ſenſibly feel your Breath to wax ſtark, and even ſtifeling with the cold as you draw it in and out. You ſhall ſee many drop down in the Streets, many Travellers brought into the Towns ſitting dead, and ſtiff in their Sleds; divers looſe their Noſes, the Tips of their Ears, and the Balls of their Cheeks, their Toes, Feet, *&c.* Many times, when the Winter is very hard and extream, the Bears and Wolves iſſue by Troops out of the Woods, driven by hunger, and enter the Villages, tearing and ravening all they can find; ſo that the Inhabitants are fain to flee for ſafeguard of their Lives. And yet in the Summer you ſhall ſee ſuch a new Face of a Country, the Woods, which are for the moſt part Fir and Birch, ſo freſh and ſo ſweet, the Paſtures and Meadows ſo green and well grown (and that upon a ſudden) ſuch variety of Flowers, ſuch noiſe of Birds (eſpecially Nightingals, that ſeem to be more loud, and of a more variable Note than elſewhere) that a Man ſhall rarely travel in a more pleaſant Country.

Of the Cold of *Ruſſia.*

This freſh and ſpeedy growth of the Spring there, ſeems to proceed from the benefit of the Snow, which all the Winter time keeping the Ground warm from the rigour of the Froſt, in the Spring time, when the Sun diſſolves it into Water, it ſo throughly drenches and ſoaks the Ground, which is for the moſt part of a ſlight ſandy Mold, and then ſhines ſo hotly upon it again, that it draws forth the Herbs and Plants in great plenty and variety in a very ſhort time As the Winter exceeds in Cold, ſo the Summer inclines to too much Heat, eſpecially in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, being much warmer than in *England*.

The Country is well watered with Springs, Rivers, and Lakes; ſome of theſe Lakes are 60, 80, 100, and 200 Miles long, with breadth proportionable.

The chief Rivers.

The chief Rivers are, 1. *Volghe*, which hath its Spring 200 Verſts above *Yeraſlave*, and grows ſo big by the conflux of other Rivers, that by that time it comes thither, it is an *Engliſh* Mile broad and more, and ſo runs into the *Caſpian*-Sea, about 2800 Verſts in length.

The next is *Boriſthenes*, now called *Neper*, dividing the Country from *Lithuania*, and falls into the *Euxin*-Sea.

The third is, *Tanais* or *Don* (the ancient Bounder between *Europe* and *Aſia*), it riſeth in the Province of *Rezan*, and ſo running thro' the Country of the *Chrim Tartars*, falls into the Lake *Mœtis*, by the City of *Azof*. By this River you may paſs from *Moſco* to *Conſtantinople*, drawing your Boat over a little *Iſthmus*, a few Verſts overthwart.

The fourth is *Dwina*, many hundred Miles long, with great Rocks of Alabaſter on the Banks, towards the Sea-ſide, emptying it ſelf into the Bay of St. *Nicholas*.

The ſixth *Onega*, falling into the Bay of *Solouetſco*, 90 Verſts from the Bay of St. *Nicholas*; from which Port into the *Finland*-Sea, and ſo into the *Sound*, may be paſſed all by Water.

Seven *Moskua*, that runs thro' the City *Moſco*, giving it the Name.

All theſe are large Streams, the leaſt to be compared to the *Thames* in breadth, and in length far more, beſides divers others. The Pole at *Moſco* is 55 Deg. 10 Min. and at St. *Nicholas* 63 Deg. 50 Min.

Of the Native Commodities of the Country.

Their Fruits and Grain.

For Fruits, they have Apples, Pears, Plums, Cherries, Melons, &c. Wheat in ſuch plenty, that it is ſometimes ſold for two *Alteens* or ten Pence Sterling the *Chetfird*, which makes almoſt three *Engliſh* Buſhels.

Their Rye is ſowed before Winter, all other Grain in the Spring, and for the moſt part in *May*. They that dwell far North, are ſupplied from the Southern Parts, and are ſometimes forced to make Bread of a Root called *Vaghnoy*, and of the middle Rind of the Fir-tree.

Furs.

The Native Commodities are, Firſt, *Furs* of all ſorts, whereof are tranſported ſome Years by Merchants of *Turky*, *Perſia*, *Bougharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and into ſome Parts of *Europe*, to the value of four or five hundred thouſand Rubbles.

Wax.

The ſecond Commodity is *Wax*, whereof hath been ſhipped fifty thouſand Pood yearly, every Pood containing 40 Pound

Honey.

The third is *Honey*, whereof beſides an exceeding great quantity ſpent in their ordinary Drinks, great ſtore is carried out of the Country.

Tallow.

Fourthly, of *Tallow*, they tranſport much yearly, the richer ſort uſing Wax for their Lights, and the poorer ſort, Birch dried in their Stoves, and cut into long Shivers. Of Tallow there has been ſhipped one hundred thouſand Pood yearly.

Hides.

Fifthly, Their *Loſh-hide* and *Cow-hide*; their *Loſh* or *Buff-hide* is very large, their *Bull* and *Cow-hide* (for Oxen they make none, nor Weathers) is of a ſmall ſize: There have been tranſported in ſome Years one hundred thouſand Hides, beſides great ſtore of Goats Skins.

Train Oil.

Sixthly, *Train Oil* drawn from the *Seal-Fiſh*; towards the end of Summer, they go down with their Boats to the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, to a Cape called *Foxnoſe*, where they leave their Boats till the next Spring, and then returning thither again, they draw their Boats over the Sea Ice, and uſe them for Houſes to reſt and lodge in. Then dividing themſelves five or ſix Boats in a Company, they that firſt find the Haunt, fire a Beacon which they carry with them, and thereupon the reſt joyning them, they incloſe the Seals in a Ring, that lie ſunning themſelves together upon the Ice, commonly 4 or 5000 in a Shoal, and ſo invade them, every Man with his Club in his Hand. If they hit them on the Noſe they are ſoon killed, but if on the Sides or Back, they will bear a great blow, and many times catch and hold down the Club with their Teeth by main force, that the Party is forced to call for help to his Fellows. When they have killed what they can, they take the Skin from the Body, with the Lard or Fat, and all that cleaves to the Skin. This they take with them, leaving the Bodies behind, and ſo go to Shoar, where digging Pits of a Fathom and a half deep, they take the Fat or Lard from the Skin, and throw it into the Pit, caſting among it hot burning Stones to melt it withal. The uppermoſt and pureſt is uſed in oyling Wool for Cloth; the groſſer, (which is of a red colour) they ſell to make Soap.

Cavear. Seven, *Ickary* or *Cavear*, whereof a great quantity is made upon the River *Volga*, out of the Fiſh called *Bellougina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Severiga*, and the *Sterledey*, and is exported into moſt parts of *Europe*.

Hemp, Flax. Eight, *Hemp* and *Flax*, whereof great quantity is tranſported yearly.

Salt. Nine, *Salt*, which at *Aſtracan* is made naturally by the Sea Water, which caſts it up into great Hills, and is digged down and carried away by Merchants, paying three Pence Cuſtom for every hundred weight.

Tar. Ten, *Tar*, whereof they make great quantity out of the Fir-trees, and ſend much abroad.

Slude. About the River *Dwina* grows a ſoft Rock called *Slude*; this they cut into pieces, and tear it into thin Flakes, which they uſe inſtead of Glaſs for Lanthorns. It gives a clearer light than Glaſs, and is better than Glaſs or Horn, becauſe it is not ſo apt to break or burn.

Saltpeter and Brimſtone. *Saltpeter* they make in many places, and ſome ſmall ſtore of *Brimſtone*, but want skill to refine it.

Iron. Their Iron is ſomewhat brittle: They have no other Mine growing within the Realm.

Beaſts. They have Fallow-Deer, the Roe-buck, and great ſtore of Goats. Their Horſes are but ſmall, but very ſwift and hardy: They travel them unſhod both Winter and Summer, without all regard of pace. Their Sheep are but ſmall, and bear courſe and harſh Wool.

Fowls. They have great ſtore of Hawks, whereof the moſt eſteemed is the *Gerfaulcon*; of other Fowls the principal are the Swan, the Stork, the Crane, the Tedder, of the colour of a Pheaſant, but far bigger: Of Pheaſant and Patridge they have great plenty.

Fiſh. For freſh Water Fiſh, beſides thoſe common with us, as Carp, Pike, Pearch, Tench, Roach, *&c.* they have divers kinds very delicate, as the *Bellouga* or *Bellougina*, four or five Ells long; the *Oſitrina* or Sturgeon, the *Severiga*, and *Sterledy*, like to a Sturgeon, but leſs. Theſe four kinds of Fiſh breed in the *Volga*, and are ſent thence into the whole Realm for a great Food. Of the Roes of theſe four kinds is made great ſtore of *Caveare*. They practice their Fiſhing in Summer, and ſend it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realm.

The chief Cities of Ruſſia.

The chief City of *Ruſſia* is *Moſco*; it is in a manner round, with three ſtrong Walls one within the other, and Streets lying between; whereof all within the inmoſt Wall (fenced and watered by the River *Moskua*, that runs cloſe by it) is accounted the Emperour's Caſtle. The number of Houſes, (by the Account given to the Emperour) before it was fired by the *Chrim* in the Year 1571, was 41500.

Novograd. The next in greatneſs, and in a manner as large, is *Novograd*, where (as the *Ruſſian* ſay) that great defeat was given by the *Scythians* to their Slaves, who, during their Maſters abſence in the Wars againſt the *Tartars*, had poſſeſs'd their Houſes, Lands, and Wives; whereupon adviſing what was beſt to be done, it was reſolved to ſet upon them with their Horſe-whips; and ſo marching on, and laſhing all together with their Whips in their Hands, they gave the onſet, which ſeemed ſo terrible in the Ears of their Villains, and ſtruck ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the Whip which they had felt before, that they fled like Sheep: In memory of which Victory the *Novgradians* have ever ſince ſtamped their Coins, with the Figure of a Horſe-man ſhaking a Whip aloft in his Hand.

The Streets inſtead of paving, are planked with Fir-trees, plained and laid cloſe one to the other. Their Houſes are of Wood, without any Lime or Stone, built very cloſe and warm with Fir-trees plained and piled one upon another; betwixt the Trees they thruſt in Moſs to keep out the Air; every Houſe hath a pair of Stairs up into the Chambers out of the Yard or Street. This Building ſeems far better for their Country than Stone or Brick, which are colder and more damp than their wooden Houſes, eſpecially of Fir, which is a dry and warm Wood, and whereof they have ſuch plenty, that a fair Houſe may be built for 20 or 30 Rubbles, where Wood is ſcarſeſt; the greateſt inconvenience, is its aptneſs to take Fire, which happens often, by reaſon of the dryneſs and fatneſs of the Fir, which burns like a Torch, and is hardly extinguiſhed till all be conſumed.

Of the Emperour's Title.

The Emperour's ſtile runs after this manner; *Theodore Juanovich*, by the Grace of God, Great Lord and Emperour of all *Ruſſia*, Great Duke of *Volodemer*, *Moſco*, and *Novogrod*, King of *Cazan*, King of *Aſtracan*, Lord of *Plesko*, and Great Duke of *Smolensko*, of *Tweiria*, *Joughoria*, *Permia*, *Vadska*, *Bulghoria*, and others, Lord and Great Duke of *Novograd* of the Low-Country, of *Chernigo*, *Rezan*, *Polotskoy*, *Roſtove*, *Taruſtavely*, *Bealozera*, *Leifland*, *Oudoria*, *Obdoria*, and *Condenſa*, Commander of all *Siberia*, and of the North Parts, and of many other Countries, *&c.*

This Stile contains in it all the Emperour's Provinces, and ſetts forth his Greatneſs, and therefore they have great delight and pride in it, forcing not only their own People, but alſo Strangers that have any Matter to deliver to the Emperour by Speech or Writing, to repeat the whole Form from the beginning to the end, which breeds much Cavail, and ſometimes Quarrel betwixt them and the *Tartar* and *Poland* Embaſſadors, who refuſe to call him *Czar*, that is, Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long Stile. When I had audience of the Emperour, I ſaluted him only with thus much, *viz.* Emperour of all *Ruſſia*, Great Duke of *Volodemer*, *Moſco*, and *Novograd*, King of *Cazan*, King of *Aſtracan*, the reſt I omitted of purpoſe, becauſe I knew they gloried to have their Stile appear larger than the Queen of *England*'s, but this was ſo ill taken, that the Chancellour, who then attended the Emperour, with the reſt of the Nobility, with a loud chafing Voice, called ſtill upon me to ſay out the reſt. I anſwered, that the Emperours Stile was very long, and could not ſo well be remembred by Strangers, and that I had repeated ſo much of it as might ſhew that I gave honour to the reſt, *&c.* But all would not ſerve, till I commanded my Interpreter to ſay it all out.

Of the State or Form of their Government.

Their Government is much after the *Turkiſh* manner, which they ſeem to imitate by applying all things to the advantage of the Prince, as near as the Country, and reach of their Capacities in Politick Affairs will give them leave to do.

Their higheſt Court is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publick Aſſembly*. There are preſent at it, 1. the Emperour; 2. About 20 of his Nobility, who are of his Council; 3. Some of the Clergy, about the ſame number. As for the *Burghers* or any to repreſent the Commonalty, they have no place there, the People being of no better account with them than Servants or Slaves, who are to obey, not to make Laws, nor to know any thing of publick matters before they are concluded.

The Court is held in this manner, The Emperour ſummons ſuch of his Nobility as he thinks fit, being, as was ſaid, all of his Council, together with the Patriarch, who calleth ſuch Biſhops, Abbots, and Friars, as are of beſt reputation among them.

The Emperour attended with his Nobility, is met in an Ante-chamber by the Clergy, following their Patriarch, who bleſſeth the Emperour with his two Fore-fingers, laying them on his Fore-head and the ſides of his Face, and then kiſſeth him on the right ſide of his Breaſt. Then one of the Secretaries propounds the cauſe of their Aſſembly, and the principal Matters which they are to conſider of; and the Patriarch with his Clergy have the Prerogative to be firſt asked their opinion, what they think of the Points propounded by the Secretary, whereto they anſwer commonly to this effect, 'That the Emperour 'and his Council are of great Wiſdom and Experience, 'in the Policies and publick Affairs of the Realm, and 'far better able to judge what is profitable for the Com'monwealth than they are, who attend upon the Ser'vice of God only, and Matters of Religion, and 'therefore may it pleaſe them to proceed; that inſtead 'of their Advice, they will aid them with their Prayers, 'as their Duties and Vocations do require, *&c.* Then up ſtands ſome Abbot or Friar (appointed before hand) and deſires that it would pleaſe his Majeſty to command to be delivered unto them, what his own Judgment and determinate pleaſure is, touching the Matters propounded by his Secretary.

Whereunto he replied by the Secretary in the Emperour's name, ‘ That his Highneſs with thoſe of his noble Council, upon good and ſound Advice, have found the Matters propoſed to be very good and neceſſary for the Wealth of his Realm, notwithſtanding, becauſe they are religious Men, and know what is right, his Majeſty requires their Godly Opinions, yea, and their Cenſures too, for the approving or correcting the ſaid Propoſitions, and therefore deſires them again to ſpeak their minds freely, and if they ſhall like, to give their Conſents, that then the Matters may paſs to a full Concluſion.

Hereunto, when the Clergy have given their Conſents (which they commonly do without much pauſing) they take their Leaves with bleſſing the Emperour, who brings the Patriarch on his way as far as the next Room, and ſo returns to his Seat. The Acts thus paſſed by the *Zabore*, are drawn into a Proclamation, which they ſend into every Province and chief Town of the Realm, to be publiſhed by the Dukes and *Diaks*, or Secretaries of thoſe places. The Seſſions ended, the Emperour invites the Clergy to a ſolemn Dinner, after which, they depart to their own homes.

Among other Methods, theſe following have been uſed by their Emperours to augment their Treaſure.

I. They would ſuffer their Subjects to give freely to the Monaſteries (which many do, eſpecially in their laſt Wills) and to lay up their Money and Subſtance in them, to keep it more ſafe; whereby their Monaſteries are exceeding rich. This was done to have the Money of the Realm more ready for their Hand, when they liſt to take it; which many times is done without any noiſe, the Friers being content to part from ſome, rather than hazard to looſe all at once.

To this end *Juan Vaſilowich* did what few Princes would have done in their greateſt Extremities; he reſigned his Kingdom to the Emperour's Son of *Cazan*, as tho' he meant to retire to a private Life. Towards the end of the Year he cauſed this New King to call in all Charters granted to Biſhopricks and Monaſteries, which they had enjoyed many hundred Years before, and to cancel them all. This done (as if he had diſliked the Fact and Miſgovernment of the new King) he reſumed his Scepter, and ſo was content (as in favour of the Church and Religious Men) that they ſhould renew their Charters, and take them of himſelf, reſerving and annexing to the Crown, ſo much of their Lands as he thought Good.

By this practice he wrung from the Biſhopricks and Monaſteries, an huge maſs of Money, from ſome 40, ſome 50, ſome 100000 Rubbles, and this as well to increaſe his Treaſure, as to abate the ill opinion of his hard Government, by a ſhew of worſe in another Man.

II. To make an open ſhew of want when they intend to lay a heavy Tax upon the People, as was done by *Theodore Juanowich*, at the beginning of his Reign, when being left very rich (as was thought) by his Father, he ſold moſt of his Plate, and ſtampt ſome into Coin, that he might ſeem to want Money, whereupon preſently came out a Taxation.

III. They would ſometimes ſend their Meſſengers into the Provinces to foreſtal and ingroſs Commodities, taking them at ſmall Prizes (what themſelves liſt) and ſelling them again at exceſſive Rates, to their own Merchants and Strangers; If they refuſed to buy them, then to force them to it. The like is done when any Commodity, native or forreign (as Cloth of Gold, broad Cloth, *&c.*) thus engroſſed by the Emperour, happens to decay or marre by long lying, which is forced upon the Merchants at the Emperour's price, whether they will or no.

IV. By engroſſing foreign Commodities, and then forcing his Merchants to buy them of his Officers at his own price.

V. By making a Monopoly for a Seaſon of all ſuch Commodities as are paid him for Rent or Cuſtom, and to enhance the price of them, as Furs, Corn, Wood, *&c.* During which time none muſt ſell of the ſame Commodity, until the Emperour's be all ſold.

Juan Vaſilowich ſent into **Permia** for certain Loads of Cedar, whereof he knew that none grew in that Country. The Inhabitants returned anſwer, That they could find none there; whereupon he taxed their Country in 12000 Rubbles, as if they had concealed the Commodity. Again, he ſent to the City of *Moſco* to provide for him a *Colpack*, or Meaſure full of live Fleas for a Medecin: They anſwered, that the thing was impoſſible, and if they could get them, yet they could not meaſure them, for leaping out, whereupon he ſet a Mulct upon them of 7000 Rubbles.

To theſe may be added their Seiſures and Confiſcations upon ſuch as are in diſpleaſure, and the Conniving at their *Dukes* and *Dyacks* in the Provinces, till their time be expired, and then turning all into the Emperour's Treaſury, but never any thing back again to the right Owners, how great or evident ſoever the Injury be.

Of the Nobility and Degrees of Perſons among them.

The Degrees of Perſons or Eſtates in *Ruſſia* are as follows.

I. The *Vadelney Knazey*, that is the exempt or privileged Dukes.

II. The *Boiarens*, who beſides their Nobility, are honoured wih the Title of *Counſellors*.

III. The *Voyavodey*, or ſuch Nobles as are, or have been *Generals*, whoſe Title deſcends to their Poſterity alſo. Theſe take place of all Dukes and Nobles that are not of the two firſt ſorts: And theſe three Ranks of Nobility have the addition of *Vich* put to their Sirname, which is a Note of Honour that the reſt may not uſurp; and if it be not added in the naming of them, they may ſue the *Beſtcheſt* or Penalty of diſhonour upon them, that otherwiſe ſhall term them.

Title *Vich.*

IV. The fourth and loweſt degree of Nobility, is of ſuch as bear the name of *Knazey* or *Dukes*, but come of the younger Brothers of thoſe chief Houſes through many deſcents, and have no Inheritance of their own, ſave the bear Title of Duke. For the Title of their Dignities deſcends to all their Children alike, whatſoever elſe they leave them; ſo that the Sons of a *Voiaveda*, or General in the Field, are called *Voiavodey*, tho' they never ſaw the Field; and the Sons of a *Keez*, or Duke, are called *Knazey*, tho' they have not one Groat of Inheritance or Livelyhood to maintain themſelves. Of this ſort there are ſo many, that the plenty makes them cheap; ſo that you ſhall ſee Dukes glad to ſerve a mean Man for five or ſix Rubbles a year, and yet they will ſtand highly upon their *Beſtcheſts* or reputation of their Honors; and ſo much of their Nobility.

The ſecond degree of Perſons.

The ſecond Degree of Perſons is their *Sina-Boiarskey*, or Sons of Gentlemen, who are all preferred, and hold that name by their Service in the Wars, being Souldiers by their very Stock and Birth; to which order are preferred their *Diacks*, or Secretaries, who ſerve the Emperour in every chief Town, being joined in Commiſſion with the Duke of that place.

Laſtly, their *Commons*, whom they call *Mouſicks*, in which number they reckon their Merchants and Artificers. Theſe are reckoned in no degree at all, nor have any place or Suffrage in the *Zabore*, and are eſteemed no better than *Kolophey's* or Villains, and ſo ſubſcribe themſelves in all their Writings to any of the Nobility, as they of the Nobility do unto the Emperour; and indeed no Bondſlaves are kept in more awe and ſubjection, than the common People are by the Nobility, Officers and Souldiers; ſo that when a poor *Mouſick* meets with any of them upon the High-way, he muſt turn himſelf about, as not daring to look him on the Face, and fall down with his Head to the very ground.

The ſervile and miſerable eſtate of the Ruſſe People.

As to their Lands and Goods, they are ſo expoſed to the rapine of the Nobility and Souldiers, beſides the Taxes, Cuſtoms, Seizures, and other publick Exactions laid upon them by the Emperour, that they are diſcouraged from following their Trades, becauſe the more they have the more danger they are in, not only of their Goods, but of their Lives alſo; and if they have any thing they convey it into Monaſteries, or hide it under Ground, or in Woods, as Men do when they are in fear of foreign invaſion; ſo that many Villages and Towns are without Inhabitants; and in the way towards *Moſco*, betwixt *Vologhda* and *Teraſlave*, about 100 *Engliſh* Miles, there are 50 Villages at leaſt, ſome half a Mile, ſome a Mile long, that ſtand vacant and deſolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realm, as I have been told by thoſe that have travelled the Country.

This oppreſſion makes the People (tho' otherwiſe hardned to bear any toil) to give themſelves over to Idleneſs and Drinking, as caring for no more than from hand to Mouth.

Caback's or Drinking Houſes.

In every great Town the Emperour hath a *Caback* or drinking Houſe, where is ſold *Aqua Vitæ* (which they call *Ruſſe* Wine) Mead, Beer, *&c.* Out of theſe he receives Rent, amounting to a great Sum of Money, ſome yield 800, 900, 1000, 2000, or 3000 Rubbles a year. Here the poor labouring Man and Artificer many times ſpends all from his Wife and Children; ſome will lay in 20, 30, or 40 Rubbles or more into the *Caback*, and vow themſelves to the Pot until all that be ſpent; and this (as he will ſay) for the honour of *Hoſpodare*, or the Emperour. You ſhall have many there, who have drank all away to the very Skin, and ſo walk naked. While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth, whatſoever cauſe there be, becauſe he hinders the Emperour's Revenue.

Ruſſes not permitted to travel.

Altho' the People ſeem apt enough to receive any Art (as appears by the natural Wits in the Men, and very Children) yet they excel in no common Art, much leſs in any learned Science. They are kept in ignorance, that they may be fitter for the ſervile condition they are in, and have neither Reaſon nor Valour to attempt innovation; for which purpoſe they are kept from travelling, that they may learn nothing, nor ſee the Faſhions of other Countries abroad. You ſhall ſeldom ſee a *Ruſſe* Traveller, except he be with ſome Embaſſador, or make an eſcape out of his Country, which he can hardly do, by reaſon the Borders are watched ſo narrowly, and the Puniſhment, if he be taken in the Attempt, which is death, and confiſcation of all his Goods; neither do they willingly ſuffer any Stranger to come into their Realm out of any civil Country, farther than neceſſity of uttering their own Commodities, and taking in of foreign, enforces them to do.

And therefore in the Year 1589, they conſulted about the removing of all Merchants Strangers to the border Towns, to have their reſidence there, and to be more wary in admitting other Strangers hereafter into the Inland parts of the Realm: For the ſame purpoſe alſo, they are kept within the Bounds of their Degree by the Laws of their Country, ſo that the Son of a *Mouſick*, Artificer, *&c.* is ever a *Mouſick*, Artificer, *&c.* and hath no means to aſpire any higher, except, having learned to write and read, he attain to the preferment of a Prieſt or Diack. The *Ruſſe* Character is no other than the *Greek* ſomewhat diſtorted.

Of their publick Juſtice, and manner of proceeding in Civil and Criminal Matters.

Proceeding in Civil Cauſes.

Their proceeding in Civil Actions is on this manner, Firſt the Plaintiff puts up his Supplication, ſhewing the Wrong done unto him, whereupon a Warrant is granted to him, which he delivers to the *Priſtave* or Serjeant, to arreſt the Party, who muſt put in Sureties to anſwer at the day appointed, or elſe ſtand at the Serjeants mercy, for his ſafe keeping.

Theſe Serjeants are commonly very cruel towards their Priſoners, clapping as many Irons upon them as they can bear, to ſqueeze out of them the larger Fees; tho' it be but for Six-pence, you ſhall ſee them go with Chains on their Legs, Arms, and Necks. When they come before the Judge, the Plaintiff declares according to the Contents of his Supplication. They have no Atturnies, Counſellors, *&c.* to plead their Cauſe for them, but every Man is to tell his own tale, and plead for himſelf as well as he can.

Controverſies ended by kiſſing the Croſs.

If they have any Witneſs or other Evidence, they produce it before the Judge; If they have none, or if the Truth of the Cauſe cannot ſo well be diſcerned by the Plea, or Evidence on both parts, then the Judge asks the Plaintiff or Defendant (which he thinks good) whether he will kiſs the *Croſs*, upon that which he avouches or denies. He that takes the Croſs (being ſo offered by the Judge) is accounted clear, and carries the Cauſe. This Ceremony is not done in the Court, but the Party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there it is done, the Money in the mean time hanging upon a Nail, or lying at the Idol's Feet, ready to be delivered to the Party, as ſoon as he hath kiſſed the Croſs before the Idol.

This kiſſing the Croſs is as their corporal Oath, and accounted with them a very holy thing, which no Man will dare to violate or profane by a falſe Allegation.

The manner of drawing Lots.

If both Parties offer to kiſs the Croſs, then they draw Lots, by putting into a Cap two equal Balls of Wax, in one of which is the name of the Plaintiff, and in the other that of the Defendant; then the Judge calls ſome By-ſtander, and commands him to ſtrip up his right Sleeve, and with his bare Arm in God's name, ſeverally to take out the two Balls, and he whoſe Name comes out firſt, is preſumed to have the right on his ſide, and the other Party is convicted and delivered to the Serjeant to carry him to the *Praveuſh* if he do not pay the Money, or content the Party. The *Praveuſh* is a place where ſuch as have Sentence paſſed againſt them, and refuſe to pay that which is adjudged, are beaten with great Cudgels on the Shins and Calves of their Legs. Every Morning from eight to eleven, they are ſet on the *Praveuſh* and beaten in this manner till the Money be paid. In the Afternoon and Night time, they are kept in Chains, unleſs they put in ſufficient Sureties for their appearance at the *Praveuſh* at the Hour appointed. You ſhall ſee 40 or 50 ſtand together on the *Praveuſh* all on a row, and their Shins thus cudgelled every Morning, with a piteous cry. If after a Years ſtanding on the *Praveuſh*, the Party will not, or cannot ſatisfy his Creditor, it is lawful for him to ſell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certain term of Years; and if the Price of them do not amount to the full payment, the Creditor may take them to be his Bondſlaves, for years, or for ever, according to the value of the Debt.

Proceeding in crimial Matters.

When a Man is apprehended for Treaſon, Murder, Theft, *&c.* he is brought before the Duke and Diack of that Province; the Examination is all by Torture, as ſcourging with Whips made of Sinews or white Leather, as big as a Man's Finger, which enters the Fleſh and gives a ſore laſh; or by tying to a Spit and roaſting at the Fire; ſometimes by wrenching and breaking one of their Ribs with a pair of hot Tonges, or cutting the Fleſh under the Nails, *&c.*

The Examination thus taken, with all the Proofs and Evidences alledged againſt the Party, are ſent to the Council Table at *Moſco*, where only Judgment is given in matter of Life and Death; and that by evidence upon Information, without ſeeing or hearing the Party, who is ſtill kept in Priſon where the Fact was committed, and never ſent up to the place where he is tried. If they find the Party guilty, they give Sentence of death according to the quality of the Fact. The Priſoner is carried to the place of Execution with his Hands bound, and a Wax Candle burning, held betwixt his Fingers.

Executions.

Their capital Puniſhments are Hanging, Beheading, knocking on the Head, Drowning, putting under the Ice, ſetting on a Stake, *&c.* but for the moſt part the Priſoners condemned in Summer are kept till Winter to be knockt on the Head and put under the Ice. Theſe Puniſhments are to be underſtood for common Perſons; for if Theft or Murder be committed upon a poor *Mouſick* by one of the Nobility, he is ſeldom puniſhed, or ſo much as called to account for it, becauſe the *Mouſicks* are looked upon as their *Kolophey's*: If a Murder or Theft be committed by a Gentleman Souldier, perhaps he ſhall be impriſoned at the Emperour's pleaſure; or if the Fact be very notorious, he may be whipped, which is commonly all the puniſhment inflicted on them.

If a Man kill his own Servant, little or nothing is ſaid to him, becauſe he was accounted his Bondſlave, and ſo to have a right over his Head; the moſt is ſome Mulct to the Emperour if the Party be rich; and ſo the Puniſhment is rather againſt the Purſe than the Injuſtice. They have no written Law, except a ſmall Book containing ſome Judicial Forms and Circumſtances, but nothing to direct them in giving Sentence upon Right or Wrong.

Of their Military Force.

The Souldiers of *Ruſſia* are called *Sinaboiarskey*, or the Sons of Gentlemen, every Souldier being a Gentleman by virtue of his Military Profeſſion, and none are Gentlemen but Souldiers. When they are of Years able to bear Arms, they enter their Names in the Office of the *Great Conſtable*, who allots them certain Lands for their maintenance, for the moſt part the ſame their Fathers enjoyed; For the Lands aſſigned to maintain the Army are ever certain, without addition or diminution, and are regiſtred in this Office: But if the Emperour have as many Souldiers in pay as the yearly value of thoſe Lands does amount to, then thoſe who come and enter themſelves in the Office, have nothing allowed them for the preſent, except ſome one portion of Land be divided in two, which often cauſes great diſorder in that Country; for a Souldier who hath many Children, ſhall have ſometimes but one entertained in the Emperour's pay; ſo that the reſt having nothing, are forced to live by unjuſt and wicked Shifts, and oppreſſing the People.

The Moving Caſtle.

The *Ruſſe* truſteth rather to the number than to the valour of his Soldiers; they charge on all together in a hurry without order; their Enſigns is the Image of St. *George*; the Foot are commonly placed in a moving Caſtle, ſo framed that it may be ſet up in length (as occaſion requires) one, two, three, four, five, ſix, or ſeven Miles, for ſo long it will reach. It is nothing elſe but a double Wall of Wood, with about three yards ſpace betwixt the two ſides, ſo that they may ſtand within it, and have room enough to charge and diſcharge their Pieces, and to uſe their other Weapons. It is cloſed at both ends, and made with Loop holes on either ſide, to lay out the muzzles of their Guns, and to puſh forth any other Weapon. It is carried with the Army whereſoever it goes, being taken into pieces, and ſo laid on Carts ſparred together, and drawn by Horſes that are not ſeen, becauſe they are covered with their Carriages as with a Paint-Houſe. It is eaſily put together without the Help of a Carpenter or Inſtrument, the Timber being ſo framed as ſhut one piece within another.

The *Ruſſes* have been ever obſerved to be vanquiſhed by the *Poles* and *Swedes* in a pitched Field; but in defending a Caſtle or Town, they prove good Souldiers, as was ſeen at the ſiege of *Vobsko*, where they repulſed the King of *Poland* with his whole Army of 190000 Men, and forced him in the end to give over his ſiege, with the loſs of many of his beſt Captains and Souldiers.

Reward of Valour.

If any Man ſignalize himſelf, by doing ſome ſpecial piece of Service, the Emperour ſends him a piece of Gold ſtamped with the Image of St. *George* on Horſeback. This they hang on their Sleves and ſet in their Caps: and this is accounted the greateſt Honour they can receive for any Service they do.

Of their Eccleſiaſtical State, or Church Government.

The Patriarch of the *Greek* Church reſided formerly at *Conſtantinople*, and being forced thence by the *Turk*, removed to the Iſle of *Scio*, to which place the Emperours and Clergy of *Ruſſia* were wont yearly to ſend Gifts, and to acknowledge a Spiritual Subjection to him.

In the Year 1588 *Hieronymo* Patriarch of *Scio* (baniſhed by the *Turk* as ſome ſaid, others, deprived by the Clergy) came to *Moſco* where the Emperour, who was very ſuperſtitious, gave him great entertainment. Before his coming to *Moſco*, he had been in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported by ſome of his Company.

His chief Buſineſs was (in revenge of the *Turk* and the *Greek* Clergy, who had thruſt him from his Seat) to treat about reducing the *Ruſſe* Church under the Pope of *Rome*, wherein it may ſeem that coming lately from *Rome*, he was ſet on by the Pope, who tho' he had in vain attempted the ſame many times before, (and namely, in the time of *Juan Vaſilowich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate) yet thought this the moſt proper time to obtain his purpoſe, by the Mediation of their own Patriarch; but this not ſucceeding, he Patriarch came to a ſecond Point, concerning the reſignation of his Patriarchſhip, and tranſlation of the See from *Conſtantinople* or *Scio* to the City of *Moſco*. This was ſo well received by the Emperour, as matter of Religion and Policy, that no other Treaty nor forreign Embaſſages were regarded, till that Matter was concluded.

The Reaſons alledged by the Patriarch for the traſlating his See, were theſe, 1. Becauſe it was under the *Turk*, who is an Enemy to the Faith. 2. Becauſe the *Ruſſe* Church was the only natural Daughter of the *Greek* at this time, and holds the ſame Doctrine and Ceremonies with it, the reſt being all ſubject to the *Turk*, and fallen away from the true profeſſion; and, to make the better Market of his broken Ware, he inſiſted upon the Honour that would grow to the Emperour and his Country, to have the Patriarchal Seat tranſlated into the chief City of his Empire. As for the right of tranſlating it, and appointing his Succeſſour, he made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly to himſelf.

The Patriarchal See tranſlared from *Conſtantinople* to *Moſco*.

So the Emperour and his Council, with the principal of his Clergy being aſſembled at *Moſco*, it was determined that the Metropolite of *Moſco* ſhould become Patriarch of the whole *Greek* Church, and have the ſame full Authority and Juriſdiction that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; And that it might be done with more ſolemnity, the 25 of *Jan.* 1588. the *Greek* Patriarch accompanied with the *Ruſſe* Clergy, went to the great Church of our Lady, (having firſt wandred thro' the whole City, bleſſing the People with his two Fingers) where making an Oration, he delivered his Reſignation in an Inſtrument of Writing, and ſo laid down his Patriarchal Staff, which was preſently received by the Metropolite of *Moſco*, and divers other Ceremonies uſed about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

Hieronymo was that day honoured with rich Preſents ſent him from the Emperour and Empreſs, of Plate, Cloth of Gold, Furs, &c. and at his departing, received many Gifts more from the Emperour, Nobility and Clergy. Thus the Patriarchſhip of *Conſtantinople* (which hath continued ſince the Council of *Nice*) is now tranſlated to *Moſco*, or they made believe that they have a Patriarch with the ſame Right and Authority that the other had: However *Hieronymo* made good advantage of it, and went away with a rich Booty into *Poland*, whether their Patriarchſhip be current or not.

Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

The Clergy of *Ruſſia*, are altogether ordered and overuled by the Emperour and his Council, as well concerning their Lands and Revenues, as their Authority and Juriſdiction, and have ſo much and no more of both, than his pleaſure does permit them. The Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction extends to all Teſtimentary Cauſes, Marriages, and Divorcements, to which purpoſe they have their Officiate or Commiſſaries, that are Lay-men, of the Degree of Dukes or Gentlemen, that keep their Courts, and execute their Juriſdiction, who, beſides their oppreſſing the common People, reign over the Prieſts alſo. Theſe Officials are not appointed by the Biſhops, but by the Emperour or his Council, and are to give account of their Doings to none but them.

Election of Biſhops.

The election of Biſhops pertains wholly to the Emperour; they are ever choſen out of Monaſteries; ſo that there is no Biſhop, Archbiſhop, nor Metropolite, but hath been a Monk or Friar before, and conſequently muſt be unmarried Men. Their Revenues to maintain their Dignities are ſomewhat large; the Patriarchs yearly Rents of his Lands, beſides other Fees, is about 3000 Rubbles or Marks; the two Metropolites, and four Archbiſhops, about 2500; the Biſhops, ſome 1000, ſome 800, 500, &c.

The Learning of the *Ruſſe* Clergy.

As for Preaching, they neither uſe it, nor have any skill in it, the whole Clergy being utterly unlearned; and as themſelves are void of learning, ſo are they wary to keep out all means that might bring it in, leaſt their Ignorance ſhould be diſcovered; and have therefore perſwaded the Emperours, that it would breed Innovation, and prove dangerous to their State to have any novelty of Learning come within the Realm. There came once a Preſs and Letters out of *Poland* to *Moſco*, where a Printing Houſe was ſet up with the Approbation of the Emperour himſelf; but not long after, the Houſe was fired in the Night time, and the Preſs and Letters were burnt, as was thought, by the procurement of the Clergy.

Prieſts.

The Prieſts (whom they call *Papaes*) are made by the Biſhops, without any great tryal of their Parts or Gifts before they admit them. Their Heads are ſhorn (not ſhaven, for they like not that) about an hand breadth on the Crown, and that place anointed with Oil by the Biſhop who puts upon him firſt his Surplice, and then a white Croſs of Silk upon his Breaſt, which he wears eight days and no more; and ſo gives him authority to ſay and ſing in the Church, and to adminiſter the Sacraments.

It is lawful for a Prieſt to marry once, but if the firſt Wife die, he cannot take a ſecond, but he muſt looſe his Prieſthood and his Living withal. The Reaſon they take from that place of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, 1. 3. 2. not well underſtood, thinking that to be ſpoken of divers Wives ſucceſſively, which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of at one and the ſame time. If he would needs marry again after his firſt Wife is dead, he is no longer called *Papa*, but *Roſpapa* or *Quondam* Prieſt. This cauſes the Prieſts to make much of their Wives, who are accounted as Matrons, and of beſt reputation among the Women of the Pariſh.

The Prieſts receives no Tyths of Corn or other thing, but ſtands to the Courteſy of the Pariſh, and makes up his Income by Offerings, Shrifts, Marriages, Burials, Dirges, and Prayers for the Dead. They uſe alſo to viſit their Pariſhoners Houſes with Holy Water and Perfume once a Quarter, and ſo having ſprinkled, the good Man and his Wife, with the reſt of their Houſhold and Houſhold Stuff, they receive a Gratuity according to the Man's Ability. Theſe things laid together, may make about thirty or forty Rubbles or Marks a year, whereof he pays a tenth part to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs.

Friars.

Of *Friars* they have an infinite Rabble, far greater than in any Country where Popery is profeſſed; the Reaſon whereof ſeems to be, becauſe the Friars life is the ſafeſt from the Oppreſſions and Exactions that fall upon the Commons; and beſides, ſuch as are voluntary, there are divers that are forced to put on the Friars Habit, upon ſome diſpleaſure; theſe are for the moſt part the chief Nobility. Divers turn Friars to avoid the Puniſhment they have deſerved by the Laws of the Realm; for if a Man can get a Monaſtery over his Head, and there put on a Coul before he be attacked, he is for ever protected againſt any Law, for all Crimes but Treaſon; But they will admit none but ſuch as bring their Stock with them (except ſuch as are commanded by the Emperour to be received) ſome bring 1000 Rubbles and more, but none are admitted under three or four hundred.

The manner of their Admiſſion is thus, Firſt, he is ſtript of all his ſecular Apparel, then the Abbot puts upon him next to his Skin, a white Flannel Shirt, with a long Garment down to the Ground, girded upon him with a broad Leather Belt ; then is his Crown ſhorn, the Abbot pronouncing theſe Words while he is clipping his Hair, *As theſe Hairs are clipped off and taken from thy Head, ſo we now take thee and ſeparate thee clean from the World and Worldly Things.* This done, he anoints his Crown with Oil, and puts on his Coul : They vow perpetual Chaſtity and abſtinency from Fleſh.

Beſides their Lands, they are the greateſt Merchants in the whole Country ; the Lands of ſome Monaſteries are worth 1000 or 2000 Rubbles a year ; there is one Abby called *Troits*, that hath in Lands and Fees 100000 Rubbles or Marks a year : There are of Friars within it about 700, beſides Officers and Servants. They have alſo many Nunneries, whereof ſome may admit none but Noblemens Widows and Daughters, who the Emperour will keep unmarried to extinguiſh their Families.

Of their Lithurgy or Form of Church Service.

Their Morning Service is done in this order : The Prieſt being come into the middle of the Church, ſays with a loud Voice, *Bleſſavey Vladika* (that is) *Bleſs us Heavenly Paſtour*, meaning *Chriſt*. Then he adds, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, one very God in Trinity*; and *Aſpody Pomelius* or *Lord have mercy upon us*, repeated three times. This done, he enters the Chancel, where ſtanding at the Altar or Table ſet near to the upper Wall of the Chancel, he ſays the Lord's Prayer, and then again *Aſpody Pomelius*, or *Lord have mercy upon us*, pronounced twelve times; then, *Praiſed be the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt for ever and ever* ; whereunto the Deacons and People ſay *Amen* : Then the Prieſt adds the Pſalms for that day, and begins with, *O come let us worſhip and fall down before the Lord*, *&c.* and therewithal, himſelf with the Deacons and People, turn themſelves towards their Images that hang on the Wall, and croſſing themſelves, bow down three times, knocking their Heads to the very ground ; After this he reads the Ten Commandments, and *Athanaſius*'s Creed out of the Service Book.

Legend. This done, the Deacon who ſtands without the Chancel, reads a piece of Legend out of a written Book, of ſome Saints Life, Miracles, *&c.* This is read with a kind of a plain ſinging Note; after which, he adds certain Collects, and ſo ends his Service, which laſts commonly an Hour and half or two Hours.

Candles. All this while ſtand burning before their Idols, a great many Wax Candles (whereof ſome as big as a Man's Waſt) vowed, or enjoyned by pennance upon the People of the Pariſh.

About nine in the Morning, the High Service is ſung by the Prieſts and Choriſters ; and if it be a Feſtival Day, then *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael*, and *We praiſe thee O God* &c. are ſung with a more ſolemn and curious Note. This commonly laſts two Hours.

In the Evening Service the Prieſt begins as he did in the Morning ; and after the Pſalms he ſings, *My Soul doth magnify the Lord*, &c. and then the Prieſts, Deacons and People, all with one voice ſing, *Aſpody Pomelius*, or *Lord have mercy upon us*, thirty times together ; whereunto the Boys anſwer as faſt as their Lips can go, *Verii, Verii, Verii, Verii*, or *Praiſe, Praiſe, Praiſe*, &c. thirty times together : Then is read or ſung by the Prieſt the firſt Pſalms, *Bleſſed is the Man* &c. and in the end of it is added *Allelugia* repeated ten times : Then follows ſome part of the Goſpel read by the Prieſts, which he ends with *Alleluja*, repeated three times : All this while the Prieſt ſtands above at the Altar or high Table within the Chancel, whence he never moves all the Service time ; the Deacons without the Chancel Door, and the People ſtand the whole Service time in the Body of the Church, they having no Pews or Seats in their Churches.

Baptiſm. The Sacrament of Baptiſm is adminiſtred after this manner. The Child is brought to the Church within eight days after it is born, the Prieſt ſtanding ready in the Porch with his Tub of Water by him, declares unto them, that they have brought a little Infidel to be made a Chriſtian : Then he teaches the Witneſſes in a ſet form out of his Book, what their Duty is in bringing up the Child after he is baptized : This done, in the name of God, he commands the Devil after a conjuring manner, to come out of the Water, and ſo after certain Prayers, plunges the Child thrice over head and ears ; for they hold it neceſſary that no part of the Child be undipped in the Water.

The Form of Baptiſm is the very ſame uſed by us, viz. *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt* ; And as ſoon as the Child is baptized, the Prieſt lays Oil and Salt tempered together upon the Fore-head, both ſides of the Face, and upon the Mouth, drawing it along with his Finger over the Child's Lips, ſaying certain Prayers that God would make him a good Chriſtian, *&c.* All this is done in the Church-porch. Then is the Child (as being now made a Chriſtian, and fit to be received within the Church-door) carried into the Church, the Prieſt going before, and there he is preſented to the chief Idol of the Church, being laid on a Cuſhion before the Feet of the Image, by it (as by the Mediator) to be commended unto God. If the Child be ſick or weak (eſpecially in Winter) they make the Water luke warm. After Baptiſm, they cut off the Hair from the Child's Head, and wrapping it up with a piece of Wax, lay it up in a ſecret place of the Church.

When they take a *Tartar* Priſoner, they will commonly offer him Life, on condition to be baptized ; and yet they perſwade very few of them ſo to redeem their Lives. *Tartar* chooſe to die rather than turn Chriſtians. The Year after *Moſco* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Divoymorſey*, one of the chief in that Exploit, with 300 *Tartars* more, who had all their Lives offered them if they would be baptized after the *Ruſſe* manner, which they all refuſed to do, with many Reproaches againſt thoſe that perſwaded them ; and ſo being carried to the River *Moſco*, they were all baptized after a violent manner, being brought to the brink of a Hole made in the Ice, and by a knock on the Head forced into the Water.

The Lord's Supper. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper they receive but once a year, in their great Lent time, a little before *Eaſter* ; three at moſt are admitted at one time, and never above : The Prieſt begins with certain uſual Prayers, the Communicants ſtanding the mean while with their Arms folded : Then the Prieſt fills a Spoon with Claret, and putting a ſmall piece of Bread into it, tempereth them both together, and ſo delivers them in the Spoon to the Communicants that ſtand in order, ſpeaking the uſual Words of the Sacrament, *Eat this*, *&c.* *Drink this*, &c. both at one time, without any pauſe.

This done, he delivers them again Bread by it ſelf, and Wine, tempred together with a little warm Water, to repreſent the Blood and Water that flowed out of the ſide of Chriſt. While this is doing, the Communicants unfold their Arms, and then folding them again, follow the Prieſt thrice round the Communion Table, and ſo return to their places again, where, after ſome Prayers, he diſmiſſeth them, charging them to be merry for ſeven days following ; which ended, he enjoins them to faſt as many more ; and this they obſerve with great devotion, eating nothing but Bread and Salt, except a little Cabbage, or other Plant, and drink nothing but Water.

Of the Doctrine of the Ruſſe *Church, and its Errours.*

I. They will not publickly read ſome Cononical Books of Scripture, as the Books of *Moſes*, eſpecially the four laſt, which they ſay (not diſcerning the difference between the Moral and Ceremonial Law) are all annulled and of no uſe, by the coming of Chriſt. The Books of the Prophets they allow of, but read them not publickly in their Churches, becauſe (ſay they) they were but Directors unto Chriſt, and proper to the Nation of the Jews ; only the Book of Pſalms they have in great eſtimation, and ſing and ſay them daily in their Churches. Of the New Teſtament, they allow and read all except the Revelation, which, though they allow it, they read not, becauſe they do not underſtand it.

II. They hold with the Papiſts, that their Church Traditions are of equal Authority with the written Word of God, and prefer themſelves to other Churches, affirming, that they have the true and right Traditions delivered by the Apoſtles to the *Greek* Church, and ſo to them. Traditions.

III. That the Church (meaning the *Greek*, and eſpecially the Patriarch and his Synod, as the head of the reſt) have a Soverain Authority to interpret the Scriptures, and that all are bound to hold that Interpretation to be ſound and authentick. Authority to interpret Scriptures.

IV. Concerning the Divine Nature, and the three Perſons in the one Subſtance of God, they hold that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Son. The Holy Ghoſt to proceed from the Father only.

V. About the Office of Chriſt, they hold many foul Errors, and the ſame almoſt with the Popiſh Church, namely, that he is the ſole Mediator of Redemption, but not of Interceſſion

VI. For the means of Juſtification, they agree with the Papiſts, that it is not by Faith in Chriſt only, but by their Works only.

VII. They ſay with the Papiſts, that no Man can be aſſured of his Salvation, till the Sentence be paſſed at the Day of Judgment.

Auricular Confeſſion. VIII. They uſe Auricular Confeſſion, and think they are purged by the very Action from ſo many Sins as they confeſs to the Prieſt.

Three Sacraments. IX. They hold three Sacraments, *Baptiſm*, the *Lord's Supper*, and *Extream Unction*; yet they hold not the laſt ſo neceſſary to Salvation, but think it a great Curſe and Puniſhment if any die without it.

X. They think there is a neceſſity of Baptiſm, and that all are condemned that die without it.

XI. They rebaptiſe as many Chriſtians (not being of the *Greek* Church) as they convert to their *Ruſſe* Profeſſion.

XII. They obſerve their Faſts ſo ſtrictly, and with ſuch blind Devotion, that they will rather die than eat a bit of Fleſh, Eggs or ſuch like, for the health of their Bodies in extream Sickneſs.

XIII. They hold Marriage to be unlawful for all Clergy-men, except Prieſts only, and for them alſo after the firſt Wife, as was ſaid before.

Of their Marriages.

The manner of ſolemnizing their Marriage is different from that of other Countries; the Man, tho' he never ſaw the Woman before, is not permitted to have any ſight of her all the time of his Wooing, which is not managed by himſelf, but by his Mother or ſome grave Matron of his Kindred. When the Parents or Guardians are agreed, (for without their conſent the Contract is not lawful) they have a Conference about the Dowry, which is commonly as large as the Ability of the Parents will admit.

The Man makes no Jointure in recompence of the Dowry; but in caſe he have a Child by his Wife, ſhe enjoys a Third after his deceaſe: If he have two Children by her or more, ſhe is to have an Addition at the diſcretion of her Huſband: If the Huſband depart without Iſſue by his Wife, ſhe is returned to her Friends without any thing but her Dowry, if the Huſband leave ſo much behind him: If the Woman were never married before, her Father and Friends are bound to aſſure her a Maiden; which occaſions many Brawls and Law Suits among them.

The Contract thus made, the Parties ſend Tokens to each other, the Woman firſt, then the Man, but yet ſee not one another until the Marriage be ſolemnized. On the Eve before the Marriage Day, the Bride is carried to the Bridegrooms Houſe, with her Weeding-Cloths and Bed with her; for this is always provided by the Bride, and hath commonly moſt coſt beſtowed upon it: Here ſhe is accompanied all that Night, by her Mother and other Women, but not welcomed or ſeen by the Bridegroom himſelf.

The time being come, the Bride puts on a Vail that covers her Head and Body to the middle; and thus accompanied with her Friends, and the Bridegroom with his, they go to Church all on Horſeback, tho' the Church be near, and themſelves but of mean condition. The Words of Contract are much the ſame with thoſe uſed with us, with a Ring alſo given to the Bride, which being put on, and the Words of Contract pronounced, the Bride's Hand is delivered into the Hand of the Bridegroom, who ſtands on the other ſide of the Table: Then the Bride cometh to the Bridegroom, and falls down at his Feet, knocking her Head upon his Shooe in token of her ſubjection and obedience; and the Bridegroom caſts the lap of his Gown or upper Garment over the Bride, as a Token that he will protect and cheriſh her.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride ſtanding both together at the Tables end, the Father and Friends of the Bride bow themſelves down low to the Bridegroom, and then his Friends do the like to the Bride, in token of Affinity and Love ever after betwixt the two Kindreds. The Bridegroom then taking the Bride by the Hand, they are met in the Church-porch by ſome with Cups of Mead in their Hands; the Bridegroom takes one and drinks to the Bride, who opening her Vail below (that ſhe may not be ſeen by the Bridegroom) puts the Cup to her Mouth underneath it, and pledges him. Thus returning all together from the Church, the Bridegroom goes not home to his own, but to his Father's Houſe, and ſhe likewiſe to hers, where either entertain their Friends apart: At the Entry into the Houſe, they fling Corn out of the Windows upon the Bridegroom and Bride, as a token of Fruitfulneſs and Plenty.

When the Evening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bridegroom's Father's Houſe, and there lodges that Night, with her Vail ſtill over her Head: All that Night ſhe may not ſpeak one Word (for that charge ſhe receives from her Mother and other Matrons her Friends) that the Bridegroom muſt neither hear nor ſee her, till the day after the Marriage; neither muſt ſhe ſpeak in three days after, except a few words at Table, with great reverence to the Bridegroom; if ſhe behave her ſelf otherwiſe, it is a great prejudice to her credit ever after, and will highly be diſliked of the Bridegroom himſelf.

After the third day they depart to their own home, and make a Feaſt to both their Friends together. On the marriage day and during the Feſtival, he is called *Young Duke*, and ſhe *Young Dutcheſs*.

The common People generally uſe their Wives like Servants, and upon diſlike, the Man may enter himſelf into a Monaſtery on pretence of Devotion, and ſo leave his Wife to ſhift for her ſelf as well as ſhe can.

Of other Ceremonies of the Ruſſe *Church.*

The Sign of the Croſs is much abuſed by them, ſetting it up in their High-ways, tops of Churches, and in every Door of their Houſes, ſigning their Foreheads and Breaſts with it continually, and that with great devotion as ſhould ſeem by their outward Geſture: The like is done when they begin any Work, ſit down or riſe up from Meat; and think all other Chriſtians to be no better than *Turks*, becauſe they do not ſign themſelves with the Croſs, as the *Ruſſians* do.

They have Holy Water in great eſteem as the Popiſh Church hath, and on Twelfth Day they hallow all the Rivers in the Country: It is done at *Moſco* with great Solemnity, as hath been before deſcribed. The Patriarch after certain Prayers, conjures the Devil to come out of the Water, and therefore on the Morning before, all the People of *Moſco* make Croſſes of Chalk over every Door and Window of their Houſes, leſt the Devil being conjured out of the Water, ſhould fly into their Houſes.

At every Brewing, they bring a Diſh of Wort to the Prieſt within the Church, which being hallowed by him, is poured into the Brewing; The like is done with the firſt Fruits of their Corn in Harveſt.

Beſides their weekly Faſts on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, they have four Lents every Year; in their great Lent they have three Vigils, and the laſt *Friday* they call their great *Vigil*, at which time the whole Pariſh muſt be preſent in the Church, and watch from nine in the Evening until ſix in the Morning, ſtanding all the time, except when they fall down and knock their Heads to their Idols, which muſt be juſt 170 times in the whole Night.

About their Burials they have many Superſtitions and prophane Ceremonies, as putting between the Fingers of the Corps, a Letter to St. *Nicholas*, whom they make the Porter of Heaven Gates, as the *Papiſts* do St. *Peter*.

In Winter when all is covered with Snow, and the Ground ſo hard frozen as no Spade nor Pickax can enter, their Cuſtom is not to bury the dead, but to keep the Bodies of ſuch as die in Winter, in an Houſe in the Outparts of the Town, by them called *Bohſedom* or *God's Houſe*, where the dead Bodies are piled up like Billets in a Wood Stack, as hard with the Froſt as a very Stone, till the Spring come, and then every Man takes his dead Friend and commits him to the Ground. They bury their dead as they uſed to go, with Coat, Hoſe, Boots, and the reſt of his Apparel.

Of their private Behaviour, and manner of living.

As to the Conſtitution of their Bodies, they are generally of a large ſize, and account it a Grace to be groſs and burly.

Their Diet is rather much than curious; they commonly begin their Meals with a ſmall Cup of *Aqua Vitæ*, (called by them *Ruſſe* Wine) and drink not again till towards the end of their Meals, and then take it in largely, kiſſing one another at every Pledge. After Dinner there is no talking with them, but every Man goes to his Bench to take his Afternoon ſleep, which is as ordinary with them as their Nights reſt. They begin their Meals with their baked Meats, next their Roaſt, (whereof they uſe but little) and laſtly their Broths. Diet.

This Diet would breed in them many Diſeaſes, but that they uſe Bath-ſtoves or Hot-houſes twice or thrice a Week, inſtead of all Phyſick: All the Winter, and almoſt Bath-almoſt the whole Summer they ſo warm the Houſe, that a Stranger can hardly bear it. Theſe two Extreams (ſpecially in the Winter) of heat within their Houſes and cold without, makes them of a dark and ſallow Complexion, their Skins being tanned and parched both with Cold and Heat, eſpecially the Women, who are for the moſt part of far worſe Complexions than the Men; and therefore the *Ruſſians* allow their Wives and Daughters ſomewhat to buy Colours to paint their Faces, which they do ſo viſibly, that every Man may perceive it, and yet no notice is taken of it, becauſe it is common, and pleaſes their Husbands.

The *Ruſſians* being thus accuſtomed to both Extremities, of Heat and Cold, can bear them more patiently than Strangers can do. You ſhall ſee them ſometimes (to ſeaſon their Bodies) come out of their Bath-ſtoves all on a froth, and fuming as hot almoſt as a Pig at a Spit, and preſently to leap into the River ſtark naked, or to pour cold Water all over their Bodies, and this in the extremity of Winter.

The number of their vagrant and begging Poor, is almoſt infinite; They are ſo pinched with Famin and extream Want, that they beg after a violent and deſperate manner, as, *Give and cut me*; *Give me and kill me*, and ſuch like Phraſes.

The *Ruſſes* are ſaid to believe nothing another Man ſaith, nor ſpeaketh any thing worthy to be believed: This quality makes them odious to all their Neighbours, eſpecially to the *Tartars*, who account themſelves to be honeſt and juſt in compariſon of the *Ruſſians*; and it is thought that the Offence they take at their double dealing, hath been a great Cauſe to keep the *Tartars* ſtill Heatheniſh, and to miſlike the Chriſtian Profeſſion.

Of the Tartars, Samoits, *and other Borderers.*

Their Neighbours, with whom they have great Dealings both in Peace and War, are the *Polonians*, the *Swedes*, and the *Tartars*, who are divided into many Tribes, different in Name and Government one from another, of whom, the greateſt is the *Corim Tartar*, that lies South and South-eaſt from *Ruſſia*, and moſt annoys the Country by frequent Invaſions, commonly once every Year, and ſometimes penetrates very far into the Country.

In the Year 1571, he came as far as the City of *Moſco*, with an Army of 200000 Men, without reſiſtance, the Emperour *Juan Vaſilowich* with his Army having marched a wrong way, which was thought done on purpoſe, as not daring to adventure a Battle, becauſe he ſuſpected his Nobility and chief Commanders had a deſign to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The City he took not, but firing the Suburbs, which were all of Wood, they burnt ſo furiouſly, that in four Hours time the greateſt part of the City was conſumed alſo, being 30 Miles or more in compaſs. The throng of the People preſſing out at the Gates fartheſt from the Enemy, was ſo great, that there periſhed by the Fire and the Croud, 80000 People.

The *Chrim* having thus fired the City, returned with his Army, and ſent the Emperour a Knife (as was ſaid) to ſtab himſelf, upbraiding his Loſs and deſperate Caſe, neither daring to meet his Enemy in the Field, nor to truſt to his Subjects at home.

The principal Cauſe of this continual Quarrel, is for the right of certain Borders, claimed by the *Tartar*, but poſſeſſed by the *Ruſſe*. The *Tartar* alledges, that beſides *Aſtracan* and *Cazan*, the whole Country as far as the City of *Moſco*, yea, and *Moſco* it ſelf pertaineth to his right, which ſeems to be true by the Report of the *Ruſſes* themſelves, who tell of a Homage done by the *Ruſſe* Emperour every year to the *Chrim*, the *Ruſſe* Emperour ſtanding on foot, and feeding the *Chrim*'s Horſe, (himſelf ſitting on his Back) with Oats out of his own Cap, and that within the Caſtle of *Moſco*: And this Homage (they ſay) was done till the time of *Baſileus* the Emperour, who ſurpriſing the *Chrim* by a Stratagem, changed this Homage into a Tribute of Furs, which was afterwards denied to be paid by the ſucceeding Emperour.

Hereupon they continue the Quarrel, the *Chrim Tartar* invading him once or twice every Year, about *Whitſontide* or Harveſt. If the *Chrim* come in his own Perſon, he brings with him an Army of 100000 or 200000 Men, otherwiſe they make ſhort and ſudden Inroads with leſs numbers, invading and retiring as they ſee advantage.

Their common Practice (being very populous) is to make divers Armies, and ſo drawing the *Ruſſe* to one or two places of the Frontiers, to invade ſome other place that is left defenceleſs. They are all expert Horſe-men, and will ſhoot as readily backward as forward: Their Armies are a Bow, a Sheaf of Arrows, and a Scymitar: The common Souldier hath no other Armer than his ordinary Apparel, *viz.* a black Sheeps Skin, with the Wool ſide outward in the Day time, and inward in the Night time, and a Cap of the ſame; but their *Murſey's* or Noblemen imitate the *Turks* both in Apparel and Armor. When they paſs a River, they tye three or four Horſes together, and taking long Poles or pieces of Wood, bind them faſt to the Tayls of their Horſes, ſo ſitting on the Poles, they drive them over.

When they give an aſſault, they make a great ſhout, crying all together *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help us, God help us*. They chooſe rather to die than to yield to their Enemy, and will often bite the Weapon, when they are paſt ſtriking or helping themſelves, whereas the *Ruſſe* Souldier, if taken by his Enemy, neither defends himſelf, nor intreats for his life, as reckoning ſtrait to die; and the *Turk* commonly when he is paſt hope of eſcaping, caſts away his Weapon, and holds up both his Hands, as it were to be tied, hoping to ſave his Life by offering himſelf Bondſlave.

The chief Booty the *Tartars* ſeek for in their Wars, is to get ſtore of Captives, eſpecially young Boys and Girls, whom they ſell to the *Turks* or other Neighbours. To this purpoſe they take with them great Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyre or be ſick on the way, they daſh him againſt the Ground, or ſome Tree, and ſo leave him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping Captives or other Booty, becauſe they have certain Bands for that purpoſe, who mind nothing elſe.

The *Ruſſe* Borderers being uſed to their Invaſions, keep few Cattle there beſides Swine, which the *Tartar* will not touch nor drive away with him, becauſe he is of the *Turkiſh* Religion, and will eat no Swines Fleſh. Of *Chriſt* our Saviour they confeſs as much as the *Turk* does in his *Alcoran*, *viz.* That he came of the Angel *Gabriel* and the Virgin *Mary*, that he was a great Prophet, *&c.* But their Religion differs from the *Turks* in this, that they have Idols made of Silk or other Stuff, of the Faſhion of a Man, faſtned to the Door of their moving Houſes; and have beſides, the Image of their King or great *Cham* of an huge bigneſs, erected at every Stage when the Army marches, to which every one muſt bow as he paſſes by, be he *Tartar* or Stranger.

In their Marriages, a Man may take any Woman, except his Mother, Siſter or Daughter; and altho' he accompany with the Woman, yet he accounts her not for his Wife, till he have a Child by her: If ſhe be barren, after a certain time he turns her home again.

They have Dukes called *Morſeys* or *Dyvoymorſies*, that rule over ten, twenty, or forty thouſand a piece, which they call *Hoords*: When the *Chrim* hath occaſion for them in his Wars, they are bound to come with their Souldiers, every man with his two Horſes at the leaſt, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it comes to his turn to have his Horſe eat; their chief Food being Horſe-fleſh, which they eat without Bread or any other thing with it; ſo that when a *Ruſſe* takes a *Tartar*, he commonly finds a Horſe Leg or ſome other part of him at his Saddle-bow.

While I was at *Moſco*, there came thither the *Chrim*'s Nephew, accompanied with 300 *Tartars*; he had two very large and fat Horſes flayed in a Sled, ſent to his Lodging to be made ready for his Supper for him and his Company. They prefer it before other Fleſh, becauſe the Meat is ſtronger than Beaf, Mutton, *&c.* and yet (which is a marvel) tho' they ſerve all as Horſemen in the Wars, and eat all of Horſe-fleſh, there are brought yearly to *Moſco* to be exchanged for other Commodities, thirty or forty thouſand *Tartar* Horſe. They keep alſo great Herds of Kine and Flocks of black Sheep, rather for the Skins and Milk, than for the uſe of the Fleſh, tho' ſometimes they eat of it. They drink Milk or warm Blood, and for the moſt part mix them together. In travelling they will bleed a Horſe in a Vein, and drink it warm as it comes from his Body.

Towns or ſtanding Building they have none, as being in their opinion neither pleaſant nor wholſome; but their Houſes are built upon Wheels, and when they come to their Stages, theſe Cart-houſes are placed very orderly in a Rank like Streets, and reſemble a very large Town.

They begin to move their Houſes and Cattle in the Spring time from the South towards the North, and ſo driving on till they have grazed all up the fartheſt part Northwards, they return back toward the South Country, by ten or twelve Miles a Stage, and there continue all Winter, the Graſs in the mean time being grown up again, to ſerve their Cattle as they return.

Of Money they have no uſe at all, neglecting Gold and Silver, and all Tillage of their Ground, to be more free for their wandring kind of life, and to keep their Country leſs ſubject to Invaſions, which gives them a great advantage over all their Neighbours, ever invading and never being invaded.

For Perſon and Complexion, they have broad and flat Faces, of a tanned colour, fierce look, thin haired upon the upper Lip, and a pit on the Chin, light bodied, with ſhort Legs, as if they were naturally made for Horſemen, which they practice from their Childhood, ſeldom going a foot about any buſineſs. Their greateſt Exerciſe is Shooting, wherein they train up their Children, not ſuffering them to eat till they have ſhot near the Mark.

There are divers other *Tartars* that border upon *Ruſſia*, as the *Nagaies*, the *Cheremiſſens*, the *Mordwites*, the *Chircaſſes*, and the *Shalcans*, which all differ from the *Chrim Tartar* in Name more than Regiment, except the *Chircaſſes* that border South-weſt toward *Lituania*, who are far more civil than the reſt of the *Tartars*, of a comely Perſon and ſtately Behaviour, applying themſelves to the faſhion of the *Polonians*. Some of them have ſubjected themſelves to the Kings of *Poland*, and profeſſed Chriſtianity. The *Nagayans* lie Eaſtward, and are reckoned the beſt Warriours among all the *Tartars*, but more Savage and cruel than the reſt. The moſt rude and barbarous is the *Mordovite Tartar*, who worſhips the firſt living thing he meets with in a Morning, and ſwears by it all that day. When his Friend dies, he kills his beſt Horſe, and flaying the Skin, carries it on high upon a long Pole, before the Corps to the place of Burial.

Altho' the *Tartars* are void of Learning and without written Law, yet certain Rules they hold by Tradition, which are common to all *Hoords*; which are,

I. To obey their Emperour and other Magiſtrates, in whatſoever they command for the publick Service.

II. Except for the publick behoof, every Man to be free and uncontrouled.

III. No private Man to poſſeſs any Lands, but the whole Country to be as a Common.

IV. To neglect all daintineſs and variety of Meats, and to content themſelves with that which comes next to hand, for more hardineſs and readineſs in executing their Affairs.

V. To wear any baſe attire, and to patch their Cloths, whether there be any need or not, that when there is need, it may be no ſhame to wear a patch'd Coat.

VI. To take or ſteal from any Strager whatſoever they can get, as being Enemies to all Men but ſuch as will ſubject themſelves to them.

VII. Toward their own Hoord and Nation, to be true in Word and Deed.

VIII. To ſuffer no Stranger to come within the Realm, if any do, the ſame to be Bondſlave to him that firſt takes him, except ſuch Merchants and others as have a *Tartar* Paſport about them.

The *Permians* and *Samoits* that lie North and North-eaſt from *Ruſſia*, are of the *Tartar* kind, having all broad and flat Faces: They are now ſubject to the *Ruſſe*, and live by hunting and trading with their Furs: They are clad in Seal Skins, with the hairy ſide outwards; are all black haired, and beardleſs: They are all Idolaters, worſhipping the Sun, the Ollen, the Loſh, &c. They live a Savage Life, roving from one place to another, without Habitation: Their Leader in every Company is their Prieſt.

On the North ſide of *Ruſſia* next to *Corelio*, lies the Country of *Lappia*, part of which is ſubject to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who exact Tribute and Cuſtom from them, but the greateſt part belongs to the *Ruſſian*. The whole Country is either Lakes or Mountains, but the Inland Parts are furniſhed with Woods which grow on the Hills ſides, the Lakes lying between. Their Diet is very plain, having no Bread, but feed only on Fiſh and Fowl. They are utterly unlearned, having not ſo much as the uſe of any Alphabet or Letter among them. For Witchcraft they are thought to paſs all Nations in the World, tho' as to the Story of ſelling Winds by tying Knots on a Rope, it is a meer Fable. Their continual Practice of ſhooting Wild Fowl, makes them excellent Marks Men. They travel upon Sleds drawn by the *Olen* Deer, which they turn a grazing all the Summer in an Iſland, called *Kilden*, and towards the Winter, when the Snow begins to fall, fetch them home again for the uſe of their Sleds.

CHAP. XV.

The Firſt Voyage of William Barets *into the North Seas*, 1594. *Written by* Garet de Veer.

1594. IN the Year 1594, four Ships were ſet out from the United Provinces, for the diſcovery of *Cathaia* and *China*, by ſailing to the Northward of *Norway*, *Muſcovia*, and *Tartaria*, whereof *William Barents* was chief Pilot.

Upon the 5th of *June* they ſailed from the *Texel*, and on the fourth of *July* ſaw *Nova Zembla* in 73 Deg. 25 Min.

On the ninth they entred into *Beeren-Fort*, under *Williams* Iſland, and ſpying a white Bear, they preſently entred their Boat, and ſhot her into the Body with a Musket; the Bear leaping up, took the Water, and the Men in the Boat rowing after her, caſt a Rope about her Neck, and dragged her at the Stern of the Boat, intending to carry her alive in the Ship, and ſhew her for a Wonder in *Holland*, but ſhe uſed ſuch force, that they were glad to be rid of her, and content themſelves with her Skin; for the Bear ſwimming to the Boat, got hold of the Stern with her fore Feet, which *Barents* perceiving, ſaid, ſhe will there reſt her ſelf, but ſhe ſtrugled ſo violently, that at laſt ſhe had gotten half her Body into the Boat, which ſo daunted the Men, that they ran to the further end of the Boat, thinking they ſhould have been ſpoiled by her, but the Rope about her Neck caught hold upon the Hook of the Rudder, which held her from coming further, whereupon one of the Men thruſt her into the Body with a half Pike, wherewith ſhe fell down into the Water, and ſo dragging her to the Ship, they killed her out right, and flaying her, brought the Skin to *Amſterdam*. **A white Bear killed.**

The 10th of *July* they ſailed out of *Beeren-Fort*, and on the 13th found great ſtore of Ice; as far as they could diſcern out of the top, it ſeemed like a plain Field. *July.*

On the 17th *William Barents* took the height of the Sun, and they were then in 77 Deg. and ¼.

On the 19th, they were cloſe by the Land of *Nova Zembla*, about Cape *Naſſaw*.

On the 25th, they were ſo incloſed with flakes of Ice, that out of the top they could not diſcern any thing beyound it, and indeavoured to make their way thro' it, but could not.

On the 28th, the height of the Sun taken at Noon with the Aſtrolabe, was found to be elevated above the *Horizon* 57 Deg. 6 Min. his declination being 19 Deg. 18 Min. which in all is 76 Deg. 24 Min. the Land lay all covered with Snow, the Weather being clear, and the Wind Eaſt.

On the 31th, having laboured forward between the Land and the Ice, they got to the Iſlands of *Orange*, upon one of which they ſaw about 200 Sea-horſes, lying upon the Shoar and basking themſelves in the Sun. Sea Horſes or Morſes They are bigger than Oxen, their Skins like a Seal, with very ſhort Hair, and two Teeth ſticking out of their Mouths, on each ſide one, about half an Ell long, as white, hard and even as Ivory, and as much eſteemed in *Muſcovia*, *Tartaria*, and the Parts adjacent.

Our Men ſuppoſing that the *Moſes* could not defend themſelves, being out of the Water, went on Shoar to aſſault them and get their Teeth, but they brake all their Hatches, Cuttle-axes, and Pikes in pieces, and could not kill one of them, but ſtruck ſome of their Teeth out of their Mouths, and brought them away with them.

Auguſt. They return. *William Barents* finding that he could not accompliſh his intended Voyage, and his Men refuſing to ſail further, on the firſt of *Auguſt* turned his courſe to ſail back again to meet the other Ships that had taken their courſe to *Weygats*, or the Streights of *Naſſaw*; and on the 15th, the Sun being S. W. *William Barents* took the heighth thereof, and found it to be elevated above the *Horizon* 35 Deg. ſo that there wanted 55 Deg. of 90, which 55 Deg. being added to 14 Deg. ¼, which was the Sun's declination, makes 69 Deg. 15 Min. for the heighth of the Pole in that place; and coming to the Iſlands called *Matflo* and *Delgoy*, they met with the other Ships, that came out of *Weygats* the ſame day. They meet with their Company.

One of the three Ships had paſt the Streight of *Weygats*, and at the end of it found a large Sea, on which they ſailed 50 or 60 Miles Eaſtward, and were of opinion that they had been about the River *Obi*, that falleth out of *Tartary*, and they ſaid that the Land of *Tartary* from that place ſtretched North-eaſtward, whereby they thought they were not far from Cape *Tabin*, and ſo thinking they had diſcovered enough for that time, and it being too late in that Year to ſail further, they returned to *Weygats*, and meeting with *Barents*, and the other two Ships, they ſet ſail together on the 18th of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Texe* the 16th of *September*.

CHAP. XVI.

The ſecond Voyage of William Barents *into the North Seas*, 1595. *Written by* Geret de Veer.

1595. THIS Year the States of the *United Provinces* and Prince *Maurice* ſet forth ſeven Ships to ſail thro' the *Weygates* to *Cathaia* and *China*; ſix of them were laden with Merchandizes, and the ſeventh being a Pinnace, had Commiſſion when the other Ships were paſt about Cape *Tabin*, to return and bring news thereof.

July. On the ſecond of *July*, we ſailed from the *Texel*, and on the 17th of *Auguſt* ſaw great ſtore of Ice along the Coaſt of *Nova Zembla*.

On the 19th we entred *Weygates*, and as we went in, we caſt out the Lead, and had ſeven Fathom Water.

Auguſt. The 20th of *Auguſt* the height of the Sun being taken with the Croſs-ſtaff, we found it elevated above the *Horizon* 69 Deg. 20 Min. when it was S. W. and by S. being at the higheſt, or before it began to deſcend.

The 21ſt we went on Land with 54 Men, and being two Miles within the Land, we found many *Vel-werck*, *Traen*, and ſuch like Wares, and the Foot-ſteps of Men and Deer, as alſo many Images. In the mean time our Maſter ſent out a Boat to ſee if the *Tartarian* Sea was open, but it could not get into the Sea becauſe of the Ice, ſo they went over the Land to the Weſt Point, and there perceived that the Ice in the *Tartarian* Sea lay full upon the *Ruſſian* Coaſt, and in the Mouth of *Weygates*.

The 23d of *Auguſt* we found a *Lodgie* or Boat of *Pitzore*, ſowed together with Ropes, that had been Northward to ſeek for Sea-horſes Teeth, Trane, and Geeſe, which they fetched in their Boat to lade in certain Ships that were to come out of *Ruſſia* thro' *Weygates*, which Ships they ſaid were to ſail into the *Tartarian* Sea, by the River *Oby*, to a place called *Ugolita* in *Tartaria*, there to ſtay all Winter, as they uſed to do every Year, and told us that it would yet be nine or ten Weeks before it began to freeze in that place, and that when it once began to freeze, it would freeze ſo hard, that Men might go into *Tartary* upon the Ice, over the Sea, called by them *Mermare*.

The 24th in the Morning, betimes, we went on board of the *Lodgie* for further Information of the Sea on the Eaſt ſide of *Weygates*, and the like we did on the 25th, at which time they gave us eight fat Geeſe that lay in the bottom of their Boat: We deſired that one or two of them would go with us aboard our Ship, whereupon ſeven of them went willingly with us, and wondred much at the greatneſs and furniture of our Ship. When they had looked into every place, we ſet Fiſh, Butter and Cheeſe before them to eat, but they refuſed it, ſaying, that Day was a Faſting Day with them; yet at laſt, when they ſaw ſome of our pickled Herrings, they eat them Heads, Tails, Skins, and Guts, and having eaten them, we gave them a ſmall Firkin of Herrings, for which they gave us great thanks, and ſaid, they knew not what friendſhip they could do us to requite our Courteſy. At Noon, we got up our Anchors and ſailed North-eaſt two Miles, but were forced back again by the great ſtore of Ice, and ſo came to our old Road, there to ſtay for a more convenient time.

On the laſt of *Auguſt William Barents* our Captain, ſailed to the South ſide of *Weygates*, and going on Shoar, our Men, being nine in number, went about a Mile into the Land, not thinking to find any Men there (becauſe they had been on Shore in the *Weygates* at other times, and ſaw none) and being miſty weather, they perceived about 20 Men, who were very near them before they knew it. Our Interpreter went alone towards them to ſpeak with them, which they perceiving, ſent one towards us, who coming almoſt to our Men, took an Arrow out of his Quiver, offering to ſhoot at him, wherewith our Interpreter called unto him in the *Ruſſian* Tongue, *Shoot not, we are Friends*; which the other hearing, caſt his Bow and Arrows to the Ground, and ſaid, *You are welcome*, and ſaluting each other, by bending their Heads towards the Ground after the *Ruſſian* manner, our Interpreter queſtioned him about the ſituation and ſtretching of the Sea Eaſtward of the Streight of *Weygates*: He anſwered, That when we ſhould paſs a Point of Land about five days ſailing from thence (pointing with his Hand towards the North-eaſt) that then we ſhould come to a great Sea (pointing towards the South-eaſt) ſaying that he knew it very well, becauſe one had been there, who was ſent thither by their King with certain Souldiers, whereof he had been Captain. They land in the *Samoyeds* Country.

They are for the moſt part low of Stature, with broad flat Faces, ſmall Eyes, ſhort Legs, their Knees ſtanding outward, and are very nimble: They are apparelled in Deer's Skins from head to foot, and wear long Hair, which they pleat and fold, letting it hang down their Backs. Deſcription of the *Samoyeds*.

Their Sleds ſtood always ready with one or two Deer in them, which will carry a Man or two ſwifter than our Horſes. Swiftneſs of their Sleds.

One of our Men ſhot a Muſquet toward the Sea, wherewith they were in ſo great fear, that they ran and leapt like mad Men: We told them by our Interpreter, that we uſed our Pieces inſtead of Bows, and to convince them, one of our Men took a flat Stone, and ſet it upon a Hill a good diſtance from him, and with a Bullet ſtruck the Stone aſunder, whereat they wondred exceedingly.

After they were gone from us, one of them came riding to the Shoar, to fetch a rough hewed Image which our Men had taken off the Shoar and put into their Boat; as ſoon as he ſaw it in the Boat, he made us a ſign that we had not done well in taking it away; whereupon we gave it him again. Not far from thence we found hundreds of ſuch carved Images, having a little Hill inſtead of a Noſe, and two cuts in places of Eyes, and under the Noſe a cut in place of a Mouth. Before the Images we found great ſtore of Aſhes and Bones of Deer, whereby we ſuppoſed that they there offered unto them.

On the ſecond of *September* we ſet ſail, but by reaſon of the Ice, the Miſt, and the ſhifting of the Wind, we could hold no Courſe. *September*

On the fourth we ſailed between the Firm Land and the *States Iſland*.

On the ſixth ſome of our Men went aſhoar on the Firm Land, to ſeek for Stones which looked like Diamonds, and two of our Men lying together in one place, a great lean white Bear came ſtealing out, and caught one of Two Men killed by a Bear.

them

them faſt by the Neck, who not perceiving what it was, cried out and ſaid, *Who is it that pulls me ſo by the Neck?* wherewith the other lifting up his Head to ſee who it was, cried out, and ſaid, *Oh Mate, it is a Bear*, and therewith preſently roſe up and ran away.

The Bear at the firſt falling upon the Man, bit his Head aſunder, and ſucked out his Blood, wherewith the reſt of the Men that were on the Land, being about 20; ran preſently thither, either to ſave the Man, or elſe to drive the Bear from the dead Body, and having charged their pieces and bent their Pikes, ſet upon her, who was ſtill devouring the Man, but ſhe perceiving them to come towards her, fiercely ran at them, and getting another of them out from the Company, tore him in pieces, wherewith all the reſt ran away.

We perceiving out of our Ship and Pinnace, that our Men ran to the Sea-ſide to ſave themſelves, with all ſpeed entred into our Boats, and rowed as faſt as we could to the Shoar to relieve them; being come aſhoar, we beheld the cruel Spectacle of our two dead Men torn in pieces by the Bear, whereupon we encouraged our Men to go back again with us, and with Pieces, Cuttle-axes and half Pikes to ſet upon the Bear, but they would not all agree thereunto, ſaying, that our Men are already dead, and that we might get the Bear well enough, by taking her at ſome advantage, and not expoſe our ſelves to ſo open danger. The Bear was ſtill devouring her Prey, not fearing the number of our Men, altho' they were thirty at leaſt; whereupon the Maſter and Purſer of *Barent*'s Ship, and the Pilot of the Pinnace, went forward, and when the Maſter and Pilot had ſhot three times and miſſed, the Purſer advancing, ſhot the Bear into the Head between the Eyes, and yet ſhe held the Man ſtill faſt by the Neck, and lifted up her Head with the Man in her Mouth, but beginning to ſtagger, the Purſer and a *Scotch* Man drew out their Cuttle-axes, and ſtruck at her ſo hard, that they broke them, and yet ſhe would not leave the Man, till at laſt the Pilot went to them, and with all his might ſtruck the Bear upon the Snout with his Piece, wherewith ſhe fell to the Ground, making a great noiſe, and the Pilot leaping upon her, cut her Throat. The ſeventh of *September* we buried the Bodies of our Men in the *States* Iſland, and having flayed the Bear, carried the Skin to *Amſterdam*.

They kill the Bear.

The 9th we ſailed from the *States* Iſland, but the Ice came ſo thick upon us, that we could not get thro'.

On the 10th we ſailed towards the *Waygates*, and ſent two Boats into the *Tartarian* Sea, to certify us what ſtore of Ice was abroad; and that Evening we anchored all together in *Waygates*.

On the 11th, we ſailed into the *Tartarian* Sea, but met with ſo much Ice, that we returned the ſame day to *Waygates*.

The 14th, we hoiſed up our Anchor, thinking once again to try what we could do in the *Tartarian* Sea, but our Admiral being of another mind, lay ſtill.

The 15th, the Wind driving in at the Eaſt end of *Waygates*, forced us to get up our Anchors, and ſail out of the Weſt end with all our Fleet, and make homewards again.

On the 19th of *September* we entred into *Wardhouſe*, and upon the 18th of *November* arrived in the *Maes*.

CHAP. XVII.

The Third Voyage of William Barents *into the North-Seas,* 1596. *Written by* Gerat de Veer.

What hapned to them at Sea, before they built their Houſe.

1596.

THE *States General* of the *United Provinces*, upon the return of the ſaid ſeven Ships from their Northern Voyage, with leſs benefit than was expected, reſolved to ſend ſome Ships a third time, to ſee if they could bring the Voyage to a good end: And accordingly two Ships were made ready; in the one *Jacob Heemskerk Hendrickſon* was Maſter and Factor, and *William Barents* chief Pilot; in the other *John Cornelison Riip* was Maſter and Factor. We departed from the *Vlie* the 13th of *May*, and on the 30th were in the Latitude of 69 Deg. 24 Min.

June.

On the firſt of *June* we had no Night, and on the ſecond, when the Sun was about S. S. E. we ſaw a ſtrange ſight in the Element, for on each ſide of the Sun there was another Sun, and two Rain-bows that paſſed clean thorow the three Suns, and then two Rain-bows more, the one compaſſing round about the Suns, and the other croſs thorow the great Rundle, which Rundle ſtood with the uttermoſt Point, elevated above the *Horizon* 28 Deg. At noon we took the height of the Sun, and found it elevated above the *Horizon* 48 Deg. 43 Min. his Declination being 22 Deg. 17 Min. which added together, makes 71 Deg. for the height of the Pole.

Three Suns and four Rain-bows.

On the fifth, one of our Men walking on the Deck, cryed out that he ſaw Swans, which we that were under Deck hearing, came up, and perceived that it was Ice that came driving from the great heap; at midnight we ſailed thro' it, the Sun then about one Degree above the Horizon in the North.

The ſixth we entred into the Ice, which was ſo ſtrong that we could not paſs thro' it, ſo we ſailed along by it, keeping our Courſe N. N. E.

The ſeventh we were in the Latitude of 74 Deg. and we ſailed thro' the Ice as if we had paſt between two Lands; the further we ſailed, the more and thicker Ice we found, and the Water as green as Graſs.

The 8th we came to ſo thick a heap of Ice, that we could not ſail thro' it

Cherry-Iſland.

The 9th, we found the Iſland that lies in 74 Deg. 30 Min. and as we gueſt, it was about five Miles long; here we found the Compaſs to vary 13 Deg.

The 12th we ſaw a white Bear, which we rowed after with our Boat, thinking to caſt a Rope about her Neck, but when we came near her, ſhe was ſo great, that we durſt not do it, but rowed back again to our Ship to fetch our Arms and more Men, and ſo made to her again with Muſquets, Halberts and Hatches, the other Ships Boat coming alſo to help us, we rowed to her and fought her two Hours, our Weapons doing her but little hurt: One of our Men ſtruck her into the Back with an Ax, which ſtuck faſt in her Back, and yet ſhe ſwam away with it, but we rowing after her, did at laſt cleave her Head with an Ax, wherewith ſhe died; we flaied her and found her Skin to be twelve Foot long: This done, we eat ſome of her Fleſh, but did not well approve of it: We called this place *Bear Iſland*.

Bears Skin 12 Foot long

The 13th we left the Iſland, and ſailed North ſomewhat Eaſterly, and on the 14th we caſt our Lead 113 Fathom deep, but found no Ground.

On the 15th in the Evening, we ſaw a great thing driving in the Sea, which we thought had been the Hull of a Ship, but paſſing along by it, we perceived it to be a dead Whale, that ſtunk horribly, and on it there ſate a great number of Sea Mews.

Dead Whale

The 16th we continued our Courſe N. by E. with miſty weather.

The 17th and 18th, we ſailed along by great ſtore of Ice.

On the 19th we ſaw Land again, and taking the height of the Sun, we found that we were under 80 Deg. 11 Min. This Land was very great, and we ſailed Weſtward along by it, till we were under 79 Deg. 30. Min. where we found a good Road, but could not get near the Land, the Wind being at N. E. the Bay reaches right North and South into the Sea.

The 21ſt we anchored in 18 Fathom, and ſaw a white Bear ſwimming towards our Ship; we rowed after her in our Boat, and croſſing her in her way, drove her from the Land, and forced her to ſwim a Mile into the Sea, we following her with the moſt of our Men in three Boats, cutting and hewing her till moſt of our Arms were broken in pieces; ſhe ſtruck her Claws ſo hard into the

Bears Skin 13 Foot long.

Red Geeſe ſeen.

Red Geeſe bred under 80 Degrees in *Greenland*,

the Head of our Boat, that ſhe left the print of them behind her, and had it been in the middle of the Boat, ſhe had peradventure overſet it; at laſt we killed her, and flayed her, her Skin was 13 Foot long. Then rowing toward the Land, we found a good Haven, and a great Creek or River, and upon an Iſland therein, we found many red Geeſe Eggs; the Geeſe were of a perfect red colour, ſuch as come into *Holland* about *Weiringen*, and yearly taken there in great plenty, but till this time it was never known where they hatched their Eggs; ſo that ſome have written that they ſit upon Trees in *Scotland*, that hang over the Water, and ſuch Eggs as fall from them into the Water, become young Geeſe; but 'tis not to be wondred at, that no Man could tell where they breed their Eggs, becauſe no Man that ever we heard of, had ever been under 80 Degrees.

The 23d, we weighed Anchor, and ſailed N. W. but were ſoon ſtopt by the Ice, and ſo anchored in the ſame place again. In the Evening, the Sun at N. E. we took the height of it, and found it elevated above the *Horizon*, 13 Deg. 10 Min. his Declination being 23 Deg. 28 Min. which ſubſtracted, there reſt 10 Deg. 18 Min. which ſubſtracted from 90, the Pole was elevated 79 Deg. 42 Min. We ſet ſail again, and ſome of us went aſhoar to obſerve the variation of the Needle; in the mean time a great white Bear ſwam to the Ship, and would have climbed up into it if we had not made a noiſe: We ſhot at her with a Piece, whereupon ſhe left the Ship, and ſwam to land where our Men were, which we perceiving, ſailed with our Ship towards the Land, and gave a great Shout, wherewith our Men were much abaſhed, thinking we had fallen on a Rock, the Bear alſo being frighted, ſwam off again from the Land, and left our Men, which made us glad, becauſe they had no Arms with them: The Compaſs was found to vary 16 Deg.

Compaſs varies 16 Deg.

The 28th we met with a great number of Birds that flew againſt our Sails.

On the 30th we were in 75 Degrees.

July.

They ſeparate by conſent.

July the firſt, we ſaw *Bear* Iſland again; *Cornelíſon* and his Officers came aboard our Ship, to ſpeak with us about altering our Courſe, but we being of a contrary Opinion, it was reſolved that we ſhould follow our Courſe, and he his, which was, he (according to his deſire) ſhould ſail back to 80 Degrees again: for he was of opinion, that there he ſhould find a Paſſage thro', on the Eaſt ſide of the Land that lay under 80 Degrees, and ſo we parted, they ſailing Northward, and we Southward, becauſe of the Ice.

The ſecond we ſailed Eaſtward, and ſo continued an Eaſterly Courſe, as the Ice would give us leave, unto the 13th, when taking the height of the Sun, we found our ſelves in 73 Deg. and were of opinion that we were near *Willoughby*'s Land.

On the 16th we ſaw a great Bear lying upon the Ice, that leaped into the Water when ſhe ſaw us; we made towards her, which ſhe perceiving, got upon the Ice again. This Bear upon the Ice made us ſuppoſe that we were not far from *Nova Zembla*, we caſt our Lead, and had 100 Fathom.

The 17th we ſaw the Land of *Nova Zembla*, about *Lomsbay*, then altering our Courſe, we ſailed N. E. by N. as the Land lies.

The 19 we came to the *Croſs* Iſland, and could get no further by reaſon of the Ice: We anchored under the Iſland, and manning our Boat with eight Men, rowed to Land, and went to one of the Croſſes, where reſting a while, we went toward the next Croſs, but coming near it, we eſpied two Bears by the other Croſs, who roſe up upon their hinder Feet to ſee us, having ſmelt us before, for they ſmell further than they ſee; they came towards us, wherewith we were in no ſmall fear, having no Weapons about us: We retreated towards our Boat in all haſt, ſtill looking behind us to ſee if they followed us; but the Maſter ſtopt us, ſaying, he would thruſt the Hake-ſtaff he had in his Hand, into the Ribs of him that ſhould firſt offer to run, and ſaid, it was better for us to keep together, and ſee if we could make them afraid with hooping and hallowing; and ſo we went ſoftly towards the Boat, glad that we had eſcaped their Claws.

On the 21ſt we were in the Latitude of 76 Deg. 15 Min. and found the variation of the Compaſs to be * 26 Deg. We went aſhoar with our Arms, and coming to the Croſs, we found the Footſteps of two Bears, and perceived that they had followed us 100 Paces at leaſt.

* Perhaps 16.

The 22d we ſet up another Croſs, and made our Mark thereon, and lay before the *Croſs* Iſland till the fourth of *Auguſt*.

The 30th at a North Sun, a Bear came ſo near our Ship, that we might hit her with a Stone, and we ſhot her in the Foot, wherewith ſhe ran halting away. The ſame day at Noon we found the Variation to be 17 Degrees.

Auguſt.

On the fifth of *Auguſt* we ſet ſail, and on the ſixth got about Point *Naſſaw*, and ſailed E. and E. by S. along the Land.

The 7th we ſailed S. E. and S. E. by E. as the Land lies, and ſaw but little Ice, and then paſt by Truſt Point, which we had much longed for. At Evening the Wind came to Eaſt with miſty weather, ſo that we were forced to faſten our Ship to a piece of Ice which lay faſt on the Ground in 36 Fathom Water, and it was 10 Fathom above Water.

Ice 12 Fathom thick.

The 8th and 9th, lying ſtill faſt to the great piece of Ice, it ſnowed hard, and was miſty Weather, and when the Sun was South, we went upon the Hatches (for we always kept watch) where, as the Maſter walked along the Ship, he heard a Beaſt ſnuff with his Noſe, and looking over-board, ſaw a great Bear hard by the Ship, and was getting into our Boat, but we giving a ſhout, ſhe was afraid and ſwam away, but preſently came back again, and went behind a great piece of Ice, and climbing upon it, boldly came towards our Ship to enter into it, but we ſhot her into the Body, ſo that ſhe ran away, yet could not ſee whether ſhe went, by reaſon of the Snow falling ſo faſt, but we ſuppoſed ſhe lay behind ſome Hillock, whereof there were many upon the piece of Ice.

The 10th the Ice began mightily to break, and then we firſt perceived that the great piece of Ice whereunto we had faſtned our Ship, lay on the Ground; for the reſt of the Ice drove along by it, which put us in fear that we ſhould be encompaſſed with it, and therefore uſed all the means we could to get thence. We ſailed upon the broken Ice, and faſtned our Ship with our Sheet Anchor upon another piece; and when we had ſupped, the ſaid piece of Ice with once crack, burſt into at leaſt 400 pieces. We weighed our Cable and got off from it: It was ten Fathom under Water, and two Fathom above Water, and lay upon the Ground. We ſpied another great piece not far from us, that was as ſharp above as if it had been a Tower; we rowed to it, and caſting out our Lead, found that it lay 20 Fathom deep, faſt on the Ground, and 12 Fathom above Water.

On the 15th we came to the Iſland of *Orange*, where we were incloſed with Ice, and in great danger of looſing our Ship; but with great labour we got to the Iſland, and while we were buſy in turning to windward (the Wind being at S. E.) our noiſe awakned a Bear that lay there and ſlept, who coming towards the Ship, forced us to leave our Work, and to defend our ſelves. We ſhot her into the Body, and then purſuing her, ſtruck her on the Head with a Hatchet, yet had much ado to kill her, becauſe as often as we ſtruck at her with the Hatchet, ſhe duck'd under Water.

Bear killed.

The 16th, ten of us rowed to the firm Land of *Nova Zembla*, and when we had drawn up the Boat upon the Ice, we aſcended a high Hill to ſee the ſituation of the Land, and found that it reached S. E. and S. S. E. and then again S. which we diſliked, becauſe it lay ſo much Southward; but when we ſaw open Water S. E. and E. S. E. we were comforted again, thinking we had accompliſhed our Voyage, and knew not how to certify *William Barents* thereof.

The 18th we prepared to ſet ſail, but it was all in vain, for we had almoſt loſt our Sheet Anchor and two new Ropes, and with much labour got to the place again from whence we came. The Stream ran with a mighty Current, and the Ice drave ſo ſtrongly upon the Cables, that we feared we ſhould looſe all the Cable that was without the Ship, which was 200 Fathom, but God provided well for us, ſo that at laſt we got to the place again from whence we put out.

The 19th it was indifferent good weather, the Wind at S. W. the Ice ſtill driving, we ſet ſail and paſſed by Point *Deſire*, whereby we were once again in good hope, and being gotten about the Point, we ſailed S. E. to Seaward four Miles, but then entring into more Ice, we were conſtrained to return, and ſail N. W. to the Land again.

The 21 we ſailed a great way into the *Ice Haven*, and that Night anchored therein. The next day, the Stream going extream hard Eaſtward, we haled out and ſailed again to the Iſland Point, and being miſty weather, we faſtned our Ship to a piece of Ice, and then went upon it, much wondring at the ſtrangeneſs of the Ice; on the top it was full of Earth, and not like to other Ice, being of a perfect azure colour, like to the Sky, which cauſed great contention among us, ſome ſaying that it was Ice, others that it was frozen Land: It was cloſe to the Ground

Earth on the top of azure Ice.

in 18 Fathom Water, ten Fathom above the Water; we found above 40 Eggs upon it. There we ſtaied all that Storm, the Wind at S. W. by W.

The 23d we ſailed again S. E. into the Sea, but preſently met with Ice again, which forced us to return to the *Ice Haven.*

The next day it blew hard N. N. W. and the Ice came mightily driving in, whereby we were encompaſſed with it, and the Wind riſing, the Ice drave harder upon us, ſo that the Rudder and our Boat were broken in pieces, we expecting nothing elſe, but that the Ship alſo would be cruſht in pieces with the Ice.

The 25th, the Weather began to be better, and we laboured much to free our ſelves from the Ice wherewith we were incloſed, but it was all in vain. We now deſpairing to perfect our intended Diſcovery, thought to ſail Southward about *Nova Zembla* to the Streight of *Weygates*, but coming to the *Stream Bay*, the Ice lay ſo faſt thereabouts, that we were forced to go back again.

The 26th, we determined to ſail back to Point *Deſire*, and ſo home again; but when we had paſt the *Ice Haven*, the Ice began to drive with ſuch force, that we were incloſed with it, and had loſt three of our Men who were upon the Ice to make way for the Ship, if they had not been nimble and caught hold as the Ship drave by them, whereby they eſcaped a miſerable death. The ſame Evening we got to the Weſt ſide of the *Ice Haven*, where we were forced in great Cold, Poverty, Miſery, and Grief, to ſtay all that Winter, the Wind being then E. N. E.

The 27th, the Ice drave round about the Ship, and yet it was good Weather; ſome of us went aſhoar, and the Wind beginning to blow at S. E. the Ice came in with great force, and drave the Ship up four Foot high before, and behind it ſeemed as if the Keel lay on the Ground; ſo that they in the Ship thinking ſhe would be overſet, put out the Boat to ſave their Lives, and withal hung out a Flag for a ſign to us to come aboard. When we beheld the Ship lifted up in that manner, we began to deſpair of ſaving her, but coming to her, we found her in better caſe that we expected.

The 28th, we got ſome of the Ice from it, and the Ship began to ſet upright again, but before ſhe was fully upright, as *William Barents* and the other Pilot went forward to ſee how the Ship lay, and how much ſhe was riſen, the Ship burſt out of the Ice with ſuch a noiſe, and ſo great a crack, that they verily thought they had been all caſt away.

The 29th, the Ship lying upright again, we uſed all the means we could with Iron Hooks and other Inſtruments to break the Flakes of Ice that lay heaped upon one another, but all in vain, ſo that we determined to commit our ſelves to the mercy of God, and to attend aid from him.

The 30, the Ice began to drive one upon the other with greater force than before, and bare againſt the Ship with a boiſterous S. W. Wind and a great Snow, ſo that all the whole Ship was born up and incloſed, whereby all that was about it and in it, began to crack, ſo that it ſeemed burſting in a hundred pieces, moſt dreadful to ſee and hear, and made all the Hair of our Heads to riſe upright with fear.

The 31ſt, the Ship was driven up four or five Foot high at the Head, and the Stern being lodged in a cleft of Ice, we thought the Rudder had been ſafe from the force of the flakes of Ice, but it proved otherwiſe, for it brake in pieces, Staff and all, and if the hinder part of the Ship had been in the driving Ice, as the fore part was, then all the Ship had been driven upon the Ice, or elſe had run on ground, whereof we were much afraid, and ſet out our Boats upon the Ice to ſave our ſelves, if need were; but within four Hours the Ice drave away of its ſelf, to our great comfort, becauſe the Ship was then afloat again, and thereupon made a new Rudder, and hung it out ~~upon the~~ Hooks, that if we ſhould be forced again upon the Ice, it might be freed from it.

Septem.

The firſt of *September* being *Sunday*, while we were at at Prayers, the Ice began to gather again.

The ſecond it ſnowed hard with a N. E. Wind, and the Ship began to riſe higher upon the Ice, ſo that we thought good to put thirteen Barrels of Bread and two Hogſheads of Wine into our Scute, and to carry it aſhoar in that bad Weather, to ſuſtain our ſelves in time of need.

The third it blew hard at N. N. E. but ſnowed not ſo much.

On the fourth it cleared up, and we ſaw the Sun, but it was very cold, and the Wind being at N. E. we were forced to lie ſtill.

The fifth it was fair Sun-ſhine weather, and very calm; in the Evening the Ice incloſed upon us again, and the Ship began to lie on one ſide, and leak much, but by God's Grace, it became ſtaunch again. We then conſulted together and carried our old Sail, with Powder, Muskets, &c. aſhoar, to make a Tent about our Scute, and ſome Timber to mend it, that it might ſerve us in time of need.

The ſixth it was indifferent fair Weather, and the Wind Weſt, which gave us ſome hopes that the Ice would drive away, and that we might get thence again.

The ſeventh it was good Weather again, but we could perceive no opening of the Water, but lay hard incloſed with Ice.

Three of our Men went two Miles into the Land, and there found a River of ſweet Water, and great ſtore of Wood that had been driven thither, and the Fotſteps of Deer, as they ſuppoſe, by being cloven footed.

River of freſh Water, ſtore of drift Wood.

The eighth, it blew hard N. E. a direct contrary Wind to do us any good, and faſtned us more into the Ice.

The 9th we lay four Foot deep in Ice; in the Night two Bears came cloſe to our Ship, but we ſounding our Trumpet, and firing at them, they ran away.

The 11th, being calm weather, eight of us went aſhoar, every Man armed, to ſee if it were true what our Companions had ſaid, that there lay Wood about the River; becauſe we now began to deſpair of getting our Ship looſe from the Ice, and were therefore reſolved to build a Houſe upon the Land, to defend us from cold, and wild Beaſts, and ſo to commit our ſelves to the Tuition of the Almighty; and to that end we went further into the Land, to find out the moſt convenient place to raiſe our Houſe upon: We found certain Trees, Roots and all (as our Companions had told us) which had been driven upon the Shoar either from *Tartary*, *Muſcovy*, or elſe where, there being none growing in *Nova Zembla*. This Wood ſerved not only to build our Houſe, but alſo to burn during our long Winter, otherwiſe without doubt we had periſhed with extream cold.

They determin to winter there.

The 12th it was calm weather, and our Men went unto the other ſide of the Land, to ſee if they could find any Wood nearer to us, but there was none.

The 13th, it was calm, but very miſty, ſo that we would not venture into the Land, becauſe we could not ſee the wild Bears, and yet they could ſmell us.

The 14th it was Sun-ſhine, but very cold, and then we went into the Land and laid the Wood on heaps that it might not be covered with Snow.

The 15th, in the Morning, as one of our Men kept watch, he ſaw three Bears; one of them lay ſtill behind a piece of Ice, the other two came cloſe to the Ship: There was a Tub full of Beef that ſtood upon the Ice at a diſtance from the Ship; one of the Bears went unto it, and putting in his Head to take out a piece, as ſhe was ſnatching at it, we ſhot her in the Head, that ſhe fell down dead and never ſtirred; the other Bear ſtood ſtill and looked upon her Fellow, and after a while ſmelt to her, and perceiving that ſhe was dead, ran away, but we followed her with Halberts and other Arms, whereupon ſhe turned towards us, and riſing up upon her hinder Feet, to ramp at us, one of our Men ſhot her into the Belly, ſo that ſhe fell upon her Fore-feet again, and roaring aloud, ran away. That Night it froze two Fingers thick in the ſalt Water, and was exceeding cold, the Wind at N. N.

Salt Water freezeth two Fingers thick in one Night.

The 16th the Sun ſhone, we fetched Wood upon Sleds we had made; the like we did on the 17th. We drew five and five in a Sled, and the other three helped to lift behind; and in that manner we drew Wood twice a day to the place where we intended to build our Houſe.

The 23d our Carpenter died, we buried him under the Sedges, in the cleft of a Hill; for we could not dig up the Earth by reaſon of the Froſt: That day we fetched Wood twice.

The 25th it was dark Weather, the Wind S. W. and the Ice began to open a little and drive away, but it continued not long: The ſame day we began to raiſe our Houſe.

The 26th we had a Weſt Wind and an open Sea, but our Ship lay faſt, to our great grief, but it was God's Will, to which we moſt patiently ſubmitted, and began to make up our Houſe; ſo fetched Wood to burn, the reſt performed the part of Carpenters. We were in all 16 Men (the Carpenter being dead) and of thoſe 16, there was ſtill one or other ſick.

The 27th it blew hard at N. E. and froze ſo hard, that as we put a Nail into our Mouths (as Carpenters uſe to do) Ice would hang thereon as we took it out, and make the Blood follow. The ſame day an old Bear and a young one came towards us, as we were going all together to our Houſe (for we durſt not go alone) we thought to ſhoot at her, but ſhe ran away. Altho' it was fair Sun-ſhiny weather, yet the Ice came forcibly driving in, and it was ſo extream cold, that we could hardly work, but extremity forced us to it.

The 28th was fair weather, and the Sun ſhone, the Wind Weſt, and very calm, the Sea alſo was open, but our Ship lay faſt in Ice, and ſtirred not.

The 29th, we ſaw three Bears between us and the Houſe, an old one and two young ones; we notwithſtanding went on, drawing our Goods from the Ship to the Houſe, and got before them; looking behind us, we perceived they followed us, whereupon we hollowed as loud as we could, thinking they would have gone away, but they would not go out of their Path, but alſo got before us again; Then we and they that were in the Houſe, gave a great ſhout, which made them run away.

The 30th, the Wind eaſterly, it ſnowed ſo faſt all that Night and the next Day, that our Men could fetch no Wood.

Ground ſo frozen that it cannot be thawed.

We made a great fire without the Houſe to thaw the Ground, that we might lay the Earth about the Houſe, to make it the warmer; but it was loſt Labour, for the Earth was ſo hard, and frozen ſo deep, that we could not thaw it, and it would have coſt us too much Wood, and therefore we left off that labour.

What happened to them after their Houſe was built.

October.

The firſt of *October* the Wind was ſtiff at N. E. and after Noon it blew a great ſtorm at North, with ſuch a drift of Snow, that we could hardly go in the Wind. The Snow drave ſo hard in our Faces, that we could ſcarce draw our Breaths, and could not ſee two Ships length from us.

The ſecond, before Noon the Sun ſhone, ſtill weather, the Wind ſhifted from North to South. We went on with our Houſe, and placed upon it a May-pole made of frozen Snow.

The third, before Noon it was calm ſun-ſhiny weather, but ſo cold, that it was hard to be endured; after Noon it blew hard at Weſt, with ſo extream cold, that had it continued, we ſhould have been forced to leave our Work.

The fourth, the Wind came to the North with much Snow; we brought our Anchor upon the Ice to lay the faſter, and were not then above an Arrow ſhot from the Water, the Ice was ſo much driven away.

The fifth, it blew hard at N. W. and the Sea was very open, and without Ice, as far as we could diſcern; but we lay ſtill frozen as we did before, and our Ship lay two or three Foot deep in the Ice, which was there three Fathom and a half deep. The ſame day we brake up the lower Deck of the fore part of our Ship, and with thoſe Deals covered our Houſe, making it ſlope overhead that the Water might run off.

The ſixth, a great Snow, and ſo cold, that we could hardly thruſt our Heads out of the Door.

The ſeventh we caulk'd our Houſe, and brake the Ground about it at the Foot thereof: This day the Wind ſhifted round the Compaſs.

The eighth, it blew ſo hard and ſnowed ſo faſt, that we had been ſmothered if we had gone out into the Air; it was not poſſibly for any Man to have gone one Ship's length, tho' his Life had lain thereon.

The 9th, the Wind ſtill continued North, and it ſnowed hard, ſo that all that day we were forced to ſtay in the Ship, the weather was ſo foul.

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The 10th, the weather ſomewhat fairer, the Wind S. W. the Water flowed two Foot higher than ordinary, which we gueſſed to proceed from the former North Wind, which till then had blown. One of our Men going out of the Ship, chanced to meet a Bear, and was almoſt at him before he knew it, whereupon he preſently ran back to the Ship and the Bear after him; but ſhe coming to the place where before we had killed another Bear, and ſet her upright, and there left her to freeze, ſtood ſtill, whereby our Man had time to get into the Ship. In the Evening we carried the greateſt part of our Bread to the Houſe.

The 11th, the Wind South, ſomewhat warm, we carried our Wine and Victuals on Land, and as we were hoiſing the Wine over-board, a Bear whom we had awakened with the noiſe we made, came towards our Ship; we had ſeen her lie there, but thought her to be a piece of Ice; as ſhe came near to us, we ſhot at her, and ſhe ran away.

The 12th it blew North, and half our Men kept in the Houſe, being the firſt time that we lay in it, where we endured great cold, becauſe our Cabbins were not made, and beſides, we had not Cloaths enough, neither could we keep a Fire, becauſe our Chimney was not yet made.

The 13th, the Wind was N. and N. W. three of us went aboard, and when we had laded a Sled with Beer, to carry it to our Houſe, there aroſe ſuch a ſtorm, that we were forced to go into the Ship again, letting the Beer ſtand without upon the Sled. In the Ship we endured extream cold, having but few Cloths in it.

The 14th, as we came out of the Ship, we found the Barrel faſt frozen at the Heads, and the Beer that purged out, froze as hard to the ſides of the Barrel as if it had been glued on. In this thick Yeaſt that was unfrozen lay the ſtrength of the Beer, ſo that it was too ſtrong to drink alone. There was ſcarce any Beer left in the Barrel but what was frozen; this we melted and drank it mixt with the other, but it had neither ſtrength nor taſt.

Beer melted.

The 15th, the Wind eaſterly, we made a place to ſet up our Door, and ſhovelled the Snow away.

The 18, we fetched our Bread out of the Scute, which we had drawn upon the Land, and the Wine alſo, which was then not much frozen, altho' it had lain ſix Weeks therein. The Sea was now ſo covered with Ice, that we could ſee no open Water.

Bear aſſaults the Ship.

The 19th, there being but two Men and a Boy in the Ship, a Bear ſought to get into the Ship; the two Men ſhot at her, yet ſhe ventured upon them, and put them in great fear; the two Men leapt into the Ballaſt, and the Boy ran up into the Fore-maſt top; in the mean time ſome of our Men ſhot at her with a Muſquet, and then ſhe ran away.

The 20th, it was calm Sun-ſhine weather, and then again we ſaw the Sea open. We went aboard to fetch the reſt of our Beer, where we found ſome of the Barrels frozen in pieces, and the Iron Hoops that were upon the *Joſem* Barrels, were all frozen in pieces.

Barrels and Iron Hoops broken with the Froſt.

The 22d, a ſtiff Gale at N. E. with great Snow that we could not get out of doors.

The 23d, calm weather, we went aboard to ſee if the reſt of our Men would come home to the Houſe, but we feared it would blow hard again, and durſt not ſtir with the ſick Man, but let him lie ſtill that Day, for he was very weak.

The 24th, the reſt of our Men, being eight Perſons, came to the Houſe, and drew the ſick Man upon a Sled; then with great labour and pain, we drew our Boat home to the Houſe and turned the bottom upward, that we might uſe it hereafter, if God ſhould ſave our Lives this Winter, and there being now nothing leſs to be expected than the opening of the Water, we put our Anchor into the Ship again, that it might not be covered over and loſt in the Snow; for we always truſted in God, that he would deliver us in the Spring, one way or other. The Sun at the higheſt, began to be very low, and we uſed all the ſpeed we could to fetch all things with Sleds out of our Ship into the Houſe, not only Meat and Drink, but all other neceſſaries: The Wind at North.

Fight with Bears.

The 25th, when we had laden the laſt Sled, and ſtood ready to draw it to the Houſe, our Maſter ſpied three Bears behind the Ship coming towards us, whereupon he cried out aloud, to ſcare them away; by good fortune there lay two Halberds upon the Sled, the Maſter took one and I the other, and reſiſted them as well as we could, but the reſt of our Men went to ſave themſelves in the Ship, and one of them fell into a cleft of Ice, which grieved us much, becauſe we thought the Bears would have ran unto him and devoured him, but God defended him; for the Bears ſtill made towards the Ship after the Men that run thither to ſave themſelves: In the mean time we and the Man that fell into the Cleft, took our advantage, and got into the Ship on the other ſide, which the Bears perceiving, came fiercely towards us, who had no other Arms to defend our ſelves beſides the two Halberds, which we feared would not be ſufficient, and therefore gave them work to do, by throwing Billets and other things at them, and every time we threw, they ran after them as a Dog will do at a Stone caſt at him. We ſent a Man in the mean time under Hatches to ſtrike fire, and another to fetch Pikes, but we could get no Fire; at laſt as they came fiercely upon us, we ſtruck one of them with a Halberd upon the Snout, wherewith ſhe gave back and went away; which the other two, that were not ſo big, perceiving, ran away; and we thanked God that we were ſo well delivered from them, and ſo drew our Sled quietly to our Houſe, and informed our Companions what had hapned to us.

The 26th, the Wind at North, with indifferent fair Weather, we then ſaw open Water hard by the Land, but perceived the Ice to drive into the Sea towards the Ship.

The 27th it ſnowed ſo faſt that we could not work without door: That day our Men killed a white Fox and flaied him, and when they had roaſted him, eat him, his Fleſh taſted like that of a Rabbet. The ſame day we ſet up our Dial and made the Clock ſtrike; and we hung up a Lamp, wherein we uſed Bears Fat melted, inſtead of Oil.

The 29th, the Wind at N. E. we fetched Seggs from the Sea-ſide, and laid them upon the Sail that was ſpread upon our Houſe, that it might be the cloſer and warmer; for the Dea's were not driven cloſe together, and the foul weather would not permit us to do it.

November

November the firſt, the Wind ſtill continued N. E. we ſaw the Moon riſe in the Eaſt when it began to be dark, and the Sun was no higher above the *Horizon* than we could well ſee it: Much Snow, and ſo extream cold, that we could not go out of the Houſe.

Sun riſes S. S. E. and ſet, S. S. W.

The ſecond, the Wind W. by S. but in the Evening North with calm weather; we ſaw the Sun riſe S. S .E. and went down S. S. W. but it was not full above the Earth, but paſſed in the *Horizon* along by the Earth. One of our Men killed a Fox with a Hatchet, which was flaied, roaſted and eaten: Until the Sun began to decline, we ſaw no Foxes, and then the Bears left us.

The Wind N. W. with calm weather: The Sun roſe S. by E. and ſomewhat more ſoutherly, and went down S. by W. and ſomewhat more ſoutherly, and then we could ſee nothing but the upper part of the Sun above the *Horizon*, and yet the Land where we were, was as high as the Maſt of our Ship. We took the height of the Sun, then in the 11th Deg. and 48 Min. of *Scorpio*, his Declination being 15 Deg. 24 Min. on the South ſide of the Equinoctial Line.

They ſee the *Sun* no more after the 3d of *November*, *Stilo Novo*, or our *October* 24.

The fourth was calm weather, we ſaw the Sun no more: Our Chirurgion made a Bath in a Wine Pipe to bath us in, wherein we entred one after the other, and it did us much good. The Bears left us at the ſitting of the Sun, and came not again before it roſe, whereas the Foxes now came aboard, and we this day took one.

Moon continually ſeen in the Sun's abſence.

The fifth the Wind was North, and then we ſaw open Water upon the Sea, but our Ship lay faſt in the Ice, and when the Sun had left us, we ſaw the Moon continually, both Day and Night, and never went down when it was in the higheſt Degree.

The ſixth we fetched a Sled of Fire-wood, but by reaſon of the Sun's abſence, it was very dark weather.

The ſeventh, it was dark weather, and very ſtill, the Wind Weſt, we could hardly diſcern Day from Night. Our Clock ſtood ſtill, and we not riſing out of our Cabbins all that Day, unleſs to eaſe our ſelves, we were in doubt whether the light we ſaw, was the light of the Day or of the Moon; at laſt we found it to be the light of the Day, about twelve of the Clock at Noon.

Beer made inſipid by the Froſt.

The eighth was ſtill weather, the Wind S. W. we fetched another Sled of Fire-wood, took a white Fox, and then we ſaw open Water in the Sea. The ſame Day we ſhared our Bread, each Man having four Pound and ten Ounces for his allowance in eight days: We had no need to ſhare our Fleſh and Fiſh, having more ſtore thereof; but our Drink failed us, ſo that we ſhared that alſo: Our beſt Beer was for the moſt part without ſtrength, and had no ſavour at all.

The ninth, the Wind at N. E. we had not much day light, but was altogether dark.

The 10th, the Wind N. W. calm weather, our Men went into the Ship to ſee how it lay, and found the Ballaſt covered with Water, which was frozen and could not be pumped out.

The 11th, we made a Net of Cable Yarn to catch Foxes, and that day caught one.

The 12th, the Wind at Eaſt with little light; this day we began to ſhare our Wine, two Glaſſes a day to a Man, but our common Drink was Water made of melted Snow.

The 13th, was foul Weather and much Snow, the Wind at Eaſt.

The 14th was fair weather, with a clear Sky full of Stars, and an Eaſt Wind.

From the 15th to the 19th, dark and foul weather, the Wind Eaſterly.

The 20th, was fair ſtill weather, the Wind Eaſterly, we waſhed our Sheets, and when we had waſhed and wrung them, they preſently froze ſo ſtiff, that altho' we laid them by a great Fire, the ſide that lay next the fire thawed, but the other ſide was hard frozen, ſo that it was eaſier to tear them aſunder, than to open them, and we were forced to put them into ſeething Water again to thaw them.

The 21ſt was indifferent weather, the Wind N. E. then we agreed that every Man ſhould take his turn to cleave Wood, thereby to eaſe our Cook, who had work enough to do twice a day to dreſs meat, and to melt Snow for our Drink, but the Maſter and the Pilot were exempted.

The 22d, the Wind S. E. fair weather: we had now but 17 Cheeſes, whereof one we did eat among us, and the reſt were diſtributed to every Man one.

The 23d, we made Traps of thick Planks, whereon we laid Stones, and round about them placed pieces of Shards faſt in the Ground, that they might not dig under them, and by that means got ſome Foxes.

The 24th was foul Weather, the Wind N. E. four of us not being very well, went into the Bath, and when we came out, our Chirurgeon gave us a Purgation, which did us much good, and this day we took four Foxes.

The 25th was clear weather, the Wind at Weſt; this day we took two Foxes.

The 26th was foul weather, and a great ſtorm at S. W. with much Snow, whereby we were ſo cloſed up in the Houſe that we could not go out, but were forced to eaſe our ſelves within the Houſe.

The 27th, fair weather, the Wind S. W. we made more Springes to catch Foxes, which ſerved us for Meat, as if God had ſent them purpoſely for us.

The 28th was foul ſtormy weather, and the Wind blew hard out of the North, and the Snow ſo cloſed up our Doors, that we were again ſhut up in our Houſe.

The 29th, clear weather, the Wind Northerly, we got one of our Doors open, and found all our Traps and Springes covered with Snow, which we made clean and ſet them up again. The Foxes did not only ſerve us for Meat, but their Skins ſerved us to make Caps to keep our Heads warm.

The 30th, the Wind Weſt, clear weather, ſix of us well armed went to the Ship, and when we were under deck, we took a Fox alive in the Ship.

Decemb

The firſt of *December*, the Wind S. W. foul weather, and great ſtore of Snow, whereby we were once again ſtopt up in the Houſe, which ſmoak'd ſo much, that we could hardly keep a fire, and ſo were forced to lie all day in our Cabbins, but the Cook was neceſſitated to make fire to dreſs our Meat.

The ſecond we were detained in the Houſe by foul weather, and yet we could not ſit by the fire becauſe of the Smoak, but lay in our Cabbins, and heated Stones, which we put in our Cabins to warm our Feet, for both the Cold and the Smoak were inſupportable.

Ice two Fingers thick in the Houſe.

The third, we had the like weather, and as we lay in our Cabins we could hear the Ice crack in the Sea, altho' it was at leaſt half a Mile from us, making a huge noiſe, and we were of opinion that the great Hills of Ice we had ſeen in the Sea in the Summer, did now break one another, We making leſs fire for two or three days paſt than we uſed to do, by reaſon of the extream Smoak, it froze ſo hard within the Houſe, that the Walls and Roof were frozen two Fingers thick with Ice, and ſo likewiſe in our Cabins, during thoſe three days, we could not go out. We ſet up a Glaſs of twelve Hours, and when it was run out we ſet it up again, ſtill watching it, leſt we ſhould miſs our time; for our Clock was frozen and would not go, altho' we hung more weight on it than formerly.

Clock frozen.

The fourth and fifth was fair weather, the Wind at N. E.

The ſixth, it was foul weather again, with an Eaſterly Wind, and extream cold, almoſt not to be endured, whereupon we look'd pitifully upon each other, being in great fear, that if the cold ſhould increaſe, it would kill us all; for whatſoever fire we made, it would not warm us, and our Sack was frozen very hard, ſo that when we were every Man to have his part, we were forced to melt it at the fire. We ſhared every ſecond day about half a Pint for a Man; at other times we drank Water melted out of Snow.

Sack fro

The ſeventh continued foul weather, with a great ſtorm at N. E. which brought extream cold along with it, ſo that we knew not what to do; one adviſed to burn ſome of the Sea-coal we had brought out of the Ship, which would caſt a great heat and continue long: And ſo at Evening we made a great fire thereof, and to keep in the

the heat, we agreed to ſtop up all the Doors and the Chimney, and ſo went into our Cabbins to ſleep, where, when we had lain a great while talking together, we found our ſelves ill at eaſe, and ſome ſwounded and fainted away; whereupon ſome of us that were ſtrongeſt, ſtarted out of our Cabins, and firſt opening the Chimney, and then the Doors, he that opened the Door fell down into a ſwound upon the Snow, and was recovered by caſting Vinegar in his Face. As ſoon as the Doors were opened, we were all well again, and the Maſter gave every one of us a little Wine to comfort us.

The eighth was foul weather, the Wind Northerly, very ſharp and cold, but we durſt not lay on more Coals.

The ninth, was fair clear weather, the Sky full of Stars; then we ſet our Door wide open, which had been cloſed up with Snow.

The 10th was fair ſtar light, the Wind N. E. we took two Foxes, which were good Meat for us, becauſe our Victuals began to be ſcant.

The 11th was fair and clear, but very cold, our Shoes froze as hard as Horn upon our Feet, and were frozen white within, ſo that we could not wear them, but were forced to make great Pattins, the upper part of Shepsskins, which we put on over three or four pair of Socks to keep our Feet warm.

The twelfth was fair clear weather, the Wind N. W. but extream cold, ſo that our Walls and Cabins were frozen a Finger thick, yea, and the Cloths on our Backs were white all over with froſt; and altho' ſome were of opinion that we ſhould lay more Coals on the Fire, and let the Chimney ſtand open, yet we durſt not do it fearing the like Danger we had eſcaped.

The 13th, clear weather, the Wind at Eaſt; we buſied our ſelves in preparing our Springes, and if we ſtaid too long without doors, there aroſe Bliſters upon our Faces and our Ears.

The 14th was fair, the Wind N. E. and the Sky full of Stars; we took the height of the right Shoulder of the *Rens*, when it was S. S. W. and ſomewhat more Weſterly, (and then it was at the higheſt in our Compaſs) and it was elevated above the Horizon 20 Deg. 28 Min. his Declination being 6 Deg. 18 Min. on the North ſide of the Line, which taken from the height, there reſts 14 Degrees, which ſubſtracted from 90, the height of the Pole was 76 Deg.

The 15th was fair, the Wind Eaſt; we ſaw the Moon riſe E. S. E. when it was 26 Days old, in the ſign of *Scorpio*: This day we took two Foxes.

The 16th was clear weather; we had now no more Wood in the Houſe, but round about our Houſe there lay ſome covered with Snow, which with great labour we digged out of the Snow, wherein we were forced to uſe great ſpeed, not being able to endure long without the Houſe, altho' we had double Apparel upon our Backs.

The 17th and 18, the Wind N. E. fair weather; ſeven of us went to the Ship to ſee how it lay; we found that in our 18 days abſence, the Water in the Ship was riſen about a Finger high, but was all Ice, for it froze as faſt as it came in.

The 19th, fair weather, the Wind South; we comforted each other, becauſe the Sun was then almoſt half over, and ready to come to us again, which we much longed for, it being very tedious to us to be ſo long without the Sun, and want the greateſt Bleſſing God gives to Man upon Earth, and that which rejoices every living thing.

The 20th, there roſe a Storm in the S. W. with ſo great a Snow, that all the Houſe was incloſed with it.

The 21ſt, fair clear weather, the Wind N. E. we ſhovelled away the Snow from our Door, and made a Way to go out, but there fell ſo much Snow the next day, the Wind S. W. that our Door was ſtopt up again, and we were at the trouble of clearing it almoſt every day.

Sun in Capricorn the 23d of *December*, New Stile.

The 23d continued the ſame Wind and Weather, but we now hoped for better, the Sun being this day in the Tropick of *Capricorn*, the furtheſt diſtance Southward.

The 24th being fair, we opened our Door, and ſaw much open Water in the Sea; for altho' it was not day, yet we could ſee a great way. In the Evening it blew hard at N. E. with much Snow, ſo that the Paſſage we had made was ſtopt up again.

The 25th being *Chriſtmaſs-day*, was foul weather, the Wind N. W. we heard the Foxes run over our Houſe, which ſome of our Men fancied to be an ill ſign.

The 26th foul weather, the Wind N. W. and ſo cold, that we could not warm us, altho' we uſed all the means we could with great Fires, ſtore of Cloaths, hot Stones and Billets laid upon our Feet and Bodies as we lay in our Cabins; but notwithſtanding all this, in the Morning our Cabins were frozen, which made us behold one another with ſad countenances, but we comforted our ſelves again as well as we could, that the Sun was then as low as it could go, and was now coming to us again; altho' we found the Proverb true, that, *The Days begin to lengthen, the Cold begins to ſtrengthen.*

The 27th, the ſame Wind and Weather; we had not been out in three days together, nor durſt thruſt our Heads out of Doors, and within the Houſe it was ſo extreamly cold, that as we ſate before a great Fire, and ſeemed to burn on the fore ſide, we froze behind at our Backs, and were covered over with hoar Froſt.

The 28th, the Wind Weſt, foul weather, at Evening it began to clear, and one of our Men made a hole at one of our Doors, and went out to ſee how it was abroad, but found it ſo hard weather, that he ſtaid not long, and told us that it had ſnowed ſo much, that the Snow lay higher than our Houſe, and that if he had ſtaid out longer, his Ears had undoubtedly been frozen off.

The 29th was calm weather, and a pleaſant Air, the Wind being Southward; that day he whoſe turn it was, opened the Door, and making a Paſſage thro' the Snow, we went out of the Houſe upon Steps, as if it had been out of a Cellar, at leaſt ſeven or eight Steps high, each Step a Foot from the other, and then we cleanſed our Springes for the Foxes, having taken none of late.

The 30th was foul weather again, with a Storm at Weſt, and much Snow, ſo that all the pains we had taken in making Steps, was in vain.

The 31ſt continued foul weather, with a ſtorm at N. W. whereby we were faſt ſhut up in the Houſe, and it was ſo extream cold, that the Fire would ſcarce caſt any heat; for as we put our Feet to the Fire, we burnt our Hoſe before we could feel the heat; and if we had not ſooner ſmelt than felt them, we ſhould have burnt them ere we had known it.

After we had with great cold, danger, and divers Miſeries ended the Year 1596, we began the next Year in the ſame manner; for on the firſt of *January* we were incloſed in the Houſe by reaſon of the Snow, the Wind at Weſt. We then agreed to ſhare our Wine, to every Man a ſmall Meaſure full once in two Days.

1597. *January.*

The 2d, 3d, and 4th, it blew hard at Weſt, a great ſtorm with Snow and Froſt, ſo that we could not put our Heads out of the Doors, and altho' we had almoſt burnt all our Wood, yet we durſt not go out to fetch more, for there was no being without door; but ſeeking about, we found ſome pieces of Wood that lay over the Door, which we clove, and withal clove the Blocks whereon we uſed to beat our ſtock-Fiſh. The Wind ſhifted to S. W. and to know where the Wind blew, we thruſt a half Pike out of a Chimney, with a piece of Cloth or a Feather upon it, but it would be preſently froze as hard as a piece of Wood, and could not go about or ſtir with the Wind.

The 5th being pretty calm weather, we digged our Door open again, that we might go out, and carry out all the filth that had been made during our confinement: We fetch'd in as much Wood as was poſſible, fearing, leſt we ſhould be ſhut up again; after much pains this day, we prayed our Maſter that we might be merry that Night, it being *Twelfth-Even*, and told him that we were content to ſpend ſome of the Wine that Night, which we had ſpared, which was our ſhare every ſecond day, and whereof for certain days paſt we had not drank; and ſo that Night we made merry, and drank to the three Kings of *Cullen*, and had two Pound of Meal, wherewith we made Pancakes with Oyl, and every Man a white Bisket, which we ſopt in Wine; we alſo made Tickets, and our Gunner was King of *Nova Zembla*, which is at leaſt 200 Miles long, and lies between two Seas.

*Dutch Miles.

The ſixth was fair weather, the Wind N.E. we fetched more Wood.

The ſeventh was foul again, the Wind N. W. with Snow, and very cold, which put us in great fear to be ſhut up in the Houſe again.

Day light appears.

The eighth the Wind was North, fair weather, and then day light began to appear, which put us in no little comfort.

The ninth was foul weather, the Wind N. W.

The 10th was fair, with a North Wind; then ſeven of us went to our Ship well armed, which we found in the ſame ſtate we left it in, and in it found the Foot-ſteps of many Bears, both great and ſmall; we went under hatches, and ſtriking Fire, lighted a Candle, and found the Water riſen a foot higher in the Ship.

The 11th and 12th fair weather, the Evening being very clear, and the Sky full of Stars, we found *Oculus Tauri* to be elevated above the *Horizon* 29 Deg. 54 Min. his Declination being 15 Deg. 54 Min. on the North ſide of the Line, which ſubſtracted from the height aforeſaid, there reſts 14 Deg. which ſubſtracted from 90, leaves 76 Deg. for the height of the Pole in that place.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th, fair weather, with the Wind Eaſterly.

On the 16th it came Northerly; we went now and then out of the Houſe to ſtretch our Limbs, and about Noon ſaw a certain redneſs in the Sky.

The cold abates.

The next day, when we had a good fire, there fell down pieces of Ice from the Walls of our Houſe, and the Ice melted in our Cabins, and the Water drop'd down, which it would not do before, how great ſoever our fire was; but that Night it was cold again.

The 18th was clear weather, the Wind S. E. then we agreed to burn ſome of our Sea-coals, and not to ſtop up the Chimney, which we did, and found no harm thereby.

The 21ſt was fair, with a Weſt Wind, the Foxes now began to fail us, which was a ſign that the Bears would come again, as not long after we found to be true; for in the abſence of the Bears the Foxes came abroad, and upon the return of the Bears, the Foxes were ſeldom ſeen.

The 22d fair weather, the Wind at Weſt; we perceived that Day-light began to appear to us; but *William Barents* on the contrary, ſaid, that it was yet two Weeks too ſoon.

Sun appears again *Jan* 24 *New Stile.*

The 24th, three of us went to the Sea-ſide on the South ſide of *Nova Zembla*, where, contrary to our expectation, we ſaw the edge of the Sun, and returned immediately to tell the joyful news to *William Barents* and the reſt of our Company; but *Barents* would not believe it, ſaying, it was yet 14 days too ſoon.

The 25th and 26th was miſty weather, ſo that we could not ſee any thing; but the 27th being clear weather, we ſaw the Sun in his full roundneſs above the *Horizon*, whereby it manifeſtly appeared that we had ſeen it on the 24th Day. This appearance of the Sun ſo ſoon, being contrary to the nature and roundneſs of Heaven and Earth, and to the Opinions of all learned Men, made ſome of us to imagine, that becauſe in a long time we had ſeen no day, we had over ſlept our ſelves; but that could not be, for we uſed our Clock till it was frozen, and after that made uſe of our Hour-glaſs of 12 hours long; and for our better aſſurance, we conſulted *Joſephus Schala's Ephemerides*, printed in *Venice*, for the Years of our Lord 1582, till the Year 1600, and we found therein, that upon the ſaid 24th of *January*, when the Sun firſt appeared unto us, that at *Venice* at one of the Clock in the Night time, the Moon and *Jupiter* were in conjunction, whereupon we ſought to know when the ſame Conjunction was over the Houſe where we then were, and found it to be with us on the ſame day in the Morning, when the Sun was at Eaſt; for we ſaw the two ſaid Planets approach each other until the Moon and *Jupiter* ſtood juſt over each other at ſix of the Clock in the Morning, at which time the Moon and *Jupiter* were found by our Compaſs to be in conjunction over our Houſe in the North and by Eaſt Point, and the South part of the Compaſs was S. S. W. and there we had it right South, the Moon being eight days old; whereby it appears, that the Sun and the Moon were eight Points different, and this was about ſix of the Clock in the Morning; ſo that it is plain that we were five Hours (each Hour being 15 Degrees) more Eaſt than *Venice*, and conſequently that we had not failed in our Accounts.

Difference of Longitude between *Venice* and the place where they winter'd.

Note, that altho' a Degree under the Line be 15 Miles, yet in the Latitude of 76 Deg. where we wintred, a Degree is but three Miles and two third parts.

The 25th dark and cloudy, ſo that the ſeeing the Sun the day before, was again doubted of.

The 26th was clear weather, but there hung a white Cloud in the *Horizon*, ſo that vve could not ſee the Sun That Night our ſick Man, vvho had lain ill a long time, died.

The 17th vvas fair vveather, the Wind S. W. after reading ſome Chapters, and ſinging Pſalms, vve buried our Man in a hole vve had digged in the Snovv ſeven Foot deep. This day vve all ſavv the Sun in his full roundneſs a little above the *Horizon*, and then it vvas paſt doubt that vve had ſeen him the 24th of *January*, vvhich made us all glad, and vve gave God hearty thanks for his favour in ſhevving that glorious light unto us again.

The 28th vvas fair vveather, vvith a Weſt Wind, and vvent out to exerciſe our ſelves.

The 29 vvas foul vveather, vvith a N W. Wind, and ſo much Snovv, that our Houſe vvas again cloſed up.

The 30th vvas dark vveather, vvith an Eaſt Wind; vve made a hole thro' the Door, and ſeeing vvhat vveather it vvas, had no deſire to go abroad.

The next day being calm vveather, vve vvent out, and ſavv the Sun ſhine clear; a Bear came tovvards our Houſe, but as ſoon as vve ſhot at her, ſhe ran avvay.

February.

The firſt and ſecond of *February* vvas boiſterous vveather, vvith a great ſtorm at N. W. and much Snovv, ſo that our Houſe vvas cloſed up again.

The third vvas fair vveather, vvith an Eaſt Wind, but ſo miſty, that vve could not ſee the Sun, vvhich made us ſomevvhat melancholy; vve digged our Door open again, and fetched the Wood that lay vvithout the Door, vvhich vvith great labour vve digged out of the Snovv.

The fourth vvas foul vveather vvith much Snovv, the Wind at S. W. and being novv cloſed up again, vve took not ſo much pains as before, to dig open the Door, but vvhen vve had occaſion, climbed out of the Chimney, and vvent in again the ſame vvay.

The fifth and ſixth continued foul vveather, vvith much Snovv, the Wind Eaſt.

The ſeventh the ſame vveather, vvith a S. W. Wind.

The 8th it began to be fair, and then vve vvent out, and ſavv the Sun riſe S. S. E. and vvent dovvn S. S. W. by the Compaſs that vve made of Lead, and placed according to the Meridian of that place, but by our common Compaſs it differed tvvo Points.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th vvere fair vveather, the Wind Southerly, and vve then began to feel ſome heat from the Sun. At night vve heard ſome Foxes ſtirring, vvhich ſince the Bears came abroad, vve had not much ſeen.

Bear killed.

The 12th vvas clear vveather and very calm. While we were cleaning our Fox-traps, a great Bear came towards our Houſe, which made us all go in, and when ſhe came before our Door, we ſhot her, the Bullet paſſing thro' her Body, went out again at her Tail, and was as flat as a Counter; the Bear feeling the blow, leapt backward, and ran 20 or 30 Foot from the Houſe, and there lay down, whereupon we ran to her, and when ſhe ſaw us, reared up her Head as if ſhe would have done us ſome miſchief, but we truſted her not, having tried their ſtrength ſufficiently before, and therefore ſhot her twice into the Body again, wherewith ſhe died. We took at leaſt a hundred pound of Fat out of her Belly, which we melted and burnt in our Lamp; the Skin was nine Foot long and ſeven Foot broad.

A hundred pound of Fat in a Bears belly.

The 13th and 14th were fair clear weather, with a hard gale at Weſt.

The 15th was foul weather, with a great ſtorm at S. W. and much Snow, whereby the Houſe was cloſed up again. In the Night the Foxes came to devour the Body of the dead Bear, which put us in fear that all the Bears thereabouts would come thither, and therefore we agreed, as ſoon as we could get out of the Houſe, to bury her deep under the Snow.

The 16th was foul weather, with much Snow, the Wind S. W. it being *Shrove-Tueſday*, we made our ſelves ſomewhat merry in our great grief and trouble, and every one of us drank a draught of Wine.

The 19th was foul weather, the Wind S. E. we took the height of the Sun, which in long time before we could not do, becauſe the *Horizon* was not clear, as alſo becauſe the Sun mounted not high enough to give as much ſhadow as was requiſite; we found the Sun at the higheſt, to be elevated three Deg. above the *Horizon*.

The 20th was foul weather, the Wind S. S. W. with much Snow, whereby we were again ſhut up in the Houſe.

The 22d, the Wind S. W. fair weather, eleven of us well armed went to fetch Wood; but returning back with it, we were ſo tired, that we thought we ſhould never be able to fetch any more, and ſo muſt have periſhed with cold. When we came near our Houſe we ſaw much open Water in the Sea, which in long time we had not ſeen, and put us in good hope that things would be better.

The 25th was foul weather again, and much Snow, with a North Wind, whereby we were again cloſed up in our Houſe.

The 28th was ſtill weather, with a S. W. Wind; then ten of us went and fetch'd another Sled full of Wood, with no leſs pain and labour than we did before, for one of our Companions could not help us, becauſe the firſt joint of one of his great Toes was frozen off, and ſo he could do nothing.

March.

The firſt and ſecond of *March* fair weather, the Wind Weſt, but very cold, and we were forced to ſpare our Wood, becauſe it was ſo great labour for us to fetch it. In the day time we exerciſed our ſelves with running, going, and leaping, and gave hot Stones to them that lay in their Cabins: we found the Sun to be elevated 6 Deg. 48 Min. above the *Horizon*.

The third and fourth fair weather, with a Weſt Wind; five of us went to our Ship, and found the Bears had made mad work there, and had opened the Cook's Cupboard, and dragged it out of the Ship.

Great danger.

The ſeventh was foul weather, and much Wind, ſo that we were again ſhut up in our Houſe, and they that would go out muſt climb up thro' the Chimney. We ſaw more open Water in the Sea and about the Land, whereby we were in fear that the Ship in that foul weather, and driving of the Ice, would be looſe and drive away, while we were ſhut up in our Houſe, and had no means to prevent it.

The 8th continued foul weather, and much Snow, a S. W. ſtorm, whereby we could ſee no Ice in the North-eaſt, which made us think, that North-eaſt from us there was a great Sea.

The ninth we could ſee further from us, and perceive that the Water was open in the North-eaſt, but not from us towards *Tartary*, for there we could ſee the Ice in the *Tartarian* Sea; ſo that we were of opinion that there it was not very wide, and when it was clear weather, we often thought we ſaw the Land S. and S. E. from our Houſe.

The 11th was cold, but fair ſun ſhiny weather, the Wind N. E. we found the Sun to be elevated 10 Deg. 19 Min.

The 12th was foul weather, the Wind N. E. and then the Ice which the S. W. Wind had driven out, came mightily driving in again; it was then as cold as it had been in any time in Winter.

The 15th and 16 was fair weather; the VVind North, we opened our Door to go out, but the Cold rather increaſed than diminiſhed, and ſo continued till the 21ſt.

The 21ſt was fair weather, but very cold, the VVind North; the ſame day the Sun was in the Equinoctial, and at Noon we took the height of the Sun, and found it elevated 14 Degrees above the *Horizon*, vvhich ſubſtracted from 90 (there being no declination) there reſts 76 Deg. for the height of the Pole. VVe novv made Shooes of Felt or Rug, our old Shooes being as hard as Horns.

The 23d vvas very foul vveather, and moſt bitter cold, the VVind N. E. ſo that vve vvere forced to make more fire, it being then as cold as ever it had been.

The ſame vveather continued the 24th, vvith much Snovv, and a North VVind, vvhereby vve vvere once again ſhut up in our Houſe, and then the Coals vvere of great uſe to us, vvhich before, by reaſon of our bad uſing them vve diſliked.

The 26th was clear weather and calm, then we digged our ſelves out of the Houſe again, and fetch'd another Sled of Wood, for the great cold had made us burn up all we had.

The 28th fair weather, the Wind S. W. whereby the Ice drave away very faſt. Six of us went aboard the Ship to ſee how it lay, and found it as we left it.

April.

The ſecond of *April* was fair weather, the Wind N. E. the Sun was this day elevated 18 Deg. 40 Min.

Bear aſſaults the Houſe.

The ſixth being foul weather, with a ſtiff N. W. Wind, there came a Bear to our Houſe in the Night, and one of our Men levelling at her, the Piece miſt fire, whereupon the Bear came boldly towards the Houſe, and came down the Stairs cloſe to the Door, and ſought to break into the Houſe, but our Maſter held the Door faſt to; for being in great haſt and fear, he could not bar it with a piece of Wood we uſed for that purpoſe; the Bear finding the Door ſhut, went back again, and returned within two Hours, and went round about and upon the top of the Houſe, making ſuch a roaring as was dreadful to hear, and at laſt got to the Chimney, and made ſuch work there, that we thought ſhe would have broken it down, and tore the ſail that was made faſt about it, in many pieces, with a great and fearful noiſe: We made no reſiſtance, becauſe it was night and we could not ſee her; at laſt ſhe went away and left us.

The 14th, was fair clear weather, with a Weſt Wind; we ſaw greater Hills of Ice round about the Ship, than ever we had ſeen before, which was a fearful thing to behold, and much to be wondred at, that the Ship was not ſmitten in pieces.

The 15th fair weather, the Wind North, ſeven of us went aboard our Ship, to ſee in what caſe it was, but found no alteration. As we came back, a great Bear came towards us, and then made away from us again. We went to the place from whence ſhe came, to ſee her Den, where we found a great hole made in the Ice, about a Man's length in depth, the entry thereof being very narrow, and within wide, where we thruſt in our Pikes to feel if there were any thing within it, and perceiving it was empty, one of our Men crept into it, but not too far, it being fearful to behold. Thence we went along by the Sea ſide, and there we ſaw, that in the end of *March* and beginning of *April*, the Ice was ſtrangely riſen and piled up one upon the other, as if there had been whole Towns made of Ice.

The 16th was foul weather, the Wind N. W. whereby the Ice began to break.

The 17th was fair clear weather, with a S. W. Wind, and then ſeven of us went to the Ship, and from thence ſeeing open water in the Sea, we went over the Ice-hills as well as we could, to the Water, having not been ſo near it in ſix or ſeven Months before.

The 18th, the Wind S. W. fair weather, the Sun was elevated 25 Deg. 10 Min. we fetc'd more Wood in a Sled. In the Night another Bear came upon our Houſe, which we hearing, went all out with our Arms, and the Bear ran away.

The 28th fair weather, the Wind North, the Sun was elevated 28 Deg. 8 Min. above the *Horizon*.

The 29th and 30th, the Wind S. W. fair weather; this Night we ſaw the Sun in the North (when it was at the higheſt) juſt above the *Horizon*, and from that time ſaw the Sun both Night and Day.

CHAP. XVIII.

They depart in a Boat and Scute both open (that is, without Decks) and arrive at Cola, 318 Flemiſh *Miles. Their many Dangers by the way.*

May.

THE firſt of *May* we boiled the laſt Fleſh we had, which we had ſpared a long time, and was ſtill very good.

The ſecond and third was foul weather, with a ſtorm at S. W. whereby the Sea was almoſt clear of Ice, which made us begin to talk of getting thence, having kept houſe long enough there.

The fourth fair weather, the Wind S. W. five of us went to the Ship, and found it lying as faſt in the Ice as ever; in the middle of *March* it was but 75 Paces from the open Water, and now it was 500 Paces from the Water, and incloſed with high Hills of Ice, which put us in no ſmall fear how we ſhould bring our Scute and Boat over thoſe Hills into the Water, when we ſhould leave that place.

The ſixth was clear weather, with a great S. W. VVind, whereby we ſaw the Sea open both in the Eaſt and in the VVeſt, which made us rejoice.

The 7th the Wind *North*, and foul weather, with much Snow, whereby we were cloſ'd up again in our Houſe.

The 14th we fetch'd our laſt Sled of Fire-wood.

The 25th fair weather, the Wind at *Eaſt*; the Sun was elevated 34 d. 46 m.

The 26th the Wind came to *N. E.* and brought in the Ice again.

The 27th was foul weather, with a great *N. E. Wind*, which mightily drove in the Ice again, whereupon the Maſter, at the motion of the Company, order'd us to prepare to be gone.

A Bear aſſaults the Houſe.

The 29th, the Wind *Weſt*, fair weather, ten of us went to draw the Scute to the Houſe, to make it ready to ſail, but we were ſo weak that we were not able to do it; but the Maſter encouraging us, told us, *We muſt ſtrive to do more than we were able*, and that *if we could not get the Scute from thence, we muſt dwell there as Burghers of* Nova Zembla, *and make our Graves in that place.* While we were buſie at work, a great Bear came toward us, whereupon we retir'd into our Houſe, and ſtood to watch her in our three Doors, and one ſtood in the Chimney with a Muſquet. This Bear came on more boldly than ever any had done before, for ſhe came to the neareſt Step that went to one of our Doors, and the Man that ſtood in the Door ſaw her not, becauſe he look'd toward the other Door, but they that ſtood within ſaw her, and in great fear call'd to him, wherewith he turn'd about, and altho' he was in a maze, ſhot her thro' the Body, whereupon ſhe ran away. If the Piece had miſs'd fire, it had coſt him his Life, and it may be the Bear would have gotten into the Houſe. We ripp'd her open, and found a piece of a Buck with the Hair and Skin in her Belly.

Part of a *Buck* found in a *Bear's* Belly.

The 31ſt, fair weather, the Wind *S. W.* whereby the Ice drove away, and we wrought hard about our Boat to get it ready; and while we were at work there came another Bear (as if he had ſmelt that we would be gone and was deſirous to taſte a piece of ſome of us) and forc'd us to leave our Work and go into the Houſe: The Bear following us, we ſhot her, and ripping up her Belly, we dreſs'd the Liver and eat it, which taſted well enough, but made us all ſick, eſpecially three of our Company, who were ſo very ſick with it, that we verily thought we ſhould have loſt 'em, for all their Skins came off from Head to Foot, but they recover'd again.

June.

The 3d of *June* we were pretty well recover'd, and having now wrought ſix days upon our Boat, we at laſt got it ready; and the next day eleven of us went to our Scute and drew it to the Ship, which ten of us had attempted before, and could not perform it. And it being a Herring Scute, made narrow behind, we ſaw'd it off behind, and made it a broad Stern, and built it ſomewhat higher, that it might better brook the Seas.

While ſome were thus employ'd, the reſt were buſie in the Houſe to make all other things ready for our Voyage, and drew two Sleds with Victuals and other things unto the Ship, which lay about half-way between the Houſe and the open Water, that we might have ſo much the ſhorter way to carry our Goods to the Water-ſide when we ſhould go away.

The 5th was foul weather, with much Hail and Snow, the Wind *Weſt*, which made an open Water: We could then do nothing without the Houſe, but within made all things ready, as Sails, Oars, Maſts, Rudder, &c.

The 6th was fair weather, the Wind *N. E.* but it ſhifting to *S. W.* there aroſe very foul weather, with Snow, Hail and Rain, and we could not be dry in our Houſe, there being nothing but a Sail over it, for we had taken off the Deals to mend our Boat and Scute.

The 10th we drew our Goods in Sleds to the Ship; the *Wine* that was left we put into ſmall Casks, that we might divide it into both our Veſſels, and the eaſier hoiſt it in and out when we ſhould be encloſ'd with Ice, as we expected.

The 11th was foul weather, and it blowing hard at *N. N. W.* we could do nothing all that day, and were in great fear leſt the Storm ſhould carry the Ice and the Ship both away together (which might well have come to paſs) for then we had been in greater miſery than ever, becauſe our Victuals and Goods were then all in the Ship.

A Bear comes out of the Sea upon the Ice.

The 12th, being fair Weather, we went with Hatchets, Halberts, Shovels, and other Inſtruments, to level the Knobs and Hills of Ice which lay in the way between our Scute and Boat and the Water-ſide: We wrought hard with our Hatchets and other Inſtruments, and in the mean time a great lean Bear came out of the Sea upon the Ice towards us, which we ſuppoſe came out of *Tartary*, becauſe we have ſeen ſome of them 20 or 30 miles within the Sea. We having but one Muſquet with us, which our Surgeon carried, I ran towards the Ship to fetch one or two, whereupon the Bear ran after me, and was likely to have overtaken me, but our Company ſeeing that, left their work and ran after her, which made the Bear leave me, and turn towards them; but being ſhot into the Body by the Surgeon, ſhe ran away, and was ſoon overtaken by us and kill'd outright, having ſmote her Teeth out of her Head while ſhe was yet living.

They depart.

The 13th, being fair Weather and open Water, with a good *Weſt Wind*, the Maſter went to the Houſe and ſpake unto *William Barents*, who had been long ſick, telling him, that he thought it good (ſeeing it was a fit time) to go from thence, and ſo will'd the Company to drive the Boat and Scute down to the Water-ſide, and in the Name of God to begin our Voyage. Then *William Barents* wrote a Letter, which he put into the charge of a Muſquet and hung it up in the Chimney, ſetting forth how he came out of *Holland* to ſail to the Kingdom of *China*, and what had hapned to us in this place, with all our Croſſes, that if any Men ſhould chance to come thither, they might know what had hapned to us, and how we had been forc'd in our Extremity to build that Houſe, and to dwell ten months therein, and that now at laſt we adventur'd to Sea in two ſmall open Boats. The Maſter alſo wrote two Letters, to which moſt of us ſubſcrib'd, ſignifying how that we had ſtaid there upon the Land in great Trouble and Miſery, in hope that our Ship would be freed from the Ice, but that it fell out to the contrary, and the Time paſſing away, and our Victuals beginning to fail us, we were forc'd, for the ſaving our Lives, to leave the Ship and to ſail away in our open Boats, committing our ſelves to the protection of the Almighty. And ſo, having all things ready, we drew the Boat to the Water-ſide, and leaving a Man in it, went and fetch'd the Scute, and after that eleven Sleds with Goods and Victuals, which being put into the Sleds, we return'd to the Houſe and fetch'd *William Barents* and *Claes Adrianſon* (who had both been long ſick) upon Sleds to the place where our Scutes lay, and ſo entring into 'em, divided our ſelves equally, and put into each Boat a ſick Man, and ſo committing our ſelves to the Will and Mercy of God, with a *W. N. W. Wind* and an indifferent open *Water*, we ſet ſail and put to Sea.

The 14th in the morning we put off from the Land of *Nova Zembla* and the faſt Ice adjoyning, and ſail'd *E. N. E.* all that day to the Iſlands point, which was five miles: But our beginning was not very good, being encloſ'd again with Ice, which put us to no ſmall fear and trouble. Four of us went on Land, and kill'd many Birds with Stones upon the Cliffs.

The 16th we ſail'd again, and got to the Iſland of *Orange*, which is eight miles diſtant from the *Point* of *Deſire*; there we went on Land with two ſmall Barrels and a Kettle, to melt Snow and put the Water into the Barrels, and to ſeek for Birds and Eggs for our ſick Men. We put to Sea again, with a *S. E. Wind* and mizling *Weather*, and ſailing *Weſt* and *W.* by *S.* to the *Ice-point*, we faſtned our Scutes to a great piece of Ice; but the *Weather* grew worſe, ſo that we were again encloſ'd with Ice, and forc'd to ſtay there.

The 17th the Ice came ſo faſt upon us, that it made our Hair ſtand upright upon our Heads, for we drove away ſo hard with the Ice, and were ſo ſore preſs'd between Flakes of Ice, that we thought verily the Scutes would burſt in a hundred pieces. In this Extremity the Maſter ſaid, That *if we could take hold with a Rope upon the faſt Ice, we might therewith draw the Scute up, and ſo get it out of the great drift of Ice.* I being the lighteſt man in the Company, undertook this hazardous ſervice, and creeping from one piece of driving Ice to another, by God's help got to the faſt Ice, where faſtning a Rope to a high Hillock, they in the Scute drew it to the faſt Ice, and firſt in all haſte we took out our ſick Men, and laid them upon the Ice, having firſt put Clothes and other things under 'em, and then took all our Goods out of the Scutes, and ſo drew them upon the Ice, whereby for that time we were deliver'd from that great danger.

The 18th we repair'd our Scutes again, being much bruis'd and cruſh'd with the racking of the Ice, and were forc'd to drive all the Nails faſt again, and to piece many things about them, God ſending us Wood, wherewith we melted our Pitch, and did all other things neceſſary. Then ſome of us went upon the Land, with no ſmall danger between the Ice and the firm Land; we found four Birds, but could find no Eggs, which our ſick Men long'd for.

The 19th was indifferent Weather, the Wind *N. W.* and *W. S. W.* but we were ſtill encloſ'd with Ice, and ſaw no opening, which made us think that there would be our laſt abode, and that we ſhould never get from thence.

Will. Barents their Pilot dies.

The 20th *Claes Adrianſon* and ***William Barents*** died; the Death of the laſt put us in no ſmall diſcomfort, as being the chief Guide and only Pilot, on whom we repos'd our ſelves next under God.

The 22d in the morning it blew a good gale out of the *S. E.* and the Sea was reaſonably open, but we were forc'd to draw our Scutes over a piece of Ice fifty paces long, and there put them into the Water, and then draw them up on other Ice at leaſt an hundred paces over, before we could bring them to a good place, where we might eaſily get out; and being gotten unto the open Water, committed our ſelves to God, with an indifferent gale at *S. S. E.* and ſail'd *W.* by *S.* till Noon, and then were enclos'd with Ice again, but not long after it open'd like a Sluice, and we paſs'd thro' it and ſail'd along by the Land, but were preſently enclos'd with Ice, which we us'd all the means we could to break, but all in vain. At laſt (God be prais'd) it open'd of it ſelf, and we got out, and ſail'd along by the Land *W.* by *S.* with a *South Wind.*

The 23d we got to the *Truſt-point*, which is diſtant from the *Ice-point* 25 miles, and then could go no further, becauſe the Ice lay ſo hard and cloſe together, and yet it was fair weather. We took the height of the Sun, and found our ſelves to be in the Latitude of 76 d. 30 m. Altho' it was fair Sunſhine weather, yet it was not ſo ſtrong as to melt the Snow, that we might have Water to drink, ſo that we ſet all our Tin Platters and other things full of Snow to melt, and put Snow in our Mouths to melt it down our Throats, but all was not enough, ſo that we were compel'd to endure great Thirſt.

The 24th of *June* it ſtill blew hard out of the *South*; we row'd here and there among the Ice, to ſee where we might beſt get out, but could find no opening. When the Sun came to the South we got into the Sea, for which we thank'd God moſt heartily, that he had ſent us an unexpected opening, and an *Eaſt Wind*, which carried us luſtily forward, ſo that we hop'd to get about *Point Naſſaw*, which we could then ſee about three miles diſtant.

The 26th it blew hard at *South*, and brake in pieces the Ice whereunto we were faſtned, whereby we were driven into the Sea, and in danger to be caſt away. We row'd as much as we could to get near the Land, and the Waves went ſo hollow, that we ſaw nothing but Death before our Eyes: But God help'd us once again, and contrary to our expectation ſent us a *N. W. Wind*, whereby we got to the faſt Ice again. It was then miſty weather, and we had loſt ſight of our other Scute, much fearing that they were drown'd. We ſail'd a mile along by the faſt Ice, and not finding her, we fir'd a Muſquet, which they anſwer'd with another; at laſt we got near them, and finding them faſtned in Ice, we went over the Ice, and help'd them to unlade their Scute, which with great labour we drew over the Ice into the open Water again. While we lay by each other we ſod ſome Bread and Water together, and eat it warm, which did us much good.

The 28th we laid all our Goods upon the Ice, and then drew the Scutes upon the Ice alſo, becauſe we were ſo hardly preſs'd on all ſides, and the Wind came out of the Sea upon the Land, that we fear'd our Scutes would be cruſh'd in pieces. We laid Sails over our Scutes, and laid our ſelves down to reſt; and when the Sun was North three Bears came towards our Scutes, whereupon he that kept Watch cried, *Three Bears, Three Bears*, at which noiſe we leap'd out of our Boats with our Muſquets, that were laden with Hail-ſhot to ſhoot at Birds, and having no time to diſcharge them, ſhot at them therewith, which tho' it could not hurt 'em much, yet they ran away, and in the mean time gave us leiſure to lade our Muſquets with Bullets, and by that means we ſhot one of 'em dead, which the other two perceiving, ran away, and within two hours return'd again; but when they were almoſt at us, and heard us make a noiſe, they ran away.

Three Bears.

The next day they came again to the place where the dead Bear lay, and one of them took the dead Bear in his Mouth, and went a great way with it over the rugged Ice, and then began to eat it; which we perceiving, ſhot a Muſquet at her, whereupon ſhe ran away. Then four of us went thither, and ſaw that in ſo ſhort a time ſhe had eaten almoſt half. We laid the dead Bear upon a high piece of Ice, that if the Bear came again, we might ſee to ſhoot at her from our Scute; and we four had enough to do to carry the half Bear between us, which ſhews the great ſtrength of that Bear which carried the whole in her Mouth as lightly as if it had been nothing.

One Bear carries another in his Mouth.

July.

The 1ſt of *July* was indifferent fair, with a *W. N. W. Wind*; in the morning a Bear came from the driving Ice towards us, and ſwam over the Water to the faſt Ice whereon we lay, but hearing us make a noiſe, ran away.

At a *S. E. Sun* the Ice came in ſo faſt upon us, that all the Ice whereon we lay brake and ran one piece upon another, whereby moſt of our Goods fell into the Water, but we with great diligence drew our Scutes further upon the Ice towards the Land, which when we had done, and went to fetch our Goods, we ran into greater danger than we had hitherto met with; for when we laid hold upon one parcel, the reſt ſunk down with the Ice, which would alſo many times break under our Feet, which made us almoſt to deſpair of ſafety.

One of the Scutes, wherein was a ſick man, was broken in many places, ſo that we gave it over for loſt, and beheld each other in pitiful manner, not knowing what to do, our Lives depending thereon; but God ſo order'd it that the pieces of Ice drave from each other, vvherevvith vve ran to the Scute, and drevv it unto us again, in ſuch caſe as it vvas, and laid it by the Boat upon the faſt Ice, vvhere it vvas in more ſecurity.

This dangerous Labour laſted above ſeven hours, vvhich made us extream vveary; and vvas more dreadful to us than the dangers vve had eſcap'd vvhen *William Barents* died, and vve loſt this day tvvo Barrels of Bread, a Cheſt vvith Linnen Cloth, a dry Fat vvith Sailors Clothes, our Aſtronomical Ring, a Pack of Scarlet Cloth, ſome Cheeſes, a Rundlet of Oyl and a Rundlet of Wine, vvhich laſt vvas bilg'd vvith the Ice, ſo that vve could ſave none of it.

The 4th it vvas ſo fair clear vveather, that from the time vve vvere firſt in *Nova Zembla* vve had not the like.

The 5th fair vveather, the *Wind S. W.* the ſame day died *John Franſon* of *Harlem*.

The 7th fair vveather, vvith ſome Rain, the *Wind W. S. W.* vve vvent to the open Water, and there kill'd thirteen Birds, vvhich vve found upon a piece of driving Ice.

The 9th the Ice began to drive, vvhereby vve got ope Water on the Land-ſide: Then the faſt Ice vvhereon vve lay began to drive alſo, vvhereupon vve vvent to fetch the Pack and the Cheſt that ſtood upon the Ice, to put them into the Scute, and then drevv the Scutes at leaſt three hundred and forty paces to the Water, as vveak as vve vvere; and then vve ſet ſail vvith an *Eaſt Wind*, but vvere ſoon forc'd to make to the faſt Ice again.

The 10th vve took great pains to get thro' the Ice, and at laſt got thro' and rovv'd forth, until vve happen'd to fall betvveen two great flakes of Ice, that clos'd ſo that vve could not get thro', but vvere forc'd to dravv the Scutes upon them and unlade the Goods, and then to dravv them over to the open Water on the other ſide. When vve had done this, vve muſt fetch the Goods alſo to the ſame place, being at leaſt an hundred paces, and vvhen vve vvere in open Water, vve rovv'd forvvard as vvell as vve could, and had not rovv'd long e're vve fell betvven tvvo great flakes that came driving one againſt the other, but by God's help and our ſpeedy rovving vve got from betvven 'em before they clos'd up; and being thro', vve had a hard *Weſt Wind* right in our Teeth, vvhich conſtrain'd us to make tovvard the faſt Ice that lay by the ſhore.

A Bear kill'd 8 foot long.

The 11th in the morning, as vve ſate faſt upon the Ice, a great Bear came out of the Water, running tovvards us, and vvhen ſhe came vvithin thirty paces of us vve diſcharg'd three Muſquets at her, and kill'd her outright, ſo that ſhe ſtirr'd not a foot, and the Fat vvhich came out of the vvounds did ſvvim upon the Water like Oyl: VVe meaſur'd her Body, and found it to be eight foot thick.

Three of our Men vvent to an Iſland that lay before us, and being there, ſavv the *Croſs*-Iſland lying *Weſtward* from them, and vvent thither upon the Ice, to ſee if any *Ruſſian* had been there that Summer, but they could not perceive that any Man had been in it ſince vve vvere there. They got ſeventy Eggs there, but knevv not hovv to bring them to us; at laſt one of them put off his Breeches, and tying them faſt belovv, they carried them betvveen tvvo of 'em, and the third carried the Muſquet, and ſo came to us again after they had been 12 hours gone, vvhich put us in no ſmall fear to think vvhat vvas become of them. They told us, they had gone at leaſt ſix *Flemiſh* miles to and fro betvveen both Iſlands, and many times up to the Knees in VVater, vvhich made us vvonder hovv they could endure it, ſeeing we were all ſo weak. VVe were much comforted with the Eggs they brought, ſo that we found ſome relief in our great miſery, and then ſhared our laſt VVine amongſt us, whereof every one had three Glaſſes.

The 12th and 13th, the VVind Eaſterly, ſeven of our Men went to the firm Land to ſeek certain Stones, and found ſome, tho' not of the beſt ſort.

The 14th fair weather, with a good South VVind, and then the Ice began to drive from the Land, whereby we were in good hope to have an open VVater, but the VVind turning VVeſterly, the Ice lay ſtill again. Three of our Men went to the next Iſland, and ſhot a *Bercheynet*, which they gave amongſt us, for all our goods were common.

The 16th a Bear came to us from the firm Land, we could not diſcern it to be a Bear, becauſe it ſhewed ſo like the Snow, but at laſt when ſhe came near, we perceived her by her ſtirring, and ſhot and hit her, but ſhe ran away.

The next day five of our Men went again to the next Iſland, to ſee if there appeared any open VVater, and being half way thither, found the Bear which the Day before had been ſhot by us, lying behind a piece of Ice; as ſoon as ſhe heard them ſhe went away, but one of the Men following her with a Boat Hook, thruſt her into the Skin, wherewith the Bear roſe upon her hinder Feet, and as the Man thruſt at her again, ſhe ſtruck the Iron of the Boat Hook in pieces, wherewith the Man fell down upon his Buttocks, which our other two Men ſeeing, both of them ſhot her into the Body, and with that ſhe ran away, but the other Man went after her with his broken Staff, and ſtruck the Bear upon the Back, whereupon ſhe turned upon the Man three times one after the other, and then the other two came to her and ſhot her in the Body again, wherewith ſhe ſate down upon her Buttocks, and then they ſhot once again, wherewith ſhe fell down. All that day the VVind was N. E. cloſe weather.

The 18th in the Morning three of our Men went upon the higheſt part of the Land to ſee if there was any open VVater in the Sea, and returning to us, ſaid, that they had ſeen much open VVater, but it lay ſo far from the Land and the faſt Ice, that they feared we ſhould not be able to draw the Scutes ſo far; but neceſſity urging us, we were reſolved to try what we could do, and with indefatigable Pains ſurmounted all thoſe Difficulties, and ſetting ſail, we preſently fell among Ice again, and drew up our Scutes upon it.

The 19th, ſeven of our Men went to the *Croſs Iſland*, about a Mile from us, and being there ſaw great ſtore of open VVater in the VVeſt, wherewith they much rejoiced, and made what haſt they could to the Scutes, but before they came away, they got 100 Eggs. They told us they had ſeen open VVater in the Sea as far as they could diſcern, and were in good hopes this would be the laſt time we ſhould draw our Scutes over the Ice, whereupon we made ſpeed to dreſs our Eggs, and drawing our Scutes at leaſt 200 Paces over the Ice, got them into the VVater, and put to Sea with a good Gale at E. and E. N. E. and paſſing by *Croſs-Iſland*, ten Miles diſtant from Cape *Naſſaw*, the Ice left us, altho' we afterward ſaw ſome in the Sea, but it troubled us not, and ſo we held our courſe VV. by S. with a good Gale at E. N. E.

The 20th, at a S. E. Sun, we paſſed along by the *Black Point*, twelve Miles diſtant from *Croſs-Iſland*, and ſailing VV. S. VV. we ſaw the Admiral's Iſland at a VVeſt Sun, and paſt by it at a North Sun, diſtant from the *Black Point* eight Miles. In paſſing by it we ſaw about 200 Sea-horſes lying upon a flake of Ice, and we ſailing cloſe by them, drave them from thence, which was like to have coſt us dear; for they being of mighty force, ſwam round about our Scutes with a great noiſe, as if they would have devoured us, but we eſcaped from them by reaſon of our good gale of VVind, yet it was not wiſely done of us to diſturb them.

The 21ſt we paſt by Cape *Planeio*, lying VV. S. VV. eight Miles from the Admirals Iſland.

The 22d, having ſo good a gale of VVind, when we came to Cape *de Cant*, we went aſhoar to ſeek for Birds and Eggs, but finding none, we ſailed forwards, and ſaw a Clift that was full of Birds, and ſteering thither, we caſt Stones at them, and killed 22, and got 15 Eggs; we might have taken many more, but being unwilling to looſe that fair Wind, we ſailed along the Coaſt till we came to another Point, where we got 125 Birds, ſome of which we took with our Hands out of their Neſts, and killing ſome with Stones, they fell down into the Water. They had each of them but one Egg in their Neſts, and that lying upon the bare clift, without Straw or other thing under it, which ſeems ſtrange how they could breed their young ones in ſo great cold, but poſſibly they therefore ſit but upon one Egg, that the heat that is neceſſary in breeding ſo many, may be given wholly to one.

The 24th, fair weather, the Wind Northerly; we took the height of the Sun, and found our ſelves in the Latitude of 73 Deg. 10 Min.

The 27th we ſailed from Cape *de Cant*, along by *Coſtingſark*, to the *Croſs Point*, 20 Miles, our Courſe S.S.E. the Wind N. W.

The 28th fair weather, the Wind N. E. we ſailed along the Coaſt of St. *Lawrence* Bay, where finding two *Ruſſian Lodges* or Ships, we were not a little comforted to think we were come to a place where we found Men, but we were ſomewhat fearful of them, becauſe they were ſo many, for we ſaw at leaſt 30 of them, and knew not what they were. As ſoon as we came near the Shoar, they left off their work and came towards us, but without Arms, and we alſo went on Land, as many as were well (for divers of us were very ill with a great ſcouring) and ſaluted each other in friendly manner, they after their faſhion, and we after ours; the Maſter and I, who had been there the Year before, knew ſome of them to be the ſame Men which had been aboard our Ship when we paſſed thro' the *Weygates*, and we perceived that they were greatly aſtoniſhed that we who at that time were ſo well furniſhed with a great Ship, well provided with all things neceſſary, ſhould now appear in that Country ſo poor and deſtitute, in a couple of ſmall Scutes: And amongſt them there were two, that in friendly manner clapt the Maſter and me upon the Shoulder, as remembring us ſince the laſt Voyage, and ask'd us for our *Crable*, meaning our Ship, and we ſhewed them by ſigns as well as we could, that we had loſt our Ship in the Ice, whereupon they ſaid, *Crable pro pal* (which we underſtood to be, *Have you loſt your Ship?*) and made anſwer, *Crable pro pal*. They ſeemed to be ſorry for our loſs, and made us ſigns, that when we were there before, they had drank Wine in our Ship, and asked us what we had now; wherewith one of our Men went to the Scute, and drew ſome Water, and gave them a taſt of it, but they ſhaked their Heads, ſaying, *No dobbre*, that is, *It is not good*. Then our Maſter went nearer to them and ſhewed them his Mouth, to let them underſtand that we were troubled with a looſeneſs in our Bellies, and to have their advice how to help it; but they thought he had, made a ſign that we were hungry, wherewith one of them went to their Lodging, and brought a round Rye Loaf weighing about eight Pounds, and ſome Fowls, which we accepted thankfully, and gave them in exchange half a dozen of *Muſchuit*. Then our Maſter led two of the chief of them into his Scute, and gave them ſome of the little Wine we had left, being almoſt a Gallon. We went to the place where they lay, and ſod ſome of our *Muſchuit* with water by their fire, that we might eat ſome warm thing down into our Bodies: and indeed we were much comforted to ſee the *Ruſſians*, having not ſeen any Man, ſince we departed from *John Cornliſon*, being 13 Months before.

The 29th, was fair weather, and the *Ruſſians* prepared to ſet ſail, and digged ſome Barrels of Train Oil out of the Sedges, which they had buried there, and put them into their Ships.

The 30th, the VVind blew a great ſtorm at N. VV. with much Rain, ſo that altho' we covered our Scutes with our Sails, yet we could not lie dry, which was an unaccuſtomed thing to us, who had felt no Rain in a long time before.

The 31ſt, we rowed from that Iſland to another, vvhereon there ſtood tvvo Croſſes, hoping to find ſome Men there, but we found none. The VVind continued N. VV. and drave the Ice tovvards *Weygates*. VVe went aſhoar, and found great ſtore of *Leple* Leaves, which were of great uſe to us, many of us being then ſick, and moſt of us ſo troubled with a ſcouring in our Bodies, that vve vvere thereby ſo weak that we could hardly rovv; but by eating theſe Leaves, vve vvere preſently recovered to admiration, and gave God great thanks for that and many other his Mercies ſhevved unto us in this our dangerous Voyage. VVe eat them by handfulls, having heard in *Holland* of their great virtue, and found it to be much more than vve expected.

Leple Leaves or Scurvy-graſs cure their Scouring.

Auguſt.

The firſt of *Auguſt* the VVind continued hard at N. VV. and the Ice, that for a vvhile had driven tovvards *Weygates*, ſtaied and drave no more, but the Sea vvent very hollovv, vvhich made us remove our Scutes to the other ſide of the Iſland, and going aſhoar, found more *Leple* Leaves, vvhereby vve ſo recovered our healths, that ſome of us could eat Biſket again, vvhich before vve could not do.

The ſecond was dark miſty weather, the Wind ſtill blowing ſtill N. W. and our Victuals were near ſpent, having nothing left but a little Bread and Water, and ſome of us a little Cheeſe.

The third, at a North Sun, the weather being ſomewhat better, we reſolved to leave *Nova Zembla*, and ſo croſs over to *Ruſſia*, and ſo committing our ſelves to God, we ſet ſail with a N. W. Wind, and ſailed *S.* S. W. till the Sun was Eaſt, and then entred into Ice again, which put us in great fear, and about a S. W. Sun, got clear thereof, and entred into the large Sea, where we ſaw ſome Ice, and having ſailed and rowed about 20 Miles, we entred into Ice again, and it was then very cold.

The fourth, at a South-eaſt Sun, being gotten out of the Ice, we ſailed forward with a N. W. Wind, holding our courſe Southerly, and at Noon ſaw the Coaſt of *Ruſſia* before us, being very low Land, like a bare Strand that might be overflowed. We had ſailed from the Point of *Nova Zembla* thither 30 Miles, and thence running along the Coaſt with an indifferent Gale, we ſaw another *Ruſſian* Veſſel, and when we came near them, they came all above Deck, and we cried unto them *Candinaes, Candinaes*, but they anſwered *Pitzora, Pitzora*, intimating that we were thereabouts, whereas we thought verily that we had been far more to the Weſtward, and not far from *Candinaes*, altho' we were three days ſailing from it, as after we perceived. The cauſe of this Error in our courſe was, that we were deceived by our Compaſs, which ſtanding upon a Cheſt bound with Iron, made us vary at leaſt two Points, whereby we were not only much more ſoutherly than we thought our Courſe had been, but alſo far more eaſterly.

The Compaſs ſtanding on an Iron Cheſt deceives them.

The 12th of *Auguſt* in the Morning being fair weather, we ſaw a *Ruſſian Lodgie* come towards us, which we perceiving from the Strand where we lay with our Scutes, deſired the Maſter that we might ſpeak with them to get ſome Victuals of them. When we got to them, the Maſter went into the *Lodgie* to ask them how far we had to *Candinaes*; they held up five Fingers to us, but we knew not what they meant thereby, but we after perceived that their meaning was, that there ſtood five Croſſes upon it, and they brought their Compaſs out, and ſhewed us that it lay N. W. from us, which reckoning alſo we had made by our Compaſs. When we ſaw we could have no better intelligence from them, the Maſter went further into their Ship, and pointed to a Barrel of Fiſh, making ſigns to know if they would ſell it unto us, ſhewing them a piece of eight Rials; whereupon they gave us 102 Fiſhes, with ſome Cakes they had made of Meal, and about a South Sun we left them.

The 17th we ſaw a *Ruſſian Lodgie* that came ſailing out of the *White Sea*, to whom we rowed that we might have ſome inſtruction from him, and when we boarded him, he gave us a Loaf of Bread, and by ſigns ſhewed us that he had ſeen our Companions (who were ſeparated from us in miſty weather) pointing to the Scute, and holding up ſeven Fingers, thereby ſhewing that ſo many Men were in the other Scute, and that they had ſold them Bread, Fleſh, Fiſh, and other Victuals; and we ſaw a ſmall Compaſs in their *Lodgie*, which we knew to be our Boatſwains, and they acknowledged they bought it of him.

The 18th in the Morning we pulled up our Stone, which we uſed inſtead of an Anchor, and rowing along the Coaſt till Noon, we then ſaw the Point of *Candinaes*, with the five Croſſes ſtanding upon it, lying at the Mouth of the *White Sea*, which we were to croſs, and had long deſired to ſee. We paſt the Point at a N. W. Sun, and having a good N. E. Wind, ſet forward in the name of God, and all that Night and the next Day ſailed with a good Wind, and ſo likewiſe the Night following; in the Morning we ſaw Land on the Weſt ſide of the *White Sea*, which we knew muſt be the Coaſt of *Lapland*, for which we thanked God, who had helped us to ſail over the *White Sea* in 30 Hours, it being 40 *Dutch* Miles at the leaſt, our Courſe being Weſt, with a N. E. Wind.

The 20th, we ſpied certain Croſſes with Warders upon them, whereby we underſtood that it was a good Road, and ſo put into it, and being entred, we ſaw a great *Ruſſian Lodgie* at anchor, whereunto we rowed, and then went aſhoar to ſome Houſes, where they ſhewed us great Friendſhip. In theſe little Houſes we found 13 *Ruſſians*, who every Morning went to fiſh in the Sea; they lived very poorly, eating nothing but Fiſh and Bread. When we were returning to our Scute in the Evening, they prayed the Maſter and me to ſtay with them in their Houſes, which the Maſter thanked them for, but would not accept, and I alone ſtaid with them all Night. Beſides thoſe 13 *Ruſſians* there were two *Laplanders*, and three Women and one Child, who lived upon what the *Ruſſians* gave them, as a piece of Fiſh, and the Fiſhes Heads which the *Ruſſians* threw away, and they with great thankfulneſs took up; ſo that altho' we had little enough, yet in compariſon of their poverty, we thought our ſelves in a happy condition.

The 21ſt we met our other Company, and ſhewed each other how we had ſailed to and fro in great neceſſity and hunger, and yet they had endured more than us. We gave God thanks who had preſerved us alive and brought us together again; and the next day we prayed the *Ruſſian* Cook to bake a Sack of Meal for us, paying him for it, which he did, and our Maſter bought four Cods of the Fiſhermen, which we boiled, and while we were eating, the chief of the *Ruſſians* came unto us, and perceiving we had not much Bread, fetched a Loaf and gave it to us; and altho' we deſired them to ſit down and eat with us, yet we could by no means perſwade them to it, becauſe it was a faſting day with them, and we had poured Butter and Fat to our Fiſh: And ſo ſuperſtitious they were in their Faſting, that we could not get them once to drink with us, becauſe our Cup was ſomewhat greaſy, neither would they lend us any of their Cups, leſt they ſhould be greaſied alſo.

The 24th, the Wind at Eaſt, we got to the ſeven Iſlands, where we found many Fiſhermen, of whom we enquired for *Cola* and *Kilduin*, and they made ſigns that they lay Weſt from us. They caſt a Cod into our Scute, for which we gave them great thanks, much wondring at their courteſy. Paſſing between the ſeven Iſlands and the Land, ſome Fiſhermen rowed to us and asked us where our *Crable* was; we anſwered with as much *Ruſſian* as we had learned, *Crable pro pal*, that is, *Our Ship is loſt*, which they underſtanding, ſaid unto us, *Cool Brabouſe Crable*, whereby we underſtood, that at *Cola* there were ſome *Netherland* Ships, but we did not much regard their News, becauſe our deſign was to ſail to *Wardhouſe*, fearing leſt the Emperour of *Ruſſia* ſhould ſtay us at *Cola*.

The 25th we had ſight of *Kilduin*, where are five or ſix ſmall Houſes inhabited by *Laplanders*: We put in with the Land and asked of the *Laplanders* if that were *Kilduin*, who anſwered, that it was, and ſaid, that at *Cola* there lay three *Brabants Crables*, whereof two were to ſail from thence that day. Then we asked them if any of them would go with one of our Men by Land to *Cola*, promiſing to reward them well for their pains; but they excuſed themſelves, ſaying, They could not go from thence, but they would bring us over the Hill, where we ſhould find certain *Laplanders*, whom they thought would go with us; and ſo the Maſter and one of our Men going with them over the Hill, found ſome *Laplanders* there, of whom they got one to go with our Man, promiſing him two Rials of Eight for his pains. The *Laplander* took a Gun upon his Shoulder, and our Man a Boat-hook, and about Evening they ſet forward.

On the 29th we ſpied the *Laplander* coming alone, without our Man, whereat we wondred, but when he came unto us, he ſhewed us a Letter directed to our Maſter, which he opened before us, the Contents thereof being, *That the Writer of the Letter wondred much at our arrival in that place, and that long ſince he verily thought that we had been all caſt away, being exceeding glad of our happy deliverance, and that he would preſently come unto us with Victuals and all other Neceſſaries to ſuccour us.* It was ſubſcribed *John Cornelison Rip*. We wondred who this ſhould be that ſhewed us ſuch great friendſhip: for tho' it appeared by the Letter that he knew us well, yet we could not imagine (as it proved afterwards) that it was the ſame *John Cornelison*, who the Year before left us about *Bear Iſland*. We paid the *Laplander* his hire for his good news, and beſides that, gave him Hoſe, Breeches, and other Furniture, ſo that he was apparelled like a *Hollander*. This *Laplander* walked well, for our Man ſaid they were two Days and two Nights in going to *Cola*, and yet walked apace, whereas he was but one Day and a Night coming back to us; he brought us a Partridge which he had killed on the way.

The next day we ſaw a *Ruſſian Joll* come rowing with *John Cornelison* and our Companion, who being landed, we received each other with great joy. He brought us a Barrel of Roſwich Beer, Wine, *Aqua Vitæ*, Bread, Fleſh, Bacon, Salmon, Sugar, and other things, which were a great relief to us, and we rejoyced together for our unexpected meeting; and at that time gave God great thanks for his mercy ſhewed to us.

September

The ſecond of *September* in the Morning, we rowed up the River, and ſaw ſome Trees on the Bank ſide, which made us glad, as if we were come into a new Wor[illegible], for in all the time we had been out, we had not ſeen any Trees. In the Evening we got to *John Cornelison*'s Ship, and made merry with his Saylors who had been in the Voyage with him the laſt Year. Then we rowed forward, and late in the Night got to *Cola*, and were all exceeding glad that God of his mercy had delivered us out of ſo many Dangers and Troubles, and brought us thither in ſafety.

Their Scute and Boat laid up for a Monument more deſervedly than the *Argo*.

The 11th, by the conſent of the *Ruſſian* Governour, we brought our Scute and our Boat into the Merchants Houſe to ſtand for a Memorial of our long, dangerous, and never before ſailed Voyage, which (by God's help) was performed in thoſe open Scutes, being almoſt 400 *Dutch* Miles.

The 18th we ſailed from the River *Cola*, and on the firſt of *November* arrived at *Amſterdam*, in the ſame Cloaths we wore in *Nova Zembla*, with our Caps fur'd with white Fox Skins. The news thereof being ſpread abroad, it was alſo carried to the Prince's Court at the *Hague*, to which place we were brought by the Scout and two of the Burghers, and there in preſence of Prince *Maurice*, divers Embaſſadors, and the Burghermaſters, made a rehearſal of our long and dangerous Voyage.

We found by experience, that our greateſt hindrance was the Ice about *Nova Zembla*, under 73, 74, 75, and 76 Degrees, which was more than we met with at Sea between both Lands, altho' we were then much more Northerly, which ſhews that it was not the nearneſs of the North Pole, but the Ice that came from the *Tartarian* Sea about *Nova Zembla*, that made us feel the greateſt cold. And it is obſervable, that in *Greenland* under 80 Degrees, there is both Leaves and Graſs, whereon Deer and ſuch Beaſts as feed on Leaves and Graſs, do live; whereas on the contrary in *Nova Zembla*, there groweth neither Leaves nor Graſs, nor are there any Beaſts there, but ſuch as eat Fleſh, as Bears and Foxes, *&c.* altho' it lies four, five, and ſix Degrees more Southerly than *Greenland*: So likewiſe it is obſerved to be much hotter about the *Tropicks*, which are 23 Deg. and a half from the Line, than under the Line it ſelf. Our Pilot *William Barents* died in this opinion, being fully perſwaded that our intended Diſcovery had been perfected, if we had held a N. E. Courſe from the North Cape, which Courſe we could not hold from *Nova Zembla*, becauſe we were then entred into the Ice.

The following Notes were written by William Barents, *the Pilot before mentioned.*

THE 24th of *Auguſt*, *New Stile*, 1595, we ſpake with the *Samoieds*, and asked them how the Land and Sea did lie to the Eaſtward of *Weygates*: They ſaid, after five days journey going N. E. we ſhould come to a great Sea towards the S. E. The Sea to the Eaſtward of *Weygates*, they ſaid, was called *Marmora*, that is to ſay, *The calm Sea*, and the People of *Wardhouſe* told us the ſame. I asked them if it was frozen over at any time of the Year: They ſaid it was, and that ſometimes they paſſed it with Sleds; and the ſame was affirmed by the *Ruſſes* we met in a *Lodgie* or Bark the firſt of *September*, 1595, who told us that this Sea was ſometimes ſo frozen, that the *Lodgies* or Barks going from *Pechora* to *Gielhſidi*, are forced ſometimes to winter there. This laſt place was won by the *Ruſſes* from the *Tartars* three Years paſt.

As to the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, I could find none there, but with the Wind, ſo runs the Stream.

The third of *September* the Wind was S. W. and then I found the Water higher than with the Wind at N. or N. E. My Opinion is grounded on Experience, that if there be a Paſſage, it is ſmall, or elſe the Sea could not riſe with a Southerly Wind; and for the better Proof to know if there were a Flood and Ebb, on the ninth of *September* I went aſhoar on the South end of the *States Iſland*, and laid a Stone on the brink of the Water, and went round about the Iſland to ſhoot a Hare; and when I returned, I found the Stone as I left it, and the Water neither higher nor lower, which proves that there is no Flood nor Ebb.

CHAP XIX.

The Voyages and Diſcoveries of Henry Hudſon *towards the North Pole, ſet forth at the Charge of certain Merchants of* London.

1607. *May.*

THE firſt of *May*, 1607, we departed from *Graveſend*, our Ship's Crew conſiſting of ten Men and a Boy, beſides the Maſter, and on the 26th we were ſix Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Shotland*, in 60 Deg. 12 Min. We had 64 Fathoms at our ſounding, black, ozy, ſandy, with ſome yellow Shells. The Compaſs had no variation.

The 30th we were in 61 Deg. 11 Min. this day the Needle inclined 79 Deg. under the *Horizon*.

June.

The 11th of *June* we ſaw ſix or ſeven Whales near our Ship: We ſteered N. N. W. and on the 13th ſaw Land on Head of us, with ſome Ice: We called the Head Land *Young's Cape*, and a very high Mount near it, like a round Caſtle, we called the *Mount of God's Mercy*: Our Sails and Shrouds were frozen. We lay a hull from the 15th to the 17th, and perceived a Current ſetting to the S. W.

The 18th and 19th we ſteered N. E. purpoſing to ſee whether the Land we deſcried the 13 day, were an Iſland or part of *Greenland*; but it being a thick Fog, with much Wind at South, we changed our Courſe, and ſteered N. N. E. hoping for an open Sea to fall with the body of * *Newland*.

* Now called *Greenland*.

The 20th at two in the Afternoon it cleared up, and we ſaw the Sun, which vve had not ſeen ſince the ſecond of this Month. We kept a North-eaſterly Courſe, meeting vvith many Fogs and Calms, and much Ice driving in the Sea, and on the 27th vve deſcried *Greenland*. The Ice lay very thick along the Shoar, and having a fair Wind, vve coaſted it in a ſmooth Sea, and had no ground at 100 Fathoms four Leagues from the Shoar: We reckoned our ſelves to be in 78 Degrees, and not far from *Vogel Hook*: As vve ran along the Shoar, vve found no great cold: At eight at Night vve ſhaped our Coaſt N. W. and at ten ſavv great ſtore of Ice on head of us, vvhereupon vve tacked and ſtood avvay S. S. E.

Note, that altho' vve uſe the Word Night for diſtinction of time, yet the Sun vvas long before this, alvvays above the Horizon, but vve had not as yet ſeen him upon the Meridian North.

The 28th, it cleared up at 12 at Night, and vve found our ſelves betvveen the Land and the Ice, *Vogel Hook* bearing Eaſt of us.

The 29 and 30th vvere ſtormy, vve lay a hull.

The firſt vve ſtood N. E. for the Shoar, and vvere ſoon embayed vvith Ice; by our obſervation we were in 78 Deg. 42 Min. whereby we accounted our ſelves thwart of *The great Indraught*. In the Evening it cleared up, and we found our ſelves ſhot far into the Inlet, and had no ground at 100 Fathoms.

The ſecond, the Wind N. E. and clear weather, the Ice to the Northward of us, and an open Sea to the Southward under our Lee.

The third and fourth our Shrouds and Sails were frozen.

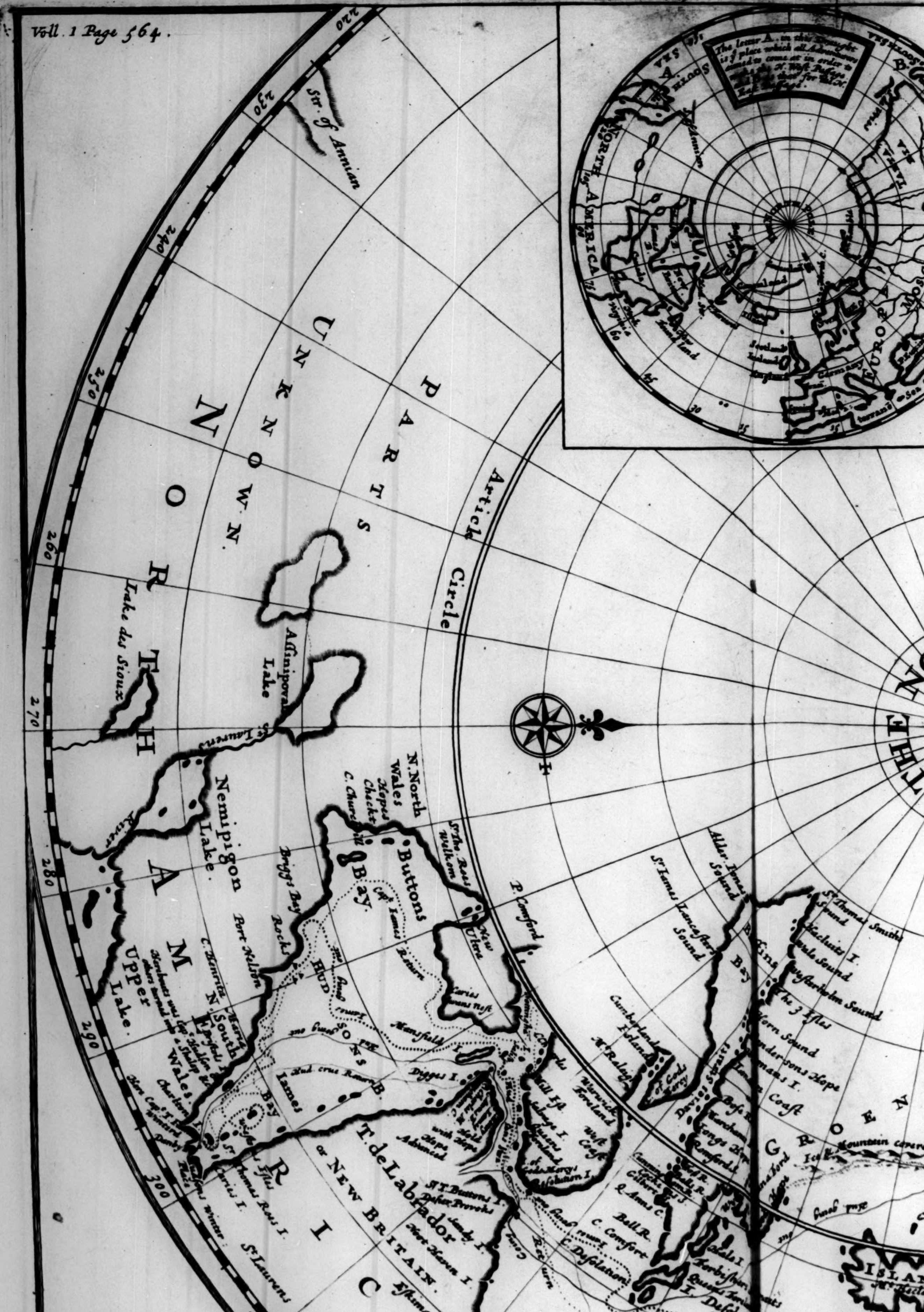
The fifth much Wind at N. E. we lay a Hull, being then near the Mouth of the Inlet.

The ſixth the Wind N. E. and the Sea grown, and very green; Latitude by Obſervation 77 Deg. 30 Min.

The ſeventh was clear, and we were encompaſſed with Ice, and were now entred again into a black Sea, which by proof we found to be an open Paſſage.

The eighth very foggy, we ſteered S. by E. we ſaw much drift Wood, and many Seals, and two Morſes.

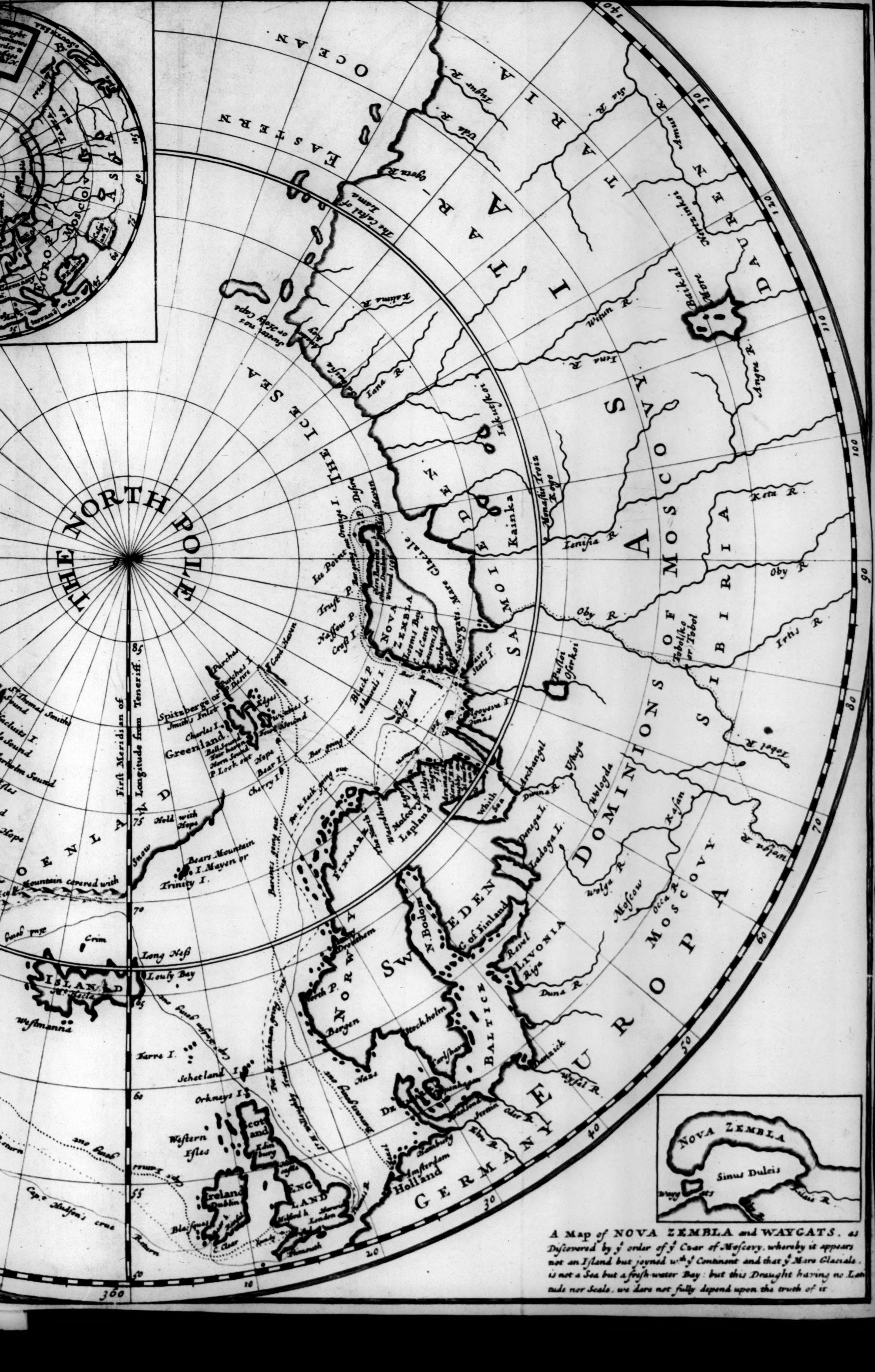
The


Str. of Annian
PARTS UNKNOWN.
NORTH AMERICA
Artick Circle
Lake des Sioux
Assinipoval Lake
Nemipigon Lake
UPPER Lake
N. North Wales
Buttons Bay
HUDSONS B.
Iames Bay
South Wales
Port Nelson
Briggs Bay
Diggs I.
Mansfield
Caries Swans Nest
Cumberland Eylands
T. de Labrador or NEW BRITAIN
Effamaux Bay
C. Charles
Straits of Belle I.
New Found Land
Alder Iones Sound
St. Iames Lancaster Sound
Baffins Bay
Davis Straits
C. Desolation
Queen Elizabeths Forland
C. Farewell
GROENLAND
ISLAND
Westmannia
Sir Thomas Smiths
Whale Sound
Horn Sound
St. Laurens R.
The letter A. in this Draught is y^e place which all Adventurers ought to come at in order to discover the N. West Passage as also that for the N. East Passage.
NORTH AMERICA
EUROPE
250
260
270
280
290
300
310
320
330
340
350

This Draught of the

NORTH POLE

is to ſhew all the Countries near and adjacent to it, as alſo the moſt remarkable Tracks of the Bold Diſcoverers of them, and Particularly the Attempts of our own Countrymen to find out the N. Eaſt and N. Weſt Paſſages. By H. Moll Geographer.


THE NORTH POLE
THE ICE SEA
EASTERN OCEAN
TARTARIA
DAUREN
SAMOIEDEN
DOMINIONS OF MOSCOVY
SIBIRIA
EUROPA
GERMANY
SWEDEN
NORWAY
FINMARK
Lapland
LIVONIA
BALTICK
NOVA ZEMBLA
Mare Glaciale
Waygats
Spitzberge
Greenland
ISLAND
Westmanna
Farre I.
Schetland I.
Orkneys I.
Western Isles
Scotland
Ireland
Dublin
ENGLAND
London
Holland
Amsterdam
Hamburg
Copenhagen
Stockholm
Bergen
Drontheim
Archangel
Whitt Sea
Moscow
Kasan
Wologda
Tobolsko or Tobol
Oby R.
Irtis R.
Tobol R.
Wolga R.
Ienisia R.
Lena R.
Amur R.
Baikal More
Angra R.
Keta R.
Duna R.
Danzick
Wyssel R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Ladoga L.
Onega L.
Revel
Riga
Bears Mountain
I. Mayen or Trinity I.
Cherry I.
Hope
Bear I.
Long Neß
Louly Bay
Crim
Black P.
Cross I.
Nassau P.
Ice Pointe
Orange I.
First Meridian of Longitude from Teneriff
85
75
70
65
60
55
50
360
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
110
120
130
140
NOVA ZEMBLA
Sinus Dulcis
Waygats

A Map of NOVA ZEMBLA and WAYGATS, as Diſcovered by ye order of ye Czar of Moſcovy, whereby it appears not an Iſland but joyned wth ye Continent and that ye Mare Glaciale. is not a Sea but a freſh-water Bay: but this Draught having no Latitude nor Scale, we dare not fully depend upon the truth of it

The 9th and 10th little Wind, we were encompaſſed with Ice, and ſaw many Seals.

This was written by *John Playce*, one of the Ships Company; that which follows ſeems to be taken from Mr. *Hudſon*'s own Notes.

The 11th was clear weather, the Wind at S. S. W. we were got into a green Sea again, and ſaw many Whales. We had the Sun on the Meridian S. by W. his greateſt height was 37 Deg. 20 Min. by this obſervation we were in 79 Deg. 17 Min. we had a freſh Gale and a ſmooth Sea, by means whereof our Ship had outrun us. Many of my Company were ſick with eating of Bears Fleſh the day before, unſalted.

The 12th was foggy, the Wind at South; in the Morning our Shrouds were frozen; at Noon we reckoned our ſelves under 80 Deg. we ſteered N. and N. E. until we ſaw Ice a head of us, and then we caſt about to the S. E. At twelve this Night it cleared up, and we ſaw *Greenland* out of the top, bearing S. S. W. twelve Leagues from us.

The 13th, the Wind at S. by E. we ſtood N. E. by E. and were by obſervation in 80 Deg. 23 Min. we ſaw many Whales: This Morning being very clear, we could not ſee any Ice out of the top, but at three in the Afternoon we ſaw ſo much Ice a head of us, that we were forced to alter our Courſe as the Ice would give us leave.

The 14th, was calm with Fog; at nine a ſmall gale at Eaſt, we ſteered S. E. by E. and met with a green Sea again, which we found by experience to be freer from Ice, than the azure or blew Sea: At this time we had more Birds than uſually. At Noon, being a thick Fog, we found our ſelves near Land, bearing Eaſt of us, and running further, we found a Bay open to the Weſt and by North. The Northern ſide of this Bay's Mouth being high Land, is a ſmall Iſland, which we called *Collins Cape*, by the name of our Boatſwain, who firſt ſaw it. Here we ſaw many Whales, and one came under the Keel of our Ship, and made her heel, yet by God's mercy we had no harm: At a S. W. Sun a Flood ſet into the Bay from the N. W. by N. At the Mouth of this Bay we had 30 Fathom Water, and then 26, but further in we had no ground at 100 Fathom, and therefore judged it rather a Sound than a Bay: On the Southern ſide lie three or four ſmall Iſlands or Rocks. *John Colman* my Mate, and *William Collins* my Boatſwain, with two others, went aſhoar, where they found and brought aboard a pair of Morſes Teeth in the Jaw, alſo ſome Whales Bones, and about a dozen Deers Horns: they ſaw the footing of other ſorts of Beaſts; they ſaw alſo ſome Rot-geeſe, with much drift Wood on the Shoar, and found a ſtream or two of freſh Water, with which they cooled their thirſt, it being hot on the Shoar. This Night proved clear, and we had the Sun on the Meridian, on the N. by E. part of the Compaſs: From the upper edge of the *Horizon* with the Croſs-ſtaff, we found his height 10 Deg. 40 Min. without allovving any thing for the Semidiameter of the Sun, or the diſtance of the end of the Staff from the Center in the Eye. Sun 10 Deg. 40 Min. high at Mid-night.

The 15th, clear vveather, the Sun ſhining vvarm; *Collins* Cape bore of us S. E. and vve could ſee the high Land of *Greenland* 20 Leagues from us to the N. E. By my account, the Northern part of this Land vvhich novv vve ſavv, ſtretched into 81 Deg. All this day vvas 81 Degrees. clear vveather, little Wind, and reaſonably vvarm.

The 16th, vvarm and clear vveather at North; vve vvere encompaſſed vvith Ice, and having novv run tovvard the furtheſt part of the Land by us diſcovered, vvhich for the moſt part trends N. E. and S. W. vve could diſcern more Land joining to the ſame, ſtretching far North into 82 Degrees, and by the bovving or ſhevving of the Sky much further, vvhich vvhen I firſt ſavv, I hoped to find a free Sea betvveen the Land and the Ice, and ſo to have compaſſed this Land by the North, but novv finding it impoſſible by reaſon of the abundance of Ice to the Northvvards of us, vvhich joined to the Land, vve bore up the Helm and returned; and this I They re can aſſure, that betvveen 78 Deg. 30 Min. and 82 Deg. by this vvay there is no paſſage. We ſteered W. S. W. from *Collins* Cape, in 81 Deg. 30 Min. bearing N. E. 81 Deg. 30 Min. from us. From this day to the 26th, vve ſteered various Courſes, in vvhich nothing hapned remarkable.

On the 27th, a thick Fog, calm, and the Sea very lofty; vve heard the rut or noiſe of the Ice and Sea, vvhich vvas the firſt Ice vve heard or ſavv ſince vve vvere at *Collins* Cape. The Sea heaving us tovvard the Ice, vve endeavoured vvith our Boat to tovv our Ship further from the danger; but the Sea vvent ſo high, that it vvas to ſmall purpoſe, and vve had here ended our Diſcovery if God had not given us a ſmall gale in our Diſtreſs. Here vve found the vvant of a good Ship-boat, and alſo of half a dozen long Oars to tovv in our Ship. We found by the Icy Sky and our nearneſs to *Greenland*, that there is no Paſſage that vvay, vvhich if there had been, I intended to return by the North of *Greenland* to *Devis* Streights, and ſo for *England*. Here having the benefit of a Weſterly Wind, vvhich hapned ſeldom during this Voyage, vve altered our Courſe and ſteered to the Eaſtvvard, and on the 28th found our ſelves in 76 Deg. 36 Min.

On the 29th vve heard the rut of land to VVindvvard, and I knevv it to be ſo by the colour of the Sea. It vvas ſo thick a Fog, that vve could hardly ſee a Cable's length from the Ship. VVe had ground at 25 Fathom, ſmall black pebble Stones; at the next ſounding 30 Fathoms, ſmall Stones like Beans; at the next caſt no ground at 60 Fathoms: VVe tacked and ſtood S. VV. all this day an extream thick Fog.

The 30th it cleared up, and vve ſavv part of *Greenland* bearing from us E. S. E. vve then reckoned our ſelves to be in the Latitude of 76 Deg.

On the 31ſt, the VVind at E. S. E. and being like to prove much VVind, contrary to our purpoſe, the Fogs more thick and troubleſome than formerly, divers things neceſſary vvanting, and our time vvell nigh ſpent to do further good this Year, I commanded to bear up for *England*, and ſteered avvay S. S. VV. The next Morning at four vve vvere thvvart of *Cherry*-Iſland, being a very ragged Land on the VVeſtern ſide, riſing like Haycocks.

On the 15 of *Auguſt* vve put into the Iſles of *Fere*, in 62 Deg. and arrived in the *Thames* the 15th of *September*. *Auguſt.*

CHAP. XX.

The ſecond Voyage of Mr. Henry Hudſon *for finding a Paſſage to the* Eaſt-Indies *by the North-eaſt: Written by himſelf.*

1608. *April.* APril the 22d, vve ſet ſail from St. *Katherins*, and fell down to *Blackwall*, our vvhole number being 15 Perſons.

May. The 20th of *May* vve vvere in Latitude of 64 Deg. 52 Min. the Needle then declined under the *Horizon* by the Inclinatory 81 Deg. and vve had then a ſmooth Sea, vvhereby I am aſſured my Obſervation vvas good.

The 22d vve reckoned our ſelves in 67 Deg. the Sea vvas ſmooth, the Needle declined 82 Deg.

The 27 we accounted our ſelves in 69 Deg. 40 Min. and the Needle inclined, being a ſmooth Sea, almoſt 84 Degrees.

The 29th vve ſavv the Sun on the North Meridian 5 Deg. 35 Min. above the *Horizon*; Latitude by Obſervation 73 Deg. 13 Min.

The 3d of *June* vve had ſight of the North Cape, bearing S. VV. eight Leagues from us: Obſerving the Variation, I found it to the VVeſtvvard 11 Deg. and having a ſmooth Sea, the Needle inclined under the *Horizon* 84 Deg. 30 Min. the neareſt I could find. *June.*

The 4th vve ſavv the Sun on the North Meridian 5 Deg. 40 Min. high.

The 7th vve had Snovv for four Hours; I accounted that vve vvere then in 74 Deg. 30 Min. here the

Needle inclined 86 Deg and the Sea vvas of a dark blevv colour.

The 9th, being in Latitude of 75 Deg. 29 Min. we entred into the firſt Ice we had ſeen this Voyage; we ſtood into it, hoping to get thro' it, and held a North-eaſterly courſe, looſing for one piece of Ice, and bearing up for another, till we were got four or five Leagues within it, and found the Ice a head of us ſo firm and thick, that we were forced to return as we went in, and at laſt got free of it.

A Mermaid ſeen.

The 15th, one of our Company looking over-board, ſaw a Mermaid, and calling up ſome of the Company to ſee her, one more came up, and ſhe was then come cloſe to the Ship ſide, looking earneſtly on the Men: Soon after a Sea came and overturned her. From the Navil upwards her Back and Breaſts were like a Womans, her Body as big as one of us, her Skin very white, and long black Hair hanging down behind: In her going down they ſaw her Tail, like the Tail of a *Porpus*, and ſpeckled like a Mackarel: Their Names that ſaw her were *Thomas Hills* and *Robert Rayner*.

On the 17th we were in Latitude of 74 Deg. 54 Min. clear weather: we had the Sun at loweſt on the North and by Eaſt part of the Compaſs: Here we ſaw Whales, Porpoiſes, and the Sea full of Fowls.

On the 18th we had the Sun on the Meridian N. by E. half a Point Eaſtward, his height 8 Deg. 40 Min. We had Ice in ſight to the Northward of us; and at this time I have ſome reaſon to think there was a Current ſetting to the Northward; the Courſe we held, and the Way we made between our Obſervations at Noon and Mid-night, made me ſuſpect it the more.

The 12th, in the Latitude of 75 Deg. 22 Min. the Needle inclined under the Horizon 89 Degrees and a half.

The 20th we heard Bears roar on the Ice, and ſaw an incredible number of Seals upon it. We had the Sun on the Meridian N. by E. half a Point Eaſterly; his height was ſeven Deg. twenty Min.

The 21ſt clear and warm weather; our Latitude at Noon being 74 Deg. 9 Min. it appeared that we were haled to the Northward beyond expectation.

The 22d, having a ſmooth Sea, we found the Needle to incline 85 Degrees; we had then the Sun on the Meridian N. by E. half a Point Eaſterly; his height 7 Deg. 45 Min. which made the Latitude 74 Deg. 43 Min.

The 23d we had Snow, the Sun at the loweſt was N. N. E. his height 7 Deg. 15 Min. the Poles height 74 Deg. 18 Min.

The 24th and 25th cool and clear, with ſome Snow: The Sun was on the Meridian on the S. W. by S. Point of the Compaſs ere it began to fall; Latitude 72 Deg. 52 Min. The Ice was to the Eaſtward of us, and our hope of a Paſſage was gone this way, by our nearneſs to *Nova Zembla*, and the abundance of Ice.

The 26th, we had the Sun on the Meridian on the S. E. by S. Point of the Compaſs, in Latitude of 72 Deg. 25 Min. and had ſight of *Swart-Clift* in *Nova Zembla*, bearing from us S. E. five Leagues off.

The 27th, we being but two Miles from the Shoar, and almoſt calm, I ſent *Robert Ivet* my Mate, and *John Cook* my Boatſwain on ſhoar, with four others, to fill two or three Caſks with Water; they told me they ſaw Graſs on the Shoar of the laſt Year, and young Graſs come up amongſt it a - - - - - long: That it was very hot on the Shoar, the Ground boggy, and that they ſaw the footing of many Bears, Deer and Foxes. There was a Croſs ſtanding on the Shoar, much drift Wood, and ſigns of Fires that had been made there. They brought aboard ſome VVales Fins, two Deers Horns, and the Dung of Deer, Moſs, Flowers, and other things that did there grow. The Sun was on the Meridian on the N. N. E. half a Point eaſterly before it began to fall; his height was 4 Deg. 45 Min. Inclination 22 Deg. 33 Min. which makes the Latitude 72 Deg. 12 Min.

The 29th and 30th calm, hot weather, and a ſmooth Sea, the Needle did incline 84 Deg. we anchored near an Iſland in the Mouth of a River in 71 Deg. 15 Min. and ſaw 40 or 50 Morſes ſleeping on a little Rock; all my Company went aſhoar, but my ſelf and Boy, yet they killed but one, the reſt eſcaping by being ſo near the VVater. At Mid-night our Anchor came home, and we tailed aground by the ſtrength of the ſtream, but heaved off again without hurt.

July.

The firſt of *July* I ſent my Mate with four more to ſearch a Sound or River in the bottom of the Bay, which ſent out a great ſtream to the Northwards, againſt the Tide which came from thence. This ſtream was ſo ſtrong, that it carried away the Ice or any thing elſe againſt the Flood, and it flows from the North three Hours and ebbs nine. VVe had the Sun on the Meridian on the S. by VV. Point, half a Point VVeſterly, Lat. 71 Deg. 24 Min.

The 2d our Company returned, with their Boat half laden with drift VVood, four dozen of Fowls, a great Deers Horn, and they ſaw ten white Deer in one Herd. They certified me that the great River or Sound, was two or three Leagues broad, and had no ground at 20 Fathoms, and that the ſtream did ſet ſtrongly out of it, and was of the colour of the Sea, and very ſalt. I had great hopes of this Northerly River or Sound, and ſent my Mate *Ivet* with five more in our Boat to ſearch it, who went up ſix or ſeven Leagues, and ſounded it from 20 to 23, and then to eight, ſix, and one Fathom, and laſtly to four Foot. Being returned, we ſet ſail to the S. VV. grieving that our labour was in vain, for had this Sound held as it made ſhew of, it might have yielded an excellent Paſſage to a more Eaſterly Sea. Generally, all the Land of *Nova Zembla* that we ſaw, was pleaſant to the Eye, much high land, with no Snow on it, looking in ſome places green, and Deer feeding thereon; it is no wonder that there is ſo much Ice in the Sea towards the Pole, there being ſo many Sounds and Rivers in *Nova Zembla*, *Greenland*, *Groenland*, *Tartary*, *Ruſſia*, and *Lappia*, to engender it; from whence I am apt to think there can be no navigable Paſſage this way. This place upon *Nova Zembla* is not the ſame which the *Hollanders* call *Coſting Sarch*; it is broad, and like to yield a Paſſage at *Waygates*, and my hope was, that by the ſtrong ſtream it would have cleared itſelf. But being now void of hopes of a N.E. Paſſage, I reſolved to ſail to the North-weſt, and to make trial of that place called *Lumbies In-let*, and the furious Over-fall mentioned by Captain *Davis*; but meeting with contrary VVinds, and having ſpent more than half the time, before I had gone the ſhorteſt part of the way, I ſhaped my Courſe homeward, and arrived at *Graveſend* the 26th of *Auguſt*, 1608.

A third Voyage towards *Nova Zembla* was attempted by Mr. *Hudſon* in the Year following, and written by his Mate *Robert Ivet*, wherein is ſet forth, that on the 21ſt of *May*, 1609, they had ſight of the North Cape of *Finmark*, and after much trouble from Fogs, Ice, and contrary VVinds, they returned to the Iſles of *Fero* in 62 Degrees, which he ſays are placed too far VVeſterly in our Sea Charts. Thence they ſailed to *Newfoundland*, Cape *Cod*, and *Virginia*, which being a Voyage well known, and nothing remarkable happening in it, I ſhall proceed to his laſt Voyage, where he was treacherouſly expoſed by his Mate *Ivet*, and others of his Ships Company.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

A Journal of Mr. Hudſon's *laſt Voyage for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage: Written by* Abacuk Pricket.

1610. WE ſailed from St. *Katharins* the 17th of *April*, 1610, and on the 5th of *May* were at the Iſles of *Orkney*, and on the 11th fell with the Eaſtern part of *Iſland*: VVe ſaw Mount *Hecla* caſt out much fire, which was thought to be a ſign of foul weather approaching. VVe put into a Harbour, called by the *Engliſh Louſy Bay*, where we bathed our ſelves in a Bath on the Shoar, the VVater whereof was ſo hot that it would ſcald a Fowl.

From hence, the firſt of *June*, we put to Sea for *Groenland*, which we raiſed on the fourth, the Land vvas very Mountainous, and covered vvith Snovv, and there vvas ſo much Ice on the Coaſt, that we could not come near the Shoar. VVe ſteered on betvveen the VVeſt and North-vveſt, until vve raiſed the Iſland *Deſolation*, and from thence ſhaped our Courſe N. VV. the VVind being againſt us, or elſe vve had gone more Northerly, and about the end of *June* raiſed Land to the North of us. In our Courſe vve met with great Iſlands of floating Ice, and ſavv one of them overturn, vvhich vvas a good vvarning for us not to come near them. VVe continued our Courſe as the Ice did lie, and vvere at laſt ſo incloſed that vve could go no further. Here our Maſter vvas in deſpair, and (as he aftervvards told me) thought he ſhould never get out of it, but there have periſhed; he therefore brought forth his Card, and ſhevved all the Company, that he was entred above 100 Leagues further than ever any *Engliſh* Man had done, and left it to their choice, vvhether they vvould proceed any further yea or nay: VVhereupon ſome vvere of one mind, and ſome of another, ſome vviſhing themſelves at home, and ſome not caring vvhere, ſo they vvere out of the Ice; but there vvere VVords then ſpoken by ſome, vvhich vvere remembred a great vvhile after. *June.*

There vvas one vvho told the Maſter, that if he had 100 *l.* he vvould give 90 to be at home; to vvhom the Carpenter anſwered, that if he had 100 Pound, he would not give ten upon any ſuch condition, but ſhould think it as good Money as ever he had, and to bring it as well home by the leave of God. After many words, we went to work all Hands to get clear of the Ice, and after much labour and time ſpent, we got into open Water, and ſteering N. W. on the eight of *July* we raiſed Land to the S. W. covered with Snow, which our Maſter named *Deſire Provokes*, lying in the Latitude of 60 Degrees. Here we heard the noiſe of a great Over-fall of a Tide that came out of the Land, and were now ſenſible that we had been embayed before; and we were now ſo well acquainted with the Ice, that in foggy or foul weather, we ſought out the broadeſt Iſland of Ice, and there anchoring, we went out and ſported upon the Ice, and filled Water that ſtood in Ponds upon the Ice, very ſweet and good. Being now in the Tide's way, the Ice was opened by being carried firſt one way and then another, whereas in Bays it is unmovable; and in that Bay where we had been ſo troubled with Ice, we ſaw many of thoſe Mountains of Ice aground in ſix or ſeven ſcore Fathom Water. We ſtill plied to the Weſtward as the Ice would give us leave, and fearing a ſtorm, we found an Harbour at the Weſt end of an Iſland, whereinto we went at a full Sea, over a Rock which had then two Fathom and a half Water upon it, and the next Morning was two Fathoms above Water. Our Maſter named it the *Iſland of God's Mercies*. The Water flows here better than four Fathoms, and the Flood comes from the North, flowing eight the change day; Lat. 62 Deg. 9 Min.

Then plying to the S. W. we were on the 16th in the Latitude of 58 Deg. 50 Min. but found our ſelves embayed, and much peſter'd with Ice, whereupon we ſtood to the N. W. until we ſaw the Land, which our Maſter named *Hold with Hope*, and being gotten again into a clear Sea, our Maſter ſtood to the Weſt along by the South Shoar, and raiſed three Capes or Head-lands lying one beyond another, which he named *Cape Henry, Cape James*, and *Queen Ann's Foreland*; we alſo raiſed a high Hill, which our Maſter named Mount *Charles*. We paſſed on in ſight of the South Shoar, till we raiſed a fair Head-land (which our Maſter took to be part of the main North Land, but is an Iſland), and named it *Deep's Cape*; and the Land on the South ſide now falling away to the South, makes another Cape or Head-land, which our Maſter named *Worſenham's Cape*. The Maſter ſent me and the Carpenter, with ſome others aſhoar near *Deeps Cape*; we there ſaw ſome Deer, 12 or 16 in a Herd, but could not come within ſhot of them; we found plenty of Sorrel and Scurvy-graſs, and ſaw ſome round Hills of Stone, like to Graſs-cocks, and when we came to them, I turned off the uppermoſt Stone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowls hanged by their Necks. We went aboard and told the Maſter what we had ſeen, and what refreſhment might there be had, intreating him to ſtay a day or two in this place, but he was not pleaſed with the motion, nor could be perſwaded to ſtay. Then ſtanding Southward, we loſt ſight of the main Land, that we had all this while followed, and came into ſhallow Water, broken Ground and Rocks, and paſſed down ſo far northward, till we had Land on both ſides, and the Water ſhoaling apace, we came to an Anchor.

From hence we ſtood back again towards the North, and one day a Debate ariſing concerning our coming into this Bay, and how we ſhould get out again, our Maſter took occaſion to revive old matters, and to diſplace *Robert Ivet* his Mate, and the Boatſwain, for Words ſpoken in the firſt great Bay of Ice, and made *Robert Billet* his Mate, and *William Wilſon* our Boatſwain. We plied to and fro from the North to the South, and thence to the North again, till we came into Shoal Water, where we anchored in ſeven Fathom, and there lay eight days, in all which time we could not get one hour to weigh our Anchor; but the 8th day the Wind beginning to ceaſe, our Maſter would have the Anchor up, againſt the mind of all that knew what belonged thereunto. Well, ſo it went, and when we had brought it to a Peak, a Sea took her, and caſt us all off from the Capſton, and hurt many of us. Here we loſt our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not been nimble, we had loſt our Cable too, but he fearing ſuch a matter, was ready with his Ax, and ſo cut it. Diſcord.

From hence we ſtood to the South, and then upon divers Courſes until we came to a Bay near the North ſhoar, where we anchored. While we lay there, we ſaw a Ledge of Rocks to the Southward, about a League long, which were covered at full Sea, for a ſtrong Tide ſets in here. At Mid-night we weighed, and ſtood to go out as we came in, and had not gone long, before the Carpenter told the Maſter, that if he kept that Courſe he would be upon the Rocks; the Maſter conceived that he was paſt them, when preſently we ran on them, and there ſtuck faſt twelve hours, but by the mercy of God we got off unhurt. Strike on a Rock.

We ſtood to the Eaſt, and anchored in a Bay; here the Maſter ſent me and the Carpenter in the Boat to ſeek a place to winter in, and it was time, the Nights being long and cold, and the Earth covered with Snow, having ſpent three Months to no purpoſe, and it being now the laſt day of *October*.

On the firſt of *November* we found a place whereunto we brought our Ship, and haled her aground.

On the 10th we were frozen in; and now it concerned us to take care of what we had, and ſo to ſpend, that we might have wherewith to keep us alive, until we ſhould come to the Capes where the Fowl bred, for there was all the hope we had of finding ſubſiſtance to bring us home. Our Maſter therefore propounded a reward to them that killed Beaſt, Fiſh, or Fowl. We were victualled for ſix Months in good proportion, and of that which was good, and if our Maſter would have had more, he might have been ſupplied at home and in other places; and it is ſtrange that he did not prevent the Hunger we endured, which occaſioned the overthrow of himſelf and many other honeſt Men.

About the middle of *November* our Gunner *John Williams* died, and his Cloaths were ordered to be ſold at the Main-maſt to the higheſt Bidder, as is uſual.

The Gunner had a grey Cloth Gown, and *Henry Green* prayed the Maſter to befriend him ſo much as to let him have it, paying for it as another would give; the Maſter promiſed him he ſhould have it, and told others who deſired to buy it, that *Green* ſhould have it, and none elſe.

This *Green* was born in *Kent*, of good Parentage, but by his lewd life, had loſt the good will of all his Friends, and ſpent all he had. This young Man our Maſter kept in his Houſe at *London*, and would have him to Sea with him, becauſe he could write well. He was much in the Maſter's Favour, and was indeed a ſerviceable Man every way for manhood. When he was aſhoar at *Iſland*, he ſo beat our Surgeon, that we had much ado to get him aboard again; which Action of his ſet all the Company in a rage, and when I told the Maſter of it, he bid me let it alone, for (ſaid he) the Surgeon had a Tongue that would wrong the beſt Friend he had. But *Robert Ivet* the Maſter's Mate, being drunk, told the Carpenter a long tale, that the Maſter had brought in *Green*, to crack the credit of any one that ſhould diſpleaſe him; which words coming to the Maſters Ears, he would have gone back to *Iſland*, when he was 40 Leagues from it, to have ſent home *Ivet* in a Fiſherman; but was at laſt otherwiſe perſwaded, and the Breach made up.

Now out of ſeaſon, the Maſter called on the Carpenter to go in hand with an Houſe on ſhoar, which at the beginning our Maſter would not hear, when it might have been done. The Carpenter told him that the Snow and Froſt were ſuch, as he neither could, nor would go in hand with ſuch work, which when the Maſter heard, he ferreted him out of his Cabin, calling him by many foul names, and threatning to hang him. The Carpenter told him, that he knew what belonged to his place better than himſelf, and that he was no Houſe Carpenter; ſo this paſſed, and the Houſe was afterward made, but to no end.

It was an order amongſt us, that no Man ſhould go alone, but one with a Gun, and another with a Pike, and it happened ſo, that the next day after the claſhing between the Maſter and Carpenter, the Carpenter going abroad, took his Piece and *Henry Green* with him. This ſo exaſperated the Maſter againſt *Henry Green*, that he ordered *Robert Billet* his Mate, to have the Gunners Gown, and it was delivered to him, which when *Henry Green* ſaw, he challenged the Maſter's Promiſe, but the Maſter railed on him with many diſgraceful Words, telling him, that all his Friends would not truſt him with 20 Shillings, and therefore why ſhould he? As for Wages he had none, nor none ſhould have, if he did not pleaſe him well. Yet, it was ſaid, the Maſter had promiſed him to make his Wages as good as any Mans in the Ship, and to procure him to be one of the Prince's Guard at our return. This ſo wrought upon *Green*, that from thenceforth he ſought all means to diſcredit the Maſter, and at laſt conſpired with others to thruſt him and other honeſt Men out of the Ship.

Green's conſpiracy.

It would be tedious to relate the Hardſhips we endured while we wintred in this place; the Cold was ſo extream, that it lamed moſt of our Company. But I muſt not forget God's great mercy to us in ſending us ſuch ſtore of white Partridges during the firſt three Months, that we killed above a hundred dozen, beſides others of ſundry ſorts. The Spring approaching, the Partridges left us, and were ſucceeded by other Fowl, as Swans, Geeſe, Ducks, and Teal, but hard to come by. They came from the South and flew to the North; but if they be taken ſhort by a Northerly Wind, then they fall and ſtay till the Wind ſerve them, and then fly to the Northward. As the Summer came on, theſe Fowls were gone, and few or none to be ſeen. Then we ſearched the Woods, Hills and Valleys, for any thing that might ſerve for Food, though never ſo vile, the Frogs (in the time of their engendring as loathſome as Toads) were not ſpared, nor the Moſs that grew on the Ground. But amongſt divers ſorts of Vegetables, *Thomas Woodhouſe* brought home a Bud of a Tree, full of a Turpentine ſubſtance; of this our Surgeon made a Decoction to drink, and applied the Buds hot to ſuch as were troubled with Aches in any part of their Bodies; and I muſt confeſs I received great and preſent eaſe of my pain.

Store of Partridges.

As ſoon as the Ice began to break out of the Bays, a Savage came to our Ship, being the firſt we had ſeen in all this time. Our Maſter entertained him well, promiſing to himſelf great Matters by his means, and therefore would have to his own uſe, all the Knives and Hatchets which every Man had, but received none, except from *John King*, the Carpenter, and my ſelf. To this Savage our Maſter gave a Knife, a Looking-glaſs and Buttons, who received them thankfully, and made ſigns, that after he had ſlept he would come again, as he did. When he came again, he drew after him a Sled, and upon it two Deer Skins, and two Beaver Skins; he laid the Knife upon one of the Beaver Skins, and his Glaſſes and Buttons upon the other, and ſo gave them to the Maſter, who received them, and the Savage took thoſe things the Maſter had given him, and put them into his Scrip. Then the Maſter ſhewed him an Hatchet, for which he would have given the Maſter one of his Deer Skins, but the Maſter would have them both, and ſo he had, but not willingly. After many ſigns of People to the North and to the South, and that after ſo many Sleeps he would come again, he went his way, but never came more.

The Sounds being now clear of Ice, ſo that our Boat could go from one place to another, *Wilſon*, *Green*, and five more, were ordered to go a fiſhing with our Net; they caught the firſt day five hundred Fiſhes as big as large Herrings, which put us all in good hopes to have our Wants ſupplied; but theſe were the moſt that ever they caught in one day, and many days they got not a quarter ſo many. In this time of their fiſhing, *Green*, *Wilſon*, and ſome others, plotted to take the Net, and the Shallop which the Carpenter had newly ſet up, and ſo to ſhift for themſelves; but the Shallop being ready, our Maſter would go in it himſelf to the South and South-weſt, to ſee if he could meet with People, for that way we could ſee the Woods burning; ſo taking with him as much Victuals as would ſerve for eight or nine days, he went toward the South, and ſet no time for his return, becauſe he was perſwaded if he could meet with People, he ſhould have Fleſh of them, and that good ſtore, but he returned worſe than he went forth; for altho' he was ſo near them, as to ſee them ſet the Woods on Fire, yet could he not by any means come to the ſpeech of them.

Being come aboard, he fitted all things for his return, and firſt delivered all the Bread out of the Bread-room, which came to a Pound a piece for every Man's ſhare, and delivered alſo a Bill of Return, willing them to have that to ſhew, if it ſhould pleaſe God they ſhould come home, and wept when he gave it to them. But to help us with ſome relief in this poor eſtate, our Boat went to work on *Friday* Morning and ſtaied till *Sunday* Noon, and brought fourſcore ſmall Fiſhes, a poor Relief for ſo many hungry Bellies. Then we weighed and ſtood out of our Wintring place, and anchored without in the Mouth of the Bay, where our Bread being gone, that ſtore of Cheeſe we had was to ſtop a gap, whereof there were five; at which time the Company grudged, becauſe by their reckoning there ſhould have been nine; but thoſe that were left were equally divided by the Maſter, altho' he was adviſed to the contrary, becauſe there were ſome who could not govern themſelves. I have known *Wilſon* the Boatſwain to eat his Fortnights Bread in one day, and was ſick for two or three Days afterwards; and *Henry Green* gave his Fortnights Bread to another to keep for him, and prayed him not to let him have any until next *Monday*, but he never let him reſt until he had it again, which was before *Wedneſday* Night. The reaſon of the Maſter's delivering the Cheeſe, was, becauſe they were not all of one goodneſs, and that they might ſee they had no wrong done them, but every Man ſhould have alike, the beſt and worſt together, which was three Pounds and a half for ſeven days.

We weighed and ſtood to the N. W. and on the 18 of *June* fell into the Ice, and lay there in ſight of Land; here the Maſter told *Nicholas Simmes*, that there would be a breaking up of Cheſts to ſearch for Bread, and willed him if he had any, to bring it to him, whereupon he delivered the Maſter 30 Cakes in a Bag. This Deed of the Maſter (if true) hath made me often to wonder, why he did not ſooner prevent the Hunger we now endured, but let it grow to that extremity, as to cauſe the overthrow of himſelf and many others.

Being thus in the Ice on *Saturday* 21ſt of *June* at Night, *Wilſon* the Boatſwain and *Henry Green* came to me lying in my Cabin lame, and told me that they and their Aſſociates would ſhift the Company, and turn the Maſter and all the ſick Men into the Shallop, and let them ſhift for themſelves; for there was not 14 Days Victuals left for all the Company at that poor allowance we were at, and that there we lay, the Maſter not caring to go one way or other; and that they had not eaten any thing theſe three days, and were therefore reſolved either to mend or end, and what they had begun, they would go thro' with it, or dye. When I heard this, I told them I marvelled to hear ſuch things from them, conſidering that they were married Men, and had Wives and Children, and that for their ſakes they ſhould not commit ſo foul a Sin in the ſight of God and Man; for why ſhould they baniſh themſelves from their Native Country? *Henry Green* bid me hold my peace, for he knew the worſt, which was, to be hanged when he came home, and therefore of the two, he would rather be hanged at home, than ſtarved abroad, but for the good will they bare me, they would have me to ſtay in the Ship. I thanked them, and told them I came into her, not to forſake her, yet not to hurt my ſelf and others by any ſuch deed. *Henry Green* anſwered, that then I muſt take my fortune in the Shallop. If there be no remedy (ſaid I) the will of God be done.

Away went *Green* in a rage, ſwearing to cut his Throat that ſhould go about to diſturb them, and left *Wilſon* with me, with whom I had ſome diſcourſe, but could not prevail with him, for he was perſwaded that there was now no Remedy, but to go on while it was hot, leſt their party ſhould fail them, and the miſchief they intended to others, ſhould fall on themſelves. *Green* returned, and demanded of him what I ſaid; *Wilſon* anſwered, he is in his old Song, ſtill patient: Then I deſired *Green* to ſtay three days, in which time I would ſo deal with the Maſter, that all ſhould be well; when they would not yield to that, I deſired them to forbear but two days, nay, twelve Hours, but they replied, that there was no way but to do it out of hand. I then told them, that if they would ſtay till *Munday*, I would join with them to ſhare all the Victuals in the Ship, and would juſtify it when I came home; but this would not ſatisfy them; wherefore I told them, they had ſome worſe matter in hand than they made ſhew of, and that it was Blood and Revenge they ſought, or elſe they would not at ſuch a time of Night undertake ſuch a Deed: Whereupon *Green* took up my Bible that lay before me, and ſwore that he would do no Man harm, and what he did was for the good of the Voyage, and for nothing elſe, and that all the reſt ſhould do the like; *Wilſon* alſo did ſwear the ſame.

Green went away, and preſently came *Ivet*, who becauſe he was an ancient Man, I hoped to have found more moderate; but he was worſe than *Green*, and ſwore plainly that he would juſtify this Deed when he ſhould come home. After him came *John Thomas* and *Michael Perce*, Birds of a Feather, of whom I ſhall ſay no more, becauſe they are ſince dead. Laſtly came *Moter* and *Bennet*, of whom I demanded, if they were well adviſed what they had taken in hand: They anſwered, they were, and therefore came to take their Oaths.

Now, becauſe I am much condemned for this Oath, as one that plotted with them, and that by an Oath I ſhould bind them together to perform what they had begun, I thought good to ſet down to the view of all, how well their Deeds agreed with their Oath, which was this, *You ſhall ſwear truth to God, your Prince and Country; you ſhall do nothing but to the Glory of God, and the Good of the Action in hand, and harm to no Man.* This was the Oath without adding or diminiſhing: I expected more of their Companions, but there came no more. It was then dark, and they in a readineſs to put this Deed of Darkneſs in execution. I called to *Green* and *Wilſon*, and prayed them not to go in hand with it in the dark, but to ſtay till Morning: I hoped that every Man would go to his reſt, but wickedneſs ſleeps not; for *Green* kept the Maſter company all Night, and others were as watchful as he. *Green* brought me ſome Bread, which his Cabin-Mate gave him, and I then asked him, whom he would put out with the Maſter; he ſaid, the Carpenter, and *John King*, and the ſick Man. I ſaid, they would not do well to part with the Carpenter, becauſe they knew not what need they might have of him. The reaſon why they had no more regard for the Carpenter, was, becauſe he and *John King* were condemned for wrong done in the Victual; but the chief cauſe was, becauſe the Maſter loved him, and (diſplacing *Robert Billet* when we came from out wintring place) had made him his Mate, at which the Conſpirators did grudge, becauſe he could neither write nor read; and ſaid, that the Maſter and his ignorant Mate would carry the Ship whether the Maſter pleaſed, the Maſter forbidding any Man to keep account or reckoning, and having taken from all Men, whatſoever might ſerve for that purpoſe. At laſt I obtained of *Green* and *Wilſon* that the Carpenter ſhould ſtay in the Ship, by whoſe means I hoped that the Maſter and the poor ſick Man might be taken into the Ship again. This Night *John King* was late up, and they thought he had been with the Maſter, but he was with the Carpenter, who lay on the Poop, and coming down from him, was met by his Cabin-Mate *Robert Billet*, as if it had been by chance, and ſo they went to their Cabin together. It was not long ere it was day, then came *Bennet* the Cook for Water for the Kettle, *King* the Quarter-maſter roſe and went into the Hold to give him ſome, and when he was in, the Hatch was ſhut upon him (but who kept it down I know not) and *Bennet* returned upon the Deck.

In the mean time *Green* and another went to the Carpenter, and held him in talk, till the Maſter came out of his Cabin (which he ſoon did) then *John Thomas* and *Bennet* came before him, while *Wilſon* bound his Arms behind him. He asked them what they meant; they told him he ſhould know when he came into the Shallop. While this was doing, *Ivet* went to *John King* in the Hold, who was provided for him, having gotten a Sword, and had killed him if others had not come to help him. The Maſter called to the Carpenter, and told him that he was bound; but I heard no anſwer he made, *Arnold Ledlo* and *Michael Bute* were all this while railing at *Green* and his Companions, telling him that their Villany would ſhew it ſelf. Then was the Shallop haled up the Ships ſide, and the poor ſick and lame Men were called upon to come out of their Cabins into the Shallop. The Maſter called to me to ſpeak with him at the Hatch way. I came out as well as I could, and on my Knees beſought them for the love of God to remember themſelves, and to do as they would be done unto. They bid me keep my ſelf well, and get me into my Cabin, and would not ſuffer the Maſter to ſpeak with me; but as he went over the ſide, he called to me at the Horn which gave light into my Cabin, and told me that *Ivet* would overthrow us all; Nay, ſaid I, it is that Villain *Henry Green*.

The Carpenter, who was all this while at liberty, asked them if they would be hanged when they came home, and as for himſelf, he ſaid, he would not ſtay in the Ship unleſs they would force him: They bid him go then, for they would not ſtay him. I will (ſaid he) ſo I may have my Cheſt and all that is in it: They ſaid he ſhould, and preſently they put it into the Shallop. Then he came down to me to take his leave of me; I urged him to ſtay, which if he did, he might ſo work that all ſhould be well. He ſaid, he believed they would be glad to take them in again (being perſwaded by the Maſter that there was not one in all the Ship that could tell how to carry her home) but if we muſt part, ſaid he, (which we will not willingly do, for we will follow the Ship) he prayed me, if we came to the Capes before them, that I would leave ſome token that we had been there, near to the place where the Fowls breed, and he would do the like for us; and ſo with tears we parted. Now were the ſick Men driven out of their Cabins into the Shallop; but *John Thomas* having a kindneſs for *Francis Clements*, and *Bennet* for the Cooper, ſome high words paſſed between them and *Green*, who ſaid they ſhould go, and the other ſwore they ſhould not go, but ſuch as were in the Shallop ſhould return. When *Green* heard that, he was compelled to give place, and to put out *Arnold Ledlo* and *Michael Bute*, which with much ado was done.

Now were all the poor Men in the Shallop, whoſe name were, *Henry Hudſon*, *John Hudſon*, *Arnold Ledlo*, *Sidrach Faner*, *Philip Staff*, Carpenter, *Thomas Wydewſe*, *Adam Moor*, *Henry King*, *Michael Bute*. The Carpenter got of them a Peece, and Powder, and Shot, ſome Pikes, an Iron Pot, with ſome Meal and other things. They then ſtood out of the Ice, the Shallop being faſt to the Stern of the Ship, and as ſoon as they were out, they cut her Headfaſt from the Stern, and out with their Top-ſails, and ſtood towards the Sea in a clear Sea: Then taking in their Top-ſails, they righted their Helm, and lay under their Fore-ſail till they had ranſacked and ſerched all places in the Ship. In the Hold they found one of the Veſſels of Meal whole, and the other half ſpent, for we had but two; we found alſo two Firkins of Butter, 27 pieces of Pork, and half a Buſhel of Peaſe; in the Maſters Cabin we found 200 Bisket Cakes, a Peck of Meal, and about the quantity of a But of Beer. Now the Shallop was come in ſight again, whereupon they let fall the Main-ſail, and out with their Top-ſails, as if they had fled from an Enemy.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themſelves; but *William Wilſon* (more than the reſt) would hear of no ſuch matter. Coming nigh the Eaſt Shoar, they caſt about and ſtood to the Weſt, and anchoring near an Iſland, ſet the Boat and Net aſhoar, to ſee if they could have a draught, but could not for Rocks and great Stones. Here they gathered good ſtore of that Weed which we called *Cockle-graſs* in our wintring place, and we lay there that Night and beſt part of next day, in all which time we ſaw not the Shallop, nor ever ſaw her after. *Henry Green* came to me and ſaid, that it was the Companies Will, that I ſhould come up into the Maſter's

Cabin, and take charge of it. I told him it was more fit for *Robere Ivet*; he ſaid, he ſhould not come into it, nor meddle with the Maſter's Card or Journals: So I went up, and *Green* gave me the Key of the Maſter's Cheſt, ſaying, that he had laid the Maſter's beſt things together, which he would uſe himſelf when time ſhould ſerve; the Bread was alſo delivered to me by tale.

The Wind ſerving we ſtood to the North-eaſt, and this was *Robert Billets* courſe, contrary to *Ivet*, who would have gone to the North-weſt. We had a ſtout Gale of Wind in the Night, and ſtood afore it till we met with Ice, into which we ran till we could get no further: It lay ſo thick a head of us, and the Wind brought it after us aſtern, that we could not ſtir backward nor forward, but lay embayed 14 days in worſe Ice than we had hitherto met with; for tho' we had been where there was greater ſtore, yet it was not ſo broad upon the Water as this, ſome pieces of it being half a Mile or a Mile in compaſs. We had a deep Sea, and a Tide of Flood and Ebb, which ſet N. W. and S. E. At laſt, being clear of it, we continued our courſe in ſight of the Eaſtern ſhoar, till we raiſed four Iſlands which lay North and South, where anchoring between the two Northermoſt, we ſent our Boat aſhoar to ſee if they could find any thing, but there was nothing to be had but *Cocle-graſs*, whereof they brought ſtore aboard. Before we came to this place, I could well perceive that I was kept in the Ship againſt *Henry Green*'s mind, becauſe I favoured their Proceedings no better. He then began very ſubtilly to perſwade me to take upon me to ſearch for thoſe things which himſelf had ſtolen, and accuſed me of a matter no leſs than Treaſon amongſt us, that I had deceived the Company of 30 Cakes of Bread. They had now many Devices in their Heads, and began to talk among themſelves that *England* was no ſafe place for them, and *Green* ſwore that the Ship ſhould keep the Sea, and not put into any place, till he had his Majeſties Hand and Seal to ſhew for his ſafety; for *Henry Green* was now their Captain, and ſo called of them.

From theſe Iſlands we ſtood N. E. and raiſed thoſe Iſlands, which Mr. *Hudſon* called *Rummies* Iſlands, between which and the ſhallow Ground to the Eaſt of them, he went down into the firſt great Bay. We kept the Eaſtern Shore in ſight, and coming thwart of the low Land, ran on a Rock ~~that~~ lay under water, and ſtruck but once, otherwiſe we had been made Inhabitants of that place. We continued our courſe, and raiſed land a head of us, which ſtretched out to the North; whereupon they ſaid, that *Billet* by his Northerly Courſe, had left the Capes to the South, and that it were beſt to ſeek down to the S. in time, for relief, before all was gone, for we had but ſmall ſtore left; but *Billet* would follow the Land to the North, ſaying, that he hoped in God to find ſomewhat to relieve us that way as ſoon as to the South. We ſtood to the Eaſt, leaving the main Land to the North, and anchored in a narrow Gut between two Iſlands. The Boat went aſhoar, but found nothing but *Cockle-graſs*, which was a great relief to us, for without it, we ſhould hardly have got to the Capes for want of Victuals.

The next day we weighed and doubled the Point of the North Land, which is high Land, and ſo continues to the Capes, lying North and South 25 or 30 Leagues. We ſtood to the North to find ſtore of thoſe Fowls that breed in the Capes: We raiſed the Capes with joy, but bearing in for them between the rocky Iſlands, we ran on a Rock that lay under water, and there ſtuck faſt eight or nine Hours. It was ebbing Water when we came on, calm and fair weather, and the Flood ſet us afloat: The Ebb came from the Eaſt and the Flood from the Weſt: we ſtood nearer to the Eaſtern Shore, and there anchored.

July.

The next day, being the 27th of *July*, the Boat went to fetch ſome Fowl; they had a great way to row, and ſo could not reach to the place where the Fowl bred, but found ſtore of Gulls on the Rocks and Clifts, whereof they killed about 30, and towards Night returned. They had now brought our Ship nearer to the Streights Mouth, and there anchored upon a Shelf of Ground in 18 or 20 Fathom Water, and when they had weighed anchor again, and ſtood nearer to the place where the Fowl bred, they could not find it again, nor no place like it; but were fain to turn to and fro in the Mouth of the Streight in danger of Rocks, becauſe they could not find Ground to let fall an Anchor in, the Water was ſo deep.

The 28th the Boat went to *Digge*'s Cape for Fowl, and made directly for that place where the Fowl bred; and being near, ſaw ſeven Boats come about the Eaſtern Point towards them. When the Savages ſaw our Boat, they cloſed together, and drew their leſſer Boats into the bigger, then rowed towards our Boat, and made ſigns to the Weſt; our Men in the mean time made ready for all Aſſays. The Savages came to them, and by ſigns they grew familiar one with another, ſo as our Men took one of theirs into our Boat, and they took one of ours into their Boat. Then they carried our Man to a Cove where their Tents ſtood, toward the Weſt of the place where the Fowl bred. Our Boat went to the place where the Fowl bred, and our Men were deſirous to know how the Savages killed theirs: One of them ſhewed the manner how, which was thus; They take a long Pole with a Snare at the end, and putting it about the Necks of the Fowls, pluck them down. Our Men ſhewed the Savage the uſe of our Pieces, which at one ſhot would kill ſeven or eight. Our Boat's-Crew went to their Cove for our Man and to deliver theirs; when they came the Savages made great joy, with dancing, leaping, and ſtroaking their Breaſts; they offered divers things to our Men, who took only ſome Morſes Teeth in exchange for a Knife and two Glaſs Buttons; and having received our Man, they came aboard, much rejoicing at this chance, as if they had met with the moſt ſimple and kind People in the World.

The next day being the 29th of *July*, they weighed anchor, and ſtood as near to the place where the Fowl bred as they could, and becauſe I was lame, I was to go in the Boat, to carry ſuch things as I had in the great Cabin, under my care, of every thing ſomewhat; and ſo with more haſt than good ſpeed (and not without ſwearing) away we went, *Henry Green*, *William Wilſon*, *John Thomas*, *Michael Perſe*, *Andrew Moter*, and my ſelf. When we came near the Shoar, the People were on the Hills, dancing and leaping; we came to the Cove, where they had drawn up their Boats, and brought our Boat to the ſide of the Cove, cloſe to the Rocks. Aſhoar they went, leaving me in the Boat, which they faſtned to a great Stone on the Shoar. The People came, and every one had ſomewhat in his Hand to barter; but *Green* ſwore they ſhould have nothing till he had Veniſon, for ſo they by ſigns had promiſed him. As ſoon as our Men were landed, the Savages made ſigns to their Dogs, (whereof there were many like Mungrels, but as big as Hounds) and pointed to their Mountain and to the Sun, clapping their Hands, *Green*, *Thomas*, and *Wilſon* ſtood hard by the Boat's Head, *Perſe* and *Moter* were got upon the Rocks, gathering Sorrel; not one of them had any Weapon about him, not ſo much as a Stick, ſave *Henry Green* only, who had a piece of a Pike in his Hand; nor ſaw I any thing the Savages had wherewithal to hurt us. *Green* and *Wilſon* had Looking-Glaſſes, Jews-Trumps, and Bells, which they were ſhewing to the People, and while the Savages were ſtanding round about them, one of them came into the Boat's Head to me to ſhew me a Bottle: I made ſigns to him to get him aſhoar, but he made as tho' he had not underſtood me, whereupon I ſtood up and pointed him aſhoar; in the mean time another ſtole behind me to the Stern of the Boat, and as ſoon as I ſaw him aſhoar that was in the Head of the Boat, I ſate down again, when ſuddenly I ſaw the Leg and Foot of a Man by me, and caſting up my Head, ſaw a Savage with his Knife in his Hand, who ſtruck at my Breaſt over my Head; I caſting up my Right-arm to ſave my Breaſt, he wounded my Arm, and ſtruck me into the Body under my right Pap; he made a ſecond blow, which I met with my Left-hand, and then he wounded me in the Right-thigh, and had like to cut off the little Finger of my Left-hand; I got hold of the String of the Knife, and had wound it about my Left-hand, and he ſtriving with both his Hands to make an end of what he had begun, I found him but weak in the gripe (God enabling me) and getting hold of the Sleeve of his Left-arm, bore him from me; his left-ſide then lay bare to me, which when I ſaw, I held the String of the Knife faſt in my Left-hand, and having my Right-hand at liberty, I ſought for ſomewhat to ſtrike him (not remembring my Dagger at my ſide) but looking down I ſaw it, and therewith ſtruck him into the Body and the Throat.

Savages Treachery.

While I was thus aſſaulted in the Boat, our Men were ſet upon on the Shoar, *John Thomas* and *William Wilſon* had their Bowels cut, and *Michael Perſe* and *Henry Green* being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the Boat together; *Andrew Moter* ſeeing what had happened, came running down the Rocks, and leaping into the Sea, ſwam to the Boat, hanging on the Stern thereof till *Michael Perſe* took him in, who manfully defended the Head of the Boat againſt the Savages that preſſed ſore upon us: I ſaw him ſtrike one of them with a Hatchet, that he lay ſprawling in the Sea; *Green* cried *Coragio*, and laid about him with his Truncheon; I called to them to clear the Boat, and *Andrew Moter* called to be taken in. The Savages then betook them to their Bows and Arrows, which they ſent among us, and ſlew *Henry Green* outright.

right; *Michael Perſe*, who had received many wounds, cleared the Boat, and put it from the Shoar, and helped *Andrew Moter* in. In turning of the Boat, I received a cruel wound in my Back with an Arrow. *Perſe* and *Moter* rowed the Boat away, which when the Savages ſaw, they ran to their Boats, and I feared they would have launched them to follow us, but they did not. Our Ship was all this while in the middle of the Chanel, and could not ſee us.

When they had rowed a good way from the Shoar, *Michael Perſe* fainted, and could row no more; then was *Andrew Moter* forced to ſtand in the Boat-head, and waft to the Ship, which at firſt ſaw us not, and when they did, they could not tell what to make of us; but in the end they ſtood for us, and ſo took us up. *Henry Green* was thrown out of the Boat into the Sea, and the reſt were put aboard, the Savage being yet alive, yet without ſenſe; but they died all there that day, *William Wilſon* ſwearing and curſing in a moſt fearful manner; *Michael Perſe* only lived two days after, and then died. Thus you have heard the tragical end of *Henry Green* and his Mates, whom they called Captain, theſe four being the only luſty Men in all the Ship.

The poor number that were left, were to ply our Ship to and fro in the Mouth of the Streight, there being no place to anchor in near hand; beſides, they were to go in the Boat to kill Fowl to bring us home, which they did, altho' with great danger to us all; for if the Wind blew, there was an high Sea, and the Eddies of the Tides would carry the Ship ſo near the Rocks, as it frightned our Maſter *Robert Billet*, for ſo I will now call him. After they had with great labour killed about 200 Fowls on the South Cape, we ſtood to the Eaſt, but when we were ſix or ſeven Leagues from the Capes, the Wind came up at Eaſt, whereupon we ſtood back to the Capes again, and killed 100 Fowls more: Then the Wind coming at Weſt, we ſtood along the North Shoar, till we fell into broken ground about the *Queen's Foreland*, and there anchored.

Thence we went to the Iſland of *God's Mercies*, and ſo to the Iſlands in the Mouth of the Streight, not ſeeing the Land till we were ready to run our Boats-ſpit againſt the Rocks in a Fog. As ſoon as it cleared a little, we ſaw our ſelves incloſed with rocky Iſlands, and could find no ground to anchor in. We ſtood to the Eaſt, and put our ſelves to hard allowance of half a Fowl a day, with the Pottage, having nothing now left of our old ſtores, but ſome Meal; we made trial of every thing that was eatable; we flaid our Fowls, for we could not pull them, and burning the Feathers, eat the Skins, nor was the Garbidge thrown away.

We continued our Courſe E. S. E. to raiſe the *Deſolations*, and thence to ſhape our Courſe for *Ireland*; but the Wind coming againſt us, we altered our Courſe, by the perſwaſion of *Robert Ivet*, who told us that we ſhould find great relief in *Newfound-land*, if our Country-men were there; and if they were gone before we came, we ſhould find great ſtore of Bread and Fiſh left aſhoar by them; ſo we ſtood to the S. W. to 57 Deg. when by the will of God the Wind came up at S. W. Then the Maſter asked me if he ſhould take the benefit of this Wind, and ſhape his Courſe for *Ireland*. I told him I thought it beſt to go where we knew Corn grew, and not to ſeek it where it was caſt away, and not to be found. So we ſtood towards *Ireland*, with proſperous Winds for many days together. Now was all our Meal ſpent and our Fowl ruſty and dry; but, there being no remedy, we were content with the ſalt Broth for Dinner, and a half Fowl for Supper. Next went our Candles to wrack, and *Bennet* our Cook made a Meſs of Meat of the Bones of our Fowl, frying them with Candle-greaſe till they were criſp, and with Vinegar put to them, made a good Diſh of Meat. Our Vinegar was ſhared, and to every Man a Pound of Candles for a Week, as a great Dainty. *Robert Ivet* reckoned us to be within 60 or 70 Leagues of *Ireland*, when we had 200 thither. 'Tis probable our Courſe was ſomewhat the longer, by reaſon of our bad ſteerage, for our Men were ſo weak that they could not ſtand at the Helm, but were fain to ſit.

Then *Robert Ivet* died for meer want, and all our Men were in diſpair, ſaying, we were paſt *Ireland*, and our laſt Fowl were now in the Steep-tub. The Maſter was much grieved to ſee his Men in this condition, for ſome of them would ſit and ſee the Fore-ſail or Main-ſail fly up to the Tops, the Sheets being broken, and would neither help it themſelves, nor call to others for help. Now in this extremity it pleaſed God to give us ſight of Land, not far from the place our Maſter ſaid he would fall withal, which was the Bay of *Galloway*, whereas we fell to the Weſt of the *Derſes*, and ſo ſtood along by the Coaſt to the S. W. In the end there was a joyful cry, *A Sail a Sail*, towards which we ſtood, and called to him; his Bark was of *Fowy*, and was at anchor a fiſhing. This Man carried us into *Bere* Haven, where we ſtaied a few days, and dealt with the *Iriſh* to ſupply our Wants, but found no relief; for in this place there was neither Bread, Drink, nor Money; wherefore they adviſed us to deal with our Country-men, who were there a fiſhing, which we did, but found them ſo cold in kindneſs, that they would do nothing without preſent Money, whereof we had none in the Ship. At laſt one *John Weymouth*, Maſter of the Bark that brought us into this Harbour, furniſhed us with Money, and received our beſt Cable and Anchor in pawn for the ſame. With this Money our Maſter bought Bread, Beer, and Beef, of the Maſters of ſome Veſſels that were there fiſhing.

We agreed with ſome of our Country-men to give them 3 *l.* 10 *s.* a Man to bring our Ship to *Plimouth* or *Dartmouth*, and to give the Pilot 5 *l.* The Men would not go with us, unleſs *Weymouth* would paſs his Word for their Wages, which by the perſwaſion of one Captain *Taylor* (who was much our Friend) he did, and accepted of a Bill for our Cable and Anchor; and ſo from *Bere* Haven we came to *Plimouth*.

CHAP. XXII.

Foraſmuch as this Narrative of Pricket, *who returned with that Company which had ſo cruelly expoſed* Hudſon, *may be ſuſpected by ſome as not friendly to* Hudſon, *I have therefore added the Report of* Thomas Wydowſe, *one of the expoſed Company, who aſcribes the Occaſions of thoſe unhappy Diſcords to* Robert Ivet.

A Note found in the Desk of *Thomas Wydowſe*, Student in the Mathematicks, being one of thoſe who was put into the Shallop.

THE 10th of *September*, 1610, after Dinner, Mr. *Hudſon*, our Maſter, called all the Company together, at the requeſt of *Robert Ivet*, that the Maſter might redreſs ſome Abuſes and Slanders (as he called them) raiſed againſt him, the ſaid *Ivet*, by ſome of the Company; and after a full hearing ſo many and great Abuſes, and mutinous Matters againſt the Maſter and the Action, were proved againſt *Ivet*, that there was danger to have ſuffered them longer, and it was fit time to puniſh and cut off further Occaſions of the like Mutinies.

I. It was proved to his Face by *Bennet Mathew* our Trumpeter, that upon our firſt ſight of *Iſland*, he told the ſaid *Bennet*, he believed that in the Voyage there would be Manſlaughter, and that it would prove bloody to ſome.

II. At our coming from *Iſland*, in hearing of the Company, he did threaten to turn the Head of the Ship home from the Action; which Words were at that time by our Maſter wiſely paſt by, in hopes of amendment.

III. It was depoſed by *Philip Staff* our Carpenter, and *Arnold Lodlo*, to his Face upon the Holy Bible, that he adviſed them to keep Swords in their Cabins, and Muſkets ready, for they ſhould be charged with Shot ere the Voyage were over.

IV. We being peſter'd in the Ice, he had uſed mutinous Words, tending to the diſcouragement and ſlander of the Action, which eaſily took effect in thoſe that were timerous; and had not the Maſter in time prevented it, might eaſily have overthrown the Voyage; and now lately being embayed in a deep Bay, which the Maſter had a deſire to ſee, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, his Words tended altogether to put the Company into a mutiny, by telling them of wintring in cold, and jeſting at our Maſter's hope of ſeeing *Bantam* by *Candlemas.*

For theſe and divers other baſe Slanders againſt the Maſter, he was depoſed, and *Robert Billet*, who had behaved himſelf honeſtly, reſpecting the good of the Action, was made Maſter's Mate in his ſtead.

Alſo *Francis Clement* the Boatſwain, was at this time put from his office, and *William Wilſon*, a Man thought more fit, preferred to his place: This Man had baſely carried himſelf to our Maſter and to the Action.

Andrew Moter was appointed Boatſwain's Mate, and a Promiſe from the Maſter, that from this day *Ivet*'s Wages ſhould remain to *Billet*, and the Boatſwain's overplus of Wages ſhould be equally divided between *Wilſon* and *John King*, one of the Quarter-maſters, as the Owners ſhould think fit.

The Maſter promiſed, that if the Offenders ſhould behave themſelves henceforth honeſtly, he would endeavour their Good, and forget Injuries.

Chap. XXIII.

The Ten ſeveral Voyages of Captain Thomas Edge *and others to* Greenland *(called by the* Dutch Spitsbergen*) at the Charge of the worſhipful* Muſcovia *Company.*

1610. IN the Year 1610, the Company ſet out two Ships, *viz*, the *Lioneſs*, *Thomas Edge* Maſter, for *Cherie*-Iſland, called by the *Dutch Bear*-Iſland, in Latitude of 74 Degrees; and the *Amity* for a Northern diſcovery, whereof *Jonas Pool* was Maſter, who in the Month of *May* fell with a Land, and called it *Greenland*, which Land was diſcovered by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in the Year 1553. This Ship continued on the Coaſt, diſcovering the Harbours and killing of Morſes, until the Month of *Auguſt*, and then returned for *England*, having gotten 12 Tuns of Goods and an Unicorn's Horn.

1611. In the Year 1611, the Company ſet forth two Ships for *Greenland*, the *Mary Margaret* 160 Tuns, *Thomas Edge* Maſter, and the *Elizabeth*, 60 Tuns, *Jonas Pool* Maſter. They departed from *Blackwal* the 20th of *April*, and arrived at the *Foreland* in *Greenland*, in Latitude of 79 Degrees, the 20th of *May* following. This being the firſt Year the Company ſet out for the killing of Whales in *Greenland*, they ſent aboard the Admiral ſix *Biſcainers*, expert in killing Whales, who on the 12th of *June* killed a ſmall Whale, yielding 12 Tuns of Oil, being the firſt Oil that ever was made in *Greenland*.

Two Shallops which they had ſet up, went to ſearch the Harbours for Whales, and the 25th of *June*, rowing into Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Bay, ſaw great ſtore of *Sea-horſes* or *Morſes*, and preſently rowing to the Ship, which was ſeven Leagues off, acquainted Captain *Edge* what they had found, who ordered the Maſter to take 50 Tuns of empty Casks into the Ship, and ſail into *Foul Sound*, the Captain in the mean time taking with him ſix Men, with Launces, went away in one of the Shallops, and coming to the Morſes, ſet on them, and killed 500, and left about 1000 alive.

The next day, the Ship being well mored at the place where the Morſes were killed, moſt of the Men belonging to the Ship went aſhoar to work and make Oil of the Morſes, and when they had wrought two or three days, a ſmall quantity of Ice came out of *Foul Sound*, and put the Ship from her Moring. The Maſter and ten Men being then aboard the Ship, let go the Sheet Anchor, which brought the Ship up to ride; but the Ice coming upon her again, brought her Anchor home, and run the Ship aſhoar, where by the Maſters weak judgment, ſhe was caſt away.

The *Mary Margaret* caſt away in *Greenland*.

The Ship thus loſt, without hope of recovery, the Commander *Thomas Edge* gave order, that all the Morſes that were alive aſhoar, ſhould be let go into the Sea, and ſo gave over making of Oil, and preſently haled aſhoar, his two Shallops, and three Boats, ſetting the Carpenters to trim them, and the Sailors to make Sails fit to ſerve them at Sea. Then dividing his Men into them equally, with as much Victuals as they could well carry, after Prayers ſaid altogether on the Land, they departed from the place where they loſt their Ship the 15 of *July*, with a Southerly Wind, being 50 Perſons, and after rowing 40 or 50 Leagues to the Southward, they loſt company of two of their Boats, which meeting with a *Hull* Ship, acquainted him with the loſs of the *London* Ship, and that ſhe had left on land, Goods worth 1500 *l.* ſo thoſe Men conducted the *Hull* Ship to *Foul Sound*, to take in the Companies Goods, and to kill *Morſes* for themſelves. The other three put from the Coaſt of *Greenland*, and ſet their Courſe for *Cherie*-Iſland, ſometimes ſailing, and ſometimes rowing, where arriving the 29th of *July*, in a great ſtorm at N. W. having been 14 days at Sea, with much difficulty they landed on the South ſide of the Iſland.

Being on Shoar, Captain *Edge* ſent three of his Sailors over land unto the North Road, three Miles diſtant, to ſee if the *Elizabeth* was there; they ſaw a Ship riding in the North Road, and being overjoyed, returned to the Captain to acquaint him with it, without ſtaying to ſpeak with any of the *Elizabeth*'s Company; but by good hap, the Maſter of the *Elizabeth*, who was then weighing Anchor to ſet ſail for *England*, eſpied Men on the Shoar, upon which he ſtaied, and ſent the Boat aſhoar to ſee what Men they were; and the *Elizabeth*'s Men coming aſhoar, and finding them to be the Men of the *Mary Margaret*, haſtened back to acquaint the Maſter, who immediately weighed anchor, and came to the South of the Iſland, and took in Captain *Edge* with his Company, who underſtanding what a poor Voyage the *Elizabeth* had made, gave order to the Maſter to ſail for *Greenland*, there to take in ſuch Goods as the ſaid Captain had left in *Foul Sound*. They departed from *Cherie*-Iſland the firſt of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Foul Sound* the 14th, where they found the Crew of the two Boats which had been ſeparated from them at Sea, and were all ſafe aboard the *Hull* Ship. The *Cargo* which the *Elizabeth* had brought from *Cherie*-Iſland, conſiſting of Sea-horſe-hides and Blubber, being little worth, Captain *Edge* ordered the Maſter to clear his Ship of it, and to take in the Oil and Whale-fins left aſhoar by the *Mary Margaret*'s Company, and the Maſter in unlading his Ship, brought her ſo light, that he overſet her. Both the *London* Ships thus loſt, Captain *Edge* agreed with the Maſter of the *Hull* Ship, to take in the Goods that were ſaved, and departing from *Greenland* the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, being 90 Men, arrived at *Hull* the ſixth of *September*, 1611.

The *Eliz* beth loſt i *Green*

The

1612. The Company ſet forth two Ships the next Year, the *Whale* 160 Tuns, aud the *Sea-horſe* 180 Tuns, under the command of *John Ruſſel* and *Thomas Edge*, in which Voyage they killed 17 Whales and ſome Sea-horſes, whereof they made 180 Tuns of Oil. This year a Ship of *Holland* was conducted to *Greenland* by one *Sallowes* an *Engliſh*-man, who had been for many Years employed by the *Muſcovian* Company in the Northern Seas, and leaving his Country for debt, was entertained by the *Hollanders* as Pilot to *Greenland*; but the Companies two Ships meeting with the *Dutch* Ship, commanded them to depart, and to frequent thoſe Parts no more. There was alſo a *Spaniſh* Ship arrived there, whereof one *Woodcock* was Pilot, who had formerly been employed by the Company, upon whoſe complaint he was impriſoned 16 Months at his return to *England*, for conducting the *Spaniſh* Ship thither: This Ship got her full lading in *Greenharbour*.

1613. The next year the Company ſet out ſeven Ships, under command of ***Benjamin Joſeph*** and T*homas Edge*, who departed from *Graveſend* the 26th of *April*, and arrived in *Greenland* the 14th of *May*. The Company had now obtained the King's Patent under the Broad Seal of *England*, forbidding all Strangers and others, except ſuch as were of the Company, to uſe the Coaſt of *Greenland*. The *Engliſh* met with 15 Sail of great Ships, two whereof were *Dutch*, the reſt were *French*, *Spaniſh*, and four *Engliſh* Interlopers. The Companies Ships forced them all from the Coaſt, not ſuffering any of them to make a Voyage, and took ſome Goods from the two *Dutch* Ships, whereby they loſt their own time of fiiſhing, and returned home with two or three hundred Tuns dead Fraight. This Year was *Hope*-Iſland, and other Iſlands to the Eaſtward, diſcovered by the Company.

1614. In the Year following, the Company ſet out 13 great Ships and two Pinnaces, under command of *Benjamin Joſeph* and *Thomas Edge*, well appointed with all manner of Artillery. The *Hollanders* alſo ſet out 18 great Ships, whereof four were of the States Men of War, and being much ſtronger than the *Engliſh*, they ſtaied and fiſhed for the Whale by force, whereby the *Engliſh* returned half laden, and the *Dutch* made but a poor Voyage. This Year *Thomas Sherwin* and *William Baffin*, employed by the Company, in the Ship *Thomazen*, diſcovered to the Northwards, as far as 80 Deg. odd Min.

1615. The next Year the Company ſet out two Ships and two Pinnaces, under the Command of *Benjamin Joſeph* and *Thomas Edge*, who arriving on the Coaſt of *Greenland* the ſixth of *June*, found it much peſter'd with Ice, and being foggy weather, ran into it ſo far, that they were faſt in it 14 days before they could clear themſelves of it. The *Hollanders* alſo ſet out 14 Sail, whereof three were States Men of War, of great force: They killed Whales in *Horn Sound*, *Bell Sound*, and *Fair Haven*, whereby the *Engliſh* returned half laden. This Year alſo the King of *Denmark* ſent three of his Men of War to *Greenland* (whereof one *Vaden* an *Engliſh*-man was Pilot) to demand Toll of the *Engliſh*, who meeting with Captain *Edge* at a Fore-land in 79 Deg. he refuſed to pay them any Toll, alledging that *Greenland* belonged to the King of *England*: Theſe were the firſt *Daniſh* Ships that ever came to *Greenland*.

1616. The Company now ſet out eight great Ships, and two Pinnaces, under the Command of *Thomas Edge*, who arrived in *Greenland* the fourth of *June*, and laded all their Ships with Oil, and what their Ships could not take in, they left behind them in the Country. One of the Pinnaces of 20 Tuns and 22 Men, diſcovered the Eaſt part of *Greenland*, as far as 78 Degrees, and killed a thouſand Sea-horſes on *Edge*'s Iſland, and brought their Teeth to *London*. This Year the Company had made 12 or 1300 Tuns of Oyl in *Greenland* by the 14th day of *Auguſt*, and was the firſt Year wherein all their Ships returned with full lading: They all arrived in the *Thames* in *September*. The *Hollanders* had this Year but four Ships in *Greenland*, and made but a poor Voyage.

1617. The Company ſet out 14 Ships well manned, under the Command of Captain *Edge*, who departed from *Graveſend* the 24th of *April*, and arrived in *Greenland* the 28th of *May*, where meeting a *Dutch* Ship of 200 Tuns, he commanded the Maſter aboard, who told him there were ten ſail of *Dutch* upon the Coaſt, and two Men of War. Captain *Edge* ſhewed him the King's Commiſſion, and commanded him by virtue thereof to depart the Coaſt, willing him to acquaint the reſt of his Countrymen with it; and further told him, that if he met with him, or other *Dutch* Ships hereafter, he would take from them what they had gotten; and having entertained him courteouſly, diſmiſſed him without taking any thing from him. The *Dutch*-man promiſed to ſtay no longer than to meet with two of his Conſorts, which he had loſt the day before, and would then go directly for *Fluſhing*, and acquaint his Merchants that the *Engliſh* would not ſuffer him to ſtay upon the Coaſt of *Greenland*; but meeting with his Conſorts, they agreed to go all together into *Horn Sound*, where they killed a few Whales, which they ſaved in Blubber. Captain *Edge* hearing of it, ordered his Vice-admiral to ſail to *Horn Sound*, and put the Flemings from thence, and take what they had gotten, which he did accordingly; but the Goods he took from them being nothing but Blubber and Fins, were not worth 20 *l.* to the *Engliſh*, who had already killed as many Whales as would lade all their Ships. The *Engliſh* made this Year 1900 Tuns of Oyl, and all their Ships arrived ſafely in *Auguſt* and *September*. This Year the *Hull* Men (who always followed the Steps of the *Londoners*) ſet out a ſmall Ship or two to the Eaſtward of *Greenland*, where the Company had diſcovered *Witches* Iſland, and many other Iſlands as far to the Northwards as 79 Degrees, and after a Year or two, the *Hull* Men gave out that they were the firſt Diſcoverers, which is falſe and untrue, as by Oath in the Admiralty doth appear: The *Dutch* likewiſe practice the ſame Courſe.

1618. The *Zealanders* ſending over to *England* for reſtitution of the Goods taken from them by the *Engliſh* the laſt Year, a Grant for a new Company, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Zelanders*, was procured by Sir *John Cunningham*, and many of the Old Companies Servants were hired by the New, and much Shipping and Proviſions agreed for; which Project, if it had taken effect, might have utterly ruined the Trade of the firſt Diſcoverers. To avoid this Inconvenience, it was agreed that the *Scot*'s Patent ſhould be diſſolved, and that the *Eaſt-India* Adventurers ſhould join ſtock with the *Muſcovian*, and become one joint Company for the Trade of *Greenland*. They ſet forth 13 Ships and two Pinnaces, under the command of the aforeſaid Captain *Edge*, who arriving on the Coaſt the beginning of *June*, ſeparated themſelves to ſeveral Harbours, the moſt part being Ships of no force. Soon after, divers Ships of *Zealand* of great force, arrived in all the Harbours where the *Engliſh* were, with full purpoſe to drive them thence, and to revenge the Injury (as they termed it) done to them the laſt Year, by taking Goods out of the *Zealand* Ship, as alſo by diſſolving the Scottiſh Patent, wherein many *Flemings* were intereſſed. And accordingly ten ſail of *Zelanders* did ſet upon ***William Heley***, Vice-admiral of the *Engliſh*, uttering many uncivil Speeches againſt his Majeſty, and deſpiſing his Commiſſion; alledging, that there was good Law in *Flanders* for what they did. The *Engliſh* defended themſelves till moſt of their Men were killed or wounded; and being at laſt forced to ſubmit, the *Zealanders* rifled their Ship, taking from them all their Goods and Artillery, and burning ſuch Goods as were on the Shoar. The reſt of the *Engliſh* Ships being far diſperſed, could not join together, and were in all places overpowered by the *Flemings*, to the great loſs and charge of the Company, moſt of their Ships returning home without any Goods.

1619. This Year the *Muſcovia* and *Eaſt-India* Companies ſet out nine Ships and two Pinnaces, under the command of Captain *Edge*, five of which went to the two Northermoſt Harbours, but were diſappointed in their Expectation, by reaſon of divers *Holland* Ships, which were arrived there before them. Whereupon the Shallop with ten Men was ſent from Captain *Heley* to acquaint Captain *Edge* with their ill ſucceſs; which Shallop was caſt away, and all the Men loſt, to the great hindrance of the Voyage. The *Hollanders* this Year brought over great quantity of Whale Oil, and ſold it at under rates, ſo that the Company were forced to keep theirs on their Hands twelve Months, and ſell it afterwards at a very ſmall price, and loſt one Ship homeward bound near *Yarmouth*, all which did ſo much diſhearten them, that they thought verily to adventure no more thither, their ſucceſs the two years paſt, in which the *Eaſt-India* Company joined with them was ſo bad, that any that would buy their Proviſion, might enjoy the benefit of the Trade there. At which time the worthy and famous Merchant Adventurers, *Ralph Freeman*, *Benjamin Deicrow*, *George Stroud*, and Captain *Edge*, all Brethren of the *Muſcovia* Company, pitying the downfall of ſo worthy a traffick, wherein ſo many poor Land-men yearly received great comfort, and many Mariners were bred, at their own charge compounded with the ſaid Company, and took that Trade into their own Hands; and in the Year 1620 ſet out ſeven Ships under command of *William Goodlad* and *William Heley*, but by reaſon of *Flemings* and *Danes* in the Northermoſt Harbours, they returned half laden, with 700 Tuns of Oyl. 1620.

1621. The next Year, 1621, the Adventurers aforeſaid hired and ſet forth ſeven Ships for the Whale Voyage, and one for diſcovery towards the South-eaſt of *Greenland*, in which Voyage the *Flemings* and *Danes* being to the Northwards, had put the Whale by her Courſe, whereby they were out of hope of earning their Bread; yet it pleaſed God, that afterwards meeting with Whales in ſome Harbours, they brought home 1100 Tuns of Oil, to the great encouragement of the Adventurers, otherwiſe the Trade had been utterly overthrown.

1622. The Year following, 1622, the ſaid Adventurers ſet out nine Ships, one of the biggeſt of which, having in her 200 Tuns of Casks, Coppers, and divers Proviſions, was unfortunately caſt away againſt a piece of Ice, four Leagues from the Shoar, wherein 29 Men periſhed, and 23 remaining, were by the Providence of God, miraculouſly ſaved in a Shallop, after they had coaſted 30 Leagues to meet with ſome other Ships, and were three days in the Shallop, without Bread, Drink, or any manner of Suſtenance: Some of their Hands and Feet rotted off, and many died when they came aſhoar. The reſt of the Ships could not get their full lading, by reaſon of the *Flemings* and *Danes* being to the Northward; however, they met with ſome Whales, and returned home with 1300 Tuns of Oyl.

A Deſcription of Greenland.

The Nature of it is nothing like the Name, there being no place in the World, yet diſcovered, that is leſs green than it: Both the lower Lands and Mountains are covered with Snow till about the beginning of *June*. The Land is very Mountainous, bearing neither Tree nor Graſs, except ſuch as grows in the North of *England*, called *Heath* or *Ling*. This grows when the Snow melts, and the Ground begins to be uncovered, and the Deer feed on it in the Summer, and become very fat in a Month, but how they live in Winter, is not eaſy to be imagined; for the Ground being covered with Snow at the end of *May*, it is probable that there is no part bare in Winter, eſpecially while the Sun is totally depreſſed under the Horizon, *viz*. from the 18th of *October* to the 4th of *February*.

It is not inhabited, yet poſſibly Men might live there, carrying ſtore of Victuals, and all things neceſſary againſt the Cold, which muſt be vehement in Winter by reaſon of the Sun's continuing under the Horizon.

The Southermoſt part is in 76 Deg. 30 Min. called by the *Engliſh*, *Point look out*, who have diſcovered all the Weſt ſide as far as 80 Deg. odd Minutes, and on the Eaſt ſide as far as 78 Deg. and had diſcovered farther, if they had not been diſturbed by the *Dutch*.

Of the ſeveral ſorts of Whales, and manner of killing them.

A Whale of an ordinary ſize is about 65 Foot long, and 35 Foot thick, his Head is a third part of him, containing a very great Tongue, and there are about 250 Fins growing on each ſide of his upper Chop, which ſpread over his Tongue on both ſides of his Mouth: The longeſt are in the middle of his Mouth, ſhortning by degrees, from 10 or 11 Foot, to four Inches in length; his Eyes not much bigger than thoſe of an Ox; the forepart of his Body almoſt round, growing narrower from his Belly towards his Tail, which is about 20 Foot broad, and of a tough ſolid ſubſtance, as are alſo his two ſwimming Fins. He appears often above Water, ſpouting eight or nine times before he goes down again, whereby he may be deſcried two or three Leagues off. Then the Whale-killers in two Shallops row towards him, but commonly he is gone down again before they come near him, and continues a good while before he riſes, ſo that ſometimes they row beyond him. In the mean time they endeavour to find his way under water, which they call his *Wake*, and as ſoon as he comes above Water, row towards him very reſolutely, and one ſtanding up in the Head of the Boat, darts his Harping Iron at him with both Hands, whereupon the Whale deſcending to the bottom, they veer out a Rope of 200 Fathom, which is faſtned to the Harping Iron, and lies coiled in the Boat. They let him have as much Rope as will reach to the bottom, and when they perceive him riſing, they hale in the Rope to get near him, and as ſoon as he appears above water, lance him near his Fins, and as low under water as they can, whereupon he friſks and ſtrikes with his Tail ſo forcibly, that oftentimes he ſplits a Shallop in pieces, and maims or kills ſome of the Men; *Swimming* is therefore very neceſſary in this buſineſs, and may ſave a Man's life when he hath loſt his Boat, and another is not near to help him.

The Whale thus wounded, ſpouts Blood, but before he dies, he will ſometimes draw the Shallop three or four Miles from the place, and as he is dying, turns his Belly upwards; then faſtening a Rope to his Tail, they tow him towards the Ship with his Tail forward: Then laying him croſs the Stern of the Ship, they get upon him, and cut the Fat (which we call Blubber) into ſquare pieces with a cutting Knife three or four Foot long; then to raze it from the Fleſh, there is a Crane or Capſton placed on the Poop of the Ship, from whence there deſcends a Rope, with a Hook to take hold on a piece of Blubber, and as the Men wind the Capſten, ſo the Cutter with his long Knife, looſens the Fat from the Fleſh, and when a piece is cut off, they let down the Blubber to float upon the water, making a hole in ſome part of it to put a Rope thro' it, and ſo proceed to cut off more, faſtening ten or twenty pieces together to be towed aſhoar at one time at the Stern of the Boat. The Blubber being thus brought to the Shoar, is drawn up by a Crane, or carried up by two Men on a Barrow unto a Stage, there to be cut into thin ſmall pieces about a Foot long; thence it is carried to the Choppers by two Boys, with two little Hand-hooks, taking in each Hand a piece, who put it into half-Tubs which ſtand behind the Choppers, who are at the ſide of a Boat raiſed of an equal height to the Furnace. The Boat being fitted with all things neceſſary for the Choppers, they place the Chopping-blocks made of the Whale's Tail, and the Blubber is laid ready for them in ſmall pieces upon the Board whereon they ſtand: Then the Choppers take it up with Hooks, and laying it on the Blocks, chop it in thin pieces, and thence rake it into the Shallop; and thus do ſix or eight Men ſtand chopping on one ſide of the Boat, and the Furnaces and Coppers are placed and heated about two or three Yards diſtance on the other ſide of the Boat. Between the Boat and the Coppers is laid a broad thick Plank, on which ſtands a Hogſhead, containing as much as is put into the Copper for one boyling, and when the Tub is emptied, it is made to ſlide back to the Boat, and there filled again: When it is boiled enough, the ſmall pieces of Blubber, called *Fritters*, will look brown as if they were fried. Then are they taken out with Ladles, and put into a Barrow made cloſe to drain the Oyl, which ſtands over another Boat that is ſet on the back ſide of the Furnace, which Boat is always kept half full of Water, not only to cool the Oil before it run into the Cask, but alſo to cleanſe it from Droſs, which deſcends to the bottom of the Boat, from whence it runs 30 or 40 Yards in Troughs or Gutters, and ſo into Casks, which are towed aboard the Ship in Rafts.

As to the Fins, which grow as I ſaid in his upper Chop, they are ordered in this manner. While the Whale is floating at the Stern of the Ship, they cut off his Head, and tow it with a Boat as near the Shoar as it will come; but it will be a ground in 12 or 13 Foot Water; then at high Water they draw it near the Shoar, that Men at low Water may cut off the Blubber and Fins, which are drawn aſhoar by the Cranes, and the Fins being ſevered with Axes, are made clean, and packed up by 50 in a Bundle, and ſo ſhipped.

There are eight ſorts of Whales; The firſt is called the *Grand-Bay*, from a place in *New-found-land*, where they were firſt killed; he is black, with a ſmooth Skin, and white underneath the Chaps: This Whale yields about 100 Hogſheads of Oyl.

The ſecond is called *Sarda*, of the ſame colour, but ſomewhat leſs, and yields about 70 or 80 Hogſheads; he hath white things growing on his Back like to Barnacles.

The third is called *Trumpa*, as long as the firſt, but thicker forwards, grayer than the former, and but one Spout in his Head, whereas all the reſt have two. He hath Teeth about a Span long, and as thick as a Man's Wriſt, but no Fins; his Head is bigger than either of the former, and in it the *Sperma Ceti* is lodged in a Hole like a Well: He yields about 40 Hogſheads of Oil.

The fourth is called *Otta Sotta*, of the ſame colour with the *Trumpa*, his Fins all white, but not above half a Yard long; he is thicker than the *Trumpa*, but not ſo long, and yields the beſt Oil, but not above 30 Hogſheads.

The fifth is called *Gibarta*, of the ſame colour, and as big as the firſt, and hath a Fin half a Yard long on the top of his Back. His Fins are worth little, being not above half a Yard long, and yields about 12 Hogſheads of Oil, which comes out of his Back, his Belly yielding none at all.

The ſixth is called *Sedeve*, of a white colour, and bigger than any of the former: His Fins are not above a Foot long, and yields but little or no Oil.

The ſeventh called *Sedeva Negre*, is black, with a Bump on his Back: Altho' he be very big, he yields neither Oil, Fins, nor Teeth.

The eighth is called *Sewria*, as white as Snow, not bigger than a Wherry, has no Fins, and yields not above a Hogſhead or two of Oil, and is good Meat to be eaten.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIV.

The Firſt Voyage of Martin Frobiſher *to the North-weſt,* Anno 1576. *Written by* Mr. Hall, *Maſter of the* Gabriel.

1576. WE departed from *Deptford* the 8th of *June*, in two Barks, *viz.* the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, with a ſmall Pinnace of ten Tun, and paſſing by the Court at *Greenwich*, her Majeſty was pleaſed to bid us Farewel, by ſhaking her Hand at us out of the Window.

On the 11th of *July* we had ſight of *Friſeland*, bearing W. N. W. from us, riſing like Pinnacles of Steeples, and all covered with Snow; Latitude 61 Deg. we had no Ground at 150 Fathom: The Captain endeavoured to get aſhoar in his Boat, but was hindred by the Ice. Not far from hence the Pinnace was loſt, wherein were four Men; and the *Michael* ſtood away privately, and returned home.

The 18th, I found the Sun to be elevated 52 Deg. and I judged the variation of the Compaſs to be two Points and a half to the Weſtward.

The 28th, upon clearing up of the Fog, we had ſight of Land, which I ſuppoſed to be *Labrador*, but could not come near it for the Ice.

On the 11th of *Auguſt* we were in Latitude of 63 Deg. 8 Min. and this day we entred the Streight.

The 16th was calm, and without Ice, but in two Hours time it was frozen round about the Ship a quarter of an Inch thick; we were then at anchor in *Prior's* Bay.

The 19th in the Morning, the Captain and I with eight Men rowed aſhoar, to ſee if we could find any People; and going to the top of the Iſland, we ſaw ſeven Boats rowing towards us, whereupon we returned aboard, and ſent our Boat with a white Cloth and five Men in her to ſee whether they rowed; they followed our Boat along the Shoar, till they ſaw our Ship, and then returned: Then I went aſhoar, and giving to every one of them a Point made of Thread, one of them came aboard with me, where he did eat and drink, and then we carried him aſhoar again; whereupon all the reſt came aboard in their Boats, being 19 Perſons, but we could not underſtand their Language. They are like the *Tartars*, with long black Hair, broad Faces, and flat Noſes, of a tawny colour, the Men and Women clad in Seal Skins, of the ſame faſhion, but the Women are known by blew ſtreaks down their Cheeks and round their Eyes. Their Boats were made of Seals Skins, with a Keel of Wood within the Skin, flat bottom'd, and ſharp at both ends.

The next day we weighed and went to the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland, where the Captain and I with four Men went aſhoar, and there we ſaw their Houſes, and the People ſpying us, came towards our Boat; whereupon we haſtened to our Boat, and being in it and they aſhoar, they called to us, and we rowed to them, and one of them came into our Boat, and we carried him aboard and gave him a Bell and a Knife. Then we ordered five of our Men to ſet him aſhoar at a Rock, and not among the Company they came from; but their wilfulneſs was ſuch, that they would go to them, and ſo were taken by the Savages, and our Boat loſt. Five Engliſh taken by the Savages.

The next Morning we ſtood near the Shoar, and ſhot off a Falconet, and ſounded our Trumpet, but could hear nothing of our Men; ſo we plied out of this Sound, which we named *The five Men's Sound*, and anchoring all Night in 30 Fathom, the Snow in the Morning lay a Foot thick upon our Hatches. We then weigh'd and returned to the place where we loſt our Men, where we ſaw 14 Boats, but could hear nothing of our Men. Snow a Foot thick in *Auguſt.* We enticed one of them in his Boat to our Ship's ſide with a Bell, and in giving it to him, we took him and his Boat, whereupon, finding himſelf in captivity, his Choler and Diſdain were ſuch, that he bit his Tongue in two within his Mouth; yet he died not thereof, but lived until he came to *England*, and then died of cold taken at Sea. One of the Savages taken.

The 26th we weighed to come homeward, and the firſt of *September* had ſight of *Frieſland*, eight Leagues diſtant, but could not come nearer to it for the Ice. *September*

The ſeventh we had a terrible Storm, and one of our Men was blown from our Waſt into the Sea, but catching hold of the Fore-ſheet, was pull'd into the Ship by the Captain.

On the 25 we had ſight of *Orkney*, and anchored at *Harwich* the ſecond of *October*.

After the Captain's arrival at *London*, it happened that one of the Adventurers Wives threw a piece of black Stone into the fire, which the Captain had brought home this Voyage, which being taken forth and quenched in Vinegar, gliſter'd like Gold; whereupon ſome Refiners in *London* making an Aſſay of it, reported that it held Gold, and that very richly for the quantity, and promiſed great matters from it, if any ſtore could be found, offering themſelves to adventure for the ſearching of thoſe parts; and ſome ſecretly endeavoured to get a Leaſe from her Majeſty, thereby to ingroſs the whole profit to themſelves.

The hopes of more of the ſame Ore, kindled a great Opinion in the Hearts of many, to advance the Voyage again; whereupon preparation was made for a new Voyage againſt the Year following, and the Captain was directed by his Commiſſion to ſearch for a further diſcovery of the Paſſage, but eſpecially for more of this Gold Ore.

Chap. XXV.

The Second Voyage of Capt. Frobiſher *to the North-weſt,* 1577.

1577. *May.* WE departed from *Blackwal* on *Sunday May* the 26th, in one of her Majeſties Ships called the *Aid*, of 200 Tun and 100 Men, and two Barks, the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, each about 30 Tun. In the firſt were 18 Men, commanded by Mr. *Fenton*, a Gentleman of the Earl of *Warwicks*; and in the laſt 16 Men, commanded by Mr. *York*, a Gentleman of the Lord Admirals; all victualled for ſix Months.

The next day we all received the Communion aboard the *Aid* from the Miniſter of *Graveſend*, and prepared our ſelves as good Chriſtians and reſolute Men for all Fortunes, and that Night fell down to the *Hope*.

The next day we came to *Harwich*, where we ſtaid till *Friday* to take in Victuals; in which time came Letters from the Lords of the Council, ſtraitly commanding our General not to exceed his Complement, which was 120, whereupon he diſcharged many proper Men, who with unwilling minds departed; he alſo diſmiſſed all his condemned Men, which at firſt he thought might have been uſeful for ſome Purpoſes; and putting to Sea the laſt of *May*, we arrived at *Orkney* the 7th of *June*. *June.*

In ſtands in Latitude of 59 Deg. 30 Min. abounds with Poultry, Eggs, Fiſh, and Fowl; for their Bread they have Oaten Cakes, and Ewes Milk for Drink, and in ſome parts Ale. Their Houſes are poor and ſluttiſh, they burn Heath and Turf, there being no Wood.

On the 8th we ſet ſail, traverſing the Sea 26 Days without ſight of any Land, and met with much drift Wood, and whole Bodies of Trees.

July.

On the fourth of *July* we came in ſight of the South part of *Frieſland*, in Latitude of 60 Deg. 30 Min. we met with great Iſlands of Ice ten or twelve Leagues from Shoar, ſome of which were half a Mile or more in compaſs, and 30 or 40 Fathom above Water, and, as we ſuppoſe, faſt on Ground, the depth being about 80 Fathom. None of theſe Iſlands were ſalt to the taſt, which ſhews that they were not congealed of Sea-water, but muſt be produced by melted Snow from the Tops of Mountains, or by continual acceſs of freſh Rivers, which mingling with the Salt Water, may cauſe ſome part of it to freeze, ſo as to make it taſt brackiſh, but otherwiſe the main Sea freezeth not.

Ice in the Sea freſh to the Taſt.

On the 16th we raiſed the Land, which our General the Year before had named the *Queen's Foreland*, at the entrance of *Frobiſher*'s Streight, which at our coming ſeemed to be ſhut up with Ice, to our great diſcouragement; but the General with two ſmall Pinnaces, paſſed thro' the Streight to the Eaſt Shoar, (the reſt lying off at Sea) where ſome of the Natives ſhewed themſelves, leaping and dancing with great Shrikes and Cries; whereupon two of our Men went and met two of theirs, neither Party having Weapons; they would not come ſo near our Men as to take any thing from their Hands, but ours leaving a Knife or other thing upon the Ground, and then withdrawing, they came and took it up, leaving ſomething of theirs to countervail the ſame. The day being near ſpent, we retired to our Boats, which the People perceiving, with great Tokens of Affection, they earneſtly called us back again, and followed us almoſt to our Boats; whereupon the General taking the Maſter with him, went unarmed to meet two of them, who came down without Weapons, intending, if they could lay ſure hold upon them, forcibly to bring them aboard, and to diſmiſs one of them after courteous Reception, and beſtowing on him ſome Toys and Apparel, and to retain the other for an Interpreter. After ſome dumb Signs and mute Congratulations, they exchanged ſome things, and one of the Savages cut off the Tail of his Coat, and gave it to the General for a Preſent, who giving the Word to the Maſter, they ſuddenly laid hold on both the Savages, but the Ground being ſlippery, they loſt their hold, and their Prey eſcaping, ran away, and preſently recovered their Bows and Arrows, which they had hid not far from them behind the Rocks, and purſued our General and Maſter to the Boats, hurting the General in the Buttock with an Arrow. Our Souldiers who kept the Boat, came ſpeedily to their reſcue, and the Savages hearing the Report of one of our Muſkets, ran away, and our Men followed them. One *Nicholas Conger*, a good Foot-man, and not cumbred with any Arms, having only a Dagger at his Back, overtook one of them, and being a *Corniſh* Man and a good Wreſtler, ſhewed the Savage ſuch a *Corniſh* trick, as made his ſides ach againſt the Ground, and brought him back, but the other eſcaped.

A Savage taken.

On the 19th, the North-weſt and Weſt Winds having driven the Ice into the Sea, we entred the Straits, and found a Harbour on the Weſtern Shoar, which we named after our Maſter's Mate, *Jackman's Sound*. Upon a ſmall Iſland within this Sound, called *Smiths Iſland* (becauſe he firſt ſet up his Forge there) was found a Mine of Silver, but could not be gotten out of the Rocks without great labour. Here our Refiners made aſſay of the Ore, and found it to hold Gold in good quantity: Here we alſo found a great dead Fiſh like to a *Porpus*, about twelve Foot long, with a Horn of two Yards long growing out of his Snout; it is wreathed and ſtrait, and may be thought to be the Sea-Unicorn, and is now reſerved in her Majeſties Wardrobe.

The 23, the General with ſuch as could be ſpared from the Ships, being ſeventy Perſons, marched with Enſign diſplaied upon the Southern Land, part of the ſuppoſed Continent of *America*, and having travelled about five Miles toward the Tops of the Icy Mountains, we returned to our Ships without ſight of any People, or likelyhood of Habitation. Here divers of the Gentlemen deſired the General to permit 20 or 30 of them to march 30 or 40 Leagues into the Country; but he, conſidering his Inſtructions and the ſhort time he had, thought it better to ſeek for Ore to frait his Ships, and leave the further diſcovery to be accompliſhed hereafter; and therefore on the 26th departed to the Northern Land with the two Barks (the *Aid* ſtill riding in *Jackman's Sound*) where finding a very rich Mine, as it was ſuppoſed, and having got almoſt 20 Tun of Ore together, we were forced thence by the Ice which came driving in upon us, and for haſt left the Ore we had digged behind us. We went further up the Streights, and having ſailed five Leagues, we diſcovered a Bay, which being fenced on each ſide with ſmall Iſlands, did break the force of the Tides, and made it free from any In-draughts of Ice; here we anchored under a ſmall Iſland, which we named *Warwick*-Iſland: This is the fartheſt place that we were at within the Streights, diſtant from *Queen's Foreland* 30 Leagues. Here we found good ſtore of the Ore, which in waſhing, held Gold to our thinking, plainly to be ſeen; whereupon it was thought better to load here than to ſeek further, and the General having ſet the Miners to work, ſent the *Michael* over to *Jackman's Sound* for the *Aid* and her whole Company to come to us.

Their Habitations deſcribed.

From the Iſland we could diſcern the poor Dwellings of the People, which are commonly ſituated at the Foot of a Hill to ſhelter them from the cold Winds, with the Door always to the South: the Foundation is two Fathom under ground, with Holes like a Coney-berry, to viſit their Neighbours, and theſe places are under-trenched with Gutters, that the Water falling from the Hills above them, may ſlide away without annoying them: From the Ground upwards they build with Whales Bones for lack of Timber, which bending one over another, are handſomly compacted in the top together, and covered with Seals Skins: But it ſeemed to us by divers Circumſtances that they change their Habitations often, and are a diſperſed and wandring Nation, living in Hords and Troops like the *Tartars*.

The laſt of *July* the *Michael* returned to us with the *Aid* from the Southern Land: Captain *York* reported, that coaſting along the Shoar, he eſpied two Tents of Seals Skins, and going with his Company aſhoar, entred into them, but the People were all fled. They found there raw and new killed Fleſh of unknown ſorts, with dead Carcaſes and Bones of Dogs, alſo a Doublet of Canvas after the *Engliſh* faſhion, a Shirt, a Girdle, and three Shooes of the Men we loſt the Year before, about 50 Leagues from this place, further within the Streights. The Captain left a Letter there, with Pen, Ink, and Paper, that our poor Captive Country-men might, if they were alive, be advertiſed of our being there, and return an Anſwer; He left alſo ſome Trifles, as Glaſſes, Bells, Knives, *&c.* not taking any thing of theirs except one Dog.

Auguſt.

The next day being the firſt of *Auguſt*, all the Gentlemen and others that could be ſpared from the Ship, went aſhoar under the Conduct of Mr. *Philpot*, to try if by fair means they could allure the People to familiarity, or otherwiſe, to take ſome of them, and thereby attain to ſome knowledge of the Men that were loſt the Year before.

At our return to the place where their Tents had been, we found they had removed them further into the Bay, that they might if they were driven from the Land, fly with their Boats into the Sea: We parting our ſelves into two Companies, and compaſſing a Mountain, came ſuddenly upon them by Land, who eſpying us, fled to their Boats, leaving moſt part of their Oars behind them, and rowed down the Bay, where our two Pinnaces meeting them, drave them aſhoar; but if they had had all their Oars, it had been in vain to chaſe them.

When they were landed, they fiercely aſſaulted our Men with their Bows and Arrows; we wounded three of them, who perceiving themſelves hurt, deſperately leapt from the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themſelves: The reſt fled into the Mountains, except one old Woman, and another with a Child, whom we took. The old Wretch, whom our Sailors ſuppoſed to be a Witch, had her Buſkins pull'd off to ſee if ſhe were cloven footed, and being very ugly and deformed, we let her go, the young Woman and Child we brought away.

Another Savage taken.

Having now got a Woman Captive to comfort our Man, we brought them together: They at firſt beheld each other very wiſtly for a good ſpace, without uttering a word, with great change of Colour and Countenance, as if the Grief and Diſdain of their Captivity had deprived them of their Speech: At laſt the Woman very ſuddenly, as tho' ſhe diſdained or regarded not the Man, turned away, and began to ſing as tho' ſhe minded another matter; but being again brought together, the Man with a ſtern and ſtaid countenance, began to tell a long ſolemn tale to the Woman, whereunto ſhe gave good attention, and did not interrupt him till he had finiſhed, and afterwards being grown more familiar, they were turn'd together; but we could never perceive that they uſed as Man and Wife, tho' the Woman ſpared not to do all neceſſary things belonging to a good Houſwife, as making clean their Cabin, killing, flaying, and dreſſing of Dogs for their Diet, and making him clean when he was Sea ſick. They ſeemed to be very modeſt, for the Man would never ſhift himſelf until he had cauſed the Woman to depart out of his Cabin, and they were both very ſhy leſt any of their Privy Parts ſhould be diſcover'd by each other, or by any other Body.

On the third we left the Weſtern ſhoar, ſuppoſed part of the Continent of *America*, and on the fourth came to our General at *Warwick*-Iſland, where he fraited the Ship and Barks with ſuch Stone or ſuppoſed Gold-mineral, as he thought might countervail the Charges of both his Voyages to theſe Countries.

On the 6th, while we were all at work, we perceived many of the Natives upon the top of a Hill over againſt us, waſting a Flag, and making great Out-cries unto us; whereupon the General taking the Savage Captive with him, and ſetting the Woman where they might beſt perceive her in the higheſt place of the Iſland, went over to talk with them. Our Captive at the firſt encounter of his Friends, burſt out into tears, and could not ſpeak a word in a long time, but after a while, he diſcourſed at a diſtance with his Companions, and beſtowed friendly upon them ſuch Toys and Trifles as we had given him. Our General by ſigns required his five Men which they made Captives the laſt Year, and promiſed not only to releaſe thoſe which he had taken, but alſo to reward them with great Gifts. Our Savage made ſigns in anſwer from them, that our Men were yet living, and ſhould be deliver'd to us, and made ſigns likewiſe to us that we ſhould write Letters to them, but becauſe it was late they departed without any Letter, altho' they called earneſtly in haſt for the ſame; and the next Morning early they called again for the Letter, which being deliver'd to them, they ſpeedily departed, making ſigns with three Fingers and pointing to the Sun, that they would return in three days. The Letter was as follows.

> ‘IN the Name of God in whom we all believe, who (I truſt) hath preſerved your Bodies and Souls amongſt theſe Infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to ſeek by all means you can deviſe for your deliverance, either with force or with any Commodities within my Ships, which I will not ſpare for your ſakes, or any thing elſe I can do for you. I have aboard of theirs, a Man, a Woman, and a Child, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the Man which I carried away from hence the laſt Year, is dead in *England*. Moreover, you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I will not leave a Man alive in their Country; and thus, if one of you can come to ſpeak with me, they ſhall have either the Man, Woman or Child in pawn for you. And thus unto God, whom I truſt you do ſerve, in haſt I leave you, and to him we will daily pray for you. This *Tueſday* Morning, the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, 1577.
>
> Yours to the uttermoſt of my Power,
>
> *Martin Frobiſher.*

On *Saturday* the 11th, the People ſhewed themſelves again, and called unto us from a Hill over againſt us: The General, hoping for an Anſwer to his Letter, and hear of his Men, went over to them; no more than three appeared in ſight, who by ſigns endeavoured to train our Boat about a Point of Land from ſight of our Company; but we ſuſpecting them, kept aloof, and yet ſet one of our Company aſhoar, who took up a great Bladder which one of them had laid down, and leaving a Looking-glaſs in the place, returned to the Boat. In the mean time our Men upon the Iſland, who could better diſcern than thoſe in the Boat, made a great out-cry to our Men in the Boat, becauſe they ſaw many Savages creeping behind the Rocks towards our Men; whereupon the General returned without tidings of his Men.

Our Captive made ſigns to us that this Bladder was ſent him to keep Water and Drink in, but we rather ſuſpected it was given to him to help his eſcape by ſwimming; for he and the Woman ſought often to make their eſcapes, having looſed our Boats from aſtern our Ships, and had prevailed if they had not been timely diſcover'd.

The 14th, our General with two ſmall Boats, well appointed, went up a Bay, where he ſaw ſome of the Natives, who made great Out-cries, and with a Flag made of Bladders ſowed together with the Guts and Sinews of Beaſts, waſted us a main unto them, not ſhewing above three of their Company; but when we came near them, we could perceive a great multitude creeping behind the Rocks; whereupon we made ſigns to them, that if they would lay their Weapons aſide, and come forth, we would deal friendly with them, altho' we perceived their intent; but for all the ſigns of Friendſhip we could make, they came ſtill creeping towards us from behind the Rocks to get more advantage of us, as tho' we had no Eyes to ſee them. Their Spokes-man earneſtly perſwaded us with many fair ſhews, to come aſhoar and eat and ſleep, and clapping his bare Hands over his Head in token of Peace and Innocence, willed us to do the like; But the better to allure our hungry Stomachs, he brought us a piece of raw Fleſh, which with our Boat-hook, we caught into our Boat. Then one of his Fellows came halting from behind the Rocks towards the Sea-ſide, and in ſuch places where he ſeemed unable to paſs, the other took him upon his Shoulders, and ſetting him down by the Water-ſide, went away and left him, hoping that one of us would venture aſhoar, and not be afraid to make his part good with a lame Man; but the General ſuſpecting their treachery, commanded a Soldier to fire at him, who ſent him away a true and no feigned Cripple; whereupon the reſt came out of their lurking holes to the Sea-ſide, and deſperately maintained a Skirmiſh with their Bows, Arrows, Slings, and Darts, without fear of our Shot. They had belayed the Coaſt for us, and we ſaw above 100 of them, and had cauſe to ſuſpect a greater number. All their Arrows and Darts fell ſhort of us, ſo that we return'd to our Ship without harm.

Treachery of the Savages.

Our work being now finiſhed, having laden almoſt 200 Tun of Ore, we prepared to return; and the 22d of *Auguſt* we plucked down our Tents, and making a Bonfire on top of the Iſland, we gave a Volly of Shot, and ſo departed aboard.

They return.

The 23d of *Auguſt* we ſet ſail, the Wind at Weſt, and the next day left the *Queen's Fore-land* a-ſtern of us, and had Snow half a Foot deep on the Hatches.

The 29th the *Michael* loſt company of us, and ſhaping her Courſe towards *Orkney*, arrived at *Yarmouth*.

The 30th the Maſter and Boatſwain of the *Gabriel* were ſtruck over-board by the force of the Wind and Surge of the Sea. The Maſter, who was a young Man and able Mariner, had been very pleaſant all that Morning, and told his Captain that he dream'd that he was caſt over-board, and that the Boatſwain had him by the Hand, and could not ſave him; which came to paſs accordingly, for the Boatſwain held him by one Hand, having hold on a Rope with the other, until his ſtrength failed, and the Maſter was drowned.

Maſter of the *Gabriel* drowned.

The firſt of *September* the ſtorm was grown very great, and the *Gabriel* not able to bear ſail to keep Company with us, our Ship being higher in the Poop whereon the Wind had more force to drive, went ſo faſt away, that we loſt ſight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune at Sea.

September

On the 17th we arrived at *Padſtow* in *Cornwal*, which being a bad Road, we put to Sea again, and anchored at *Milford* Haven, from whence our General writ to the Court, who order'd the Ship to *Briſtol*, where the Ore was lodged in the Caſtle: Here we found the *Gabriel* arrived in ſafety. In this Voyage we loſt but two Men; one blown over-board, as was mentioned, and one that died at Sea, who was ſick when he came aboard, and was ſo deſirous to go this Voyage, that he rather choſe to die, than not to make one in this noble Adventure.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Third and laſt Voyage of Captain Frobiſher *to the North-weſt*, Anno 1578.

1578. THE ſuppoſed Gold Ore brought home the laſt Voyage, made ſhew of great Riches and Profit, and the hope of paſſage to *Cathaia*, was greatly increaſed; ſo that her Majeſty appointed ſpecial Commiſſioners, who upon ſufficient trial and proof made of the Ore, and upon ſundry Reaſons and ſubſtantial Grounds being convinced of the probability of a Paſſage, advertiſed her Majeſty that the Voyage was of importance, and worthy to be advanced again. Whereupon 15 Sail of good Ships were ordered to be got ready, whereof all were to return again with their Lading of Gold Ore at the end of Summer, except three Ships, which ſhould be left for the uſe of Captain *Fenton*, Captain *Beſt*, and Captain *Philpot*, who were to tarry in the Country, with 40 Mariners, 30 Miners, and 30 Soldiers, in which laſt are included the Gentlemen, Refiners, Bakers, Carpenters, and other neceſſary Perſons. They carried with them a ſtrong Houſe of Timber framed here, and to be ſet up there.

The Names of the Ships, with their Captains.

The *Aid*, Admiral,		*Frobiſher.*
The *Thomas Allen*, Vice admiral,		*York.*
The *Judith*, Rear-admiral,		*Fenton.*
Anne Francis,		*Beſt.*
Hopewell,		*Carew.*
Bear,		*Philpot.*
Thomas of *Ipſwich*,		*Tanfield.*
Emmanuel of *Exeter*,	Capt.	*Courtny.*
Francis of *Foy*,		*Moyles.*
Moon,		*Upcot.*
Emmanuel of *Bridgwater*,		*Newton.*
Solomon of *Weymouth*,		*Randal.*
Bark, *Dennis*,		*Kendal.*
Gabriel,		*Harvey.*
Michael,		*Kinnersſley.*

We departed from *Harwich* the 31ſt of *May*, and coaſting the South part of *England*, we paſſed Cape *Clare* the ſixth of *June*.

June. The 20th of *June*, at two in the Morning we deſcried *Frieſland*, and ſailing along the Coaſt, we ſpied one place pretty clear of Ice, where the General well accompanied went aſhoar, and ſaw ſome Tents made of Skins, wherein they found, Fleſh, Fiſh, Skins, and a Box of Nails. The General commanded his Men to take nothing away with them, only two white Dogs, for which he left Pins, Points, Knives, and other Trifles, and ſo returning aboard, we hoiſed Sail and continued our Courſe, and on the laſt of *June* met with many great Whales, one of which received ſuch a blow from the *Solomon*, who came upon him with a full Stern, being under both her Courſes and Bonnets, that the Ship ſtood ſtill, and ſtirred neither forward nor backward: The Whale made a great and ugly noiſe, and caſt up his Body and Tail, and ſo went under Water. Two days after, a great dead Whale was found floating on the Sea, which we ſuppoſed to be the ſame that the *Solomon* ſtruck. One of the Ships runs againſt a Whale.

July. The ſecond we fell with the *Queen's Foreland*, where we met with ſo much Ice, that we thought it impoſſible to enter the Streight; ſome of the Fleet where they found the Ice open, ventured in, and whilſt others were following them with full Sails, the Ice would cloſe, and the Bark *Dennis* (wherein was part of our Houſe which was to be erected for them that ſhould ſtay all Winter) was ſo bruiſed, that ſhe ſunk in our ſight, but we manned our Boats and ſaved the Men.

The Fleet in great diſtreſs. This was a dreadful Spectacle, becauſe the Storm which followed, threaten'd the like danger to us all; for having left much Ice behind us, thro' which we had paſſed, and finding more before us, thro' which it was not poſſible to paſs, there aroſe a terrible Storm at S. E. which blowing from the main Sea directly upon the Streights Mouth, brought upon us all the Ice we had left behind us, and debarred us from getting Sea-room again: we took down our Top-maſts, and hanged over-board pieces of old Cables, Beds, Planks of three Inches thick, which were cut aſunder at the ſides of our Ships, ſome of which were heaved up out of the Sea between Iſlands of Ice, near a Foot above their Water Mark, having their Knees and Timbers within board bowed and broken therewith. In this diſtreſs it pleaſed God to ſend us a favourable Wind the next day at W. N. W. which diſperſed the Ice, and then the whole Fleet plyed off to Sea-ward, till the Sun ſhould conſume, or the Winds diſperſe the Ice that lay in the Streights Mouth.

The ſeventh we ſtood in again, and deſcried Land, which ſome, and thoſe not the worſt Mariners, judged to be the North Foreland, tho' others were of a contrary Opinion. The new fallen Snow does yearly ſo much alter the ſhape of the Land, that it takes away the Mariners Marks. Mr. *Hall* the chief Pilot declared publickly, that he had never ſeen the Coaſt before, and that he could not make it for any place of *Frobiſher*'s Streights.

The 10th, the weather ſtill continuing thick and dark, ſome of the Fleet loſt ſight of the Admiral, and ſtood back again to Sea-ward; the reſt following the General, paſſed 60 Leagues within the ſaid doubtful and ſuppoſed Straits, having always a fair continent on their Star-board ſide, and an open Sea before them.

The General, altho' 'tis probable he was ſenſible of the Error, and that this was not the old Streights, yet he diſſembled his Opinion, the better to induce the Fleet to follow him, he being then in great hopes of diſcovering a Paſſage this way; and ſome of the Company reported, that he hath ſince declared, that if it had not been for the charge and care he had of the Fleet and fraited Ships, he would and could have gone thro' to the South Sea, and diſſolved the long doubt of a Paſſage to *Cathaia*.

The 26th there fell ſo much Snow that it lay half a Foot deep upon the Deck. Snow in July.

On the 31ſt we anchored in *Warwick*-Sound, in the entrance whereof, the *Aid* having a little before weighed her Anchor a Cock-bill, ran againſt an Iſland of Ice, which ſtruck the Flook of the Anchor thro' the Ships Bow under Water, and cauſed ſo great a Leak, that they had much ado to preſerve her from ſinking.

At our Arrival here, we found the *Michael* and the *Gabriel*, who had been long miſſing, and whom we never expected to hear of again; for which we heartily praiſed God, and Mr. *Wolfall*, a learned Man, appointed by her Majeſties Council to be our Miniſter, made a Godly Sermon, exhorting us to be thankful to God for our manifold deliverances in theſe dangerous places, and putting us in mind of the incertainty of Man's life, willed us to make our ſelves ready as reſolute Men to accept thankfully whatſoever adventure his Divine Providence ſhould appoint. This Man being well ſeated in his own Country in a good Benefice, well eſteemed, having a virtuous Woman to his Wife, and very hopeful Children, refuſed not to undertake this painful Voyage, for the care he had to ſave Souls, and to reform thoſe Infidels, if it were poſſible, to Chriſtianity; and would have ſtaid there the whole year if occaſion had ſerved, being in every neceſſary action as forward as the reſoluteſt Man of us all: So that he may be called a true Paſtor and Miniſter of God's Word, who for the good of his Flock, ſpared not to venture his own life.

Captain *Fenton* in the *Michael* arriving, as was ſaid, ten days before us, ſpent his time in ſearching for Ore. He alſo diſcover'd ten Miles up into the Country, which was very barren, as all the reſt that we have ſeen, nor did he ſee any likelyhood of Habitation. His Ship had been ſtruck thro' and thro' on both ſides, and his falſe Stern born quite away. When they found an Iſland of Ice bigger than the reſt, they moored an Anchor upon it, and then rode under the Lee of it, to guard themſelves from the danger of the leſſer driving Ice. They met with one piece of Ice, which by meaſure was found to be 65 Fathom above Water. Ice 65 Fathom high

The

Auguſt. The ninth of *Auguſt* the General called a Council to conſider about erecting a Houſe or Fort for thoſe who were to inhabit there the whole Year; and it was found that only two ſides of the Houſe were arrived, and thoſe not perfect and entire; for many pieces were broken in uſing them for Fenders when they were diſtreſſed in the Ice. Neither was there Drink and Fuel to ſerve 100 Men (the number appointed to inhabit there) the greateſt ſtore whereof was in thoſe four Ships which were not yet arrived. Then Captain *Fenton* ſeeing the ſcarcity of the neceſſary things aforeſaid, was contented, and offered to inhabit there with 60 Men. Whereupon the Carpenters and Maſons were asked in what time they could erect a leſs Houſe for that number, they required eight or nine Weeks, if there were Timber ſufficient; whereas we had but 26 Days to tarry in that Country; it was therefore reſolved in Council that no Habitation ſhould be there this Year.

The 24th, the General with two Pinnaces well mann'd, went to try if he could encounter and apprehend any of the People, who often ſhewed themſelves, ſometimes with ſeven or eight Boats in a Company, as if they had deſigned to attack ſome of our People who were working at the Mines in no great numbers; wherefore we endeavour'd with our Pinnaces to encompaſs an Iſland they haunted, hoping to intercept ſome of them; but they kept ſuch watch in the Mountains, that they conveyed themſelves away before we could come near them.

The 20th, the *Anne Francis*, which with the other Ships had now joined us, was brought aground, and had eight great Leaks mended which ſhe had received by the Rocks and Ice. They had ſtruck upon a Rock, where they lay more than half dry until the next Flood, when by God's Providence, contrary to all expectation, they came afloat again, being forced all that time to under-ſet their Ship with their Main-yard. Mr. *Wolfall* after Sermon, celebrated the Communion upon the Land, as he had before done in ſeveral Ships, becauſe our whole Company could never meet in one place.

The Fleet being now in good readineſs, the General called the Captains and Gentlemen together, and told them that he intended not only by God's help to bring home his Ships laden with Ore, but alſo to make a further diſcovery of theſe parts. After long debate, it was judged impoſſible at this time for the Reaſons following; Firſt, It freezed ſo hard every Night, that if they ſhould be kept in by contrary Winds, it was to be feared they ſhould be ſhut up the whole Winter, to their utter deſtruction. Secondly, Drink was ſo ſcarce thro' all the Fleet, by reaſon of great leakage, that not only the Proviſion laid in for the Habitation was waſted, but alſo the Proviſion of each Ship was ſpent and loſt. The cauſe of this Leakage was the great Timber and Sea-Coal, which lay ſo weighty upon the Barrels, that it brake, bruiſed and rotted the Hoops aſunder.

On the laſt of *Auguſt* we left the Country, and that Night aroſe a furious tempeſt, which ſeparated our Fleet, ſo that not any of us met together again until the 28th of *September*, which day we fell on the Coaſt of *England*, between *Sylley* and the *Lands-end*, and the reſt of the Fleet arrived about the ſame time, ſome in one place and ſome in another. There died in this Voyage not above 40 Perſons, which number is not great, conſidering how many Ships were in the Fleet, and the many Hardſhips we had endured.

CHAP. XXVII.

The firſt Voyage of Mr. John Davis *for diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage,* An. 1585: *Written by* John Janes.

1585. SOme Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, deſirous to advance the Glory of God and the Good of their native Country, conſulted together about a diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, which having been heretofore attempted, but unhappily given over by reaſon of ſome unexpected Accidents, they reſolved after good deliberation to become Adventurers, and accordingly did ſet forth two Barks, *viz.* the *Sun-ſhine* of 50 Tuns and 23 Men, *John Davis* Captain; and the *Moon-ſhine* 35 Tuns, 19 Men, *William Bruton* Captain.

June. We departed from *Dartmouth* the ſeventh of *June*, and were forced to put into *Falmouth* and *Scilly*, by reaſon of contrary Winds.

July. On the 28th we departed thence, and on the 20th of *July* diſcover'd Land covered with Snow, which appeared over the Fog like a white Liſt in the Sky. The rouling of the Ice which reached from the Shoar a League off into the Sea, made a great noiſe: Our Captain named this place *The Land of Deſolation.*

The 21ſt, the Wind being Northerly, we ſtood S. S. W. along the ſhoar, for we perceived that we were run into a very deep Bay, where we were almoſt compaſſed with Ice. The next day we hoiſed out our Boat, and rowed toward the Shoar, but when we came within a League of it, we met with ſo much Ice that we could not get to Land. We tried to get ſome Fiſh with our Lines, becauſe we ſaw many *Seals* on the Coaſt, and Birds beating on the Water, but all was in vain. We had ground in 120 Fathom, the Water black and thick like a ſtanding Pool. We ſaw much Wood floating upon the Coaſt, and the *Moon-ſhine* took up a Tree in the Sea 60 Foot long and 14 Handfulls about it, with the Root upon it.

The 25 we loſt ſight of this Land, and ſteered N. W. till the 29th, when we diſcovered Land in 64 Deg. 15 Min. bearing N. E. from us. Coming near the Coaſt we found many fair Sounds and great Inlets into the Land, whereby we judged it to be a great number of Iſlands ſtanding together. We went aſhoar on a ſmall Iſland to ſeek for Water and Wood, and perceived there had been People, for we found a ſmall Shoe, and pieces of Leather ſowed with Sinews. Then we went upon another Iſland, and the Captain, Maſter and I being got upon the top of a high Rock, the People of the Country eſpying us, made a lamentable noiſe, which we thought at firſt had been the howling of Wolves; then I hollowed again, and they anſwered; at laſt, perceiving where they ſtood, ſome on the Shoar, and one rowing in a *Canoa*; we made a great noiſe, partly to allure them to us, and partly to warn our Company of them: Whereupon Mr. *Bruton* and others of the *Moon-ſhine*, haſtned to our reſcue, and brought with them our four Muſicians to allure them to us if poſſible: Our Muſicians plaied, and we danced, making many ſigns of Friendſhip. At laſt there came ten *Canoa's*, two of which came ſo near us that they talked with us. Their Pronunciation was very hollow, and their Speech ſuch as we could not underſtand. One of them pointing to the Sun, ſmote his Breaſt ſo hard that we could hear the blow; this he did many times, till at laſt one of our Men, pointing to the Sun, ſtruck his Breaſt in the ſame manner, whereupon one of them came aſhoar, to whom we threw our Caps, Stockins, and Gloves, and ſuch things as we had about us, playing with our Muſick, and Dancing, till the Night coming on, we returned aboard.

The next Morning, the 30th of *July*, 37 *Canoa's* came rowing by our Ships, calling to us to come aſhoar; we not making any great haſt, one of them went up to the top of the Rock, where he leaped and danced, ſhewing us a Seals Skin: Whereupon we manned our Boats, and rowed to their *Canoas*, and having ſworn by the Sun after their faſhion, I ſhook Hands with one of them, and he kiſſed my Hand, and we became very familiar. They gave us whatſoever we asked of them, and were ſatisfied with whatſoever we gave them. We bought their Cloths from their Backs, which were all made of Seals Skins, or Birds Skins with the Feathers on them: We bought alſo five of their Canoa's, with ſome Oars and Darts. They are a tractable People, void of Craft or double Dealing, but ſeem to be Idolaters, and worſhip the Sun.

We found no freſh Water among theſe Iſlands, but only Snow Water, whereof we found great Pools. The

Clifts were all of ſuch Oar as Captain *Frobiſher* brought from *Meta Incognita.* We found here Fir, Spruce, and Juniper, which whether it floated hither, or grew in ſome great Iſlands near this place, we know not, but we ſuppoſed it might grow thereabouts, becauſe the People had great ſtore of Darts and Oars, which they exchanged with us for ſmall Trifles. When they perceived that we deſired Skins and Furs, they made ſigns that they would go into the Country and bring them the next day; but the Wind coming fair, we departed on the firſt of *Auguſt*, and proceeded towards the North-weſt on our Diſcovery.

Auguſt. On the ſixth we diſcovered Land in 66 Deg. 40 Min. clear of Ice; we anchored in a fair Road under a Mount, the Clifts whereof were as orient as Gold; we named it Mount *Raleigh.* As ſoon as we had anchored, we eſpied four white Bears at the Foot of the Mount; one of them we ſhot in the Neck, who after he had roared a little, took the Water, and we following him with our Boat, killed him with Boar-ſpears, and two more that Night: We found nothing in their Maws, but judged by their Dung that they fed upon Graſs. The next day we went on Shoar to another Bear, who when we came near him, was faſt aſleep; my Piece miſſing fire, he looked up and laid down his Head again: Then I ſhot him in the Head, and we all ran upon him with Boar-ſpears, and thruſt him into the Body, yet he grip'd away our Spears and went towards the Water, and ſwam to a Cove where we killed him: The breadth of his Fore-foot was 14 Inches.

The 8th we coaſted along the Shoar, and on the 11th came to the Southerly Cape of this Land, which we named the *Cape of God's Mercy,* being the place of our firſt entrance for the diſcovery. We coaſted the Shoar, and when the Fog brake up, we found our ſelves ſhot into a fair entrance or Paſſage, in ſome places 20 Leagues broad, and clear of Ice, which gave us great hope of a Paſſage. Having ſailed N. W. 60 Leagues therein, we ſaw ſome Iſlands in the middle, whereupon we divided, one ſailing on the North ſide and the other on the South ſide of them, the Wind at S. E. very foggy and foul Weather.

The 14th we went aſhoar and found ſigns of People, for we ſaw Stones laid up together like a Wall, and the Scull of a Man or Woman.

The 15th we heard Dogs howl, which we thinking to be Wolves, went on ſhore to kill them; the Dogs came very gently to our Boat, but we fearing they came to prey upon us, ſhot at them, and killed two; about the Neck of one was a Leathern Collar. There were 20 of them, like Maſtives, with prick'd Ears, long buſhy Tails, and a Bone in their Tizels. Then going further we found two Sleds like ours in *England*, one was made of Fir, Spruce, and Oaken Boards; the other all of Whalebone: We ſaw here Ravens, Larks and Patridges.

The 17th we went aſhoar, and in a kind of Oven made with Stones, we found a ſmall *Canoe* of Wood, a piece of Wood like an Image, a Bird made of Bone, and other Trifles. The Coaſt was very barren, without Wood or Graſs: The Rocks looked like Marble veined with divers Colours.

The Captain and Maſter conſulted what was beſt to be done, and gave theſe Reaſons for the probability of a Paſſage.

I. The Water being of one colour with the main Ocean, whereas we never came into any Bay, but the Water was altered very blackiſh. Reaſons for the Probability of a Paſſage.

II. We ſaw to the Weſt of theſe Iſlands three or four Whales, which we judged to come from a Weſterly Sea, becauſe we ſaw no Whale to the Eaſtward.

III. As we were rowing into a very great Sound lying S. W. from whence theſe Whales came, on a ſudden there came a violent counter-check of a Tide from the South-weſt againſt the Flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was maintain'd.

IV. In ſailing 20 Leagues within the Mouth of this Entrance, we had ſounding in 90 Fathoms, fair, grey, ozy Sand, and the farther we ran to the Weſtward, the deeper was the Water, ſo that hard aboard the Shoar among theſe Iſlands, we had no ground in 330 Fathoms.

Laſtly, It did ebb and flow ſix or ſeven Fathom up and down, the Flood coming from divers parts, ſo as we could not perceive the chief maintenance thereof.

Theſe things conſider'd, it was reſolved if the Weather brake up, to make further ſearch.

The 20th the Wind came directly againſt us; and the 23d it came at S. E. very ſtormy and foul weather, and ſeeking for harbour, we fell into a fair Sound, and anchored in 25 Fathoms.

The 24th, the Wind coming fair, we directed our Courſe homeward, and on the 10th of *September* fell with the Land of *Deſolation*, and that Night a ſtorm ariſing, we loſt ſight of the *Moon-ſhine*, and on the 30th of *September* we came into *Dartmouth*, where the *Moon-ſhine* was arrived two Hours before.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The ſecond Voyage attempted by Mr. John Davis *for diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage,* Anno 1586: *Written by himſelf.*

1586. IN my firſt Voyage, not experienced in the Nature of thoſe Climates, and having no direction by Chart, Globe, or any certain Relation, in what altitude that Paſſage was to be ſearched, I ſhaped a Northerly Courſe, and fell on the Coaſt of *Greenland*, 500 Leagues from the *Derſes* W. N. W. Northerly, the Land very high and full of mighty Mountains, all covered with Snow no Wood, Graſs, or Earth to be ſeen, and the Sea two Leagues from the ſhoar ſo full of Ice, that no Ship could come near the Land. Thence coaſting the ſhoar towards the South, in the Latitude of 60 degrees, I found it to trend towards the Weſt, and following it 50 or 60 Leagues, it failed, and lay directly North, which I ſtill followed, and in 30 Leagues ſailing upon the Weſt ſide of this Coaſt, by me named *Deſolation*, we were paſt all Ice, and ſaw many green and pleaſant Iſlands bordering upon the ſhoar, but the hills on the main land were covered with ſnow. Then ſhaping our courſe W. N. W. we fell with another ſhoar in Latitude of 66 Deg. and found a paſſage 20 Leagues broad directly Weſt into the ſame, which we entred 30 or 40 Leagues, and found it neither to widen nor ſtraiten. But not knowing the length of it, and the year being far ſpent, we thought it our beſt courſe to return. And acquainting Secretary *Walſingham* and the reſt of the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers with our Proceedings, I was again appointed to ſearch the bottom of this Strait. In this ſecond attempt the Merchants of *Exeter*, and other places of the Weſt, became Adventurers. And on the 7th of *May* 1586. I ſet out from *Dartmouth* with Four Sail, *viz.* the *Mermaid* of 120 Tuns, the *Sun-ſhine* of 60 Tuns, the *Moon-ſhine* of 35 Tuns, and a Pinnace of 13 Tuns, called the *North Star.*

We coaſted the South ſide of *Ireland*, and on the 13th ſteered away N. W. till we came to the Latitude of 60 Deg. at which time I divided my Fleet, and ordered the *Sun-ſhine* and the *North Star* to ſeek a Paſſage Northward, between *Greenland* and *Iſland*, to the Latitude of 80 Deg. if Land did not hinder them.

I departed from them the ſeventh of *June*, and on the 15th diſcovered Land in Latitude of 60 Deg. and in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* Weſtward, 47 Deg. The Ice lay in ſome places 10, in ſome 20, in ſome 50 Leagues off the Shoar, ſo that we were conſtrained to bear into 57 Deg. to double the ſame, and to get a free Sea, which thro' God's favourable Mercy we at length obtained.

The 29th, after many Storms, we again diſcovered Land in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* 58 Deg. 30 Min. and in Latitude 64 Deg. being Eaſt from us; into which ſince it pleaſed God by contrary Winds to force us, I thought fit to bear in with it, and to ſet up our Pinnace, which we had provided in the *Marmaid* to be our Scout for this diſcovery, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Year before I had been in the ſame place, and found it very convenient for ſuch a Purpoſe, being inhabited by a People of tractable converſation, and the Sea void of Ice.

The Ships being within the *Sounds*, we ſent our Boats to ſearch for ſhoal Water, where we might anchor, which in this place is very hard to find. The People of the Country eſpying them, came in their *Canoas* towards them with Shouts and Cries; but when they ſaw in the Boat ſome of our Company that were there the laſt Year, they rowed to the Boat, and taking hold on the Oar, hung about the Boat, expreſſing a great deal of joy, and making ſigns that they knew all thoſe that had been with them the Year before. I went aſhoar with others of the Company, and took with me 20 Knives: We had no ſooner landed, but they leap'd out of their Canoa's and came running to us, and embraced us with many ſigns of hearty welcome: There were 18 of them, and I gave to each of them a Knife; they offered me Skins for a Reward, but I made ſigns that they were not ſold, but freely given to them, and ſo diſmiſſed them for that time, with ſigns that they ſhould return after certain hours.

The next day with all poſſible ſpeed the Pinnace was landed upon an Iſland, there to be finiſhed, and while it was ſetting up, the People came continually unto us, ſometimes 100 Canoa's at a time, bringing with them Seal Skins, Stags Skins, white Hares, Seals, Salmon-peal, ſmall Cod, dry Caplin, with other Fiſh, and ſome Birds.

I ſent one of the Boats to ſearch one part of the Land, while I went to another part, with ſtrict command that there ſhould be no injury offered to any of the People, nor any Gun ſhot: They found Tents made of Seal Skins, wherein was ſtore of dried Caplin, being a little Fiſh no bigger than a Pilchard, ſome Bags of Trane Oyl, many little Images cut in Wood, and Seal Skins in Tan-tubs, whereof they diminiſhed nothing.

When they had paſſed ten Miles within the Snowy Mountains, they came to a plain Champion Country with Earth and Graſs, like to our moory and waſte Grounds in *England*. They went ten Leagues up into a River, which in the narroweſt place was two Leagues broad, finding it ſtill to continue, they knew not how far. But I with my Company took another River, which altho' at firſt it offered a large Inlet, yet it proved but a deep Bay, the end whereof I attained in four Hours, and there leaving the Boat well manned, went with the reſt of my Company three or four Miles into the Country, but found nothing, nor ſaw any thing but Gripes, Ravens, and ſmall Birds, as Larks and Linnets.

The third of *July* I manned my Boat, and went with 50 Canoa's attending upon me into another Sound, where the People by ſigns willed me to go, hoping to find their Habitation. At laſt they made ſigns that I ſhould go into a warm place to ſleep, at which place I went on ſhoar, and deſired they would leap with our Men, which they agreed to, but ours did over-leap them. From Leaping they went to Wreſtling; we found them ſtrong and nimble, and to have ſkill in Wreſtling, for they caſt ſome of our Men that were good Wreſtlers.

Croſs over a Grave.

The fourth, the Maſter of the *Mermaid* went to certain Iſlands to ſtore himſelf with Wood, where he found a Grave with divers buried in it, covered with Seal Skins only, and a Croſs laid over them.

The People are of good ſtature, well proportioned, with ſmall ſlender Hands and Feet, broad Viſages, ſmall Eyes, wide Mouths, the moſt part unbearded, great Lips, and cloſe toothed: They are much given to bleed, and therefore ſtop their Noſes with Deers Hair, or that of an Elan.

How they kindle Fire.

One of them kindled a Fire after this manner; He took a piece of Board wherein was a hole half thro', then he put into the Hole the End of a round Stick like a Bedſtaff, wetting the End thereof in Trane, and (as your Turners do) with a piece of Leather, by the violent motion he ſpeedily produced fire; this done, he made a fire with Turfs, into which, with many Words and ſtrange Geſtures, he put divers things, which we ſuppoſed to be a ſacrifice: They deſired me to go into the Smoak, and I willed them likewiſe to ſtand in the Smoak, which they would by no means do: I then thruſt one of them into the Smoak, and commanded one of my Men to tread out the fire, and ſpurn it into the Sea, to ſhew them that we did contemn their Sorcery. The are very ſimple in their Converſation, but marvellouſly theeviſh, eſpecially of Iron, which they have in great eſteem: They cut away the *Moon-ſhine*'s Boat from her Stern, they cut our Cables, and our Cloth where it lay to air, tho' we did carefully look unto it: They ſtole our Oars, a Caliver, a Boar-ſpear, a Sword, with divers other things, which ſo grieved the Company, that they deſired me to diſſolve this new Friendſhip, whereupon I ordered a Caliver to be ſhot among them, and immediately upon the ſame a Falcon, which ſtrange noiſe did ſo amaze them, that they departed with all ſpeed; but within ten Hours they returned, and intreated a Peace, which being granted, they brought us Seals Skins and Salmon-peal, but when they ſaw Iron, they could not forbear ſtealing, which when I perceived, I commanded that in no caſe they ſhould be any more hardly uſed, but that our own People ſhould be more vigilant to keep their things. They did eat all their Meat raw, they live moſt upon Fiſh, drink ſalt Water, and eat Graſs and Ice with delight: They make fiſhing Nets of Whales Fins. 'Tis probable they have Wars with thoſe on the main Land, many of them being ſore wounded, which Wounds they received upon the main Land, as by ſigns they gave us to underſtand. We learned theſe following Words among them.

Nets made of Whale Fins.

Keſinyoh,	Eat ſome.
Madlycoyte,	Muſick.
Aginyoh,	Go fetch.
Yliaoute,	I mean no harm.
Ponameg,	a Boat.
Paaotyck,	an Oar.
Aſanock,	a Dart.
Sawygmeg,	a Knife.
Uderah,	a Noſe.
Aoh,	Iron.
Blete,	an Eye.
Unuicke,	Give it.
Tuckloach,	a Stag or Ellan.
Panigmah,	a Needle.
Aob,	the Sea.
Myſacoah,	waſh it.
Lethickſaneg,	a Seal Skin.
Canyglow,	Kiſs me.
Ugnera,	my Son.
Acu,	Shot.
Conah,	Leap.
Maatuke,	Fiſh.
Sambah,	Below.
Maconneg,	Will you have this?
Cocah,	Go to him.
Aba,	fallen down.
Icune,	come hither.
Awenny,	Yonder.
Nugo,	No.
Tucktodo,	a Fog.
Lechickſah,	a Skin.
Maccoah,	a Dart.
Sugnacoon,	a Coat.
Gounah,	come down.
Saſobneg,	a Bracelet.
Ugnake,	a Tongue.
Ataneg,	a Seal.
Macuah,	a Beard.
Pignagogah,	a Thread.
Quoyſa,	Give it to me.

The ſeventh of *July* I went aſhoar in our new Pinnace, and with the moſt part of my Company went to the top of an high Mountain, hoping from thence to ſee into the Country, but the Mountains were ſo many and ſo mighty, that we could not ſee far, whereupon returning to the Pinnace, we ſaw a ſtrange ſight, which was, a mighty Whirlwind, continuing three Hours with little intermiſſion, which taking up the Water in great quantity, furiouſly mounted it into the Air. The next Morning the Storm being over, we failed into a mighty great River, directly into the Body of the Land, and found it to be no firm Land, but huge, waſt and deſert Iſlands, with mighty Sounds, and Inlets paſſing between Sea and Sea.

A ſtrange Whirlwind.

On the ninth we returned to our Ships, where our Mariners complained heavily againſt the People, that they had ſtoln an Anchor from us, had cut one of our Cables very dangerouſly, and ſpared not to fling Stones at us of half a Pound weight. The next day I went aſhoar, and uſed them with much courteſy, and when I returned, they followed me in their Canoa's. I gave ſome of them Bracelets, and ſeven or eight of them came aboard, whom I uſed kindly, and let them depart. As ſoon as the Sun was ſet, they began to practice their deviliſh nature, and with Slings threw Stones very fiercely into the *Moon-ſhine*, and knock'd down the Boat-ſwain, whereupon we purſued them with our Boats, and ſhot at them, but they rowed ſo ſwiftly that we could not reach them.

On the 11th, five of them came to make a new Truce; the Maſter acquainted me with their coming, and deſired they might be kept Priſoners until we had the Anchor again; but when he ſaw the chief Ringleader and Maſter of Miſchief was one of the five, he was then very urgent to have him ſiezed, and ſo it was determined to take him. He came crying *Iliaout*, and ſtriking his Breaſt, offered a pair of Gloves to ſell, the Maſter offered him a Knife for them: So two of them came to us, one of them we diſmiſſed, but the other was ſoon made Captive among us: Then we pointed to him and his Fellows for our Ancher, which being had, we made ſigns he ſhould be ſet at liberty. About an Hour after, the Wind came fair, and we ſet ſail, and brought him away with us: One of his Companions following our Ship in his *Canoa*, talked with him, and ſeemed to lament

They ſieze upon one of the Natives.

lament his condition, we ſtill uſing him well, and ſaying to him, *Iliaout*, i. e. *We mean no harm*: At laſt he aboard ſpake four or five Words to the other, and clapping both his Hands on his Face, the other did the like, and ſo parted: We judged the covering his Face and bowing down his Body, ſignified his death. After ſome time he became a pleaſant Companion among us; I gave him a new Suit of Frize of the *Engliſh* faſhion, of which he was very joyful: He trimmed up his Darts and all his fiſhing Tools, and would make Okam, and ſet his Hand to a Ropes end: He fed upon *Caplin* and dry *Newland* Fiſh.

The 17th, being in latitude of 63 Deg. 8 Min. we fell with a mighty maſs of Ice, very high like Land, with Bays and Capes, and ſuppoſing it to be Land, we ſent our Pinnace to diſcover it, but at her return we were aſſured that it was only Ice, which cauſed great Admiration to us all, and the rather becauſe in this place we had very ſtickle and ſtrong Currents.

We coaſted this mighty maſs of Ice until the 30th, finding it a great Bar to our purpoſe. The Air was now ſo foggy and the Sea ſo peſter'd with Ice, that all hope of proceeding was baniſhed; for on the 24th our Shrouds, Ropes and Sails were ſo frozen and compaſſed with Ice, only by a groſs Fog, as ſeemed to me very ſtrange, who the laſt year found this Sea free and navigable, without Impediments.

Our Men thro' this extremity began to grow ſick and feeble, and withal hopeleſs of good ſucceſs; whereupon very orderly and diſcreetly they intreated me to regard our preſent ſtate, and withal adviſed me, that in conſcience I ought to reſpect the preſervation of my own life and theirs, and that I ſhould not thro' my over-boldneſs leave their Widows and Fatherleſs Children to give me bitter Curſes. This did move me to commiſerate their condition, yet conſidering the Importance of this Diſcovery if it could be accompliſhed, the great hope of a Paſſage, by what we had ſeen the laſt Voyage, and that there was yet a third way attempted, I thought it would turn to my diſcredit if the Action ſhould fail thro' my neglect, and therefore reſolved to proſecute it; and conſidering that the *Mermaid* by reaſon of her Burthen, was not ſo nimble and convenient for this Purpoſe as a ſmaller Bark, and was 100 *l.* a Month charge to the Adventurers, I determined to re-victual the *Moon-ſhine*, and proceed as God ſhould direct me. Whereupon I alter'd my Courſe to recover the next ſhoar where this might be performed, and the first of *Auguſt* diſcovered Land without Snow or Ice, in Latitude of 66 Deg. 33 Min. and in Longitude from the Meridian of *London*, 70 Deg.

Auguſt. The ſecond we anchored in a very good Road, where with all ſpeed we graved and re-victualled the *Moon-ſhine*; we found it here very hot, and were much troubled with *Muskito's*, which did ſting grievouſly. The People of the Country caught a Seal, and with Bladders faſt tied to him, ſent him to us with the Flood, ſo as he came right with our Ships, which we took as a friendly Preſent from them.

The 5th, I went on top of a Hill, and eſpying three *Canoa's* under a Rock, went to them, and found in them Skins, Darts, &c. whereof we diminiſhed nothing, but left upon every Boat a Silk Point, a Bullet of Lead, and a Pin. The next day the People came to us without fear, and bartered with us for Skins: Our Savage kept cloſe, and made ſhew that he would fain have another Companion.

Being thus provided, I departed the 12th of *Auguſt*, leaving the *Mermaid* at Anchor: Her Crew finding many Occaſions of Diſcontent, and being unwilling to proceed, here forſook me.

The *Mermaid* forſakes them and returns.

The 14th, ſailing Weſt 50 Leagues, we diſcovered Land in Lat. 66 Deg. 19 Min. and the next day we ſtood to the South, and on the 18th diſcovered a very fair Promontory North-weſt from us, in 65 Deg. having no Land on the South, which gave us great hopes of a Paſſage.

The 20th I went to the top of an high Hill, whence I perceived that this Land was all Iſlands; we coaſted this Land towards the South from 67 to 57 Deg.

The 28th, having great diſtruſt of the Weather, we arrived in a fair Harbour, and ſailed ten Leagues into the ſame, being two Leagues broad, with fair Woods on both ſides. Here we continued till the firſt of *September*, in which time we had two very great Storms. I went ſix Miles into the Country and found the Woods were Fir, Pine-apple, Elder, Yew, Withy, and Birch: Here we ſaw a black Bear, and ſtore of Birds, as Pheaſants, Patridges, wild-Geeſe, Ducks, Black-Birds, Jayes, Thruſhes, and other ſmall Birds.

September The firſt we ſet ſail, and coaſted the Shoar with fair weather. The fourth we anchored in a good Road among many Iſlands. Eight Leagues to the North of this place, we had ſtrong hopes of a Paſſage, by reaſon of a mighty Sea paſſing between two Lands Weſt. We greatly deſired to go into this Sea, but the Wind was directly againſt us.

The ſixth we ſent five young Men aſhoar to an Iſland, to fetch ſome Fiſh, which we had left there covered all Night: The Savages who lurked in the Woods, ſuddenly aſſaulted our Men, which we perceiving, let ſlip our Cable, and under our Fore-ſail, bare into the Shoar, and diſcharged a double Muſket upon them twice; at the noiſe whereof they fled, having killed two of our Men with their Arrows, and grievouſly wounded two more, the other eſcaped by ſwimming, with an Arrow ſhot thro' his Arm. This Evening it pleaſed God further to increaſe our Sorrows, with a furious Storm at N. N. E. which laſted to the tenth: We unrigged our Ship, and intended to cut down our Maſts, the Cable of our Sheet Anchor brake, ſo that we expected to be driven aſhoar and become a Prey to the Canibals. Yet in this deep diſtreſs, God gave us ſuccour, and ſent us a fair Lee, ſo as we recovered our Anchor again, and new mored our Ship, where we ſaw that God had manifeſtly delivered us, for two Strands of our Cable were broken.

Two of the *Engliſh* ſlain by Savages.

The 11th, the Wind coming fair at W. N. W. we departed with truſt in God's mercy, ſhaping our Courſe for *England*, and arrived in the Weſt Country the beginning of *October*, where the *Sun-ſhine* arrived few days before us. She had been at *Iſland*, and from thence to *Groenland*, and ſo to *Eſtoliland*, and thence to *Deſolation*, where ſhe trafficked with the People, ſtaying in the Country 20 days. They loſt ſight of the Pinnace, called the *North Star*, on the third of *September* in a very great ſtorm, and lay a hull to tarry for her all the next day, but ſaw her no more: The ſaid Pinnace never return'd home.

The Third Voyage attempted by Mr. John Davis, *for diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage,* Anno 1587.

IN my laſt Voyage, in Latitude of 54 Deg. 30 Min. on the third of *September* the Fiſh did ſwim ſo thick about our Bark, as is incredible; and altho' we were unprovided of Fiſhing Tackle, yet with a Hook made of a long Spike Nail, and faſtned to one of our Sounding-Lines, before the Bait was changed we took more than 40 great Cods, which divers Fiſher-men that were with me ſaid, were the largeſt and beſt fed Fiſh that ever they ſaw. This encouraged ſome of the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers to continue their Favour and Charge (tho' all the Weſt Country Merchants, and moſt of thoſe in *London* fell from the Action) and three Ships were appointed, *viz.* the *Elizabeth*, the *Sun-ſhine*, and the *Helene*, two of them for the Fiſhing, and one for the Diſcovery.

We departed from *Dartmouth* the 19th of *May*, and diſcovered Land on the 14th of *June*. *June.*

On the 16th we anchored among many low Iſlands which lay before the high Land; the People came to us, crying *Iliaout*, and ſhewing us Seals Skins.

On the 20th I left the two Ships to follow their Fiſhing, taking their faithful Promiſe not to depart until my return unto them, which ſhould be in the end of *Auguſt*; but they finiſhing their Voyage in 16 Days, preſently return'd for *England*, without regard of their Promiſe, whilſt I not diſtruſting any ſuch hard meaſure, proceeded on the Diſcovery.

On the 24th, in Latitude of 67 Deg. 40 Min. the Weather was very hot; thirty Savages came to us in their *Canoas*, 20 Leagues from the Land, intreating us to go aſhoar. I coaſted the Shoar of *Groenland* from the 21ſt to the 30th, having the Sea all open towards the Weſt, and the Land on the Star-board ſide Eaſt from me: The weather extreamly hot, and very calm: The Sun was five Degrees above the Horizon at midnight, Lat. 72 Deg. 12 Min. The Compaſs in this place varied 28 Deg. towards the Weſt.

July The third of *July* we fell again with Ice, and on the ſixth put our Bark thorough it, ſeeing the Sea free on the Weſt ſide, and when we had ſailed five Leagues

Weſt, we fell with another mighty Bank of Ice, which we could not paſs, and therefore returning again, we got clear on the eighth at midnight, and recovered the open Sea thro' God's favour, by giving us fair Winds and calm weather.

On the 15th, in Lat. 67 Deg. 45 Min. a great Current ſet us to the Weſt ſix Points from our Courſe.

On the 19th, we had ſight of Mount *Raleigh*.

On the 30th, we croſſed over the Entrance of a great In-let or Paſſage, being 20 Leagues broad, and ſituate between 62 and 63 Deg. in which place we had eight or nine great Races, Currents, or Over-falls, like the Water under *London-bridge*, and bending their Courſe into the ſaid Inlet.

The 31ſt, in Lat. 62 Deg. coming cloſe by a Foreland, we fell into a mighty Race, where an Iſland of Ice was carried by the force of the Current as faſt as our Bark could ſail with all Sails bearing. This Cape, as it was the Southerly Limit of the Gulph, we paſſed over yeſterday, ſo was it the North Promontory or Beginning of another great Inlet, which we paſſed over this Night, where we ſaw the Sea falling down toward the Inlet, with a mighty Over-fall, and circular Motions like Whirlpools, in the ſame manner as forcible Streams paſs thro' the Arches of Bridges.

Auguſt.

On the 13th of *Auguſt*, as we were ſeeking for our Ships that went to fiſh, being among many Iſlands, we ſtruck on a Rock, and had a great Leak. The next day we ſtopped our Leak in a ſtorm, and on the 15th being in Lat. 62 Deg. 12 Min. and not finding our Ships, nor (according to their Promiſe) any Mark, Token, or Beckon, which I willed them to ſet up, and they proteſted to do upon every Headland or Cape within 20 Leagues every way from their fiſhing place, and we having but little Wood in our Ship, and half a Hogſhead of freſh Water, I ſhaped my Courſe for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the 15th of *September*.

Chap. XXIX.

The Voyage of Sir Humphry Gilbert *in the Country of* Devon, *Knight, for diſcovery of Countries to the Northwards of the Cape of* Florida, Anno 1583: *Written by* Edward Haies, *Capt. of the* Hind.

1583.

When firſt Sir *Humphry* had procured Letters Patents from her Majeſty for inhabiting ſuch places in *America* as were not in actual Poſſeſſion of ſome Chriſtian Prince, many Gentlemen of good eſteem aſſociated him in ſo laudable an Enterpriſe; but when Shipping was prepared, and Men ready upon the Coaſt to go aboard, ſome failed in performing their Contracts, and others deſerted who promiſed to accompany him, ſo that he was forced to put to Sea with a few of his aſſured Friends, where meeting with Misfortunes, and looſing one of his Ships, he returned home.

Having thus buried a great deal of Money only in a preparation, and much impaired his Eſtate, yet his Mind was not daunted, but continuing his purpoſe, granted Aſſignments out of his Commiſſion to divers Perſons of mean ability to plant and fortify in the North Parts of *America*, about the River of *Canada*, from whence no great matter was expected, to whom if God ſhould give good ſucceſs, he thought it would much advance the Hopes of the South; but time paſſing away, and nothing done by his Aſſigns, he was neceſſitated to take a Voyage in Perſon to keep his Patent in force, which was to expire if he got not actual poſſeſſion in ſix Years, and four Years were then elapſed.

After many Difficulties and croſs Accidents, he ſet out five Ships, *viz.*

June.

The *Delight*, 120 Tuns, Admiral, wherein he went in Perſon.

The *Bark Raleigh*, 200 Tuns, ſet forth by Mr. *Walter Raleigh*.

The *Golden Hind*, 40 Tuns.

The *Swallow*, 40 Tuns.

The *Squirril*, 10 Tuns, a ſmall Frigat for ſearching Creeks and Harbours.

We were in all about 260 Men, among whom were Ship-wrights, Maſons, Carpenters, Smiths, Refiners and Muſicians. Our Fleet aſſembled at *Plimouth*, where it was reſolved to put to Sea before our Proviſion and the Summer were too far ſpent. But a Doubt aroſe whether we ſhould begin our Diſcovery from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

The firſt ſeemed without controverſy to be the beſt, becauſe we ſhould have the Current with us, which ſets Northwards from the Cape of *Florida*, and it being now *June*, we were not to ſpend time in Northerly Courſes, where we ſhould be ſurprized with Winter, but to haſten to the South, where the Winter would be milder and ſhorter than in the North.

July.

On the other ſide it was alledged, that ſince our Victuals were diminiſhed, and not ſufficient for ſo long a Voyage and the wintering of ſo many Men, we ought to ſhape our Courſe moſt likely to miniſter ſupply, and that was, to take *Newfoundland* in our way, which is but 700 Leagues from our own Coaſt, where a multitude of Ships reſorting yearly to fiſh, and tarrying until the end of *Auguſt*, we ſhould be abundantly ſupplied with Neceſſaries, which after the fiſhing ended, they might well ſpare, and freely impart to us. This done, we might proceed Southward and follow the Sun, until we arrived at places more temperate. Whereupon it was reſolved to begin our Diſcovery Northwards ſubmitting to Neceſſity, which muſt be ſupplied; altho' we had juſt reaſon to fear the Currents from the Cape of *Florida* towards Cape *Briton* and Cape *Raſe*, would be great Impediments to our further proceeding this Year, and compell us to winter in thoſe cold Regions, ſubject to continual Fogs, thick Miſts, and tempeſtuous weather.

On the 11th day of *June*, we ſailed from *Plimouth*, and on the 13th the Vice-admiral ſignified unto us, that the Captain and many of the Men were fallen ſick and about midnight they forſook us, altho' we had the Wind at Eaſt, fair and good: I could never underſtand the reaſon. It was afterwards reported, that they were infected with ſome contagious diſtemper, and arrived greatly diſtreſſed at *Plimouth*. I am confident no coſt was ſpared by Mr. *Raleigh*, their Owner, in ſetting forth; therefore I leave it unto God.

By this time we were in 48 Deg. of Latitude, not a little grieved at the loſs of the moſt puiſſant Ship in our Fleet, after whoſe departure the *Golden Hind* removed her Flag from the Mizen to the Fore-top.

From the 15th of *June* to the 28th, we never had a fair day, without Fog or Rain, and contrary Winds, moſt part at W. N. W. whereby we were driven Southward to 41 Deg.

At this time of the Year, the Winds about *Newfoundland* are commonly within two Points of the Weſt, either to the North or South, which makes the Courſe thither to be long and tedious after *June*, which in *March*, *April*, and *May*, hath been performed from *England* in leſs than 22 Days. We had the Wind ſo ſcant, that our traverſe was great, running to almoſt 41 Deg. South, and then to 51 Deg. North: We were alſo ſo peſter'd with Fogs and Miſty, that we loſt Company of the *Swallow* and *Squirrel*.

The Bank of Newfoundland.

About 50 Leagues on this ſide *Newfoundland*, we paſſed the Bank, which is a high Ground or Mountain under Water, beginning in 52 or 53 Deg. Northwards, and extending to 42 Deg. Southward. Its breadth is in ſome places more, in ſome leſs; we found it about 10 Leagues over where we paſſed. There is ſeldom leſs than 25 or 30 Fathom Water upon it, but we had no Ground on either ſide, with almoſt 200 Fathom of Line. While the

Fiſhing Seaſon laſts, a Man may know without ſounding when he is upon the Bank, by the incredible number of Sea-fowls hovering over it, to prey upon the Offals of Fiſh thrown out by Fiſhermen, and floating on the Sea. The *Portugueze* and *French* have a mighty trade of fiſhing on this Bank.

On the 30th of *July* we had ſight of Land, which we could not well diſcern by reaſon of the great Fog upon the Coaſt. We followed the Coaſt to the Southward until we came to the Bay of *Conception*, where we met again with the *Swallow*, and wondred to find all her Men in other Apparel. They hapned to meet with a *French* Veſſel homeward bound, and therefore deſired the Captain to give them leave to go aboard the ſaid Veſſel to borrow ſuch Proviſion as might be ſpared. Leave given, with ſtrict charge to deal favourably, they entred, and rifled her of Tackle, Sails, Cables, and rob'd the Men of their Cloaths, winding Cords about their Heads to make them diſcover what they had hidden. As they were returning in their Boat, the over-ſet by the Ships ſide, and ſome of them were drowned, the reſt were ſaved, and delivered ſafely aboard the *Swallow* by thoſe poor Creatures whom they had ſo barbarouſly uſed. They had alſo newly taken a *French* Veſſel laden with Wines, and another with Salt, both which we ſet at liberty, and taking the *Swallow* with us, we held on our Courſe Southerly until we came to the Harbour of St. *John*'s, where we found the *Squirril* at Anchor: There were then of all Nations within the Harbour 36 Sail. The Maſters of the *Engliſh* Ships came aboard to know the cauſe of our Arrival there; the General ſhewed his Commiſſion to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries for the Crown of *England*, and advancement of Chriſtian Religion, requiring their lawful aid for repairing his Fleet, and ſupply of ſome Neceſſaries ſo far as might conveniently be afforded him, out of that and other Harbours adjoining. in recompence whereof he offered to gratify them with any Favour and Priviledge they ſhould demand, which they could not expect to obtain hereafter upon ſuch reaſonable Terms. The Maſters promiſed to uſe their beſt endeavour to ſatisfy his reaſonable requeſt, and departed.

Every Ship of our Fleet was order'd to deliver to the Maſters of Ships in the Harbour, a Note of all their Wants, and Commiſſioners were appointed, part of our own Company and part of theirs to go into the adjoining Harbours, and levy our Proviſion, who were to tax all Ships as well *Engliſh* as Strangers, at an eaſy rate to ſupply us; the *Portugals* above other Nations, did moſt willingly and liberally contribute.

On the fifth of *Auguſt* the General had his Tent ſet up, and being well accompanied, ſummoned the Merchants and Maſters, both *Engliſh* and Strangers, to be preſent at his taking poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, before whom was openly read and interpreted his Commiſſion, by virtue whereof he took poſſeſſion of the ſaid Harbour of St. *John's*, and 200 Leagues every way, and (after the cuſtom of *England*) had a Rod and Turf of the ſame Soil delivered to him in token of poſſeſſion of the ſame, for him, his Heirs, and Aſſigns for ever; and ſignified unto all Men that from that time forward, they ſhould take the ſame Land as a Territory appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and that all Perſons coming thither hereafter to inhabit or traffick, ſhould be governed by ſuch Laws as he ſhould ordain, which ſhould be agreeable (as near as conveniently might be) to the Laws of *England*; and for a beginning, declared three Laws to be in force immediately. Firſt, For Religion, which in publick Exerciſe, ſhould be according to the Church of *England*. Secondly, For maintenance of her Majeſties Right and Poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, againſt which, if any thing were attempted, the Party offending to be executed as in caſe of high Treaſon. Thirdly, If any Perſon ſhould utter Words to the diſhonour of her Majeſty, he ſhould looſe his Ears, and (if a Merchant or Maſter of a Ship) to have his Ship and Goods confiſcate.

After Publication, Obedience was promiſed as well by Strangers as *Engliſh*, praying for continuance of this new Government. The Arms of *England* alſo were engraven in Lead and fixed on a Pillar of Wood; and the General granted in fee farm divers parcels of Land by the Water-ſide, whereby the Owners were for the future aſſured of a convenient place to dreſs and dry their Fiſh in, whereof before they were prevented by them that came firſt into the Harbour, for which they covenanted to pay a certain yearly Rent to Sir *Humphry* and his Aſſigns.

We had with us one *Daniel* a *Saxon*, well skilled in Minerals, who brought a parcel of Ore to the General, and proteſted that if Silver were the thing which might ſatisfy him and his Followers, there it was, and adviſed him to ſeek no farther, offering to engage his life upon it, which (he ſaid) was as dear to him as the Crown of *England* to her Majeſty.

I was not ſatisfied with this confident Aſſertion of the Refiner, but took occaſion to ask the General's opinion therein: He anſwered, *Content your ſelf, I have ſeen enough, and were I only to ſatisfy my own private humour, I would no further, but the Promiſe I made my Friends to diſcover the South Countries within Compaſs, now near expired, does alone induce me to go further; and as to the Ore, I have ſent it aboard, and would have no talk made of it while we are in harbour, where ſo many* Portugals, Biſcains, *and* French-*men are: When we are at Sea, proof ſhall be made, and if it anſwer our Expectations, we may the ſooner return again.*

While ſome of us were occupied in providing neceſſaries for our Voyage, others were watching for an opportunity when the Captains lay aſhoar, to ſteal away with our Ships by night; others got away in a Ship laden with Fiſh, which they ſiezed in an adjoining Harbour, and ſet the poor Men aſhoar; many hid themſelves in the Woods, watching an opportunity to return home by ſuch ſhipping as daily departed from the Coaſt; ſome were ſick of Fluxes, and licenced by the General to return, and many dead; ſo that upon a review we found our Company ſo diminiſhed, that we wanted Men to furniſh our Ships; wherefore the General thought good to leave the *Swallow* with ſuch proviſion as could be ſpared, to carry home the ſick People.

Our Ships being now ready, *viz*, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, wherein was the General, we departed from St. *Johns* the 20th of *Auguſt*. which we found by exact Obſervation to be in 47 Deg. 40 Min. and the next day were at Cape *Raſe*, 25 Leagues S. S. W. from St. *Johns*, it is a low Land, in Latitude 46 Deg. 25 Min. Thence we ſhaped our courſe for the Iſle of *Sablon*, lying about 25 Leagues to Seaward of Cape *Briton*, upon intelligence given us by a *Portugueſe* at St. *Johns*, who told us that he was there 30 Years paſt, when the *Portugals* left in the ſame Iſland both Neat and Swine to breed, which were ſince exceedingly multiplied. This ſeemed happy tidings to us, to have ſuch ſtore of Cattle in an Iſland ſo near the place we intended to plant upon, from whence we might be ſupplied with Victuals for the preſent and the future.

From Cape *Race* to Cape *Briton* is 87 Leagues, in which Navigation, we ſpent eight days with indifferent good Winds, and never had ſight of Land, being hindred by the Current; at laſt we fell among ſuch Flats that it was a wonder any Ship eſcaped.

I ſhall ſet down the beſt Reckonings that were kept by expert Men the Maſter and Mate of the *Hind*, in our Courſe from Cape *Race* towards Cape *Briton* and the Iſland of *Soblon*.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt	14	Leagues.
23.	W. by S.	25	
24.	W. N. W.	25	
25.	W. N. W.	9	
26.	S. S. W.	10	
27.	S. W.	12	
28.	S. S. W.	10	
Auguſt 29.	W. N. W.	12	Here we loſt the (*Delight*.
		117	

The Maſter's Mate's Reckoning.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt	14	Leagues.
23.	N.W.by W.	9	
24.	S. W. by S.	5	
25.	W. by S.	40	
26.	W. by N.	7	
27.	S. W.	3	
28.	S. W. S. W. W. S. W.	9 7 7	
29.	N.W.by W.	20	Here we loſt the *Delight*.
		121	

On the 17th of *Auguſt* we had 35 Fathom, white Sand, Lat. 44 Deg.

The 28th, the Wind came South, and we followed the *Delight*, who bare with the Land all that Night, contrary to the mind of the Maſter of the *Hind*, who could not perſwade them to hold other Courſe, they alledging they could not make the Ship work better, nor to lie otherways.

The Delight loſt.

The Evening was fair and pleaſant, tho' not without token of Storms approaching: They in the *Delight* ſounded their Trumpets, and winded their Cornets. The next day being the 29th of *Auguſt*, the Wind blew vehemently at S. by E. with Rain and thick Miſts, that we could not ſee a Cable's length before us, and finding our ſelves encompaſſed with Flats and Sands, we made ſigns to the *Delight* to caſt about to Seaward, but they kept ſo ill a Watch, that they knew not the danger before they felt it, and ſtriking upon a Breach, her Stern was ſoon beaten in pieces; whereupon the General in the *Squirrel* and we in the *Hind* caſt about to Seaward, it not being in our power to give them any ſuccour, the Sea going mightily high, yet all that day and part of the next, we beat up and down as near the Wreck as was poſſible, looking out to ſee if perhaps any of them had ſaved themſelves in Boats, or upon Rafters, or other ways. There periſhed in her near 100 Men, among whom was a learned *Hungarian* born in *Buda*, who out of Piety and Zeal to good Attempts, adventured in this Action, intending to record in the *Latin* Tongue ſuch things as ſhould happen in this Voyage worthy of remembrance. Here alſo periſhed our *Saxon* Refiner and Diſcoverer of ineſtimable Riches, as many of us were fully perſwaded; alſo Captain *Maurice Brown*, a virtuous, honeſt and diſcreet Gentleman.

Miraculous Deliverance.

As God would have it, the day before was very calm, and a Souldier having killed a Fowl with his Piece, deſired the Boat might be hoiſed out to fetch it, which was granted, and was not hoiſed in again that Night, and when the Ship was caſt away, the Boat was aſtern, being in burthen about a Tun and a half; there was left in the Boat one Oar, and nothing elſe. Some of the Company that could ſwim, recovered the Boat, and haled as many Men out of the Water as they could, but eſpecially watched for the Captain or the Maſter, the firſt of which they could never ſee, but got hold of the Maſter, and when 16 were in the Boat, they cut off the Rope, and committed themſelves to God's mercy, deſtitute of Food, and not a drop of freſh Water, but were forced to drink their own Urine, without any other ſuſtenance for ſix days together.

They return.

A Sea Monſter.

After this heavy chance, we in the *Hind* and *Squirrel* continued beating up and down, expecting when the weather would clear up, that we might bear in with the Land. The *Squirrel*'s Company being pinched with ſhort allowance and want of Cloaths, beſought the General to return for *England* before all periſhed; whereupon moved with compaſſion towards his poor Men, in whom he ſaw no want of good will, but of means to perform the Action, he reſolved to return, and calling the Captain and Maſter of the *Hind*, he gave them many Reaſons inforcing his unexpected return, withal proteſting himſelf ſatisfied with what he had ſeen and known already, reiterating theſe Words, *Be content, we have ſeen enough, and take no care of Expence paſt; if God ſend us ſafe home, I will ſet you forth royally the next Spring, therefore I pray you let us no longer ſtrive here, where we fight againſt the Elements.* So upon the 31ſt of *Auguſt* in the Afternoon we changed our Courſe and returned for *England*, at which very inſtant, juſt as we were winding about, there paſſed between us towards the Land, a very Lion to our thinking, in Shape, Hair, and Colour, with his whole Body in ſight except the Legs; he turned his Head to and fro, ſhewing his long Teeth and glaring Eyes, and coming right againſt the *Hind*, he roared much like a Lion. The General took it for a good *Omen*, rejoicing that he was to war againſt ſuch an Enemy, if it were the Devil.

The ſecond of *September* we paſſed in ſight of Cape *Race*; the General came aboard the *Hind*, which was our laſt meeting. He much lamented the loſs of his great Ship, and of his Books and Notes, and ſomething elſe for which he was out of meaſure grieved, which I could not draw from him, but I gueſs it to be the Ore which *Daniel* the *Saxon* brought to him in *Newfoundland*, the remembrance whereof touched him ſo deep, that he at the ſame time beat his Boy in a great rage, becauſe when he was formerly ſent aboard the *Delight* to fetch ſome things, this, being the chief, was forgotten and left behind; after which time he never had an opportunity of ſending again.

The General at our firſt ſetting out, had no good opinion of theſe Northern Parts, and was willing to grant Aſſignments to ſuch as required them, whereas now he became contrarily affected, refuſing to make any Grants, eſpecially of St. *John's*, which ſome *Engliſh* Merchants made ſuit for, offering to employ their Money and Travel upon the ſame; yet neither by their own Suit, nor of others of his Company, whom he was willing to pleaſure, could it be obtained.

Alſo ſpeaking of his Reſolution to reattempt this Voyage the next Spring, he aſſigned the South part to the Captain and Maſter of the *Hind*, and reſerved the North to himſelf, affirming that this Voyage had won his Heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northern Man altogether. And when we asked him what Means he had at his arrival in *England*, to compaſs the Charges of ſuch an Expedition, he determining upon two Fleets, one for the North, and another for the South: Leave that to me (he replied) I will ask a Penny of no Man; I will bring good Tidings to her Majeſt, who will be ſo gracious to lend me 10000 *l.* willing us therefore to be of good cheer, for he thanked God, he ſaid, with all his Heart for what he had ſeen, the ſame being enough for us all, and that we needed not to ſeek any further. Theſe laſt Words he would often repeat with great fervency, being very confident and ſetled in belief of ineſtimable good by this Voyage; but the greater number of his Followers were of a contrary opinion.

The Captain, Maſter, and others of the *Hind*, endeavoured to perſwade him to ſail in her, and not to venture in the *Squirrel*, which was over-charged with Nettings and ſmall Artillery, more for ſhew than ſafety, being too cumberſon for ſo ſmall a Boat, and was afterward the occaſion of her loſs; but his anſwer was, I will not forſake my little Company, with whom I have paſſed ſo many Storms and Perils. When we ſaw we could not divert him from his Reſolution we ſupplied him with Proviſion out of the *Hind*, and ſetting him aboard the *Squirrel*, committed him to God's protection, we being then more than 300 Leagues on our way home.

When we came into the Latitude of 50 Deg. we met with very foul weather, the Seas breaking ſhort and high like Pyramids, ſo that thoſe aboard us who had uſed the Sea all their life-time, never ſaw more terrible Seas. We had alſo upon our Main-yard, an Apparition of a little Fire by Night, which Seamen call a *Corpuſant*, or *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and is uſually ſeen in great Sorms. We had only one, which is commonly believed to be a ſign of more tempeſt to come.

Caſtor and *Pollux*.

On *Munday* the 6th of *September*, in the Afternoon the *Squirrel* was near caſt away, oppreſſed by Waves, yet at that time recovered, and ſhewed ſigns of Joy. The General ſitting abaft with a Book in his Hand, cried out unto us in the *Hind*, as oft as we approached within hearing, *We are as near to Heaven by Sea as by Land*, Reitering the ſame Speech, well beſeeming a reſolute Soldier of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

The ſame Night about twelve a clock, the *Squirrel* being a head of us, ſuddenly her Lights were out, and our Watch cried out, the General was caſt away, which proved too true. Yet we ſtill looked out all that Night, and ever after till our arrival in *England*. After much bad weather, we arrived in *Falmouth* the 22d of *September*, 1583.

Sir Humphry Gilbert drowned.

A Relation of Richard Clark, *Maſter of the* Delight, *written to vindicate himſelf from the fault of caſting away the Ship, imputed to his Overſight.*

DEparting from St. *Johns* Harbour the 20th of *Auguſt* unto Cape *Raze*, from thence we directed our Courſe to the Iſle of *Sablon*, but when we came within 20 Leagues of it, the General came up in his Frigat, and demanded of me what courſe was beſt to keep; I ſaid that W. S. W. was beſt, becauſe the Wind was at South and Night at hand, and unknown Sands lay off a great way from the Land. The General commanded me to go W. N. W. I told him that the Iſle of *Sablon* was W. N. W. and but 15 Leagues off, and that he ſhould be upon the Iſland before day if he went that courſe. The General ſaid my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Majeſties Name, and as I would ſhew my ſelf in her Country, to follow him that Night. I fearing his threatnings, becauſe he repreſented her Majeſties Perſon, obeyed his command, and about ſeven in the Morning

ing the Ship ſtruck aground and was caſt away. Sixteen of us got into the Boat, which was ſo little, and ſo crouded with Men, that we expected every moment to be ſwallowed by the Sea. When we had remained in this condition two Days and two Nights, and ſaw that it pleaſed God that our Boat ſtill lived in the Sea, and might bring ſome of us to Land, if not over-charged: One *Headly* a Souldier made a motion that all but my ſelf ſhould caſt Lots, and thoſe four which had the ſhorteſt Lots, ſhould be thrown over-board; but I refuſed, and adviſed to abide God's pleaſure, who was able to ſave all as well as a few. He then asked me if my remembrance was good; I replied, I gave God praiſe it was good, and that I knew how far I was from the Land, where I hoped we ſhould come within two or three Days, and to put them in comfort, told them it was but 60 Leagues, altho' it were 70. Thus we continued the third and fourth day, without any ſuſtenance, but Weeds that ſwam on the Sea, and ſalt Water to drink. The fifth day *Headly* died, and one more; then we all deſired to die, being pinched with hunger, and the weather ſo foul, that in all theſe five days we ſaw the Sun but once, and the Stars but one Night. Thus we remained the ſixth day, and the Company were very importunate, and doubted they ſhould never come to Land; I comforted them as well as I could, and promiſed they ſhould come to land the next day, or elſe they ſhould caſt me over-board; and accordingly the ſeventh day at eleven we had ſight of the South part of *Newfoundland,* and at three came aſhoar. All theſe ſeven days the Wind kept at South; had it ſhifted we had never got to Land (having but one Oar) and the Wind came up at North within half an Hour after our arrival. We were ſo weak that one could ſcarce help another out of the Boat, yet with much ado, being all come aſhoar, we kneeled down and praiſed God that he had dealt ſo mercifully with us. Then the ſtrongeſt helpt the reſt to freſh Brook, where we ſatisfied our ſelves with Water and Berries very well. We made a little Houſe with Boughs, where we reſted that Night: In the Morning I diſperſed the Company three and three to ſeek every way for Food, appointing them to meet all again at Noon. They found great ſtore of Peaſe, as good as we have in *England,* wherewith having refreſhed our ſelves three days, and made new Oars, we rowed along the Shoar five days, and when we were hnngry, went aſhoar and gathered Peaſe and Berries. At laſt we hapned on a Ship of St. *John de Luz,* which brought us to *Biſcay*; the Maſter was our Friend, or elſe we had been put to death; for when the Viſitors came aboard, as is the cuſtom in *Spain,* they demanding what we were, he ſaid we were poor Fiſher-men, who had loſt our Ship in *Newfoundland,* and ſo they enquired no more. As ſoon as Night was come, he put us on Land, bidding us ſhift for our ſelves; we had not above ten or twelve Miles into *France,* which we walked that Night, and were then out of danger, and ſhortly after came into *England* toward the end of the Year 1583.

An Account of Sir Humphry Gilbert*'s Voyage to* Newfoundland: *Written by* Stephanus Parmenus Budeus.

To the Reverend Mr. *Richard Hakluyt,* Maſter of Arts and Philoſophy at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford.*

My Friend and Brother,

I had not purpoſed to write to you, when the Promiſe of your Letters came to my mind; you had thoughts of following us your ſelf in *June* laſt, and therefore I deſired Doctor *Humphry* to acquaint you how it was with me; But that not ſatisfying you, I ſhall repeat the ſame, having no leiſure at this time to multiply words.

On the 11th of *June,* we did at laſt ſet ſail from *Plimouth* in good earneſt, our Fleet conſiſting of five Ships, the greateſt of which the * Admiral's Brother had lent us, withdrew her ſelf from us the third day, we know not upon what occaſion; the reſt of us kept company till the 23d of *July,* at which time the great Miſts intercepting our ſight, we were diſperſed. Our Ship being alone, we deſcried Land the firſt of *Auguſt,* about the Latitude of 50 Deg. after we had run beyond the Latitude of 41 Deg. in hope of Southerly Winds, which did not blow at that time, as uſually.

* Mr. Rawleigh.

The Iſland is by the *Engliſh* called *Pengwin,* becauſe of the multitude of Birds of the ſame name; but we ſaw no Birds, nor came near the Land, the Wind being fair for our deſigned Port, where, by the goodneſs of God, and to our great Joy, we arrived in two hours. The place is ſituate in *Newfoundland,* between 47 and 48 Deg. call'd St. *Johns.* The Ship's Company aboard the Admiral, were ſomewhat ſickly, by reaſon of the multitude of Men and ſmalneſs of the Ship, and two of them were dead of a Flux, of the reſt we have good hope. Of our Ship's Company (for I am ſhipp'd aboard *Maurice Brown,* a gallant young Gentleman) two were caſually drowned, the reſt are in ſafety, and ſtrong, and as for my own part, I was never more healthy. We arrived here the third of *Auguſt,* and on the fifth the Admiral took poſſeſſion of the Country, for himſelf and the Kingdom of *England,* ordaining and publiſhing certain Laws concerning Religion, and Obedience to the Queen of *England.* At preſent our Fare is ſomewhat better and daintier than it was before; and Experience having taught us what contrary Winds we have met with, and what we may yet feel, we ſhall take order that nothing be wanting. We found in this place about 20 *Portugal* and *Spaniſh* Ships, beſides *Engliſh,* who being inferiour to us in Power, muſt not let us ſuffer by Hunger. The *Engliſh,* altho' they were ſtrong enough, and ſafe from our Force, yet ſeeing our Authority under the Queen's Letters Patents, they ſhewed us all manner of Duty and Humanity.

The Country and Manners of the People remain next to be ſpoken of: But what ſhall I ſay, my *Hakluyt,* when I ſee nothing but a very Wilderneſs? Of Fiſh here is an incredible plenty, from whence ariſes great profit to the Undertakers: The Hook ſcarce reaches the bottom, before ſome goodly Fiſh is taken. The whole Land is full of Hills and Woods: The Trees are for the moſt part of Pines, whereof ſome are decayed, and others ſpringing up. Many of the old being fallen down, ſtop the way, and hinder the ſight of Travellers, that they cannot go forward. The Graſs and Herbs are long and tall, little differing from ours. Nature it ſelf ſeems to endeavour the Production of Corn; for I found ſome Blades and Ears in a manner bearded, ſo that by mannuring and ſowing, they might eaſily be made fit for the uſe of man. The Buſhes and Strawberries ſpringing up in the Woods, caſt a pleaſant odour. Bears do ſometimes appear about the Fiſhermens Cottages, and are three killed, but they ſeem by their Skins to be white, and are leſs than ours. Whether there be any People in the Country is uncertain; I could never meet with any Man that had ſeen any, and indeed how is it poſſible he ſhould, when the Country is impaſſible. For the ſame reaſon it is unknown whether the Mountains contain any Metals, altho' the colour of them ſeems to promiſe ſome Mines in them. We moved the Admiral to fire the Woods, that we might march and view the Country; which Motion did not diſpleaſe him, had it not been for fear of great inconvenience that might enſue; for it was reported and confirmed by very credible Perſons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the Fiſh never came near the place in ſeven Years after, by reaſon of the Water being made bitter by the Turpentine and Roſin of the Trees, which ran into the Rivers. The Weather is now ſo hot, that unleſs the Fiſh which is laid out to be dried in the Sun, be every day turned, it will be parched and ſpoiled. How cold it is in Winter, the great Mountains of Ice in the midſt of the Sea, have taught us. Some of our Company report, that in *May* they have been incloſed with Ice 16 days together, ſome of which Iſlands of Ice were 60 Fathoms high, and when the ſides next the Sun were melted, it would ſo alter the ballance of them, that the bottom part would riſe upward, to the great Peril of thoſe that were near them. The Air upon the Land is indifferently clear, but at Sea towards the Eaſt are nothing but perpetual Miſts; and in the Sea about the Bank (40 Leagues diſtant from ſhoar) there is no day without Rain.

When we have ſupplied our Neceſſity in this place, we purpoſe by the help of God to paſs towards the South, with ſo much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of thoſe Countries we intend to diſcover: So much to our preſent condition.

Now I deſire to know ſomewhat of your Affairs, but I fear in vain, and chiefly I deſire to know how my Patron Mr. *Henry Umpton* bears my abſence. My Obedience and Duty ſhall always be ready towards him as long

as I live; and I hope this our Voyage will anſwer his Expectations. It remains that you believe me to be ſtill yours, and ſo yours as no Man more. The Son of God bleſs all our Labours, ſo far as that you alſo may partake of them. Adieu moſt friendly, moſt ſweet and moſt virtuous *Haklayt*, from St. *John's-Port* in *Newfoundland*, the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1583.

Yours, *Stephen Parmenius* of *Buda*.

CHAP. XXX.

An Extract of divers Voyages attempted by Engliſh *Navigators, at the Charge of the* Muſcovia *Company, for Diſcoveries towards the North Pole.*

The Voyage of Mr George Weymouth

1602. ANno 1602, the *Muſcovia* Company did ſet forth two Fly-boats, of 70 and 60 Tuns, victualled for a Year and a half, to diſcover the North-weſt Paſſage, under the command of Mr. *George Weymouth*, who departing from *Redcliſ* the ſecond of *May*, met with ſo much Ice, Froſt and Fog in the middle of *July*, in Lat. 68, 53, that his Men being diſcouraged, would proceed no further, alledging this reaſon, That if it were granted, they might winter between 60 and 70 Degrees of Latitude, with ſafety of their Lives and Veſſels, yet it would be in *May* next before they could unmore them and launch them into the Sea again; and therefore if the Merchants would proceed in the diſcovery of theſe North-weſt Parts of *America*, their Ships might be in the ſaid Latitudes from *England* by the firſt of *May*, and ſo be better furniſhed with Men and Victuals to proceed in the Action: Whereupon they ſhaped their Courſe for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the fifth of *September*.

The Voyage of Mr. John Knight.

1606. ANno 1606, the ſaid Company did ſet out a Bark of 40 Tuns, for diſcovery of a Northweſt Paſſage, under the command of Mr. *John Knight*, who departing from *Graveſend* the 18th of *April*, deſcried *America* on the 19th of *June*, Lat. 56 Deg. 48 Min.

The 24th it blew a Storm at North, and ſo much Ice came in, that their Rudder was driven from their Stern; ſo that they were forced to hale into a Cove, to ſave their Cloaths, Furniture and Victuals, and when the Ship was a-ground, worked hard in getting the Water out of her, ſtopping her Leaks, and ſaving as much Bread as they could, whilſt others were buſied in building a Shallop.

The 26th, in the Morning the Maſter, his Mate, and four more took the Boat, carrying with them four Piſtols, three Muſkets, five Swords and two half-Pikes, to go over to a great Iſland, not above a Mile from the Ship, to ſearch for a better place to mend their Ship. When they were gone to the other ſide, the Maſter, his Mate and two more went on ſhoar, leaving two Men in the Boat, with one Muſket, one Sword, and a half Pike, to keep it, who ſtaied in the Boat from ten in the Morning till eleven at Night, but could hear no news of them after they went up the Hill. Then the Trumpeter ſounded two or three times, and the other diſcharged his Muſket as often, and ſo returned to the Company on the other ſide, who ſeeing no more than two, enquired for the Maſter and the reſt, and were anſwered, that they could tell no news of them after their departure out of the Boat, but that they ſaw them go up the top of the Iſland. Which report ſtruck them all with great fear, conſidering the extremity they were in, wanting their Maſter and three of their beſt Men, and their Ship lay ſunk, ſo that they had nothing to truſt to but their Shallop, which was not half finiſhed. They lay aſhoar that Night in a Tent between two Rocks, keeping a good watch, and hoping that if the Maſter and his Company ſhould travel, ſo far that they could not come again before Night, they would fire a Muſket, and our People might hear them.

Mr. Knight with three more taken by the Savages.

The next day it was reſolved that ſeven of them ſhould go over in the Boat, with Muſkets, Swords, and Targets, to try if they could ſee or hear of the Maſter and his Company, whom they feared were ſurpriſed by Savages, or devoured by wild Beaſts; but when they came to the Sea ſide, they could not get over for Ice, and ſo returned to the Ship, to ſave what things they could that day.

The next day being fair weather, they got all things out of the Ship, and made her clean in hold, keeping her as light as they could, that ſhe might not beat and bruiſe her Hull, becauſe ſhe lay upon hard Rocks. At nine at Night it began to rain, and continued all Night, and about one, the Boatſwain and Steward being upon the watch, the Steward went aboard to pump, leaving the Boatſwain at watch about a Muſket ſhot from the Tent. While he was pumping, many of the Country People came over the Rocks towards the place where the Boatſwain was, who when they ſaw him, ſhot their Arrows at him, running towards him as faſt as they could; whereupon he diſcharged his Muſket at them, and fled to the Tent. The Steward hearing the Muſket go off, came out of the Ship, and perceiving the Savages to run towards the Shallop, cried out to thoſe that were aſleep in the Tent, to haſten to the reſcue of the Boatſwain and Shallop. They made what haſt they could, but before they could get to the Shallop, the Savages were got into it; whereupon they ſent two of their Men back to the Tent, and the reſt, being eight Men and a great Dog, advanced towards them, the Dog formoſt, and diſcharging three or four Muſkets at them as they ſtood in the Shallop, they held up their Hands, calling to one another, and then ran away toward their Boats. They were about 50 little People, tawny, thin Beards and flat Noſes. Their Boats were very large, and as they were rowing away they ſtuck faſt in the Ice, which the *Engliſh* perceiving, went as near as they could, and made about a dozen ſhot at them before they could get clear, which made them to cry out bitterly.

The Savages aſſault our Men in the Night.

Deſcription of the Savages.

The 29th was ſpent in getting ſuch things aboard as they could, leſt the Savages ſhould return in a greater number and beſet them. Then all hands went to work with Axes and Pickaxes, to break the Ice and make way for the Ship, and the next Night they got her out, and with Oars rowed her away among the broken Ice, with little hopes of recovering their Country, ſhe being very leaky, and no Rudder to ſteer her. This labour continued till the third of *July*, when faſtening the Ship to an Iſland of Ice, they went to work in ſtowing their things to make her ſtiff, there being no Ballaſt in her. The Carpenter made what ſhift he could to hang the Rudder: They broke the Maſter's Cheſt, and with the Iron Bands of it, made faſt two Pickaxes for two Pintels; ſo as that Night they hanged the Rudder, having but two Pintels and a Cable thro' the middle of it, to keep it to with two Tacks.

Pintels are Iron Pins faſtned to the Rudder to hang it to the Stern-poſt

The next day they diſcovered a great Leak cloſe abaſt their fore-Foot, where the Keel was ſplintered in two or three places, and the Sea came running in ſo faſt, that it was not poſſible to keep her free with both Pumps, and they could not come to ſtop it, becauſe it was under the Timbers; whereupon they baſted their main Bonnet with Occum, and put it over-board right againſt the Leak, which eaſed them 4 or 500 ſtrokes in an hour. It was then reſolved to ſhape their courſe towards *Newfoundland*, hoping to meet with ſome *Engliſh* or *French*, and on the 24th of *July* they ſpied about a dozen Shallops, who were fiſhing two Leagues from them, who conducted them to the Bay of *Fego*, where they continued till the 22d of *Auguſt* in repairing their Ship and refreſhing themſelves; and then putting to Sea, arrived at *Dartmouth* the 20th of *September*, 1606, from whence they wrote to the Owners at *London*, of the loſs of the Maſter and his three Companions, and of the doleful ſucceſs of the Voyage.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Voyages of Mr. Jonas Pool.

1609. I Weighed from *Blackwall* the firſt of *March*, 1609, in a Ship called the *Amity*, of 70 Tuns, having 14 Men and one Boy. On the 23d of *May* I was within thtee Leagues of Cape *Cold* in *Greenland*, in 78 Deg. 43 Min. I am fully perſwaded that a Paſſage may be as ſoon attained this way by the Pole, as any other way whatſoever, by reaſon of the great heat of the Sun in this Climate; and I obſerved the Ice here to be nothing ſo big as I have ſeen in 73 Deg.

The firſt of *June* we ſaw near 100 Morſes ſleeping upon a little rocky Iſland, as we went towards them, we eſpied ſome Deer, whereof we killed four, but when we came to the Rock, the Ice that the *Morſes* lay on was hollow and ſloping, and while we were killing them, it broke, and Ice and Morſes ſlid into the Sea together, carrying one of our Men with it, who was much bruiſed, not only by the weight of dead Morſes and Ice, but by the Morſes that were alive, who ſtruck at him in the Water. We ſaw great ſtore of Deer in this Country, which have neither Buſh nor Trees to ſhelter them from the nipping cold of Winter, of whom we killed 37, beſides the four before-mentioned, moſt of them two or three Inches thick of fat on the Haunches. There is alſo great ſtore of Fowl in this Country, of which we killed ſome, and we alſo killed above 20 Bears.

41 Deer killed.

I found the Air here to be temperate, and not near ſo cold as I found at *Cherie*-Iſland, in five ſeveral Voyages, altho' the Iſland be five Degrees more ſoutherly.

The 23d, at a North Sun I was near *Black-point*, which hath many ſunken Rocks on the Southermoſt end of it, therefore you muſt come no nearer than 25 Fathoms.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* I ſtood for *England*, and arrived at *London* the 21ſt, bleſſed be God, for ever and ever.

The Second Voyage of Jonas Pool, *for the diſcovery of* Greenland, *and towards the Weſt of it: Set forth by the* Muſcovia *Company*, Anno Dom. 1611.

1611. WE ſailed from *Blackwall* the 11th of *April*, with four Ships, *viz.* the *Mary Margaret* of 150 Tuns, 49 Men and Boys; the *Elizabeth* (whereof I *Jonas Pool* was Maſter) of 60 Tuns, 18 Men and Boys; the *Amity*, 70 Tuns, 24 Men and Boys; the *Reſolution*, 16 Men and Boys. The *Mary Margaret* was appointed to kill Whales, for which purpoſe ſhe had ſix Men of St. *John de Luz*, with all things fitting for that purpoſe: The *Elizabeth* was ordered to keep her company as far as *Greenland*, and thence to ſearch thoſe Seas for a Paſſage towards the Pole: The *Reſolution* was bound to S. *Nicholas*, in hope to make two Voyages thither this Year; but before we were as far as the Latitude of 65, we were all ſeparated by foul weather. The *Elizabeth* was ſtoked, that the Water that was in her could not come to the Pump, but lay upon the Ballaſt, whereby we could bear no ſail to keep the *Mary Margaret* company.

I came to *Cherie*-Iſland the 13th of *May*, where I ſtaid till the 16th of *June*, in which time we ſet up our Shallop, and ranged ſome part of the Coaſt. We had a Storm at South, which ſunk our Shallop, and I ſaw the
80 Degrees. Ice lie cloſe to the Land in 80 Deg. wherefore perceiving it impoſſible to paſs that way, and there running very ſtrong Tides, in which it is dangerous dealing with the Ice, I ſtood to the ſouthwards along the ſaid Ice, to ſee if I could find the Sea open that way, and ſo get to the weſtward of it; but I found it to lie S. S. W. and ran along it about 120 Leagues, at which time I ſuppoſed my ſelf near *Hold with Hope* in *Groenland*. I ran near 40 Leagues to the Weſtward of the Eaſtermoſt part of the ſaid Land, as it is laid down, and by my account was to the Southward of it, near the Latitude of 74 Degrees, where I ſaw many Whales by the ſides of the Ice. We commonly ſounded every Watch, but had no ground at 200 Fathoms.

The 27th of *June*, the Wind coming to the North, I ſtood for *Cherie*-Iſland, where I arrived the 29th, and ſaw about 300 Morſes on Land, but a ſtorm coming, they went all into the Sea.

The 12th of *July*, we killed above 200, and laded the Ship with their Fat, Hides, and Teeth.

On the 25th at Night, I went aſhoar, and met with ſome of the *Mary Margaret*'s Men, who told me that their *Mary Margaret* lost.
Ship was caſt away in *Greenland*, and that Captain *Edge*, with Mr. *Bennet* the Maſter, and others, to the number of 30 Perſons, were arrived on the South ſide of the Iſland in three Boats. I took them in, and at Night ſet ſail for *Greenland*, where I anchored near the *Mary Margaret* on the third of *Auguſt*, and found there a Ship of *Hull*, whereof one *Marmaduke* was Maſter, who had killed above 130 Morſes, which Mr. *Edge* left on Land when he came from thence in the Boats aforeſaid, and we intended to kill at our arrival. As ſoon as the Ship was moored, we got out our Blubber, and ſent it aſhoar to be made into Oyl, and followed our work till the 17th, at which time having Oyl by the Ships ſide, we put out all the Blubber which was in Hold, ſave two Tuns and a half, not doubting but the Ship had Ballaſt enough in her, there being 12 Tun of Hides (which were the chief cauſe of the loſe of the Ship) and nine Tun of Oyl, and The *Elizabeth* loſt.
ſeven Tun of Ballaſt, beſides half a Tun of Stones, a Hogſhead and a Barrel of Teeth, in all about 29 Tuns, which to any Man's judgment had been ſufficient to ſhift a Bark of 60 Tuns; but as the laſt *But* went out of her, the Ship began to heel, and withal a great many Men went to leeward, there being above 40 aboard; whereupon the Hides in the Hold ſlid to leeward, and brought her altogether down, and then every Man ſhifted to ſave his life: I being then far from the Hatches, could not get up ſo ſoon as others did. I ſaw death before mine Eyes two ways; if I ſtaid in Hold I was ſure to be drowned, and if I went up the Hatches, I muſt run the hazard of being killed; for down at the Hatches there fell Hogſheads of Beer, and divers weighty things, the leaſt of which was ſufficient to break a Man's Bones, and in attempting to get up, I was beaten down twice and hurt; but it was not the will of God to take my life from me then, but to pluck me from the very Jaws of Death, and by ſwimming and crawling, I got into the Sea clear of the Ship, where a Boat took me up, and bleſſed be God no Man periſhed in this dangerous Accident. We being all got into three Boats, went to the *Hull* Ship, where we found but ſmall comfort, *Marmaduke* telling us plainly we ſhould not come aboard his Ship, and cauſed Pikes and Launches to be brought to keep us out. Then Mr. *Edge* and others deſired him to let me come aboard, and with much ado I got aboard with many Wounds and Bruiſes.

In this our great diſtreſs, the Maſter of the *Hull* Ship ſaid he would try if he could recover our Ship; but he deferred the time a whole week, till ſhe was full of Oze, ſo that when we came to weigh her, both her Cables burſt, and ſo we ſorrowfully left her, without hope of recovery. Then we went aboard the *Hull* Ship, which

God

The *Margaret's* Men and *Elizabeth's* Men return in the *Hull* Ship. God had prepared for our Succour, where our Merchants agreeing for the Frait, we got the Goods aboard, *viz*, about 21 Tun of Oyl, a Barrel of Bears Oyl, about ten Tun of Whale-Fins, and five Hogſheads of Morſcs Teeth.

The 19th of *Auguſt* we directed our Courſe for *England*, and arrived at *Hull* the 8th of *September*.

At our firſt coming to *Greenland*, the Mountains and Vallies, except ſome few places, were covered with Snow; but before we came away, the tops of the Hills as well as the Vallies, appeared green with Moſs, and ſome little quantity of Graſs. This Country and the adjacent Seas, are ſubject to thick miſty weather, eſpecially when the Sun with his forcible heat melts the Ice and Snow, whoſe Vapours obſcure the Light of the Sun, that there is but ſmall difference between the Day and Night.

We found many fat Deer, which we killed with our Pieces and Dogs: There are alſo many white Bears, and white, gray, and dun Foxes. We ſaw abundance of Fowl, as Culvidines, Sea-pidgeons, white Patridges, wild Geeſe, Willocks, and one we called an *Allen*, which would beat the ſmaller Birds when they had got any thing, till they caſt up what they had eaten, which he laying hold of, devoured; and ſo with little Meat in their Gorges, and few Feathers on their Backs, leaves them to get more. There is ſtore of freſh Water in every Valley, proceeding from melted Snow, and plenty of drift Wood, but not a Buſh or Tree as far as we have diſcovered. No Tree or Buſh in *Greenland*.

The 3d Voyage of Jonas Pool *to* Greenland, *who was baſely murthered betwixt* Ratclif *and* London, *after his return from this Voyage; ſet forth by the* Muſcovia *Company*, A.D. 1612.

1612. WE ſailed from *Blackwall* the ſeventh of *April* with two Ships, the *Whale* and the *Sea-horſe*, and the third of *May* arrived at *Cherie*-Iſland, where we found a Ship of *Holland*, in which one *Allen Sallows* an *Engliſh*-man was Pilot, The next day *Sallows* went aboard our Admiral, and Maſter *Ruſſel* ſent for Mr. *Edge*, Mr. *Arthington*, Mr. *Maſon*, and my ſelf, where we conſulted about detaining him and bringing him to *England*, but in the end he was let go.

The 5th we weighed and ſtood to the Weſtward.

The 8th we ſaw the *Hollander* ſtanding with us, and at ten at Night came to us, whereupon the Admiral ſent his Shallop aboard him, commanding him to be gone out of our Company, and at a North Sun he ſtood away from us.

The 20th, we ſpoke with our Conſort, who told us they had almoſt ſplit their Ship with a piece of Ice which broke nine of their Timbers, ſo that they had five Foot Water in Hold.

The firſt of *June* we ſtood into *Fowl Sound*, where we ſpake with *Thomas Marmaduke* of *Hull*, in a Ship called the *Hopewell*, who, as we were afterwards informed, diſcovered as far as 82 Degrees, two Degrees beyond *Hakluyt's* head-Land. 82 Degrees. We had in our two Ships ſix *Biſcayners*, expert in killing the Whale; and on the 27th as we rode in harbour, we ſaw ſix Whales cloſe by the Ships ſide, and within an hour, ſo many that we could not count them: Some ran againſt our Cables, ſome againſt the Ship, and one againſt the Rudder; Many Whales one lay under the Beak-head, and ſlept there a long time: Our Carpenter having then hung a Stage over the Water to lay his Tools on, we durſt not diſturb the Whale, for fear he ſhould over-throw the Stage, and drown all the Tools: In the end he went away, and carried the Ship's Head round, his Tail being foul of the Cable.

We killed 17 Whales and ſome Morſes, of which we made 180 Tuns of Oyl, with which having fraited our two Ships, we returned for *England*.

CHAP. XXXII.

A Voyage to Greenland, *with ſix Ships and a Pinnace, ſet forth by the* Muſcovia *Company, under the Command of* Benjamin Joſeph *and* Thomas Edge, Anno Dom. 1613: *Written by Mr.* William Baffin.

1613. WE departed from *Queenborough* the 13th of *May*, with ſix good Ships, the *Tigre*, the *Matthew*, the *Gamaliel*, the *Deſire*, the *Annule*, and the *Richard* and *Bernard*; the *John* and *Francis* was ſhortly to follow.

The 21ſt we had ſight of the Coaſt of *Norway*, in Lat. 61 Deg. 30 Min. the Variation at *Scoutſneſs* was 8 Deg. Eaſt.

The 23d, we were in Lat. 65 Deg. 45 Min. the Needle declined under the *Horizon* 63 Deg. 30 Min. by the Inſtrument which declined 54 Deg. at *London*.

Greenland attained in 18 Days. The 30th we deſcried *Greenland* in 76 Deg. 55 Min. near *Horn Sound*; the Compaſs varied 13 Deg. Weſt.

June the ſecond, at five in the Morning, our Admiral ſent his Shallop to a ſmall Pink that lay under the Shoar, to command their Maſter and Pilot to come aboard, which they did. The Maſter told us that he was conſorted with another Ship that was his Admiral, commanded by one *Fop* of *Dunkirk*, now upon the Coaſt: We kept the Maſter and Pilot aboard of us, and ſending ſome of our Men aboard of her, brought her under our lee; and then we ſent their Maſter aboard again, charging them to follow us. In the Afternoon we took their Shallop, wherein were two *Engliſh*-men and one *Scot*.

The fourth, in the Morning was the firſt Whale killed; we had no Night ſince the 23d of *May*.

On the ſixth we met with four Ships in *Poepy* Bay, two of them being *Hollanders*, one a *Rocheller*, and the other of *Burdeaux*. The Maſters of the *Hollanders* came aboard the Admiral, and produced a Commiſſion from *Greve Maurice* to fiſh in this Country, but when they ſaw our King's Commiſſion granted to the *Muſcovia* Company, they told the *Admiral* they would depart the Coaſt, he giving them a Certificate to ſhew to their Adventurers, that they had been there, and had made their Port, and that we would not permit them to fiſh. We anchored cloſe by the *Burdeaux* Ship, wherein *Allen Sallowes* was Pilot, being ready to fight if they refuſed to come aboard us; ſo we ſent our Shallop, and the Maſter and Surgeon came aboard, who could ſpeak *Engliſh*. At firſt they denied that *Sallowes* was aboard them, but being hardly urged, they confeſſed that he and one *Fiſher* an *Engliſh*-man were aboard, who were both preſently ſent for.

On the 8th, the Maſter of the *Burdeaux* Ship, being about 200 Tun, agreed to give the Admiral half the Whales he ſhould kill, that he might ſtay and fiſh on the Coaſt. The Maſter of the *Rochel* Ship promiſed to depart the Coaſt; Lat. 78 Deg. 24, Variation 15 Deg. 21 Weſt.

The 10th we ſet up a Croſs of Wood, and nailed the King's Arms upon it, upon a Point of Land called *Low-neſs*

The 13th, we ſpied ſix Ships at anchor in a ſmall Bay, one of them was Captain *Fop* the *Dunkirker*, four of them were *Biſcains*, and the ſixth was a Ship of *Amſterdam*, wherein was one *Bonner*, Maſter and Pilot, and above 20 *Engliſh*-men more. All the *Biſcains* came aboard of us as ſoon as we were at anchor, but *Bonner* refuſed to come, being ſent for by our Admiral, who thereupon commanded our Gunner to fire at him; he thinking to get from us, cut his Cable and ſet ſail, but we ſhot him thro' three or four times, and then he came aboard. Our Admiral kept the Ship for the uſe of the *Muſcovia* Company, and charged the *Biſcains* to depart as ſoon as they had filled freſh Water, which they ſaid they wanted. I obſerved the Latitude by a Quadrant of four Foot Semidiameter, and found it to be 76 Deg. 55 Min. the Declination of the Needle under the *Horizon* was 76 Deg. 30 Min. pointing to the Northwards, but pointing to the Southwards it was 80 Deg. Variation was 12 Deg. 14 Min. Weſt from the true Meridian, but from our common ſailing Compaſs 17 Deg. becauſe the Compaſs is touched five Degrees and a half to the Eaſtward, and the Variation is to the Weſtward.

Declination 67 Deg. 30 Min Variation 12 Deg. 14 Min.

The 20th we had news that the *John* and *Francis* was come two days ago, and had killed 23 Whales. We anchored in *Green*-Harbour, where a S. W. Moon makes full Sea.

July the 10th, our Admiral went aſhoar and killed four Deer; the next day we perceived five Ships in *Bell-Sound*, and came to an Anchor by them with our three Ships, the *Tiger*, the *Matthew*, and the *Richard* and *Bernard*, having made all things ready to fight. Theſe five Ships were the two *Hollanders* which we found the 6th of *June* in *Poopy*-Bay, a great Ship of *Biſcay* of 700 Tun, a ſmall Pink of *Amſterdam*, and a ſmall Ship of *Rochel*. This great Ship of *Biſcay* which we expected would have fought with us, ſent their Maſter aboard our Admiral, and ſubmitted; but the two Ships of *Amſterdam* would gladly have fought with us, if the *Biſcain* would have aſſiſted them.

The 15th we came to the Ships in *Green*-Harbour, where we found they had killed 18 Whales; four of theſe Ships were *French*, which had killed eight Whales for the Company, according to agreement with our Admiral, which was, that they ſhould kill eight for us, and what they could kill more, ſhould be for themſelves.

The 14th of *Auguſt* we weighed Anchor to go homeward, and entred the *Thames* the ſixth of *September*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Extract of two Voyages for diſcovery of Seas, Lands and Iſlands, to the Northwards; ſet forth at the Charge of the Muſcovia *Company.* Anno Dom. 1614, 1615; *Written by* Robert Fotherby.

ON the fourth of *May* I departed from *Lee* Road, in company of ten Ships more and two Pinnaces, all bound for *Greenland*, under the command of * Captain *Benjamin Joſeph*.

* Afterwards ſlain in a Fight with a *Portugal* Carrick.

The 25th, in Lat. 75 Deg. we met with ſtragling Ice; we plied thro' it till the 21th, and being then in ſight of Land, were all ſo incloſed with Ice, that we could not go forward or backward.

On the ſecond of *June* we attained an open Sea, where leaving the reſt to purſue their Voyage, I proceeded to *Fair Foreland*, and thence to the Northward, hoping to find the Shoar free from Ice; but it fell out contrary to my expectation; for when we came to the Lat. of 79 Deg. 34. we ſaw much Ice betwixt us and *Hakluit's Head-land*, ſo that not being able to paſs further, we anchored in *Maudlin* Sound, which we found open.

On the 10th of *June* we departed thence, and coaſted to the Northward till we were paſt *Hakluit's Headland*, but then we ſaw the Ice lie before us, that it was not poſſible to paſs further that way.

We came to an anchor in *Croſs-road*, and ſet up our Shallop which we had brought from *England* in pieces; and while Mr. *Baffin* went in her to the Northwards, I went in the other Shallop into *Maudlin Sound*, there to ſet up the King's Arms: I cauſed a Croſs to be ſet up, and the Kings Arms to be nailed thereon, under which I nailed a piece of Sheet Lead, with the *Muſcovy* Companies Mark, Day of the Month, and Year of our Lord. Then cutting up a piece of Earth, carried it aboard, and in the hearing of the Men, ſaid to this effect.

'I take this piece of Earth as a ſign of lawful Poſ-
'ſeſſion of this Country of *King James's Newland*, and
'of this particular place, which I name *Trinity Harbour*,
'taken on behalf of the Company of Merchants, called
'the Merchants of New Trades and Diſcoveries, for
'the uſe of our Soveraign Lord *James*, by the Grace of
'God, King of great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, whoſe
'Royal Arms are here ſet up, to the end that all People
'who ſhall here arrive, may take notice of his Majeſties
'Right and Title to this Country, and to every part
'thereof. God ſave King *James*.

On the 23d Mr. *Baffin* returned in the Shallop from the Northwards; he ſaid he had been at Cape *Barren*, three or four Leagues from *Hakluyt's Head-land*, but could not paſs further for Ice which lay cloſe to the Shoar.

On the 27th I went again in the Shallop to the Northward; we rowed to Cape *Barren*, and a League beyond. In the mean time it began to ſnow, and grew to be a great ſtorm at W. N. W. which continued from *Munday* Night till *Friday* Morning, during all which time we had been but eleven Leagues from our Ship, yet we went as far as we could have gone, had the weather been never ſo fair.

On *Friday* Morning we returned to our Ship in *Fair-haven*, where we tarried till the ſixth of *July*, and then ſailing thence to make trial if we could get to the Weſtward of the Ice, and ſo proceed to the Northward. We had ſent away the other Shallop the day before, provided with 20 days Bread, to coaſt along the Shoar, and ſet up the King's Arms at places convenient, hoping thereby to prevent the *Hollanders*, who had two Ships now in *Fair-haven*, ſet forth for a Diſcovery, and ready to take poſſeſſion of ſuch Harbours as they ſhould find.

We ſailed Weſtwards from *Fair-haven* ſeven Leagues, and then met with a main Bank of Ice. The Sea appeared open to the Northwards as far as we could ſee, ſo we plied that way ſeven or eight Leagues, and then the Ice lay ſo thick on every ſide that we could proceed no further. Then ſtanding into the Shoar, we met with Mr. *Baffin* in the other Shallop, who told us the Shoar to the Eaſtward was much peſter'd with Ice, and the weather being now clear, Mr. *Sherwin*, Mr. *Baffin*, and I, reſolved to go upon ſome high Mountain, from whence we might ſee what likelyhood there was of further proceeding: Accordingly we mounted a very high Hill, from whence we ſaw the Sea covered with Ice every way, except to the Eaſtwards, and thought we ſaw open Water beyond the Ice, which put us in hope we ſhould e're long get a Paſſage with our Shallops along the Shoar, if we could not paſs with our Ship. We then returned aboard our Ship, and plied towards *Fair-haven*, where we arrived the 12th, between which time and the 15th of *Auguſt* we made ſeveral Attempts with both our Shallops to the Northwards, but were always forced back by Ice, Snow and ſtormy Weather. The Snow lying an Inch thick on the Water, did hinder our Shallops way, and our Men began to fear, that if it ſhould now freeze as it did one Night ſince we came out, we ſhould be here frozen up, and it now beginning to blow much Wind, and the Sea running high, we paſſed over *Broad-bay*, to *Point Welcome*, where I had ſet up a Croſs above a Month ago, and nailed a Sixpence thereon with the King's Arms; and whilſt I was gone up a Mountain to look into the Sea, our Men finding the Sixpence taken from the Croſs, and another Poſt ſet by it, with the Arms of Prince *Maurice* thereon, they pulled it down, and I cauſed the King's Arms caſt in Lead to be nailed upon the Croſs. From thence we proceeded to our Ship, and the 19th of *Auguſt* came aboard of her in *Fair-haven*.

A Whale lay ſunk 14 days. The 22d the Maſter of the *Gamaliel* came to deſire help to haul up a Whale, which had been ſunk 14 days in 120 Fathom Water, or elſe to pull the Warp and Harping Iron out of her, for now it was time to take her or forſake her. We manned our Long-boat, and coming to the place where the Whale was ſunk, as ſoon as we began to hale, ſhe preſently roſe, bolting ſuddenly up with a thundring crack made with the burſting of her Body; and notwithſtanding ſhe had lain ſo long, yet had ſhe all her Fins faſt.

The 27th we ſailed from *Fair-haven*, and made another Attempt towards the N. E. till we could paſs no further for Ice. We then ſtood homeward, and on the 10th of *September* we ſaw a light upon the Fore-bonnet, which the Sailers call a *Corpo Santo*; it appeared like the Flame of a Candle, and (as Seamen obſerve) always preſages a Storm. A Corpo Santo ſeen. It continued very foul Weather all that day, and was ſo vehement the Night following, that the Sea of-times over-raked our Ship.

The fourth of *October* the Ship came to *Wapping*, with the whole number of Men ſhe carried forth, being 26, all in good health.

Mr. Fotherby's *Second Voyage*, Anno Dom. 1615.

I departed from *Harwich* the 12th of *May*, in company of eight Ships bound for *Greenland*; I arrived in *Fair-haven* the 19th of *June*, from whence I ſailed to the Northwards the third of *July*, but meeting with Ice in Lat. 79 Deg. 50 Min. I anchored in *Croſs-road*, and departing thence on the 17th, I proceeded towards the S. W. till I was 200 Leagues from *Greenland*, in Lat. 71 Deg. and am verily perſwaded we were not then far from Land, altho' we could not ſee it by reaſon of thick foggy weather, but the Wind coming up at S. W. and blowing hard, I took the benefit of it to return to the N. E. again, and came to an Iſland, which I named Sir *Thomas Smiths Iſland*, about ten Leagues long, high Land, at the North end whereof is a Mountain of a wonderful height, covered with Snow, which I called *Mount Hakluyt*: It lies in 71 Deg. where the Needle varies eight Deg. Weſt. The Land is rocky and barren, worſe than I have ſeen in *Greenland* under 80 Deg. here being no Graſs but Moſs, and where I firſt landed upon low Ground, all the Stones were like to a Smith's Cinders in colour and ſhape, and the Sand is generally mixed with a Corn like Amber. The Beaches are ſtored with drift Wood, and many Stones like Pumice, which will ſwim on the Water. I ſaw many traces of Foxes and Bears, but not any ſign of Deer or other living Creatures, and few Fowl.

The Wind coming up N. E. ſo that I could not proceed that way, I reſolved on another Courſe, which was this, Having peruſed *Hudſon*'s Journal, wherein he had ſight of certain Land, which he named *Hold with Hope*, I found that by his own reckoning it ſhould not be more than 100 Leagues diſtant from *Greenland*, and in Lat. 72 Deg. 30 Min. or thereabouts; therefore ſeeing I could not proceed to the Northwards, I purpoſed to go to the S. W. to have a ſight of this Land, and diſcover it, if Wind and Weather would permit: So I ſtood away S. W. and W. S. W. till I had run 130 Leagues, and was by account in Lat. 72 Deg. 30 Min. where having the Wind contrary to proceed Weſtward, I ſtood Eaſtward till I had run 30 Leagues, in which I ſhould have ſeen this Land, if credit might be given to *Hudſon*'s Journal, but I ſaw not any, and it being now the 28th of *Auguſt*, and the Wind at North, I directed my Courſe for *England*, and on the 8th of *September* had ſight of the Coaſt of *Yorkſhire*.

Abſtract of a Letter from Mr. Fotherby *to Captain* Edge, *written in* Croſs-road *this Voyage, the* 15th *of* July, 1615

S I R,

‘WHen I came in hither, here were three Ships and a Pinnace of the King of *Denmark*'s; the Admiral came to an anchor cloſe by me, and ſent to intreat me to come aboard of him; I went aboard and was courteouſly entertained by him. He asked me by what right the *Engliſh* Merchants did reſort and fiſh in this place: I told him by the King of *England*'s Right, who had granted a Patent to the *Muſcovy* Company of Merchants, whereby he authoriſes them, and forbids all others to frequent theſe places. Then he intreated me to go with him to the two *Engliſh* Ships in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Bay. I told him it would be loſs of time to me, becauſe I had ſome buſineſs here to do at preſent, and muſt then go to Sea again and proſecute my diſcovery. He ſaid that he would have me go with him to be witneſs to what paſſed betwixt him and you, for he had Matters of importance to acquaint you withal, which concerned our King and theirs, and therefore intreated me preſently to weigh and ſet ſail, for I muſt needs go with him. I replied again, that it would be a great loſs of time to me, and I knew not how to anſwer it; but he told me peremptorily that I muſt go with him; ſo ſeeing no remedy, I order'd the Maſter to weigh, and the *Daniſh* Admiral weighing, kept me aboard of him, but afterwards metting with the two Captains that came from you, he returned and anchored again in *Croſs-road*. I had very courteous entertainment from the Admiral, Vice admiral and Captain *Killingham*, but the laſt ſeemed to go away diſcontented from aboard my Ship, becauſe I refuſed to give him a young *Morſe* I have aboard, and told me as he went off, that he would ſhoot down my Flags; and ſoon after there came a ſhot from the Admiral, which flew over us, and I expected another, but preſently there came a Man aboard from the Admiral, to ſee if any of your Men in the Shallop would go with them into the Bay, and he ſwore unto me that the Shot was made to call their Boat aboard, becauſe they were ready to weigh. As far as I can perceive, their purpoſe is to ſee what Grant the King of *England* hath made unto the Company, for they pretend that the Right of this Land belongs neither to the *Engliſh* nor *Hollanders*, but to the King of *Denmark*. Thus with my hearty Commendations, *&c.*

Abſtract of a Letter from William Heley.

S I R,

‘YOU may pleaſe to underſtand, that thro' God's Bleſſing, our Voyage is performed in all the Harbours in the Country this Year, with a greater overplus than our Ships will carry; ſo that in ſome places we muſt leave good ſtore of Oyl and Blubber behind for the next Year. We are all ready to ſet ſail, being full laden; only I deſire to ſee the Coaſt clear of Interlopers, whereby our Proviſions may be left in ſecurity. We took in *Horn-Sound* a Ship of *Fluſhing*, called the *Noah's Ark*, having out of him 200 Hogſhead of Blubber, with two Whales and a half to cut up, a great Copper, and divers other Proviſions, and ſent him away ballaſted with Stones. There were two more of them who were gone laden with Blubber before we could get thither, having intelligence of our coming. There were alſo two *Danes*, who made 100 and odd Tuns of Oyl, and left the Country the ſixth of *Auguſt*. The ſmall Ship *Elln* is returned from the S. E. having made a further diſcovery, and killed about 800 Morſes, and laden the Teeth, and 30 Tun of Hides; the reſt of his Lading is Oyl. The Whales killed this Year in the Country are about 150; and the Oyl will be about 1800 and odd Tuns, beſides the Blubber left for want of Caſk.

Portnick the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1617.

A Letter from Mr. Salmon *in Sir* Thomas Smith*'s Bay, the 24th of* June, 1618, *to Mr.* Sherwin *in* Bell-Sound.

SIR,

'A Northerly Storm has brought in ſo much Ice upon us, that we have been incloſed eight days; there went ſuch a Sea in the Ice, beating our Ships for 24 Hours, that I thought they had been ſpoiled; the Ice brake two of our Anchors. Here are five *Flemings*, which have 14 and 16 Pieces of Ordnance in a Ship, and they do man out 18 Shallops; ſo that with theirs and ours, here are 30 Shallops in the Bay, too many for us to make a Voyage; they have at leaſt 1500 Tuns of ſhipping. We have reaſonable good quarter with them, for we are merry aboard of them, and they of us. They have good ſtore of Sack, and are very kind to us, profering us any thing that we want. The Company muſt take another courſe next year, if they mean to make any benefit of this Country; they muſt ſend better Ships, and beat theſe Knaves out of it; for, as far as I can underſtand by them, they intend to continue the Trade. They have every one of them *Grave Maurice's* Commiſſion under his own Hand and Seal. We have killed 13 Whales, but they yielded but little, becauſe the Ice much hindred us at our work: We are all well, &c.

Abſtract of a Letter written to Mr. Heley, *from* Fair-haven, *the 12th of* July, 1618.

SIR,

'I Am very ſorry to underſtand of the Annoyances by the *Flemings*, both with you and at other places; we have been ſo peſter'd with Ice theſe 20 days, that we have not been able to put to Sea above twice with our Shallops, and could do no good by reaſon of foul Weather and Fogs, nor have ſeen any more than one Whale in all that time, which after ſhe was killed, gave us much trouble, and we were forced at laſt to leave her in the Ice, where the Bears made a Prey of her, and I fear will ſpoil her before ſhe can be recovered. All the Sea to the Northwards of *Hakluit's Head-land*, and both Eaſtward and Weſtward there is pack'd ſo full of Ice, that I fear it will over-throw our Voyage; ſo wiſhing you health. &c.

A Letter to Mr. Heley *from* Bell-Sound, *the 16th of* June, 1619.

SIR,

A ſad Diſaſter.

'I Am forced to write in tears unto you for the loſs of our Men, by the moſt uncouth accident, that ever befel unto poor Men. The 13th of *June* laſt, we were put aſhoar in the *Ice-Bay*, our Shallops being not aboard; but as ſoon as we heard of it, we made what haſte we could, and haling our Shallops upon the Ice, went aboard our Ship. By that time we had been there an Hour, uſing what means we could to get her out, a main piece of Cliff fell, being the fearfulleſt ſight that ever I beheld, and expected nothing elſe but death to us all; but tho' we were paſt all hope of Life, yet God of his great mercy and providence delivered us, that we were not then appointed to die. The Ice was ſo great, and fell down from ſuch a height, that it carried away our Fore-maſt, brake our Main-maſt, ſprung our Boulſprit, and made the Ship fetch ſuch a Carreer, that ſhe heaved a Piece of Ordnance over-board from under our Half-deck, hove me over-board, and yet I thank God I was not hurt, altho' others were ſpoiled and killed cloſe by me. My Mate, and *Nicholas Green*, and *Allin* the Butcher, are killed, and many more hurt, who I hope will recover by the help of God, and the Means of a good Surgeon. I take my leave, &c.

In the Year 1622, nine Ships were employed, of which one for Diſcovery: Their diſaſtrous Succeſs I have ſpoken of before. The laſt Fleet, Anno 1623, *was ſet forth by the former Adventurers, under the Command of Captain* William Goodlard, William Heley *being Vice-admiral; of the Succeſs whereof you may read the Letter following.*

Fair-Haven, *the 24th of* July.

Mr. *Heley*,

'WE arrived here with both our Ships in ſafety on the third Inſtant, and by the eighth had killed 13 Whales, and on the 15th two more, which being all boiled but the Heads, will hardly make paſt 80 Tuns, which is a very ſmall quantity.

'As touching our Order for the *Flemings*, we went Yeſterday aboard them, ſuppoſing that we ſhould have found the *Danes* there, but they are not yet arrived. The *Flemings* are five Sails; the *Admiral* 500 Tuns, the *Vice-admiral* of the ſame burden, the other three 200 Tun apiece; they have 24 Shallops belonging to their five Ships: They told us they expected one or two Ships more every day. After ſome time, we had conference with the Admiral, concerning the Order given us, and told him that the time granted them to fiſh was expired, and thereupon his Majeſty had granted to our Principles a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal of *England*, for the depreſſing of any Interloper or *Fleming* whatſoever, that we ſhould meet upon this Coaſt; yet notwithſtanding it pleaſed our Principals to appoint us to go aboard them, and in a loving manner to inform them thereof, which if they would condeſcend unto, and deſiſt from Fiſhing, they ſhould manifeſt themſelves Friends to our Principals, if otherwiſe, they would cauſe them to compel them by force, who had rather perſwade by love. Unto which he anſwered, That he heard of no ſuch Matter in *Holland*, and if there were, it ſhould have been certified by Writing. We replied, That Sir *Nowell Carroon* their Agent was not ignorant of it, who ought to have given information. He ſaid, he had a Commiſſion from the Prince of *Orange*, for the making of his Voyage upon this Coaſt, which was procured by his Merchants for his defence; and this was all that could be gotten from him by Words.

'On the 23d we killed three Whales more; and thus we doubt not by degrees to accompliſh our Voyage.

I am yours, &c.

A Letter from Captain Goodlard *in* Bell-Sound, *the 8th of* July, 1623.

Mr. *Heley*,

'TO certify you of our Proceedings, we have killed here in *Bell-Sound* 33 Whales, and loſt many more by Irons broken, yet I hope we ſhall have ſufficient to fill our Ships. We have boiled 180 Tuns, of which 160 are aboard our Ship, and make account 60 Tuns more will fill our Hold. Our Whales here prove very watriſh and lean, which maketh bad Oyl, and hindreth us much in boiling. They have killed at *Fair-haven* 18 Whales, which prove very ſmall, yielding but 120 Tuns. There are in that Harbour five *Flemings*, well fortified, ſome of them of 500 Tuns, and two more expected every day, which I fear will much hinder our Ships in their fiſhing this year, and in my judgment not to be removed from hence; for they having a Commiſſion from the States to fiſh upon this Coaſt, were our whole Fleet there, and could put them away, yet would they fly to one of our Southern Harbours, and ſo ſhould we ſpend our time in following them, and thereby looſe our Voyage. There were two *French* Ships of St. *John de Luz* at *Fair-haven*, which were put away by the *Flemings* and our Ships, and 'tis thought are gone for the Cape.

Peter Goodland drowned.

‘ With a heavy heart I write you the lamentable Accident which happened here the 28th of *June*. Our Shallops being all out in chaſe, and my ſelf aſleep, my Brother *Peter* having a Shallop lying by his Ships ſide, and eſpying a Whale going into the *Ice-Bay*, followed him and ſtruck him, and his Rope being new, ran out with kinks, which overthrew his Shallop, where he loſt his life, with my Boy *Bredrake*, being, as we think, carried away with the end of the Rope. Never any loſs went ſo near my heart, &c.

Extract of a Letter from William Baffin, *who had been twice employed by the* Muſcovia *Company, for diſcovery of a Paſſage to the North-weſt.*

To the Right Worſhipful *John Woſtenholm* Eſq; &c.

SIR,

‘ HAving coaſted all or near all the Circumference of *Davis*'s Streights, we found it to be no other than a great Bay, and no hopes of a Paſſage; however Mr. *Davis* was not to be blamed for his Report, the Sea being open, and of an unſearchable depth as far as *Hope Sanderſon*, which is in 72 Deg. 12 Min. only the Tides keep no certain courſe, nor riſe but a ſmall height, as eight or nine Foot, and the Flood comes from the Southward; and in all the Bay beyond that place, the Tide is ſmall and not much to be regarded, yet by reaſon of Snow melting on the Land, the Ebb is ſtronger than the Flood, by means whereof, and the Winds holding Northerly the fore part of the Year, the great Iſles of Ice are ſet to the Southward, ſome into *Hudſon*'s Strait, and others towards *Newfoundland*; for in all the Channel where the Sea is open, are many of them driving up and down, and till this year not well known where they were bred.

‘ In the next place I ſhall acquaint you what profit may be made by this Voyage, if it ſhall be again attempted. In this Bay are great numbers of thoſe Whales, called by the *Biſcainers* the *Grand Bay Whales*; for we being but one day in *Whale-Sound* (ſo called for the many Whales we there ſaw ſleeping on the Water) might have ſtruck more than would have made three Ships a ſaving Voyage, had we been provided with Men and other things neceſſary.

‘ But here ſome may object and ask, why we ſearched that Coaſt no better? To this I anſwer, That the Weather was ſo exceeding foul, we could not; for when we anchored in *Woſtenholm-ſound*, our Ship preſently drove with two Anchors a head, ſo that we were forced to ſtand forth with a low ſail. The next day in *Whale-Sound* we loſt an Anchor and Cable, and could fetch the place no more; and if we had found a good Harbour, yet having but our Ship's Boat, we durſt not ſend her far from the Ship, having but 17 Men, and ſome of them very weak. But the chief cauſe we ſpent ſo little time in ſeeking a Harbour, was our great deſire to perform the diſcovery, having the Sea open in all that part, and a continual probability of a Paſſage; but when we had coaſted the Land ſo far to the Southward, that hope of Paſſage was none, then the Year being too far ſpent, and many of our Men very weak, we hoped that ſome Ships would be ſent next Year to kill Whales, which might better do it than we.

‘ Having thus briefly ſet down what hope there is of making a profitable Voyage, it is not unfit you ſhould know what hindrance may happen to the ſame. The chiefeſt and greateſt cauſe is, that ſome years by reaſon of the Ice lying between 72 Deg. and a half, and 76 Deg. the Ships cannot come into thoſe places till toward the midſt of *July*, ſo that want of time to ſtay in the Country may be ſome hindrance; yet they may tarry till the laſt of *Auguſt*, in which ſpace good ſtore of Oyl may be made, and what cannot be made into Oyl, may be brought home in Blubber. Another hindrance may be, becauſe the bottom of the Sounds will not be ſo ſoon clear of Ice as might be wiſhed, whereby a Whale may ſometimes be loſt, yet I am perſwaded they will be all clear before the 20th of *July*. Furthermore, there being little Wood to be expected hereabouts, Coals muſt be brought from *England*.

Compaſs varied 56 Deg. to the Weſtward.

‘ And now altho' we have not performed what we deſired (that is, to have found a Paſſage) yet I hope you will think that we have not ſpent our time in vain, conſidering how much Ice we paſſed, and the difficulty of ſailing upon a Traverſe ſo near the Pole, and above all the wonderful variation of the Compaſs in this Bay, increaſing and decreaſing ſo ſuddenly and ſwiftly, that in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s *Sound* in 78 Deg. by divers good Obſervations, I found it varied above five Points or 56 Deg. to the Weſtward, ſo that a N. E. by E. is true North, a thing incredible, and matchleſs in all the World beſides. In fine, whatever my Labours are or ſhall be, I eſteem them too little to expreſs my thankful mind for your many Favours, &c.

William Baffin.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The ſtrange and dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James, *in his intended Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage into the South Sea,* 1631.

1631.

THE worſhipful Company of Merchant Adventurers of the City of *Briſtol*, underſtanding that our Soveraign Lord *Charles* the firſt, had an earneſt deſire to be certified whether there were any Paſſage or not, by the North-weſt into the South Sea, did fit and ſet forth a choice, well-conditioned, ſtrong Ship, called the *Henrietta Maria*, of the burthen of 70 Tuns, victualled for 18 Months.

I was ever of opinion that this Action might be better effected by one Ship than two, becauſe in thoſe Icy Seas ſo much ſubject to Fogs and Storms, they might be eaſily ſeparated; and a place of meeting in Diſcoveries cannot ſurely, or without much hindrance be appointed; wherefore I reſolved to have but one Ship, the Ship-boat, and a Shallop.

A great Ship (as by former experience I had found) was unfit to be forced thro' the Ice, I therefore made choice of a Ship of the burthen aforeſaid, which the Carpenters made as ſtrong and ſerviceable as poſſibly in their underſtanding they could.

The Baker, Brewer, Butcher, and others, undertake their Offices upon their Credits, knowing it to be a geral buſineſs, and their utter undoing if they failed in performance; but truly they proved themſelves Maſters in their Arts, and have my praiſe for their honeſt care, wherein conſiſted a great part of the performance of the Voyage.

The number of Men thought convenient to manage this buſineſs was 22, whereof 19 were choice able Men, two Younkers, and my ſelf; voluntary Loiterers I diſclaimed, and publiſhed I would have none but approved able Seamen, and unmarried. The whole Company were ſtrangers to me and each other, but privately recommended to me by worthy Merchants, for their Ability and Fidelity. I was ſought to by divers that had formerly been in places of the chiefeſt command in this Action, and others alſo that had uſed the Nothern Icy Seas; but I utterly refuſed them all, and would by no means have any with me that had been in the like Voyage or Adventures, for ſome private Reaſons, unneceſſary here to be related. Thus keeping the Power in my own Hands, I had all the Men to acknowledge immediate dependance upon my ſelf alone, both for directing the Navigation, and diſpoſing all other things whatſoever.

May.

On the ſecond of *May*, 1631, accompanied with divers Merchants of the City of *Briſtol*, Adventurers in this Action, I went aboard, where the Reverend Mr. *Palmer* preached a Sermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly love amongſt us, and to be bold to profeſs the true Chriſtian Religion wherever we ſhould happen to come. After they had received ſuch entertainment as I could afford them, they returned to *Briſtol*, and the next day, after Prayers for a proſperous Voyage, we ſtood down the Channel of *Severn*, with little Wind, and got to the Weſtward of *Lundy*, when the Wind coming againſt us, we anchored in *Lundy*-road, where we remained until the eighth, and then ſetting ſail, we were forced to put into *Milford* Haven, where we remained till the 17th, whence with the firſt fair Wind, we proceeded and doubled Cape *Clare* in *Ireland*. Here I ordered a W. N. W. Courſe to be kept as near as the Wind would give leave.

June.

The fourth of *June* being very thick foul weather, we made the Land of *Greenland*, and the next day at two in the Morning, were encompaſſed with Ice, and endeavouring to clear our ſelves of it, were the more engaged, becauſe we could not ſee far about us, and we ſtruck many fearful blows againſt it. At laſt we faſtned to a very great piece (it blowing a Storm) and wrought all day and night to keep off the Ice, in which labour we brake all our Poles.

The ſixth, at two in the Morning we were beſet with many extraordinary great pieces of Ice, that came upon us, as it were with wilful violence, and doubtleſs had cruſhed us to pieces, if we had not let fall ſome Sail, which the Ship preſently felt. In eſcaping that danger we ran againſt another great piece, that we doubted whether our Ship had not been ſtaved to pieces, but pumping, we found ſhe made no Water. The former pieces of Ice had cruſhed our Shallop all to pieces, wherefore I ordered our Long-boat to be had up from betwixt the Decks, and put over-board, by help whereof we recovered our broken Shallop, and had her up on the Decks, intending to rebuild her. All this day it blew a ſtorm, and in the Evening we were incloſed with pieces of Ice as high as our Poop, and ſome of the ſharp blew corners of them did reach quite under us. All theſe great pieces (we being near the outward part of the Ice) did heave and ſet, and ſo beat us, that it was wonderful how the Ship could endure one blow of it; but it was God's only preſervation of us, to whom be all Honour and Glory. In this extremity we let fall all the Sail we could, and the Ship forced her ſelf thro' it, tho' ſo toſſed and beaten, as I think never Ship was. When we were clear, we tried the Pumps, and found her ſtanch, upon which we went inſtantly to Prayer, and to praiſe God for his merciful deliverance.

The 7th, 8th, and 9th, we endeavour'd to double Cape *Farewell*, lying W. N. W. from the *Blaſques* in *Ireland*, and in Latitude of 59 Deg. the diſtance about 410 Leagues. The variation of the Compaſs 30 Leagues to the Weſtward of *Ireland*, in Latitude 52 Deg. 30 Min. is about three Deg. to the Eaſtward. When we were about 310 Leagues W. N. W. from the *Blaſques*, in Latitude of 57 Deg. the Compaſs varied nine Deg. to the Weſtward. About 40 Leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape *Farewell*, in Lat. 59 Deg. 15 Min. the Variation was about 14 Deg. 45 Min. In this Courſe I obſerved whether any Current did ſet to the N. E. as ſome have written there did, and that as well in calm weather as otherwiſe, but I could not perceive any. The Winds we found variable, and the Sea of an unſearchable depth; we ſaw no Whales or other Fiſh. The weather for the moſt part was foggy and miſty, and Wets as bad as rain.

The 10th was very foul weather, and a high grown Sea, altho' we had Ice not far from us, and ſome pieces as high as our Top-maſt-head. Our Long-boat, which was towed at ſtern (becauſe we were building our Shallop on our Decks) broke away, and put us to ſome trouble to recover her again; at laſt we got her into the Ship, tho' very much bruiſed, and two Men were ſore hurt and like to be loſt in getting her in. At eight in the Evening we were ſhot up as high as Cape *Deſolation*, in Lat. 60 Deg. and the Land from Cape *Farewell* to it, trends N. W. the diſtance about 40 Leagues. From Cape *Deſolation* to the South end of the Iſland of *Reſolution*, is about 140 Leagues, the Courſe Weſt half a Point North. About 12 Leagues to the Weſtward of Cape *Deſolation*, the Variation is 16 Deg. 00 Min. In this Courſe we were much tormented with Ice, many pieces higher than our Main-top-maſt-head; we ſaw many *Grampuſſes*. The weather was for the moſt part a ſtinking Fog, and the Sea very black, which I conceive to be occaſioned by the Fog.

The 17th, at Night we heard the rut of the Shoar, as we thought, making an hollow and hideous noiſe, like an Over-fall of Water. We ſtood off from it till break of day, and at four in the Morning found it to be a rut againſt a Bank of Ice that lay on the Shoar, and ſaw the Land above the Fog, which we knew to be the Iſland of *Reſolution*. This Night all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. Here runs a quick Tide into the Streight, but the Ebb is as ſtrong as the Flood. The Fog was of ſuch a piercing nature, that it ſpoiled all our Compaſſes, and made them ſo heavy that they would not traverſe; wherefore I adviſe thoſe that ſhall travel this way hereafter, to provide Compaſſes of *Muſcovia* Glaſs, or ſome other matter that will endure the moiſture of the weather. As the Fog cleared up, we could ſee the entrance of the Streight, which was all full of Ice cloſe thronged together. Endeavouring to go forward, we were faſt incloſed in it, and ſo drove to and again with it, finding no ground at 230 Fathom four Leagues from the Shoar.

Sails frozen in *June*.

Compaſs ſpoiled with Fogs.

No Ground at 230 Fathom.

The 20th we got about the Southern Point of the Iſland, and the Wind coming up at Weſt, drove both us and the Ice upon the Shoar. When we were driven within two Leagues of the Shoar, we came among the ſtrangeſt whirlings of the Sea that poſſibly can be conceived. There were divers great pieces of Ice aground in 40 Fathom water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Iſland amongſt theſe Iſles of Ice, made ſuch a diſtraction, that we were carried round, ſometimes cloſe by the Rocks, ſometimes ſo near thoſe high pieces of Ice, that we feared they would fall upon us. With our Kedger and Grapnels we made faſt two great pieces of Ice to our ſides, that drew nine or ten Fathom, that ſo they might be aground before us if we ſhould be driven aſhoar. Our Boat being now finiſhed, I ſent her to find ſome place of ſecurity, but ſhe was preſently incloſed, and forced to hale up on the Ice, or elſe ſhe had been cruſhed in pieces. They ran her over the Ice from piece to piece, and in the mean time with the whirling and encountring of the Ice, the two pieces broke away from our ſides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels. Then we made ſigns to the Boat to make all the haſte they could to us, and we made ſome ſail, and got to that piece of Ice which had our Grapnel on it, and recovered it again. By this time our Boat was come, and we put a freſh Crew into her, and ſent them to fetch our Kedger, with much danger both of Boat and Men. The Ship in the mean time was driven ſo near the Shoar, that we could ſee the Rocks under us and about us. We went over Rocks that had but 12 or 13 Foot Water on them, and then let fall an Anchor, which had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that by good fortune ſhe ran againſt a great piece of Ice that was aground. This ruſh brake the main Knee of her Beak-head, and tore away four of our main Shrouds. We had but 15 Fathom Water, being alſo in the Tides way, where all the Ice would drive upon us. Not ſeeing our Boat, wherein was the third part of our Company, we feared ſhe had been cruſhed in pieces, but at laſt we ſaw her come about a Point amongſt the Rocks, having recovered our Kedge Anchor, which made us joyful. With all ſpeed we laid out Hawſers to the Rocks, and every one worked to the beſt of his ſtrength to warp her out of this dangerous place to the Rocks ſide, where we had three Fathom Water, and were under the ſhelter of a great piece of Ice which was aground, and kept off the Ice that otherwiſe would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well all the Ebb, but when the Flood came, we were aſſaulted with pieces of Ice that made us almoſt deſpair. At full Sea our great piece of Ice, which was our Buckler, was afloat, and do what we could, got away from us, and left us in moſt eminent danger, by reaſon of the Ice that drave in upon us; but as ſoon as the Ebb was made, this great piece of Ice came aground again, and ſhelter'd us. We wrought hard all Night in ſhifting our Cables and Hawſers, and faſtning them aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better paſs under them. It ſnowed hard all day and night, and blew a Storm at Weſt, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working againſt the violence of the Ice, the Flook of our Kedge Anchor, two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawſers were broken, and our Shallop again very much bruiſed.

Ice aground in 40 Fathom.

Snow in *June*.

The 21ſt the Harbour was choak'd with Ice, but when the Ebb was made, it did move. Some great pieces came aground, which alter'd the Courſe of the other Ice, and put us on the Rock. Here, notwithſtanding all our utmoſt endeavours, ſhe ſetled upon a ſharp Rock, about a Yard abaft the Main-maſt, and as the Water ebbed away

The Ship ſtrikes on a Rock.

way, ſhe hung after the Head, and heel'd to the Offing. We faſtned Cables and Hawſers aloft to her Maſt and ſo to the Rocks, ſtraining them taut with our Tackles; but as the Water ebbed away, ſhe ſunk ſtill, and at laſt was ſo turned over, that we could not ſtand in her. Having now done all to the beſt of our underſtanding (tho' to little purpoſe) we went all to prayers upon a piece of Ice, beſeeching God to be merciful unto us. The Ship was ſo turned over, that the Portals of the Fore-caſtle was in the Water, and we looked every minute when ſhe would overſet; indeed at one time the Cables gave way, and ſhe ſunk down half a Foot at that ſlip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and the Water roſe apace, and the Ship withal; whereupon we all on our Knees praiſed God for his mercy in ſo miraculous a deliverance.

A great Deliverance.

As ſoon as ſhe was freed from this Rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the Flood we were pretty quiet from the Ice, but when the Ebb was made, all the Ice came driving again upon us, and put us to great extremity. We got as many pieces betwixt us and the Rocks as we could, to defend us from them. There came a great piece upon our Quarter, which was above 300 of my Paces about, but it came aground, as did divers great pieces beſides, which was the cauſe of the Harbour's being quite choak'd up this tide, ſo that a Man might walk over it from ſide to ſide. When it was three quarters Ebb, thoſe great pieces that came aground, began to break with a moſt terrible noiſe, which put us in great fear that thoſe about us would break us all to pieces, but God preſerved us.

The 22d, in the Morning the Water ebbed lower by two foot than the laſt Tide it had done, whereby we ſaw God's Mercies apparent in our late Extremity. That Flood we had ſome reſpit, but after full Sea, our Hopes ebbed too. The great piece that was by us ſo ſtop'd the Channel, that the Ice came all driving upon us, ſo that now undoubtedly we thought we ſhould looſe our Ship. To work we went, with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for ſuch a purpoſe, to break the Corners of the Ice, and make way for it to drive from us. It pleaſed God to give good ſucceſs to our Labours, and we made way for ſome, and fended off the reſt. This day I went aſhoar, and ſet up a great Beacon with Stones upon the higheſt place of the Iſland, and putting a Croſs upon it, named it the *Harbour of God's Providence*. In the Evening the Harbour was fuller of Ice than ever it had been ſince our coming, and the Ship lay as it were in a Bed of Ice.

The 23d, the Ice with the Ebb drove all out, except one extraordinary great piece, which coming aground not far from us, ſetled it ſelf in ſuch a manner, that we much feared it; but there came no more great Ice after it, otherwiſe we muſt have expected as great danger as at any time before. I went aſhoar upon the Eaſtern ſide to ſee if I could find any place freer from danger than this unfortunate place, where amongſt the Rocks I found a likely place. From the top of the Hill where I was, I could ſee the Ship, and it being then almoſt low Water, the foreſaid piece of Ice brake with a terrible noiſe into four pieces, which made me fear it had ſpoiled the Ship, it being full half maſt high. I made what haſte I could to be ſatisfied, where I found all well, God be thanked, and preſently ſent away the Boat to ſound the way to a Cove that I had found. At her return we unmoored the Ship, and warp'd away from this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from it when it brake all to pieces, and we had ſurely born it company, had not God been merciful to us. When we had brought the Ship to the Cove, we made faſt to the Rocks, and I went aſhoar again to ſee what I could diſcover. I found it all broken rocky Grounds, without Tree, Herb, or Graſs upon it. I ſaw ſome Ponds of Water which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl. I found not any footing of Deer or Bears in the Snow, but ſaw one or two Foxes. We found where the Savages had been, but it was long ſince: They had made Hearths, and left ſome Fire-brands about them, with ſome Heads and Bones of Foxes, and ſome Whale-bones. I cannot conceive to what purpoſe they ſhould come thither, there being little or no Wood, and no Fiſh at all, tho' we daily endeavour'd to take ſome, but it may be, the Seaſon was not yet come. The Fire-brand had been cut with ſome Hatchet or other Inſtrument of Iron. From the top of the Hills we could ſee the Iſlands on the South Shoar, called Sir *Thomas Buttons Iſles*, 14 or 15 Leagues diſtant. It flows here ſeven a Clock and a half upon the change day, and the Tide highed at moſt three Fathom: The Flood comes from the Eaſtward, and thither it returns.

The 24th in the Morning there ſprung up a fair gale of Wind at Eaſt. After prayers we ſet ſail, ſteering between great pieces of Ice that were aground in 40 Fathom, and twice as high as our Top-maſt-head. We endeavouring to gain the North Shoar, kept our ſelves within a League of the Iſland of *Reſolution*, where we had ſome clear Water to ſail thro', whereas the Ice was very thick in the Offing. By 12 we were faſt incloſed, and notwithſtanding it blew very hard at Eaſt, yet we could make no way thro' it, and the hard Corners of the Ice did grate us with that violence, that I verily thought it would have grated the Planks from the Ships ſides. Thus we continued in torment till the 26th day, driving to and again in the Ice, not being able to ſee an Acre of Sea from the Top-maſt-head. I cauſed the Men to lay out ſome Fiſhing Lines, but to no purpoſe, for I could not perceive the Baits had been touched. The Nights were very cold, ſo that our Rigging was frozen, and freſh Ponds of Water ſtood upon the Ice above half an Inch thick.

Ice twice as high as Top-maſt-head.

The 27th, a ſmall Gale at S. E. and the Ice did ſomewhat open; hereupon we let fall our Fore-ſail, and forced the Ship thro' it. In the Evening the Wind came contrary at W. N. W and blowing hard, we faſtned to a great piece till the 29th.

I am ſatisfied by many Experiments I have made, that here is no Current; namely, by taking Marks on the Land, and noting our Drift to and again, with the Ebb and Flood for many days together, and as well in calm weather as otherwiſe. By all which, I found exactly that the Tide was no ſtronger there than between *England* and *France*.

From this 29th to the 5th of *July*, we ſailed thro' the Ice with variable Winds and Fogs, and ſaw *Salisbury*-Iſland, and ſoon after Prince *Charles* Cape. The Sea to the N. N. W. peſter'd with Ice, which grieved me very much, becauſe having determined to proſecute the diſcovery to the North-weſtward, I now ſaw it was not poſſible this Year; wherefore I order'd to ſteer away W. S. W. in which Courſe we ſtruck more fearful blows againſt the Ice than we had ever yet done. This was the firſt day that we went to half allowance of Bread on Fleſh Days. In the Evening we anchored, and I ſent the Boat aſhoar to try the Tides. They brought me word that whilſt the Boat was aſhoar, it flowed three Foot, and we found by the Ship and the Ice, that the Water at that time came from the W. S. W. and that the higheſt Tides (ſo far as they could perceive) had not highed above two Fathom. They found that Savages had been there, but ſaw no Tracks of any Beaſts beſides Foxes.

July.

Next Morning being the 17th, the Shoar being pretty clear of Ice, we ſtood along it S. and S. by W. ten Leagues, and then the Wind coming contrary, we anchor'd, and I went aſhoar to be reſolved of the Tide, and found whilſt I was aſhoar that it did flow two Foot, and at that time the Flood came from the S. W. by W. I doubted it was an half Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. It flows on the Change Day about eleven a clock.

The 18th we ſteered away Weſt, being come as we thought, into an open Sea, but our Joy was ſoon quailled; for by ten at Night we heard the rut of the Ice. We ſtood along it, hoping to weather it to the Southward, till we became ſo blinded with Fog, and ſo encompaſſed with Ice, that we could go no further.

Thus we continued till the 21ſt, in Lat. 60 Deg. 33 Min. and then looking what damage our Ship had received, we perceived, that below the Plate of Iron which was before her Cut-water, ſhe was all bruiſed and broken, the two Knees ſhe had before to ſtrengthen her, ſpoiled and torn, and many other Defects, which we could not by any means come to mend: Notwithſtanding all which, and the extraordinary thick Fog, that we could not ſee a Piſtol ſhot about us, we proceeded with the hazard of all till the 27th, being the firſt time we had clear Weather to look about us. The Water now began to ſhoal, for whereas the depth was ordinarily 120 Fathom, it was now but 80.

The 28th and 29th, we were ſo faſt incloſed with Ice, that notwithſtanding we had put aboard all the Sail we had, and that it blew a very hard gale of Wind, the Ship ſtirred no more than if ſhe had been in a dry Dock. We all went boldly out upon the Ice to recreate our ſelves, letting her ſtand ſtill under all her Sails. It was large flat Ice, the worſt to deal with that we had yet found: I meaſured ſome pieces, which were 1000 of my Paces long. This was the firſt day our Men began to murmur, thinking it impoſſible to get either forwards or backwards. I comforted and encouraged them the beſt I could; and to put away theſe Cogitations, we drank a health to his Majeſty on the Ice, not one Man in the

Ship, and ſhe ſtill under all her Sails. I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that their murmuring was not without cauſe. And doubting that we ſhould be frozen up in the Sea, I order'd Fire to be made but once a day, the better to prolong our Fewel whatſoever ſhould happen. We put out our Hooks to try to catch ſome Fiſh, but to no purpoſe; for there is not any in this Bay.

Auguſt. From the firſt to the 11th was thick foggy weather. On the third we ſaw a little open Water to the N. W. and felt a ſwelling Sea from the Weſt, which aſſured us there was an open Sea to the Weſtward.

On the 11th we ſaw the Land; it is from *Digs* Iſland to this Weſtern Land, about 160 Leagues. The Tides do ſet in the middle of the Bay Eaſt and Weſt (as we have often tried by our Lead aground) but nearer the Shoars, as they are forced by the Land. I am of opinion, that in the Ocean or in large Bays, the Tides do naturally ſet Eaſt and Weſt, and that this therefore gives little hopes of a Paſſage. The greateſt depth in the Bay is 110 Fathom, and ſo ſhoalding as you approach to Land. We coaſted this little Bay, which is about 18 Leagues deep, and had 8 and 6 Fathom Water, and in the bottom of it we were in two Fathom and a half, and ſaw the Firm-land almoſt round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward, within ſight of the Breach of the Shoar, keeping the Lead continually going, and in the Night anchored with our Kedger, but in weighing of it, we loſt it, having no more aboard us.

The 12th, we were in Lat. 58 Deg. 46 Min. two Leagues from the Shoar. The variation about 17 Degrees.

The 13th, Afternoon, being ſomewhat hazy, we ſaw ſome Breaches a head of us; our depth was nine or ten Fathom, and luffing to clear our ſelves of them, we ſuddenly ſtruck upon the Rocks, the Ship then under our two Top-ſails, Fore-ſail, and Sprit-ſail, with a freſh Gale of Wind. In this fearful Accident, we ſtruck all our Sails amain, and it pleaſed God to ſend two or three good ſwelling Seas, which heaved us over the Rocks into three Fathom, where chopping to an Anchor, we eſſaied the Pumps, and found ſhe made no Water, altho' ſhe had three ſuch terrible blows, that we thought her Maſt would have ſhiver'd to pieces, and that ſhe had been aſſuredly bulged. We hoiſed out the Boat to find a Way out of this perilous place; ſhe was no ſooner gone, but there roſe a Fog, ſo that we were fain to ſpend ſome Powder, that ſhe might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd ſomething, or elſe it had been doubtful whether ſhe could ever have recovered us again. After ſhe had been abſent two Hours, ſhe brought us word that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us, but that ſhe had found a Way where there was not leſs than two Fathom and a half, and that afterwards the Water did deepen. We preſently weighed and followed the Boat, and paſt over two Ledges of Rocks, whereon was ſcarce 14 Foot Water, which we ſaw the next day dry above Water, whereby I know it flows here two Fathom at leaſt.

They ſtrike on a Rock with full Sails.

The 15th, in the Evening our Cable galled off, by reaſon of which perilous and ſudden Accident, in which we had not time to put a Buoy to it, we loſt our Anchor, and were driven into four Fathom Water before we could ſet our Sails, and it growing dark, we anchored again, and rode a good ſtreſs all Night.

The 16th, in the Morning a freſh gale at North, we ſet ſail, and by nine a clock it grew to be a very ſtorm. The next day at Noon, Lat. 57 Deg. 15 Min. we reckoned our ſelves ſix or ſeven Leagues to the Southward of Port *Nelſon*: Here the colour of the Water changed, and was of a puddliſh and ſandy red colour. We could not ſee the Land from Top-maſt-head, and Night coming on, we ſtood off again.

On the 20th we ſaw the Land, being a very low flat Land, which I named *The New Principality of South Whales*, and drank a health in the beſt Liquor we had, to Prince *Charles*, whom God preſerve. We ſtood along it till the Evening, and then anchored: The Tide did ſet N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. There went a chopping ſhort Sea, and the Ship did labour exceedingly, leaping in Sprit-ſail-yard, Fore caſtle and all. At nine at Night it was very dark, and blew hard: We perceived by the Lead that the Ship did drive, wherefore bringing the Cable to Capſton to heave in our Cable, (for we thought we had loſt our Anchor) the Anchor hitch'd again, and upon the chopping of the Sea, threw the Men from the Capſton. A ſmall Rope in the dark had gotten foul about the Cable, and about the Maſter's Leg too, but with help of God, he cleared himſelf, tho' not without ſore bruiſing. The two Mates were hurt, one in the Head, the other in the Arm. One of our luſtieſt Men had ſuch a blow on the Breaſt with a Bar, that he lay ſprawling for Life; another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly eſcaped; the reſt were flung, and ſore bruiſed. But our Gunner, an honeſt diligent Man, had his Leg caught between the Cable and Capſton, which wrung off his Foot, and tore all the Fleſh from his Leg, cruſhed the Bone to pieces, and ſorely bruiſed his whole Body: In which miſerable condition he remained crying, till we had recovered our Memories and Strengths to clear him. Whilſt we were putting him and the reſt down to the Chirurgion, the Ship drove into Shoal Water, which put us all in fear; but it pleaſed God the Anchor held again, and we rode it out all Night. By midnight the Chirurgion had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the gartering place, and dreſt the others that were hurt and bruiſed, after which, we comforted each other as well as we could.

Many Men hurt by the Cable.

The Gunner's Leg loſt.

The 22d, we weighed and ſtood into deep Water, and proceeded along the Shoar till the 27th, when we anchore in five Fathom. I ſent off the Boat well mann'd and arm'd, with order in writing what they were to do, and a charge to return again before Sun-ſet. When Evening came, we had no news of our Boat; we ſhot and made falſe fires, but had no anſwer, which much perplexed us, doubting ſome diſaſter had befaln her, and in her we ſhould looſe all: We aboard were not able to weigh our Anchor nor ſail the Ship. At laſt we ſaw a Fire on the Shoar, which made us the more doubtful, becauſe they did not anſwer our Shot nor falſe Fires with the like: We thought alſo that it had been the Savages, who now triumphed in their Conqueſt. At laſt they returned all ſafe, and excuſed themſelves, in that upon their coming aſhoar, it ebbed ſo ſuddenly, that a Bank of Sand that lay without them, was preſently dry, and they could not come away till that was covered again. They reported that they found great ſtore of drift Wood on the Shoar, and that there was Wood growing on the Land: That they ſaw the Tracks of Deer and Bears, good ſtore of Fowl (whereof they kill'd ſome) but no ſign of People: That it flowed very near three Fathoms, as appeared by the Shoar: That it was low water at four a clock: That it flowed half Tide, and that the Flood came from the N. W.

The 29th, in the Morning as it cleared, we ſaw a Ship three or four Leagues to Leeward of us, and bearing up with her, found her to be his Majeſties Ship, Captain *Fox* Commander. We ſaluted each other according to the manner of the Sea, and the next Morning he with his Friends came aboard me, and were entertained in the beſt manner I could, with ſuch freſh Meat as I had gotten from the Shoar. I made known to him all the Dangers of this Coaſt, as far as I had been. He told me that he had been in Port *Nelſon*, and had made but a curſory diſcovery hitherto, and that he had not been on Land, nor had many times ſeen the Land. In the Evening, after I had given his Men ſome Tobacco and other things which they wanted, he departed aboard his Ship, and next Morning ſtood away S. S. W. ſince which time I never ſaw him, and we ſtood in for the Shoar, and proceeded in ſight of it. This Month of *Auguſt* ended with Snow and Hail, and the Weather as cold as at any time I have felt in *England*.

They met with Capt. *Fox*.

September the firſt, we coaſted along the Shoar, and on the ſecond had a violent Storm. *Septemb*

On the third we deſcried a Head-land, which we named Cape *Henrietta Maria*, in Lat. 55 Deg. 5 Min. It is diſtant from Port *Nelſon* about 130 Leagues: The Variation taken by Amplitude is about 16 Degrees: A moſt ſhoal and perilous Coaſt, in which there is not one Harbour to be found. In the Afternoon we had a tearing Storm at North, which continued till midnight with extream violence.

The fourth, in the Morning the Storm brake up, and we ſtood in again, ſounding continually. At Noon we ſaw the Land trending S. by E. and the Tides did ſet along it with a quick motion. In the Evening there came a great rowling Sea from the N. N. E. and by eight a clock it blew very hard at S. E. and by reaſon of the encounter of the Wind and the great Sea, the Sea was all in a breach, and to make up a perfect Tempeſt, it did ſo lighten, ſnow, rain, and blow all the Night long, that I was never in the like. We skip'd many Seas, but one moſt dangerous, which raked us fore and aft, that I verily thought it had ſunk the Ship. The Ship did labour moſt terribly in this deſtraction of Wind and Waves, and we had much ado to keep all things faſt in the Hold and betwixt Decks.

The fifth, in the Morning the Wind ſhifted S. W. but continued its fury. In the Afternoon it ſhifted again to the N. W. and there ſhewed its utmoſt malice, with that tearing violence, that neither I, nor any that were with me, ever ſaw the Sea in ſuch a terrible breach. Our Ship did ſo labour with taking it in on both ſides, and at both ends, that we were in moſt miſerable diſtreſs in this unknown place. At eight at Night it brake up, and we had ſome quietneſs, none of us having ſlept a wink in 30 Hours before. If this ſtorm had continued Eaſterly as it was at firſt, without God's goodneſs we had all periſhed.

The ſixth, the Wind being at S. W. we could do no good to the Weſtward; we ſpent the time therefore in trimming our Ship; we brought our Coals and other things towards the Stern to lighten her before; others did pick our Bread, much whereof was wet, for do what we could, we ſhipp'd abundance of Water, which ran into the Hold and Bread-room; we overlooked our Tacks and Shoots, with other Riggings of Streſs, becauſe henceforward we were to look for no other but winter weather. This Evening our Boatſwain, a painful Man, who had laboured extreamly theſe two or three days, was very ſick, ſwounding away three or four times, ſo that we verily thought he would preſently have died.

We ſtood off and on in thick foggy weather, amongſt Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, until the 11th, when I went aſhoar on an Iſland to ſearch for Scurvy-graſs, Sorrel, or ſome Herb or other to refreſh our ſick People, but finding none, I returned aboard, and ſent many of our ſick Men to another part of the Iſland to ſee if they themſelves could fortunately find any relief for their Griefs: In the Evening they returned comfortleſs. I could not perceive that the Tide flowed above two Foot. There was much drift Wood on the Shoar, and ſome of it drove up very high on the North ſide of the Iſland, whereby I judged that the Storms were very great at North in the Winter.

The Ship ſtrikes againſt the Rocks.

The 12th, in the Morning it began to blow hard, and the Ship began to drive, it being ſoft ozy Ground; we heaved in our Anchor, and ſailed under two Courſes, and whilſt moſt were buſy in heaving out of Top-ſails, ſome that ſhould have had ſpecial care of the Ship, ran her aſhoar upon the Rocks, out of meer careleſneſs, in not looking out nor heaving the Lead, after they had ſeen the Land all night long, and might even then have ſeen it, if they had not been blinded with ſelf-conceit, and been enviouſly oppoſite in Opinions. The firſt blow ſtruck me out of a dead ſleep, and as I was running out of my Cabin, I thought I had been wakned to provide my ſelf for another World.

After I had controuled my Paſſion, and check'd ſome bad counſel that was given me, to revenge my ſelf upon thoſe that had committed this Error, I firſt order'd all our Sails to be halled a back-ſtaies, but that did no good, but made her beat the harder. Whereupon we ſtruck all our Sails a-main, and furled them up cloſe, tearing down our Stern to bring the Cable thro' the Cabin to Capſton, and ſo laid out an Anchor to heave her a-ſtern. I cauſed all the Water in the Hold to be ſtaved, and ſet ſome to pump it out again, and did intend to do the like with our Beer. Others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was ſoon and readily done. We quoiled out our Cables into our Long-boat; all this while the Ship beating ſo fearfully, that we ſaw ſome of the Sheating ſwim by us. Then we ſtood as many as could to the Capſton, and heaved with ſuch a good will, that the Cable broke, and we loſt our Anchor, whereupon with all ſpeed we put out another. We could not yet perceive whether ſhe did leak or no, by reaſon we were employed in pumping out the Water which we had bulged in the Hold, tho' we much doubted ſhe had received her Death's Wound. Wherefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, ſix Muſkets, with ſome Match and Tinder-box, Fiſh-hooks and Lines, Pitch and Okam, and to be brief, whatever could be thought on in ſuch extremity.

All this we ſent aſhoar to prolong a miſerable life for a few days: we were five Hours thus beating, in which time ſhe ſtruck above 100 blows, inſomuch that we thought every ſtroke had been the laſt that it was poſſible ſhe could have endured. We could not perceive the Water in all this time to flow any thing at all; at laſt it pleaſed God that ſhe beat over all the Rocks, but not knowing whether ſhe were ſtanch, all hands went to pumping till we made the Pump ſuck, and then we ſaw how much Water ſhe made in one Glaſs. We found her to be very leaky, ſo went to Prayer, and gave God thanks that it was no worſe, and fitting all things again, got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening it began to blow very hard, which if it had done whilſt we were on the Rocks, we had loſt our Ship without any redemption. With much ado we weighed our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eaſtward, amongſt the broken Grounds and Rocks, the Boat going before ſounding. At laſt we came amongſt Breaches, and the Boat made ſigns to us that there was no going further; amongſt the Rocks therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we rode all Night. I obſerved, that when the Wind was at South, it flowed very little or no Water at all, ſo that we could not bring our Ship aground to look to her, and we did pump almoſt continually.

The 13th we weighed and ſtood to the Weſtward; but in that Courſe was all broken Grounds, Shoals and ſunken Rocks. Then we ſhaped our Courſe to the Northward, and after ſome conſultation, I reſolved to get about this Land, and go down to the bottom of *Hudſon's Bay*, and ſee if I could diſcover a way into the River of *Canada*, and if I failed of that, then to winter on the main Land, where more comfort may be expected than among Rocks or Iſlands. When it was Night we ſtood under our Fore-ſail, the Lead ſtill going. The Water ſhoaled upon us to ten Fathom, and it began to blow hard. We tacked about, and it deepned to twelve and fourteen Fathom, but by and by it ſhoaled again to eight Fathom; then tacking again, it ſuddenly ſhoaled to ſix and five Fathom; ſo we ſtruck our Sails amain, and chop'd to an Anchor, reſolving to ride it out for life and death. We rode all Night a great ſtreſs, ſo that our Bits did riſe, and we thought they would have been torn to pieces.

The 14th, at break of day we were joyful Men, and looking about, deſcried an Iſland two Leagues off, and this was the Shoal that lay about it. We got up our Anchor, and ſtood to clear our ſelves of this Shoal. In the Evening it begun to blow a ſtorm not ſail-worthy, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we did now tow at Stern, being moored with two Halſters, was ſunk, and did ſpin by her Moorings, with her Keel up twenty times in an Hour. This made our Ship to hull very broad, ſo that the Sea did continually overrake us, yet we endured it, thinking to recover her. The Storm continued with violence all Night, with ſome rain in the Morning, and very thick weather. The Water ſhoaled apace, with ſuch an overgrown Sea withal, that a ſail was not to be endured; and what was worſe, there was no truſting to an Anchor; now therefore we began to prepare our ſelves to make a good end of a miſerable tormented Life. About Noon it clearing up, we ſaw two Iſlands under our Lee, and bearing up to them, ſaw an opening betwixt them, and endeavour'd to get in before Night; for there was no hope of us if we continued at Sea that Night; therefore come Life, come Death, we muſt run this hazard. We found it to be a good Sound, where we rode ſafely all Night, but before we got into this good place, our Shallop moored with two Halſers, broke away, and we loſt her to our great grief. We had now none left but the Ship-boat, and ſhe much torn and bruiſed. Here we remained till the 19th, in all which time it did nothing but ſnow and blow extreamly, ſo that we durſt not put our Boat over-board.

The 19th, we weighed and ſtood to the Southward, and anchored under another Iſland, on which I went aſhoar, and named it *The Earl of Briſtol's Iſland*. I wandred up and down, but could not perceive there had been any People on it; nor was there any Fiſh, Fowl or Herb. The Tides highed about ſix Foot, the Winds being Northerly: The Flood comes from the North, and it flows half Tide: It was full Sea this day at one a clock. Here ſeeing the Winds continue Northerly, that we could not get about to go into *Hudſon's Bay*, we thought it beſt to look out for a wintring place; ſome adviſed to go for Port *Nelſon*, becauſe we were certain there was a Cove where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counſel, becauſe it is a perilous place, and it might be ſo long e're we could get thither, that we might be debar'd by the Ice; beſides, it being ſo cold in this Latitude, that our Rigging was frozen every Night, and that ſome Mornings we ſhovel'd the Snow half a Foot thick off our Decks, I thought it would be far worſe in the other place, and thereupon reſolved to ſtand again to the Southward, there to look for ſome little Creek or Cove for our Ship.

The 21ſt, we weighed and ſtood to the Southward; in the Evening the Wind increaſed, and blew hard: We took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the Southward, heaving the Lead every Glaſs. Our depth when we took in our Sails was 30 Fathom, and increaſed to 45, which was a great comfort to us in the dark. At midnight it ſuddenly decreaſed, and as faſt as the Lead could be heaved, it ſhoaled to 20 Fathom, wherefore we chop'd to an Anchor, and trimmed our Ship Aft, to mount on the Sea, and fitted all things to ride it out: There was no need to bid our Men watch. We rode it out well all Night, altho' the Sea went very lofty, and that it blowed very hard.

The 22d, in the Morning we ſaw an Iſland a League off under our Lee, all being Shoals and Breaches betwixt us and it. At Noon, with the help of the Windward Tide, we attempted to have up our Anchor, altho' the Sea ſtill went very lofty. Joining all our Strengths, God be thanked, we got it up; but before we could ſet our Sails, were driven into nine Fathom; whereupon we endeavouring to double a Point, and get under the Lee of the Iſland, the Water ſhoaled to ſeven, ſix, and five Fathom, but when we were about, it deepned again, and we anchored in a very good place, and it was well for us that we did, for the Wind increaſed to a very ſtorm. Laſt Night and this Morning it ſnowed and hailed, and was very cold. I went aſhoar to look for ſome Creek or Cove to have in our Ship, for ſhe was very leaky, and the Company were ſickly and weak with much pumping and extream labour. I aſcended the top of a Hill, but could not ſee what I looked for: I named it Sir *Thomas Roe's Iſland*. At Noon we weighed, ſeeing an Iſland that bare S. S. E. of us, four Leagues off; but as we came near it, it ſuddenly ſhoaled to ſix, five and four Fathom; wherefore we ſtruck our Sails amain, and chop'd to an Anchor, but it was very foul ground, and we had but three Fathom at her Stern. Holding it not ſafe to ſtay longer here, we ſetled every thing in order for the Ship to fall the right way. We had up our Anchor, and ſtood over again for Sir *Thomas Roe's Iſland*, which by Night we brought in the Wind of us two Leagues off, and did well ſhelter us.

The 24th, in the Morning it threatned a Storm, whereupon we weighed with the Windward Tide to get nearer under the Iſland. It was very thick foggy weather, and as we ſtood to the N. E. we came to very uncertain depths; at one caſt twenty Fathoms, the next ſeven, then to five, eight, and three, and coming upon the other tack, we were worſe than we were before. It pleaſed God we got clear of them, and endeavour'd to get under the Lee of the Iſland; but not being able to effect it, we were forced to anchor in 35 Fathom two Leagues off the Shoar. All this Night it ſnowed and hail'd, and was very cold.

The 25th we weighed, and as we tacked to and again, the Wind ſhifted ſo in our Teeth, that it put us within a quarter of a Mile of the very ſhoar, where we chop'd to an Anchor, and rode it out for life and death. Such Miſeries we endured amongſt theſe Shoals and broken Ground. Our Sheet Anchor was down twice or thrice a day; and this continued till the laſt of *September*, which we thought would have put an end to our Miſeries, there being nothing but Rocks, Shoals, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us.

October.

The firſt of *October* was indifferent fair, and our Boat ſounded a Channel to help us out of this perilous place. She returned in two Hours, telling us ſhe had been a way where there was not leſs than twelve Fathom. We preſently weighed, but found it otherwiſe, the Water ſhoaling to ſix Fathom; but there was no remedy, we muſt go forward. It pleaſed God ſo to direct us, that we got thro' it, ſometimes twenty Fathom, then on a ſudden ſeven, ſix and five, ſo we ſtruck all our Sails amain, and chop'd to an Anchor, where we rode till midnight for life and death, it blowing a mercileſs gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a Breach; the Ground was foul alſo, ſo that we doubted our Cable every Minuit.

The ſecond, in the Morning was little Wind; we ſent the Boat to ſound; which returning in two Hours, told us they had found a place of ſome ſafety to ride in, and had been in no leſs water than 5 Fathom. We weighed, and found our Cable galled in two places, which had ſoon failed us if the foul weather had continued. We ſtood the ſame way the Boat directed us, and anchoring in 18 Fathom, I went aſhoar on an Iſland to the Southward of us, which I named the *Earl of Danby's Iſland*. From the higheſt place in it, I could ſee it all broken Grounds and Shoals to the Southwards, and rather worſe than better than that which we had been in. I found that People had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. Towards Evening it began to blow hard, wherefore we made towards the Ship, and rowing for Life to recover her, we put to Leeward of her; but they in the Ship putting forth a Buoy and a Warp, we got hold of it and haled up to her. It blowed a violent gale all night, with ſnow and Hail.

The third, the wind dull'd, and weighing, we ſtood further into the Bay, into four Fathom and a half water. I went preſently aſhoar to ſee what comfort I could find on this Iſland, being the ſame we did after winter upon. I found the Tracks of Deer, and ſaw ſome Fowl; but that which I rejoiced at moſt was, that I ſaw an Opening into the Land like a River; we made to it with all ſpeed, but found it barred, and not two Foot water at full Sea on the Bar, and yet within an excellent fine Harbour, having four Fathom water.

The fourth, it ſnowed and blew very hard; I and four more went four or five Miles up into the Country, but could find no relief for our ſick Men, beſides a few Berries. When we had wearied our ſelves in the troubleſome Woods, we returned aboard with no good News. It continued foul weather till the 6th, when we ſtood nearer to the Shoar and moored our Ship.

The 7th, it ſnowed all day, and blew a ſtorm withal; it froze ſo, that all the Bows of the Ship, with the Beak-head, were all Ice, and the Cable was as big as a Man's Middle. The Bows of the Boat were frozen half a Foot thick, ſo that we were ſain to hew and beat it off. The Sun ſhining very clear, we tore the Top-ſails out of the Tops, which were hard frozen in them, and let them hang a ſunning all day, in a very lump, the Sun not having Power to thaw them. Seeing now the VVinter to come ſo extreamly upon us, and fearing that we ſhould not be able to go to and again with the Boat, we rowed aſhoar with much difficulty, and filled the Boat with VVood, and ſent the Carpenter and others to cut Wood, we having but little aboard. It was miſerably cold already aboard the Ship, every thing freezing in the Hold and by the fire-ſide; and ſince we could now no longer make uſe of our Sails, we began to fear that here we muſt ſtay and VVinter. VVhen we had brought as much VVood aboard as we could conveniently ſtow, and enough as I thought would have laſted two or three Months, the ſick Men deſired that ſome little Houſe or Hovel might be built aſhoar, whereby they might be ſhelter'd, and recover their healths. I took the Carpenter and others, and chooſing out a place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean time I with ſome others wander'd up and down in the VVood to ſee if we could diſcover any ſigns of Savages, that ſo we might the better provide for our ſafeties againſt them: VVe found no appearance that there was any on this Iſland or near it. The Snow by this time was half Leg high, and ſtalking thro' it, we returned comfortleſs to our Companions, who had wrought hard upon our Houſe. They in the Ship took down our Top-ſails, and making a great fire upon the Heath in the Hatch way, thawed them and folded them up, and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had any good weather, they might bring them again to Yard: In the Evening we return'd aboard.

They build a Houſe.

The 12th, we took our Main-ſail from the Yard, and carried it aſhoar to cover our Houſe, having firſt thawed it by a great fire. By Night they had cover'd it, and had almoſt hedged it about, and the ſix Builders deſired to lie in it that Night, which I granted, having firſt furniſhed them with Muſkets and other Arms, and charging them to keep good watch all Night. They had alſo two Greyhounds, a Dog and a Bitch, which I had brought from *England*, to kill us ſome Deer if we ſhould ſee any.

The 13th, our Houſe was ready, and our ſix Builders deſired they might travel up into the Country to ſee what they could diſcover.

The 14th, early, being fitted with Munition, and order'd to keep together (but eſpecially to ſeek out ſome Creek or Cove for our Ship) they departed. We aboard took down our two Top-maſts and their Rigging, intending if we ſhould remove, to make uſe of our Fore-ſail and Mizen.

They kill a Deer.

The 15th, in the Evening our Hunter returned very weary, and brought with him a ſmall lean dear in four Quarters, which made us all rejoice, hoping we ſhould have more of them. They reported that they had wandred above twenty Miles, and had brought this Deer above twelve Miles, and had ſeen nine or ten more: That laſt Night they had a very cold lodging in the Woods, and ſo it appear'd, for they all looked as if they were almoſt ſtarved, nor could they recover themſelves in three or four days after. They ſaw no ſigns of People or wild Beaſts, nor any place for Harbour.

The Gunner's Mate drown'd.

The 17th, my Lieutenant and five more deſired they might try their Fortunes in travelling about the Iſland; but they had worſe luck than the others, and returned comfortleſs and diſabled with cold; but what was worſe than all, they loſt one of their Company, *John Barton* our Gunner's Mate, who being very weary, rather than go about, would go over a Pond a quarter of a Mile over, where when he was in the very middle, the Ice brake and cloſed upon him, and they never ſaw him more. Being now certain that there were no Savages upon the Iſland, nor on the Main neither as far as we could diſcover, and the cold being now ſo extream, that they could not come to us if there were any; we comforted and refreſhed our ſelves by ſleeping the more ſecurely, and changed our Garriſon every Week.

From the 10th to the 29th it did for the moſt part ſnow and blow ſo hard, that we could ſeldom get aſhoar with the Boat, without wading in the thick congeal'd Water, and carrying one another.

November The firſt, I reckoned with the Steward concerning our Victuals, the third part of our time being this day out.

The third, the Boat endeavour'd to get aſhoar, but could not ſet thro' the congeal'd Water. The next day they found a place to get aſhoar, and carried Beer to our Men aſhoar in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the Houſe in one Night. The Icy Beer being thawed in a Kettle, was not good, and they brake the Ice of the Ponds to come at Water to drink. This Pond-water had a loathſome ſmell with it, ſo that fearing it might be infectious, I cauſed a Well to be ſunk near the Houſe, where we had very good Water, flattering our ſelves that it taſted like Milk.

The 10th, having ſtore of Boards for ſuch purpoſe, I order'd the Carpenter to make a little Boat, which we might carry, if occaſion were, over the Ice, and make uſe of her where there was Water. At Noon I found the Latitude to be 52 Degrees.

The 12th, our Houſe took fire, but we ſoon quenched it; we were fain to keep an extraordinary fire Night and Day, and if our Houſe and Clothing had been burnt, we had been in a miſerable condition. I lay aſhoar till the 17th, all which time our Miſeries did encreaſe. It ſnowed and freezed extreamly, and the Ship looked like a piece of Ice reſembling a Ship; Our Cables froze in the Hawſe, wonderful to behold. I got aboard, where I ſpent the long Nights with tormenting Cogitations, and in the day time I could not ſee any hopes of ſaving the Ship: This I was ſure of, that it was impoſſible to endure theſe Extremities long. Every day the Men muſt beat the Ice off the Cables, while ſome within board with the Carpenter's long Calking Iron, digged the Ice out of the Hawſes; in which work the Water did ſo benum them, that they could hardly get into the Ship without being heaved in with a Rope.

The 19th, our Gunner, who as you may remember had his Leg cut off, grew very weak, deſiring that for the little time he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether, which I order'd he ſhould do.

The Gunner dies.

The 22d, in the Morning he died; an honeſt and a ſtrong hearted Man. He had a cloſe boarded Cabin in the Gun-room, and as many Cloaths on him as was convenient, with a Pan of Coals continually in his Cabin; notwithſtanding which, his Plaiſter would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head. We put him into the Sea at a good diſtance from the Ship.

Sack frozen.

The 23d, the Ice increaſed extreamly: In the Evening after the Watch was ſet, a great piece came athwart our Hawſe, and four more followed after it, the leaſt of them a quarter of a Mile broad, which in the dark did much aſtoniſh us, thinking it would have carried us out of the Harbour. It being newly congealed, and not above two Inches thick, we brake thro' it, the Cable and Anchor enduring an incredible ſtreſs, ſometimes ſtopping the whole Ice. We fired three Muſquets, ſignifying to our Men aſhoar that we were in diſtreſs; who anſwered us again, but could not help us. By ten a clock it was all paſſed, nevertheleſs we watched carefully, and the weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this Month: In the Morning I ſent for our Men aboard. Many pieces of Ice drove by the Ship, tho' not ſo large as the former, yet much thicker: One of them came foul of the Cable and made the Ship drive. As ſoon as we were clear of it we got up our Anchor, and now I reſolved to bring the Ship aground, for no Cables nor Anchors could hold her. The reaſons why I brought her no ſooner aground were, 1ſt, It was all ſtony ground, ſome Stones lying dry three or four Foot above Water, ſo that we had reaſon to ſuſpect that it was the like all about us. Secondly, it ordinarily flowed but two Foot and a half, and if ſhe ſhould bed deep in the Sands, we could never come to dig her out again, becauſe ſhe would not be dry by four or five Foot. Thirdly, It was a looſe Sand, which might riſe with the Surf, or ſo mount about her, that all our weak Powers would not be able to heave it away the next Spring time. Fourthly, We doubted the Tides would not high ſo much in the Summer as they now did. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the Tide's way, which run ſomewhat quick here, and the Ice might drive and mount upon her, and ſo over-ſet her, or tear her, and carry away Planks and Iron Work, ſo that we ſhould have nothing left to ſet up a Pinnace. Sixthly, If it blowed a Storm at N. W. or thereabouts, the Water would flow ten Foot and upwards, and that Wind being off the Shoar, would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary Surf about the Shoal Eaſter Point, which was occaſioned by a deep Over-fall. Moreover, ſhe would beat extreamly, and if ſhe ſhould be put up by the Sea or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we ſhould never heave her off again.

They bring the Ship aground.

For theſe Reaſons we endured all extremity, ſtill hoping for ſome good and fortunate accident; but we now ſaw all our provident Deſigns become fooliſhneſs, and that we had ſpent a great deal of labour in vain. The Wind was now South, which blew upon the Shoar, and made the loweſt Tides. We brought the Ship into twelve Foot Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in ſhoal Water to draw her aland at command. Our hope alſo was, that ſome Stones to the Weſtward of us would ſend off ſome of the Ice. We then being about a Mile from the Shoar, about ten a clock in a dark Night, the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchor came home. She drove about two Cables length, and the Wind blowing on the Shoar, ſhe came aground at two a clock, and ſtopp'd much Ice, yet ſhe lay well all Night, and we took ſome reſt.

The 25th, the Wind ſhifted Eaſterly, and put abundance of Ice upon us. When the Flood was made, I cauſed our two Top-ſails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and hoiſing them up with Ropes in all haſt, forced the Ship aſhoar, when ſhe had not half a Cables length to drive on the rocky Shoals. In the Evening we brake away thro' the Ice, and put an Anchor to ſhoarward in five Foot water, to keep her to the Shoar if poſſible. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my mind, who without doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this manner, and ſo ſtarved at Sea; but God was more merciful to us. At nine at Night the Wind came up at N. W. and blew a Storm: This Wind was off the Shoar, and blew away all the Ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rowling Sea withal, accompanied with a great Surf on the Shoar; and now were we left on the Ground to the mercy of the Sea. By ten ſhe began to rowl in her Dock, and ſoon after began to beat againſt the Ground. As many as could ſtood at the Capſton, others at the Pumps, thinking every fifth or ſixth blow would have ſtaved her to pieces: We heaved to the utmoſt of our Strengths, to keep her as near the Ground as we could. By reaſon of this Wind, it flowed very much Water, and we drew her up ſo high, that upon ſecond thoughts we doubted if ever we ſhould get her off again. She continued thus beating till two a clock next Morning, and then ſetled again; whereupon we went to ſleep to reſtore nature, expecting the next Tide to be tormented again.

The next Morning our Ship did not float: After Prayers I called a conſultation of the Maſter, my Lieutenant, Mates, Carpenter, and Boatſwain, to whom I ſaid, that ſince we were now put to our laſt ſhifts, they ſhould tell me what they thought of it; namely, Whether it were not beſt to carry all our Proviſion aſhoar, and when the Wind ſhould come Northerly, to draw her farther off and ſink her. After many reaſonings, they allowed of my purpoſe, and ſo I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it; and ſo we fell to getting up our Proviſions; firſt our Bread, whereof we landed this day two dry Fats, with a Hogſhead of Beef. In the Evening the Wind came up at N. E. and choaked the Bay with Ice.

The 27th, the Bay was ſtill full of Ice, and I hoped would ſo continue, that we might not be put to ſink our Ship. This day we could land nothing.

The 28th, at break of day three of our Men went aſhoar over the Ice, unknown to me, and the Wind coming up at Weſt, drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shoar. I made the Carpenter to fit a place againſt all ſudden Extremities, becauſe with the firſt Northerly Wind I meant to effect our laſt project. In the Run of her, he cut away the Seeling and the Plank to the Sheathing, four or five Inches ſquare, four Foot high from the Keel, that ſo it might be boared out in an inſtant. We brought the remainder of our Bread out of the Bread-room into the great Cabin, and all our Pouder, ſetting our light dry things betwixt Decks.

The 29th, at five in the Morning the Wind came up at W. N. W. and began to blow very hard: It was ordinary for the Wind to ſhift W. by N. round about. I order'd the Cooper to go down into the Hold and look to all our Caſks; thoſe that were full, to maul in the Bungs of them; thoſe that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to ſtave them. Then I order'd all our Cables to be quoiled upon our lower Tire, and to lay on our ſpare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep them down from riſing. By ſeven a Clock it blew a ſtorm at N. W. our bitter Enemy: The Ship was already bedded about two Foot in the Sand, and whilſt it was flowing water, ſhe muſt beat; yet we had been ſo ferreted by her laſt beating, that I reſolved to ſink her right down, rather than run that hazard. By nine a clock ſhe began to rowl in her Dock, with an extraordinary great Sea; and this was the fatal Hour that put us all to our wits end; wherefore I went down in Hold with the Carpenter, and taking his Auger, bored a hole in the Ship, and let in the Water; then with all ſpeed we began to cut out other places, and to bore thorow, but every place was full of Nails. By ten the lower Tire was covered with Water, and ſhe beat in her Dock more and more, ſo that we could not ſtand to do any thing in her; nor would ſhe ſink ſo faſt as we would have her, but continued beating double blows abaft and before, that it was wonderful how ſhe could endure it a quarter of an Hour. By twelve a clock her lower Tire roſe, and did ſo counterbeat on the inſide, that it beat the Bulk-heads of the Bread-room and Powder-room all to pieces; and when it came betwixt Decks, the Cheſts fled widely about, and the Water did flaſh and fly wonderfully, ſo that we expected every minuit when the Ship would open and break to pieces. At one a Clock ſhe beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which way. Thus ſhe continued beating till three a clock, and then the Sea came upon the upper Deck, and ſoon after ſhe began to ſettle. We were forced to ſink the moſt part of our Bedding and Cloaths, and the Chirurgion's Cheſt. Our Men that were aſhoar ſtood looking upon us, almoſt dead with cold and ſorrow, to ſee our miſeries and their own. Dark Night came on, and I order'd the Boat to be haled up, and commanding my loving Companions to enter, I went laſt out of the Ship.

They ſink the Ship.

We were 17 poor Souls in the Boat, and thought we were now leapt out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire. The Ebb was made, which we thought would certainly have carried us away into the Sea; we thereupon double manned four Oars, and with the help of God got to the Shoar, haling up the Boat after us. The Water was thick congealed with Snow, notwithſtanding which, there went a great ſwelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land, we were ſo frozen all over, Faces, Hair and Apparel, that we could not know each other by our Habits or Voices.

The Winds ſince we came hither have been very variable and unconſtant, and till within this Fortnight the Southerly Wind was the coldeſt. The reaſon I conceive to be, becauſe it blowed from the main Land which was all covered with Snow, whereas the North Winds came out of the Bay which was hitherto open.

A N. W. a N. W. by N. and a N. N. W. Wind, if it blew a Storm, would riſe the Tides extreamly; and in ſhort, from the W. N. W. to N. N. E. the Tides would riſe in proportion as they blew from the middle Point. The Wind being on the oppoſite Points, if it blew, it would flow very little at all; the harder it blowed, the leſs water it flowed. The Tides do ordinarily high about three Foot, but when forced by the foreſaid Winds, upward of ten Foot. I could perceive no difference betwixt Neap and Spring Tides: It flows half Tide, that is, the Flood comes from the Northwards, and thither returns again two Hours before it be high water, as is commonly ſeen in Bays and Inlets.

The Wintering.

After we had haled up the Boat, we went along the Beach ſide in the dark towards our Houſe, where we made a good fire, and with it and Bread and Water, we thawed and comforted our ſelves. We then beginning to reaſon with one another concerning our Ship, I required every one to ſpeak his mind freely: The Carpenter was of opinion that ſhe was foundred, and would never be ſerviceable again; he alledged, that ſhe had ſo beaten, that it was not poſſible but that all her Joints were looſe, and Seams open; and by reaſon it flowed ſo little Water, and no Creek nor Cove near, wherein to bring her aground, he could not deviſe how he might come to mend it; moreover, her Rudder was loſt, and he had no Iron to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up ſo high upon the Sands, that they thought we ſhould never have her off again, and that they were aſſured ſhe was already dock'd three Foot. Others, that ſhe lay in the Tide's way, and that the Ice might tear her to pieces off the Ground: Beſides which, we could not now get two of our Anchors from under the Ice, which would be of a great thickneſs by the Spring, and when it breaks, would break our Anchors to pieces, and then (ſuppoſing we ſhould get off the Ship, and that ſhe proved ſound alſo) we ſhould have no Anchors to bring us home. I comforted them the beſt I could with words to this effect; Country-men and faithful Companions, be not diſmaied for any of theſe Diſaſters, but let us put our whole truſt in God; it is he that gives and he that takes away; he throws down with one Hand, and raiſes up with another; his Will be done: If it be our fortune to end our days here, we are as near Heaven as in *England*; and we are much bound to Almighty God for giving us ſo large a time of repentance, who as it were daily calls upon us, to prepare our ſelves for a better life in Heaven. I make no doubt but he will be merciful to us, both here on Earth, and in his bleſſed Kingdom. He doth not in the mean time deny, but that we may uſe all honeſt means to ſave and prolong our natural Lives; and in my judgment we are not yet ſo far paſt hope of returning into our native Country, but that I ſee a fair way by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship to be founder'd (which God forbid, I hope the beſt) yet have thoſe of our own and other Nations, when they have been put to theſe extremities, out of the Wrack of their loſt Ship built a Pinnace, and return'd to their Friends again. If it be objected that they have hapned into better Climates, both for temperate Air and pacifick and open Seas, and provided with all of abundance of freſh Victuals; yet there is nothing too hard for couragious minds, which hitherto you have ſhewn, and I doubt not will ſtill do to the utmoſt.

They all proteſted to work to the beſt of their ſtrength, and that they would refuſe nothing that I ſhould order them to do, to the utmoſt hazard of their Lives. I thanked them all, and to the Carpenter for his encouragement, I promiſed ſo much Plate preſently as ſhould be worth ten Pounds Sterling; and if ſo be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give her to him freely, and 50 Pounds in Money over and above; and would moreover gratify all them that I ſhould ſee painful and induſtrious.

Thus we reſoved to build a new Pinnace with the Timber we ſhould get upon the Iſland, that ſo in the Spring, if we found the Ship not ſerviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks; and ſo for this Night we ſetled our ſelves cloſe about the fire, and took ſome reſt till day light.

The firſt thing we were to do, was to get our Cloaths and Proviſion aſhoar: The Maſter and his Company were to get things out of the Hold; the Cookſwain and his Gang to bring things aſhoar; my ſelf with the reſt, to carry it half a Mile thro' the Snow, to the place where we intended to build a Store-houſe; as for the heavier things, we purpoſed to lay them on the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was at S. S. W. and the Water ebbed ſo low, that we lanched our Boat, and rowed thro' the congealed Water, thinking we might get ſomething out of our Hold. It froze very hard, and I ſtood on the Shoar with a troubled mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and then we had been all loſt Men; but by God's aſſiſtance they got ſafely to the Ship, and made a fire there, to ſignify their arrival aboard. They fell preſently to work, and got ſome things out of the Hold upon the Decks, but Night coming on, they durſt not adventure to come aſhoar, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabin almoſt ſtarved.

Dec. the firſt was ſo cold, that I went over the Ice to the Ship, where the Boat had gone Yeſterday. This day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles, 500 of our Fiſh, and much of our Bedding and Cloaths, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice in the Ship. *December*

The ſecond was mild weather, and ſome of the Men going over the Ice, fell in, and very hardly recover'd, ſo that this day we could land nothing. In the Evening the Wind came up at Weſt, and the Ice did break and drive out of the Bay, that we feared it would have ſpoiled the Ship.

The third, divers great pieces of Ice came thwart the Ship, and ſhe ſtopp'd them, yet not ſo, that we could go over them. We found a way for the Boat, but when ſhe was loaden, ſhe drew four Foot water, and could not come within a flight ſhot of the Shoar; ſo that the Men were forced to wade thro' the thick congealed Water, and carry all things upon their Backs. As they waded thro', they ſeemed like walking pieces of Ice, moſt lamentable to behold. There being now ſmall hope that the Boat ſhould go to and again any more, they cut away as much Ice from her as they could, and pick'd it with Hand-ſpikes out of her, and endeavour'd to hoiſe her into the Ship, but uſe what means they could, ſhe was ſo heavy, that they could not hoiſe her in, but were fain to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship's ſide.

The 4th, being Sunday, we reſted, and performed Chriſtian Duties.

The 5th and 6th were extream cold, and we made Bags of our ſtore Shirts, and in them carried our looſe Bread over the Ice aſhoar upon our Backs. We alſo digged our Cloaths and new Sails with Hand-ſpikes of Iron out of the Ice, and carrying them aſhoar, dried them by a great fire.

The 7th was ſo extreamly cold, that our Noſes, Cheeks and Hands did freeze as white as Paper.

The 8th and 9th it ſnowed much, yet we continued our Labour in carrying and rowling things aſhoar. In the Evening the water raiſed the Ice very high, and brake two thaughts of our Boat, and brake in the ſide of her, but for that time we could not help it.

The 10th, our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel and a Stern for our Pinnace: The reſt wrought about our Proviſions till the 13th day, which was ſpent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel, and dig the Ice out of her, and then we got her up on the Ice. The cold increaſed extreamly, ſo that by the 19th we could get no more things out of our Hold, but were forced to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other things, which were all firmly frozen in her.

The 21ſt was ſo cold, that we could not go out of the Houſe.

The 23d, we endeavour'd to have our Boat aſhoar, running her over our Oars, but by ten a clock there came ſuch a thick Fog, that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over and haſten to the Shoar, which we had much ado to find; at laſt we all met at the Houſe the moſt miſerably frozen that can be conceiv'd: The Cold had raiſed Bliſters upon ſome as big as Walnuts: Our Well was now frozen, ſo that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no Water: Melted Snow-water is unwholſome, either to drink or to dreſs our Victuals; it made us ſo ſhort breath'd, that we were ſcarce able to ſpeak. All our Sack, Vineger, Oil, and every thing elſe that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a piece of Wood, and we muſt cut it with a Hatchet. Our Houſe was all frozen on the inſide, and it froze hard within a yard of the Fire-ſide. When I landed firſt upon this Iſland, I found a Spring under a Hill's ſide, and cauſed ſome Trees to be cut for Marks to know the place again: It was about three quarters of a Mile from our Houſe, and I ſent three of our Men who had been formerly with me, who wading thro' the Snow, at laſt found the place, and ſhoveling away the Snow, made way to the very head of it. They found it ſpring very ſtrongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was very joyful. This Spring continued all the Year, and did not freeze ſo much, but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We laboured very hard theſe three or four days in bringing Wood to the Houſe, which was very troubleſome thro the deep Snow.

Sack, Oil, &c. frozen.

A Spring found which did not freeze.

We then ſetled our Bedding and Proviſion, in order to keep *Chriſtmas-day* holy, which we ſolemnized in the joyfulleſt manner we could: ſo likewiſe did we St. *John's day*, upon which we named the Wood we wintered in, *Winter's Forreſt*, in memory of that honourable Knight Sir *John Winter*. And now inſtead of a *Chriſtmas* Tale, I will here deſcribe the Houſe we lived in, with thoſe adjoining.

December

Deſcription of their Houſe.

When I firſt reſolved to build a Houſe, I choſe the warmeſt and moſt convenient place near the Ship. It was amongſt a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South Bank, about a flight Shot from the Sea ſide. True it is, that we could not dig into the Ground to make us a Hole or Cave in the Earth (which had been the beſt way) becauſe in two Foot digging we found water, and therefore that Project failed. It was a fine white Sand, ſo that we could by no means make up a mud Wall. As for Stones, there were none near us, and if there had, they were all now covered with Snow.

The Houſe was about twenty Foot ſquare, as much as our Main-courſe would well cover: Firſt we drove ſtrong Stakes into the Earth, which we watled with Boughs as thick as might be, beating them down very cloſe: This our firſt work was ſix Foot on both ſides, but at the ends almoſt up to the very top, where we left two Holes for the light to come in, and let out the Smoak: At both ends we ſtuck up three rows of thick Buſh Trees, as cloſe as poſſibly might be: Then at a diſtance from the Houſe we cut down Trees, proportioning them into lengths of ſix Foot, with which we made a Pile on both ſides ſix Foot thick, and as many high: We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before it, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it: We then faſtned a rough Tree over all, upon which we laid our Rafters, and our Main-courſe over them, reaching down to the Ground on either ſide; and ſo much for the Outſide. On the Inſide we faſtned our Bonnet-ſails round about; then we drove in Stakes and made Bedſtead Frames, which Bedſteads were double, one under another, the lowermoſt being a Foot from the Ground: Theſe we firſt filled with Boughs, then laid on ſome ſpare Sails, and then our Bedding and Cloaths: We made a Hearth or Cauſy in the middle of the Houſe, laying ſome Boards round about it to ſtand upon, that the cold damp ſhould not ſtrike up into us; with our waſte Cloaths we made us Canopies and Curtains. Our ſecond Houſe was not paſt twenty Foot diſtant, and made much after the ſame manner, but leſs, and covered with our Fore-courſe. It had no Piles on the South ſide, but inſtead of them we piled up all our Cheſts on the Inſide, and indeed the reflex of the heat of the Fire againſt them, did make it warmer than the Manſion Houſe. In this Houſe we dreſt our Victuals, and the inferior Crew did refreſh themſelves all day in it. A third Houſe, which was our Store-houſe, we built twenty Paces off from this, for fear of firing. This Houſe was only a rough Tree faſtned aloft, with Rafters laid from it to the Ground, and covered over with our new ſuit of Sails. On the Inſide we had laid ſmall Trees, and covered them over with Boughs, whereon we laid our Bread and Fiſh, about two Foot from the Ground, the better to preſerve them: The diſtance from our Houſe to the Ship was about a Mile. Long before *Chriſtmas* our Manſion-houſe was covered with Snow, almoſt to the very Roof, but our Store-houſe all over, by reaſon we made no fire in it. We made Paths in the Snow about the length of ten Steps, and one of them was our beſt Gallery for the Sick Men, and for my own ordinary walking.

January

The 6th, I obſerved the Latitude to be 51 Deg. 52 Min. this difference is becauſe here is a great refraction.

The 21ſt, I obſerved the Sun to riſe like an Oval, twice as long as it was broad, and as it got up higher, it recovered its roundneſs.

The 26th, I obſerved when the Eaſtern Edge of the Moon did touch the Plannet *Mars*, the *Lions Heart* was then in the Eaſt Quarter 21 Deg. 45 Min. above the *Horizon*; but this was not done with that exactneſs as I have done other Obſervations.

The 30th and 31ſt, there appear'd in the beginning of the Night more Stars than ever I had before ſeen by two thirds. I could ſee the Cloud in *Cancer* full of ſmall Stars, and all the *Via Lactea* nothing but ſmall Stars, and a great many amongſt the *Pleiades*. The Wind for the moſt part of this Month hath been Northerly and very cold. We employed our ſelves for the moſt part in fetching Wood, and working upon our Pinnace. In the beginning of this Month the Sea was all firmly frozen over, ſo that we could ſee no Water any way. I ſhall here deliver my opinion how all this Ice comes to be engendred.

The Land that encircles this great Bay (which is full of Iſlands and dry Sands) is for the moſt part low and flat, and hath flat Shoals adjoining to it, half a mile or a Mile, that are dry at low water. Now, as I have ſaid, it flows half Tide, that is, from whence the Flood comes, the water thither returns two hours before it be high water or full Sea. It ſeldom rains after the middle of *September*, but ſnows, and that Snow will not melt on the Land or Sands. At low water when it ſnows, the Sands are covered over with it, which the half Tide officiouſly carries twice in 24 Hours into the great Bay, which is the common *Rendevouz* of it. Every low water are the Sands left clear, to gather more to the encreaſe of it. Thus daily gathering in this manner till the end of *October*, it by that time brings the Sea to ſuch coldneſs, that as it ſnows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in flakes, and as Winter comes on, will freeze on the Surface two or three Inches or more in a Night, which being carried with the half Tide, ſoon meets with ſome Obſtacle, and then crumples and runs upon it ſelf, that in a few Hours it will be five or ſix Foot thick: The half Tide ſtill flowing, carries it ſo faſt away, that by *December* it is multiplied extreamly; and thus by this ſtoring of it up, the cold predominates in the Sea (which alſo furniſhes the Springs in the low flat Lands) and cools it like it ſelf. Our Men found it much colder to wade thro' the Water in the beginning of *June*, when the Sea was full of Ice, than in *December* when it was increaſing. Our Well alſo, which yielded Water in *December*, had none in *July*.

The Ground frozen ten Foot deep.

The Ground at ten Foot deep was frozen, and yet I am not of opinion that the Bay freezes all over; for the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we perceived the Ice to riſe ſomething in the Bay.

February.

The Cold was extream this Month, and many of our Men complained, ſome of ſore Mouths, all their Teeth looſe, their Gums ſwoln with black rotten Fleſh, which muſt every day be cut away; others of pain in their Heads and Breaſts; ſome of weakneſs in their Backs; others of aches in their Thighs and Knees, and ſwellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgion's hand; and yet they muſt work daily, and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber, altho' they had no Shooes to put on. Their Shooes upon their firſt coming to the fire out of the Snow, were ſo burnt and ſcorched, that they would not come upon their Feet, and our ſtore Shooes were all ſunk in the Ship. Our Carpenter alſo was now fal'n ſick, to our great diſcomfort.

I practiſed ſome obſervations by the riſing and ſetting of the Sun, calculating the times of his riſing and ſetting by very true running Glaſſes. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithſtanding that we ſtill kept them by the Fire-ſide in a Cheſt wrap'd in Cloths, yet they were ſo frozen that they could not go. My Obſervations by theſe Glaſſes I compared with the Stars coming to the *Meridian*. By this means I found the Sun to riſe twenty Minutes before it ſhould, and in the Evening to remain above the *Horizon* twenty Minutes longer than it ſhould do, and this by reaſon of the Refraction.

Clock frozen by the Fire's ſide.

When we went upon the Ice to our Ship, the cold was ſometimes ſo extream, that it would freeze the Hair of our Eye-lids, ſo that we could not ſee; and I verily believe it would have ſtifled a Man in a few Hours. The Cold alſo in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any part of our Fleſh that was bare, but was not ſo mortifying as the other. Our Houſe on the Outſide was covered two third parts with Snow, and on the Inſide hung with Iceſickles. The Cloaths on our Beds would be covered with hoar froſt, tho' not far from the Fire. The Cooks Tubs wherein he water'd his Meat, ſtanding about a yard from the fire, and which he did all day ply with melted Snow water, would in the Night time while he ſlept but one watch, be firm frozen to the bottom; ſo that he was forced to water his Meat in a Braſs Kettle cloſe to the fire; and I have many times felt by putting my hand into it, the ſide next the fire to be warm, while the other ſide was an Inch frozen. The Chirurgions Syrups and other Liquids, altho' he had hung them as conveniently as he could to preſerve them, yet they were all frozen. Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in ſmall Caſks in the Houſe was all firmly frozen. It is further remarkable, that in the beginning of *June* the Sea was not broken up, and that the Ground was then frozen, as we found by experience in burying our Men, in ſetting up the King's Standard towards the latter end of *June*, and by our Well at our coming away in the beginning of *July*, altho' at the ſame time it was very hot weather.

Ground frozen in *June*.

March.

The firſt of this month being St. *David's-day*, we kept Holy-day, and prayed for his Highneſs *Charles* Prince of *Wales*.

The 15th, one of our Men thought he had ſeen a Deer, and he with two or three Men deſired if they might go and try if they could kill him; but they returned at Night ſo diſabled with cold which had raiſed bliſters as big as Walnuts on the Soals of their Feet, and on their Legs, that they were not well in a Fortnight after.

The 26th, three more deſired that they alſo might go and try their fortunes; but they returned more diſabled than the former, and almoſt ſtifled with cold. This Evening the Moon roſe in a very long Oval along the *Horizon*.

By the laſt of this Month the Carpenter had ſet up 17 Ground-Timbers, and 34 Staddles, and made what progreſs he could, tho' he was ſo weak that he was led to his labour.

All this Month was very cold, the Wind about N. W. the Snow as deep as it hath been all this Winter, but whereas it may be objected, You were in a Wood, and therefore might make fire enough to keep you from the cold: To this I anſwer, It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South Bank too, or elſe we had all ſtarved: But I muſt tell you withal, how difficult it was to have Wood in a Wood; and firſt ſhall make a muſter of the Tools we had: The Carpenter in his Cheſt had two Axes indeed, but one of them was ſpoiled in cutting down Wood to pile about our Houſe before *Chriſtmas*; we had but two whole Hatchets when we came firſt aſhoar, which in a few days were broken two Inches below the Sockets; I called for three of the Coopers Hatchets; the Carpenter's Ax, and the Cooper's beſt Hatchet I locked up, and order'd the other two Hatchets to be new helved, and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets to be put into a cleft piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope-yarn as faſt as might be, which was repaired every day; and theſe were all the cutting Tools we had before *Chriſtmas*. The Carpenter in *February* had out his beſt Ax, and one of the Company in his abſence, by indiſcreet handling of it, brake that to, two Inches below the Socket; whereupon I order'd the Carpenter ſhould have one of the Coopers Hatchets, they that look'd for Timber in the Woods the other; and they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two pieces.

Objection.

Thoſe that were appointed to look for crooked Timber, did ſtalk and wade (ſometimes on all four) thro' the Snow, and when they ſaw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they muſt heave away the Snow to ſee if it would fit the Mould; if not, they muſt ſeek further: If it did fit the Mould, they made a fire to it to thaw it, otherwiſe it could not be cut: Then they cut it down, and fitted it to the length of the Mould, and dragged it a Mile thro' the Snow.

April.

The firſt of this Month being *Eaſter-day*, we kept holy; this day and the two following days were extream cold; and now ſitting all about the Fire, we reaſoned together about our preſent condition: We had five Men (whereof the Carpenter was one) not able to do any thing; the Boatſwain and many other were very infirm; and of all the reſt, we had but five that could eat of their ordinary allowance. The time and ſeaſon of the Year came forward apace, and yet the cold did very little mitigate. Our Pinnace was in an indifferent forwardneſs, but the Carpenter grew worſe and worſe. The Ship (as we then thought) lay full of ſolid Ice, which was weight enough to open the Seams of any new and ſound Veſſel, eſpecially of one that had lain ſo long upon the Ground as ſhe had done. After much arguing, I reſolved upon this Courſe, that with the firſt warm weather we would begin to clear the Ship: In the next place, we looked to thoſe Tools we had to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron Bars (the reſt being ſunk in the Ship) and one of them was broken to. We fitted thoſe Bars, and four broken Shovels, wherewith we intended (as after we did) to dig the Ice out of her, and lay it upon a heap upon the Lar-board-bow, and to ſink down the Ice ſo faſt to the Ground, that it might be a *Barricado* to us when the Ice ſhould break up, which we feared would tear us all to pieces.

The 6th was the deepeſt Snow we had all this Year: It was moiſter and greater than any we had before; for formerly it was as dry as duſt, and as ſmall as Sand, and would drive like duſt with the Wind. The weather continued with this extremity until the 15th, at which time our Spring was harder frozen than it had been all the Year before.

Their Spring more frozen in *April* than before.

The 16th was the moſt comfortable ſunſhiny day that came this Year. I put ſome to clear off the Snow from the upper Decks of the Ship, and to dry the great Cabin, by making fire in it. Others I put to dig down thro' the Ice to come by our Anchor that was in Shoal water, which the next day we got up and carried aboard.

The 18th, I put them to dig down thro' the Ice near the place where we thought our Rudder might be; they digged down and came to water, but could not find it. We feared it might be ſanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away the laſt year. If we could not recover it by digging before the Ice ſhould break up, there would be little hope of it.

The 19th, we continued our mining work aboard the Ship, and in the Evening ſupped aſhoar. The Maſter and two others deſired that they might lie aboard, which I condeſcended to; for indeed they had lain very diſcommodiouſly all the Winter, and with ſick Bedfellows, as I my ſelf had done, every one in that caſe taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing the miſerable groanes and lamentations of the ſick Men, who endured (poor Souls) intolerable torments.

On the 21ſt, we had laboured ſo hard in digging out the Ice in the Ship, that we ſaw a Caſk, and could perceive there was ſome water in the Hold. This we knew could not be thawed water, becauſe it did ſtill freeze Night and day.

On the 23, we came to pierce the fore-mentioned Caſk, and found it full of very good Beer, which did much rejoice us all, eſpecially the ſick men, notwithſtanding it did taſt a little of bulge Water. By this we at that time thought that the holes we had cut to ſink the Ship were frozen, and that this Water had ſtood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th, we went betimes in the Morning to work, but found that the Water was riſen above the Ice, where we had left work, about two foot, by reaſon the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning the Wind came to South, and blowing hard, we expected a lower Veer of Water: I thereupon put them to work on the outſide of the Ship, that we might come to the lower hole which we had cut in the Sternſhoots. With much labour by Night we digged down thro' the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen (as it had been all the Winter) and to our great comforts we found that on the inſide the Water was ebbed even with the hole, and that on the outſide it was ebbed a Foot lower. Hereupon I cauſed a board to be nailed on it, as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other way. We had digged to the other two Holes on the inſide, and found them frozen: Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship founder'd, we might reſolve of ſome courſe to ſave or prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice was broken up; for as for our Boat, it was too little, and bulged beſides. Our Carpenter was by this time paſt hope, and conſequently we had little hope of our Pinnace. But what was worſt of all, we had not four Men able to travel thro' the Snow; in ſuch miſerable condition we were at preſent.

The 25th, we ſatisfied our longing; for the Wind coming Northerly, the Water roſe by the Ship ſide (where we had digged down) a Foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not riſe within board. This did ſo encourage us, that we fell very luſtily to digging, and heaving the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook and ſome others to thaw the Pumps, who by continual pouring hot Water into them, by the 27th in the Morning had cleared one of them, which we found would deliver water very ſufficiently, and having cleared two Foot water, we then left off, to have a ſecond trial. Continuing thus to dig the Ice, on the 28th we had cleared our other Pump, which we alſo found to deliver water very well: We found likewiſe that the Water did not riſe in the Hold.

The 29th, it rained all day long, a ſure ſign that Winter was broke up.

The 30th, we were betimes aboard at our work; this day and the next were very cold, with Snow and Hail, which pinched our ſick Men more than any time this year. We returned late to our Houſe, and it being *May* Even, made a good fire, and choſe Ladies, and did ceremoniouſly wear their Names in our Caps, endeavouring to revive our ſelves by any means: And becauſe you hear us in this merry humour, I ſhall next make known to you what good cheer we kept at *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter*, and how we had dieted our ſelves all the Winter.

At our coming from *England*, we were ſtored with all ſorts of Sea Proviſion, as Beef, Pork, Fiſh, &c. but now having little hope of refreſhing, we order'd it in this manner.

The Beef which was to ſerve on Sunday Night for Supper, our Cook did boil on *Saturday* Night in a Kettle full of Water, with a quart of Oatmeal, about an Hour; then taking out the Beef, he boiled the reſt till it came to half the quantity, and this we called Porridge, which we did eat with Bread as hot as we could, and after it, had our Ordinary of Fiſh. On *Sunday* at dinner we had Pork and Peaſe, and at Night the former boiled Beef made more Pottage. In this manner our *Tueſday*'s Beef was boiled on *Munday* Nights, and the *Tourſday*'s upon *Wedneſday* Nights; and thus all the Week except *Friday* Night, we had ſomething warm in our Bellies for Supper, which certainly did us a great deal of good. But ſoon after *Chriſtmas* many of us fell ſick, and having ſore Mouths, could eat neither Beef, Pork, Fiſh nor Pottage; their diet was only this: They would pound Bread or Oatmeal in a Mortar to Meal, then fry it with a little Oyl, and ſo eat it: Some would boil Peaſe to a ſoft Paſt, and feed as well as they could upon that: For the moſt part of the Winter, Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter we took not above a dozen Foxes, many of which had been dead in the Traps two or three days, and when the Blood was ſetled, were unwholſome: But when we took one alive that had not been long in the Trap, we boiled him, and made Broth for the weakeſt of the ſick Men, who eat the Fleſh alſo after it was well boiled: Some white Patridges we killed, but not worth the mentioning.

Some of our ſick Men were ſo weak, that they could not turn themſelves in their Beds; others were almoſt cripled with Aches; the reſt had ſore Mouths: Our Surgeon was up betimes every Morning, and whilſt he picked their Teeth and cut away the dead Fleſh from their Gums, they bathed their own Thighs, Knees, and Legs: The manner whereof was this; There was no Tree, Bud, or Herb, but we made trial of it, which being firſt boiled in a Kettle, and poured into ſmall Tubs and Baſons, they put it under them, and covering themſelves with Cloths, the grieved parts were ſo mollified thereby, that tho' they could ſcarce ſtand when they roſe out of their Beds, yet within half an hour they would be able to go (and muſt go) thro' the Snow to the Wood, and to the Ship. By Night they would be as bad again, and then they muſt be again bathed, anointed, and have their Mouths dreſt before they went to bed. And with this Diet, and in this manner we went thro' our Miſeries.

I ever feared that we ſhould be weakeſt in the Spring, and therefore had reſerved a Tun of *Alicant* Wine unto this time: Of this, by putting ſeven parts of Water to one of Wine, we made ſome weak Beaverage, which was litlle better than Water, the Wine being frozen, having loſt its virtue. The ſicker ſort had a pint of *Alicant* a day by it ſelf, and a little Dram of ſuch poor *Aqua Vitæ* as we had, every Morning next their Hearts. And thus we made the beſt uſe of what we had, according to the Seaſons.

May the firſt, we went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. May.

The ſecond, it did ſnow and blow, and was ſo cold, that we kept in the Houſe all day. This unexpected cold at this time of the Year, did ſo vex our ſick Men, that they grew worſe and worſe; we could not now take them out of their Beds but they would ſwound, and we had much ado to fetch life into them.

The third, thoſe that were able went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The Snow was now melted in many places upon the Land, and ſtood in plaſhes, and now there came ſome Cranes and Geeſe to it.

The fourth, whilſt the reſt wrought aboard, I and the Surgeon went with a couple of pieces to ſee if we could kill any of theſe Fowl for our ſick men; but never did I ſee ſuch wild Fowl; they would not endure to ſee any thing move, wherefore I returned in two Hours, not being able to endure ſtalking thro' the Snow and wet Plaſhes.

The chief Mate dies.

The ſixth *John Warden*, our chief Mate, died, whom we buried in the Evening in the moſt Chriſtian manner we could, upon the top of a bare Hill of Sand. The weather continued very cold, freezing ſo hard in a Night, that it would bear a Man.

By the 9th, we were come to, and got up our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and found our four Buts of Beer, and one of Cider, which God had preſerved for us. It had lain under water all the Winter, yet we could not perceive that it was any thing the worſe; God make us ever thankful for the comfort it gave us.

The 13th, it ſnowed and blowed ſo cold, that we could not ſtir out of the Houſe; yet the Snow vaniſheth away apace upon the Land.

The 11th, we were aboard betimes, to heave out Ice. By the 12th at Night we had cleared all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewiſe our ſtore Shooes, which had lain ſoaking in water all the Winter; but we dried them by the fire, and fitted our ſelves with them. We ſtruck again our Cables into the Hold, and there ſtowed a But of Wine alſo, which had been all the Winter on the upper Deck, and continued as yet firmly frozen. We fitted the Ship alſo, making her ready to ſink her again when the Ice ſhould break up. We could hitherto find no defect in her, and therefore hoped that ſhe was ſtanch. The Carpenter nevertheleſs did earneſtly argue to the contrary, alledging, that now ſhe had lain on the Ground in her Dock, and that the Ice had filled her Defects, which for the preſent kept out the Water, but when ſhe ſhould come to labour in the Sea, then doubtleſs ſhe would open; and indeed we could now ſee quite thro' her Seams betwixt Wind and Water. But that which troubled us moſt was the loſs of our Rudder; and that ſhe now lay in the very ſtrength of the Tide, which whenever the Ice ſhould drive, might tear her to pieces; but we ſtill hoped the beſt.

The 13th, being the Sabbath-day, we ſolemnly gave God thanks for thoſe Hopes and Comforts we daily had. The Weather by day was pretty warm, but it did freeze by Night. We could now ſee ſome bare patches of Land.

The 14th, the Boatſwain and others ſought the reſt of our Rigging aſhoar, which was much ſpoiled by pecking it out of the Ice, and then fitted and ſerved it. I ſet the Cooper to fit our Caſk, my intent being to paſs ſome Cables under the Ship, and ſo to buoy her up with theſe Caſk, if we could not otherwiſe get her off. Some I order'd to go and ſee if they could kill ſome wild Fowl for our ſick Men, who now grew worſe and worſe. We had no ſhot but what we made of the Aprons of our Guns, and ſome odd old Pewter that I had; for the Carpenter's Sheet-Lead we durſt not uſe.

The 15th, I manured a little patch of Ground that was bare of Snow, and ſowed it with Peaſe, hoping to have ſome of the Herbs of them ſhortly to eat; for as yet we can find no green thing to comfort us.

The Carpenter dies.

The 18th, our Carpenter *William Cole* died, a Man generally bemoaned by us all, as much for his innate goodneſs as for the preſent neceſſity we had for a Man of his profeſſion. He had endured a long ſickneſs with much patience, and made a very godly end. In the Evening we buried him by Mr. *Warden*, accompanied with as many as could go; for three more of our principal Men, lay then expecting a good hour. Before his extream weakneſs, he had made the Pinnace ready to be boulted and trenail'd, and to be joined together to receive the Plank; ſo that we were not ſo diſcouraged by his death, but that we hoped of our ſelves to finiſh her, if the Ship proved unſerviceable.

Pinnace deſcribed.

This our Pinnace was 27 Foot by the Keel, 10 Foot by the Beam, and five Foot in the Hold: She had 17 Ground-timbers, 34 principal Staddles, and eight ſhort Staddles: He had contrived her with a round Stern, to ſave labour, and indeed ſhe was a well proportioned Veſſel: Her burthen was 12 or 14 Tun.

In the Evening, the Maſter after Burial returning aboard Ship, and looking about her, diſcovered ſome part of our Gunner under the Gun-room-ports. This Man we had committed to the Sea, at a good diſtance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near ſix Months before.

The Gunner's body found.

The 19th, I ſent Men to dig him out, he was faſt in the Ice, his Head downward, and his Heel upward, for he had but one Leg, and the Plaiſter was yet at his Wound. In the Afternoon they had digged him clear out, and he was as free from noiſomneſs as when we committed him to the Sea, the Ice, Water, and Time having wrought this only alteration on him, that his Fleſh would ſlip up and down upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand: In the Evening we buried him by the others. The Snow was by this time pretty well waſted in the Woods, and we having a high Tree on the higheſt place of the Iſland, which we called our *Watch-tree*, from the top of it could ſee into the Sea, but ſaw no appearance of breaking up yet.

The 20th, being *Whitſunday*, we ſadly ſolemnized: The next day was the warmeſt ſunſhine day that came this year: I ſent two a fowling, and my ſelf, the Maſter, Surgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and Dogs, went into the Woods, and wandring eight Miles from the Houſe, returned comfortleſs, not finding an Herb or Leaf that was eatable: Our Fowlers had as bad ſucceſs. The Snow in the Woods was partly waſted away, and the Ponds were almoſt unthawed, but the Sea appeared all firm frozen.

Snow exhaled by the Sun, and not melted.

The Snow doth not melt here with the Sun or Rain, and ſo make Land-floods as in *England*, but is exhaled up by the Sun, and ſuck'd full of holes like Honey-combs, ſo that the Sand whereon it lies, will not be at all wetted. We obſerved alſo, that let it rain never ſo much, we had no Land-floods after it.

The 22d, we went aboard the Ship, and found that ſhe had made ſo much Water, that it was now riſen above the Ballaſt, which made us doubt again of her ſoundneſs; we fell to pumping, and pump'd her quite dry. We had now ſometimes ſuch hot glooms, that we could not endure the Sun, and yet in the Night it would freeze very hard. This unnaturalneſs of the Seaſon tormented our men, that they now grew worſe and worſe daily.

The 23d, our Boatſwain, a painful man, having been long ſick, which he had heartily reſiſted, was taken with ſuch a pain in one of his Thighs, that we verily thought he would preſently have died: He kept his Bed all day in great extremity; and it was a Maxim among us, that if any one kept his Bed two days, he could riſe no more; this made every man ſtrive to keep up for life.

They find their Rudder.

The 24th, was a very warm ſunſhine day, and the Ice did conſume by the Shoar's ſide, and crack'd all over the Bay with a fearful noiſe. In the Afternoon we perceived the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship, whereupon I ſent with all ſpeed to the Maſter, ordering him to beat out the hole, and ſink the Ship, as likewiſe to look for the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he preſently performed, and a happy Fellow pecking betwixt the Ice, ſtruck upon it, and crying that he had found it, the reſt came, and got it upon the Ice, and ſo into the Ship. In the mean time with the little drift the Ice had, it began to riſe and mount into high heaps, againſt the Shoars and Rocks, and alſo againſt the heap of Ice which was our *Barricado*. We were forced to cut away 20 Fathom of Cable, which was frozen in the Ice. After an hour the Ice ſetled again, not having any vent outwards. This was a joyfull day to us all, and we gave God thanks for the hopes we had of it.

The 25th, was a fine warm day, and with the Ebb the Ice drove againſt the Ship, and ſhook her ſhrewdly.

The 26th, I took the Chirurgion with me, and went to that Bay where *John Barton* was loſt laſt year, but could find no ſign of him; and having wandred in the Woods, we returned without any relief.

The 28th, it was pretty clear betwixt the Ship and Shoar, and I hoped the Ice would no more dangerouſly oppreſs us, wherefore I cauſed the lower hole to be firmly ſtopp'd, the Water then remaining three Foot above the Ballaſt.

The 29th, being Prince *Charles* his Birth-day, we kept Holyday, and diſplayed our Colours aboard and aſhoar, and named our Habitation *Charles Town*, by contraction *Charlton*, and the Iſland *Charlton Iſland*.

The 30th, we lanched our Boat, and had intercourſe betwixt the Ship and Shoar by Boat, which was news to us.

The laſt of this Month, we found on the Beach ſome Vetches appearing out of the Ground, which I cauſed to be picked up and boiled for our ſick Men. This day we had fitted all our Rigging and Sails, and it being a very hot day, we dried and new made all our Fiſh in the Sun, and aired all our other Proviſions. There was not a Man of us at preſent able to eat of our ſalt Proviſions, but my ſelf and the Maſter of my Ship. It may be here remembred, that all this Winter we had not been troubled with any Rheums or phlegmatick Diſeaſes. All this Month the Wind was variable, but for the moſt part Northerly.

June.

June, the four firſt days it did ſnow, hail, and blow very hard, and was ſo cold, that the Ponds of Water did freeze over, and the Water in our Cans did freeze in the very houſe; our Cloaths alſo that had been waſhed and hung out to dry, did not thaw all day.

The fifth, it continued blowing very hard in the broad ſide of the Ship, which did make her to ſwag and wallow in her Dock, and much ſhake her, altho' ſhe was ſunk; the Ice withal did drive againſt her, and give her many fearful blows. I reſolved to endeavour to hang the Rudder, and when God ſent us water (notwithſtanding the abundance of Ice that was yet about us) to have her further off. In the Afternoon we underrun our ſmall Cable to our Anchor, which lay aſtern in deep water, and with ſome difficulty got it up. This Cable had lain ſlack under Foot, and under the Ice all the Winter, and we could not have a clear ſlatch from Ice to get it up before now; we found it not a jot the worſe. I put ſome to make Cole-rakes, that they might go into the water and rake a hole in the Sands to let down our Rudder.

The 6th, we went about to hang it, and our young luſtieſt Men took turns to go into the water and rake away the Sand, but they were not able to endure the cold of it half a quarter of an hour, it was ſo mortifying, and would make them ſwound away. We brought it to the Stern Poſt, but were then fain to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugged up the upper holes within board, and pump'd out the water again.

The 7th, we wrought ſomething about our Rudder, but were forced again to give over, and to put our Cables over board, with Meſſengers to them, the Anchors lying to that paſs, that we might keep her right in her Dock, when we ſhould bring her light.

By the 8th at Night, we had pump'd all the water out of her, and ſhe would float in her Dock at high water, tho' ſhe was ſtill dock'd in the Sands almoſt four Foot. This made us conſider what was beſt to be done: I reſolved to heave out all the Ballaſt, becauſe the bottom of her being ſo ſoaked all the Winter, I hoped was ſo heavy as to bear her. If we could not get her off that way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Maſts, and ſo with our Caſk to buoy her off.

The 9th, we hoiſted out our Beer and Cider, and made a raft of it, faſtening it to our Shoar Anchor.

The Beer and Cider ſunk preſently to the Ground, which was not ſtrange to us, becauſe any Wood or Pipe-ſtaves that had lain under the Ice all the Winter, would ſink down as ſoon as it was heaved over-board: This day we heaved out ten Tun of Ballaſt. And here I muſt remember God's goodneſs to us in ſending the aforeſaid green Vetches; for now our ſick Men that could not ſtir theſe three Months, were able to walk about the Houſe, and it was wonderful to ſee how ſoon they were recovered. Twice a day we gathered the Herb or Leaf of theſe Vetches, as they firſt appeared out of the Ground, then waſhed and boiled them, and ſo with Oyl and Vinegar that had been frozen, did eat them. It was an excellent ſuſtenance of refreſhing; moſt part of us did eat nothing elſe: We alſo bruiſed them, and mixed the Juice with our Drink, and did eat them raw with our Bread.

The ſick Men recover by eating Vetches.

The 11th, being very warm weather, we did hang our Rudder: The Tides now very much deceived us, for a Northerly Wind would raiſe the Water but very little, which made us doubt of getting off our Ship.

The 14th, we heaved out all the Ballaſt, and carried all our Yards and other weighty things aſhoar, ſo that the Ship was now as light as poſſibly could be.

The 15th, I went to our *Watch-tree*, but the Sea (for any thing I could perceive to the contrary) was ſtill firmly frozen, and the Bay we were in, all full of Ice, having no way to vent it.

The 16th was wondrous hot, with ſome thunder and lighting, ſo that our Men went into the Ponds aſhoar to ſwim and cool themſelves; yet was the Water very cold ſtill. Here lately appeared divers ſorts of Flies, as Butter-flies, Butchers-flies, Horſe-flies, and ſuch an infinite abundance of blood thirſty *Muskito's*, that we were more tormented with them, than ever we were with the cold weather: Theſe (I think) lie dead in the old rotten Wood all Winter, and in Summer revive again. Here be likewiſe infinite Companies of Ants, and alſo Frogs in the Ponds, but we durſt not eat them, they looked ſo ſpeckled like Toads. By this time there were neither Bears, Foxes nor Fowl to be ſeen, they are all gone.

Store of Flies and Muskito's.

The 17th, the Wind came Northerly, and we expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes, put out our ſmall Cable aſtern out of the Gun-room-port, but the Morning Tide had not water by a Foot. In the Evening I had laid Marks by Stones, and obſerving the Water to flow apace, I made ſigns for the Boat to come aſhoar, and taking with me aboard all that were able to do any thing, altho' at high water ſhe wanted ſomething to riſe out of her Dock, yet we heaved with ſuch a good will, that we heaved her thro' the Sand into a Foot and a half deep Water; further than ſo, we durſt not yet bring her, becauſe the Ice was all thick about us. After we had moored her, we went all to Prayers, and gave God thanks for giving us our Ship again.

They heave the Ship from the place where ſhe lay ſunk all the Winter.

The 18th, ſome filled freſh water, others piled Stones on heaps, which were carried aboard in the Boat. We firmly ſtopped the two upper holes, and fitted convenient places to make others if occaſion were.

The 19th, we were betimes at work; theſe two days our Ship did not float, and it was a happy hour when we got her off, for we never had ſuch a high Tide all the time we were here. I went up to our *Watch-tree*, and this was the firſt time I ſaw open water: This put us in ſome comfort that the Sea would ſhortly break up, which we knew muſt be to the Northwards, being certain there was above 200 Leagues of Sea that way.

The 20th, the Wind at N. N. W. the Tide roſe ſo high, that our Ship floated, and we drew her off into a foot and a half deeper Water: Thus we did it by little and little, becauſe the Ice was ſtill very thick about us.

The 22d, there drove much Ice about us and within us, and brought home our Stern Anchor. At high water we heaved our Ship further off, that ſhe might lie afloat at low water.

The next low water we ſounded all about our Ship, and found it very foul ground: We diſcovered Stones three foot high above the Ground, two of which were within a Ship's breadth of the Ship, whereby manifeſtly appeared God's mercy to us; for if when we forced her aſhoar, ſhe had ſtruck one blow againſt thoſe Stones, it had bulged her. Many ſuch Dangers were in this Bay, which we now firſt perceived by the grounding and riſing of the Ice againſt them. In the Evening we towed off the Ship to the place where ſhe rode laſt Year, and there moored her.

Danger eſcaped.

The 23d, we laboured in fetching our Proviſions aboard, being forced to wade a flight ſhot to carry them to the Boat; and whereas I had formerly cut down a very high Tree, and made a Croſs of it, I now faſtned to the upper part of it, the Pictures of the King and Queen drawn to the life, and ſo cloſely wrapped in double Lead, that no weather could hurt them. Betwixt them I affixed his Majeſties Royal Title, *viz.* Charles *the* I. *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *as alſo of* Newfoundland, *and of theſe Territories, and to the Weſtward as far as* Nova Albion, *and to the Northward to the Latitude of* 80 *Degrees*, &c

On the outſide of the Lead I faſtened a Shilling and a Sixpence of his Majeſties Coin, under that we faſtened the King's Arms fairly cut in Lead, and under that the Arms of the City of *Briſtol*; and this being *Midſummer-day*, we raiſed it on the top of a bare Hill where we had buried our Men.

The Wind continuing Southerly, and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us, ſo that the Ship now rode amongſt it in ſuch apparent danger, that I thought verily we ſhould have loſt her: We laboured Flood and Ebb with Poles and Oars, but it was God that preſerved us; for it was paſt any Man's underſtanding how the Ship could endure it, or we by our Labour ſave her. In the Night the Wind ſhifted to the Weſtward, and blew the Ice from us, whereby we had ſome reſt.

The 25th, we fetch'd the reſt of our Proviſions aboard, and began to rig the Ship. At ten at Night, when it was ſomewhat dark, I took a Lance in my Hand, and one with me a Muſket and ſome Fire, and went to our *Watch-tree* to make a fire on the moſt eminent place of the Iſland, to ſee if it would be anſwered: Such Fires I had formerly made, to try if there were any Savages on the Main, or the Iſlands about us. Had there been any, my purpoſe was to have gone to them, to get intelligence of ſome Chriſtians, or ſome Ocean-Sea thereabouts. When I came to the Tree I laid down my Lance, and ſo did my Conſort his Muſket, and while I climbed up to the top of the Tree, I ordered him to put fire to ſome low Tree thereabouts. He unadviſedly put fire to ſome Trees that were to windward, ſo that they and all the reſt being very dry, took fire like Flax, and the Wind blowing it towards me, I haſtened down the Tree, but before I was half way down, the fire took in the bottom of it, and blazed ſo fiercely upwards, that I was forced to leap off the Tree, and with much ado eſcaped burning: The Moſs on the Ground was as dry as Flax, and would run like a Train along the Earth: The Muſket and Lance were both burnt. My Conſort at laſt came to me, and was joyful to ſee me, for he thought verily I had been burnt; and thus we returned together, leaving the fire increaſing, and ſtill burning moſt furiouſly. At break of day I went again to the Hills, from whence I ſaw it ſtill burning moſt vehemently both to the Weſtward and Northward, but could ſee no anſwer of it. Leaving one upon the Hills to watch it, I came home immediately, and made them take down our new ſuit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea ſide, ready to be caſt in if occaſion were. About Noon the Wind ſhifted Northerly, and our Centinel came running home, bringing us Word that the Fire did follow hard at his Heels like a Train of Powder: It was no need to bid us take down and carry all away to the Sea-ſide. The Fire came towards us with a moſt terrible ratling noiſe, bearing a full Mile in breadth, and by that time we had uncovered our Houſes, and laid hand on our laſt things, the Fire had ſeized our Town, and in a thrice burnt it down to the Ground: We loſt nothing of any value in it, having brought all away into a place of ſecurity. Our Dogs in this combuſtion would ſit down on their Tails and howl, and then run into the Sea on the Shoals, and there ſtay. This Night we lay all together aboard Ship, and gave God thanks that had ſhipp'd us in her again.

The Captain narrowly eſcapes burning.

Their Houſes burnt.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in getting our things aboard, and in fetching drift Wood, our Tools being ſo ſpoiled that we could cut none: I had cauſed our Pinnace to be ſawed in pieces, wherewith we ſtowed our Caſk, and intended to burn it at low waters, and ſuch other times as we could not work in carrying things aboard.

The 30th, we brought our Sails to Yard, labouring hard to finiſh our buſineſs with the Week and the Month, that we might the better ſolemnize the Sabbath aſhoar to morrow, and ſo take leave of our wintering Iſland.

The Bays were now clear of Ice, for it was all gone to the Northwards. The manner of its breaking up was thus; Firſt you muſt know that it doth not freeze naturally above ſix Foot, as we found by experience in digging to our Anchors; the reſt is by accident, ſuch as that Ice here which is ſix Fathom thick. When the heat increaſes in *May*, it thaws firſt on the Shoals by the Shoar-ſide, and then the courſes of the Tides do ſo ſhake the main Ice that it cracks and breaks, and having thus got room for motion, one piece of it runs upon another, until it

The Sea does not freeze naturally above ſix Foot.

come to a vaſt thickneſs. The Seaſon in this ſandy Country is moſt unnatural, for in the day time it will be ſo hot as not to be endured in the Sun, and in the Night again it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and Tubs in and about our Houſe; and all this towards the end of *June*.

The *Muskito's* upon our coming away were moſt intolerable; we tore an old Enſign in pieces, and made Bags to put our Heads in, yet notwithſtanding they would find ways and means to ſting us, and were more tormenting to us than all the cold we had endured.

July.

July the firſt, being Sunday, we adorned our Ship the beſt we could, our Enſign on the Poop, and the King's Colours on the Main-top. I had provided a ſhort Narrative of all the Paſſages of our Voyage to this day, in what ſtate we were at preſent, and how I intended to proſecute the Diſcovery both to the Weſtward and the Southward, concluding with a requeſt to any noble minded Traveller that ſhould take it down, that if we ſhould periſh in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our ſoveraign Lord the King; and thus with our Arms, Drum and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went aſhoar, and firſt march'd up to our eminent Croſs, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows, where we read Morning Prayer, and then walked up and down till Dinner time. After Dinner we walked to the higheſt Hills to ſee which way the Fire had waſted; we deſcried that it had conſumed to the Weſtward 16 Miles at leaſt, and the whole breadth of the Iſland; it could not come near our Croſs and Dead, being upon a bare ſandy Hill. After Evening Prayer, as I walked along the Beach, I found an Herb reſembling Scurvy-graſs, which we boiled with our Meat at Supper: It was excellently good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we all went to ſeek and gather more of it, and got about two Buſhels, which much refreſhed us; and now the Sun was ſet, and the Boat come aſhoar for us, whereupon we aſſembled and went up to take the laſt view of our dead, where leaning upon mine Arm on one of their Tombs, I utter'd theſe Lines, which tho' perchance they may procure laughter in the wiſer ſort (which I ſhall be glad of) they yet moved my young and tender hearted Companions at that time with ſome Compaſſion.

The Fire had conſumed 16 Miles.

I were unkind unleſs that I did ſhed,
Before I part, ſome Tears upon our Dead:
And when my Eyes be dry, I will not ceaſe
In heart to pray, their Bones may reſt in peace:
Their better parts (good Souls) I know were given,
With an intent they ſhould return to Heaven:
Their Lives they ſpent to the laſt drop of Blood,
Seeking God's glory, and their Countries good.
And as a valiant Souldier rather dies,
Than yields his Courage to his Enemies;
And ſtops their way with his hew'd Fleſh, when Death
Hath quite depriv'd him of his Strength and Breath;
So have they ſpent themſelves; and here they lie,
A famous Mark of our Diſcovery.
We that ſurvive, perchance may end our Days,
In ſome Employment meriting no praiſe,
And in a Dung-hill rot; when no Man names
The memory of us, but to our ſhames.
They have outliv'd this fear, and their brave ends
Will ever be an honour to their Friends.
Why drop you ſo mine Eyes? Nay rather pow'r
My ſad departure in a ſolemn Show'r.
The Winter's Cold that lately froze our Blood,
Now were it ſo extream, might do this good,
As make theſe Tears bright Pearls, which I would lay
Tomb'd ſafely with you till Doom's fatal Day.
That in this ſolitary place, where none
Will ever come to breath a ſigh or groan,
Some remnant might be extant, of the true
And faithful love, I ever tendred you.
Oh! reſt in peace, dear Friends, and let it be
No pride to ſay the ſometime part of me.
What pain and anguiſh doth afflict the Head,
The Heart and Stomach, when the Limbs are dead.
So griev'd, I kiſs your Graves, and vow to die,
A Foſter-Father to your memory.

Farewel.

We then took Boat and departed: The Iſland was very full of Spruce and Juniper Trees, but the biggeſt Tree I ſaw was but a Foot and a half over. At our firſt coming we ſaw ſome Deer, and kill'd one, but never any ſince. We ſaw many Foxes all the Winter, and kill'd ſome dozens of them, but they went all away in *May*; we ſaw but few Bears, and kill'd none. In *May* there came ſome Fowls, as Ducks and Geeſe, of which we kill'd very few: We ſaw ſome white Patridges, but in ſmall numbers, nor had we any Shot to ſhoot at them. Fiſh we could never ſee in the Sea, nor no Bones of Fiſh on the Shoar-ſide: we ſaw indeed a few Cockle-ſhels, but nothing in them.

They leave their wintering Iſland.

No Fiſh in this Bay.

Our Diſcovery, and coming home.

July, 1632, *Munday* the 2d, we ſtowed and fitted out Ship, and weighed our Anchors, and when the laſt was a trip, went to prayers, beſeeching God to continue his mercy to us, and rendering him thanks for having thus reſtored us. We found no defect in our Ship; had abundance of ſuch Proviſions as we brought out of *England*; were in indifferent health, and gathered ſtrength daily. The Wind at N. W. we ſet ſail, and ſtood over to *Danly* Iſland to take in more Wood. I went aſhoar in the Boat, becauſe ſome of the Company told me they ſaw ſome Stakes the laſt year driven into the Ground: I went to the place, and found two Stakes driven about a Foot and a half into the Ground, and Fire-brands by them; I pull'd up the Stakes, which were about the bigneſs of my Arm, and cut ſharp at the ends with a Hatchet, or ſome good Iron Tool: They were diſtant about a Stones throw from the Water-ſide. I cannot conceive to what purpoſe they ſhould be there ſet, unleſs it were for ſome Marks for Boats. In the Evening we returned with a Boat's lading of Wood.

The third, at break of day we weighed, and with our Lead ſounding for a Channel among theſe perilous Shoals, and were many times in five and four Fathom. We ſtood away Weſt, and by Noon ſaw all Ice to the Northward of us, endeavouring therefore to compaſs the Weſtern Point of *Charlton* Iſland, and ſo ſeek to the Southwards, we found it all Shoals, Rocks and Breaches. By four we ſaw the Weſtern Land, all full of Ice, whereupon we ſtood along it to the Northward.

The 4th was calm, but ſo thick a Fog, that we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot from us. The next day we weighed, but Ice being all about us, we knew not which way to turn us; and thus we continued peſtered and tormented with Ice and Fogs till the 22d. We ſtruck ſuch blows againſt the Ice, that the Fore part of the Ship would crack again, and make our Cook and others run up amazed, thinking the Ship had been beaten all to pieces; and twenty times in a day the Men wou'd run down into the Hold to ſee if ſhe were bulged.

Sometimes when we had made her faſt in the Night to a great piece of Ice, we ſhould have ſuch violent ſtorms, that our faſtening would break, and then the Storm would beat us from piece to piece moſt fearfully: Sometimes we were incloſed with Ice as high as our Poop; this was made, as I formerly obſerved, by one piece running upon another, which made it draw eight or ten Fathom Water. Sometimes the lowermoſt would riſe from underneath, and ſtrike us under the Bulge with pieces of ſix or eight Tun, that many times we have pump'd clear Water for an Hour together, before we could make the Pump ſuck. Among theſe hourly Dangers, I over-heard the Men murmur and ſay, that they were happy that I had buried, and that if they had a thouſand Pounds, they would give it, ſo they lay fairly by them; for we (ſaid they) are deſtined to ſtarve upon a piece of Ice. I was forced to endure all with patience, and to comfort them again when I had them in a better humour.

The 22d, after a ſtormy Night, we ſaw Cape *Henrietta Maria*, and hoiſting out our Boat, took our Arms and Dogs, and went aſhoar: We erected a Croſs upon the moſt eminent place, and faſtened the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Briſtol* to it; and then ſeeking about, we ſaw about a dozen Deer, very goodly Beaſts; we ſtole towards them with the beſt ſkill we had, and then put our Dogs on them, but the Deer ran away from them at pleaſure. We tired the Dogs, and wearied our-ſelves to no purpoſe, neither could we come to ſhoot at them. We took half a dozen young Geeſe, by wading to them in the Pools, and ſo returned to our Boat, vexed that we had found a place where there was Refreſhment, and could get none of it. Whereas therefore we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of inconvenience, aboard the Ship all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Miſdemeanors (for they would ſteal our Meat out of the Steeping-tubs) in hopes they might hereafter do us ſome ſervice, and ſeeing they now did not, and that there was no hope they could hereafter, I left them aſhoar: They were a Dog and a Bitch, Buck Dogs of a very good Race. I ſaw no ſign of any Savages, nor

They ſpy ſome Deer.

found any Herbs or other refreſhment here. In the Evening returning aboard, we made ſail, hoping for an open Sea to the N. W. and ſailing amongſt ſhatter'd Ice till the 30th, it will be needleſs to relate every particular day's Paſſage, which was much alike to us. Our Ship was now become very leaky, ſo that we muſt pump every half watch. Here I called a Conſultation, and we were all of the ſame opinion, that it was impoſſible to get to the Northwards or the Eaſtwards, by reaſon of the Ice; wherefore I reſolved to ſtand to the Weſtward, and cauſed the Ship to be fitted, and places convenient again prepared to ſink her the ſecond time, if we ſhould be put to extremities.

Auguſt.

The 5th, we were in Latitude of 55 Deg. 30 Min. The Cape bearing S. E. by E. ſome 12 Leagues off, and this is all we have gotten ſince the 22d of *July*. It blew a violent gale of Wind all Night at W. N. W. and about Midnight our Hawſer by which we had made faſt to a piece of Ice, broke, and we loſt 14 Fathom of it. We beat all Night moſt fearfully, being toſt from piece to piece, becauſe in the dark we durſt not venture our Men to go forth on the Ice for fear of looſing them. The Storm continued all the 6th, and drove us again with the Ice almoſt to the Cape.

The 7th, was the moſt comfortable day we had ſince we came out of our wintring place: our Leak ſtop'd of its own accord.

The 8th, we anchored in eight Fathom, the main Ice two Miles to windward of us. The Wind increaſing about Midnight, the Ship did drive, and was quickly in five Fathom, whereupon we let fall our Sheet-Anchor, and both held her. But that which troubled us moſt was, that we expected every Minute when the main Ice would come upon us, and then we muſt be put aſhoar.

The 9th, I cauſed all our empty Caſk to be filled with Water, and the Ship to be left unpump'd, and the places looked to that we had prepared to ſink her, we being at preſent in as apparent danger, as any time this Voyage. It was all foul rocky Ground, and if we made faſt to a piece of Ice, then as ſoon as it came aground upon theſe Rocks, it would break all to pieces, and betray us to our deſtruction. At Noon the point of a Rand of Ice came foul of us, and we perceiving open Water beyond it, drop'd an Anchor, thinking to ride and break thro' it; thruſting therefore and fending with our Poles, at laſt a great piece came thwart our Hauwſe, and the Ship fell upon it ſo violently, that I expected every blow ſhe would beat out her Bows; at length ſhe drove with it, ſo that I thought the Cable had been broken: We brought it to Capſton, and found that our Sheet-Anchor was broken in the middle of the Shank: We ſet our Sails, and a dark Night coming on, we made faſt to the biggeſt piece we could find. If any Man aſk, why we kept ſo near the Shoar in this continual danger? I anſwer, Becauſe the Ice was ſo thick in the Offing, that we could make no way thro' it.

On the 15th, we had a moſt violent Storm, which did break the Ice into pieces as big as a Boat of three or four Tons, and gave us many a heavy blow in the dark Night: And thus we continued for the ſpace of ſix Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death. When we were two days together faſtned to a piece of Ice, we uſed to ſet Marks on it to ſee how it did conſume, but could not in that time perceive any diminution by the ſinking of it or otherwiſe; Nevertheleſs I think it is ruined with Storms, or conſumed with heat ſome Years, or elſe the Bay would be choaked with Ice. I have in *July* and the beginning of *Auguſt*, taken ſome of the Ice into the Ship, and cutting it two Foot ſquare, put it into the Boat, where the Sun did ſhine on it with a very ſtrong reflex about it, and notwithſtanding the warmth of the Ship (for we kept a good fire) and all our Breathings and Motions, it would not be melted in eight or ten days.

The 24th, we had a violent Storm at S. S. E. ſo that we took in our Fore-ſail, and let her drive N. W. The Storm continued all the next day in its utmoſt malice, and did ſo perplex us, that there were but few that did ſleep or eat a bit theſe 24 hours.

The 26th, by two in the Morning we were ſuddenly come in amongſt the Ice. When day appeared, we could from Top-maſt-head ſee the Ice to the N. N. W. the N. W. and ſo round about by the South to the Eaſt: It was all flat ſound Ice in main Rands, and the Sea as ſmooth as a Well amongſt it. This ſtruck us all into a Dump, whereupon I called a Conſultation of my Aſſociates, *viz.* the Lieutenant, Maſter, his Mate, the Chirurgion, and Boatſwain, requiring them to adviſe and counſel me how to proſecute our buſineſs to effect. They went together and reaſoned among themſelves, and then brought me their Opinion in writing under their Hands, *viz.*

The Officers Reaſons for their return.

Our Advice is, that you repair homeward, from this preſent 26th, and that for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe the Nights are long, and ſo extream cold withal, that we can hardly handle our Sails and Rigging. Secondly, The times are now ſubject to ſtormy and guſty weather, as witneſs the preſent Seaſon, it having continued a ſtorm ever ſince the 24th, and is yet no weather to diſcover in. Thirdly, We doubt whether *Hudſon's Straits* will be ſo clear of Ice as to be paſſable, Winter coming on apace. Fourthly, we muſt have a ſet of fair weather to paſs the Strait, which we may ſtay for a long time, if we neglect the firſt Opportunity. Fifthly, Becauſe our Ship is very leaky, ſo that in foul weather we are forced to pump every Glaſs; and we know her to be ſo ſorely bruiſed with Rocks and blows of the Ice, that ſhe is no more to be adventur'd amongſt it; and beſides all this, our Men grow very weak and ſickly with extream labour. Sixthly, The Seaſon of the Year is ſo far ſpent, that we can expect no other weather than we have had, *viz.* Snow and Fog, freezing our Rigging, and making every thing ſo ſlippery, that a Man can ſcarce ſtand; and all this with the Wind Southerly, which if it ſhould come to the Northward, then we are to expect far worſe. Seventhly and laſtly, That the Ice lies all in thick Rands, in the very way we ſhould go; and therefore we conclude as aforeſaid, that there is no poſſibility of proceeding further; wherefore we here counſel you to return homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable Paſſage, and return us home ſafe to our native Country, if we take time, and not tempt him too far by our wilfulneſs.

Indeed moſt of theſe Reaſons were in view, and I knew not how to oppoſe them, nor any reaſon could I give how we might proceed further; wherefore, with a ſorrowful Heart God knows, I conſented that the Helm ſhould be born up, and a Courſe ſhaped for *England*, well hoping that his Majeſty would graciouſly cenſure my Endeavours, and pardon my return; and altho' we have not diſcover'd populous Kingdoms, and taken ſpecial notice of their Magnificence, Power, and Policies, brought Samples home of their Riches and Commodities, pried into the Miſteries of their Traffick, nor made any great fight againſt the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet I wiſh our Willingneſs in theſe deſert parts, may be acceptable to our Readers. When we bore up the Helm, we were in Lat. 65, 30, at leaſt, N. W. by N. from *Nettingham*-Iſland.

The Cauſes of the abundance of Snow in theſe parts.

The 27th, we were thwart of Cape *Charles*; it ſnowed much laſt Night, and was very cold, ſo that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered with Snow; and having formerly ſpoken of the much Snow in theſe parts, it will not be amiſs to conſider the Reaſons of it. When I was upon *Charlton*-Iſland in *June*, I did in the Nights (and ſome of them following the hotteſt days) obſerve whether there fell any Dew or no, but could never perceive any, and indeed from Moſs and Sand little was to be expected; nor of what was exhaled from the ſnowy Ice and cold Sea, could there probably be returned but the like again.

The laſt of the Month we were in the Narrow of the Streight, which is about 15 Leagues over, the South ſhoar much peſter'd with Ice.

September

September the third, we ſaw the South end of the Iſland *Reſolution*; the Wind coming Eaſterly, we felt another Sea out of the Ocean, and the Ship laboured with another motion than ſhe had done, with any Sea that came from the Weſtward.

On the 8th, we were got clear out of the Streights, but were now come into ſuch a tumbling Sea, that the Ship did ſo labour and roll, that we thought ſhe would have rolled her Maſts by the Board. This made her ſo leaky, that we were forced to pump every Glaſs, and her Seams did ſo open aloft, that we lay all wet in her.

This was the laſt day we ſaw any Ice, and the Wind now favouring us, we made all the haſt we could homeward. As we came along, I perfected my Obſervations concerning the feaſibleneſs of the Action intended, which was to find a Paſſage into the South Sea, and here offer it to the judicious Reader.

What hath been long ago fabled by ſome *Portugals*, that came this way out of the South Sea, I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. Theſe Hopes have from time to time ſtirred up the more active Spirits of our Kingdom to reſearch that meerly imaginary Paſſage. For my part, I give no credit to them at all, their Diſcourſes being abſur'd, and the Plats (by which ſome have practiſed to deceive the World) are meer Falcities, making Sea where there is main Land, and Land where is nothing but Sea.

Moſt certain it is, that by the only induſtry of our own Nation, the Northern Parts of *America* have been diſcover'd to the Latitude of 80 Deg. and upwards, and they have brought this ſuppoſed Paſſage to this paſs, as to be certain that it muſt be to the Northwards of 60 Deg. of Latitude; a cold Climate, peſter'd with Ice and other Incommodities, which the *Spaniards* Diſpoſitions and their weak Ships can hardly long endure. And withal it is known, that the Entrance of *Hudſon*'s Streight is but 15 Leagues bread, in the middle not ſo much; and between *Salisbury*-Iſland and the Main is but eight Leagues; then proceeding to the Northwards, it is but 15 Leagues from Main to Main. This in length is about 140 Leagues, infinitely peſter'd with Ice until *Auguſt*, and ſome Years not paſſable then: Yea, I believe the Streight is never clear of Ice thorowly.

Now moſt probable it is, that there is no Paſſage, and that for theſe Reaſons following.

Reaſons againſt a Paſſage.

I. There is a conſtant Tide of Flood and Ebb ſetting into *Hudſon*'s Streight: The Flood ſtill coming from the Eaſtward, which, as it proceeds, alters his time of full Sea, according to the diſtance; this alſo entring into Bays and broken Grounds, becomes diſtracted, and reverſes with half Tides.

II. Here is no ſmall Fiſh, as Cod, *&c.* and very few great ones, which are rarely to be ſeen: Nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-horſes, or other great Fiſh to be found on the Shoar, nor any drift Wood.

III. That we found the Ice in the Lat. of 65 30, lying all over the Sea in Rands, and I am moſt certain that the Shoals and Shoal Bays are the Mother of it. Now had there been any Ocean beyond it, it would have been broke all to pieces; for ſo we found it coming thro' the Streight, into the Sea to the Eaſtward.

IV. The Ice ſeeks its way to the Eaſtward, and ſo drives out at *Hudſon*'s Streight, which I have often obſerved, being aſhoar upon the Iſland *Reſolution*, and driving amongſt the Ice in the Streights.

Now admit there was a Paſſage, yet it is known to be narrow, and peſter'd with Ice for 140 Leagues, as hath been ſaid; comparing therefore ſome Obſervations taken at *Bantam*, *Gilolo*, and *Firando* in *Japan*, and the diſtance between *Japan*, and the Weſtern part of *California*, with the Obſervations taken at *Charlton*-Iſland, the diſtance between the Meridians of Cape *Charles* and the Weſtern part of *California*, will be found to be about 500 Leagues, in the Latitude of 66 Degrees, where the Meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, that near about Cape *Charles*, the Variation is 29 Deg. to the Weſt, which makes it probable that there is much Land that way; and this Streight (if any be) muſt be very long, and you have no time to paſs it but in *Auguſt* and *September*, when the Nights are long, and the weather ſo cold, that it will not be indurable.

Add to this, that neither can any great Ships which are fit for carrying Merchandiſe, endure the Ice without extraordinary danger. Moreover, 1000 Leagues is ſooner and with more ſafety ſailed to the Southward, and about the Cape of *Good Hope*, where the Winds are conſtant, than 100 in theſe Seas, where you muſt daily run the hazard of looſing Ship and Lives: neither is comfort for the Sick or refreſhment for your Men, to be had in theſe Parts.

Towards the latter end of *Auguſt* and in *September*, the weather grows tempeſtuous, and the Winds incline to be Weſterly, that there will be but ſmall hope of performing your Voyage this way.

But let us by way of imagination, inlarge this ſuppoſed Streight in its breadth, and free it of Ice, yet what advantage in ſpeedy performance will be gotten by this Paſſage if the Winds be withal conſider'd? To *Japan*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Aſia*, it may be the nearer cut; but to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other parts where we have the greateſt commerce, the other way is as near.

What benefit of Trade might have been obtained in thoſe Northern Parts of *Aſia* (if our Diſcovery had ſucceeded)? I will not preſume to ſpeak of believing there is a great difference between thoſe parts and the Northern parts of *America*, but am ſure there is none in any place where I have been all this Voyage.

The 22d of *October* we arrived in the Road of *Briſtol*, having been hindered and croſs'd with contrary tempeſtuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour and haled dry aground, it was there found that all her Cut-water and Stem were torn and beaten away, as alſo 14 Foot of her Keel, much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruiſed, and many Timbers crack'd within board; under the Bulge a ſharp Rock had cut thro' the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and an half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other Defects there were beſides, ſo that it is miraculous how this Veſſel could bring us home again. We went all to Church, and gave God thanks for preſerving us amidſt ſo many dangers. I very well know that what I have written, will never diſcourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this ſo long tried Action to perfection; to whoſe Deſigns I wiſh a happy ſucceſs. Now altho' I have ſpent ſome Years of my ripeſt age, in procuring vain intelligence from foreign Nations, and have travelled to divers Honourable and Learned Perſons of this Kingdom for their Inſtructions; have bought up whatever I could find in print or manuſcript, and what Plat or Paper ſoever conducing to this buſineſs, that poſſibly I could procure, and have ſpent above 200 *l.* of my own Money; yet I repent not, but take a great deal of comfort and joy, that I am able to give a reaſonable Account of thoſe parts of the World, which heretofore I was not ſo well ſatisfied in.

CHAP. XXXV.

An Account of a Voyage made towards the South Terra-incognita; *taken from the Journal of Captain* Abel Johnſon Taſman, *who not only diſcovered a New Paſſage by Sea to the South of* Nova Hollandria, Vandiemen's *Land*, &c. *and ſailed round a vaſt Tract of* Land and Sea, *but alſo made very uſeful Obſervations concerning the Variation of the Magnetical Needle in Parts of the World, almoſt* Antipodas *to us, with ſeveral other curious* Remarks *concerning thoſe Places and its Inhabitants: Publiſhed in* Low-Dutch *by* Dirk Rembrantſe, *and ſince done into* Engliſh *from Dr.* Hook's *Collections.*

An. 1642. Aug. 14. Septem. 5.

HE ſet ſail from *Batavia*, with the *Heemskirky* Yatcht, and a Fly-boat called the *Seahane*, and came to an anchor at *Mauritius* Iſle, at 20 Deg. S. Lat. and 83 Deg. 48 Min. Longit., They found this Iſle 50 *Dutch* Miles more to the Eaſt than their Computation allow'd, which make 3 Deg. 33 Min. Longit. They ſteer'd thence to the South till 40 or 41 Deg. having N. W. variation 23, 24, and 25 Deg. till the 22d of *October*, where they bore away E. by S. till the 29th of

Oct. 8.

October,

1643. *October*, to 45 Deg. 47 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 89 Deg. 44
Min. Variation N. W. 26 Deg. 45 Min.
Nov. 6. They were at 49 Deg. 4 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 114 Deg.
56, Variation N. W. 26 Deg. with miſty windy wea-
Nov. 15. ther, and a hollow Sea, Wind S. W. and S. they came
to 44 Deg. 3 Min. South Lat. Longit. 140 Deg. 32 Min.
Variation N. W. 18 Deg. 30 Min. which decreaſed
apace; for on the 21ſt, being then at the Long. of 158
Nov. 22. Deg. the Variation was only 4 Deg. The next day the
Compaſs would not ſtand upon any one of the eight
Points, which made them gueſs that ſome Mines of
Loadſtone muſt be thereabouts. They were at 42 Deg.
Nov. 24. 25 Min. South Lat. and their middle Longit. of 163 Deg.
50 Min. About ten Miles diſtant from them to the E. by
N. they diſcovered Land, which they called *Anthony Van*
Van Diemen's Land. *Diemen's Land*: Here they found the Compaſs to ſtand in
the Longit. of 163 Deg. 50 Min. Being much peſtered
with Tempeſts, they ſtood away S. by E. along the
Coaſt to 44 Deg. South Lat. where the Land runs a-
way E. and afterwards N. E. and N.

Dec. 1. They came to an Anchor in Longit. of 167 Deg. 55
Min. and Lat. 43 Deg. 10 Min. in a Bay, unto which
Frederick Hendrick's Bay. they gave the Name of *Frederick Hendricus Bay*. They
fancied they heard the noiſe of ſome Men, but ſaw none:
The Muſick they heard was like that of a *Jew's* Trumpet,
and at no great diſtance. They ſaw here Trees of two
Fathom and a half in circumference, and 60 or 68 Foot
high, below the Branches: The Bark of them was cut
with Flint in form of Steps, for the Natives to climb up
theſe Trees, to take the Birds Neſts: Theſe Steps being
near five Foot aſunder, ſeem'd to intimate, that they are
either beyond the ordinary ſize of other Men, or have a
peculiar way of climbing up by theſe Steps. They alſo
ſaw the Footſteps of *Tigers*, and ſome other wild Beaſts,
ſome Gum of the Trees, and Gum Lac of the Ground:
The Ebb and Flood was only three Foot here; the Trees
were not incumbred with Buſhes and Water-wood: And
tho' they could not get ſight of the Natives, they diſ-
covered the Smoak of their Fires in ſeveral places; ſo
they only ſet up a Pole with the Company's Mark, and a
Prince's Flag faſtned to it: The Variation was here three
Deg. N. E.

They left *Van Diemen's Land* at 41 Deg. 34 Min. South
Dec. 5. Lat. and 169 Deg. Longit. running to the Eaſt to the
Longit. of 195 Deg. to find the Iſlands of *Solomon*: They
Dec. 9. were at 42 Deg. 37 Min. South Lat. Longit. 136 Deg.
Dec. 12. 29 Min. Variation N. E. 5 Deg. the hollow Waves
from the S. W. ſhew'd us that no Land was to be ex-
pected on that ſide. They deſcried high and hilly Land,
Dec. 13. call'd in the Charts now, *New Zealand*, at 42 Deg. 10
New Zealand. Min South Lat. Longit. 188 Deg. 28 Min. Variation
N. E. 7 Deg. 30 Min. they ſail'd along the Coaſt N. E.
as the Maps direct, till they came to an Anchor in a Bay
at 40 Deg. 50 Min. South Lat. Longit. 191 Deg. 41
Min. Variation N. E. 9 Deg.

Dec. 18. The Natives of this Country were groſs of Body, be-
1642. twixt a yellow and brown Complexion, with a harſh
Voice, and black Hair, ty'd upon the Crown of the
Head like the *Japoneſes*, and near as long and thick,
upon which they wear a large white Feather: Their
Cloaths were of Mats and Callicoe, but the upper part
of their Bodies naked. They play'd upon a kind of a
Mooriſh Trumpet, we anſwer'd them with ours.

These Antipodes began not to be ſo miſtruſtful as before,
Dec. 19. but came in good Numbers to truck with our People;
The Inhabitants of Murtherers Bay. The Commander beginning to fear the ſafety of his Peo-
ple, ſent ſeven of his Men in a Boat, to advertiſe the reſt
not to truſt theſe *Barbarians*; and his foreſight proved too
true, for ſome of them going too far from the Yacht,
unarm'd, were ſet upon by the Natives, and four of them
kill'd, the reſt ſaving themſelves by ſwimming. They
call'd this *Murtherers Bay* (as it is mark'd in the Maps)
and would have revenged the death of their Compani-
ons, had they not been prevented by the High Sea. They
went in to the Eaſt, but found themſelves ſurrounded
with Land, which appear'd very fruitful, but the bad
Weather and Wind made it very difficult for them to get
out.

The Wind not permitting them to go North, and be-
Dec. 24. ing uncertain whether they ſhould find a Paſſage to the
North, and the Flood coming from S. E. they returned
Dec. 26. into the Bay, but the Wind turning more favourable,
they ſteer'd North, ſomewhat to the Weſt. They came
Jan. 4. to the N. W. Cape of this Land, at 34 Deg. 35 Min.
1643. South Lat. Longit. 191 Deg. 9 Min. Variation N. E.
8 Deg. 40 Min. the hollow Waves out of the N. E.
ſhew'd that there muſt be a great Sea in the N. E. Here
The Three Kings Iſle. they ſaw an Iſle, which they call'd *The three Kings Iſle*; as
they came near the Shoar to refreſh themſelves, they ſaw
at ſome diſtance upon the Hills, 30 or 40 Men, very tall,
arm'd with Clubs, who call'd to them with a harſh Voice, 1643.
they perceived them to make very large ſteps. In turn-
ing about the Land, they ſaw but few more Men, and lit-
tle cultivated Ground, but met with a freſh water River,
where they intended to get ſome freſh Water, but being
prevented by an unlucky Accident, they reſolved to pro-
ceed an Eaſt Courſe to the Longit. of 220 Deg. then N.
to the South Lat. of 17 Deg. and ſo Weſt to the *Coco's*
and *Horneſe* Iſles, firſt diſcovered by *William Scoute*; for
they had met with nothing at *Van Diemen's Land*, and
never touch'd the Shoar at *New Zealand*.

They came to 30 Deg. 25 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 192 Jan. 8.
Deg. 10 Min. Variation N. E. 9 Deg. great Waves from
S. E. At 30 Deg. 5 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 195 Deg. 27 Jan. 12.
Min. Variation 9½ Deg. N. E. they had hollow Waves
from the S. E. and S. W. and came at 26 Deg. 29 Min.
S. Lat. Longit. 166 Deg. 32 Min. Variation N. E. 8 Deg.
They ſaw a high, ſteep and barren Iſle, two or three Jan. 16.
Miles in compaſs, at 22 Deg. 35 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 204 Jan. 19.
Deg. 15 Min. Variation N. E. 7½ Deg. The S. E. and
S. S. E. Winds hindred them from approaching nearer to
it: They called it *Piilſterts-Iſle*, from the great multitude
of thoſe Fowls. The next day they got ſight of two other
Iſlands; they came to the Northermoſt of theſe Iſlands, Jan. 21. The Iſle of Amſteldam.
being alſo the biggeſt and higheſt, they call'd it *Amſtel-
dam*, and another *Middlebourgh*. On the firſt they found
ſtore of Hogs, Hens, Fruits; the Natives appeared very
harmleſs, without any Weapons, but were ſomewhat
addicted to Theft. Here is but a ſlender Current, the
Ebb runs N. E. and the Flood S. W. The S. W. Moon
makes high Water when it flows above ſeven or eight
Foot; the Wind continually S. E. and S. S. E. freſh wa-
ter was very hard to be gotten here.

After having paſs'd in ſight of ſeveral ſmall Iſlands, Jan. 25. The Iſle of Rotterdam.
they came to the Iſle call'd *Rotterdam* (as you ſee it
mark'd in the Charts). The Natives were the ſame as
the former; they found the *Cocoe* Trees planted in vaſt
numbers and very good order, and Gardens and Or-
chards well regulated and planted with all ſorts of Fruit-
trees, moſt commonly in a right Line, affording an a-
greeable ſight and ſmell. After they left this Iſle, they
ſaw ſeveral others mentioned in the Chart, with a deſign
to ſteer to the North till 17 Deg. S. Lat. and then W.
with a S. E. and E. S. E. Wind, for fear of miſſing the
Traytors and *Horneſe* Iſland. They were got in among Feb. 6.
18 or 20 Iſles, environ'd with Rocks and Shoals, theſe
Iſlands are in the Maps called Prince *William's Iſlands*,
and *Heemskirk's Shoals*. They had very hard Rains at 15 Feb. 8.
Deg. 29 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 199 Deg. 31 Min. it blew
hard from N. E. and N. N. E. and the weather hazy,
making them fear to fall to the South of *Novo Guinea*,
on unknown Coaſts, they reſolved to go N. or N. N. W.
to 4, 5, or 6 Deg. S. Lat. and then W. to *Nova Guinea*.
Till now they had been always peſter'd with Rain and Feb. 14.
Storms, but this being a calm day, they halled the *Sea-
bene*, and found their Accounts to agree at 16 Deg. 30
Min. S. Lat. Longit. 193 Deg. 35 Min. Dark rainy Feb. 20.
weather at 13 Deg. 45 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 193 Deg.
35 Min. the Wind variable, and the Sea coming out of
all Quarters. The Wind conſtantly at N. W. not one Feb. 26.
day without rain in 21, at 9 Deg. 48 Min. S. Lat. Longit.
193 Deg. 43 Min. variable Wind and Weather at 9 Deg.
11 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 192 Deg. 6 Min. Variation Mar. 2.
N. E. 10 Deg. weather and wind the ſame, at 7 Deg. Mar. 8.
46 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 190 Deg. 47 Min. They came Mar. 14.
to the S. Lat. of 10 Deg. 12 Min. Longit. 186 Deg. 14
Min. Variation N. E. 8 Deg. 45 Min. They were at 15
Deg. 15 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 181 Deg. 16 Min. Variati- Mar. 20.
on N. E. 9 Deg. the weather began to grow better.
They got ſight of Land four Miles Weſt from them, Mar. 22.
Wind E. at 5 Deg. 2 Min S. Lat. Longit. 178 Deg. 52
Min. This proved ſome Iſlands, 20 in number, call'd in
the Charts, *Onthony Java*, 90 Miles diſtant from the
Coaſt of *Nova Guinea*. They came up with the Iſle of
Mark, diſcovered by *William Scouten* and *John de Mair*, Mar. 25.
14 or 15 in all, at 4 Deg. 35 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 175
Deg. 10 Min. Variation 9 Deg. 30 Min. The Natives
were Savages, having their black Hair ty'd up like thoſe
of *Murtherers Bay* in *New Zealand*.

They paſs'd by the *Green* Iſle, and the 30th St. *John's Iſle*: Mar. 29.
They reached the Coaſt of *Novo Guinea*, at the Cape April 1.
call'd by the *Spaniards Cabo S. Maria*, at 4 Deg. 30 Min.
S. Lat. Longit. 171 Deg. 2 Min. Variation 8 Deg. 45
Min. They ſail'd along the Coaſt which lies N. W.
to *Anthony Caen's Iſle*, *Gardners Iſle*, and *Fiſhers Iſland*,
to the Cape call'd *Struyſbeak*, where the Land falls away
S. and S. E. which they followed, and went South till
they ſhould diſcover the Land, or find a Paſſage to the
South.

They

1643. *April* 12. They were ſurpriſed with a ſudden Earthquake, which ſo ſhook the Ship, that they thought ſhe had ſtruck againſt a Rock, but could find no Ground by ſounding at 3 Deg. 45 Min S. Lat. Longit. 167 Deg. 00 Min. Variation N. E. 10 Deg. They were then within the *Struyſhook*, *April* 14. ſtanding into the Bay of *Good Hope*: They ſaw the Land from the E. N. E. into the South, and ſo on to the S.S.W. at 5. Deg. 27 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 166 Deg. 57 Min. Variation N. E. 9 Deg. 15 Min. they were in hopes of finding a Paſſage between both, but perceiving it to be all one continued Tract of Land into the Weſt, they turn'd their Courſe W. along the Coaſt, with much Calms.

April 20. The *Burning Iſle*. By Night, paſſing by the *Burning Iſle*, they ſaw a great Fire iſſue from the top of the Hill; at 5 Deg. 4 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 164, 27 Min. Variation N. E. 8 Deg. 30 Min. (*Scouten* mentions this Iſland) they paſs'd betwixt it and the Main, and ſaw many Fires towards the middle of a high Hill near the Shoar, which made them conjecture that this Iſland was well inhabited. All along the Coaſt of *Guinea* they were often becalmed, and ſaw much drift Wood, as ſmall Trees, Bamboes, &c. carried thither by the Currents of the Rivers. The 21ſt, they paſs'd the *Burning Mountain*, ſailing along the Shoar W. N. W.

April 27. The Iſle of *Jama*. They being at 2 Deg. 10 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 156, 47 Min. thought to have ſeen the Iſle of *Moa*, but found themſelves near *Jama*, another Iſle more E. than *Moa*; here they provided themſelves with *Coco-nuts*, and ſeveral other Neceſſaries. The Natives were very black, but docile, being able to repeat every word they heard us ſay; their Pronunciation muſt be difficult, becauſe they uſe the Letter *R* frequently two or three times in one word. 1643. *April* 28. The Iſle of *Moa*. They came to *Moa*, where by contrary Winds, they were detained till *May* the 6th, which gave them opportunity to truck near 6000 *Coco-nuts*, 100 Bundles of *Pyſanghs*, and other Refreſhments. One of our Ship's Company happening to be ſhot with an Arrow by one of the Inhabitants (whether on purpoſe or by accident we knew not) the Ship was order'd nearer the Land, which ſo frightned the Natives, that they brought him who ſhot the Arrow to us, to be diſpoſed of as we ſhould think fit, and were very tractable ever after; ſome of our People would take pieces of Iron Hoops, fit them into Wooden Hafts, make them a little bright and ſharp, and ſo ſell them for Knives. Perhaps they had not forgot what befel them in 1616, with *Scouten* and *Le Mair*, who on account of ſome treacherous Dealing with them, frightned theſe poor Wretches with their Cannon Bullets, into a complaiſant Temper.

May 12. They paſſed on the North ſide of *William Scouten's Iſle*, being well inhabited, and 18 or 19 Miles in length, at 0 Deg. 54 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 153 Deg. 17 Min. Variation N. E. 6 Deg. 30 Min.

May 18. They had paſſed the *Cape of Good Hope*, and come from the Weſt end of *Novo Guinea*, a broken Point of Land, at 0 Deg. 26 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 147 Deg. 55 Min. Variation N. E. 5 Deg. 30 Min. They were much peſter'd with Calms and variable Winds, and Rains.

May 27. Hence they ſailed to the North ſide of *Seram*: They went on thro' the Streights to the North of *Boure* or *Bouton*, and arrived the 15th of *June* at *Batavia*, at 6 Deg, 12 Min. S. Lat. and Longit. 127 Deg. 18 Min. having ſpent ten Months in this Voyage.

CHAP. XXXVI.

An Account of a Voyage for the Diſcovery of the N. E. Paſſage to China *and* Japan, *in his Majeſties Ships, the* Speedwel *and* Proſperous Pink, *in the Year 1676, where is ſhewed the Probability of that Paſſage, before the Attempt, with divers uſeful Obſervations made in that Voyage, by Captain* John Wood.

1676. MY Intention being to give you the Reaſons that induced me to the undertaking of this Voyage, and its Event, it would be ſuperfluous to enter upon a Relation of all ſuch as have attempted the N. E. Paſſage to *China* and *Japan*, (being alſo recorded in *Hackluit* and *Purchaſs*) yet it may not be amiſs to ſhew wherein theſe failed in the ſaid Voyages.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, 1553. The firſt that ever attempted this Paſſage was Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who ſet ſail with three Ships to the N. Cape of *Finmark*, and thence to the Lat. of 72, where he ſuppoſed he ſaw Land, which according to my Opinion, was only a Fog-Bank, becauſe in my return near the ſame place, (where the Maps put this Land) I could diſcern none; he was forced by Tempeſts in *Arzena*, a Harbour of *Lapland*, where he was frozen to death with his whole Ships Company.

Stephen Burrough, 1556. The ſecond Attempt was made by Captain *Stephen Burrough*, who after he had paſs'd the North Cape, ſail'd more Eaſt, and diſcover'd the Streight of *Weygats*, or that Streight which runneth betwixt *Nova Zembla* and the *Samoyedes*, where he entred, and believing that *Sinus* to the Eaſt of the Streights to be an open Sea, he return'd with an opinion of having found a Paſſage that way to *China* and *Japan*.

Captain *Pett* and *Jackman*, 1580. This gave encouragement to the third Attempt, made by Capt. *Arthur Pett* and *Charles Jackman*, who being ſent to follow the Tract of *Burroughs*, paſs'd thro' the Streights of *Weygats* into the Sea to the Eaſt, but met with ſuch vaſt quantities of Ice and ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that with great hazard and difficulty, they were forced to return, but looſing one another in a Storm, *Pett* was never heard of ſince; ſince which time that Deſign being look'd upon as impracticable, was laid aſide in *England*, but not long after purſued by the *Dutch*.

1676. *Will. Barrens*, 1606. 1707. *William Barrens* ſaill'd out of *Holland* for the Streights of *Weygats*, where being entered, he met with the ſame Obſtacles, *viz.* the Ice, that others had done, but found the Water not brackiſh but freſh; an Experiment none of the reſt had made before him. He return'd, but being reſolved to venture a ſecond Attempt for a Paſſage to the North of *Nova Zembla*, he ſail'd to the Coaſt of *Nova Zembla*, at 73 Deg. Lat. where meeting with much Ice, he coaſted the Shoar to 76 Deg. Lat. where he was forced aſhoar by the Ice, and his Ship broken to pieces: They were forced to winter there, and after they had endured the greateſt extremity of Cold, they got in two Boats to *Cola* in *Lapland*, but before their arrival there, Mr. *Barrens* died.

Mr. *Hudſon*, 1610. After theſe, Mr. *Henry Hudſon* an *Engliſh-man*, * attempted the ſame Paſſage once more, but being diſcouraged by the Fate of *Barrens*, did not venture very far. The Deſign of this Paſſage lay for many Years after dormant, till within theſe two Years, by ſome novile Accidents, the Opinion of the N. E. Paſſage was revived, and ſomething relating thereunto printed in the Tranſactions of our Royal Society. I will now proceed to give you the Reaſons which indnced me to the Belief of a Probability of this Paſſage, and of the Undertaking of this Voyage.

* But of theſe and of others you have an Account before.

Reaſons for the Probability of this Paſſage. The 1ſt Reaſon was grounded on the Opinion of Capt. *Barrens*, which was, That there was a diſtance of 200 Leagues betwixt *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland*, and that the Ice on both ſides did not reach above 20 Leagues from the Shoar; that if he had ſteer'd N. E. from the North Cape, to the mid-way betwixt theſe two Shoars, he ſhould have found an open Sea, whereas his keeping too near to the Shoar of *Nova Zembla*, was the overthrow of his Deſign: He intended to have undertaken another Voyage upon this Suppoſition.

The ſecond Reaſon.

The 2d, was a Letter ſent from *Holland*, and publiſhed in the *Tranſactions* of the *Royal Society*, which aſſures us, that by a peculiar Survey of *Nova Zembla*, by the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*'s order, they had found it adjoining to the Continent of the *Great Tartars*, and that to the North of it there was an open Sea.

The third Reaſon.

The 3d, was a Diary printed in *Holland*, of a Voyage made from *Batavia* to *Japan*, in which they were caſt upon *Corea*, a *Demi* Iſle of *China*, and made Slaves by the Natives. The Author of this Journal, after 16 Years ſlavery, made his eſcape to *Japan*, where among other things he obſerved, that on the Coaſt of *Corea* did at ſundry times drive Whales with *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Harpon-Irons in them, which if to be credited, is a very ſtrong Argument for a Paſſage that way.

The fourth Reaſon.

My 4th Reaſon was founded upon what I heard Mr. *Joſeph Mexon* ſay, who being in *Holland* 20 Years ago, heard a *Dutch* Sea-man ſay, (which he believed to be truth) that he had been under the Pole, and found it as warm there as at *Amſteldam* in Summer.

The fifth Reaſon.

The 5th Reaſon was furniſhed me by Capt. *Goulden*, who having made 30 Voyages to *Greenland*, made the following Relation to his Majeſty, *viz.* That being 20 Years ago in company of two *Dutch* Ships, to the Eaſt of *Edge*'s Iſle, and there being but few Whales to be ſeen there, the two *Hollanders* left him in order to go more North among the Ice; they returned to their former Station in 14 days time, and told him, that they had been at the Lat. of 89 (within 1 Deg. of the Pole) where they met with no Ice, but an open Sea, and that the Sea run as hollow there as in the Bay of *Biſcay*: Mr. *Wood* being ſomewhat incredulous, they ſhewed him four Journals kept in the two Ships, which teſtified the ſame, and agreed within 4 Min. of one another.

The ſixth Reaſon.

The 6th Argument I had from the before-mentioned Capt. *Goulden*, who told me that all the drift Wood they found in *Greenland*, was eaten to the very Heart with the Sea-worm, which if granted, muſt come from a hot Country; for as we are convinced by experience that this Worm bites in no cold Country, it muſt needs come from *Jedzo*, *Japan*, or ſome Country thereabouts.

The ſeventh Reaſon.

The 7th and laſt Reaſon was another Relation printed in the Tranſactions of the *Royal Society*, of two Ships that had lately attempted this Paſſage, and ſailed 300 Leagues to the Eaſt of *Nova Zembla*; but the Proſecution of their Voyage was ſtopp'd by a Difference aroſen betwixt the Undertakers and the *Eaſt-India* Company, who being the moſt powerful, ſuppreſt it, as contrary to their Intereſt.

Theſe ſeven Arguments (if taken for matter of Fact) were ſufficient to induce me into an Opinion of a North Paſſage of *Nova Zembla* to *China* and *Japan*, beſides which, I had ſome collateral Reaſons founded in Nature, which confirm'd me in the ſame, provided there were no Land or Ice in the way to hinder it.

The firſt Argument for the N. E. Paſſage.

The firſt Argument was, that near the North Pole, it might be in Summer as warm as under the *Artick* or *Antartick* Circle, or at leaſt warmer than with us in Winter; for under the Pole, the Sun being in *June* 23 Deg. high, and that without any Depreſſion towards the *Herizon*, but always continuing at the ſame height, muſt illuminate that part of the *Hemiſphere*, with more Heat than with us in Winter, when the Sun is not above 15 Deg. at the higheſt on the Meridian, and but eight hours above the Horizon; or, that in all likelyhood you might meet with as much warmth, as in any place near either of the two Polar Circles; for the Sun having a declination there towards the *Horizon*, the *Atmoſphere* has as much Interval to cool, as it has time to heat, which under the Pole continues without intermiſſion. What confirm'd me in this Opinion was, That I had heard ſeveral *Greenland* Navigators affirm, that the nearer they went to the North on that Coaſt, they meet with more green Herbs and Graſs, than they do to the South, and alſo with more Deer.

The ſecond Argument.

The ſecond was, That as I fear'd moſt the foggy weather, I hoped it would not blow hard at the ſame time, it being a general Obſervation in all other Climates, that the Wind diſperſes the Fogs; ſo that either you might lie by, or elſe have the Opportunity of looking about you.

The third Argument.

The third was, The Solution of a Doubt I had been certainly convinced of before, *viz.* That the Pole of the World and of the Magnet are ſo far different, that you might ſafely paſs under the Pole of the World, if not prevented by Land or Ice; with this Proviſo however, that you muſt know where the Magnetick Pole is, to allow the Variation that will happen there, whereas according to the common received Opinion, that the Pole of the World and of the Magnet are the ſame, the Septentrional Declination of the Needle of the Compaſs would quite be loſt near the Pole.

Theſe being the Reaſons and Arguments that imprinted into my mind the Probability of this Paſſage. The following Deducements prevailed upon me to undertake this Voyage. (1) The Honour of my King, and the Intereſt of the Nation. (2) Want of Employment at home, the Averſion I had to an idle life, and the Approbation I met with from many Eminent Perſons in *London*. (3) The Deſire I had to be ſatisfied concerning the Nature of a certain Hypotheſis I had framed of the Motion of the two Magnetical Poles (for two ſuch there be) and by the Obſervations of moſt all that have writ upon that Subject, with my own Obſervation and Experiments in many places of the Terreſtrial Globe; I ſay, I having found out very near their Motion, and thereby the Inclination of the Magnetical Needle, under the Horizon, in all Latitude and Longitude, and Variation of the Compaſs in any part of this World, without the Aſſiſtance of any other Luminary, it prompted my Inclination to be fully ſatisfied in this matter, which as it could not be done without coming ſo near the Pole as was ſuppoſed, this was the moſt prevailing Argument to me to go on in this Deſign.

Thus being reſolved on this Voyage, I made a Polar Draught, wherein I traced all thoſe that had attempted the N. E. Paſſage; this I preſented to his Majeſty and Royal Highneſs, with the before-mentioned Reaſons, together with the Advantages which were likely to attend the Nation by the diſcovery of this Paſſage; as the vending of our Woollen Manufactory on the Coaſt of the *Grand Tartary*, which now they have from *Muſcovy*, with vaſt charge: The performing this Voyage to *Japan* in ſix Weeks, which now is not performed but in nine Months, with great hazard, by reaſon of the many Sands and Shoals betwixt *Bantam* and *Japan*, and the perpetual fear theſe Ships are in from the *Dutch*, who deſtroy us if they can; and that the Voyage being ſo ſhort, the King might ſend ſome Men of War to *Japan* to force them to trade, which cannot be done now for want of Proviſions, and for the Diſtempers that attend Ships with ſo many Men aboard in ſo long a Voyage, and hot a Climate. His Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, after mature deliberation with ſome Merchants and Sea-men uſed to ſail to the North, order'd the *Speedwel* to be mann'd and victualled, but as the many Accidents that attend a ſingle Ship in ſuch Voyages, makes the Enterprize very hazardous, it was thought fit by the eight following Honourable Perſons, to buy a Pink called the *Proſperous*, burthen 120 Tuns, and to fit the ſame for Sea with Men, Ammunition, Proviſions, and ſuch Commodities as were likely to turn to the beſt Account on the Coaſt of *Tartary* and *Japan*. The eight Perſons at whoſe Charge the Veſſel was ſet out, were, His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, the Honourable *John* Lord *Barklet*, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Sir *John Banks*, Mr. *Samuel Peeps*, Capt. *Herbert*, Mr. *Dupey*, and Mr. *Hoopgood*. The *Speedwel* being extraordinary well ſtrengthened and ſheathed, and both the Ships as well fitted for a diſcovery as ever any Ships were, with 16 Months Proviſion for each Ship, 68 Men and Boys in the *Speedwel*, and 18 Men in the *Proſperous*, we were now ready to go to Sea with the firſt opportunity.

Two Ships equipp'd for the diſcovery of the N. E. Paſſage.

A Journal in his Majeſties Ship the Speedwel, *Captain* John Wood *Commander, bound for the Diſcovery of a Paſſage to the* Eaſt-Indies, *by the* N. E. *about* Nova Zembla, *and* Tartary, *and ſo to* Japan, 1676.

They began the Voyage Sunday May 28.

WE ſet ſail from the *Buoy* of the *Noar*, with S. W. Wind, in company of the *Proſperous*, Captain *Fawes* Commander, bound upon the ſame Diſcovery with us. At eight at Night the *Naze* Land bore W. N. about ſix Leagues, we ſteer'd N. E. and N. N. E.

Monday May 29.

A briſk Gale at S. W. and W. S. W. with Rain; Courſe *per* Compaſs betwixt the N. E. and N. diſtance ſailed by the Log. 73 Miles, true Courſe producted ſince laſt Night eight a Clock, to this Day twelve, N. 28

1676. Deg. E. difference of 68 Miles, and departure E. from the *Naze* Land, 36 Miles Lat. by Judgment, as in the Margent.

Tueſday May 30. From Yeſterday at twelve till this day at twelve, the Wind variable from S. W. to S. E. cloudy weather, with a freſh Gale, Courſe *per* Compaſs N. N. W. and N. W. by N. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 95 Miles, true Courſe is N. 28 Deg. W. diſtance of Lat. 83 Miles, departure W. 45 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment, Merid. diſtance W. 9 Miles.

Wedneſ. May 31. From Yeſterday at twelve till to day at twelve, variable Winds, with calm rainy weather, Courſes *per* Traverſe, true Courſe protracted, with all Impediments allow'd, is N. 43 Deg. W. 60 Miles, difference of Lat. 42 Miles, departure W. 40 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 54 Deg. 13 Min. Lat. by a good Obſervation at Noon, 55 Deg. 30 Min. the Land betwixt *Newcaſtle* and *Berwick*, bore then W. 8 or 9 Leagues, Meridian diſtance Current from the bearing of the Land, and the Lat. is 88 Miles, 50 Fathom Water; we ſaw two Ships to the S without Colours.

Thurſday June 1. From Yeſterday at twelve till to day at twelve, a freſh Gale from W. by S. to the S. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs between N. and N. W. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 76 Miles, true Courſe protracted is N. 16 Deg. W. Lat. by a good Obſervation, 56 Deg. 41 Min. departure W. 21 Miles. At noon we came up with a *Scotch* Fiſherman, of whom having bought ſome Fiſh, we ſteer'd with a ſtiff Gale N. about 7 or 8 Leagues from the Land between *Montroſs* and *Edinborrough*; we continued the Courſe N. by E. till eight a clock.

Friday June 2. From *June* the firſt at twelve, till the ſecond at twelve, variable Winds, but fair weather, Courſe *per* Compaſs N. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 117 Miles, but by a good Obſervation 120 Miles, Lat. 58 Deg. 41 Min. Wind W.S.W. and S. W. At two a clock a ſtorm, Wind N.W. with Rain.

Saturday June 3. From Yeſterday at twelve till to day at twelve, true Courſe protracted Leeward way, and all Impediments allow'd, is N. ½ E. 24 Miles, Lat. by a good Obſervation, is 59 Deg. 23 Min. Meridian diſtance from the *Naze* Land 100 Miles; at Noon we ſaw the ſmall Iſland of *Forit* to the South of *Shetland*, bearing four Leagues W. N. W. little Wind in the Afternoon. *N. B.* We found the Ship more to the Weſt than we expected, occaſioned by a Variation of 6 or 7 Deg. E.

Sunday June 4. Little Wind in the Morning, and Calms till twelve, when it beginning to blow hard from W. N. W. we ply to Windward, and turning into *Brace*-Sound, anchored at nine Fathom, oppoſite to the Town of *Lerwick*, where you ſee the Ruins of a Fort, erected during the late War with *Holland*, but ſince demoliſhed. *Lerwick.*

Saturday June 10. Brace-ſound. We ſtaied here till this day at ſeven, when we weigh'd anchor, Wind at S. W. and with the aſſiſtance of a Pilot, ſail'd thro' the North end of *Brace*-Sound, three Fathom water at the ſhalloweſt place. The next day at four in the Morning, *Scau* bore W. by N. 6 Leagues, a freſh Gale at S. W. hazy weather. From four in the Morning till 11 at Midnight, Courſe N. N. E. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 38 Miles, true Courſe allow'd from the bearing of the Land, is N. E. 41 Miles, difference of Lat. 30 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 61 Deg. 26 Min. Meridian diſtance from *Shetland*, 30 Miles Eaſt. From Yeſterday at twelve at Noon to this day at twelve, a ſtrong Wind at S W. W. S. W. and W. and W. N. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs N. N. E. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 147 Miles, difference of Lat. 135 Miles, departure E. 56 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 63 Deg. 42 Min. Meridian diſtance Eaſt 86 Miles, cloudy Weather, little wind at Noon.

Tueſday June 13. From the 12th at Noon till to day at Noon, little but variable Wind, with Calms from N. W. to N. N. E. we ply to the Windward. True Courſe protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is N. N. E. 23 Miles, difference of Lat. 21 Miles, N. departure E. 8 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 64 Deg. 3 Min. Meridian diſtance 94 Miles, Lat. by a good Obſervation 64 Deg. 3 Min.

Wedneſ. June 14. From the 13th at Noon till to day at twelve, variable Winds, with Rain, Courſe *per* Traverſe, between the N. E. and the N. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 92 Miles; true Courſe protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is N. 18 Deg. difference of Lat 81 Miles, departure E. 30 Miles, Meridian diſtance 142 Miles.

Thurſday June 15. From the 14th at Noon till this day at twelve, variable winds and calms W. S. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs N. N. E. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 67 Miles, true Courſe protracted, with allowance, is N. 22 ½ Deg. E. difference of Lat. 62 Miles, departure E. 26 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 66 Deg. 26 Min. Meridian diſtance 150 Miles Eaſt.

1676. *Friday June 16.* From Yeſterday at twelve till this day at Noon, a freſh Gale at W. N. W. and W. S. W. with Rains; Courſe *per* Compaſs N. N. E. and N. E. by N. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 126 Miles, true Courſe protracted is N. 30 Deg. E. difference of Lat. 108 Miles, departure E. 63 Min. Lat. *per* Judgment 68 Deg. 14 Min. Meridian diſtance 223 Miles.

Saturday June 17. From Yeſterday at Noon till to day at twelve, a freſh Gale at W. N. W. and W. with Rain, Courſe *per* Compaſs N. E. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 127 Miles, difference of Lat. 90 Miles, departure E. 90 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 69 Deg. 48 Min. Meridian diſtance 303 Miles, but by a good Obſervation at Noon, Lat. 69 Deg. 53 Min. difference of Lat. between the dead Account and Obſervation is 9 Miles, imputed to a Weſt Variation, which is found by an *Azimuth* 7 Deg. Meridian diſtance corrected, is 300 Miles, the weather fair.

Sunday June 18. From Yeſterday at twelve, till to day at Noon, fair weather, wind W. N. W. and W. S. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs N. E. by E. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 83 Miles, true Courſe protracted, and Variation allow'd, is E. 33 Deg. N. difference of Lat. 47 Miles by Obſervation, departure 66 Miles, Lat. by a good Obſervation 70 Deg. 30 Min. Meridian diſtance 367 Miles E. we ſaw many Whales.

Munday June 19. From the 18th at Noon till this day at twelve, a freſh Gale at W. by S. rainy weather, at ſeven in the Forenoon we ſaw many Sea-fowls and Jubarteſſes, at ten we ſpied the Land, being ſome Iſlands 20 Leagues to the Weſt of the North Cape; true Courſe allow'd for Variation is N. N. E. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 135 Miles, difference of Lat. 50 Miles, departure E. 30 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 71 Deg. 20 Min. Meridian diſtance 497 Miles. At Noon the Iſle *Sanden* bore S. by E. 8 or 9 Leagues off this Iſle, is a high craggy Land, with ſome Snow upon it.

Tueſday June 20. From the 19th at Noon to this day at twelve, Courſe *per* Compaſs betwixt the E. N. E and N. E. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 128 Miles, true Courſe allow'd for the Variation, is North, 43 Deg. Eaſt, difference of Lat. 91 Miles, departure 88 Miles, E. Lat. *per* Judgment 72 Deg. 51 Min. Meridian diſtance 585 Miles. From Yeſterday Noon till twelve this day, the firſt twelve hours a freſh Gale at S. W. but the laſt twelve hours a ſtrong Wind with ſmall Rain; ſaw many Sea-fowls.

Wedneſ. June 21. From the 20th till this day at Noon, a ſtill Gale, with ſmall Rains, Courſe *per* Compaſs N. E. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 35 Miles, true Courſe allow'd by Variation, is N. 40 Deg. E. difference of Lat. 103 Miles, departure E. 86 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 34 Min. Meridian diſtance 671 Miles, cloudy weather; ſaw many Sea-fowls.

Thurſday June 22. From the 21ſt to this day at Noon, Courſe *per* Compaſs N. E. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 116 Miles, true Courſe alter'd by Variation and Leeward way, is N. 43 Deg. E. difference of Lat. 85 Miles, departure E. 79 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 75 Deg. 59 Min. Meridian diſtance 750 Miles, E. Wind, at N. W. weather variable, but very cold. At Noon we ſaw Ice a head about a League off, we ſail'd cloſe to it, and found it to lie E. S. E. and W. N. W. we bore away E. S. E. along the Ice, in the Afternoon very cold ſnowy weather.

Friday June 23. From the 22d till this day at twelve, ſteering along the Ice, we found it to have many Openings, which we ſail'd into, and found them to be Bays; our true Courſe ſail'd along the Ice, the Variation allow'd, was E. 14 Deg. S. 77 Min. Lat. *per* Judgment 75 Deg. 41 Min. difference of Lat. 19 Min. departure 74 Miles, Meridian diſtance 842 Miles, Wind N. N. W. At Noon we had 158 Fathom ſoft green Oar: The Current ſet S. S. E. we found it very ſmooth to the Leeward of the Ice, and ſome pieces of Ice driving a Mile from the Main of the Body of the Ice, repreſenting the Shapes of Trees, Beaſts, Fiſhes, and Fowls. The main Body of the Ice was low, but craggy, many pieces lying together and a top of each other: In ſome places we ſaw Hillocks of a blue Colour, but the reſt of the Ice was white like Snow; we ſaw alſo ſome drift-wood among the Ice: The Ice melted, affords good freſh Water.

Saturday June 24. From the 23d till this day at Noon, little Wind at N. by W. we ſteer'd cloſe along the Ice, ſailing into every Opening, but could find no Paſſage thro, neither could we ſee over the Ice from our Top-maſt-head: True Courſe protracted as we ſailed along the Ice, is E. 34 Deg. S. difference of Lat. 24 Min. S. departure E. 34 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment, 75 Deg. 18 Min. but by a good Obſervation at Noon, the Lat. 74 Deg. 50 Min. the difference between the Dead Lat. and the Obſerved Lat. is 28 Min. which difference is cauſed by the Current ſetting S. S. E. At Noon we had 128 Fathom

Water, the Current ſtill S. S. E. fair weather, with little Wind, ſmall Fogs, not laſting above half an hour at a time, Meridian diſtance 858 Miles.

Sunday June 25. From Yeſterday to this day at twelve, Calms and foggy weather, ſo we durſt not venture in the Ice; true Courſe protracted is E. 30 Deg. S. difference of Lat. 13 Miles, S. departure E. 19 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 37 Min. Meridian diſtance 877 Miles Eaſt, Wind variable from the N. W. to the W. S. W. At one in the Afternoon the Fog broke, and we had freezing weather.

Munday June 26. Since Yeſterday till this day at Noon, little Wind from N. W. to N. Courſe *per* Compaſs, between W. S. W. and N. E. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 67 Miles, difference of Lat. 7 Miles, N. departure E. 58 Miles, true Courſe protracted is E. 7 Deg. N. Lat. *per* Judgment is 74 Deg. 40 Min. Meridian diſtance 935 Miles. About Noon, ſtanding in cloſe with the Ice, we thought we ſaw ſome Sea-horſes or Morſes, our Boat's Crew diſcover'd two of them, and ſhot at them, but tho' they were much wounded, they got under the Ice. Theſe 24 Hours the Ice bore away E. 70 Fathom green Oar at Night. At nine a clock we ſaw Land, the North part of it bearing Eaſt, and the South part S. E. high Land, covered with Snow, 15 Leagues diſtant we had 125 Fathom.

Tueſday June 27. From the 26th to this day Noon, little wind from N. W. to N. by E. with Calms; we kept cloſe to the Ice, and found it join to the Land of *Nova Zembla*: True Courſe protracted is E. by N. 30 Miles, difference of Lat. 16 Miles, departure E. 29 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 46 Min. Meridian diſtance 964 Miles; at Noon 83 Fathom water ſix Leagues from the Shoar, the Ice five Leagues from the Shoar; we killed a young Sea-horſe or Morſe upon the Ice, and ſaw many more, but without the reach of our Fowling-pieces, for theſe Creatures lie always at the brink of the Ice, and take the Sea in an inſtant. We had 80 Fathom green Oar, the Water being ſmooth, we could diſcern the Ground very plain; Meridian diſtance from the Ship to the Land 15 Miles, which maketh Meridian diſtance from the ----- Land to this place 980 Miles.

Wedneſday June 28. Calm weather, wind N. to W. true Courſe protracted W. N. W. 10 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 46 Min. Meridian diſtance 970 Miles. In the Afternoon we came cloſe to the Ice, and found it adjoining to the Continent, ſtood off again at Night.

Thurſday June 29. Rainy weather, with little wind, we ſtood away from the Ice, true Courſe allow'd is S. 27 Deg. W. 20 Miles, difference of Lat. 16 Miles, departure eight Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 40 Min. Meridian diſtance 964 Miles. At Noon the wind W. and W. by S. foggy weather, we ſtood away S. from the Ice. At eleven at Night the *Proſperous Pink* fired a Gun, and bearing down upon us, cry'd out, Ice on the Weather Bow; we clap'd the Helm hard a weather, veered out the main Sheet, to ware the Ship, but before the Ship could ware, and bring to upon the other Tack, ſhe ſtruck on a Ledge of Rocks that lay under water.

The Speedwel ſtrikes upon the Rocks. From Noon till eleven at Night, foggy weather, wind N. W. to the W. by S. and S. by W. cloſe haul'd; the *Proſperous Pink*, as I told you, ſeeing the Sea break on the Weather-bow, cry'd out it was Ice, ſo we preſently bore up round to bring to upon the other Tack, but our Ship not wearing round, run and ſtuck faſt againſt a ledge of Rocks; but Captain *Flawes* Ship wearing rounder, got clear; we gave notice of our Diſtreſs by firing ſeveral Guns, and uſed all poſſible means to get off by throwing over-board our Proviſions, &c. for the Water did ebb, and the Ship ſued above three Foot, but the Flood brought a great Sea with it, ſo that the Ship making water more than we could pump, we cut our Maſts by the board, and ſent our Yacht aſhoar to look for a landing place; word being brought, after their return, that there was landing, we got ready our Bread and Carpenters Tools, to make uſe of to rebuild our Long-boat, in caſe Captain *Flawes* ſhould not come near us. At Noon we got all our Men aſhoar, except two who were drown'd in the Pinnace, the Sea breaking into her full as ſhe put off from the Ship ſide, with all the Bread, Powder and Proviſions, which was loſt; ſo having nothing left but the Long-boat, which could not carry above 30 Men out of 70. By this time the Ship being fill'd up to the upper Deck, we could ſave only two Bags of Bread with a few pieces of Pork and a little Cheeſe; this, with what other Neceſſaries we had ſaved, we carried upon a Hill, where the firſt thing we met with was a prodigious large white Bear, at which we ſhot, but ſhe got away: We made up a kind of a Tent with ſome Canvas we had ſaved, which we faſtned to our Oars and Spars, and made a kind of Fence or Trench round it; but being very wet and without firing, we ſuffered much by the Extremity of Cold.

Friday June 30. Foggy weather, with a great Sea, our Ship ſplit upon the Rocks, and much wreck coming aſhoar, we got Oars, Spars, and Deals ſufficient to make us Tents and for Fuel; our greateſt grief was, that the weather continuing foggy, we could not expect Captain *Flawes*; wind W. N. W.

Saturday July 1. The Ship ſplit againſt the Rock. Wind N. W. a freſh Gale, the Ship broke to pieces, much wreck, and Proviſions was caſt aſhoar which we ſaved, *viz.* two Caſks of Flower, ſome Brandy, a Butt of Beer, and a Caſk of Oil.

Sunday July 2. Weſt Wind, and foggy weather; we ſaved more Flower, Butter, and ſome Beef and Pork; our Gunner was ſeized upon by a great white Bear, but by the aſſiſtance of ſome of our Men, was ſaved, and the Bear kill'd; ſhe was very fat and good meat.

Saturday July 8. Wind W. N. W. but being a foggy day, we deſpair'd of ſeeing Captain *Flawes*; we then began to conſider of our miſerable ſtate, the Long-boat not being able to carry above 30 Men, with a Deck built on her, and her Waſt raiſed; we intended to lengthen her twelve Foot, in order to carry our whole Company, but what with the want of Materials and the little Confidence we had in our Carpenter, this was laid aſide, for fear ſhe ſhould not be lengthened: It was propoſed to travel by land towards *Weygats*, in hopes of meeting with ſome *Ruſſian*, but ſoon after, to our unſpeakable joy, we eſpied Captain *Flawes*; we made immediately a great Fire, which he perceiving, ſent in his Boat to help off our Men; we broke off the new work we had begun in our Long-boat, and about Noon got all aboard Captain *Flawes*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Journal aboard the Proſperous, *Captain* William Flawes *Commander, from* Nova Zembla *to* England, 1676.

1676. Sunday July 9. FRom yeſterday twelve at Night till this day at Noon, variable wind and rainy weather; we ſtood off to the Weſt; true Courſe protracted with allowance for Variation, is Weſt 8 Deg. S. difference of Lat. 8 Miles, departure 67 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 42 Min. Meridian diſtance from Point *Statero*, the Weſtermoſt Land of *Nova Zembla*, and the laſt we ſaw, 67 Miles; cold weather

Munday July 10. From the ninth at Noon till this day at twelve, variable Winds; from the S. W. by W. to the W. and ſo to the N. and N. N. E. with ſmall rain and cold weather; true Courſe protracted is Weſt 35 Miles, variation allowed 12 Deg. W. Meridian diſtance 102 Miles, a high Sea from the Weſt.

Tueſday July 11. Variable Winds from N. N. E. to N. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs W. by S. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 102 Miles, true Courſe allowed for Variation, is W. 68 ; S. diſtance of Lat. 34 Miles, departure 96 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 6 Min. Meridian diſtance 198 Miles, cloudy and cold weather.

Wedneſday July 12. From yeſterday at twelve till this day at Noon, little but variable Winds with Fogs and ſmall Rains, diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 27 Miles, between the W. by N. and W. by S. true Courſe allow'd with all Impediments, is Weſt: At Noon Lat. by Obſervation 73 Deg. 34 Min. which is 34 Miles more N. than expected; the Variation, as I ſuppoſe, did come from the Lat. we departed from on *Nova Zembla*; Meridian diſtance corrected, is 222 Miles Weſt, calm and fair weather about Noon.

Thurſday July 13. From yeſterday till this day at Noon, variable Wind, from W. to S. S. W. we ply to the Weſt cloſe haul'd; Courſe *per* Compaſs between S. S. W. and W. N. W. true Courſe protracted all Impediments allow'd, is W. by N. ½ N. 69 Miles, difference of Lat. 17 Miles, departure 59 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 51 Min. Meridian diſtance 279 Miles, cold and cloudy weather.

Friday July 14. From yeſterday Noon till twelve to day, variable Winds from S. S. W. to W. N. W. we ply to the Weſt, ſometimes on one Tack and ſometimes on the other; true Courſe protracted all Impediments allow'd, is W. S. W. ½ S. difference of Lat. 9 Miles South, departure Weſt 20 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 35 Min. Meridian diſtance 299 Miles.

Saturday July 15. Strong Winds with guſts from the N. W. to the W. we ply to the Weſtward, ſometimes to the South; diſtance ſail'd *per* Log 70 Miles; true Courſe protracted is S. W. 33 Deg. 45 Min. difference of Lat. 52 Miles, departure 34 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 72 Deg. 43 Min. Meridian diſtance 333 Miles.

Sunday July 16. From the 15th at Noon till this day at twelve, wind at W. S. W. and W. by S. true Courſe protracted Leeward way and variation allow'd, is N. by W. ¼ W. 31 Miles, difference of Lat. 30 Miles, departure W. 7 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 13 Min. Meridian diſtance 340 Miles, rainy weather.

Munday July 17. Little wind from W. by N. to the W. with Rains and Fogs, we ply to the Weſt cloſe upon a wind, true Courſe protracted all Impediments allow'd, is W. by S. ¾ W. diſtance of Lat. 3 Miles, departure 23 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 10 Min. Meridian diſtance 360 Miles, at eleven in the Forenoon foggy weather, wind at S. S. E.

Tueſday July 18. From yeſterday at 12 till to day at Noon, the winds from the S. to W. S. W. we ply to the Weſt, cloſe haul'd between W. and N. W. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 87 Miles; true Courſe protracted is W. by N. ¼ N. 8 Miles, diſtance of Lat. 18 Miles, departure 77 Miles. Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 28 Min. Meridian diſtance 437 Miles, foggy weather.

Wedneſ. July 19. Thick Fogs, wind S. W. and S. S. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs W. N. W. and W. cloſe haul'd; diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 74 Miles, true Courſe, Variation and Leeward way allow'd, is W. N. W. ½ N. 70 Miles; difference of Lat. 32 Miles, departure 60 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. Meridian diſtance 497 Miles, much Wind at Night.

Thurſday July 20. Much Wind and Fogs from W. S. W. and S. W. we ply cloſe upon a wind N. W. by W. and W. N. W. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 65 Miles; true Courſe, Variation and Leeway allow'd, is N. N. W. ¾ W. diſtance of Lat. 55 miles, departure 33 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 55 Min. Meridian diſtance 530 Miles.

Friday July 21. From the 20th at Noon till this day at twelve, wind S. W. to the W. Courſe *per* Compaſs S. by W. upon one Tack, and W. N. W. on the other, cloſe haul'd; diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 61 miles, true Courſe protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is S. by W. ¼ W. 48 Miles, diſtance of Lat. 45 miles, departure 16 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 12 Min. cold and foggy weather, clears up about Noon.

Saturday July 22. From yeſterday till this day morning at four, wind at S. W. by W. and W. with Fogs, Courſe W. by N. and N. N. W. 46 miles, we ſaw many Willocks and other Sea-fowls, which made me judge we were near the *Cherry-Iſland*, we found 60 Fathom rough Sand, we tack'd and ſtood off S. S. E. and S. E. by E. nine miles, till Noon, at which time we found 78 Fathom; Lat. by Judgment at four in the Morning 74 Deg. 26 Min. Meridian diſtance 589 miles, when according to my reckoning I was 13 Leagues Weſt from *Cherry-Iſland*, according to the Meridian diſtance I made from the Cape to *Nova Zembla*, and from thence back here; Lat. at Noon *per* Judgment, 74 Deg. 20 Min. Meridian diſtance 582 miles.

Sunday July 23. Foggy weather and variable winds from S. S. E. to W. N. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs between S. W. and W. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 91 miles, true Courſe protracted is S. W. by S. 87 Miles, difference of Lat. 76 miles, departure 43 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 8 Min. Meridian diſtance 625; no ground at Noon at 160 Fathoms.

Munday July 24. Little winds but variable, true Courſe allow'd is S. S. W. ¼ W. 22 miles, diſtance of Lat. 18 miles, departure 11 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 72 Deg. 50 Min. Meridian diſtance 636 miles.

Tueſday July 25. From the 24th at Noon till this day at twelve, variable and briſk winds from the N. by W. to the E. with Fogs, Courſe between W. S. W. and W. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 88 miles, true Courſe allow'd for 9 Deg. Variation, is S. W. ½ W. diſtance of Lat. 54 Miles, departure 69 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 71 Deg. 56 Min. Meridian diſtance 705 miles.

Wedneſ. July 26. Foggy weather, with variable winds from E. by N. to S. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 73 miles, Courſe *per* Compaſs between S. W. by W. and W. N. W. true Courſe protracted is W. ½ S. diſtance of Lat. 7 Miles, departure 67 miles.

Thurſday July 27. The wind from S. to S. W. with Fogs, diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 687 Miles, true Courſe allow'd W. ½ S. difference of Lat. 7 Miles, departure 62 Miles Weſt.

Friday July 28. From the 27th at Noon till this day at twelve, wind from S. S. W. to S. E. Courſe *per* Compaſs between W. by N. and S. by W. cloſe upon a wind; diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 85 Miles, true Courſe protracted is S. W. by W. ¼ 80 Miles, diſtance of Lat. 46 Miles, S. departure 64 Miles W. thick Fogs and ſmall Rains.

Saturday July 29. From Yeſterday at Noon till this day at twelve, ſtrong S. and S. W. winds, true Courſe allow'd is W. 15 Miles.

Sunday July 30. From the 29th Noon till this day at twelve, variable winds from S. E. to S. and ſo to N. W. at eight in the Morning much wind at N. W. with ſudden Guſts; true Courſe protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is S. S. W. 66 Miles, diſtence of Lat. 60 Miles, departure 25 Miles.

Munday July 31. Much wind at N. W. with rain, Courſe *per* Compaſs S. W. by S. and S. W. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 104 Miles, true Courſe allow'd for Leeward way and Variation, S. by W. ½ W. difference of Lat. 103 Miles, departure 11 Miles, Lat. *per* dead Account 68 Deg. 13 Min. but by Obſervation 68 Deg. 00 Min. departure corrected accordingly 15 miles, Meridian diſtance 953 Miles.

Tueſday Auguſt 1. The wind variable from N.W. to S.W. by W. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 80 Miles, we ply to the windward; true courſe protracted, Variation and Leeward way allow'd, diſtance VV. S. VV. difference of Lat. 72 Miles, departure 51 Miles, rainy and foggy weather.

Wedneſ. Aug. 2. From the firſt Noon till this day at twelve, wind S. by VV. and S. VV. with thick Fogs, Courſe *per* Compaſs between VV. by S. and VV. N. W. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 51 Miles, true Courſe allow'd VV. by N. difference of Lat. 12 Miles, departure 49 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 67 Deg. 50 Min. but by a good Obſervation Lat. 67, 55 Min. at Noon.

Thurſday Aug. 3. VVind VV. and S. S. VV. with Fogs and Rains, Courſe *per* Traverſe; we ply to windward; true Courſe protracted is S. S. VV. diſtance of Lat. 21 miles, departure 10 miles, much wind at S. at Night.

Friday Aug. 4. From eight at Night till to day at Noon, a ſtorm from the S. and S. S. VV. true Courſe, drift and all Impediments allow'd, is N. VV. by N. ½ VV. difference of Lat. 18 miles, departure 16 miles, little wind at Noon.

Saturday Aug. 5. VVind from VV. by S. to N. VV. with a cold ſtorm; true Courſe allow'd is S. by E. difference of Lat. 75 miles, departure 15 miles; little wind in the Afternoon.

Sunday Aug. 6. VVind from VV. N. VV. to VV. S. VV. true Courſe allow'd S. ¼ E. diſtance of Lat. 67 miles, departure 8 Miles, wind at S. and S. VV.

Munday Aug. 7. Sometimes ſtormy and ſometimes calms; true Courſe allowed *per* Judgment VV. N. VV. ½ N. 53 miles, difference of Lat. 22 miles,, departure W. 47 miles; the wind turn'd W. N. W. at noon, and at eight a Storm at N. W.

Tueſday Aug. 8. From Yeſterday eight at Night till to day at Noon, a ſtorm from N. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs S. S. W. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 116 Miles, true Courſe allow'd, is S. diſtance of Lat. 107 miles, departure W. 5 miles.

Wedneſ. Aug. 9. The Iſles of *Fero.* At three in the Morning we ſaw many Willocks and other Sea-fowls, and at five the Land E. S. E. of us, high Lands, being the Iſles of *Fero*; Lat. at Noon by a good Obſervation 61 Deg. 45 Min. the weſtermoſt of theſe Iſles bore then Eaſt eight Leagues from us; diſtance ſail'd from the 8th at Noon till this day at twelve, 120 miles, true Courſe allow'd S. by W. ¾ W. diſtance of Lat. 116 Miles, departure 26 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 62 Deg. 4 Min. diſtance between the dead Lat. and the obſerved Lat. 20 Miles, ſo that the Ship is 20 Miles more South, and conſequently more Weſt, Meridian diſtance 1129 Miles, by correction 1136; we gave chaſe to a ſmall Veſſel, but ſhe got away.

Thurſday Aug. 10. A briſk Gale at N. W. Courſe between the S. and E. S. E. to get clear of the Iſlands, diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 102 Miles, true Courſe protracted, is S. E. by E. ½ S. diſtance of Lat. 58 miles,, departure 76 Miles, we ſpoke with the before-mention'd Ship, which proved a

Lymane.

Friday Aug. 11 *Lynmano.* Wind at N. N. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs S. E by E. diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 83 Miles. At Noon the Iſle of *Foule* bore N. E. by E. three Leagues off; the wind turn'd South.

Saturday Aug. 12. The Orkney Iſles. Variable wind with great guſts. At Noon the *Orkney* Iſlands bore Weſt four Leagues: thoſe of the *Orkney* Iſles we ſaw, are low, but the *Fair-Iſle* we diſcover'd at the ſame time, was high Land, ſix Leagues off. The Tide of Flood ſets very ſtrong betwixt the *Orkney* and *Fair-Iſles.* *Catneſs.* At eight at Night *Catneſs* bore about eight Leagues off W. by S. we turned away S. E. the wind at W. S. W. it blew a ſtorm.

Sunday Aug. 13. From laſt Night at eight, till this day four in the Afternoon, it blew very hard; wind from W. by S. to W. N. W. We made her good by Judgment 58 Deg. 16 Min. Departure from *Catneſs* 47 miles E. we ſaw many Pitterals about the Ship; leſs wind at Night.

Munday Aug. 14. From Yeſterday Noon to this day at twelve, a freſh Gale, Courſe *per* Compaſs S. Lat. by a good Obſervation 56 Deg. 38 Min.

Tueſday Aug. 15. Little wind at W. N. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs S. Diſtance ſail'd by the Log. 53 miles; fair weather, at Noon wind at S. we ſtood in for the Land, and ſpake with two Fiſhing-boats under *Engliſh* Colours, but were *Dutch*; at ſix at Night we got in with the Land, two Leagues North of *Tinmouth* Caſtle, we tack'd and ſtood off, the wind South. *Tinmouth Caſtle.* *Wedneſ. Aug. 16.* The wind continued S. to the S. S. E. At Noon *Tinmouth* Caſtle S. W. two Leagues off, we ply to the South.

Thurſday Aug. 17. Wind at W. S. W. pretty high at Noon, we ſtand along the Shoar to the S. at two a clock *Flamborough-head*, Weſt about two Miles. *Friday Aug. 18.* Wind at W. S. W. at Noon, we came to an Anchor a League to the North of *Cromer*, the Tide being ſpent. *Saturday Aug. 19. Yarmouth.* At ſix the next Morning we weighed with the Tide, and turning up *Yarmouth*-Roads, came to an anchor juſt againſt the Town; at eight at Night we turn'd up above the Peer, and anchor'd again; the Tide being ſpent, wind S. W.

Sunday Aug. 20. Southwole Bay. At eight next Morning weighed with the Flood, and turned up windward; we anchored at four in the Afternoon with ebb Tide in *Southwole* Bay, at eight Fathom water, the Church bearing N. N. W. a freſh Gale from S. S. W. to S. S. E. At eight at Night we left the Bay with the Flood, and turned up *Albrough* Road, where we came to an anchor. *Munday Aug. 21. Albrough Road.* At nine in the Morning we weighed with the Tide of Flood, with a freſh Gale at W. S. W. and turn'd into the *Sleeway*, where we anchored at five in the Evening at nine Fathom water, the *Naze* Land bearing W. by N. *Tueſday Aug. 22.* At four a clock we turn'd windward with the Flood, wind at W. S. W. At five anchor'd upon the Tide of Ebb, two Miles below the middle ground; at Noon we weighed with the Flood, and turn'd to windward, wind at W. by S. at ſix we anchored below the Shoar. *Wedneſ. Aug. 23. Return to the Buoy of the Noar.* At four in the Morning we weigh'd anchor, and turn'd up a Mile above the *Buoy* of the *Noar*, wind at W. N. W. we anchored upon the Ebb, about eight a clock, and weighing anchor again at one, wind at W. N. W. turned up the River.

After the Journal, I will give you my Thoughts of the ſaid Voyage, and a true Relation of our Miſcarriage, with ſome Obſervations I made during the Voyage.

My firſt Error was, to follow the Opinion of *William Barrans, viz.* to ſteer from the North Cape directly N. E. and ſo to fall in the middle-way betwixt *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland*: Accordingly having made the Land to the Weſt of the North Cape, I ſteer'd the 19th of *June* N. E. by the Compaſs, which was not ſo much by the true Courſe, becauſe of the Weſt Variation. The 22d of *June* we diſcover'd the main Body of Ice, at the Lat. of 76 Deg. 60 Leagues Eaſt of *Greenland*. At firſt, I ſuppoſed it to have been the Ice that is adjoining to *Greenland*, and conſequently, that, if I did ſteer more to the Eaſt, I ſhould meet with an open Sea; ſo I went along cloſe by the Ice E. S. E. and W. N. W. Every League, leſs or more, we met with a Point of Ice, but when we came round, we could ſee no Ice to the North; ſo ſtanding in N. E. an hour at a time, we ſtill ſaw more Ice a head; ſo we were forced to continue coaſting the Ice, ſometimes in hopes of an open Sea, and ſometimes quite diſheartened with ſeeing more Ice, till we were paſt all hopes of having ſight of *Nova Zembla*, and the Ice adjoining to it. This convinced me of the Error of Mr. *William Barrans*, and of the Falſity of the *Dutch* Relations, as well as of thoſe of our own Country-men: for it is now my Opinion, that if there is no Land to the North of 80 Deg. of Lat. the Sea is all frozen and always will be ſo: for I could not get beyond the 76 Deg. and yet found it frozen without intermiſſion; and, it is very probable, that the ſame Ice we ſaw on the main Body of it, and had been conveyed ten Deg. to the South, would have required ſome Ages to thaw it; and the looſe Ice we ſaw about the Edges of the main Bulk, was ſcarce a Foot thick above the Surface of the water, whereas the reſt of the Cake was 18 Foot under water. This made me conjecture, that all theſe vaſt Mountains of Ice, muſt be of neceſſity reaching from the Shoar into the Sea, which I was confirm'd in by the ſhallowneſs along the Ice in the mid-way between the two Lands, being no more than 70 Fathom; a ſign that there is Land to the North, and that *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland* are the ſame Continent; for, if there were a Paſſage, there would alſo be a Current, of which I could perceive hardly any, and what little there was run E. S. E. along the Ice, being only a ſmall Tide that riſeth about eight Foot.

Nova Zembla and Greenland the ſame Continent.

The 29th of *June* was the fatal day to our Ship, which proving exceeding foggy, the wind ſtrong at Weſt, and we believing the Weſtermoſt Land of *Nova Zembla* bore E. S. E. of us, Captain *Flawes* fired a Gun, and call'd there was Ice a head: I no ſooner looked, but perceiv'd it to be a Rock: I did all I could to get clear, but in vain, for ſhe ſtruck againſt the Rock; but Captain *Flawes* having a rounder Ship, eſcaped, by God's ſingular Providence, and ſtood off to Sea: we uſed all poſſible means to ſave her, but as it blew very hard, and our Anchors could do us no ſervice, we were reduced to the utmoſt deſpair. About five hours, to our great amazement, we ſaw Land cloſe under our ſtern; (the Fogs being then diſperſed) ſo we got out our Boats, and the Pinnace was ſent aſhoar to ſee whether there were any laading; they returned with this doleful news, That the roughneſs of the Sea, and the ſnowy Cliffs aſhoar, made it impoſſible for us to land: we had then recourſe to Prayers, to recommend our Souls to God Almighty, as ſeeing no hopes of relief. After Prayers the weather proved ſomewhat clearer, when looking over the Stern, I diſcover'd a ſmall Beach, where I thought we might poſſibly land: I ſent the Pinnace thither, but they durſt not land; but the Boat with about twenty Men, got ſafe aſhoar, and then were follow'd by the Pinnace: ſome of them returned with both the Boats, and I order'd them to put into the Pinnace two Barrels of Powder, ſome ſmall Arms, Mony, Proviſions and my Papers; which was no ſooner done, but ſhe was over-ſet by a high Sea, but the Men were all ſaved by the Long-boat, except one who was drown'd: They would needs compel me and my Secretary to quit the Ship, which we did at laſt, and afterwards ſent the Boat back to fetch the reſt, who were all brought aſhoar except one, who having not recovered himſelf ſince the over-ſetting of the Pinnace, was forced to be left behind. We made Tents of ſome Canvas and our Oars, and raiſed the Long-boat two Foot, and made a Deck to keep out the Sea, intending with her to ſail or row to *Ruſſia*; but as ſhe could not carry above 30 Men, this occaſioned no ſmall Diſcontent among us, every one challenging the ſame right with the others: All I could do in this Exigency, was, to let the Brandy-bottle go round, which kept them always fox'd, till the eighth of *July* (the ninth day after we had been aſhoar) Captain *Flawes* came ſo ſeaſonably to our relief.

A Deſcription of Nova Zembla.

Nova Zembla, i. e. *New Land* in the *Ruſſian* Language, is unknown hitherto whether it be an Iſle, or adjoining to the Continent of *Great Tartary*: It is moſt always covered with Snow; the Ground Boggy, upon whoſe Superficies grows a kind of Moſs, which beareth a ſmall blew Flower. About two Foot under the Superficies of the Ground, is an entire firm body of Ice: In other Climates the Snow melts ſooneſt near the Sea-ſide; but here the ſnowy Cliffs are continually ſeen near the Shoar, in ſome places as high as the *Fore-lands* in *Kent*. At ſome diſtance from the Sea ſide, we found the tops of ſome Mountains without Snow: we found the Track of Bears, large Deer, and Foxes: we ſaw a little Creature not unlike a Coney, but no bigger than a Rat, and ſome ſmall Birds like Larks. Abundance of ſmall Rivulets run from the Hills into the Sea, near which you ſee abundance of black Marble with white Veins; but upon the Hills nothing but Slate-ſtone. Unto the Point where we loſt our Ship, I gave the name of *Speedill*; unto the High Hills that of *King Charles's Snow-Hills*; and to the next Point to the South, being the Weſt Point of *Nova Zembla*, the name of *James's Foreland*: the North Point I call'd *York Point.* Point *Speedill* lies at 74 Deg. 30 Min. North Lat. and in Longitude Eaſt from *London*, 63 Deg. 00 Min. The Variation of the Compaſs is 13 Deg. Weſt; it is full Sea at S. W. Moon. The Tide riſes directly eight Foot, and ſets directly upon the Shoar, a certain ſign that there is no Paſſage to the North. The Sea Water near the Ice and Shoar, is much ſalter than any I ever taſted before, and much heavier, but ſo clear and tranſparent, that at 80 Fathom (or 480 Foot) Water, I could plainly ſee the Shells at the bottom. Had I ſucceeded in this Voyage, I would have given you a more exact Account of every thing, which I am now forced to ſuperſede, by reaſon of the loſs of my Papers in the Pinnace: But my Experiments of the Magnet, I intend to publiſh in a peculiar Treatiſe.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Brief Diſcourſe of a Paſſage by the North-Pole to Japan, China, &c. pleaded by three Experiments, And Anſwers to all Objections that can be urged againſt a Paſſage that way; By Joſeph Moxon, Fellow of the Royal Society.

This was one of the Tracts induced Captain *Wood* to undertake his Voyage.

AMong the many Eſſays that have been made to find a neer Paſſage to *Japan*, *China*, &c. the moſt probable and likely hath as yet (in my Opinion) been over-ſeen, or at leaſt not attempted; and therefore I ſhall hereby communicate my Conceptions to publick Approbation or Cenſure. It is, that a Paſſage may very probably be about the *North-Pole*; and the Reaſon inducing me to conceive ſo, is, That we have no Certainty from all the Diſcoveries that have been made of any Land lying within eight Degrees about the Pole; but on the contrary, that I have credibly been informed by a Steer-man of a *Dutch Greenland* Ship, that there is a free and open Sea under the very Pole, and ſomewhat beyond it: and I for my own part give credit to his Relation, and do conceive that any ſober ingenious Man would do the like, did he know in what an honeſt manner, and by what an un-intereſſed Accident I happened to hear it; for thus it was: Being about 22 Years ago in *Amſterdam*, I went into a Drinking-houſe to drink a Cup of Beer for my Thirſt, and ſitting by the publick Fire, among ſeveral People, there happened a Sea-man to come in, who ſeeing a Friend of his there, who he knew went in the *Greenland* Voyage, wondred to ſee him, becauſe it was not yet time for the *Greenland* Fleet to come home, and aſk'd him what Accident brought him home ſo ſoon; his Friend (who was the Steer-man aforeſaid, in a *Greenland* Ship that Summer) told him, that their Ship went not out to fiſh that Summer, but only to take in the Lading of the whole Fleet, to bring it to an early Market, &c. But, ſaid he, before the Fleet had caught Fiſh enough to lade us, we, by order of the *Greenland*-Company, ſailed unto the *North-Pole*, and came back again. Whereupon (his Relation being *Novel* to me) I entred into diſcourſe with him, and ſeem'd to queſtion the Truth of what he ſaid: but he did enſure me it was true, and that the Ship was then in *Amſterdam*, and many of the Sea-men belonging to her to juſtify the truth of it; and told me moreover, that they had ſailed two Degrees beyond the Pole. I aſk'd him, if they found no Land or Iſlands about the Pole? He told me No, there was a free and open Sea: I aſk'd him if they did not meet with a great deal of Ice? He told me No, they ſaw no Ice: I aſk'd him what Weather they had there? He told me fine warm Weather, ſuch as was at *Amſterdam* in the Summer time, and as hot. I ſhould have aſk'd him more Queſtions, but that he was ingaged in diſcourſe with his Friend, and I could not in modeſty interrupt them longer. But I believe the Steer-man ſpoke matter of Fact and Truth, for he ſeem'd a plain honeſt and unaffectatious Perſon, and one who could have no deſign upon me.

But though I believe this ſtory, yet methinks I hear many object againſt it, and are apt to urge three ſeeming Reaſons to prove it falſe, or at leaſt ſome Particulars of his Relation. And firſt, That it cannot be warm under the Pole, becauſe that about *Greenland*, and many other parts leſs Northerly, the Sea is ſo full of great Bodies of Ice, that Ships can hardly ſail for it. Secondly, Or if warm, yet not ſo warm as at *Amſterdam* in the Summer time, becauſe the farther Northerly, the colder Weather. Thirdly, Or if they were under the *Pole*, that they could not tell how to come back, but that they might as well go farther from, as return nearer to home; becauſe the *Needle* pointing always *North*, they muſt needs looſe themſelves in the *North-Pole*, where it muſt indifferently reſpect all Points of the Horizon alike.

One Anſwer may ſerve to the firſt and ſecond Objection; That it cannot be warm under the *North-Pole*, &c, if we conſult the Experience of Travellers and Navigators; we are told, that between the *Tropicks*, nay, under the *Equinoctial*, is generally as moderate weather as here in *England* in Summer-time. Why may it not then be as warm under the Pole, as here or at *Amſterdam* in the Summer time? The ſmall height the Sun hath there, can be no Exception; for then we having the Sun in its Summer Solſtice in leſſer Altitude than between the Tropicks, it muſt needs be much colder here, which is contradicted. But one Reaſon why it is as warm here as between the Tropicks, is, becauſe between the Tropicks, the Sun remains ſcarce above 12 hours of 24 above the Horizon to warm it, when as here it remains almoſt 17 hours of 24 above the Horizon, and therefore leaves a greater impreſſion of heat upon it; and the farther Northward we go, the longer it remains above the Horizon, and leſs under the Horizon every 24 hours, till we come within the Arctick Circle, where the Sun remains for half a year together, *viz.* all the Summer above the Horizon, and never ſets: And therefore tho' his Beams are not ſo perpendicular, yet they muſt needs cauſe a great degree of heat upon the Horizon.

And if it be argued that it is ſo cold about *Greenland*, &c. and the Seas ſo full of Ice, that Ships can hardly ſail for it; yet cannot that Argument prove that it is ſo about the *Pole*: becauſe the Ice is made about ſhoars of Land, but never in open Sea, and comes there only by ſtrength of Currents, or high Winds, which do indeed carry it ſome ſmall diſtance from the ſhoar. But as this Relator ſaid, there is under the *Pole* a free and open Sea, &c. and conſequently void of Ice, in Summer time at leaſt. Beſides, Experience tells us, that all Land-briezes are colder than thoſe that come from Sea, and therefore it may be cold about *Greenland*, becauſe of the Land, and yet warm under the *Pole*, where the Sea is open, &c.

The third Objection is, that if they were under the *Pole*, they could not tell how to come back, becauſe of the indifferency the *Needle* ſhould bear to every point of the *Horizon*.

I examined not my Relator upon this Argument, tho' when I was parted from him, I was ſorry I did not. But it is eaſy to apprehend how to guide a Ship, either forward or backward by an Obſervation of the Sun, a little before you enter the *Pole*; for by finding in or near what Meridian it is, or upon what part of the Ship it bears, whether on Head or Stern, or Star-board or Larboard, you may meaſure Time near enough with a Glaſs, to know ſeveral days after, in or near what Meridian the Sun is at any known or eſtimate time, and conſequently know how to proceed forewards, or come back with your Ship: or if the Moon have *North* Latitude, you may do the ſame by the Moon. But if the *Pole* were Traded, in ſhort time it might be found by Variation of the *Needle*, for there is doubtleſs Variation in it, and in all the Meridians about it, ſeveral Variations.

Thus far it appears there is a free and open Sea in Summer-time (at leaſt) about the *North-Pole*. But I ſhall add another Relation of *James Ben*, whoſe Father lived about five Years ago in Crown-Court in *Ruſſel-ſtreet* in *Covent-Garden*, and himſelf now lives in *Wapping*. This Mr. *Ben* ſailed to *Japan* with the *Dutch*, as a Carpenter of the Ship, and he told me that that Year, *viz.* 1668. he was newly come home from *Japan*: I aſk'd him how long they were under-way home from thence? He told me, he could not well tell, becauſe when they ſet out from *Japan*, the Captain commanded the Steerman

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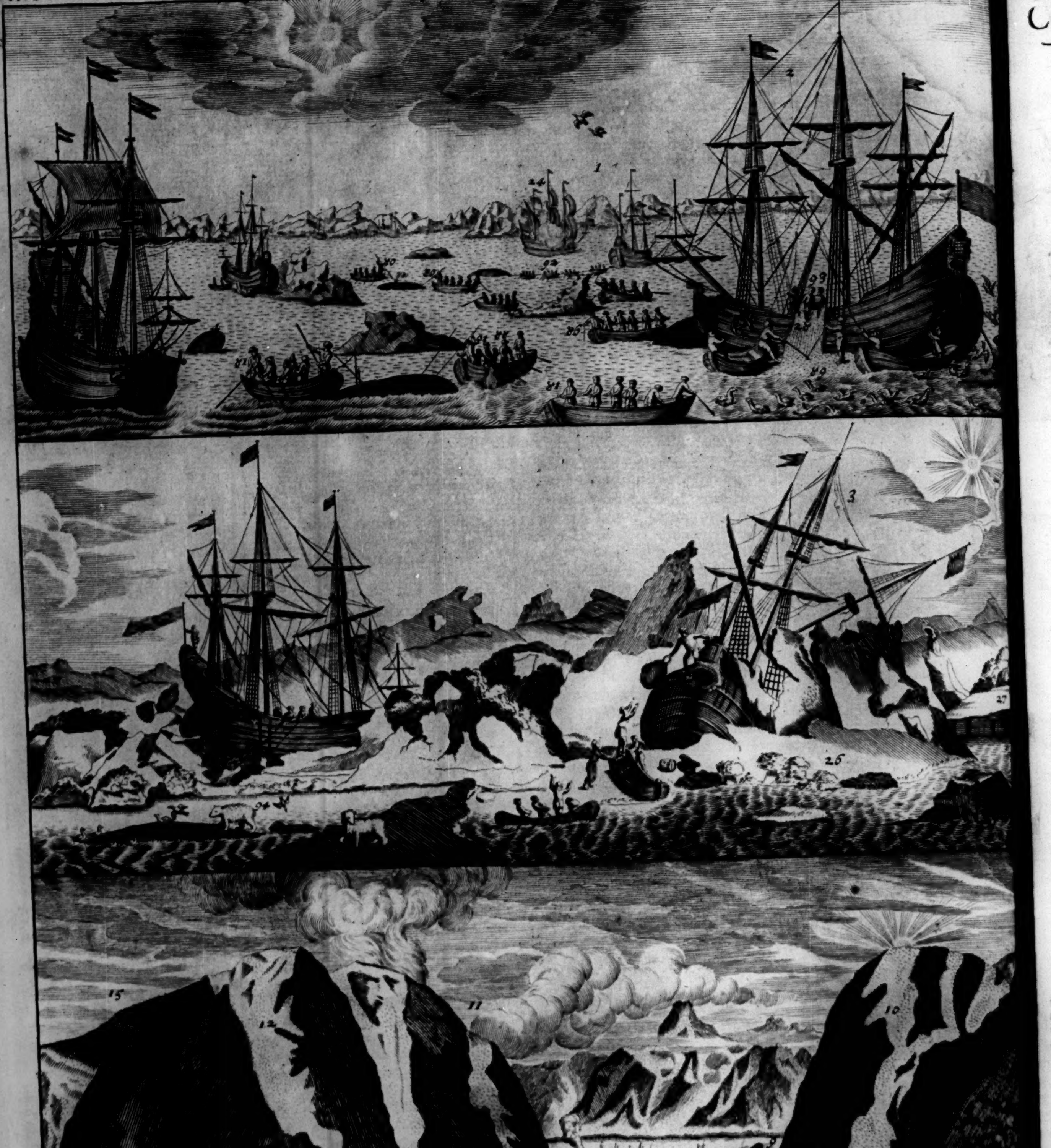
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man to ſail due North, and they did ſail from thence about 400 *Dutch* Miles, which is almoſt 27 Degrees due North. I aſk'd him whether they met with no Land or Iſlands, as I had done before the *Dutch Greenland* Steer-man: He told me No, they ſaw no Land, but that there was a free and open Sea ſo far as they ſailed, nor any ſign of Land appeared. I aſk'd him why they ſailed ſo far Northward? He told me he could not tell, only the Captain commanded it, *&c.* But I ſuppoſe the *Eaſt-India* Company commanded the Captain, either to make a Diſcovery of Land to encreaſe Trade, or to ſatisfy themſelves with the Knowledge of an open Sea, that when they ſaw Reaſon, they might expedite their Voyages between *Holland* and thoſe Parts that way. I was thus inquiſitive with him, becauſe ever ſince I heard the former Relation of the *Greenland* Steer-man, I harped at a Paſſage through or about the *North Pole* to *Japan*, *China*, &c. and by theſe two diſcoveries, it appears very probable that there is ſo, and that it is paſſable in Summer-time.

I come to a third Relation, not only of the Probability, but of the Certainty of a Paſſage found by the *Ruſſians* this laſt Year, as it came to the Hands of the Secretary of the *Royal Society* from *Amſterdam*, by a Correſpondent of his; which in *Tranſact.* Numb. 101. runs in theſe words.

A Letter, and Map, not long ſince ſent to the Publiſher, by an Experienced Perſon reſiding at Amſterdam, *containing a true Deſcription of* Nova Zembla, *together with an Intimation of the Advantage of its Shape and Poſition.*

SIR,

‘I Herewith ſend you what I have received out of *Muſcovy*, which is a New Map of *Nova Zembla* and *Weigats*, as it hath been diſcover'd by the expreſs order of the *Czar*, and drawn by a Painter, called *Panelapoetski*, who ſent it me from *Moſco* as a Preſent, by which it appears, That *Nova Zembla* is not an Iſland, as hitherto it hath been believed to be; and that the *Mare Glaciale* is not a Sea, but a *Sinus* or Bay, the Waters whereof are ſweet, which is the ſame with what the *Tartars* do alſo aſſure us, who have taſted thoſe Waters in the very midſt of the *Sinus*. The *Samojeds* as well as the *Tartars*, do unanimouſly affirm, that paſſing on the Back of *Nova Zembla*, at a conſiderable diſtance from the Shoar, Navigators may well paſs as far as *Japan*. And 'tis a great fault in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, that ſeeing to get to *Japan* on the South ſide of *Nova Zembla*, they have almoſt always paſſed the *Weigats*. The Letter O in the great River *Oby*, marks the place of a Cataract or fall of Water; the Letter *K* denotes the conjunction of *Zembla* with the Continent. The River marked *L*, runs towards *China*, called *Kitaie*, which is not every where navigable, by reaſon of the Rocks and other Inconveniencies that obſtruct the paſſing of Veſſels. *Weigats* it ſelf is very difficult to paſs, becauſe of the great quantity of Ice continually falling into it out of the River *Obey*, whereby that ſtraight Paſſage is ſtopp'd up. The *Samajeds* go every year a fiſhing upon the ſaid ſweet Sea, and that on *Nova Zembla*'s ſide. This Map of *Nova Zembla* is here omitted, becauſe here is ſet forth a Map of all the Lands neareſt about the *North-Pole*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The firſt Part of the Voyage to Spitzbergen *and* Greenland, *containing an Account of the Voyage thither, and of the Weather, from* April *the* 15*th, to* Auguſt *the* 21*ſt*, 1671.

The Voyage from the *Elbe* to *Spitzbergen*. WE ſet ſail from the *Elbe*, wind N. E. in the Ship call'd the *Jonas in the Whale*, *Peter Peterſon* of *Frieſeland* Maſter.

The 27th, at 71 Deg. we had cold weather, wind N. E. by E. we diſcover'd the Iſle of *John Marjen*, S. W. by W. ten Miles off.

The 29th foggy weather, we came to the Ice and ſail'd back again, as you may ſee in the Plate, A The 30th foggy and ſnowy weather, wind North

May 3. Snow and Hail, wind N. W. by W. the Sun ſet no more after this day.

May 4. Cold but ſun-ſhiny weather, wind N. W. we ſaw abundance of *Seals*.

May 5. Moderate weather, wind N. W. by N. we ſaw many Ships ſailing about the Ice, which aſk'd one another how many Whales they had caught: they would anſwer by ſigns with their Hats; and if they had their full Freight, they hung out the Great Flag; ſo that if any would ſend a Meſſage, he might deliver it to them, as you ſee in the Plate, A. by A.

May 7. Snow with rain. In the Afternoon we diſcover'd *Spitzbergen*, the South Point of the North Foreland, appearing like a dark Cloud full of white Streaks.

May 9. The ſame weather, wind S. W. by W. In the Afternoon we miſtook a Finfiſh for a Whale. From the 25th of *April* till this day, we had not taken the Sun's Altitude, which we found 70 Deg. 3 Min.

May 12. Stormy cold weather, wind North, with exceſſive Froſt.

May 14. Fine Sunſhiny weather, wind N. W. at 75 Deg. 22 Min. Here the Sea is ſmooth, even after a Storm, if the wind blows from the Ice; but if from the Sea, it is very rough: we ſaw a Whale but could not catch her.

May 19. A calm ſun-ſhiny day, wind North; we killed two *Seals* or *Sea-dogs*, and ſaw a vaſt number of them on the Ice.

May 20. It was very calm but cold, wind North; the longer
we ſaill'd the bigger Ice we met with. We ſail'd deeper
into the Ice in the Forenoon with another *Hamburger* *May* 21.
Ship, call'd the *Lepeler*, and eight *Dutch-men*, and ſaw
about 30 Ships in all lying in a Harbour of Ice, as you
may ſee at No (1).

May 30. Fair and calm weather, wind S. W. we ſaw a Whale when the Sun was in the Eaſt, which we brought to the Ship, and found him ſpent with ſwimming, having a *Harpoon-Iron* ſtuck in his Fleſh, which ſtunk vehemently, and the Birds call'd *Mallemucks*, i. e. *Fooliſh Gnats* (a kind of Sea Guls) fed upon it alive. We fill'd 70 Barrels with the Fat, but the Steam inflamed our Eyes. See No (2) The ſame Night *Cornelius Seamen* loſt his Ship in the Ice, call'd the *Weſt Ice* by the Seamen, becauſe it extends to the Weſt. See No (3)

June 2. A very ſevere froſt, we ſaw the Moon look as pale in the Night time, as it looks by us in a clear day.

June 4. Wind N. E. by N. we came very near to a Whale; but juſt as the Harpooner was ready to fling the Harpoon, he got under the water, holding up his Head, and ſo ſunk like a Stone. See No (4).

June 8. A foggy and ſnowy day; we ſaw many Seals or Sea-dogs, and kill'd 15 of them.

June 12. A cold ſtormy day, and ſun-ſhiny Night, but one muſt be very nice to diſtinguiſh betwixt day and night.

June 13. In the Afternoon foggy and windy weather at 77 Deg. the Ice Eaſt towards *Spitzbergen*: ſee No (5) The ſame Night we ſaw above 20 Whales ſwimming towards the Ice; we got our ſecond Fiſh, which being wounded with Lances, bled ſo vehemently, that the Sea was tinged red; we brought him aboard when the Sun was at North; for you muſt know that the Sun is our Clock at *Spitzbergen*.

June 14. A cold, windy, foggy Night; we arrived at *Spitzbergen*; firſt we came to the *Foreland*, thence to the ſeven *Ice Hills*, and ſo to the *Hamburghers* Harbour, *Magdelens*, *Engliſhmen* and *Danes*, and into the South Bay; we were followed by three *Hamburgers* and four *Dutch* Ships; as you ſee at N° (6) In our Voyage thither, we ſaw no Ice till we came to *Spitzbergen*, becauſe the wind had blown it another way; we fill'd 65 *Kardels* with the Fat of the befor-mentioned Whale. We ſaw another the ſame night, and flung three Harpoons into him; but they breaking out, we loſt him. We ſaw alſo two Morſes or Sea-horſes upon the Ice; we covered the hole thro' which they were come out, and ſo kill'd them; we ſaw alſo many White-fiſh.

June 22 Fair weather, near the *Reben-field* (*Deer-field*) we ſaw ſix Whales, and got one of them. In the Night the Sun did ſhine very bright.

July 1 We ſaw two Whales ready to couple; we kill'd the Female, but ſhe firſt overturned one of our Boats. The ſame Morning another Whale appear'd near the wide Harbour, but a *Dutch* Ship took him.

July 2 It was ſun-ſhine and pretty warm all day and night long; we caught another Male Whale, and being in haſt, cut the Fat off and flung it into the Fore-caſtle.

July 3 We ſaw more Whales than in all our Voyage, and got the

July 5 ſixth Whale: we ſtruck another before the *Weigat*, but he got looſe again. About Noon, wind South, we got a ſeventh Fiſh, we ſail'd a little thence to the *Muſhle Harbour*, where we anchored.

July 8 The wind turning N. W. with ſnow and rain, the Ice came ſo hard upon us, that we were glad to leave of our Anchors behind;

July 9 we got the eighth Whale, wherewith we fill'd 54 *Kardels*.

July 12 We ſail'd with three Boats into the Ice before *Weigats*, and took an old white Bear with two young ones; they would ſwim in the water like Fiſh; we ſaw alſo abundance of *Sea-horſes*, and kill'd ten of them, and the reſt beat ſo fiercely againſt our Boats, that they beat ſeveral holes in their ſides: We might have got Sea-horſes enough, but were afraid of looſing our Ship, by going too far into the Ice; whenever they happen to looſe their Ships, they diſcharge a Cannon from the Ship, or ſound the Trumpet or Hautboys.

July 13 Wind N. E. by E. the Ice coming apace, we ſail'd from the S. E. Land to the W. and had enough to do to get thro' by the North ſide from the *Bear-haven*; we ſail'd to the *Deer-field*, and thence to the *Vogelſong* (*Birds Song*) as you ſee at N° (7) *July* 14 We turned to the Eaſt with a N. E. wind, in Company of 12 Ships more. It was a Fog mix'd with Sun-ſhine, with a Rain-bow of white and pale yellow'd, curiouſly mix'd.

July 15 A windy, cold, and foggy day, wind N. W. we ſaw many Ships beſet in the Ice in the *Deer* or *Muſhle Bay*. We kept along the Shoar, and at Night entered the South Harbour, mark'd with N° (8). The ſame Night we fetch'd water from the Shoar near the *Cookery* of *Harlingen*, out of a hole, mark'd with N° (9).

July 16 We ſaw the Moon in the Morning, and the 18th being becalm'd, we towed with a Boat into the *Daniſh* Harbour, to gather ſome Herbs among the Rocks. *July* 19 We had fair weather, and ſtormy at Night, which continued the 20th, wind S. W. The 21ſt it rained all day long.

Our Return from *Spitzbergen* to the *Elbe*.

July 22d, we ſaill'd out of *S. Haven*, the Sun N. E. we ſaw abundance of *Fin-fiſhes*, it being a foggy day and ſun ſhiny at Night.

The 24th the Sun did ſhine ſo warm, as to melt the Tar of our Ship before *Magdalens* Bay.

The 25th foggy weather and cold, wind S. W. we came to the *Forelands*.

July 28 We turned from the *Forelands* to the Weſt, the Sun at S. E. and ſail'd S. W. and by W. towards the Sea; afterwards we changed our Courſe S. and ſtood S. E.

July 29, 30 and 31. we ſail'd along the Shoar S. E. by S. The South ſide of the *Foreland* being eight Leagues N. E. from us: then we ſail'd S. W. by S. the wind cold at N. W. we ſaw abundance of *Fin-fiſhes*, but no more Whales.

Aug. 9 A windy day, wind at S. E. we took the Meridian height of the Sun at 66 Deg. 47 Min. and ſaill'd S. W. all along the North ſhoar of the Country.

Aug. 13 A ſtormy and rainy Morning, wind at N. W. but a clear Moon and ſtar-light at Night. In the Morning we ſaw the North ſide of *Hitland*, and ſailing South after the rain, kept our Courſe betwixt *Hitland* and *Fairfole*, firſt S. W. afterwards S. VV. by S. and then S.

Aug. 20 A fair warm day; we ſaw *Hilgeland*, (the *Holy Iſle*) S. E. of us, and ſailing S. E. took in a Pilot, and came the 29th at anchor by the firſt *Buoy* in the *Elbe*; (call'd the *Red Buoy*) In the Afternoon we ſail'd to *Kacks Haven*, where we anchored in a rainy and ſtormy Night.

CHAP. XL.

A Voyage to Spitzbergen; *Part* II. *Containing a Deſcription of* Spitzbergen.

Of the External Appearance of *Spitzbergen*.

THE lowermoſt Parts of theſe Countries call'd *Spitzbergen*, i. e. *Peaked Hills*, are ſituate under 76 Deg. 30 Min. we ſail'd to 80 Deg. beyond which no Ship ventured that year; it being unknown to this day how far this Country extends to the North, tho' by reaſon of the firmneſs of the Ice, it ſeems as if there were Land not far behind it: Thoſe Countries are encloſed with high Hills, or perhaps the whole Country is the ſame, becauſe one ſees many Hills behind one another: However at the *Muſhle Haven* we found the Country ſomewhat more level; and the further you come to the Eaſt, the Ground groweth lower, and you don't ſee the Hills ſo high over one another as before; the Ground is all ſtony.

How the Beaſts came thither.

The Beaſts that are ſeen here, I ſuppoſe to come in the Spring over the Ice, whilſt it ſtands firm, and to go back again when the long Nights begin. Of the Birds we ſhall ſay more anon.

June 18 At our arrival at the *Foreland* of *Spitzbergen*, the Foot of theſe Mountains appear'd like fire at a diſtance (the tops being covered with Fogs) the Snow marbled in various ſhapes, made a glorious Refract in the Air; this fiery appearance is look'd upon as the Forerunner of a Storm.

The Ice and Rivers.

You meet with more or leſs Ice on theſe Coaſts, according as the winds blow, as if it be Eaſt, from *Nova Zembla*; if N. VV. from *Greenland* and the Iſle of *John Mayen*: ſometimes the Coaſt is ſurrounded with Ice all the Summer; which when it is ſet a floating in too great a quantity, the Ships make to the Harbours, Bays, or Rivers; theſe laſt have no freſh water, nor did I ever meet with a Spring here: The Riſe of ſome of theſe Rivers is known, but of others not, by reaſon of the vaſt quantity of Ice and many Rocks underneath the water, but diſcover'd by a violent breaking and foaming of the Sea.

Havens.

You will find the Names of the Havens (as far as I have ſeen) in the Map of *Spitzbergen*; the beſt and ſafeſt among them are the *Safe-Harbour*, and the *South* and *North Bay*; the reſt lying for the moſt part either open to the Sea, or are infeſted with too much Ice and Rocks. In the South or North Bay I have often ſeen 10, 20, and 30 Ships at anchor, as you may ſee at N° (10) and (11).

Moſt of the Birds are ſeen here on or near the Land, eſpecially when they are hatching their Eggs; their Neſts are not made up with far-fetch'd things.

Herbs.

Moſt of the Herbs that grow here, are ſuch as are fit for the curing of the Diſeaſes incident to this Climate; they grow moſt where the water runs from the Hills (and where the North and Eaſt winds leaſt affect them) which always carries a kind of Moſs along with it, which is animented by the Dung of the Birds. Near the *Low Lands* of *Spitzbergen*, we ſaw vaſt numbers of Sea-horſes, but ſcarce any Seals.

Ice Mountains.

At the Foot of the Mountains ſtand Ice Hills, reaching to the Tops of the rocky Mountain; the Cliffs are fill'd with Snow: Theſe Mountains make a ſtrange appearance of Trees, Branches, Leaves, &c. at a diſtance. There are ſeven of theſe ſnow Mountains betwixt the Rocks, of a fine blew colour, with a great many Cracks and Caves in them, hollowed out by the running down of the ſnow water; they are encreaſed continually by the melted Snow and Rain that falls from the Rocks, ſo, that they may be diſcover'd a great way at Sea, and as you ſail under them, a Ship with its Maſts is no more to be compared to them, than a ſmall Houſe to a lofty

Steeple: The Snow appear'd dark from the ſhade of the Skies, and about the middle ſome foggy Clouds appear'd.

The rocky Mountains.

The true Rocks appear of a fiery Colour, but could ſcarce ſee the tops of them, by reaſon of the Clouds; ſome of them are one entire Stone from the top to the bottom, repreſenting in ſhape a decay'd Wall; they have a ſweet ſmell, like our Fields in the Spring, after Rains; ſee No (17) The Stones of theſe Rocks are full of white, red, and yellow Veins like Marble; upon any alteration of the weather, the Stones ſweat, which together with the Rains, tinges the Snow red. At the Foot of the high Rocks lye looſe Rocks, with Caves and Coles of a grey colour, with black Veins gliſtening like Silver Oar. On theſe grow divers ſorts of Herbs, and Moſs in two Months, *viz.* in *June* and *July*. The Birds build their Neſts in the Cracks of the Mountains, tho' they ſeek for their Food in the water; ſome live upon the carrion of Fiſhes, others upon ſmall Fiſhes and Shrimps; as the white Bears here do upon the dead Carcaſſes of the Whales or Men; the Foxes upon Birds and their Eggs; and the Deer upon Herbs and Moſs. Moſt of the high Rocks reach in a cloudy day half ways up into the Clouds: ſee N° (13)

Their ſituation.

We went one Night arm'd with Guns and Lances (for fear of the Bears) upon one of theſe Rocks which look'd black, near the *Engliſh* Haven, which was of ſuch a height, that we could ſcarce diſcern the Long-boats below in the Harbour. The Mountains I took particular notice of here, are ſituated thus; The higheſt extend from the *Fore-land* to the *Muſhle-haven*; after the *Fore-land* follow ſeven Ice Mountains, placed between the rocky Mountains: Theſe laſt are not ſo peaked on the top here, as the two foremoſt Rocks at *Magdalen's-Haven*; then cometh the Haven of the *Hamburghers*, *Magdalen*, the *Engliſh*, the *Daniſh* Harbour, and at laſt the *South-haven*.

And of the Harbours.

Magdalen Harbour.

Magdalen Harbour is encloſed with Rocks in form of a Semi-Circle; on each ſide cloſe to one another, ſtand two high hollow Mountains, with Points and Cracks on the tops like Battlements. In the Valley ſtands an Ice Hill, reaching in ſhape of a Tree with Branches, as high as the top of the Mountain it ſelf.

The South Haven.

In the *South-haven* the Ships ride alſo betwixt the Mountains; on the left as you ſail into it, you ſee a Hill call'd the *Beehive* (from its ſhape) mark'd with N° (14) Adjoining to this is a huge high Mountain, call'd the *Devils Hook* or *Cornet*, and is ſeldom ſeen without thick Fogs, which when the wind blows, darken the Harbour like Smoak: On the very top of it are three white Hills covered with Snow, two of them ſtanding cloſe to one another; you ſee them marked with N° (15). Juſt in the middle of this Harbour lies an Iſle marked with N° (16) called the *Dead-man's Iſle*, becauſe here they bury their dead Men in Coffins, and afterwards lay great heaps of Stones upon them, notwithſtanding which, the white Bears will ſometimes dig them up; for it is obſervable, that dead Carcaſſes will remain entire here, without the leaſt ſigns of Putrefaction, for ten years and longer. There are ſeveral more Iſlands in this Harbour, which by one general name are call'd the *Birds Iſles*, from the great quantity of the Eggs of Mountain-Ducks and *Kirmews* found there.

Schmerenburgh.

The next is call'd *Schmerenburgh*, where formerly the *Dutch* uſed to boil their Train-oyl; ſome of them were left there once for all the Winter, but all periſh'd: ſee N° (17). There were yet remaining ſeveral Houſes like a ſmall Village; and over againſt *Schmerenburgh* likewiſe divers other Houſes, with Chambers and Warehouſes low built at the Foot of a high Mountain; as alſo a Kettle, with Smiths Thongs, and ſome other Inſtruments belonging to it; this they call the *Cookery* of *Harlem*. The place where they bury their dead, was made of ſomething like Earth, and laid level on purpoſe. The adjacent River is what they call the *South Harbour*, where they refit their Ships, where in the Valleys betwixt the Mountains, and in the Clifts of the Ice Hills, they gather vaſt quantities of freſh water from the Snow and Rain. The Shoar is here not very high, but the water deep, and at that time without any Ice; whence I conjecture, that it had been no very hard winter; for tho' the Ice melts much ſooner in ſalt than in freſh water, yet could not the thick Ice have been melted quite away ſo ſoon. We obſerved alſo the Snow to melt at the ſame time on the Mountains and in the Valleys, tho' the former are much colder than it is below, contrary to what I took notice of ſince on the Coaſt of *Spain*, when a N. W. Wind producing very ſevere Rains in the bottom, the adjacent Mountains were on the tops covered with Snow.

The Cookery of Harlem.

Dec. 1672.

The North Harbour.

In the *North Harbour* you ſee a high Mountain, flat at top, call'd the *Birds Song*, becauſe the Birds make a hideous noiſe here; mark'd with N° (18) More Iſlands are ſet down in the Map, as the *Clifted Rock*, &c. The *Rochen-field*, or *Deer-field*, is a low Ground, compoſed, as I was told, of Slates ſet edge ways, and covered with Moſs. Behind lies a Ridge of flattiſh Mountains, and near it runs up a River into the Country, call'd from its ſhape, the *Half-moon-Bay*: On the other ſide are many more Mountains quite flat on the top, with great Cracks fill'd with Snow. Next you come to *Liefde Bay*, which has two Hills ſtanding together, like at *Magdalens Bay*; they are both not unlike one another. Hence we came to the Lower Ground behind the *Muſhle-Harbour*, where the Graſs reached above our Ancles.

Deer-field.

Live Bay.

Muſhle Harbour.

The *Weibegat*, or the *Streights of Hindelopen*, is ſo call'd from the *Weiben*, i. e. *Blowing hard*, becauſe a ſtrong S. W. wind blows continually out of it. The Land on the *Bear-Haven* is covered with red Stones. Behind the *Weibegat* lies the *South-weſt Land*, which is very low, yet has ſome ſmall Hills. The ſeven Iſlands we could not ſee; for no Ship went further, nor do at any time, as far as I could learn; nor dare they venture ſo far to the Eaſt every year. The beſt fiſhing betwixt the Iſle of *John Mayen* and *Spitzbergen*, is in *May* and *June*; but in *July* and *Auguſt*, they go Eaſt beyond *Spitzbergen*; at the latter end, we obſerved many Whales ſwimming to the *Weibegat*. Whether this Haven paſſes thro' the Country or not, is unknown as yet; but this is a different Harbour from the famous *Streights of Weibegats*.

The *Weibegat*.

The South-Weſt Land.

Of the Sea.

The Waves of the Sea here, ſwell by degrees ſlowly, with the continuance of the Wind, till they riſe as high as Mountains, and then breaking themſelves, daſh and foam over the Ship, eſpecially when they are ſhort; but when they move before the wind, they follow one another with a ſucceſſive motion: (ſee K in the Cut D.) For, when the wind changes, the Waves croſs one another, and toſs the Ship, that ſhe is hardly able to live. In a Tempeſt the Froth of the Sea drives like Snow or Duſt upon the Land. Near the Shoar I found the water neither ſo clear nor ſo ſalt as near the Ice; perhaps, by reaſon of the ſhallow bottom.

Motion of the Waves.

They regulate their manner of ſailing according to the Degrees of the Wind: In a freſh Gale they uſe all their Sails; in a ſtorm the two lowermoſt only. The firſt Sail is call'd the *Fock* or *Fore-ſail*, the middlemoſt *Sebumſer* or *Main-ſail*, and the third the *Baſan* or *Mizen-ſail*: In a hard ſtorm they furl the *Fore-ſail*, and make uſe only of the other two; and in a very ſevere Tempeſt, half furl'd up.

How they regulate their ſailing.

In and after a Tempeſt, the Ship is often viſited by Black-birds, Starlings, and other ſmall Birds, which having loſt their way, ſeek for a Refuge in the Ships; but we ſaw no *Lumbs* or other water-Fowl. When great Fiſhes, ſuch as Whales, &c. appear in great numbers, leaping about the Ship, it preſages a ſtorm; ſome call it playing, but I am apt to imagine this violent motion, rather proceeds from ſome pain or other they are afflicted with againſt bad weather. When the Stars appear at Sea, not only of a larger ſize, but alſo more in number than uſual, it prognoſticates great Fogs after the changing of the Froſt, which is followed by tempeſtuous weather. When the Sea ſhines bright, (the Sea-men call it *Burning*) in a dark Night, it is the Forerunner of a South or Weſt wind.

Forerunners of a ſtorm.

Thus much of the *North Sea*; now of that betwixt *Spitzbergen* and *Hitland*, near which we found the Stream running with a rapid motion to the North, and the Waves of this Sea run longer, like in the *Spaniſh Sea* beyond the Channel of *England* and *France*: They riſe as high as Mountains, tho' there be little wind, and run as far as you can well diſcern them, which is followed commonly by a hard Gale. In a ſtorm they rowl after the ſame manner, but with curling and foaming. They are a great deal larger than thoſe of the *North-Sea*, but don't daſh ſo often over the Ship: The Waves of the *North Sea* are ſoon laid after a ſtorm, but theſe continue turbulent for three days; and, tho' it be calm, quote the Ship ſo violently, as to create the Sea-ſickneſs or Vomiting, which by ſome is attributed to the Sea-water, tho' I conceive it to be the effect of the exceſſive agitation of our Bodies, which cauſes an averſion to eating, giddineſs in the Head, inclination to vomiting, and

The Sea betwixt *Spitzbergen* and *Hitland*.

The Sea-Diſtemper.

coſtiveneſs in the Body, with a high tinged Urine. The beſt Remedies againſt it, are the Aromaticks, ſuch as Cinnamon, Cloves, Ginger, Nutmegs, *&c.* chaw'd in the Mouth: To eat and drink plentifully, not to ſleep too much, but keep in the Air, and look into the Wind.

There is almoſt as great a difference in the Swiftneſs and Motion of Ships, as there is in Horſes: A Ship ſwims near a Foot higher at Sea than in freſh water, with the ſame burthen.

How far you may ſee at Sea.

You may diſcern a Ship three or three and a half *German* Leagues in a calm Sea: At a League and a half's diſtance you ſee half the Ship only; at two Leagues you diſcover no more than the uppermoſt Maſt; and at three Leagues only the Flag. But Land and Mountains are diſcover'd at a much greater diſtance at Sea: We ſaw *Spitzbergen* twelve *German* Leagues off, like a black Cloud full of white ſtreaks; as you ſee it mark'd at No (19, 20, 21). Near the Ice of this Sea (where there is no depth for anchoring) the Sea-water is very clear, which changes its colour according to the colour of the Skies. We found by our driving, that among the Ice the Stream did run to the South, tho' at *Muſſle-haven* it ran North. For the reſt, all the Account that can be given of the ebbing and flowing here, is, That after ſtormy weather, the water is higher near the Land than otherwiſe: For, were there any continual ebbing and flowing, the Eggs of the Birds would be ſpoil'd upon the Iſles.

Of the Ice.

In *April* and *May*, the Weſt Ice being broken, drives in the Sea betwixt the Iſle of *John Mayen* to *Spitzbergen*. See at No (24). The Ice of *Spitzbergen* is neither ſo ſmooth, tranſparent, nor cutting, as that of our Country, but much harder, and looks like Loaf-ſugar. Where the Ice is fix'd upon the Sea, there appears a ſnow white brightneſs in the Air, occaſioned by the Reflection of the Snow; but where there are only ſmall Ice-fields, you perceive nothing of that brightneſs. By the daſhing of the Sea againſt the Ice-fields (which are a great deal deeper above than under water) many Figures, as Steeples, Tables, Chappels, *&c.* are occaſioned upon the Surface of them; and this is of a pure blue Vitriol like Colour, whereas that part under water is ſomething paler. The Ships are forced to ſail among theſe leſſer Ice-fields till they are ſtop'd by the great ones; for the catching of a Whale being not unlike hunting, they muſt look for them every where; it often happening that one Ship catches more than they are able to carry, whereas another at half a Leagues diſtance can't ſee one. Every Maſter of the Ship is left at his own liberty, however, to go into the Ice, or not, as he ſees occaſion, for tho' in the Spring, the Whales are in great numbers among the Weſt Ice, yet it being very foggy, dark, and ſtormy in that ſeaſon, and great numbers of ſmall Ice-fields ſwimming up and down the Sea, they are in great danger of looſing the Ship; and the deeper they ſail in among the Ice, the greater Ice-fields they meet with; eſpecially about the Weſt, where there are larger Ice-fields than about *Spitzbergen*, quite white at the top, covered with Snow; as you may ſee No (25 and 26). We ſaw the Prints of the Bears footing, and of the Foxes near the edges of the Ice-fields; and were not a little ſurprized to find the Waves pretty ſmooth betwixt the Ice-fields, tho in ſtormy weather. The greateſt danger there, is, from the different bigneſs of the Ice-fields, which ſwimming accordingly, one faſter than the other, crowd upon one another, and break the Ship betwixt them, as you ſee in the Plate B, marked at A. This the Sea-men endeavour to prevent by Ice-hooks, tho' ſometimes to little purpoſe; the worſt is, that the danger is the ſame in ſtill and tempeſtuous weather; becauſe the Ice drives as well with the ſtream as the wind, as either of them is the moſt prevalent. The dead Carcaſs of a Whale is look'd upon as a good defence, to preſerve the Ship if tied to the ſides of it; and ſome make uſe of the Tails and Fins of this Creature, in the ſame manner, and for the ſame purpoſe, with good ſucceſs.

How they go in ſearch of the Whales.

The ſtriking together of the vaſt Ice Hills at Sea, make a moſt dreadful noiſe; and I have obſerved, that the Ice towards the bottom is very ſpongy, and conſequently melts there in the Summer Seaſon; without which, it muſt before now have reached the bottom of the Sea, tho' never ſo deep. They have a way of faſtning their Ships (when among the Ice) to the greateſt Ice-fields, by the means of great Ice-hooks faſtned to ſtrong Cables: But this is not always without danger; for by the ſtrong motion of the Sea, theſe Ice-fields, tho' never ſo big, break, and grinding againſt one another, break the Ship to pieces.

It was in the Month of *April*, when we came to the 71 Deg. where we met with the firſt Ice, but durſt not venture in it, being too early in the Year. We afterwards, *viz.* in *May*, ſail'd to 77 Deg. 24 Min. into the Ice to the South, where then are the moſt Whales, which running to the Eaſt afterwards, we commonly follow them to *Spitzbergen*. Near to the Land the Ice-fields are not ſo big, as deeper at Sea; becauſe as the Ice can't give way there, they grind and break againſt one another. Beſides, that from the Ice-mountains upon the Shoar, ſometimes rowl into the Sea great pieces of Ice, which are more compact than the reſt; and ſometimes reſemble various ſhapes, as Houſes, Churches, Steeples, Pillars, Tables with Pillars underneath. (See at No 27) Near unto *Muſſle-haven*, ſuch a great piece of Ice drove near our Ship, which reached ſo deep under water, that it took up our Anchor, which lay 15 Fathoms deep. The Ice, as far as it is above water, taſtes like other Ice, but under the water, ſalt like Sea-water. When we came firſt to *Spitzbergen*, the Ice near *Rehenfeld* ſtood yet firm, but in a few days after, was put in motion by the wind. We found at that time, that the Ice reach'd from the other ſide of *Spitzbergen*, and the Ships ſail'd betwixt the Land and the Ice, like in a River; but as ſoon as the Ice is drove thither, the Ships muſt ſeek for refuge into the Harbour, till the wind has blown the Ice thence. I did not ſee many Sea-dogs, but abundance of Sea-horſes, Birds, and Fowl on this Ice. We ſail'd in ſight of the *Seven Iſles*, but could go no further.

Some Obſervations of the Ice.

Of the Air.

They told us, that in *April* and *May*, the hardeſt Froſts happen about 71 Deg. in thoſe Parts; which is the reaſon that they don't ſend their Ships ſo early now as they did formerly. After the third of *May* the Sun ſets no more; for being then at 71 Deg. we could ſee as well by night as by day. The weather is very changeable here in theſe two Months; and if the wind changes, the moſt ſerene Air ſoon becomes foggy; and when the Hills appear fiery, it is from Fogs, which ſoon ſpread themſelves over the Sea.

May 14.

The Air was very bright and clear, yet exceſſive cold: The other three Months *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, were very calm. As to the degrees of Cold, the ſame depend in a great meaſure on the Winds: For, when the North and Eaſt wind blow hard, it freezes ſo exceſſively, that you are ſcarce able to keep your ſelf alive; whereas the South and Weſt winds, if ſomewhat conſtant, produce Snow, ſometimes Rains, and moderate Cold. The other winds differ or change by the Clouds; for nothing is more common here, than, that whilſt the wind is S. W. and by S. in one place, at two or three Miles diſtance, it is quite contrary. Skilful Harponiers commend thoſe years for Whale-catching, which have the feweſt foggy and cloudy days. However there are no ſuch ſerene Skies with marbled Clouds to be ſeen at *Spitzbergen*, as with us in the Summer Seaſon, but many dark and cloudy ones. I never obſerved any Thunder-Clouds, nor ever heard of any. The Air always appears white over the Ice, whence we conjecture where the firm or fix'd Ice ſtands. We found the Sun Beams ſo hot before *Weibegats* in *July*, that it melted the Tar between the Seams of the Ship.

There is no remarkable difference of Cold betwixt night and day; but it is not the ſame with the Light, which in the Night-time appears to thoſe that obſerve it attentively, only like a very bright Moon-light; ſo that you may look with the ſame eaſe into the Body of the Sun, as you do upon the Moon, the only thing by which you may diſtinguiſh Night from the day, there being no increaſe of cold or changing of the Compaſs as far as we went. The ſecond of *Auguſt*, in our Voyage homewards, we firſt obſerved the Sun to ſet.

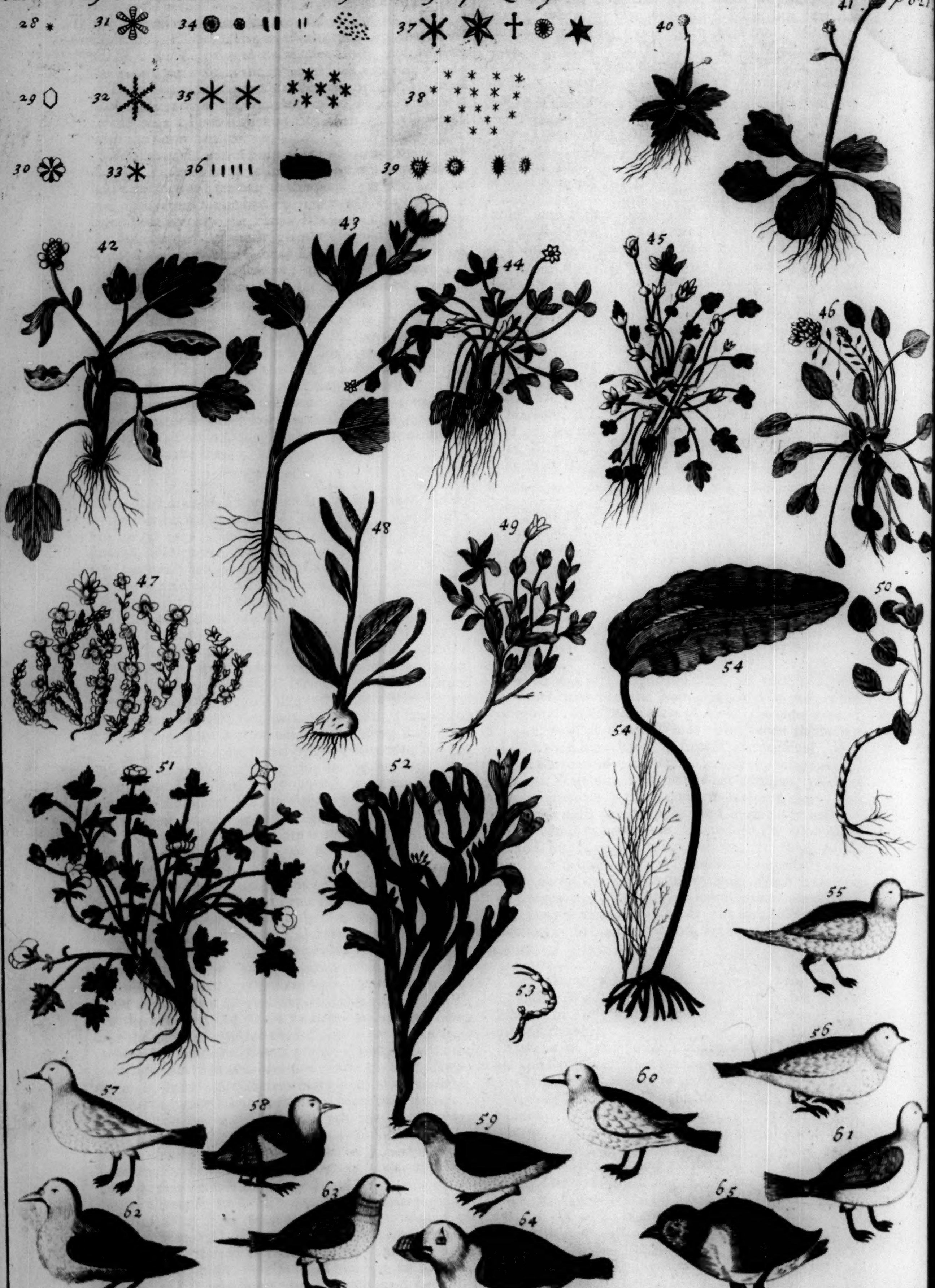
Meteors generated in the Air.

As for the Meteors generated in the Air, here I took notice of a *Rime*, which fell down like ſmall needles of Snow, and covered the Sea, like as if it were ſprinkled with duſt: As theſe Needles encreaſed, they lay croſs one another, and appear'd like a Cobweb: As they are form'd by the cold Air, ſo they encreaſe ſometimes to that degree, that the Sea is cover'd with them, like with a Skin or thin Ice, which has no brackiſh taſte. It happens in clear Sun-ſhine, and very cold weather, and falls down inviſibly like our Dew: If it be a cloudy day, you can't perceive it; but if you look to a ſhady place when the Sun ſhines, it ſparkles like Diamonds, but never ſticks to your Cloaths to wet them.

We obſerve ſomething like theſe ſmall Needles in the *Rime* of our Country, which being a kind of ſmall Snow, viſible both in the Shade and Sun, falls from the Trees like Duſt. In the falling Needles of the North, you

ſee

Of the Plants Birds Beasts &c. of Spitzbergen.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ſee the Bow like the Rain-bow, of two colours, white and a pale yellow; occaſioned by the Reflection in the dark ſhades of the Clouds.

The Sea-bow.

There is another *Phenomenon* (in theſe parts) in the Air, call'd the *Sea-bow*, which is never ſeen but in a bright day, in the Atmoſphere of the Sea-water, which being blown up by the winds, appears like a Fog: It is commonly ſeen before the Ship, and ſometimes behind to the Leeward, over againſt the Sun, in the place where the ſhadow of the Sail falleth: It appears of divers Colours, like the Rain-bows in the Skies.

A Parelion or Weather-gall

In the Clouds near the Sun, alſo ſometimes appears a Light like a *Parelion* or Mock-Sun, call'd *The Weather-gall* by the Sea-men: This appears in the ſhady dark Clouds in the inferiour Region of the Air, where the Sun is repreſented as in a Looking-glaſs: For the Sun having changed the Water-drops into Vapours or Fogs, the Sun repreſents it ſelf thus, and produces theſe Colours diſtinctly, viz. *Blew*, *Yellow*, and *Red*, the three chief Colours of the Bow. I took particular notice of this Phenomenon at *Spitzbergen*, which I found to move about with the Sun both by day and night, and appear'd much bigger in the Morning, Night and Evening, than in the Day-time.

Whirl-winds

Whirl-winds are unknown in this cold Climate, except that ſomething like them proceeds ſometimes from the recoiling of the Winds betwixt the high Mountains. It is further obſervable, that the Sea, and other Waters near *Spitzbergen*, ſend forth certain Vapours, when the cold encreaſes, which turning into Rain or Snow, ſmell like Fogs or ſteaming water. But, if you perceive theſe Vapours to riſe with very little intermiſſion in a Sunſhiny day, without any wind, the cold weather is going to remit: But when the Air is full of theſe Vapours, they diſperſe the Clouds, and continue a great while with a conſtant wind. Theſe Vapours in the Air ſtick to our Cloaths and Hair like ſweat.

Different ſorts of Snow and its generation.

Theſe ſmall vaporous Drops are the ſame out of which the Snow is generated: Firſt you ſee a ſmall drop no bigger than a ſingle Sand, mark'd with N° (28) this being encreaſed by the ſame Fog, becomes a ſix-corner'd Plate, tranſparent as Glaſs, the Fog ſticking like drops to the ſix corners, as N° 29. Then freezing, it ſplits aſunder, and produces the Figure of a Star, like N° (30) which being in time parted one from the other, you ſee a Star with ſix Points, as at N° (31) but ſome wet drops hang ſtill on theſe Points, till at length it is brought by the Froſt to the form of a perfect Star, with ſerrated Points on the ſides, like *Ferne*, as you ſee at N° (32) This is the Formation of the ſnowy Star, which falls in the ſevereſt Froſts, but at laſt looſes its Points, as you ſee at N° (33). Concerning the different ſorts of Snow, that mark'd with N° (34) repreſents the Snow as it falls when it is tolerably cold only, with rain, when it falls like unto ſmall Roſes, Needles, and ſmall Corns. When the cold abates, the Snow falls like Stars, with Points like Ferne-leaves, as in N° (35). If it ſnoweth much, with Fog, it appears as in N° (36). If in exceſſive cold and windy weather, as in N° (37). If the weather be very cold without wind, the Snow falls like Stars, but in cluſters, as being not ſeparated by the wind; like N° (38). In ſtormy and cloudy weather, wind at N. W. there fell a kind of Hail, round and oblong, but full of prickles, and of the ſame bigneſs as mark'd at N° (39). There are divers other ſorts of ſtarry Snows, and ſome of the ſhape of a Heart, but all generated after the before-mentioned manner, by the Eaſt and North winds: But the needly Snow is produced by the Weſt and South winds. I have further obſerved, that when it is exceſſive cold, the North wind generates both ſtarry and other ſorts of Snows, as well in theſe Countries as about *Spitzbergen*.

CHAP. XLI.

A Voyage to Spitzbergen; *Part* III.

Of the Plants of Spitzbergen.

THE Figures of the following Plants were for the moſt part drawn to the life upon the place, whilſt yet freſh, and of their natural ſize, except the *Rock-plant*, with one Leaf, and the Plant like *Horſe-tail*, which were too big to be inſerted thus: Many ſmall Herbs which I had no time to delieneate, I intend to preſent to the World hereafter, when I have made my ſecond Voyage: I omitted alſo the *White-poppy* (the whole Plant being a ſpan long) and the *Red-Sorrel*; of which kind I ſaw one at *Bremen*, at the *Dutch* Gardener's, being of the ſame ſize with that of *Spitzbergen*, but the Leaves of the *Northern Sorrel* were red.

All the Herbs and Moſſes grow here upon the Grit of the Rocks, where the water runs down from the tops, and chiefly on that ſide of the Mountains, where the Eaſt and North winds can't reach them. The Birds dung alſo contributes much to their growth. They come to perfection in a ſhort time; for when we arrived at *Spitzbergen* in *June*, they were ſcarce green, and in *July* moſt of them were in flower, and ſome half their Seeds ripe; whence you may gueſs at the length of the Summer. I will begin this Deſcription of the Plants with thoſe that put forth their Leaves only at and about the Roots, having few or no Leaves on the Stalks: Then thoſe that have pairs of Leaves on their Stalks, or oppoſite ones; afterwards thoſe with three Leaves, and laſtly the imperfect Plants.

Of a Plant with Aloe-*Leaves*.

It is a Herb with thick, prickly and dark green Leaves, like thoſe of the *Aloes*, a brown naked Stalk, half a Finger long, on which hang round Heads of fleſh colour'd Flowers in bunches, ſcarce diſcernable by the Eye, one Flower cloſe above another. See N° (40). One Plant produces ſometimes two Stalks, yet each of them has two Flowers. The Root conſiſts of ſmall Fibers: The Seed I could not delieneate for want of time. We ſaw great plenty of it the 17th of *July*, in a running water behind the *Cookery of Harlem*. I know not whether this be of the kind mentioned by *Caſpar Bauhin*, under the Name of *Limonium Maritimum*, which he ſays has round ſmall and thick Leaves like *Houſeleek*, between which come forth ſmall Stalks, with pale red Flowers; but his Root is long, red, and parted at top, whereas ours is not red, and conſiſts of many Fibres.

In Prodromo to his Amphitheat. L.5. C. 15.

Of ſmall Houſeleek.

This Plant has indented Leaves like thoſe of our Daſies, but are more juicy and thicker, like thoſe of our *Leſſer Houſeleek*: They grow about the Root, and betwixt them a ſmall Stalk of a Finger long, round and hairy, without Leaves, except where it emits another Stalk, at which place it has one Leaf. The Flowers come forth in ſcaley heads (like the Flower of *Stæchas*) are of a brown colour, with eight pointed Leaves, and as many ſmall Chives within, like the Flowers of *Wall-pepper* or *Stone-Crap*: The Seed was not ripe as yet. The Root is thick and ſtrait, with many thick Fibres iſſuing from the ſides of it. It may be call'd the *Small crenated Houſeleek*, with ſcaly heads. We found it the 18th of *July* in the *Daniſh* Harbour: See N° (41).

Of Crowsfoot, *four kinds*:

Some of theſe Plants are repreſented at N° 42, 43, 44 and 45. Theſe four Plants are all *Crowsfeet*, diſtinguiſh'd only by their Leaves.

The firſt and fourth kind

The firſt and fourth at N° (42 and 43) are very like one another in reſpect of their Leaves; of which they have both two ſorts, the undermoſt broad, and not much cut; the uppermoſt ſmaller and deeper carved: Their chief difference is, that the firſt grows not ſo high with many Leaves out of one Root; but the fourth produces one long ſtalk with one ſingle Leaf. This laſt has yellow Flowers, but I don't remember whether the firſt had the ſame. The Flowers of the fourth hath five Leaves, broader at the ends than at the bottom, and grow out of a rough *Perianthium* or Cup, that is ſplit into five alſo. The Flowers of the firſt have ſix ſmall Leaves; the Seed Veſſels are like one another.

The Roots are very different, for the firſt hath many ſmall Fibres, whereas the fourth has a thick and long Root, with ſmall tender Fibres: The Leaves of the firſt burn the Tongue like our *Perſicaria* or *Flea-bane*, yet not quite ſo ſtrong; but thoſe of the fourth don't burn ſo much. I found them both in the *Daniſh* Harbour, the firſt in great quantities: they bear Flowers in *July*.

The ſecond kind.

The ſecond has different Leaves from the two beforementioned; for, tho' the lowermoſt agree with thoſe of the firſt, yet are they not ſo big, and thoſe that grow above the lowermoſt, are deeper cut in two places; ſo that the firſt part of the Leaf ſtands out before not unlike a Tongue; but the two ſides are only a little indented. See N° (44). There is alſo a difference in the Leaves of this Plant, thoſe neareſt to the Flower being ſmaller and deeper cut, and burn the Tongue. The Flower, tho' very ſmall, yet has ſix, and ſometimes ſeven Leaves. The Seed Veſſel is like the two former, only leſs: The Root like that of the firſt, only with more Fibres: The Stalk is alſo ſurrounded with a thick Sheath, like that of the fourth. I found it growing near the firſt in the *Daniſh* Harbour *July* the 16th.

The third kind.

The third is the leaſt of all, with many Leaves, but much leſſer, and not ſo deep cut, tho' with four Inciſions: I did not perceive any difference betwixt the lowermoſt and uppermoſt Leaves: It is mark'd with number (45). The Flower has five white leaves; the Seed Veſſel I could not yet ſee: Its Roots are ſmall Fibres. I found it in the *South-haven* the 16th of *July*: The Leaves are thick and juicy, and burn the Tongue.

In the ſame place I ſaw another little Plant, like to theſe, except that the Leaves were not ſo juicy, and the Flowers of a Purple Colour: I took no Draught of it.

Of Scurvy-graſs.

This *Scurvy-graſs* produces many Leaves from one Root, ſpreading upon the Ground. Out of the middle of them ſprouts forth the Stalk, much lower than in our Country, with a few Leaves underneath the Sprouts. The Flowers have four white Leaves, many growing on the ſame Stalk, one above the other, and as one fades, another ſucceeds in its room: The Seed comes forth in a longiſh Box, whereas ours is produced in a round one. It has a thick, ſtreight and white Root, with ſome ſmall Fibres below. I found a great quantity of it on the Rocks in the *South*, *Engliſh*, and *Daniſh* Harbours, where they were not much expoſed to the Eaſt and North Winds. It ſeeds in *July*, and its Leaves have but little ſharpneſs at *Spitzbergen*; ſo that we did eat it with Sallad, which we could not do with ours. See N° (46). My Figure is like that of (a) *Matthiolus*.

(a) L. 3. c. 35. of his *Germ.* Herb.

Of an Herb like Stone-Crop.

This Plant is without queſtion a kind of *Stone-Crop*, tho' its Leaves are rough or rather hairy, not ſo thick nor juicy, nor biting like ours. Before it comes into the Flower, it appears like that of the *Eſula*; but when full blown, it has a Purple Flower, with five, ſix, and ſometimes nine Leaves: I did not tell the *Stamina* of the Flower, or ever ſaw the Seeds: The Root is very ſmall. We found this Plant on the Low Lands at the *Engliſh-harbour*, and among the Moſſes, *June* the 26. It is mark'd with N° (47).

Of a Snake-weed.

This is a kind of a ſmall *Snake-weed*, not frequently found at *Spitzbergen*: The undermoſt Leaves, tho' bigger than the reſt, are not above the breadth of a Man's Nail, growing ſingly on the Stalk, but not above three of them, beſides the lowermoſt: The nearer the Flower, the ſmaller they are: Not far from the Edges, they have many little Spots anſwering to the Points of the Leaves, wherein the Veins terminate: The Leaves are ſomewhat wrinkled at the Brims. The Root brings forth ſometimes a ſingle and ſometimes a double Stalk, the By-ſtalk being never ſo tall as the Head-ſtalk.

The Flower grows in a cloſe Spike, with many fleſh-colour'd Flowers, but ſo ſmall, that I neglected to tell the Leaves: The Seeds were not ripe. The twiſted Root ſufficiently ſhews it ſelf to be of the *Biſtorta* kind; it is about the thickneſs of a little Finger, with ſmall Fibres, brown without and fleſh-colour'd within, and of an aſtringent taſte. We found this Plant in the *Daniſh*-harbour. My Figure agrees with that given by *Camerarius* (b). It is mark'd with N° (48).

(b) L. 4. c. 3. in *Matthiol.*

Of a Plant like unto Mouſe-ear.

This Plant has rough Leaves like *Mouſe-ear*, by pairs, but ſmooth-edged: The Stalks are ſmooth at their firſt ſprouting forth, but afterwards turn rough as far as the uppermoſt Leaves grow, and are roundiſh at the bottom. At the Extremity of the Stalk, comes forth a white Flower out of its *Perianthium*: I did not count the Leaves nor obſerved the Seeds; but the Root is round and ſmall, with ſlender Fibres: It appears like the hairy or rough *Aſine*, of the third or fourth kind of *Dodoneus*, (c) but that the Leaves of his are cut, and theſe are not. I found it in the *South-harbour*, *July* the 17th: See N° (49).

(c) L. 5. c. 10. of his firſt *Lat.* Herb.

Of an Herb like the Periwinkle.

This Plant has roundiſh Leaves by Pairs on Stalks, creeping upon the Ground: The Leaves are not unlike thoſe of the *Periwinkle*, except that they are ſomething more round, and the largeſt of them bent inward before: The Stalk is knotty and woody.

The Flower ſeems at firſt as if wrap'd up like a Leaf, but afterwards diſcovers it ſelf growing out betwixt the Leaves on the ſame Stalk: I had not the opportunity of obſerving the colour and ſhape of the Flowers (they being not well blown) nor to gather the Seed. The Root is long, ſlender, round, woody and knotty, with ſmall branched Fibres at the bottom: We ſaw it in the *South-bay* behind the *Cookery of Harlem* the 19th of *June*, and *July* the 17th. I am not able to determine whether it be the *Pyrola minima* deſcribed by *Cluſius*, (d) or the *Pſeudochamæ bunus* of the *Hortus Eichſtetenſis*, mentioned by the ſame *Cluſius*, (e) under the name of *Aoronymos Coluteâ fl.* and by *Camerarius*, under the name of *Anonymos Pervincâ fol.* See N° (50).

(d) L. 5. c. 20. *Plant. exot.*

(e) At c. 72.

Of an Herb like the Strawberry.

This Plant has three cut-Leaves at the Extremity of the Stalks, like the *Strawberry*; the Flower is alſo like it, ſometimes with four, but generally with five Leaves: The Stalks are round and rough, and ſo are the Leaves. On the Stalks you ſee two Leaves oppoſite to one another, of a different Figure and Bigneſs; one reſembling a Hand, the other a Finger. The Flower is yellow, compoſed of roundiſh Leaves, but I did not take notice of how many. The Root is round and thick, with ſmall Fibres, a little ſcaly at the top: Its taſte is aſtringent like *Tormentil*. In all the Herbals I found none more like it than that call'd by *Lobelius*, (a) *Fragaria Sylveſtris minime Veſca ſive Sterilis*; tho' the Leaves of ours are cut deeper, and the Flower of his is whiter. See N° (51).

(a) L. 17. c. 70. in his *Iſer* [illegible] *Herba*.

Of the Rock-Plant.

This is the ſame Plant call'd *Wier* by the *Dutch*, and *Fucus* in *Latin*. The Stalk is broad and flat like a Leaf, out of which ſprout many Leaves no leſs broad, like Twigs out of a Tree: At the top of the Stalks grow ſometimes five, ſometimes ſeven yellow longuiſh Leaves (as the Herb is alſo) tranſparent like Glew. Cloſe to theſe you ſee other longuiſh Leaves, hollow, and, as it were, blown up with wind, with many leſſer Bladders round about, cloſe to one another: Whether theſe contain any Seed or not, I am not able to conjecture; but the Leaves have nothing but wind in them: For when I preſs'd them together, they gave a little bounce.

If we may credit the Sea-men, the ſmall Sea-ſnails are progenerated out of the Seeds of this Plant, but whether it be ſo or not, I will not determine; perhaps it may be after the ſame manner, as we ſee on the Leaves in our Country, Bladders fill'd with the Seeds of Caterpillars; but this is only gueſs. The Root grows out of the Rocks (whence it has got its name) with ſome Fibres, and is ſometimes round. I found it in great plenty in the *South-Bay* near the *Cookery of Harlem*; in the *Muſhle-haven* at *Spitzbergen*; and afterwards at *Cales* in *Spain*.

After it is dried, it is of a dark-brown Colour, but gives again as ſoon as the South or Weſt wind blows; but when the Wind turns Eaſt or North, it becomes dry and ſtiff again.

The only Figure reſembling this, which I have met with, is in the *Iſerduniſh Herbal*, (b) under the Name of *Alga Marina Platyceros poroſa*; but this is more ſpongy and white. See N° (52).

(b) L. 39 c. 50.

The Great rockplant.

The Leaves of the *Greatrockplant*, reſemble in ſhape a Man's Tongue, curled on both ſides, but plain before: Thro' the middle of it run two black ſtroaks to the Stalk; and on the out-ſide of them many black Specks, within the black Nerves, on each ſide, to the middlemoſt plain Stroke: The Plant is curled, except in the middle, where it is ſmooth quite to the Stalk; and at the beginning of the Leaf next to the Stalk, are two white Veins or Nerves reaching to the middle of the Leaf, bending towards one another in ſuch a manner, that, if they were quite cloſed, they would make a perfect oval. The Leaf of it is above ſix Foot long, and yellow: The Stalk is of the ſame colour, much longer, round and ſmooth, thick near the Root, and ſmells like Muſhels. The Root has many Branches, ſubdivided into others, which ſtick cloſe to the Rocks under water: It grows ſometimes many Fathoms deep in the Sea. We often uſed to pull up a great quantity of it with our Anchors, and together with it a certain hairy Plant growing near the former, reſembling a Horſe's Tail, with ſome ſmall knobs like nitty Hair, or ſuch as are ſplit at the ends. The whole Plant was browner than the other, the Roots being entangled with it. We found ſome red Worms wrap'd up in this laſt, not unlike Caterpillars, with many Legs. See theſe at N° (53). This Plant being like the *Dodder*, it may be call'd *Water* or *Rock-Silk*: It reſembles moſt the Draught given by (a) *Anthony Donat*, of a certain Herb growing about *Venice*, call'd *Muſcus argenteus Marinus ſimilis Plumæ*; but this is not white, but yellow, or rather brown. Both theſe Plants we found in great quantities in the *South-harbour*, *July* 20th, and 21ſt.

Rock-ſilk.

(a) L. 2.

Sea-graſs.

The *Engliſh-harbour* produces another ſort of a *Sea-plant*, which I call'd *Sea-graſs*: It grows likewiſe under water, and is above eight Foot long, with yellow Leaves (like Glew) three Fingers broad; tranſparent, and terminating in a blunt point: They grow from the Root round about it, ſmooth-edg'd at the top, without prickles, but plain and even. See N° (54).

CHAP. XLII.

The Voyage to Spitzbergen, *Part* IV.

Of the Animals of Spitzbergen.

THE Animals of *Spitzbergen* are either ſuch as have two, or four Legs; beſides which, they have certain Creatures living only in the Water, without Legs, inſtead whereof, they have Fins jointed like Legs underneath the Skin; yet ſome are amphibious Creatures, and have either two or four Legs. We will begin with the Birds, whereof the moſt live in the Water, and few upon the Land or Ice.

Of Birds with divided Feet.

The Snite.

I obſerved here but one Land-bird, *viz.* the *Snite*, call'd alſo the *Strand-runner* (as keeping near the *Strand*) is no bigger than a *Lark*, with a thin narrow-corner'd Bill; are ſo broad and roundiſh, with croſs notches like thoſe of our Snites, which are alſo larger than the Snites of *Spitzbergen*, but otherwiſe like one another both in ſhape and colour. The Bill both above and below is four ſquare, about two Inches long, and of a browniſh colour: The Head is round, and no thicker than the Neck. They have three divided Claws before, and a ſhort one behind, with ſhort Legs. They are of the colour of a Lark, but ſhew like a Duck's Neck in Sunſhiny weather. Their Food is Worms and Shrimps. We ſhot ſeveral of them in *South-harbour* near the *Cookery of Harlem*; they did not taſte in the leaſt after Fiſh. See Tab. K. N° (55).

The Snow-bird.

The *Snow-bird* is of the bigneſs of a *Sparrow*, and the ſhape of a *Linnet*, as alſo of the ſame colour. Its Bill is ſhort, and pointed; the Head no thicker than the Neck: The Legs are alſo like the Linnet's, with three divided Fore-claws, and long crooked Nails; the hinder Claw ſomething ſhorter, with a long-bended Spur: The Legs are ſhort, and of a grey colour. Their Backs and Wings are grey; but from the Head down over the Belly to the Tail, they are as white as Snow: The young ones are grey all over. They uſed to come into our Ship in whole Flocks, near the Iſle of *John Mayen*, and were ſo tame, that you might take them with your Hands. They are only ſeen upon the Ice, whence they are call'd *Snow-birds*. We kept ſome of them in a Cage, but they ſoon died. Thoſe we eat were very lean, but of no ill taſte. See N° (56).

The Ice-bird.

I got ſight of a moſt curious *Ice-bird* in the *Engliſh-harbour*, of the bigneſs of a ſmall Pigeon, and ſhining like Gold; but being afraid we ſhould ſpoil his curious Feathers by ſhooting it ſo near at hand, it eſcaped us, and ſo I could not delineate it, this being the only I ſaw of the kind.

Of the Broad-footed Birds.

Of theſe there are divers ſorts at *Spitzbergen*; ſome with pointed, other with thick and broad Bills. Among the thick-bill'd ones, ſome have them parted as the *Mallemucken* (or *Fooliſh Gnats*), others undivided, as the *Parrets* (as they call them). Another difference is in the Heels of theſe Birds; for ſome of them have Heels, as the *Mountain-duck*, *Kirmew*, and *Mallemucken*: Others have none, as the *Burgermaſter*, *Rathſher*, *Struntjayer*, *Kutyegehf*, *Parret*, *Lumbe*, *Pigeon*, and the *Red-gooſe*. No Water ſticks to the Feathers of theſe Birds, no more than to the Swans and other Water-fowl. Some are alſo Birds of Prey, others not. There is alſo a great difference in their flying: the *Pigeon* flies like a *Partridge*; the *Lumbe* and *Red-gooſe* like a *Swallow*; the *Mallemucken*, *Rathſher*, and *Struntjayer*, like the *Metes*; and the *Burgermaſter* like the *Stork*.

Birds of prey.

The Birds of Prey are, the *Burgermaſter*, *Rathſher*, *Struntjayer*, *Kutyeghef*, and *Mallemucken*; and their Fleſh is different accordingly: The Fleſh of the Birds of Prey is ſcarce eatable, unleſs you hang them up for ſome days by their Legs, that the Air may conſume the Train-oil; without which, it would make you vomit.

The *Pigeons*, *Parrets*, *Red-geeſe*, and *Ducks*, are pretty fleſhy, and the *Rotjes*, *Kirmews*, and young *Lumbs*, eat tolerably well, boil'd or fry'd, provided the Fat be taken away, which otherwiſe would turn your Stomach. All theſe Birds, except the *Struntjayer*, *Kirmew*, and *Mountain-duck*, build their Neſts upon the Rocks, tho' ſome higher than others. About the latter end of *June* and the beginning of *July* (their hatching-time) they flock together in ſuch vaſt numbers, that when they fly up, they darken the Sky like a Cloud: But the *Kirmews* *Mountain-ducks*, and the *Struntjayers*, make their Neſts in the low Grounds of the little Iſles, where we uſed to take up vaſt quantities of Eggs.

How they build their Neſts.

The *Mountain-duck* builds his Neſt of the Feathers of his own Belly, mix'd with ſome Moſs: But theſe Feathers are not the *Edder Down*, brought us from *Iſland*; for theſe are taken from a large Bird call'd *Edder*, a Pound of which, when cleanſed from the Moſs, is ſold at a Crown *per* Pound: But the Down of theſe Northern *Mountain-ducks*, the Sea-men uſed to be put into their Pillows and Straw-ſacks, which might be worth conſiderably, if they were well cleanſed. The *Kirmews* as well as the *Rotjas*, lay their Eggs among the Moſs: The Neſts of the other Birds being too high among the Rocks, we could not come at them. All theſe Birds fly directly to their own Neſts, let it be never ſo dark. As to the Names of the Birds, I have inſerted them, juſt as the Sea-men have given them formerly. Some of theſe Birds, as *Lumbs*, *Struntjayers*, *Mallemucken*, *Kirmews*, and the *Mews* call'd *Kutjegehf*, I have alſo ſeen on the Coaſt of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as alſo in the *Spaniſh-Sea*, and the two laſt even upon the *Elbe*, the River of *Hamburgh*.

The *Rathſher*.

The *Rathſher* (or Alderman) is a thin-bill'd Bird, with three Claws, being ſo call'd from his ſtately and handſome aſpect, but is leſs than the Bird call'd the *Burgermaſter*.

This Bird has a ſharp and thin Bill, and three Claws join'd by a black Skin, without any Spur or Claw behind: Its Legs are ſhort and black, and ſo are the Eyes. It is ſo white, that you may even diſtinguiſh it beyond the Snow: Its Tail is indifferently long, and very broad, like a Lady's Fan: It cries lower than the little *Kirmew*, and ſpreads its Wings and Tail in flying, like the *Struntjayer* or *Crow*. It does not much care to ſwim in the water as the other Birds do here, tho' it is very fond of Fiſh. I have ſeen them feed upon the Sea-horſes dung upon the Ice, upon whoſe Body they will reſt, whilſt alive. They fly alone, except when they flock together in great numbers about a Prey. I did delineate them at *Spitzbergen*, *July* the 10th, and they were ſo tame, that inſtead of ſhooting, we could have knock'd them down with our Guns, N° (56).

The *Pigeon*.

The *Pigeon*, or rather *Pigeon-diver*, is a beautiful Bird, of the bigneſs of a Duck, with a thin ſharp-pointed Bill, about two Inches long, red and hollow within, the upper Bill being a little crooked at the end. It has a ſhort Tail, and ſhort red Legs, with three red Toes, and crooked Claws. Some of theſe Birds are black all over, but ſome about the Wings and in the middle, are py'd with black, and are altogether white underneath the Wings. Their Tongue is red and hollow, and they cry like young Pigeons, whence they have got their name, they having nothing elſe like them: In their Crops I found Shrimps and ſmall Land-ſtones. Their flight is not very high, at moſt like the Partridges, and generally by Pares, or elſe alone: They can keep a conſiderable time under water, eſpecially if they are purſued or ſhot. Their Fleſh is not ill to eat, if fry'd in Butter, after the Fat is taken away. I ſhot the firſt on the Ice, *May* the 23d, and afterwards at *Spitzbergen*, where they are more frequent. See N° (58).

The *Lumb*.

The *Lumb* reſembles in its Bill the *Diving-pigeon*, except that it is more crooked and ſtronger. Its Feet are black, with three Toes, and as many black Claws; the Legs are alſo black and ſhort. Its cry is almoſt like a Raven, bigger than the *Diving-pigeon*, about the ſize of a midling Duck: I was told that they feed alſo upon ſmall freſh River-fiſh. The old ones carry their young ones from the Rocks to the Water, where they teach them to ſwim; and are ſo fond of them, that they will ſwim conſtantly about them, and defend them againſt the Inſults of the *Burgermaſters*. They are not eaſy to be ſhot; for ſo ſoon as they ſee fire, they get away, or under water. They fly together in Flocks, with pointed Wings like Swallows, and of a ſwift motion. The young *Lumbs* are not eaſily diſtinguiſh'd from the old ones, unleſs you take exact notice of their Bills, the upperpart whereof turns beſide the undermoſt part, at the Point, and the undermoſt beſide the uppermoſt: This is commonly done in the 15th, 16th, or 20th year of their age. The old ones are very fleſhy, but dry and tough, and therefore ſcarce eatable, unleſs you boil them well, and after you have taken away the Fat, fry them in Butter. I ſaw thouſands of them on the South and Weſt ſides of the Mountains (where the Herbs grow) near the *Daniſh-harbour*; but did not meet with ſo many near St. *Magdalens-haven*, where I drew my Figure, *July* the 25th. I met with ſome of them afterwards in the *Spaniſh-Sea*, and the North Sea near *Heggigeland*. See N° (59).

The *Mew* call'd *Kutyegelf*.

This is a kind of handſome *Mew*, call'd *Kutyegelf*, from its cry: Its Bill is bent ſomething like that of the *Burgermaſter*, with a ſmall knob on the undermoſt part of the Bill. His black Eyes are ſurrounded with a red circle, like the *Burgermaſter*; his three Claws are join'd with a black Skin: The Legs are of the ſame colour, and ſhort, the Tail long and broad like a Fan. He is as white as Snow on the Belly, but grey on the Back and Wings, the Points whereof are black. His bigneſs is the ſame as other *Mews*, but ſomewhat leſs than the *Struntjayer*. His Food is the Fat of the Whales, which the Seamen tie to their Hooks for a bait, and ſo catch not only theſe, but moſt other Birds of Prey: he never dives, but flies with ſmall Wings: He is hunted by the *Struntjayer* (or *Dunghunter*) till he dungs, which the *Struntjayer* eats: I have been frequently an Eye-witneſs of this: This which I delineated, was taken at the *South-haven*. I took notice, that this Bird, as well as all the others in thoſe parts, ſwim upon the Water, holding up their Heads againſt the Wind, let it blow never ſo hard: This they do, that their Feathers may not be opened and entangled, and conſequently they faulter in their flight. This Bird has but little meat upon him: I have ſeen ſome of them both in the *Spaniſh* and in the *North-Sea*, but ſomewhat different from theſe. See N° (60).

The *Burgermaſter*.

The *Burgermaſter* (or Major) has got its name from its bigneſs (being almoſt equal to a Stork) before all the other Birds of *Spitzbergen*, He has a crooked, thick, narrow, and yellow Bill, the undermoſt ſomewhat knobby at the Extremity, more than the *Kutyegehf*, with long Noſtrils, and a red Circle about his Eyes: His Legs are not quite ſo long as the Stork's, and grey, as are his three Claws: He has a broad and white Tail like a Fan: The Wings and Back are of a plale colour; the firſt tip'd with white, and ſo is the whole Body. They build their Neſts high among the Cliffs of the Rocks, beyond any body's reach, but will flock in great numbers to a dead Whale to feed upon his Fat, where we uſed to ſhoot them. His cry is like the Raven's, and his flight like a Stork; he feeds upon young *Lumbs* and the Fat of Whales, as alſo the *Sea-horſe*'s dung. He commonly flies alone, except when they meet at their Prey: They love to reſt on the water, but ſeldom dive. The *Mallemucken* (whilſt they are feeding upon the dead Whale) lie quietly down before the *Burgermaſter*, rather than to leave their Meal, who bites them in the Neck, which they don't regard, by reaſon of the thickneſs of their Skin; we ſhot one *July* the 10th, before the *Weibegat*. You ſee him at N° (61).

The *Rotges*.

The *Rotges* is a diving Bird, with a crooked, ſhort, thick, and black Bill, ſhort Legs of the ſame colour, and three Claws and black Nails, join'd by a black Skin. Some are pied with black on their Wings, like the *Diving Pigeon*; their Feathers are like Hair on a thick Skin, and their Tails very ſhort: For the reſt, they reſemble both in ſhape and flight the *Swallows*, and fly in flocks; they walk wabbling from one ſide to another, and cry, *Rottet*, *tet*, *tet*, *tet*, *tet*, firſt high, and lower by degrees, whence they have got their name. As they have a ſhrill Voice, ſo they make a moſt hideous noiſe, tho' moſt of the other Birds of *Spitzbergen* are not inferiour to them, except that they cry lower. The *Rotges* are ſomewhat bigger than Starlings; build for the moſt part their Neſts in the Cliffs of the Rocks, and ſome on the Mountains among the Moſs. Their Food is a certain grey Worm like Craw-fiſh (delineated hereafter) as alſo red Shrimps or Prawns. The firſt we got *May* the 29th, on the Ice, and afterwards many more at *Spitzbergen*. They afford very good Food, and the beſt, next to the *Strand-runner*, being both fleſhy and fat; we eat them boil'd and roaſted. See N° (62).

The *Struntjager*.

The *Struntjager* (*Dung-hunter*) has a thick black Bill, ſomewhat crooked, and blunt before. His Legs are not very long, and his three Claws join'd with a black Skin. The Tail is like a Fan, with one Feather ſtanding out before the reſt: The top of his Head is black, and ſo are his Eyes: About his Neck he is adorn'd with a dark-yellow Ring, his Wings and Back brown, but underneath the belly white. He is ſomething larger than the *Kutyegelf*, whom he hunts in the Air, flying ſometimes above, ſometimes below her, till ſhe caſts her Dung, which he catches before it falls into the Water, (whence he has got his Name) and, as I ſuppoſe, ſerves him inſtead of drink, his ordinary Food being the Fat of the Whale. His Neſt he builds not very high, and walks upright like the *Burgermaſter* and *Ratſher*: His Fleſh is no more eatable than that of the other Birds of Prey: He cries *I. Ja*, or *Je han*, with a ſhril Voice. I ſhot him *July* the 11th, near the *Deer-haven* (or *Rehenfeld*) at *Spitzbergen*, and ſaw another of them on the back of *Scotland*, being otherwiſe a rare Bird, that commonly flies alone, not unlike a Crow, but his Wings are more pointed at the end. See N° (63).

The *Diving-Parret.* This Bird, commonly call'd the *Parret*, having a peculiar Bill, among all the other web-footed Birds, has got the name of a *Parret*, tho' his Bill is not like that of a true *Parret*, being broad, and full of ſmall ſtreaks of divers colours, *viz.* red. white, and the broad part black: Both the upper and undermoſt are pointed; the uppermoſt Arch red, with a thin bended Hook on the upper-Bills; the undermoſt Arch is yellowiſh, which towards the end downwards, is cut off ſloping: Both the upper and under part is three Fingers broad, and three long: On the upper Bill he has four arched and oblong pitted holes, and as many on the lower, tho' the furthermoſt is not quite ſo plain: Theſe holes on both Bills, make together a Half-Moon, as do the elevated parts betwixt them: For, by theſe holes are as many raiſed parts, the uppermoſt being as broad as the three furthermoſt ones, together; and has underneath on each ſide, an oblong hole, which doubtleſs are the Noſtrils; but the undermoſt on the under-Bill, is about a Straw's breadth broader; the upper broad part is blackiſh, and ſometimes blew.

On this broad part of the upper-Bill, that is thus raiſed, is towards the Eye an oblong piece of a white *Cartilage* full of holes, whereon you ſee towards the inner part of the Mouth a certain Nerve, which reaching to the under part, there ends, and gives motion to the opening and ſhutting of the Bill. His Legs are ſhort and red, with three Claws join'd with a red Skin, and three ſtrong Nails: He has a wabbling Gate. The Eyes are ſurrounded with a red Circle, above which, ſtands upright a little Horn, and underneath the Eyes is another ſmall oblong black horn croſt over: The Head is black as far as to the Horn, but the Cheeks white, with a black Ring about the Neck: The Back and Wings are of the ſame colour, but the Belly white. They fly either ſingly or by Pairs, with pointed Wings like *Lumbs*. They can keep a great while under water, and feed upon Shrimps, ſmall Fiſh, Worms, Sea-ſpiders, and Star-fiſh. This Bird is fleſhier than the *Diving-pigeon*, which affords very good Food: I never ſaw any of them among the Ice. This, whereof I have given you the Draught, I ſhot at *Schmerenbergh*, near *Spitzbergen*, *June* the 20th, and got ſeveral more afterwards. See N° (64).

Of the Web-footed Birds with four Claws.

We will now proceed to the web-footed Birds with four Claws, of which I met with three ſorts about *Spitzbergen*, viz. the *Mountain-duck*, the *Kirmew*, and *Mallemucken*.

The *Moun-tain-duck.* The *Mountain-duck* is rather a wild Gooſe than a kind of a Duck, being of the bigneſs of a middle-ſized Gooſe, and like her about the Bill: It is a beautiful Bird, with fine ſpotted Feathers; For the reſt, they dive under water as our Ducks do: The Drake is pied with black and white, but the Duck of the colour of our Partridges; and the Tail bobb'd like that of an ordinary Duck: The hindermoſt Claw is ſhort and broad, with a ſhort Nail: I found nothing in their Gizzards but Sand-ſtones: They fly in Flocks, and if they eſpy any Body, ſtretch out their Necks. Their Neſts they make of the Feathers of their Bellies mix'd with Moſs, upon the low Iſlands.

We found two, three and four Eggs in a Neſt, ſome whereof were rotten, but the reſt afforded good Food, being pale-green, ſomething bigger than our Duck-eggs: The Fleſh of theſe Birds is excellently good, if you throw away the Fat, which taſtes like Oil. That which I have delineated here, we ſhot in the *South-haven* at *Spitzbergen*, *June* the 18th. See N° (65).

The Kirmew. The *Kirmew* has a thin ſharp-pointed Bill, as red as Blood: Its long Wings and Feathers in the Tail, makes it ſhew very big; tho' without them it is no bigger than a Sparrow. It has pointed Wings, and a Tail longer than a Swallow: It is call'd the *Kirmew* from its Crys, which is *Kir, Kir*: Both the Claws and Skin that join them, are as red as Blood, and the Nails on the four Claws black, the hindermoſt being the leaſt. The Legs are alſo red, and ſhort; the top of the Head black, but the ſides white, the reſt of the Body of an Aſh-colour: The Wings and Tail white underneath, and one ſide of the Feathers of the Wings black. Theſe different Colours, together with the red Legs, Feet, and Bill, render this Bird very beautiful to the Eye: Its Feathers are hairy; it flies moſt ſingly, unleſs it be near their Neſts, whither they flock in vaſt numbers; theſe are made of Moſs. Both the Neſts and Eggs are of an Aſh colour, but the laſt have black Specks, and are of the bigneſs of a Pigeon's Egg; I ate ſome of them, and they taſted like Lap-wings Eggs: The Yolk is very red, and the White blewiſh; they are ſharp pointed at one end. It is a kind of a Hawk, that feeds upon ſmall grey Worms and Shrimps. I did not taſte its Fleſh, becauſe we got but one, which was ſhot quite to pieces: The Feathers of theſe Birds at *Spitzbergen*, are much finer than thoſe of our Country, which are grey. That delineated here, was ſhot *June* the 20th, at the *Birds-ſong* near *Spitzbergen*. See N° (66).

The Malle-mucke. The *Mallemucke* has a Bill ſeverally divided: The uppermoſt has ſmall longiſh Noſtrils next to the Head; and underneath them grows out as it was a new Bill, riſing up crooked, and into a ſharp point. The under part of the Bill is compos'd of four pieces, two whereof meet in a point downwards, exactly with the point of the upper Bill; the other two gape upwards. The Claws and Skin betwixt them is grey, as well as the hindermoſt, which is ſmaller than the reſt: The Tail is broad, and the Wings longiſh like the *Kirmew*. Some are grey all over, ſome only on the Back and Wings, but the Head and Belly white. It flies like a *Great Mew*; it does not much care for diving, flies ſingly, has but ſmall Wings, and wabbles a good while before it can raiſe it ſelf from the Ground. As they feed upon the Fat of the Whale, ſo they follow him in great numbers, eſpecially after he is wounded, where they follow the Track of the Blood in the Water, by which means the Whale is often diſcover'd.

It has got the name of *Mallemucke* from its ſuffering it ſelf to be kill'd without ſtirring; for *Mall* ſignifies as much as fooliſh or ſilly, and *Mucke* a Gnat: It is a very devouring Bird, and will eat till it can ſtand no longer: It is the firſt and moſt common Bird you ſee in *Greenland*; their cry, is, at a diſtance like the Frogs: It has the leaſt Meat of any Bird of Prey I ever ſaw; and what it has of it, is very tough and ſtrong; ſo that if they are to be eaten, you muſt hang them up for ſometime by their Legs; and afterwards lay them in freſh water before you fry them. It builds its Neſt high into the Mountains, but not ſo high as the *Burgermaſter*. They are frequently ſeen all over in the *North-Sea*: This was delineated among the Ice *June* the firſt. See N° (67).

Of ſome other Birds not delineated here.

Beſides theſe before-mentioned Birds, I ſaw a certain kind of Geeſe, call'd *Red Geeſe*, with long Legs, and flying in Flocks: Theſe are alſo frequently ſeen in *Ruſſia*, *Norway*, and *Jutland*.

I ſaw another handſome Bird (call'd *John of Ghent*) of the bigneſs of a Stork, and of the ſame ſhape: It is a kind of a Hawk, pied white and black, very ſharp-ſighted: The Brains of this Bird are highly valued in theſe Northern Parts, but for what, I am not able to tell. They are ſeen every where in the *North-Sea*, eſpecially where they catch Herrings: I have alſo ſeen them in the *Spaniſh Sea*. Theſe as well as all the other Birds of *Spitzbergen*, come hither at certain times, abide here as long as the Sun ſhines, and afterwards return in great flocks whence they came before: They reſt both in the Water and upon the Land; but which way thoſe Birds that have divided Claws, perform their Voyage over Sea (as the *Ratiſher*, the *Snite*, the *Snow-bird*) I am not able to tell.

Of the Four-Leg'd Creatures.

The Deer. The Deer of *Spitzbergen* is not unlike a Hart, with cloven Feet, and Horns not unlike unto an Elke, and of a greyiſh Colour like our Deer: It has three or four Branches on each ſide about two Inches broad, and a Foot long, with long Ears and a ſhort Tail: They run away at the firſt ſight of a Man, but as ſoon as you ſtop, they ſtand alſo, and then you muſt fire at them: They are every where about *Spitzbergen*, but eſpecially near the Harbour, call'd the *Rehenfeld* (or *Deer-field*) and upon the Fore-land of *Muſcle-haven*. Their Meat is very good Food, but at our firſt arrival they were very lean, which makes me imagine that they remain here all the Winter long. See N° (68).

The Fox. There is but little difference betwixt the Foxes of our Country and thoſe of *Spitzbergen*, except that the laſt have a black Head and a white Body: They live upon Birds and Eggs. They will not go into the Water, tho' never ſo ſtraitly purſued. See N° (69).

The White Bear. The Bears of *Spitzbergen* are of a quite different ſhape from thoſe of our Country, being more like Dogs, with a long Head and Neck, and the barking of Dogs; beſides, that they are not ſo bulky, and much ſwifter than other Bears. They dreſs their Skins at *Spitzbergen* in the following manner: They heat Saw-duſt, and tread the Skins in it, which ſucking up the Fat, renders the Skin dry: They have long and ſoft Hair. The Noſe and Mouth is black; the Fat of their Feet is a good Remedy againſt Rhumatick Pains, and a good Sudorifick, and eaſes Women in travel.

Their Fleſh is whitiſh like that of Sheep, but I did not care to taſte it: Their Milk is alſo very white and fat; and they have a Head ſo thick and firm, that tho' we ſtruck ſome of them with Cudgels, enough to knock down a Bullock, yet they did not matter it, and we were forced to kill them with our Launces. They ſwim from one Ice-field to another, and will dive for a conſiderable time: Sometimes they are alſo ſeen upon the Land. The young ones are diſtinguiſh'd from the old ones, by nothing but their Teeth, which in the firſt are hollow within, where thoſe of the old ones are ſolid and cloſe. Theſe Teeth burnt to powder, and given inwardly, diſſolves the coagulated Blood. The young ones keep generally ſo cloſe to the old ones, that they would rather be kill'd than leave them. Their Food is the Carcaſſes of Whales or Men, the laſt of which they will dig out of their Burying places: They will alſo run often at a living Man, if they think they can maſter him: They eat alſo Birds and Eggs. That repreſented at N° (70), we caught *July* the 13. How the Foxes and Bears live in the Winter-time, I am not able to tell.

The Sea-dog or Seals. The *Seale* (call'd the *Sea-dog*, and *Rubbe* by the *Germans*) is an amphibious Creature, with five Claws on its Feet, join'd together with a thick Skin, like a Gooſe: The Head is not unlike that of a Dog, with crop'd Ears; tho' ſome have rounder, longer, and leaner Heads than others. About the Mouth it has ſomething like a Beard, and Hair on the Noſe and Eye-lids, but ſeldom above four: It has hollow, large and bright Eyes: The Skin is cover'd with a ſhort Hair of divers colours, with yellow, red, grey, black and white ſpots, like a Tyger: Its Teeth reſemble thoſe of Dogs, and are ſo ſharp, that they can bite thro' a Stick of the thickneſs of a Man's Arm: The Claws are alſo very ſharp, black, and long, but the Tail is but ſlender. The old ones bark like hoarſe Dogs, but the young ones mew like Cats: They are all lamiſh behind; notwithſtanding which, they make ſhift to climb up on the Ice, where they love to repoſe themſelves and ſleep, when the Sun ſhines; eſpecially on the Weſtern ſhoar, where we ſaw enough to have ſerved for loading for ſeveral Ships: And there are many Inſtances, that for want of Whales, ſome Ships have made their loading with them. The worſt is, that they are very troubleſome to flea, and are ſeldom very fat at the time when the Ships arrive on this Coaſt.

It is a general rule, that where the *Sea-dogs* are ſeen in great numbers, but few Whales appear; becauſe the firſt devour all the ſmall Fiſh, Worms, *&c*, before them. Thoſe we opened had nothing but whitiſh Worms of a Finger's length in their Stomacks.

How they are taken. When we have a mind to take them, we get upon one of the Ice-fields, where they lie, and making a great noiſe, ſo aſtoniſh them, that they pull up their Necks as long as Grey-hounds, and in the fright, gives us an opportunity to ſtrike them with Poles and Half-pikes upon their Noſes, till they are half dead. Some of them recover themſelves, and bite at the Men, running after very ſwiftly, notwithſtanding their lameneſs; for they move like the Eel to the Water, where they hide themſelves by diving, and leaving a yellow Dung behind them, which they ſquirt at thoſe that purſue them, (as the Hern does) and ſtink abominably.

We took one of their young ones alive, but were forced to kill it, becauſe it would not eat. The biggeſt are from five to eight Foot long: That which you ſee delineated here, was eight Foot long: The Fat lies three or four Inches thick betwixt the Skin and Fleſh: The Fat affords the beſt Train-Oil, and the Fleſh is very black: It is very full of Blood, the Lungs, Liver, and Heart are exceſſive large: Theſe we lay in Water, and afterwards boil them, but they taſte very rank. It has alſo abundance of ſmall Guts, without any Fat within: The Parts deſtined for Generation, conſiſt of one Bone, of a Span long, like that of a Dog; ſome were ſcarce a Finger long, but all covered with Sinews. The Cryſtal of their Eyes is not much bigger than a good Pea, ſometimes white, ſometimes of a yellowiſh or red colour: If you have a mind to keep them, you muſt let them dry by degrees, and ſo lay them in a Linnen Rag, in a moiſt place, elſe they will crack to pieces. They are accounted very fierce whilſt they are coupling, when no body dares to approach them upon the Ice, but they kill them out of their Long-boat: They are ſo tenacious of Life, that one of eight Foot long, after it had received prodigious blows on its Head and Noſe, nay, after it was flead, and part of the Fat taken off, it took hold with its Teeth, of a ſhort Pike, ſo that we were forced to run a Launce thro' its Heart and Liver, whence iſſued forth as much Blood as if it had been from an Ox. At another time I run one of theſe Creatures thro' with my Sword upon the Ice, in ſeveral places, notwithſtanding which, it got away from me into the Water. See N° (71).

The Sea-horſe or Morſe. The *Sea-horſes* are near of the ſame ſhape as the *Seals*, with five Claws both on their fore and hinder-feet, but ſomewhat ſhorter Nails; but their bulk is much larger, being of the ſize of a Bullock: Their Heads are alſo rounder and thicker than thoſe of the Seals. Their Skin, eſpecially about the Neck, is very thick, and covered with a ſhort reddiſh or grey Hair, and ſometimes of a Mouſe Colour. About their Joints you ſee certain ſtreaks or ſmall Pleats, like the Lines in a Man's Hand. They have two large Teeth in their upper-Jaw-bone, of one, two, and more Foot long, extending below their under Lips: thoſe of the young ones are not ſo big. Their two great Teeth.

Some of the old ones have only one, perhaps becauſe they have loſt one in fighting, or by chance; for I obſerved ſome of them hollow and rotten; whereas otherwiſe they are cloſe, firm, and heavy, (the Root only excepted) and then they are valued beyond Ivory, being both whiter and dearer; and are uſed to make Knive-hafts Bones of: In *Jutland* they make Buttons out of their leſſer Teeth for their Cloaths. Their Mouth is broad like that of an Ox; have ſeveral Briſtles both above and underneath, hollow within of the bigneſs of a Straw; of theſe the Seamen twiſt Rings againſt the Cramp. Above the uppermoſt Briſtles they have two Semicircular Noſtrils, out of which they ſpout Water like unto a Whale, but with leſs noiſe and force. The Eyes are at a conſiderable diſtance above the Noſtrils, of a red colour all over, like Blood, with Eye-lids like other four leg'd Beaſts. Their Ears ſtand above, but very near to the Eye-lids, and are not unlike thoſe of the *Seals*. Their Tongue is no leſs than a Neat's Tongue, and if eaten ſoon after it is boil'd, eats tolerably well; but if kept two or three days, turns rank: As they have a very thick Neck, they generally turn their Eyes about inſtead of their Head. Their Fleſh is like Hogs Fleſh, but affords no conſiderable quantity of Fat: Sometimes we did eat the Heart and Liver for want of better food.

Their Yards. Their Yards are of a hard Bone, about two foot long, thick at the bottom, and leſs towards the end, ſomewhat bent in the middle: The ſide towards the Belly is flat, but the exteriour ſide round, and covered all over with Sinews: Theſe they alſo uſe to make Knife Hafts of. Food. I judge that they feed both upon Herbs and Fiſhes; the firſt I conclude from their Dung, which is like Horſe-dung; and for the other, they are often ſeen to play with the Whales Skins upon the Water, after they have been thrown away: The Bird call'd the *Burgermaſter*, eats the Sea-horſe Dung. They are moſt ſeen about *Spitzbergen*, lie upon the Ice about the 12th of *July*, like the *Seals*, and roar moſt dreadfully; and will dive under water like the Seals: They will ſleep both upon the Ice and the Surface of the Water, ſo, that we ſometimes miſtook them for dead ones.

Their fierceneſs. They are very fierce Creatures, and will not leave one another till the laſt gaſp, when attack'd by the Sea-men, ſome dive under the Water, and with their Teeth cut holes in the Long-boat, whilſt the reſt endeavour to get into it, by erecting themſelves with half the Body out of the Water. One of our Har-

pooniers

poniers had been likely to have been drawn into the Water, had not the Waſt-band of his Breeches, in which one of theſe Creatures had faſtened his Tuſks, broke. They don't give over as long as any of them are alive; and, if by reaſon of their vaſt multitude, the Boat is forced to fly, they purſue it till they quite looſe ſight of it: This happened to us *July* the 12th.

How they are taken.

When they lie upon the Ice in great numbers, the Sea-men hear them roar, and ſo make towards them with the Boat; as ſoon as the Sea-horſe ſee them approach, the firſt gives warning to the next, by ſtriking him with his Tooth, and ſo it goes on ſucceſſively, till they all take the alarm, and then they riſe, roar and look terribly, make up to the brink of the Ice-field, and throw themſelves into the Sea with ſuch fierceneſs, that, unleſs they keep off aloof in the Boat, till moſt of them are jump'd into the Water, they will leap into the Boat and over-ſet her. Their chiefeſt ſtrength lies in their Heads and Necks, their Skin thereabouts being thicker and more ſolid than that of an Elk. The Harponier commonly takes the opportunity of ſtriking or darting the Harpoon-Iron at a Sea-horſe, when he is throwing himſelf from the Ice into the Sea, or is diving with his Head under Water, his Skin being then extendded, whereas, whilſt he lies aſleep, it is looſe and wrinkled, and the Harpoon will not ſo eaſily enter the Skin. After he is ſtruck with the Harpoon, he runs on for ſome time, till he is tired, when the Sea-men by drawing the Line, bring him to the Boat, where he bites, and makes all imaginable reſiſtance, till he is fully diſpatch'd with Lances. After the Sea-horſe is kill'd, they take only the Head into the Ship, they being taken only for the Head's ſake, tho' ſcarce one in a hundred has two very good Teeth, ſome being only ſmall, others having but one, and many more none at all.

The Harpoon.

The Harpon, and Launce or Javelin for a Sea-horſe, are not above a Span and a half long, and an Inch thick, but the wooden Staff thereof is ſix Foot long. The Harpoon for the Whale is not ſtrong enough to pierce the Skin of this Creature. We ſaw once ſo vaſt a multitude of them lying upon an Ice-field, that the weight of them had preſs'd down the Ice even with the Surface of the Water; but after they had thrown themſelves off into the Sea, it was riſen ſo high above the Sea, that we could ſcarce get upon it out of our Boat. I had it from creditable Hands, ſuch as uſed the *Greenland*-Trade, that at a certain time, when they could meet with no Whales, they rowed with their Boat to the *Muſs Iſle*, where meeting with vaſt multitudes of Sea-horſes, they kill'd a great many of them, but their number encreaſing faſter than they could kill them, they made a kind of Fence of the dead Sea-horſes laid upon one another, leaving only a place of the bigneſs of a Gate, for the reſt to come in one after another; and by this Stratagem kill'd a ſufficient number to make a good Voyage of it: For ſome Years theſe Teeth were much deerer than now. The Figure of this Beaſt is delineated at N° (72).

Of the Teſtaceous Fiſhes.

Of Teſtaceous Fiſh, we met only with two ſorts, viz. *Crawfiſh* and the *Starfiſh*: Of the firſt we obſerved four different ſorts, *viz.* the *Sea-Spider*, (as the *French* call it) the *Red Prawn*, the *Small Prawn* or *Shrimp*, and the *Whale-Louſe*.

The Sea-Spider.

The *Sea-Crawfiſh* or *Sea-Spider*, has ſix Feet and two Claws, but no Tail, being in ſhape not unlike a Lobſter, of a dark-brown Colour, prickly on the Back, and hairy all over the Body. I have ſeen ſome of them in my Voyage to *Spain*, (which I intend to publiſh in time) but they differ from thoſe of *Spitzbergen* in their bigneſs and head, thoſe Northern ones having Heads like Lobſters, whereas the other reſemble with Head and Tail, the ſhape of a Lute. I did not taſte thoſe of *Spitzbergen*, neither had I time to delineate them, tho' we caught ſome *June* the 19th, in the *Engliſh Harbour*. Afterwards paſſing thro' the North-Sea, not far from *England*, we bought a large *Tarbut* from a *Hilge-land* Fiſher-man, which had in its Stomach one of thoſe *Crawfiſhes*, of two ſpans long.

Comm. Prawn.

There is ſcarce any difference betwixt our *Prawns* and thoſe of *Spitzbergen*, except that theſe laſt are red before they are boil'd. The Head is broad, conſiſting of two parts, with divers Horns: The Eyes ſtand out at the end of the Head, like thoſe of the Crawfiſhes: The Scale of the Back is fitted to the Body like a Back-piece of Armour, a little bended behind the Head, in the Neck; and behind it is a Prickle. After that, follow ſix Plates, with as many black Spots at the Brims, lying exactly round, one upon another: The Tail is compoſed of five Parts, which when expanded, are not unlike a Bird's Tail. This *Shrimp* or *Prawn* has two Claws before, reſembling at the Extremities, the Phangs of a Tooth-drawer, and 18 Legs, the ſhorteſt being next to the Claws: The firſt eight Legs conſiſt of four Joints each, the uppermoſt being the longeſt, and the undermoſt the ſhorteſt, and not hairy: Among the ten hindermoſt Legs, the furthermoſt are the longeſt, and the uppermoſt Joint thicker and ſhorter than the lowermoſt; they have but two Joints, the Feet whereof are a little bent, and hairy: And the hindermoſt and undermoſt Joints come out two Shoots, but on the reſt but one. We ſaw them about the bigneſs as they are delineated here; they afford Food for the Birds.

Of the leſſer Prawn.

We met alſo in this Voyage, with another ſort of *Shrimps*, with Heads like our Flies, and two Horns on the fore part of the Head: Their Scales were like thoſe of the *Hog-lice*, with a round Back, broad downwards, and twelve Legs: They have three Legs on each ſide of the foremoſt Scales, and after you have told four Scales more, you will find three Legs more on each ſide. They are of the bigneſs as you ſee them delineated at Tab. N° (73), and are the beſt Food of the Birds in thoſe parts. I ſaw them in vaſt multitudes in the *Daniſh Harbour*, underneath the Stones in the Water; and *July* the eighth, in the *Muſſle Haven*: I obſerved them alſo in the Seed of the Whales, that ſwam upon the Water.

The Whale-Louſe.

The Whale-louſe is a Teſtaceous Animal, having no reſemblance to our Lice, except in the Head, which has four Horns, two ſhort ones ſtanding out before, with two Knobs like Kettle-drum-ſticks; and two bended Horns very ſharp before: Its Scales are as hard as thoſe of the Shrimps. It has two Eyes, but only one Noſtril; and the Neck is covered only with a Skin like that betwixt the Scales of a Lobſter. The Back is covered with ſix Plates, the foremoſt of which is like a Weaver's Shuttle; and the Feet belonging to it ſhaped like a Scythe; toothed like a Saw on the inſide, and ſharp pointed at the Extremities. On each ſide of the ſecond and third Plate, are four Legs on each ſide, which ſerve inſtead of Oars, with a ſhort Joint below, wherein theſe Oars are moved: When they feed upon the *Whales*, they lay them croſs one anothtr upon their Backs: The ſix hindermoſt Legs were like thoſe of the Crawfiſh: Each Leg has three Joints, the foremoſt being crooked like a Half Moon, and ſo ſharp pointed, that they ſtick ſo cloſe to the Whales Skin, as not to be removed alive thence by any art, unleſs you cut a piece of the Skin of the Whale out with them: The Tail is very ſhort. They commonly fix betwixt the Whales Fins, on his *Genitalia*, on the Lips, and ſuch other parts of the Body where he cannot eaſily rub them off; and ſo bite him moſt vehemently. Theſe Lice are not found on all the Whales, and (as I was credibly informed) more in warm than cold weather. The Figure you ſee at N° (74), I delineated at the *Muſkle-Harbour*.

The Starfiſh.

Of *Star-fiſhes*, I obſerved no more than two ſorts in this Voyage.

The firſt ſort.

The firſt hath five Points like Legs, being of a far different ſhape from thoſe I have ſeen in the *North-Spaniſh* and *Mediterranean Seas*. It is of a dark-red colour: On the upper ſide, or plain of its Body, it has five double rows of pointed Knobs, and between each of theſe double rows, another ſingle row of the ſame Knobs; which fifteen rows, make together a Star of five outward bended points. For the reſt, it appears like the Back of a Spider; but on the other ſide, it has in the middle a five-corner'd plain Star, which being its Mouth, it opens and draws it together like a Purſe: This is ſurrounded with little black ſpecks in rows, making the ſhape of a Star; and about the middle Star, (or the Mouth) is one broader, reſembling the Flower of the Crowsfoot. From the middle Star proceed five Legs, without Knobs at the beginning, but afterwards, juſt behind the Flower-like Star, begin to have ſome on both ſides to their Extremities. Theſe Knobs are ſoftiſh like the Skin of an Egg: Its Legs are ſcaly, three Inches long, broader at the beginning where they have Knobs, and growing narrower towards the end. Betwixt the Scales on both ſides the Knobs, come out commonly three or four together like Warts: Theſe Knobs when it ſwims, are ſpread as the Birds do their Feathers when they are going to fly. See N° (75).

The ſecond ſort.

We ſaw here another ſort of fine Star-fiſh, which from its reſemblance to the Branches of Coral, ought rather to be call'd the Coral-fiſh, being of a bright red Colour: The Body has ten corners; and on the upper ſide a Star, with as many Rays; each of theſe are broad at the end, but narrower where they meet, like a Pigeon's Tail, and feel rough. The under part of the Body is very curious, having in the middle a Star or Mouth, with ſix Points: All about it, it is ſoft to the place where the Legs begin; and betwixt the beginning of theſe Legs are ſoft Concavities. The Legs begin where they are largeſt, having in the middle a kind of hollowneſs like a Gutter, which feels ſoft: On the Brim they are covered with Scales, lying one over another: Underneath the Scales are twiſted, and have in the middle forwards, ſmall black Streaks, and are jointed like the Plates of the Crawfiſh. Beſides, where the Legs proceed from the Body, they ſpread themſelves into double Twigs, hollow in the middle, as far as to the place, where they are ſeperated into divers other Branches, growing ſlenderer by degrees towards the Extremities: The undermoſt ſmall Branches are ſcaly all round, but not twiſted, and ſharp pointed like the Spiders Feet, whence ſome Sea-men have given them the name of Sea-Spiders. In ſwimming they draw their Legs together, but can't live long out of the Water, and their Body breaks to pieces ſoon after they are dead. When they are a dying, they bend their Legs towards the Mouth. I got one of both ſorts *July* the fifth, before the *Weibegat*, where they ſtuck alive to our Harpoon Line: I had one of the laſt ſort afterwards, of a ſpan long from the end of one Foot to the other, but that repreſented at N° (76), was leſs: The biggeſt are always the handſomeſt. *Rondeletius* (a) has delineated one of the ſame kind, but as his is black, and without Plates, it can't be the ſame Species.

(a) Lib. de piſc.

Of the Finned Fiſhes.

Some Finned Fiſhes I alſo met withal in this Voyage; ſome whereof propagate by ſhooting of their Row, others by bringing forth their young ones alive. We will begin with the firſt kind, and among them with the Mackril.

The Mackrel.

This Fiſh is in ſhape like a Herring, but with a large Fin on his Back, and a ſmall one a little below it; ſomething lower is another broad one, but not ſo large as the firſt; and ſtill lower you ſee five ſmall ones more of the ſame bigneſs, and at an equal diſtance from one another, beſides a very little one near the Tail; ſo that on his Back he has two great Fins and ſeven little ones. On each ſide near unto the Fins, is another Fin, and another like the former on each ſide underneath the Belly: And towards the Tail, one more of the ſame bigneſs with the third on the Back. Below this are five more of an equal bigneſs, and below theſe ſtill a leſs one; ſo that thoſe of the lower part of the Belly, are equal to thoſe of the lower part of the Back. On the Cover of his Gills, and under the Eyes, are a great many ſmall holes. This Fiſh has moſt glorious Colours when alive; for the uppermoſt part of his Back is blew, and ſomewhat lower greeniſh, and the Belly white as Silver, as are alſo his Fins: Beſides, that from his Back down the ſides, run down certain black marbled Streaks; his Eyes are alſo black: This I am now deſcribing to you, was catch'd in the North-Sea. In the Year 1673, *June* the 27th, we catch'd ſome of them near the Iſle of *Kilda* on the back of *Scotland*, which were half blind: For, in the Winter, when they run far to the North, a Skin grows over their Eyes, which falls off again in the Summer: In the Summer Seaſon I have ſeen them alſo on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. We uſed to catch them with a Line and Hook, baited with a piece of red Cloth, or a piece of Herring.

Is ſometimes blind.

The Dragon-fiſh.

The *Dragon-fiſh* has two Fins on his Back, the foremoſt compoſed of Strings two Inches high above the Back; the hindmoſt is not quite ſo broad, but extends a great way along the Back, but without Strings. Inſtead of Gills he has two holes in the Neck, on each ſide of which, are two ſhort Fins, and under theſe a broad one on each ſide: Underneath the Belly is a long narrow Fin reaching to the Tail. His Head is longiſh and bony, with a riſing Noſe, and a Tail of an Inch broad. The whole Body is long, round and thin, in ſhape not unlike a young Hay or Shark, of a bright Silver colour. They are taken betwixt *Spitzbergen* and the *Bears-Iſle*: Our Cook got one by chance near *Hitland*, in drawing up his Bucket out of the Water, with ſome other Fiſhes of the length of a Joint of of a Finger, in ſhape not unlike our Herrings. The Sea-men ſay there are divers other ſorts of ſuch Fiſh in the deep holes betwixt the Mountains, near the *South-haven*.

The Dolphin.

The Dolphins are ſeen in great numbers jumping at Sea before a Storm: Their Heads are like that of the *Place*, and the Mouth full of ſmall ſharp Teeth. On the middle of the Back is a Fin, hollowed out towards the Tail like a Half Moon; and two more Fins on the Belly, like thoſe of the Whale: All theſe Fins are bony, join'd together with a thin Skin, fleſhy all over, and covered with a thick Skin. The Tail is broad, like that of a Whale, but not cut in, and crooked like a Sickle: The Eyes are ſmall and round. They are black, except on the Belly, where they are white, and five or ſix Foot long. I did not think fit to delineate it, the ſame being ſo frequently done before by others.

The Butskopf or Flounder's Head.

The *Butskopf*'s Head is blunt at the Extremity; its Beak of an equal bigneſs all along, whereas the Dolphins is thick behind, and pointed at the end. The Fins are very like thoſe of the Dolphin, but his Tail more like the Whale's; and he has one Spout-hole above the Neck: Some of them are ſixteen, eighteen, and twenty Foot long. Their Head and Back is brown, but the Belly white; they will follow the Ship for a great while (contrary to what moſt other Fiſh do) and ſwim againſt the Wind as well as the Whales, Finfiſh, Dolphins, &c. You ſee theſe ſort of Fiſh ſometimes tumbling in the Sea, which, tho' by ſome called playing, I believe to proceed from a certain pain they are ſubject to at that time, it having been obſerved, that the ſame ceaſes as ſoon as the Eaſt Wind changes to another Corner. We ſaw another ſort of *Butskopf*, with quite blunt Heads, and a large Fin ſtanding up three times higher than the others: They were of the ſame bulk, but ſomething more inclining to a dark-brown. They were neither Swordfiſh, nor what we call Tumblers, ſuch as are often ſeen between the *Hilgeland*, and the River *Elbe*.

The Whiteſiſh.

This is a ſort of Whitefiſh, different from ours, being of the ſize of a large *Butskopf*, not unlike a Whale, without Fins on his Back, but two on his Belly, as I was told, by thoſe that have caught them. His Tail is alſo like the *Whale*'s, and he has an Hoffel on his Head, like that Animal, and a ſpout-hole near the Neck: Its Colour is pale-yellow. When the Sea-men ſee plenty of them, they preſage themſelves good ſucceſs in catching of *Whales*, becauſe they live upon the ſame Food. I ſaw a vaſt multitude of them *June* the 19th.

The Unicorn.

I had not the good fortune to meet with the ſight of the Fiſh call'd the *Unicorn* in this Voyage; tho' ſometimes they appear in good numbers. I was told that he has no Fin on his Back, but has a *Spout-hole* on the Neck, which does not agree with the Cuts I have ſeen of them. They ſwim in Shoals, holding their Teeth out of the Water: In ſhape they are not unlike the *Seals*; but the undermoſt Fins and the Tail reſemble the *Whale*'s. Some are black, others dappled grey, but white on the Belly: They are ſixteen, eighteen, or twenty Foot long, and ſwim with ſuch ſwiftneſs, as not to be caught without much difficulty.

The Sword-fiſh.

The *Sawfiſh* or *Swordfiſh*, has got its name from a broad Bone fix'd to its Noſe, with many bony-pointed-pegs or Teeth on both ſides, like a Saw or Comb. On its Back are two Fins; the furthermoſt like the *Butskopf*'s; the hindermoſt has towards the Tail, a hollowneſs like a Sickle. Underneath the Belly are four Fins, two on each ſide; thoſe towards the Head are the broadeſt and longeſt; but the lowermoſt,

The *Dolphin.*

The *Butskopf* or Flounder's Head.

The *Whale-fish.*

The *Unicorn*

The *Sword-fish.*

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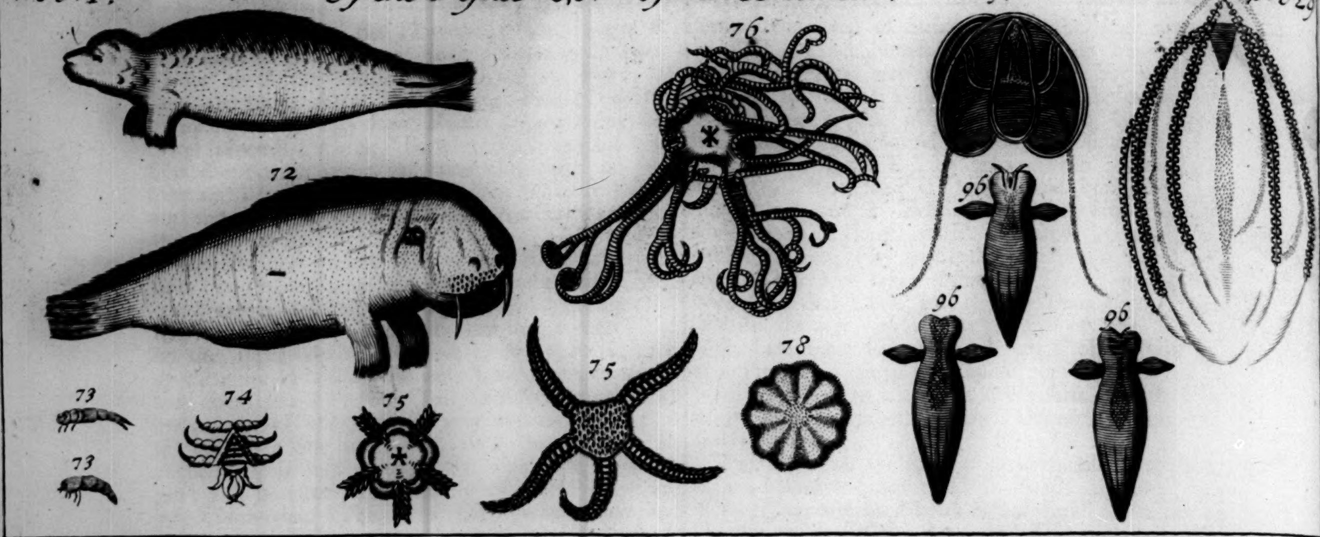
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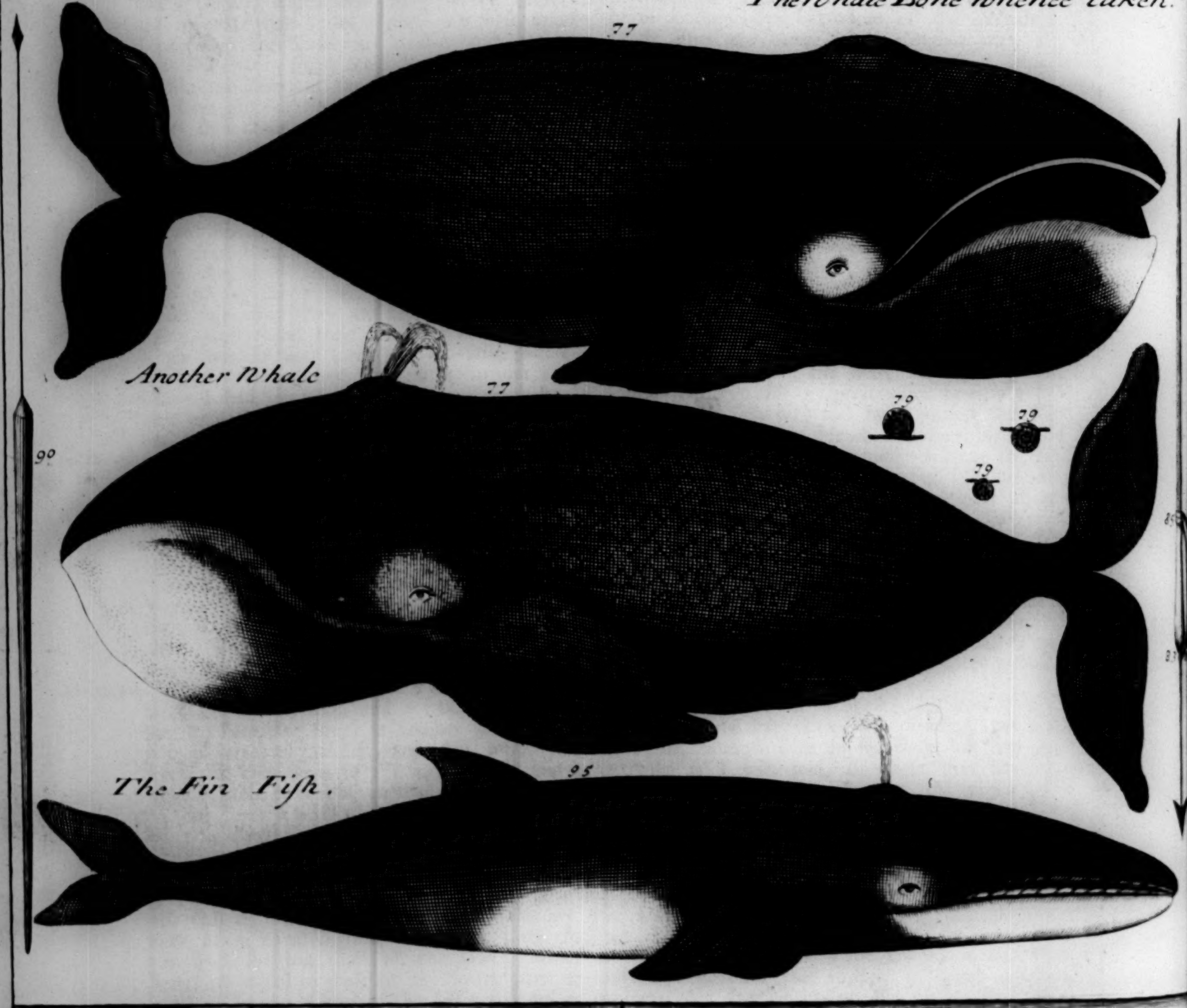
The Whale Bone whence taken.

Another Whale

The Fin Fiſh.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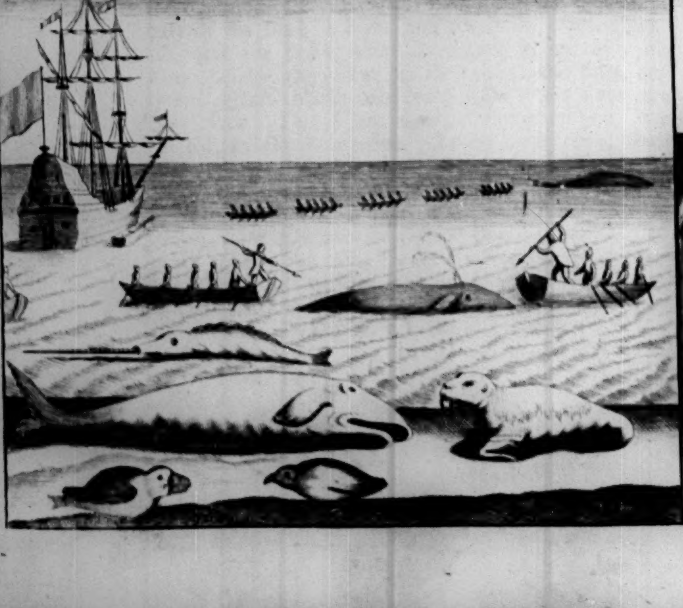
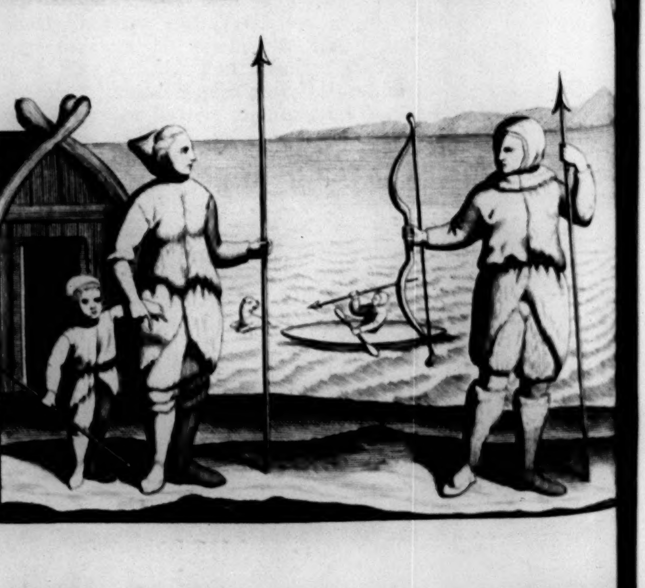
The Whale fiſhing & killing of Morſes



The Habits of the Gronelanders



which ſtand directly oppoſite to the uppermoſt Fins of the Back, are both ſhorter and narrower. The Tail is not cut or divided, but reſembles a piece of board, on which the Diers ſtretch their Stockings, being pointed behind and underneath, and thinner towards the lower Fin of the Back: Its Shape from the Head to the Tail reſembles a Man's Arm ſtretch'd out naked: The Noſtrils are longuiſh; the Eyes ſtand high out of the Head, with a Mouth directly underneath them. They are from two to twenty Foot long.

Their Enmity to the Whale.

This Fiſh is a profeſs'd Enemy of the *Whale*: they get about him in great numbers, and don't ceaſe to aſſault him till they have kill'd him, and then eat his Tongue only, leaving the reſt to the Seamen, who take up the *Whale*; which, if they ſhould do before, they fright away the *Sword-fiſh*.

The Shark or Hay.

Of the *Shark* or *Hay* there are divers ſorts: Thoſe we ſaw had two Fins on the Back, the foremoſt whereof is like to the uppermoſt of the *But*'s Head; but the lowermoſt of an equal breadth all over, but hollowed out like a Sickle: Underneath the Belly are ſix Fins; The two foremoſt are the longeſt, of the ſhape of a Tongue; the two middlemoſt a little broader than thoſe near the Tail, and of the ſame ſhape; and the two laſt by the Tail, of an equal breadth from the top to bottom, but a little ſhorter than the middle ones. One half part of the Tail is like that of the *Swordfiſh*, but ſplit below; and the other part reſembles in ſhape the Leaf of a *Lilly*. They have long Noſes and Mouths like the *Swordfiſh*, full of very ſharp Teeth, three upper and three under rows, one by the other: The Eyes are longuiſh and very clear, ſtanding out more before than behind. They have five Gills on each ſide like the *Swordfiſh*: Their Skin is hard, thick, and rough, inclining to a grey: They are long, round, and thin; thickeſt towards the Head, and from one to three Fathom in Length. They are very voracious, and will not only bite great pieces out of the Whale, but alſo devour a Man if they can lay hold of him, being very eager after Man's Fleſh. The Fleſh of their Back, if hung up for three or four days in the Air, and afterwards boil'd or roaſted, eats tolerably well. In *Spain* they ſell theſe Fiſh for good Meat, but the little ones are the beſt. When they have a mind to catch them, the Sea-men faſten a large Iron Hook to a ſtrong Iron Chain, and having baited it with a piece of Fleſh, let it hang down into the Sea, and ſo catch this greedy Fiſh.

Of the Whale.

The *Whale*, properly ſo call'd, brought by our Ships from *Spitzbergen*, differs from other Whales both in his Fins and Mouth, which has no Teeth, but in lieu thereof, certain long, black, broad, and hairy Flakes, jagged like Hairs. From the *Finfiſh* he differs in his Fins: for, whereas the *Finfiſh* has a great Fin on his Back, the *Whale* has none there, but only two behind his Eyes, covered with a thick black Skin, but delicately marbled with Veins both yellow and white, as you ſee the Veins in ſome Woods. When theſe Fins are cut up, you diſcover underneath the thick Skin, certain Bones reſembling a Man's Hand, with expanded Fingers, and betwixt them ſtiff Sinews, out of which you may cut pieces of the bigneſs of a Man's Hand, which if ſqueezed together, and thrown againſt the Ground, will rebound very high, like the Balls made of the Sinews of Sturgeon, and ſome other Creatures. The *Whale* having no other Fins, theſe ſerve him inſtead of Oars.

His Tail lies Horizontal, like that of the *Finfiſh*, *Butskopf*, &c. and is three, three and a half, and four Fathoms broad.

His Head.

The Head makes up a third part of the whole Fiſh; tho' ſome have bigger Heads than others. Some Hairs grow on the upper and under Lips, which are quite plain, bended almoſt like an S. and enter the Eyes before the two Fins. Upon the uppermoſt Lip are black, or rather dark-brown Streaks, as crooked as the Lips: Theſe are both ſmooth, and quite black, round like the quarter of a Circle: when ever they draw them together, they lock into one another: Nay, on the under Lip is a certain Concavity, unto which the upper Lip is ſo exactly adapted, as a Sheath is to the Knife. I am of opinion, that thro' this he draws in the Water, which he afterwards blows out again.

The Whale-bone.

Within, on the uppermoſt Lip, lies the *Whale-bone*, of a brown, black, and yellow Colour, with ſtreaks of different colours, like the Bones of the *Finfiſh*. The *Whale-bones* of the young ones are blew or blewiſh. In one of the Cuts you ſee the *Whale-bone*, N° (77); but in the other Cut you don't ſee it, his Mouth being ſhut up. The *Whale-bone* within the Mouth is all hairy, like Horſe-hair (as you ſee alſo in the *Finfiſhes*) and hanging down on both ſides all about his Tongue. In ſome *Whales* the *Whale-bone* is bended like a Cimetar; in others like unto a Half Moon. The ſmalleſt *Whale-bone* is before in the Mouth, and behind towards the Throat; the longeſt and biggeſt in the middle, being ſometimes of two or three Men's length. whereby you may gueſs at the Bulk of the whole Fiſh. The *Whale-bone* lies in a flat row one piece by the other, ſomewhat bended and towards the Lips like a Half-Moon. On each ſide are 250 Pieces, which makes 500 in all, beſides the ſmall *Whale-bone* which grows underneath the Root, where the other *Whale-bone* is broadeſt, moſt of which is not cut out, as being very narrow where the two Lips meet. This ſmall *Whale-bone* does not grow bigger, but is of an equal bigneſs from one end to the other. The great *Whale-bone* is broadeſt at the top, where it is join'd to the upper Lip, over-grown with white and hard Sinews near the Root; ſo that betwixt two pieces of *Whale-bone* you may put in your Hand. Theſe Sinews look like boil'd *Sea-cats* or *Blackfiſh* (call'd *Cattula la Mar* by the *Spaniards*) ſmell pleaſantly enough whilſt freſh, but ſtink horribly when rotten; they are not tough, and of no ill taſte. The *Whale-bone* is underneath narrow and pointed, and covered with Hairs, but without hollow like a Gutter, and jointed over one another like the Plates of *Craw-fiſh*, or Tiles of a Houſe. I am of opinion that theſe Hairs might be employed, as the *Spaniards* do with the wild *Sempervive Aloes* (call'd by them *Savila*) which they dreſs like Flax or Hemp, and make Packthreads and Stuffs out of them.

Where and how it grows.

His Mouth and Tongue.

The bottom of the Mouth of the *Whale* is generally white, and ſo is the Tongue, but edged with black ſpots: It is very large, and ty'd cloſe to the undermoſt Chap. Its Subſtance is a ſoft ſpongy Fat, which being very ſoft, and conſequently very difficult to cut, is commonly thrown away, tho' otherwiſe it would afford ſix or ſeven Barrels of Train Oil. On his Head he has a Bump or Knob before the Eyes and Fins: On the top of it is on each ſide a Spout-hole, directly oppoſite to one another, bended like an S, thro' which he blows the Water with ſuch violence (like the Wind in a Cave) that you may hear it at a League's diſtance; but when he is wounded, he forces it out with ſuch a fierceneſs, that it roars like the Wind in a Tempeſt. Behind this Knob his Head is ſomething more bended in, than that of the *Finfiſh*; neither is it round at the top, but flattiſh, and ſloping down to the under Lip, which is broader than the *Whale* in any part of his Body, tho' before and behind it is ſomewhat narrower: In ſhort, the whole Fiſh reſembles in ſhape a Shoe-maker's Laſte, if you look upon it from beneath.

His Eyes and Ears.

The Eyes, which are betwixt the Knob and the Fins, are not much bigger than thoſe of an Ox, with Eye-lids and Hair like Men's Eyes. The Cryſtal of the Eyes (which does not exceed the bigneſs of a Pea) is clear, white and tranſparent, and yellowiſh in ſome: Theſe Eyes are placed as low as the Extremity of the upper Lip. Some ſhew certain bones, which they ſay lie very deep in the Whale's Head, and pretend they are his Ears: Concerning theſe, I can affirm nothing; but this is certain, that when the Whale ſpouts out the Water, he can't hear, and therefore is eaſieſt to be ſtruck then.

Their colour.

Moſt of them are red on the Back and Belly; the Mane of them are white underneath the Belly, and ſome alſo coal black: Others are marbled on the Back and Tail. Among the black ones, ſome approach to the colour of a Tench. One of our Harponiers told me, He caught once a Whale at *Spitzbergen*, that was white all over. Half white ones I have ſeen ſeveral, and among the reſt, once a beautiful Female, marbled all over with black and yellow; but they looſe the beauty of their Colours when the Skin is dry'd by the Sun, or otherwiſe. They are as ſlippery as an Eel, but their Fleſh being very ſoft, you may ſtand upon them ſecure enough. The outward Skin is as thin as Parchment, full of large Pores, which is eaſily pull'd off after the Whale has over-heated himſelf; or the Skin is otherwiſe dry'd by the Sun, but ſmells ſtrong of Train Oil.

Their Members of Generation.

The Yard of the Whale is a ſtrong Sinew, of ſix, ſeven, or eight Foot long, according to the bigneſs of the Animal: Where it is fixed, it has a double Skin, lying juſt like a Knife in a Sheath. The Members of Generation in the Female, are abſolutely like thoſe of the four-leg'd Beaſts; only that on the ſides thereof ſtand out two Breaſts with Nipples, like thoſe of our Cows: Theſe Breaſts are ſometimes white, ſometimes ſpeckled with black and white ſpots. They are not very large, if they have no young ones; of which 'tis ſaid, they have never any more than two at a time. How long they go with them, is very difficult to be determin'd, tho' ſome allot them the ſame time as to a Cow; but without the leaſt certainty, I was credibly inform'd, that when they couple together, they ſtand upright, cloſe to one another, with their Heads out of the Water.

Breaſts.

Their Sperm

The Sperm of the *Whale* before it cools, is white and viſcid, ſo that you may draw it like Sealing-wax or Glew, and ſmells like Wheat boil'd in Water; but afterwards it turns to a Muſk Colour, ſmells rank, and little red Worms grow in it, like unto the grey ones delineated at N° (78). Tab. P. mark'd with C. I try'd ſeveral ways to preſerve it, and to make it like the *Sperma Cati* of the Drugſters, but in vain. I dry'd it in the Sun; but after the thin ſlime was evaporated, it look'd like the *Fila Meteorica*, but ſomewhat thicker and heavier. Some I boil'd in Sea-water, which after it was evaporated, left nothing but ſome Sea-ſalt, and a naſty brown Slime. The third Experiment I made by boiling it in freſh Water, and afterwards in Sea-water, but the longer I kept it the more it ſtunk, and turn'd quite hard. The fourth Parcel I laid in Sea-water, with an intention to carry it to *Hambourgh* but it diſſolved by degrees, and ſtunk ſo vehemently, that I was forced to throw it away: This Sperm ſwims in abundance upon the Surface of the Water, eſpecially in calm weather, as does alſo that of the Sea-horſes and Seals.

Divers Experiments of it.

Where the Yard begins, it is four ſquare, conſiſting of many ſtrong Sinews, which if dry'd, are as tranſparent as Fiſh-glew, and ſerve the Sea-men to twiſt Whips of.

Their Bones.

Their Bones are as hard as thoſe of the four-legg'd Beaſts, but very porous; ſo that when they are dry'd and the Marrow is conſumed, they will hold a great deal of Water. Two ſuch large Bones ſuſtain the under-Lip, lying one againſt the other, both making the Figure of a Half Moon, but one alone the Figure of a quarter of the Moon. I ſaw ſome of them lying near the Shoar, at *Spitzbergen*, of twenty Foot long, very white, and calcined by the Sun: for before they are dry'd, they ſtink filthily, by reaſon of the marrow they contain.

Fleſh.

Their Fleſh is hard like Bull's meat, interſperſed with many Sinews, and as all the Fat lies betwixt the Skin and the Fleſh, ſo it is very dry and lean when boil'd; and ſoon turns black and ill-ſcented: The tendereſt and beſt part is on the Tail, which is eatable enough; and the *French* feed upon it every day when they are in thoſe parts.

Their Fat.

The Fat is about ſix Inches thick on the Back and Belly, and ſometimes a Foot; and on the under Lips two Foot thick, tho' ſome are fatter than others. The Fat is intermix'd with ſmall Nerves, which contain the Oil; the other ſtrong Sinews terminate moſt near the Extremity of the Tail, which ſerves this great Fiſh for a Rudder, as his Fins do inſtead of Oars, wherewith he ſwims with incredible ſwiftneſs, leaving a Track in the Sea like a great Ship under ſail.

The Whales of the *North-Cape* (or ſuch as are caught betwixt *Spitzbergen* and *Norway*) being not ſo big, afford not above ten, twenty, or thirty Cardels of Fat; whereas the middle-ſized ones of *Spitzbergen* yield ſeventy, eighty, or ninty, and are betwixt fifty and ſixty Foot long. Our biggeſt was 53 Foot long, and fill'd us 70 Cardels. *Peter Peterſon* of *Frieſland* told me, he had once taken a dead Whale, the Fat whereof fill'd 130 Cardels; tho' he was not much longer than ours: whence I infer, that they don't grow much longer, but only in thickneſs or fatneſs.

The Fat is, beſides the thin outward Skin, covered with another about an Inch thick, of the ſame colour as the outward Skin of the Fiſh: It is neither ſtiff nor tough, but brittle when dry'd, and conſequently of no great uſe. The Guts of the Whale are of a Fleſh colour, containing, beſides much Wind, a yellow dung.

Their Food

The Food of the Whales is ſuppoſed to be the ſmall Snails, mentioned in another place (See N° 79). I was told of a Whale taken near *Hitland*, that had above a Barrel of Herrings in his Belly. For the reſt, the Whale ſeems to be no couragious Fiſh, conſidering his vaſt bulk; for he runs away under Water at the ſight of the Ship, and hurts no body, unleſs forced thereunto by neceſſity. After he is ſtruck with the Harpoon, he will ſwim away faſter than a Bird can fly, and draw ſome thouſands of Fathoms of Rope-line after him.

In the Spring the Whales have their Station to the Weſt of *Spitzbergen*, near *Old Greenland* and the Iſle of *John Mayen*; afterwards they go to *Spitzbergen*: As ſoon as the *Finfiſh* appear, you ſee no more Whales, probably they go to other places. I ſaw *Finfiſhes* in the *Spaniſh*-Sea in 1671 in *December*, and in 1672 in *January*; and in 1673 in the Streights of *Gibraltar* in *March*, and alſo in the *Mediterranean*. The Whales ſeem alſo to be ſubject to certain Diſtempers: An ancient Harponier aſſured me, that he once caught a Whale, the Skin whereof (eſpecially near the Tail) hung as looſe as Rags; he afforded but little Fat, which was white, and as empty as a Honey-Comb. They are much tormented with Lice: the Draught of which, ſee N° (74). The Wounds given them by the Harpoonin the Fat, heal up again, as may be ſeen by the white Scars that appear in many Whales that are caught afterwards.

How they catch the Whale.

If they meet with many *Seals* (which devour the Food of the Whales) they promiſe themſelves not many Whales; as on the other hand if they ſee good ſtore of *White-fiſh* and ſmall Sea-Snails, delineated at N° (79), they look upon them as the Forerunners of many *Whales*, which they take in the following manner. As ſoon as they ſee or hear a Whale ſpout, they call out *Fall, Fall*, when every one haſtens to the Long-boat he belongs to (ſix or ſeven to a Boat) and ſo they row towards the *Whale*: When they are come near him, the Harponier, who ſits always before in the Boat, with the Harpoon-Iron near him, ſtrikes the *Whale* with the firſt opportunity, (a) who perceiving himſelf wounded, runs with incredible ſwiftneſs to the bottom, drawing the Rope after him with ſuch force, that he would certainly pull it into the bottom, if they did not give him Rope enough. The Rope ty'd next to the Harpoon-Iron, is call'd the Forerunner, about ſix or ſeven Fathom long, and an Inch thick, made of the ſofteſt and moſt pliable Hemp. Then the Line-furniſher (b) ſupplies the Ropes (lying betwixt the Seats of the Benches) of ſeveral thouſand Fathoms long: Theſe are thicker and ſtronger than the Forerunner, made of tough Hemp, and tarr'd over. They muſt be very careful that the Lines be not entangled, or that they run not out on the ſide of the Long-boat, but juſt before (call'd the *Stave*) without which, they would be over-ſet. To prevent the Rope and Wood from catching Fire by the violent motion, the Harponier wets the Wood continually with a wet Mop. The other Men in the Long-boat, take alſo care of the Ropes, both at letting out and taking in again: The Steer-man ſtands behind in the Long-boat, ſteering it with an Oar, as occaſion requires: The Harponier endeavours to dart the Harpoon as near as he can behind the Spout-hole, or the Privy Parts, which ſooner enfeebles the Whale, than if he hits him in the Belly; and if he ſtrikes him upon the Head, he does him but little hurt; becauſe the Fat being but thin upon the Bones, the Harpoon eaſily breaks out, and the Whale gets away.

(a) See N. (80).

(b) See N. (81).

(c) See N. (82).

The Harpoon Iron.

The Harpoon is ſhaped like an Arrow before (See in Tab. Q. at F.) with two Beards ſharp at the Edge, but broad back'd like a Hatchet, elſe it could tear out. The Iron Handle is thicker behind than before, and hollow, wherein is fix'd the Stick (d). Before this hollow part, the Forerunner is faſtened (e). The beſt Harpoons are made of fine Steel, but not much

(d) See N. (83).

(e) See N. (84).

much hardened, elſe they would ſnap, and many Whales (one whereof is worth two hundred Pounds) be loſt. The wooden Stick is faſtened within the Iron Funnel with Packthread wound all about the Iron. Somewhat higher, about two Spans off, is a Hole made thro' the Stick, where the Forerunner is faſtened to it (e). After the Whale is ſtruck with the Harpoon, the other Long-boats run out before, and take notice which way the Line ſtands, and ſometimes pull (f) whether the Whale ſtill draws with all his ſtrength, or grows feeble, and that the Line begins to hang looſe; then they begin to pull in the Rope again, which the Line-furniſher takes care to lay round one row upon another, that, if the Whale ſhould draw again, it may be ready without being entangled (h). If the Whale runs upon a level, they muſt not give him too much Rope, for fear he ſhould wind it about ſome Rock, and ſo tear out the Harpoon. When they come near the Whale again, they kill him with Lances; the longer the Whale lies dead in the Water, the higher he ſwims above it; ſome a Foot high, others to the middle.

(e) See N°. (85)
(f) See N°. (86)
(h) See N°. (81)

If the wounded Whale gets among the Ice Sheets, where the Boats can't follow him, the Harponier at the Head of the Long-Boat, tries whether the Line be ſtiff, and if he fears the Whale will draw the Boat under water, he takes the Chopping Knife (i) and after having drawn the Rope in as much as they can, he chops it off; ſo that ſometimes they looſe thus the Lines of many hundred Fathoms length, and the Whale eſcapes their Hands (k); and, if timely care be not taken, the Long-boat is daſhed and ſplit againſt the Ice. When they are wounded, they ſpout out Water and Blood, that it roars like a Cannon, and tinges the Sea; but this Noiſe abates by degrees, as they become feeble. They blow out at the ſame time a certain fattiſh ſubſtance, which ſwims upon the Sea; and as this affords the moſt delicious Food to the *Mallemucken*, ſo they follow the Whale by thouſands (a). If one Harpoon breaks out, the Long-boats of another Ship dart in theirs, and often carry off the Whale: If two Harpoons belonging to ſeveral Ships ſtrike the Whale at the ſame time, they divide the Fiſh equally (b). The Steerſman muſt be careful to obſerve how the Whale turns and winds, that they may cry *row on*, or *ſtrike*, i. e. row near to the Whale, or keep off, that the Harponier may reach him with his Launce. This Launce has a wooden Handle of two Fathom long, pointed before like a long Pike, with a tough Steel, (c) of near a Fathom long, wherewith after they have made a great hole in the Body of the Whale, they poke into it every way, as they do when they poke Eels (d). And, if one remains ſticking in his Body, they take another, every Boat having five, ſix, or ſeven of theſe Launces.

(i) See N°. (87).
(k) See Tab. A at (87).
(a) See N°. (89)
(b) See N°. (80)
The Lances.
(c) See N°. (90)
(d) See N°. (91)

How they manage the dead Whale.

After the Whale is kill'd, they cut off the Tail, which lying croſs the Boat, hinders it in its Courſe: Before the Tail they faſten a piece of Rope, and at the other end, at the Stern of the laſt Sloop, four or five (e) of them thus faſtened, rowing one behind, the other to the Ship. When they have brought the Whale to the great Ship, they faſten that part where the Tail is cut off, to the fore part, and the Head about the middle towards the Stern, near the great Shrowds of the Main-maſt, on the Larboard ſide (for ſeldom any Whale reaches further) The Larboard is that ſide of the Ship at the Right-hand as you go from the Poop to the Stern, as that ſide on your Right-hand, when you go from the Stern to the Fore-part, is call'd the Star-board. They frequently climb up the Maſts to ſee whether they can ſee a Whale, for the firſt Diſcoverer has a Ducat for his Pains.

(e) See N°. (92)

The dead Whale being thus faſtened to the Ship, two Sloops on the other ſide of the Whale, are haul'd by a Man by means of a Hook, to the Ship; in theſe ſtand two Harponiers, who cut off the Fat, for which they have a Reward of four or five Rix-dollars. The firſt piece they cut from behind the Head by the Eyes, being larger and wider than all the reſt they cut. This they call the *Kenter-piece*, and reaches from the Water to the Cradle (or the round Circle about the Middle-maſt) by which you may gueſs at the bulk of a Whale. A ſtrong and thick Rope is drawn thro' a hole in this *Kenter-piece*, whereby the Whale is born out of the Water, being faſtened to the Cradle; whence you may gueſs at the Toughneſs of this Fat (f). Then they cut another piece near this, which is alſo haulled up to the Ship, and there cut into leſs pieces of a Foot ſquare (g). The Knives of the two Men that cut the ſquare pieces, as well as of thoſe that cut the Fat from the Whale, are with the Hafts about ſix Foot long: The more they have cut off of the Fat, the more they lift up the Whale with their Pullies, that they may come the eaſier at the reſt; which is alſo the Reaſon they often ſtand upon Nails faſtened into the Body of the Whale. Two Men ſtand in the Ship with large Hooks five Foot long, wherewith they hold up the great piece of Fat, till it is cut into ſquare pieces, which are received by another Man ſtanding hard by, by means of a ſhort Hook, and laid upon a Dreſſing-board, where they are cut by others into leſs pieces: Theſe ſtand upon the Starboard-ſide, (a). The Fat of ſome Whales is white, of ſome yellow, and of others red. The White is full of little Sinews, and yields not ſo much Oil as the yellow, which looks like Butter, and is the beſt. The red comes from dead Whales: The ſmall or minced Fat is thrown into a kind of a Gutter, with a kind of Bag at the end, reaching down into the Ship, whence the Fat runs into a wooden Veſſel, and is afterwards put up in Cardels (as they call them) and ſo is kept till they try it up into Train-Oil. After the Fat is cut off from one ſide of the Whale, before they turn him, they cut out the Whale-bone in one entire piece, and afterward that of the other ſide in the ſame manner, either of which is ſo heavy, that the whole Ship's Crew has enough to do to pull it up, by means of a certain Crane made like a Beam of a Pair of Scales, with two ſharp Points on each end, which being fixed in the Whale-bone, they draw it up with Ropes. The dead Carcaſſes of the Whales, after their Fat is cut off, are thrown into the Sea, and ſerve for Food to the Birds of Prey, but eſpecially to the *White-bears*, who at that time (I ſuppoſe by reaſon of their feeding upon Carrion) ſhed their Hair and turn yellow, ſo that their Skins are of little value, (b).

(f) See N°. (8
(g) See N°. (9
(a) See N°. (91).
(c) See N°. (94)

How they try the Train-Oil from the Fat.

Formerly the *Dutch* uſed to try out their Train-Oil at *Spitzbergen*, at the *Cookery of Harlem* (of which before). The *French*-men generally try it up in their Ships, which having occaſioned the burning of ſeveral Ships, our Country-men have ſince pitch'd upon another way, *viz.* to put up the Fat into Veſſels, wherein it ferments like Beer, and the greateſt part turns Train-Oil in them. At *Hambourgh* they put the Fat out of the Veſſels into a large wooden Tub, whence it is emptied in a great Copper ſet in Brick-work and flattiſh like a Frying-pan, containing a hundred and twenty, a hundred and thirty, and often a hundred and forty Gallons. After it has boil'd for ſome time, it is taken out of the Copper with ſmall Kettles, and put into a Sieve, that the liquid part may run into a great Tub, underneath the Sieve, and half fill'd with Water to cool the Train-Oil, and to ſeparate the unclean and dirty part from the clear Train-Oil, which ſwims upon the Water, the reſt ſetling on the bottom. This great Tub has a Spout or Tap almoſt at the top, by which the Train-Oil is let out into another Tub, alſo half fill'd with Water, wherein it is more cooled, and rendered clearer than before: Another Tap in this Tub conveys the clear Train-Oil into a Vatt in the Ware-houſe, whereout they fill it into the Train-Oil Barrels, which hold thirty two Gallons a-piece, but a Cardel holds ſixty four. Some uſe but two Tubs, and try a brown Train-Oil, the ſecond time out of the Greaves; others fling them away after the firſt trying.

The Finfiſh.

The *Finfiſh* is much of the ſame length of the Whale, tho' the laſt has three times his bulk: The firſt is diſtinguiſh'd by the Fin on his Back near the Tail, and his fierce ſpouting out of the Water, beyond what the Whale does: His Knob on the Head is alſo ſplit in length at his Blowing-hole, and his Back is not ſo much bended. His Lips are browniſh, and like a twiſted Rope; and on the uppermoſt hangs the Whale-bone, like in the Whale. Some ſay he can't open his Mouth, but that is a Fable. Betwixt the Whale-bone is all hairy; the new-grown Whale-bone is blew, but the other dark-brown, with yellow Streaks. He is not ſo black as ſome of the Whales, but rather of the colour of a Tench. As he is not ſo fat as the Whale, and more dangerous to be catch'd, the Sea-men ſcarce think him worth their Labour.

The Train-Oil of the Whale is uſed by the Frize-makers, Curriers, Cloath-workers, and Soap-boilers; but the greateſt part is uſed in Lamps. The *Greenland* Ships carry from thirty to forty Tun, according to their bigneſs, and have either five or ſix Sloops belonging to them: Their burthen is from four hundred to a thouſand Cardels of Fat. When they go out in the Long-boats or Sloops, there remain only aboard the Ship, the Steers-man, the Barber, the Chyrurgeon, the Cooper, and a Boy; the Maſter goes along with the reſt. Each Ship has ſixty Lances, ſix Sea-horſe Lances, forty Harpoons, nineteen long Harpoons, wherewith they ſtrike the Whale under Water, ſix ſmall Sea-horſe Harpoons, thirty Lines or Ropes of eighty or ninty Fathoms each. Beſides Fevers and Impoſtumes, the Scurvy is the moſt general Diſtemper in this Voyage; but ſuch as are active and uſe continual exerciſe, are not much afflicted with it.

The Rotz-fiſh *and* Sea-Qualm:

The *Rotz-fiſh* (or *Slime-fiſh*) is nothing but a tranſparent ſlime I have ſeen divers kinds of them; ſome whereof have ſomething reſembling Fins, like that which I call the *Sea-May-Flie*: Others reſemble the flat Snails, except that in lieu of Fins they have Stalks not unlike Feathers. I obſerved beſides theſe, four other ſorts very different from the former, being only a thick coagulated Scum of the Sea: The Seamen call them *Sea-Qualms*, and others *Sea-Nettles* (after the *Latin*) becauſe they burn like Nettles. All the filth of the Sea ſtick to them, juſt as a Burr does unto Cloath.

The Sea-May-Flie.

The *Sea-May-Flies* are alſo tranſparent, and will diſſolve in your Hand like the *Sea-Nettles*: They have two Fins near the Neck, not unlike thoſe of the Whale: they are broad and thick in the middle, and pointed at both ends; for the reſt, their Bodies reſemble our *May-flies*, except that the Body is thicker all along, and pointed at the end. The Head is broad and round, and ſplit in the middle, with Horns of a Straw's breadth only: Before on the Head are two rows of ſix ſmall Knobs (three in a row); whether theſe be the Eyes, I will not determine: The Mouth is ſplit alſo, whence downwards you ſee yellow and blackiſh Guts thro' the Skin, by reaſon of its tranſparency: The out-ſide of the Fiſh is of the Colour of the White of an Egg, and he moves in the Sea like a *Sea-nettle*. I ſuppoſe he affords Food to the *Lumbs*, *Pigeon-divers*, &c. becauſe they are moſt ſeen where theſe Sea-inſects are found. The ſame you ſee delineated at N° (96) according to their bigneſs, we found the 20th of *June* in the *South-bay* at *Spitzbergen*.

The Snail-ſlime-fiſh.

The *Snail-ſlime-fiſh* is flat, and turn'd like a Snail, ſuch as we find the Shells of ſometimes upon the Land; for the reſt, it is tranſparent like the *Sea-nettle*. Out of its utmoſt part come two brown hairy Stalks, wherewith it moves like the *Sea-nettle*. They ſwim in prodigious numbers in the Sea, and are by ſome ſuppoſed to afford Food to the Whales; but as they are ſcarce nouriſhing enough to produce ſo much Fat, I conjecture that the *Lumbs* and ſuch like Birds feed upon them. They reſemble a Spider at a diſtance, but for the reſt, have not the leaſt affinity to them. We ſaw many of them *June* the 20th, in the *South-bay* at *Spitzbergen*, but never any among the Ice.

The Hat-ſlime-fiſh.

The *Hat-ſlime-fiſh*, or *Salk-ſlime-fiſh* (ſo call'd from its ſhape) is like a Toad-ſtool, with a round and thick Stalk reaching up into the middle of the Head, which is a blew Button, or knob of double the thickneſs of the Stalk; like a Woman's Straw-hat. From the Stalk downwards it grows round and thick again, yet much leſs than the Head. They will get under Water and come up again, juſt as a Stick forced under Water, rebounds up again. I got ſeveral in the *North-Sea*, between *Hilgeland* and the *Elbe*; as alſo at *Kuck's-Haven* within the Mouth of the *Elbe*. Some told me that they come up that River as far as *Freyburg*.

The Roſe *like* Slime-fiſh.

The *Roſe like* ſhaped a *Slime-fiſh*, is round in Circumference, but a little indented between his double Streaks or Rays, of which there are ſixteen ſpringing out ſingly from the middle of the Body, but ſubdivide themſelves afterwards into two Branches; they are red-brown, and have their Riſe from the Circumference of a ſmall Circle in the middle of the Body: At the Extremities of theſe Rays, near the outward Circumference, are thirty two ſpots: The Body is white and tranſparent, which it draws together and extends again at pleaſure: It is hollow within, which I ſuppoſe to be the Belly, becauſe I found two or three Shrimps in this Concavity. Round about it hang down ſeven ſmall brown Threads like ſpun Silk: The whole extent of its Body was about a Span in length, and might weigh about half a Pound; the Threads were of the ſame length. We got ſome of theſe near *Hitland*; for theſe three firſt ſorts of *Sea-Qualms* are almoſt infinite in the *North-Sea*, but are not ſo numerous about *Spitzbergen*: They ſwim upon the Water in calm Weather, but go to the bottom in a Storm.

The Slime-fiſh *like a Cap.*

July the eighth, near the *Muſhle-haven* at *Spitzbergen*, we ſaw in a calm Day two ſorts of *Slime-fiſh*, one whereof was ſix-corner'd, the other with eight Corners: The firſt had ſix Purple ſtreaks, with blew Brims; betwixt which, the Body was diſtinguiſh'd into ſix Ribs, like a Pumpion. From the middle of the Body did hang down two Threads of ſmall Hairs, red and rough, ſhaped like the Letter V. I did not find them to move in ſwimming: Within the Body were other broader Streaks of a Purple Colour, with light-blew Edges: They repreſented like the Letter W. The whole Body was milk-white, not ſo tranſparent as that of the next following, about as big again, as you ſee it delineated at N° (97): It weigh'd two Ounces: It did not burn my Hand, but diſſolved in it like a Slime; Its ſhape is like a Cap with Corners.

The Slime-fiſh *like a Fountain*:

The laſt *Slime-fiſh* is very remarkable: At the top it has a roundiſh hole like a Gooſe-quill (which I ſuppoſe to be the Mouth) terminating into a Cavity like a *Funnel*: From this hole ariſe four Streaks, two and two exactly oppoſite to one another, two of which are cut tranſverſeway, the other two not: The laſt are about half the breadth of a Straw, and the firſt (which reſemble the Back-bones of a Snake) full as broad as a Straw: From the middle of the Funnel proceed four other Streaks, like the Back-bones of a Snake, but come down lower than the former, and make up eight in all: As we turn'd and look'd upon them, they repreſented to us all the Colours of the Rain-bow, and like a Fountain with eight Spouts, whence ſome have given it the Name of the *Fountain-fiſh*. From the end of the Funnel within the Body, ariſes ſomething like a Cloud, divided into Branches, which I ſuppoſe to be the Entrails. At the Extremities of the before-mentioned outward Streaks, the Body firſt bends a little inward, and afterwards turns off round, and has many ſmall Streaks. It was of the ſame bigneſs as you ſee it repreſented at N° (98): It weigh'd about four Ounces, and was white all over: It did not burn ones Skin, but diſſolved into Slime. Some others of theſe *Sea-Nettles* I ſaw ſince in the *Spaniſh-Sea*, of a purple, blew, yellow, and white colour, and weigh'd ſeveral Pounds: They burnt ſo vehemently, that they raiſed Bliſters, and even Inflamations, of which I reſerve the Draught and Deſcription for another Opportunity.

CHAP. XLIII.

A Supplement to Captain **Wood's** *and* **Marten's** *North-Eaſt Voyage, containing their Navigations and Obſervations to the North-Weſt of* **Greenland**, *and other Northern Regions.*

Cherry and other Iſlands.

Northern Iſlands. G*Reenland* is by our Navigators ſuppoſed to be a great number of Iſlands very near one another, or elſe a broken Land: It has been diſcover'd on the Weſt ſide to eighty two Degrees. The North Point they call'd *Point Purchas*, where they found many Iſles, unto which they have given no Names, except ſix or eight Harbours. On the Eaſt ſide they never went beyond ſeventy eight Degrees, being diſturbed by the *Dutch*.

The Hope-Iſland. Here are ſome Iſlands, as the *Hope-Iſland*, diſcovered in 1613, which perhaps is the ſame the *Dutch* call *Willoughby's Land*, or *John Majen's Iſle*; tho' it has no great reſemblance to either, being a ſmall Iſland, lying North-Eaſt and South-weſt; whereas the Country near which Sir *Hugh Willoughby* ſail'd ſo many Days about, muſt be a large Country, lying North to South.

Edge's Iſle and Wyche's Iſle. *Edge's Iſle* owes its diſcovery to Captain *Thomas Edge*, as *Wyches Iſle* owes its name to a Gentleman of that name, and was diſcover'd in 1617. By the Relation given by *Ottrear* the *Norwegian*, to *Alfred* King of *England*, where he ſays that the Morſes were hunted for their Teeth, it appears that Whale and Morſe-fiſhing was uſed above 800 years ago.

Cherry Iſle. The time of the firſt diſcovery of *Cherry-Iſle* is unknown, but not the Year when it received its name (in 1603) from Sir *Francis Cherry*, who ſet out a Ship thither, which found ſome Lead and a Morſe's Tooth there; but could not ſtay by reaſon of the advanced Seaſon. But in 1604, another Ship was ſent *April* the fifteenth, from *London*, which arriving at *Coln* in *Lapland May* the firſt, ſtaid there till *July* the firſt, and *July* the eighth came to an anchor on the S. S. E. ſide of *Cherry-Iſle*; but being prevented from landing by the rapidneſs of the Stream, they were forced to go round about the Iſle, where one of them landing, kill'd with his Gun as many Fowl as loaded their Boat; for the reſt, they ſaw no other Beaſts but Foxes: This Port was at 74 Degrees 45 Minutes. Morſe-fiſhing *July* the tenth, they came to an anchor in another Bay at eight Fathoms, where coming aſhoar, they ſaw a vaſt number of *Morſes*, and ſhot at them ſeveral times with three Guns; but tho' they lay huddling together like Hogs, they could not kill above fifteen out of a thouſand; but before the thirteenth kill'd a hundred more, and only kept their Teeth. In 1605 the ſame Ship and Perſons arrived there a ſecond time, *July* the ſecond, and going aſhoar *July* the ſixth, kill'd abundance of Morſes, having now found the way to diſpatch them with Lances. They alſo brought away about thirty Tun of a Lead Oar, found near *Mount-miſers*. In 1606 they went once more and landed *July* the third, at 74 Degrees 55 Minutes; they ſtaid till the Shoar was cleared of the Ice (for the Morſes will not come aſhoar before) where at once they ſlew betwixt ſeven and eight hundred Morſes, with their Teeth fill'd three Hogſheads, and made twenty two Tuns of Oil of their Fat. In 1608, it was ſo hot, that the Pitch of the Ship was melted; in ſeven hours they kill'd nine hundred Morſes; they fill'd two Hogſheads with their Teeth, and made thirty one Tuns of Oil: They alſo took alive two young Morſes, a Male and Female; the Female died at Sea, but the Male lived ten Weeks in *England*. In 1610, two other Ships were ſent thither, who after they had kill'd many Bears, Fowl, and Seals, took poſſeſſion of the Iſle for the *Muſcovia* Company *June* the fifteenth. In *Gull-Iſland* they diſcover'd three Lead Mines, and a Coal Mine on the North ſide of it. Three more Ships came to fiſh at *Cherry-Iſland*; they kill'd five hundred Morſes at one time, and at another time three hundred more. The Deſcription of the Morſe or Sea-horſe, ſee in the Voyage to *Spitzbergen*. Some ſuppoſe *Cherry-Iſland* to be the ſame with what the *Dutch* call *John Mayen's Iſle*, tho' erroneouſly; for the Northermoſt Point of that lies at 71 Degrees 23 Minutes; whereas this (according to the Calculation of the *Dutch*) is at 74 Degrees 55 Minutes. Beſides, *Cherry-Iſland* is round, and not frequented by Whales. This our Men travell'd on Foot from North to South, which can't be done in *Mayens Iſle*, neither do they make any mention of the *Bears Mountain*. *Hope-Iſland* is indeed a long Iſle, like *Mayens Iſland*, but lies more to the North.

John Mayen's Iſle. *John Mayen's Iſle*, has got its Name (as the *Dutch* pretend) from its firſt Diſcoverer; the *Engliſh* generally miſtake it for the *Hope-Iſland*: It extends from S. W. to N. E. being very narrow in the middle. Formerly this Iſle was much frequented by the Whale-fiſhers in the Summer-Seaſon, but ſince theſe Animals are gone further to the North, thoſe Fiſher-men have been forced to follow them to *Greenland*. In the Spring the Weſt Shoar is pretty free from Ice; but the North-ſide, where it runs out with a ſharp Point into the Sea, behind the *Beerenburgh*, i. e. *Mountain of Bears*, the Ice continues all the Year long for ten Miles diſtance from the Shoar; which is the reaſon the Mariners take all imaginable care to make the Weſt Shoar; and, if by chance they come to the Eaſt ſide, they are forced to fetch a Compaſs about to the North of the Iſle, where they are in no ſmall danger from the ſtormy Whirlwinds that come from the *Bears Mountain*, but alſo of the floating Ice; for the Sea here flows from S. to N. and ebbs from N. to S. At the North end of the Iſland is the *Bears Mountain* (ſo call'd from the vaſt number of Bears ſeen there) the bottom whereof reaches from the Eaſt to the Weſt Shoar; but on the North ſide is ſome level Ground betwixt it and the Ocean. It is inacceſſible, by reaſon of its ſteepneſs, and of ſo prodigious a height, as to be ſeen 30 Leagues at Sea. The Sea-Coaſt is diſtinguiſh'd thus: (1), The *Nordſkoeck*, or North Point, jetting out to the North. (2), The *Weſtboeck*, or the Eaſt Point *Tibergh*, mark'd 1, 2, 3, are three Mountains of Ice, or rather of Snow, which are faln from the top of the *Bears Mountain*. (3), The *Zuydoeſthoeck*, or S. E. Point, whence the Shoar extends from E. to W. towards a little Iſle, and thence winds to W. and S. (4), *Kleyn-Sand-bay*, or *Little-Sand-bay*, *Egerland*, i. e. *Egg-land*, ſo call'd from certain adjacent Rocks full of Birds: Within a Muſquet ſhot from the Shoar, there is 60 Fathom Water, but a little further off, no bottom to be found. (5), *Groote-hout-bay*, i. e. the *Great-wood-bay*, from the vaſt pieces of rotten Timber found there: Here being the narroweſt part of the Iſland, you may from ſome Mountains be heard on both ſides of the Shoar. (6), *Kleyn-Hout-bay*, or *Little-wood-bay*. (7).

The *Engliſh-bay*, beſides ſeveral others not worth mentioning.

Greenland and its ſituation.

Greenland, or *Groenland* (formerly *Engroenland*) lies according to the Account of the *Iſlanders*, extended in form of a Half-Moon to the North of their Iſle, at about four days ſailing diſtance; tho' it ſeems not to ly ſo far to the Eaſt, but rather to the North of *America*. Its extent from *Cape Farewel* on the South, at 60 Deg. 30 Min. to the North, is unknown. To the Eaſt and Weſt it is encompaſſed by two great Oceans, but to what Degrees of Longitude, is not diſcover'd hitherto, except that Mr. *Fotherby* found it 71 Degrees near the Coaſt of *Greenland*, and the South of it above 200 Leagues.

Its diſcovery.

Its Diſcovery is owing to a certain *Norwegian* Gentleman, call'd *Erix Rotcop*, i. e. *Red-head*, who having committed a Murther in *Iſland*, fled to theſe parts, and having paſs'd the Winter in a ſmall Iſland, in the Spring went over to the Continent, which, from its Green Valleys, he call'd *Greenland*. Afterwards having obtained his Pardon from *Olaus Trugger*, King of *Norway*, a Colony was ſettled there, and the Country divided into the Eaſt and Weſt Diſtrict, and two Cities were built, *viz. Garde* and *Albe*, the laſt whereof was the Vice-roy's Reſidence, ſent thither from *Norway*, had a Cathedral Church, dedicated to St. *Anthony*, and an Epiſcopal See.

However, what the *Norwegians* were poſſeſs'd of, was inconſiderable in reſpect of the whole: The *Norwegians* themſelves acknowledge a certain potent Nation there, call'd *Skrelingers*, that inhabited the inland part of the Country; and ever ſince 1349 (for what reaſon is unknown) ſcarce any true Intelligence has been had of this part of *Greenland*. The King of *Denmark* ſent a Fleet that way in 1389, to endeavour the Recovery thereof, but being caſt away, this Deſign was laid aſide afterwards, till King *Christian* IV. attempted the ſame again. 'Tis true, in 1406, the Archbiſhop of *Drontheim* in *Norway*, ſent a Biſhop thither named *Andrew*, but he was never heard of afterwards..

Some latter Diſcoveries by the *Engliſh*.
Sir Martin Frobiſher's Voyage.

The ſearch after a N. E. Paſſage to *China*, having proved abortive, the *Engliſh* began to look for the ſame on theſe Coaſts to the N. W.

The firſt that attempted that Paſſage was *Martin Frobiſher*, in 1576: He came with two Barks to 62 Deg. where finding a great Inlet (which he call'd *Frobiſher*'s *Straits*) he ſail'd 60 Leagues into it, with main Land on both ſides, where he found ſome Oar like Gold, but proved only Black Lead. The next year they diſcovered a Silver Mine, but it lay too deep to be dug. They alſo melted ſome Gold (but in ſmall quantity) out of certain Stones they found in *Smith*'s *Iſle*, on that Coaſt, and ſaw a dead Fiſh twelve Foot long, not unlike a *Purpoiſe*, with a Horn ſix Foot long (commonly call'd the Unicorn's Horn) growing out of the Snout, which is ſtill kept at *Windſor*. In 1571, he took poſſeſſion of part of this Country for Queen *Elizabeth*, unto which he gave the Name of *Meta in cognita*.

Sir Humphry Gilbert and *Mr. Davis's* Voyages.

In 1583, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, being ſent upon the ſame Deſign, came to the River of St. *Lawrence*, took poſſeſſion of the Country, and ſettled a Fiſhery there. In 1585, Mr. *John Davis* being employ'd upon the ſame Account, with two Barks, he came to the *Greenland* Shoar, and call'd it the *Land of Deſolation*: afterwards he ſail'd to *Gilbert*'s *Sound*, at 64 Deg. 15 Min. where he found ſome of the ſame Oar *Frobiſher* brought into *England*, and ſome *Lapis Specularis*. Thence they ſail'd to Mount *Raleigh*, *Tortneſs Sound*, &c. at 66 Deg. 40 Min. but ſaw nothing but Shrubs. He made another Voyage in 1586, to the ſame place, where they truck'd ſome Copper Oar, and black and red Copper with the Natives. Thence they went further to the Weſt. In 1587, he made a third Voyage as far as 72 Deg. 12 Min. the Compaſs varying to 82 Deg. Weſt: The Country he call'd *London-Coaſt*: He found an open Sea, and 40 Leagues betwixt Land and Land: He gave it the name of *Davis*'s *Streights*.

Mr. Hudſon.

In 1610, Mr. *Hudſon* ſail'd 100 Leagues further that way, than any had done before; and gave Names to ſeveral places, as *Deſire provokes*, the Iſle of *God's Mercy*, Prince *Henry*'s *Cape*, King *James*'s *Cape*, Queen *Ann*'s *Cape*, &c. The Ice and mutiny among his Ship's Crew, prevented his going further.

James Hall.

In 1612, *James Hall*, and with him *William Baffin*, returned into *England*, having diſcover'd *Cockin*'s *Land*, at 65 Deg. 20 Min. differing in Longit. from *London*, 60. Deg 30 Min. Weſt. They try'd the Mine at *Cunningham* River, dug before by the *Danes*, but found it not worth working. They ſaw fine Rocks whiter than Alabaſter, and abundance of *Angelica*: *James Hall* was kill'd by a Native.

Mr. *Baff*

In 1615, Mr. *Baffin* ſail'd again to thoſe Parts, and found *Fair-point* to differ in Longitude from *London* 74 Deg. 5 Min. Weſt. They found *Davis*'s *Streights* to be only a Bay. In 1616, he went once more, and ſail'd to Sir *Thomas Smith*'s *Sound*, at 78 Deg. Lat. Variation of the Compaſs 56 Deg. Weſt; the greateſt that is known any where. Since that time no Attempts of the N. W. Paſſage were made by the *Engliſh*, till Capain *Thomas James* went upon the ſame Deſign in 1631.

Capt. *James*. Of all theſe you have the Particulars before.

He was much peſtered with Ice in the N. W. Seas in *June* and *July*: He ſail'd from *Cape Farewell* by the Iſle of *Reſolution* to *Mills*, *Nottingham*, and *Mansfield* Iſlands, whence taking his Courſe to the Weſt, croſs a great Bay near Port *Nelſon*, he call'd the Land *New South-Wales*. He afterwards moved all up and down theſe Seas, giving certain Names to his new Diſcoveries; As Cape *Henrietta Maria*, Lord *Weſton*'s Iſle, the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Iſle, Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Iſle, the Earl of *Danby*'s Iſle, and *Charlton*'s Iſle: In this laſt he wintered, at 52 Deg. 03. Min. Lat. and return'd in 1632, having made many Diſcoveries, beyond *Hudſon*, *Baffin*, &c.

Charleton's Iſle.

Charleton's Iſle (according to Captain *James*'s Account) as well as all the reſt, and the main Land it ſelf, is a light white Sand, covered with a white Moſs, and full of Shrubs, and many Trees, ſuch as Spruce, Firs, and Juniper, as alſo good ſtore of Scurvy-graſs, which boil'd, ſerved for a good refreſhment, as well as a ſort of Vetches that grew there in great plenty. Of Beaſts, they ſaw ſome Deer, a few Bears, and many Foxes: Ducks and Geeſe in abundance in *May*, as alſo white Partridges: No Fiſh nor Fiſh-bones, except a few Cockle-ſhells. In *June* and *July*, the Days were exceſſive hot, and the Froſts in the Night ſo ſharp, that the Ponds had Ice of an Inch thick. They were much peſter'd with *Muskitoes*, Flies, Butter-flies, Horſe-flies, Ants, and Frogs, and found the Winter as ſevere here, as in any Place lying 30 Deg. more to the North.

Diſcovery made by the Danes.

Cunningham

In 1605, the King of *Denmark* ſent two Ships and a Pinnace, under the Command of Captain *Cunningham*, a *Scot*, and *Godske Lindenaw*: The laſt arrived in ſome part of *Greenland*, whence he brought two of the Natives into *Denmark*: The other two Ships ſail'd from *Cape Farewell* to *Frobiſher*'s *Streights*, whence they alſo carried away three of the Natives, and certain Stones they found in a place call'd *Cunningham*'s *Ford*, a hundred Pound weight of which, yielded 26 Ounces of Silver.

Lindenaw's

In 1606, *Godske Lindenaw* ſail'd with four Ships and a Pinnace, thither, and carried off five of the Natives.

In 1607, *James Hall* (formerly head Pilot to *Lindenaw*) was ſent upon the ſame Deſign, but his Ships Crew mutinying, was forced to return to *Denmark*.

Some time after the King of *Denmark* ſent two Ships more, with *Norwegian* and *Iſland* Mariners, under the Command of *Chriſtian Richardſon*, a Native of *Holſtein*, but they returned before they got ſight of the *Greenland* Shoar.

and *Munk's* Voyages.

In 1619, *John Munk* was ſent thither with two Ships: coming to Cape *Farewell* at 60 Deg. 30 Min. they met with ſuch ſudden change of weather, that one day all their Tackle was frozen, ſo that they could not handle it; and the next day they were forced to work in their Shirts, by reaſon of the exceſſive heats. The South part of *Hudſon*'s *Bay* he call'd *The New Sea*; and that towards *Greenland*, *Chriſtian*'s *Sea*: He wintered at 63 Deg. 20 Min. which he call'd *Munk*'s *Winter-Haven*, and the Country *New Denmark*. They endured a great deal of miſery there: ſo that of 62 Perſons there were ſcarce enough left to bring home the Pinnace.

Greenlanders in *Denmark*

The *Greenlanders* brought into *Denmark*, were by the King's Orders well entertain'd, with Milk, Butter, Cheeſe, Fleſh, and Fiſh; theſe they would eat raw, but no Bread, nor Wine or Brandy, but drunk Train-Oil. But they turn'd ſo melancholly (out of deſire to their native Country) that they could not be brought either to learn the *Daniſh* Language, nor the Principles of Chriſtian Religion; three of them were ſent in 1606, with ſome *Daniſh* Ships, to their native Country, but two dy'd by the way, and the third was brought back, they not daring to land, for fear of the Natives. Afterwards ſome of them endeavour'd to make their eſcape in their little Boats, but being retrieved, dy'd for grief: Two others living at *Koldingen*, the Governour employ'd them in Pearl-fiſhing in the Winter, ſo that the cold kill'd one of them, and the other dy'd of Melancholly, as did all the reſt.

The nature of the Country.

The Country is generally Mountainous, covered all the Year with Snow, but more in the South than in the North Parts: Wood there is ſcarce any, except a few Buſhes, and fewer Herbs. Their chief ſubſiſtance is upon fiſhing; for they know nothing of ſowing and planting, tho' the Soil betwixt the Mountains be fertile enough. The North Parts remain undiſcover'd: thoſe on the South ſide conſiſt of divers Iſlands, which queſtionleſs occaſion theſe various and ſtrong Currents, miſcall'd Whirlpools by *Ivor Booty*. The Country ſeems to be healthful enough; but it has been obſerved, that the Veneral Diſeaſe grows worſe, and becomes incurable.

Beaſts.

Of Beaſts, none have been found in this Country of late, but Bears, Foxes, (many of them white) Raindeer, and Dogs; of theſe laſt they have two ſorts, the biggeſt they uſe for their Sleds: They ſay, that the Pizzles of theſe Foxes and Dogs are of Bone.

Fiſhes and Fowls.

The Sea affords them Whales, Seals, and Unicorns, (beſides other fiſh) the laſt of which are valued only for their Horns or Teeth, which grow in the Snout: It is ſtrong, and difficult to be taken, unleſs caſt aſhoar by the Tide, or entangled among the Weeds. Of Fowls this Country affords great plenty and variety, which the Natives catch with Springs and Snares ingeniouſly contrived, chiefly for their Skin and Feathers ſake, which being thick, they dreſs, and make Garments of them, like Furs, wearing the Feathers outward in the Summer-time, and inward in the Winter: Two or three of our Men have kill'd with their Guns 1500 of them in one day. They ſaw alſo many *Baſs-geeſe* here, ſuch as breed in the *Baſs*, a famous Rocky Iſland near *Edingburgh*.

The North Light.

In thoſe Parts appears in the North, about the time of the *New Moon*, a certain Pillar or Beam of Fire, which darting its Rays every way, moves from place to place, and not only enlightens *Greenland*, but alſo *Iſland* and *Norway*, and ſometimes more diſtant Countries, leaving a Miſt behind it, nor does it ceaſe till 'tis obſcurated by the Sun-beams. This Country is queſtionleſs inhabited by divers Nations, different in their Manners, Habit, and Language: Thoſe brought home by *James Hall*, were very different from thoſe carried thence by *Lindenaw*. The ancient *Norwegians* poſſeſs'd only a ſmall part of it, ſeveral Nations inhabiting there at the ſame time. Our late Diſcoverers found a Country at 66 Deg. 50 Min. which the Natives call'd *Secanunga*, govern'd by a great King ſtiled *Cachico*.

The Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants are, generally ſpeaking, of a ripe Olive Colour (ſome alſo black) of a mean Stature, with black Hairs, flat Noſes, and thick Lips. Their Women ſtain their Faces with blew and black Streaks. They are active, or rather nimble, and ſtrong, rather deſperate than courageous, thieviſh, treacherous and revengeful; for they would ſteal before the Mariners Faces, and kill them, after they had been well entertain'd by them; but are very affectionate to one another, and their Country. They delight much in Muſick, and would keep time well enough with their Voice, Hands and Feet. Their Divine Worſhip ſeems to be directed to the Sun; tho' *John Munk*, and ſome others, did alſo find Images of Devils, Horns, Claws, Cloven-feet, &c. as alſo ſome Altars, with many Deer, Fox, and Dogs Bones upon them. They ſeem'd alſo to be addicted to enchantments.

ir Houſes Caves.

In the Winter they come from the Sea-ſhoar to the Valleys, where they have their little Villages, conſiſting of Caves, round like an Oven, made cloſe to one another, at the Foot of a Mountain: their Doors are to the South, and they draw off the Water that falls from the Hills by Trenches. Before the Doors they have a kind of Porch neatly made of the Ribs of Whales, and covered with Seals Skins. One part of the Floor is higher than the reſt; This they ſtrow with Moſs to ſleep upon. In the Summer or Fiſhing-time they live in Tents, covered with Skins. The things moſt valued among them, are Knives, Needles, Looking-glaſſes, &c. for which they will truck their Bows, Arrows, Boats, nay, even their Cloaths, but never their Wives and Children.

Cloaths.

Their Cloaths are either of Birds Skins, mentioned before; or of the Seals, which they uſe moſt in fiſhing, as being not ſo apt to wet thro': they ſow them very ſtrong together, with Sinews of Beaſts, and Needles made of Fiſh-bones.

Boats.

But the greateſt Art they ſhew in the Structure of their Boats or Canoes: Theſe are made of Whale-bone of an Inch thick, and broad, reaching in a long row from Prow to Poop, ſtrongly ſow'd together with Sinews, and covered with Seals Skins: They are from 10 to 20 Foot long, and two broad, ſharp at both ends like a Weaver's Shuttle. In the middle only are certain Ribs to keep the Sides aſunder, and to make the hole wherein the Rower ſits, being about the bigneſs of the middle of a Man, made in the Deck of the Boat of the ſame Materials: In this he ſits ſtretching out his Feet forward into the Cavity, and ſtopping the Remnants of the hole with his upper Garment, ſo that together with the Frocks being cloſely ty'd to his wriſts, and his Caponet on his Collar, he is proof againſt taking the leaſt wet, tho' the Boat ſhould overturn. Theſe Boats they manage with one Oar, about ſix Foot long, with a Paddle of ſix Inches broad at each end: This they uſe with ſo much dexterity and activity, that one of our Boats with ten Oars can't out-row them. They have alſo larger Boats of 30 or 40 Foot long, with ten and more Seats for Rowers. Theſe they uſe for carriage of their Tents, Utenſils, and Fiſhes they have caught.

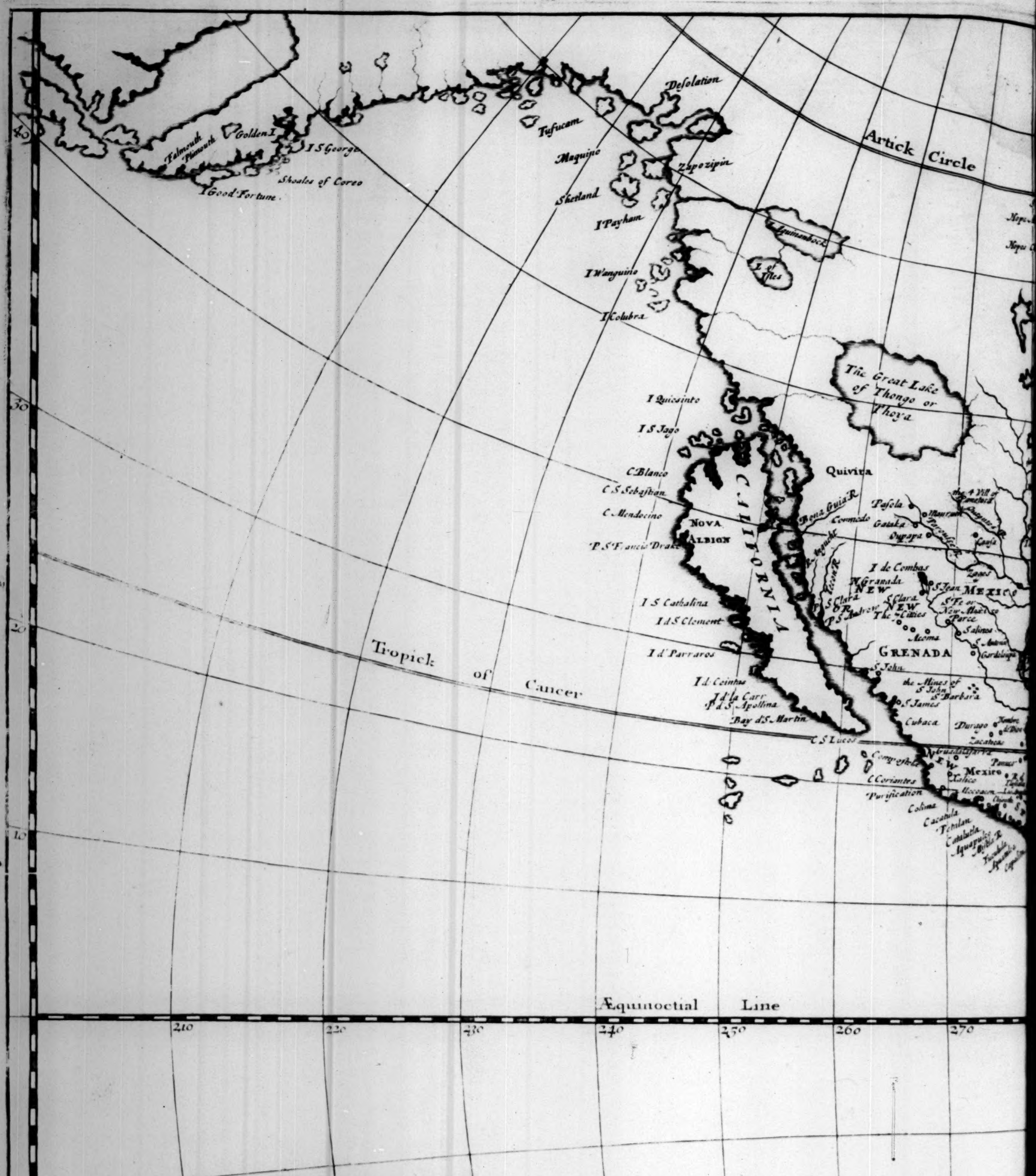
Fiſhing.

They fiſh commonly with long and ſtrong barbed Darts, at the other end whereof, they faſten Bladders, with an intention to make the Fiſh after he is ſtruck, to ſpend himſelf with ſtrugling to get under water.

Freezeland or Frizeland.

Friſeland lies 60 Deg. more Weſt than any part of *Europe*, a ragged Mountainous Country, covered with Snow, and ſcarce acceſſible by reaſon of the Ice. The firſt Diſcovery of it is aſcrib'd to *Nicholas* and *Anthony Zani*, two *Venetian* Gentlemen Shipwrack'd there, who deſcribe the Inhabitants as a Civil, Chriſtian, and potent Nation, under the Government of one *Zichmai*, of which *Hackluit* has left us a *Romantick* Story: For thoſe of the Inhabitants, which ſome of our Mariners (touching accidentally there) ſaw, were in Features, manner of living, and all other Reſpects, like the other *Greenlanders*; and many of them were of Opinion, that it belonged to the Continent of *Greenland*. They found very good fiſhing upon the Coaſt, and in their Soundings brought up a ſort of pale Coral, and ſome ſmall Stones tranſparent like Cryſtal: They call'd it *Weſt England*, and one of the higheſt Mountains *Charing-Croſs*.

ENGLISH


AMERICA
Artick Circle
Tropick of Cancer
Æquinoctial Line
Tropick of Capricorn
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Falmouth
Plimouth
Golden I
I S George
Shoales of Coreo
I Good Fortune
Tufucam
Desolation
Maquino
Zapozipin
Shetland
I Payham
I Wanguino
I Colubra
I of Isles
The Great Lake of Thongo or Thoya
I Quicsinto
I S Jago
C Blanco
C S Sebastian
C Mendocino
P S Francis Drake
NOVA ALBION
C. CALIFORNIA
Quivira
Bona Guia R
Commedo
Pasola
Gataka
Oupapa
I de Combas
N Granada
NEW
S Clara
P S Andrew
The 7 Cities
Acoma
GRENADA
S Jean
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S Fe or New Mexico
Parce
Salinos
Gardelupa
S John
the Mines of S John & S Barbara
S James
Cubaca
Durago
Zacatecas
I S Cathalina
I d S Clement
I d' Parraros
I d Ceintas
I d' la Carr
P d S Apollina
Bay d S Martin
C S Lucos
Compostela
C Coriantes
Purification
NEW
Guadalajara
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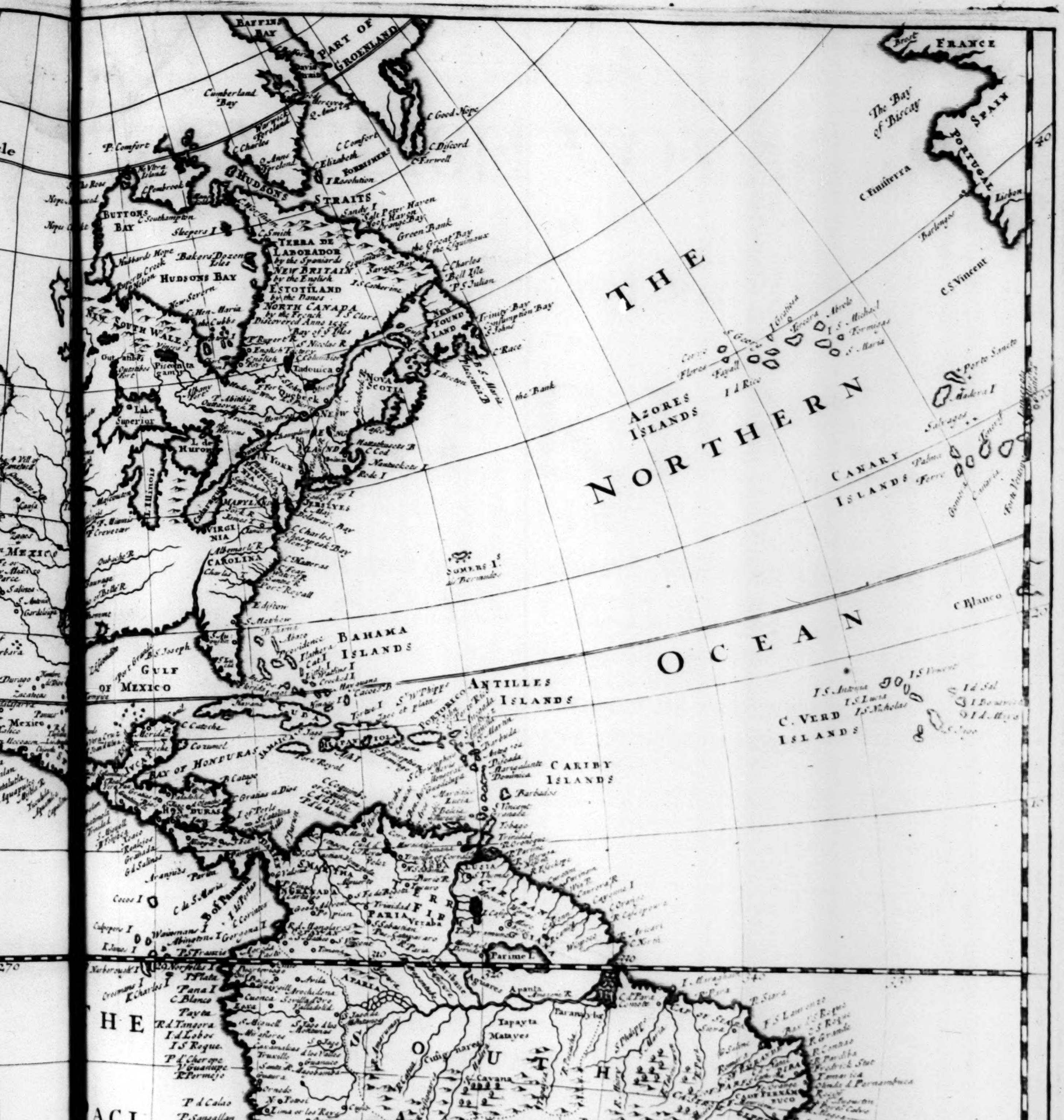
Cacatula
Tetulan
Acapulco


BAFFINS BAY
PART OF GROENLAND
Cumberland Bay
C Good Hope
C Discord
C Farwell
HUDSONS STRAITS
BUTTONS BAY
HUDSONS BAY
TERRA DE LABORADOR by the Spaniards
NEW BRITAIN by the English
ESTOTILAND by the Danes
NORTH CANADA by the French
NEW SOUTH WALES
NEW FOUND LAND
C Race
the Bank
NOVA SCOTIA
Quebeck
Lake Superior
L. des Hurons
NEW YORK
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
CAROLINA
MEXICO
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
The Bay of Biscay
C Finisterra
C S. Vincent
THE NORTHERN OCEAN
AZORES ISLANDS
Porto Sancto
Madera I
CANARY ISLANDS
C Blanco
C. VERD ISLANDS
Somers I.s or Bermudos
BAHAMA ISLANDS
GULF OF MEXICO
ANTILLES ISLANDS
CARIBY ISLANDS
Barbados
BAY OF HONDURAS
Jamaica
Cocos I
Parime L
SOUTH AMERICA
BRASILI
Lima or los Reyes
C S. Augustin
S. Salvador
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN
I d Juan Fernando
Buenos Ayres
MAGELLANICA
Nombre d Jesus
Le Maire 1616
Brewers I 1643
C Horn
THE PACIFICK SEA
Capricorn

ENGLISH VOYAGES
TO
The *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, and *South* Parts
OF
AMERICA,

WITH
Their Land and Sea-Fights and Victories over the SPANIARDS:
ALSO
The many ſtrange and dangerous Adventures of ENGLISHMEN amongſt the AMERICANS.

LIB. V.

CHAP. I.

An Account of the ſeveral Voyages undertaken and perform'd by the Right Honourable George *Earl of* Cumberland, *in perſon, and at his own Charge, or by his Direction. Collected out of the Journals and Relations of ſeveral credible perſons, who bore a part in thoſe Expeditions.*

The Earl's Firſt Voyage.

1586. THE Fleet ſet out by this Noble Earl, for his firſt Voyage, conſiſted of three Ships and a Pinnace; the *Red Dragon* (Admiral) of 260 Tun and 130 Men, commanded by Captain *Robert Widrington*; the *Bark-Clifford*, (Vice-Admiral) of 130 Tun and 70 Men, Capt. *Chriſtopher Liſter* Commander (the ſame who was taken Priſoner at the famous Battel of *Alcazar* in *Barbary*, in which three Kings were kill'd); the *Roe* (Rear-Admiral) commanded by Capt. *Hawes*, and the *Dorothy* Pinnace, formerly belonging to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*.

Jun. A. D. 1586. Setting ſail from *Graveſend*, and directing their Courſe toward the *South* Seas, they fell with the Coaſt of *Barbary*, Sept. haling in with the Road of *Santa Cruz*, after which they anchor'd in *Rio del Oro*.

Rio del Oro. Searching up the River, they found it fourteen or fifteen leagues up as broad as at the mouth, which was Nov. ſome two leagues over. From hence they ſail'd to *Sierra Leona*, where they made no long ſtay, but having refreſh'd, went on for the Coaſt of *America*.

They fell in with the deſir'd Shore in 30 gr. 40' S. L. and had calm temperate Weather. A little ſhort of the *Rio del Plate* they had the fortune to take a ſmall *Portugueſe* Ship (tho' her Lading was only Negroes) from which they had an account of five Towns (each of ſeventy Houſholds or more) that were ſeated upon that River; *Buenos Aeres*, 50 leagues up the River, the reſt 40 or 50 leagues more above each other, of which *Tuccaman* the uppermoſt was 230 leagues from the entrance: This laſt place afforded ſtore of Corn, Cattle and Fruits, but neither Gold nor Silver, and conſequently no temptation to a Viſit there. 1586. Jan. Towns on the *Rio del Plate*.

They had the ſame Adventure very quickly repeated with another *Portugueſe* Ship, the only Riches of which (beſides *Slaves* and a few *Friers*, a ſort of Luggage which they had no mind to be cumber'd with) were Beads and Pictures, and other ſpiritual Trinkets, to the value of a thouſand Ducats; that is, they coſt ſo much, tho' not worth ſo much to the (leſs ſuperſtitious) Devotion of our *Engliſhmen*. This Furniture was deſign'd for a new Monaſtery, and was actually carrying thither at that time, when it unhappily fell into the hands of People that ſo little underſtood the true Worth and Excellency of it. A Prize of Beads and Pictures.

Apr. A.D. 1587.

Camana Road

Take the Portugal Ships, and land their Men.

After a Conſult had, they ſail'd from theſe parts to the Coaſt of *Braſile*, with which they fell in about 16 gr. Lat. and water'd firſt in the Road of *Camana*, and afterwards came to an anchor before the Town of *Baya*: Here they found a Fleet of *Portugal*, conſiſting of eight or nine Ships, four of the beſt of which they quickly forc'd the *Portugueſe* to relinquiſh, and tow'd them forth in ſpite of all the thunder of great and ſmall ſhot from the ſhore and the reſt of the Ships. They landed too, and got Relief from the ſhore, tho' the *Indian* and *Portugal* Troops were drawn up to oppoſe 'em. The leaſt of all the Prizes was 130 Tun, tho' the moſt they got by taking of them was ſome great Guns, and forty or fifty Buts of Wine.

A Prize of Sugar and Meal taken.

Sail for England, Sept.

Another *Portugueſe* Ship of 120 Tun, a little after this, (tho' ſhrewdly againſt her will) ſupplied them with a good ſtock of Meal and Sugar: And with theſe little Adventures did the Voyage ſoon come to a cloſe, for they never purſued it ſo far as the *South Seas*, the principal reaſon of which ſeems to be the uneaſineſs of ſome of the Company, their wearineſs of the Sea, and earneſt deſire to ſee their native Country again. And this they did after ſome loſſes of a Ship, Men, and Goods by Fire; all the reſt of the Fleet put in ſafely at *Plymouth* Harbour.

The Earl's Second Voyage.

The Commiſſion bore date Octob. 4 A. D. 1588.

AMongſt the many of the *Engliſh* Nobility that put themſelves on board Her Majeſties Fleet upon the approach of the *Spaniſh* Armada, the Earl of *Cumberland* was one, and one of the moſt forward and reſolute; and 'twas his good ſervice done there that gave occaſion to this ſecond Voyage: The Queen was ſo well pleas'd with what he had perform'd, that ſhe ſign'd him a Commiſſion to go forth again, and purſue his intended Voyage to the *Southern* parts, and for his greater honour and encouragement lent him one of her own Royal Fleet (the *Golden Lyon*) for his Admiral. This Ship the Earl victual'd and furniſh'd at his own charge, and ſet out attended with a conſiderable number of our *Engliſh* Gentlemen; but the Succeſs was not at all anſwerable to the Preparations, neither did the Earl this time put his Project in execution: The blame is laid principally at the Door of the Winds and Weather, which, after a great loſs of time, at laſt wholly diſabled them from purſuing their Voyage any further; neither were they any other ways recompenc'd for their Coſt and Trouble, than by one ſingle Prize, a Ship laden with Merchandize for *Spain*, which they took in the narrow Seas and ſent home.

His Third Voyage.

BUt the Earl, who was not to be hector'd out of his Reſolution and Deſign by noiſie *Winds* and *Storms*, procur'd Leave of Her Majeſty to make a third Attempt; and beſides that, he obtain'd alſo a Ship of the Royal Navy call'd *The Victory*; this, together with two ſmall ones more and a Carvel, compos'd the Fleet for the third Voyage: *The Victory* (Admiral) was commanded under his Lordſhip by Capt. *Lyſter*; the *Megg*, by Capt. *Will. Mounſon*, Vice-Admiral; the *Margaret*, by Capt. *Edward Careleſs*, Rear-Admiral, and the Carvel by Capt. *Pigeon*; the whole was furniſh'd with four hundred Mariners and Soldiers, and all at his Lordſhip's own expence.

June, A.D. 1589

French and Dutch Ships taken.

August.

1589.

Spaniſh Ships taken by the Engliſh Boats

They ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, and within a few days met with ſome *French Ships* laden with Fiſh from *Newfoundland*, two of which (together with the *Margaret*, which could not bear the Sea) were ſent for *England*. Their next Encounter was with a Fleet of *Dutch*, who exchang'd ſome few Shot with them, and then yielded both themſelves and all their Effects on board into their hands: This Action being over, they ſail'd for the *Azores*. Being within view of St. *Michael*, they put out *Spaniſh* Colours, the better to facilitate the execution of the Plot which was form'd againſt the Ships in the Road; there were four of 'em in all, and his Lordſhip reſolv'd that very night to cut their Cables and bring them all off, which he accordingly perform'd before the *Spaniards* were any way ſenſible of their danger. But tho' they were thus ſurpriz'd that they leap'd a good number of them into the Sea, and by that means with a great deal of noiſe and outcry alarm'd the Town, and put them into a poſture of defence, they made ſeveral random ſhots at the Earl's Boat in the dark, but they all miſs'd him, and he carried off his Prize. They were laden chiefly with Wines and Oyl; but another which the Pinnace took had, beſides thirty Tun of *Madera* Wines, good ſtore of Woollen Cloth, Silk and Taffata's.

Notice being given that the *Spaniſh* Carracks were at *Tercera*, (a good Booty, and worth looking after) they came up into the Road of *Fyall*, where they found indeed a parcel of Ships at anchor, but the main Prize was gone ſome days before. It was a ſtrange thing to ſee here at how ill and poor a rate theſe *Spaniſh* Ships defended themſelves, and how eaſily they ſuffer'd themſelves to be made a Prey of: A few *Engliſh* Boats attack'd a Veſſel of 250 Tun, and became Maſters of her; nay, tho' ſhe was ſupported by the great Guns of the Caſtle, which play'd upon the Boats all the time as well as her own, yet ſhe could not preſerve her liberty, but was carried away with a deal of Triumph. The ſame Boats alſo went afterwards into the Road, under the very Noſes of the *Spaniards*, and brought out a parcel of ſmall Ships come from *Guinney*, laden with Elephants Teeth, Grain, Cocao's, and Goatskins, the moſt of which were ſent away for *England*.

Town of Fyall taken.

His Lordſhip having miſs'd the Carracks, reſolv'd upon another Prize, which was the Town of *Fyall* it ſelf, and here the *Engliſh* were put to very little coſt and trouble for the getting this into their hands, for the *Spaniards* all ran away, both out of the Town and Fort too; they did not ſtand to make any diſpute or oppoſition, but let them come quietly and take poſſeſſion. The Religious Houſes and Churches were ranſom'd at 2000 Ducats, which being honeſtly paid, the Guard that was ſet upon them to preſerve them from damage as honeſtly quitted them again; beſides this, they took out of the Fort fifty eight pieces of Iron Ordnance. But they had the ill luck to miſs the rich *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, which they had juſt a ſight of as 'twas putting into *Angra* Haven at *Tercera*, a ſure and a ſafe ſhelter, ſo well guarded with a Fort and Caſtle, that they were not to be attempted at that time.

Spaniſh Prizes.

After this they ſail'd to St. *Michael's*, and thence to St. *Mary's*, where they took a Prize or two laden with Sugar from *Braſile*, theſe were ſent home for *England* with the *Megg*, while the Earl with the reſt held their Courſe for *Spain*. In the way they took two Prizes more, one of which was one of the *Weſt-India* Fleet that had before put into the Harbour of *Augra*; ſhe was a Ship of 400 Tun, and beſides Sugars, Cochinele, and other Commodities, had ſome ſtore of Silver too.

Sad Diſtreſs at Sea.

Now they made the beſt of their way home, and Capt. *Lyſter* was diſpatch'd beforehand with the rich *Indian* Prize, but he was wreck'd upon the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, and all the Company drown'd, except five or ſix. The Earl himſelf, with his Company, endur'd Miſeries far worſe than drowning, in a long and tedious want of freſh Water; their ſtock being ſpent, they came to Vinegar, and of that the allowance was but three ſpoonfuls a day to a man; there was nothing elſe remaining to quench their Thirſts but this, except the drops of Rain and Hail that fell from Heaven, and which they greedily catch'd in Napkins and Sheets ſpread out for that purpoſe; ſome there were that (not able to bear ſo extream a Drought) went to the great Ocean for relief, and drank themſelves to death with ſalt Water.

In all theſe Extremities the Earl maintain'd his own equal Temper and good preſence of Mind, tho' he avoided no part of the Diſtreſs that others endur'd, but ſhar'd throughout the whole of it equally with the pooreſt Seaman. However, at laſt all theſe Difficulties were overcome, an *Engliſh Ship* brought him a ſeaſonable Relief, which laſted till he came to *Ireland*, and there a good Refreſhment prepar'd them all for a more comfortable Voyage to *England*.

His Fourth Voyage, A. D. 1591.

THE Fleet fitted out for this Voyage conſiſted of five Ships; the *Garland*, Admiral, (one of Her Majeſties) of 600 Tun; the *Sampſon*, Vice-Admiral, (a Ship of the Earl's) of 260 Tun; the *Golden Noble*, Rear-Admiral; the *Allegarta*, and a Pinnace call'd the *Diſcovery*.

The Adventures of this Voyage were ſo unfortunate, that it was at an end very quickly after it had a beginning; in ſhort, it gives us an account of no memorable Tranſaction either by Sea or Land; we only hear of the taking of two rich *Spaniſh* Ships, which were alſo ſoon after retaken by them, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Priſoners into the bargain.

Theſe

1591.

Theſe Misfortunes oblig'd the Earl to a ſpeedy return for *England*, where he quickly began to make preparation for more lucky Adventures.

His Fifth Voyage, A. D. 1592.

IN the next Voyage his Lordſhip made uſe of none of Her Majeſties Ships, as he had done before, but hir'd of the Merchants a ſubſtantial Ship call'd the *Tyger*, of 600 Tun, which together with the *Sampſon* and the *Golden Noble*, and two ſmall Ships more, were all that went out at this time.

The Earl returns for *London*, and ſubſtitutes Capt. *Norton*.

He intended to have commanded himſelf in perſon this Expedition, but being ſo croſs'd with Winds that three months Proviſions were ſpent in Harbours before they could get to the Weſtward of *Plymouth*, his Lordſhip having hereby loſt the main Deſign of his going, (which was the taking of the outward-bound *Spaniſh* Carracks) he transferr'd the chief command to Captain *Norton*, with Inſtructions to go for the *Azores*.

Chaſe the *Santa Cruze*, a Carrack.

Before they reach'd thoſe Iſlands, one Ship of the Fleet was oblig'd to return home, to deliver in a good *Portugueſe* Prize which ſhe had taken; the reſt water'd and refreſh'd at the *Azores*, and putting out to Sea again, they got ſight of the *Santa Cruze*, a rich *Portugal* Carrack, which, as ſoon as ſhe had ſight of them, made all the haſte imaginable for Port *Augra* in *Tercera*; but in her flight ſhe was met by another *Engliſh* Ship, which lay in ambuſcade before, and now popp'd out juſt croſs her way: In this diſtreſs, to avoid the *Engliſh* behind and the *Engliſh* on one ſide, ſhe was forc'd to alter her firſt courſe, and endeavour to recover the Road of *Lagwna*, on the South end of *Flores*. A Storm ſo diſtreſs'd our Ships that they could not come up to her that night, and conſequently occaſion'd their loſs of her and all the valuable Effects on board her, for by the next day the *Portugueſe* had landed as much of the Goods as was poſſible, and (to prevent her falling into the Enemy's hands) ſet her on fire; but they were ſo cunning, notwithſtanding their haſte, as to load all the great Ordnance of her, ſo that when the Fire came at 'em, they went off without the help of a Gunner: This was good ſport to the *Portugueſe*, but it did no great harm neither to the *Engliſh*. However, our Men, who with good reaſon concluded that the Prey, which was not to be taken on the Water, was to be found aſhore if they landed quickly, did ſo, tho' with prodigious difficulties, and made themſelves Maſters both of a good part of that and the Town likewiſe, which was by that time entirely forſaken of the Inhabitants.

The Carrack fired.

Town taken.

The *Madre de Dios* taken.

But there was another great Carrack, call'd the *Madre de Dios*, yet reſerv'd for them, which after a month or two's expectation and attendance fell into their hands. This Veſſel being large, well furniſh'd with Men, and richly laden, coſt them ſome pains and trouble before they could perfectly conquer her; both *Portugueſe* and *Engliſh* fought like Dragons, the one to defend, the other to obtain ſo great Riches: The *Engliſh* were like to be blown up too after the diſpute was over, being upon the hunt after Plunder, every man with his lighted Candle in his hand, for a Cabbin (in which a vaſt quantity of Powder was laid up) was ſet on fire, and if it had not been preſently extinguiſh'd by the great Induſtry and Courage of Capt. *Norton*, it had reach'd the dreadful heap and carried away both the Plunder and Plunderers together into the Air.

Diviſion of the Booty.

After all was ſecur'd and in their own hands, there was no ſmall contention about dividing the Spoil, for there were ſeveral other Ships in conſort with them in this action, and all pretended to a ſhare; but then theſe Ships being moſt of them Her Majeſties too, the Pretenſions were the ſtronger, and the Claim more undeniable. The Earl of *Cumberland*'s Part (in proportion to his Charges) muſt needs have been very conſiderable, perhaps a million or two, but then becauſe he did not act in perſon, and his Commiſſion had not provided for the caſe of his return, therefore the matter was determin'd ſo, that he ſhould ſtand to the Queen's Mercy and Bounty; ſo his Lordſhip came off with about 36000 *l.* and this not as a juſt Share, but free Gift and Favour; but how much he got by this Expedition is eaſie to be counted by them that know the Charge of ſetting out and maintaining a Fleet.

1593.

His Sixth Voyage, A. D. 1593.

THE Ships that went out now were, the *Golden Lyon*, Admiral; the *Bonadventure*, Vice-Admiral; the *Anthony*, of 120 Tun; the *Pilgrim*, of 100; and beſides theſe, the *Chaldon* and the *Diſcovery*.

Two French Ships.

His Lordſhip, who commanded in perſon this time, having taken two *French* Ships of very great value, was quickly call'd upon by an Armada of the *Spaniards* to ſtand upon his guard, and look to his own Fleet; for it muſt be noted, that the *French* and *Spaniards* being then united in a League together, as their Ships were treated both alike by ours wherever they met 'em, ſo they were mutually concern'd in each other's Loſſes, and accordingly endeavour'd to revenge 'em. This Armada lay about *Flores*, but the Earl, who knew their number and force to be vaſtly ſuperiour to his, kept out of their way, his Deſigns being no otherwiſe for fighting than as fighting was a means either to preſerve himſelf or take Prizes from the Enemy. But a deſperate Fit of Sickneſs forc'd his Lordſhip to return home, while the *Anthony*, the *Pilgrim*, and the *Diſcovery* proſecuted their Voyage to the *Weſt-Indies*; they ſhap'd their Courſe for the *Antilles*, and fell in with the Iſle of St. *Lucia*, where they refreſh'd a few days, and concluded upon ſeizing the Pearl-Fiſheries of *Margarita*.

Earl returns.

Fiſheries of *Margarita*.

Theſe Fiſheries contain about ſix or ſeven ſmall Villages, which they go to by turns, ſo that as the Trade fails in one place, they remove immediately to another; but the Pearls are always, for ſecurity ſake, carried every month to the Town of *Margarita*, which lies three leagues from the Water-ſide. Our Men kept out of ſight all day long, for fear of diſcovery, but at night landed and march'd to two of the Fiſheries, which were both empty, ſo that they had e'en loſt their labour if a *Spaniard* had not come thither by chance in a Boat, but ſeizing him, they made him their Guide to the other Fiſhery, where the Trade was driving at that inſtant: The two Captains march'd by land with 28 Men, and the Boats follow'd them upon the Water; and tho' this Army was ſo very ſmall, yet they did not ſcruple to divide themſelves into three ſeveral bodies, in order to make three ſeveral attacks at once. The *Spaniards* at firſt thought the Governour had put a trick upon 'em, and given a falſe Alarm to try their readineſs and courage, but quickly finding there was no jeſting in the buſineſs, but all was in good earneſt, they ran away in good earneſt too, and ſhelter'd themſelves in the Woods. The *Engliſh* took about 2000 *l.* worth of Pearl, beſides ſome other Pillage, and ſo breaking all the *Spaniards* Weapons they found there, march'd off without diſturbance to ſome place of repoſe for that night; in the morning they went on board the Fiſhing-boats, to eat the Oyſters the *Spaniards* had taken the night before, the Pearl in which (no doubt) paid them well for the trouble of opening.

Pillag'd by the *Engliſh*.

The Town ranſom'd.

After this Expedition they made away to their own Ships again, and then ſail'd up to the Town it ſelf, demanding Redemption-money of the *Spaniards* for their Houſes and Boats, which otherwiſe they threatned immediately to fire; ſo the buſineſs was ſoon made up, and they compounded for 2000 Ducats in Pearl.

Spaniards give notice.

Theſe Loſſes were irrecoverable, and all the kindneſs the *Spaniards* could now do themſelves was to prevent the like for the future, for which purpoſe they ſent about Intelligence from one place to another, giving notice of the *Engliſh*, and warning all the Inhabitants to be in a poſture ready to receive 'em when they came.

This News went ſo faſt about, and alarm'd the People to that degree, that ours were mightily fruſtrated in their Deſigns upon ſeveral other places: Thus at *Cumana* they found 'em upon their guard, and coaſting along *Terra Firma*, at *Rio del Aache* the *Spaniards* were not only in expectation of them, but had upon that ſcore ſent away all their beſt Goods to the Mountains. Being therefore diſappointed in this manner, they ſail'd to *Hiſpaniola*, Cape *Tuberone*, St. *Nicholas* Bay, Fort St. *Plat*, &c. and from thence to *Mona*, and ſo to the Iſle *Savona*.

Savona Iſle.

This Iſland is very low, and deſtitute of all Springs of Water, but towards the Sea 'tis all a very fine ſmall Sand; this ſerves inſtead of a Filtre to the Sea-Water, for by paſſing thro' it all the Salt is ſtrein'd off and left behind, and the Water comes forth upon the ſurface a clear and well-taſted Fluid.

Not above twenty paces from the Waſh of the Sea they dig holes in the Sand, and fixing therein a Hogſhead (the Head of which is knock'd out) the Water thus transform'd riſes up into it, and that in quantities ſo con-

1593. ſiderable too, that it may be ſaid, tho' that Iſland has no Spring or Fountain, yet it does not want good Water.

The River of *Socko*. From hence they ſail'd to the River of *Socko*, about five leagues Eaſtward of S. *Domingo*; and having ſail'd a matter of four leagues up the River, they ſurpriz'd one night ſome of the *Spaniards* great Farm-houſes, for the ranſom of which they had good ſtore of Beeves, *Caſſavi* and other Fruits.

Farm-houſes. Theſe Houſes are places where the poor Slaves keep the great Men's Cattle, make their *Caſſavi* Bread, dreſs their Ginger and Fruits, and do all the Offices of Husbandry. It's obſerv'd, that no Beef, tho' ever ſo good, will keep in theſe parts above 24 hours, unleſs it be firſt ſalted and then dried in the Sun. They cut it into Sides, like
Way of preſerving their Beef. Bacon, leaving nothing of a Bone in it, nor any piece of Fleſh thicker than a Man's Hand; it muſt be firſt ſearch'd with a Knife, then rubb'd over with Salt, and having remain'd ſo twelve hours, it muſt be expos'd to the Sun, and then four hot days drying will preſerve it ſufficiently. Our *Engliſh* laid ſeveral of theſe rich Farms under Contribution, as they did alſo a great Sugar-place upon the River *Marracana*.

From theſe parts they ſail'd to St. *Domingo*, *Jamaica*, and *Cuba*, at either of which places little or nothing was perform'd. At *Cuba* they parted, the *Pilgrim* going from thence directly for *England*, and the *Anthony* and the Frigate to the Bay of *Honduras*: Theſe two had the luck to meet with ſeven *Spaniſh* Ships in the Road of *Porto Cavallo*, the leaſt of which was 180 Tun; they fought with them a day and a night, the reſult of which was, that the *Spaniards* quitted their Ships, (which were now grown too hot to hold them) and in their Boats got to the ſhore:
Spaniſh Ships burnt. By the Admiral's order alſo the Rudders were carried aſhore, that if they were taken they might not ſail away with 'em; ſo that 'twas neceſſary either that the *Spaniards* ſhould redeem 'em, or the *Engliſh* burn 'em; and they refuſing to do the former, our Men did the latter to all of 'em except the Admiral, which they brought home laden with the beſt Goods pick'd out of all the reſt. They threw all the Ordnance overboard, (two or three Braſs Guns only excepted) in hopes ſome *Engliſh* might be the better for 'em afterwards. Tho' this Action took them up ſome time, yet they made ſhift to get home the next day after the *Pilgrim*'s arrival.

The Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth Voyage, A. D. 1594. 1595. 1596.

THE Accounts of theſe Voyages being very ſhort, and the Adventures related in them likewiſe of no very great importance, we ſhall throw them all together into one general Account, in which the Reader ſhall find whatſoever material paſſages they contain.

The Fleet of the ſeventh Voyage conſiſted of the *Royal Exchange*, (Admiral) of 250 Tun, commanded by Capt. *George Cave*; the *Mayflower*, of 250, (Vice-Admiral) commanded by Capt. *William Anthony*; the *Sampſon*, (Rear-Admiral) by Capt. *Nicholas Dainton*; and beſides theſe, a Carvel and a Pinnace.

The great Action perform'd at this time was, their fight with, and almoſt ruining of, the beſt Carracks belonging to the King of *Spain*; the one was of 2000, and the other of 1500 Tun burthen, and the former not a little weighty neither in Pearl, Jewels, Silks, Druggs, and the like: Had they taken this Prize, they might have gone home contented, without looking after any other, but the Attempt did not ſucceed ſo far as that came to; the *Spaniards* indeed loſt their Treaſure, but the *Engliſh* did not get it; the Ship was conquer'd, but the Victors could not lead her away in triumph, in that they ſet her
Carrack fir'd. on fire, and brought her to the laſt extremity, while the deſperate Defendants threw themſelves and their Treaſure overboard; ſome of the chief ſtript themſelves of their rich Chains and Jewels, and as naked as ever they were born, adventur'd to ſwim towards the *Engliſh* Ships for Quarter, but of all them there were but two Men of
Diſtreſs of the *Spaniards* Quality, which were brought into *England*, and afterwards ranſom'd: And the truth on't is, they did not take the right courſe to have favour ſhew'd 'em, for in order to that they ſhould have ſwam with ſome of their Pearl and Jewels at leaſt about 'em, the Seamen would have been careful of ſuch precious Lives, and have ſeen that they ſhould not have gone to the bottom, if there had been any way poſſible to keep them above water. 1596.
The whole number thus loſt and deſtroy'd amounted to Numbers loſt eleven hundred Men, abating the two only before mention'd; our loſs (beſides ſome common Soldiers) was, the Vice-Admiral kill'd outright, and the Admiral himſelf mortally wounded.

In the three following Voyages the chief Ships employ'd by the Earl of *Cumberland* were, the *Scourge*, of 900 Tun, newly built by himſelf; the *Aſcenſion*, of 300; and the *Dread-nothing*, a Ship of the Queens. Here was no Prize taken worth the mentioning, except a *Spaniſh* Ship laden with Sugars, and three *Dutch* Ships with Wheat, Copper and other matters for the King of *Spain*'s ſervice alſo. Some Encounters there were with the *Spaniſh* Ships too, but ſuch as ended in not much leſs loſs and diſadvantage to us than to them.

The Eleventh Voyage, A. D. 1596. *March.*

THIS Voyage is the moſt conſiderable of any we find perform'd by the Earl, whether we conſider the Contents and Tranſactions of it, or the number of the Ships that compos'd his Fleet; there went out at this time in all no leſs than twenty ſail, ſeveral of which were his Lordſhip's own Ships, and the reſt furniſh'd chiefly at his charge: There was beſides a noble train of Commanders and other Gentlemen, the principal of whom (next to the Earl, who commanded in perſon) was Sir *John Barkley*, his Lieutenant-General; as for the reſt, we ſhall not trouble the Reader with the particular Names either of Men or Ships, unleſs ſome extraordinary Action in which they ſignaliz'd themſelves, lay us under an obligation of ſo doing.

They had not been at Sea long before they had an account of five Carracks that were ſpeedily to ſet ſail, and thoſe ſo very rich, that none ever went to the *Indies* richer than they; but theſe were not all neither, for twenty five Ships for *Braſile* were alſo in company with them. Our Fleet had no ſooner conſulted upon this matter, and caſt in what order they would lie, and how they would attack and fight the *Spaniards*, but comes another ungrateful Story that knocks all theſe great Deſigns and Preparations in the head, and diſcharges them from any farther trouble of conſulting about that affair; for the *Spaniards* had notice of the Earl's being abroad with a good Fleet, nay, more than that, ſome of their Spies had ſeen it, and were ſure on't; for the firſt Report having given them the alarm, they diſpatch'd Carvels of Advice every where up and down, who never left ſearching till they had found what they look'd for.

And now the Earl was not to expect the Carracks out at Sea, but rather to find 'em lock'd up in ſome ſure Port, where 'twould be next to impoſſible for him to attempt them; and this was the caſe, for (to put all out of doubt by ocular demonſtration, as the *Spaniards* did) he himſelf ſaw 'em riding in the Bay of *Wiers*, within the command of the Caſtle of St. *Julian*, which had above a hundred pieces of Ordnance to bid an Adverſary welcome that ſhould be bold enough to come thither to receive it; beſides, the Wind being ever ſcant for coming out of the Bay again, (if a man did venture in) and for the moſt part hanging much Northerly too, it would be impoſſible in coming out to avoid ſailing cloſe by their Platforms: This was the reaſon that the Earl ſpent no longer time in attending upon the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, but ſet ſail with his whole Fleet immediately for the *South Cape*.

Having made the *Canaries*, they came up to the Iſland *Lancerota*, (one of the ſix great ones) and anchor'd in the Road which bears E. S. E. of the Iſland. Here notice was given, both by *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, of a certain Marqueſs who commanded both in this and the next Iſland *Forleventura*, to whom it would be worth while to make a viſit; he was prodigiouſly rich, and Lorded it in theſe Iſlands like an abſolute Soveraign. The Earl himſelf was ſick, but five or ſix hundred good Soldiers (appointed for this ſervice) were landed, under the command of Sir *J. Barkley*.

They met with no other diſturbance as they march'd along than what the Natives gave 'em ſometimes, out of their lurking holes and other places of advantage; if any ſtraggled from the reſt of the Company, thoſe ſly Mountaineers would be ſure to aſſault them with their Launces, but then there was no purſuing of them to any purpoſe, for they would run like Bucks, and a man might as ſoon hope to overtake one as the other.

The

Enter the Town.

The Town was at leaſt ten miles from the place of their landing, ſo that the People had time to run away by that time they came, and it ſeems enough too to carry away every thing that was in it but the Houſes, for they left nothing elſe, except a little Cheeſe and ſome Wine: This Wine was extraordinary good, and the Soldiers (who found it ſo) were extraordinarily drunk, to that degree, that had an Enemy been ready to have taken the advantage of the Debauch, the beſt part of 'em might have been knock'd in the head before they were ſober again; but the *Spaniards* (who did not leave that Wine for a Decoy) were far enough out of the way, the *Engliſh* had time enough to recover their Wits, and go look ſomewhere elſe for Plunder; the rich Marqueſs was the Prize they chiefly aim'd at, but there was no doubt but he was ſenſible of their deſign, and would not ſit ſtill at home to be catch'd; and accordingly the Party that was ſent to his Caſtle upon that ſcore had not the pleaſure of ſeeing his Lordſhip, he was not to be ſpoken with there at that time; and it ſeems all his Guards and Servants were of the ſame mind too, for tho' there were near two hundred of them, yet as ſoon as ever our Men were in ſight they all ran away without ſpeaking a word or firing a Gun.

Marqueſs got away.

But the more effectually to diſcover the Bravery of theſe Guards, and the noble Temper of their Hearts, or at leaſt to ſhew what good reaſon they had to run away, we muſt know that the Caſtle was built of ſtrong ſquare Stone, flank'd and fortified moſt advantageouſly, and defended with no ſmall number of Braſs Guns; beſides this, there were abundance of great Stones laid about in places of advantage, to knock out the Brains of the Aſſailants, and the Entrance was rais'd ſo high above the level of the Ground, that 'twas impoſſible for a man ever to get in without the help of a very long Ladder. The moſt experienc'd Commanders that ſaw it declar'd it as their Opinion, That twenty Men might with eaſe have maintain'd it againſt five hundred, only by ſhutting their Door and pulling in the Ladder.

The Caſtle, its ſtrength.

Now 'tis very apparent that theſe men had a prudent laudable care of their Lives in deſerting a place of ſo much danger and ſo expos'd as this: As for thoſe that think any thing to the prejudice of their Reputation and Courage, one may ask them whether they underſtand the Sin of a man's being acceſſary to his own End.

Deſcription of the Town.

The Town conſiſted of ſomething more than a hundred Houſes, very rudely built, for the moſt part of one ſtory, their Roofs flat and ſloaping to throw off the Rain; they were cover'd with Canes and Straw laid upon a few Rafters, and over all a Stratum of Mudd or Dirt, which being hardned by the Sun, was Showre proof.

There was but one Church in it, and that old and tatter'd; it was all one undivided Room, without any thing of a Chancel, or place diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt, only an Altar with its Appurtenances ſtood at one end. There were no Seats for the People, except the Stone Benches that went along the ſides; but to make amends for that, there was this piece of Curioſity obſervable in the Building, that it had juſt as many Windows as Doors, for Doors and Windows were all one, and the Light and the People both came in the ſame way. Of all the Edifices of note, the Friers Convent was prettieſt and moſt convenient; it had fine Gardens and Waters about it, and was every way much ſuperiour even to the Marqueſs's Caſtle it ſelf.

The People.

Their Arms.

The Inhabitants of the Iſland are a ſtrong able-bodied People, very tall, and for ſwiftneſs in running not much ſhort of the wild Beaſts themſelves. Their Arms are only Launces and Stones; when a man preſents a Gun at them, juſt as the Cock is pull'd they fall flat upon the Ground, and when they have heard the report they ſtart up again, and firſt throw their Stones, then their Launces, and ſo run away. Their Senſe is as dull as their Complexion, and their Religion as bad as either; our Men report they found abundance of Pope's Bulls and Pardons in their Houſes, which is enough to prove 'em to be both ignorant and ſuperſtitious.

The Iſland.

Products.

The Iſland it ſelf is ſomething oblong, ſtretching it ſelf out to the N. E. and S. W. 'Tis rather bigger than the *Iſle of Wight*, and is parted in two by a ridge of Mountains, as *Italy* is by the *Apennines*. Theſe Hills are barren, affording nothing but bare Food to the Sheep and Goats that live upon 'em; but the Valleys are ſomething better, for tho' they appear ſandy and dry, yet they yield extream good Wheat and Barley.

The principal Beaſts here are Sheep, Goats, and Aſſes, ſome Kine, a few Camels, but feweſt Horſes, and thoſe of no great ſize.

They have two Harveſts in a Year, one before the middle of *April*, and another about *Michaelmas*. And this is in ſhort an account of the moſt remarkable matters relating to this Iſland and People.

Our People having here had no great ſucceſs, went to enquire after it ſomewhere elſe; and the Deſign being fix'd (for many good Reaſons) for *Dominica*, they ſet ſail thitherwards.

High Hills

In this paſſage they obſerv'd (coming very near the ſhore) the high Hills about *Santa Cruz*, one of which (they tell us) has the fame of mounting higher into the Air than that celebrated one of the *Azores*; the top of it was then cover'd with Snow, when at the bottom the heat was as violent as 'tis in *England* at *Midſummer*. The Iſle (tho' to the Sea a very high Land) was full of fruitful Plains and Vineyards, out of which the King of *Spain* draws every Year 28000 Butts of rich Sack, as 'tis commonly reported: But 'tis pretty ſure, that tho' it be not ſo fine a champion Country as the *Grand Canarie*, yet it is richer in ſome reſpects, of which this is no ſmall Proof, that the King ſeems to be more choice of this than the other, maintaining a far greater Force to defend this than that.

St. Cruz

Stinking Rains.

After they had paſs'd the Tropick, and had the Sun over their Heads, (which they diſcover'd by the loſs of their *Meridian Shadows*) they were perſecuted with guſts of noiſom ſtinking Rain, which fell for a long time together; it brought a ſtench of Sulphur along with it, which was extreamly offenſive to the whole Fleet, but eſpecially to them that were in the Cabins, as for the reſt upon the Decks, they eſcap'd much better: The farther they went from the Sun, the leſs they had of theſe ill-ſcented Rains; they had, 'tis true, wet enough afterwards, but they had it without that hogo of Brimſtone which pierc'd their Noſes before; and indeed this was all the hurt it did 'em, it bred no Diſtempers amongſt 'em, nor made any man ſick, tho' there might have been reaſon enough to expect ſome ill conſequences of that kind to have broke out in the Fleet.

Indians glad to receive the *Engliſh*.

When they were come pretty near the ſhore of *Dominica*, abundance of the *Indians* came out in their Canoes to ſee what they were. Theſe People were at firſt ſuſpicious of their being *French* or *Spaniards*, but being aſſur'd they were *Engliſh*, preſently came on board them and offer'd Pines, Plantans, Potatoes, and other of their Country Commodities, for any Trifles they would exchange for ſuch things. They were moſt of 'em ſtrong well-proportion'd Men, ſharp and ſenſible in their dealings, their Bodies painted over with red, which they were mighty careful to keep on; 'twas for this reaſon that all their Canoes had Skreens againſt the Rain, ſome made of Wicker, others only of broad Leaves; they were afraid of having their Paint waſh'd off, and therefore they took care to defend themſelves in this manner: Thoſe Canoes are commonly of the breadth of one Tree, and ſome of 'em long enough for eight or nine Men to ſit in a row. Their Oars are made in the form of a Battledore, except only that their Palms are much longer than they are broad, growing into a ſharp point with a riſing in the midſt of 'em for a good way; the Shanks of them are every where equally big, and have a croſs Stick at top almoſt like a Crutch.

Canoes and Oars.

A fine Bay.

A Hot Bath.

At the N. W. ſide of the Iſland there's a delicate Bay, large enough to receive a very mighty Fleet; and hard by a Rivers-ſide is a Hot Bath, which diſcharges it ſelf into that River, as the River does it ſelf (within a Stone's caſt) into the Sea. This Bath is as hot as the *Croſs* or *King's Bath* in the City of that Name in our own Country, and 'tis as uſeful too it ſeems to ſick Perſons, for here all the diſeas'd of the Fleet found their Remedy.

A Woody Country.

This Iſland of *Dominica* lies North-weſt; and South-eaſt 'tis bleſs'd with a fat rich Soil, comparable to the beſt Garden-mould in *England*; towards the Sea 'tis vaſtly mountainous, and thoſe Mountains ſo full of Trees that they are like a Wall of Defence to the Country: The Valleys too are very woody, inſomuch that 'tis a wonder how they do to find a Paſſage thro' them; but 'tis not improbable that the Natives leave theſe Outskirts of their Country thus wild and rude on purpoſe for their own ſecurity.

The King.

One of the Captains went up a River with a ſmall Guard to one of the Towns of theſe *Indians*; this Town, as little as 'twas, had a King in it, and him dreſs'd ſomething better too than the moſt part of their wild Majeſties can be preſum'd to be; he had a fine Robe of crimſon Taffata on, a *Spaniſh* Rapier in his Hand, and the Effigies of a Lyon in Braſs hanging upon his Breaſt. As for his Queen and the Noblemens Wives, they ſaw none of them, but his Daughters he commanded into the Room, in Compliment to the Captain, and to dance with the *Engliſh* Gentlemen after Dinner was taken away. The other Women that appear'd were perfectly naked,

and

Cuſtoms of the Country.

and ſeemingly very much aſham'd of being ſo; their Modeſty told 'em they ought not to appear ſo before Men, and eſpecially Strangers, and ſuch as they ſaw very well cloth'd too, and therefore they were very buſie to hide as much of themſelves as was poſſible, when they came into the preſence.

The Cuſtom of this Country allows of *Polygamy*, but puniſhes *Adultery* with a ſevere Death; a Man muſt here have a great care how he enters into any ſort of dalliance with his Neighbour's Wife, for they are very jealous, and that Fire ſeldom is quench'd but by the Blood of him that kindled it. Tho' they have no Clothes, yet they are very fond of having them, and ſeem to ſet a great value upon 'em, and therefore won't ſtick to exchange any of their Commodities for an old Waſtcoat, a Cap, or a pair of Gloves. The Maids in this Country are not ſuffer'd to wear Garters till they are married, and then upon the Wedding-night they have a pair put on, ty'd exceeding hard and ſtrait; whatever the reaſon of this be, 'tis certain that neither Maids nor Wives do want Garters to keep their Stockings from falling down about their Heels. Men and Women wear their Hair of the ſame length, and cut in the ſame faſhion, and they bore their Ears and Lips alike. They have one common place for eating, where (all the Men at leaſt) dine together; the King himſelf ſits in the ſame Room with the reſt, only at the beſt end of it, and accompanied with three or four of the moſt conſiderable Perſons among them. Their Meats are the fine Fruits of the Country, their Bread *Caſſavi*, their Drink *Water*, or ſometimes made of the *Caſſavi*, but they make a better ſtill of their *Pines*, and the beſt of all of *Potatoes*, which is reſerv'd only for the King's Cup.

Deſire to learn the *Engliſh* Tongue.

Theſe People expreſs'd a mighty deſire to learn the *Engliſh* Tongue, and in order to get as many Words as they could, they would point to all the parts of their Bodies in order, and repeat the Names of the ſeveral parts in their own Language, and ſo make ſigns to have it told in *Engliſh*, and when this was once done, they would never reſt till they had the Word that was told them perfectly, or at leaſt perfectly right in their own apprehenſion. One of their greateſt Errours was, in making Diſſyllables of Monoſyllables, thus, for *Chin* they would ſay *Chin-ne*, for *Lip*, *Lip-pe*, and the like.

Virgin Iſlands.

Bird Iſland.

His Lordſhip with the Fleet ſet ſail from *Dominica* for the *Virgin Iſlands*. Theſe are a knot of little Iſlands wholly uninhabited, ſandy, barren, and craggy; amongſt them there is one call'd *The Bird Iſland*, and that from the incredible numbers of Birds found there: There needs no Snares nor other Artifices to take 'em, for a Man may catch with his Hands alone almoſt enough to ſerve a whole Fleet.

Dangerous paſſage thro' the *Virgin Iſlands*.

Here the Earl having landed and muſter'd all his Men, declar'd in a full Aſſembly his deſign of going to *Porto Rico*; and as there were two ways of going thither, either thro' theſe *Virgin Iſlands*, or thro' the *Paſſages*, ſo they concluded rather to take the latter Courſe than the former, as being both the more ſafe and the better known by the Seamen, tho' at the ſame time the other is much the nearer, and ſome of the Fleet had alſo gone it before with Sir *Francis Drake*; but (as was ſaid) this was the more dangerous way of the two, and his Lordſhip choſe rather to be the firſt that took *Porto Rico* than the ſecond that paſs'd the *Virgins*.

Being come without any trouble or danger to the deſired place, (the Iſland of *Porto Rico*) they landed near a thouſand Men, and march'd towards the Town, not leſs ignorant of the right way than they were deſirous to find it: They paſs'd over horrid Cliffs and Rocks, having only a Negro for their Guide, who, if he underſtood the right way, was yet ſo terribly frightned that he had not Sence enough left to tell 'em.

Difficulties the *Engliſh* met with in their march.

Between the Cliffs, on which they were drawn up, and the Iſland on which the Town ſtood, was a little Arm of the Sea not exceeding a Gunſhot in breadth; here the *Spaniards* fired upon 'em from a Fort hard by, tho' without doing any miſchief, but if they had they muſt have endur'd it, for there was no getting over, the Boats having not yet found any landing place thereabouts. At laſt, after a world of toil, they diſcover'd a Paſſage by which the two Iſlands communicated with one another, but 'twas a narrow hobbling Cawſey, which lead to a Drawbridge, and that Bridge was pull'd up; on the other Bank too there was a ſtrong Barricado, and a little beyond that a Fort with great Guns. The Cawſey was made ſo rugged for the purpoſe by the Enemies that our Men choſe rather to wade in the Water than to go there upon dry Ground. Several Pieces of Ordnance and good ſtore of Muſqueteers ſcour'd that paſſage too, ſo that it may ſafely be ſaid the Work was hot, and the Attempt arduous and difficult.

The Aſſault.

Notwithſtanding this the Soldiers preſs'd on, coming up to the very Gate of the Barricado, and with their Bills and Hatchets began to hew it; at the Ports and Coopholes too they were at the puſh of Pike with the *Spaniards*, and when they had broke their own, they ſupplied themſelves with others which they wreſted out of the Enemies hands; but the Tide came in ſo faſt, that if they fought before up to the Knees in Water, now they did up to the middle; and beſides, the Day-light advanc'd as faſt as the Tide, and had the *Spaniards* had the advantage of that all the time of the Engagement, 'twould have coſt the *Engliſh* much more Blood than it did; but it was Night, and ſo they ſhot by gueſs, and not by aim, which was very well for the Troops that came to make this bold aſſault.

Engliſh draw off.

Earl's danger.

Theſe things, together with the Soldiers wearineſs under the burden of the hard ſervice, made 'em retire: As for the Earl, he was carried off before extreamly ill, having fallen into the Sea off from the Cawſey, where (by the weight and incumbrance of his Armour) he was very near drowning. But the next attack was follow'd with better ſucceſs, and indeed becauſe the Deſign was better laid and more politickly carried on; for while a Party of Muſqueteers was employ'd to beat the Enemy from their Ordnance on one ſide, another of Shot and Pikes was ſet aſhore on the other ſide between the Fort and the Town; and the former play'd their parts ſo well, that the latter had a fair opportunity of landing without diſturbance: The iſſue of this was, that the *Spaniards*, after a briſk reſiſtance, were oblig'd to quit their Fort, and leave it to be poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh*.

Firſt Fort taken.

Town deſerted.

Now their way was clear to the Town of *Porto Rico* it ſelf, and a woody narrow paſſage it was, fit for Ambuſcades and to be guarded by ſuch as don't care to fight in the open Field, but there were no *Spaniards* there to diſpute their march; neither was there any room for a Diſpute when they came to the Town it ſelf, for all the military Men had quitted it, and left only Women and feeble Old-age or (which is as bad) ſick and wounded to keep poſſeſſion. The Refuge the Soldiers had betaken themſelves to was a ſtrong Fort to the Seaward, call'd *Fort Mora*; this was now all their Hope and Confidence, and here they reſolv'd to defend themſelves with the utmoſt Conſtancy and Vigour: 'Tis very likely they intended to do ſo, but Famine and great Guns together (eſpecially when both are very importunate) do often make Men change their Minds in theſe caſes; and ſo 'twas here, for by that time the Ordnance had ſo prepar'd the Walls that the Sun began to ſhine thro' them, and the Soldiers Bellies (for want of Victuals) were grown troubleſom and clamorous, they had quite loſt thoſe ſtiff Reſolutions of maintaining the Fort to the laſt extremity, and were become tractable and ready to yield. First they accepted of a Truce, then a Parley, next they propos'd their own Terms, and laſtly ſubmitted to thoſe offer'd 'em by the *Engliſh*; the ſum of 'em was, *That upon condition of a ſpeedy Surrender, all their Lives ſhould be ſpar'd, the Officers and Soldiers ſhould carry off their portable Arms, and the Earl ſhould provide them a paſſage from the Iſland.* Accordingly the Governour and all his Company (to the number of four hundred) came out, and deliver'd the Keys to his Lordſhip, who immediately went in and erected his own Colours and Sir *John Barkley*'s upon the two Points of the Fort.

Fort *Mora* ſurrenders.

The ſtrength of *Porto Rico*.

This Fort to the Seaward was exceeding ſtrong, and furniſh'd with very brave Ordnance, and thoſe mounted as advantageouſly as could be deſir'd; it's impoſſible that any Ship ſhould paſs that Point to the Sea, if the Fort don't grant her paſſage; and then riding without the Harbour is very dangerous too, ſo that it had all the command upon the Sea imaginable. Beſides this, in the Weſt and by South part of the Town there was a very ſtrong Caſtle, full of all ſorts of Ammunition; and between this and Fort *Mora* another hardy Fortification, that coaſts along the Sea, and beats the Harbour; ſo that conſidering all things, it may well be admir'd how a place of ſuch ſtrength as *Porto Rico* was, fell ſo eaſily into the hands of the *Engliſh*. They loſt two Men, and no more, but one would have expected that the Guns of two or three Forts ſhould have made a larger Bill of Mortality for that Action.

City deſcrib'd.

The Town of *Porto Rico* is fair and well built, having ſeveral large handſom Streets, and Houſes built after the *Spaniſh* manner, ſtrong and neat, and of two ſtories only; 'tis larger than all *Portſmouth* within the Fortifications, and to the ſight much more agreeable. It has a fine Monaſtery and Cathedral, that might be ſaid to be handſom (tho' not like ours in *England*) were it not for the diſgraceful Windows, which are of Canvaſs inſtead of Glaſs; but indeed there is not a bit of Glaſs in all the City, and therefore wherever there ſhould be Windows they have either little wooden Doors or this Canvaſs *Medium*, which is ſomething the more tranſparent and pervious of the two; the only difference is, that the former, when ſhut, make dark night in a Houſe, and the others a ſort of a *Crepuſculum*, which is melancholy enough of conſcience, tho' better too than midnight darkneſs.

Breezes.

Serenas.

The violent heats at this place are very happily qualified by a fine cool breeze, that begins at eight in the morning, and blows on till four or five in the Afternoon; from ſix till the breeze riſes 'tis ſultry hot, and from the time it ends till midnight is the worſt of all the 24 hours. 'Tis reckon'd dangerous and unhealthy being abroad at any of theſe ſeaſons, becauſe of the *Serena's* (a ſort of malignant Dews) that fall and often do miſchief to them that are wet by 'em; they are call'd *Serena's*, becauſe they always fall when the air is calm and ſtill, and without any diſturbance from the breezes.

The Situation of *Porto Rico* is very delightful, for it ſtands upon the brow of an eaſie Hill, and is encompaſs'd very near on three parts by the Sea. The Soil is light and ſandy; the Climate, tho' hot, is otherwiſe reputed healthy (at leaſt to the Natives of it); 'tis true, the Experience of our *Engliſh* did pretty conſiderably confute the pretended Character of its healthineſs, (as we ſhall afterwards ſee) but they were Strangers, and not us'd to the Climate; thoſe that always breath'd that Air were ſtrong and vigorous at the years that Nature ordinarily begins to droop and die away.

Deſcription of the little Iſland whereon the City ſtands.

All the reſt of the little Iſland upon which the City ſtands (which is at leaſt half a league in length) is alſo a very pleaſant fertile ſpot; 'tis ſo full of green, that one may term it one entire Wood; the Trees complain of the want of artful care and dreſſing, yet 'tis hard to find any that languiſh ſo far under the neglect, as to withhold its meaſure of Fruit. In theſe Woods a Botaniſt might walk with pleaſure, and ſee great Varieties before him; Oxen and other Animals may be turn'd in here, and will come forth as fat as Butter to their Owners. But notwithſtanding, there are ſome pieces of Ground that are encloſ'd and carefully dreſt, raiſ'd into Hillocks like our Hop-gardens, and every one of thoſe laden with ſome Fruit or other of the Country.

The beſt Limons and Oranges that can be ſeen almoſt, grow without any manner of coſt or attendance; and then in and about the Town are great ſtore of Cocao-Nuts, which, beſides their excellent Fruit, are an Ornament and a delightful Shade to it.

In this little Iſland there's not any River or Spring of Water, but every Houſe in the City has a large Well, (and ſome two) and theſe are fill'd by the Rain, which is both frequent and plentiful in thoſe parts.

Commodities.

Gold Mines.

The moſt eminent and known Commodities are *Ginger*, *Sugar*, and *Hides*; 'tis certain that there are Gold Mines too, but they are neglected, the Treaſure is kept faſt lock'd up in the bowels of the Earth, and none attempts to dig open thoſe Coffers: The *Spaniards* muſt needs know a very good reaſon for this, ſince there's no queſtion to be made but the Gold of this Country is as amiable and charming a thing as that which comes from the rich Mines of *Peru*: They don't uſe to deſpiſe this Metal at ſuch a rate, and their not attempting to get it here, is a certain proof that 'tis either becauſe they cannot or dare not.

Main Iſland.

Now we muſt paſs over from this little Iſland where the City ſtands, to the great and main Iſland of *Porto Rico*, and make our Obſervations there alſo.

This Iſland lies Eaſt and Weſt, its figure oblong, the length about thirty ſix leagues, and the breadth twenty, and almoſt every where the ſame. At the Weſt end the two Corners do jut out ſo far as to make a goodly Bay betwixt 'em, into which a large River would diſcharge it ſelf, but cannot, being hinder'd by the Sand which the Sea throws up in the mouth of the River.

The Rivers.

The moſt remarkable Rivers are *Toa* and *Baiamond*, both which run into the City-Harbour; the former is much the bigger, and falls more with the Weſt of the City, the latter with the South-weſt part of the ſame. *Toa* riſes out of a Mountain call'd *Guiamo*, on the South ſide of the main Iſland, and about fifteen or ſixteen leagues from the Town to the Eaſtward; from this Mountain it runs Northward in one great ſtream to the Mountain *Carvas*, and there it parts it ſelf into two Rivers, the one of which runs to *Luiſa*, a Town ſix leagues to the Eaſtward of *Porto Rico*, and the other (as before ſaid) to *Porto Rico* it ſelf, where it mingles with the ſalt Water in the Harbour. *Baiamond* has its riſe betwixt the diviſion of the two ſtreams of *Toa*, from whence running a ſort of a North-eaſterly courſe, it carries it ſelf to *Porto Rico* Harbour. Beſides theſe, there are Rivers and Rivulets, Springs and Fountains, without name or number, only this is to be obſerv'd, that moſt of thoſe that run Northerly have the names of the Towns and Villages that are ſituated by 'em; for beſides *Coama* River, that riſes in the County of *Coama* and runs into the South Sea, and beſides that on which St. *German* (otherwiſe call'd *Salamanca*) is ſituated, towards the Weſt end of the Iſland near Cape *Rexo*; beſides theſe, I ſay, all the others of any note run to the Leeward of the Iſland, and fall into the Northern Sea: As, firſt and next to *Porto Rico* to the Weſtward you have the River (and Town) of *Sabuco*, next to it *Guiamo*, then the *Recibo*, betwixt which and the *Languada* is another River whoſe name our Relaters could not tell: This River *Languada* (which alſo gives name to the Weſtern end of the Iſland, where Sir *Francis Drake* water'd) is next to the Bay choak'd with Sand, of which mention was made before. In this ſame Bay, at the North-weſt point, is the River *Gawaraba*, which the violence of the Sea has made unfit for Navigation; ſo that the paſſage to St. *Domingo* and other Leeward parts of the *Weſt-Indies* is moſt commonly from the *Languada*, that is when the People of that Weſtern end of the Iſland have any buſineſs that way.

Gold to be found in the Rivers of *Porto Rico*.

Now all theſe Rivers in general are very rich in Gold, and a man may ordinarily find it there as ſoon as he looks for it; and therefore one of the *Spaniards* plainly told the Earl of *Cumberland*, that he could not thruſt a Spade into any of thoſe Rivers, but he would fetch out Gold; and Experience put the truth of this Report out of doubt, for when a parcel of the Gravel was taken up, after waſhing away the Sand and Duſt, there were Gold-grains left behind, and a good quantity too in proportion to the Gravel.

The Soil.

The Soil of this Iſland is a fat black Mould, and at two foot deep you have a Stratum of reddiſh Clay, which is an infallible mark by which our *Engliſh* Graſiers know their battle and feeding Grounds. The Graſs and Herbage is every where exceeding rank and high, wanting only good ſtore of Mouths to overcome that luxuriancy, and reduce it to that degree of fineneſs moſt commended with us in *England*.

The Iſland has all over a pleaſant variety of Plains, Valleys, and Hills, amongſt which latter there is a very high one call'd the *Loquilla*, which (they ſay) is enrich'd with Gold Mines: Moſt of 'em indeed have the ſame character with the Rivers, namely, to yield this noble Metal; a happy Country for a covetous Man, who may here, either by Land or Water, meet with the ſatisfaction of his deſires.

Beſides the large Plains upon which the Flocks and Herds do roam about, (with ſuch an uncontroul'd liberty that they do almoſt grow wild) there's abundance of fine champion Ground taken up with their *Stanſies* and *Ingenio's*, that is, their Ginger and Sugar Plantations.

Ingenio's and Stanſies.

The *Ingenio's* are commonly upon ſome River, or near ſome marſhy wateriſh places, becauſe the Sugar-canes proſper beſt in a Ground of that nature; and not only for that reaſon, but alſo becauſe they have occaſion for Water for the uſe of their Mills, tho' in many of their Mills they uſe no force for the turning of 'em, but only that of Men and Horſes. The *Stanſies* are generally in the more inward parts of the Country, and yet they deſire a convenient nearneſs to ſome River or other, upon account of the more eaſie tranſportation of the Ginger to *Porto Rico*, from whence they diſpatch that and other Commodities for foreign Countries.

Animals.

Beeves, great plenty of 'em.

Amongſt the Animals ſerviceable to human life which this Iſland affords, there is of none ſo mighty a plenty as of Beeves; the numbers of them are almoſt incredible, and 'tis affirm'd for a truth by the Natives, that one rich *Spaniard* alone, for his ſhare, could ſhew 12000 head of this ſort of Cattle. This was in the Weſterly parts of the Iſland too, which are reckon'd far unfitter for feeding than the Eaſterly; and if the worſt and pooreſt Ground be able to produce and maintain at that rate, what then is the richeſt able to do? Upon this ſcore 'tis alſo ſaid that they value the Hides of theſe Creatures far more than the Meat it ſelf, and therefore they won't be angry with any man that kills for his own neceſſity, provided he has but ſo much honeſty as to bring the Hides home to the right owner: The Hides indeed are one of the grand Commodities of the Iſland, and conſidering that they have ſuch vaſt numbers of Cattle, and alſo that they are ſo very large and fair as they are, 'tis eaſie to imagin that they make good ſound profit this way. The very Kine themſelves are (as to all their dimenſions) comparable to our *Engliſh* Oxen.

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Horſes.

But the Horſes of this Country are as much worſe than ours as their Beeves are better; they have neither the graceful aſpect, the noble ſtature, nor the eaſie motion of ours; they are all a parcel of dull heavy trotters, fit only for thoſe vulgar hackney uſes to which they are generally put.

Sheep and Goats.

The Sheep and Goats are not very numerous, tho' there are Flocks of the one and Herds of the other ſort to be ſeen up and down; 'tis not that the Iſland does not afford 'em a ſufficient maintenance, but there is another reaſon, particularly relating to the Sheep, why there are ſo few of them; the buſineſs is, that there are vaſt troops of wild Dogs that live in the Woods, and when their Livelihood fails 'em there, they ſally out upon the Flocks of Sheep, and ſupply their wants that way. What they generally live upon are, the Crabs that are found in thoſe Woods in great numbers, and have their Holes or Berries there as Coneys have: Some of thoſe Crabs are black, and very ugly to look on, others of a much brighter colour, and theſe they ſay are good meat enough, tho' the Dogs make no diſtinction between black and white, but devour all they light on.

And then when Crabs grow ſcarce, or they weary of that ſort of Food, they go a Mutton-hunting, as was ſaid before; and thus between the Woods and the Plains they make a ſhift to pick up a Livelihood. As for the Goats, they live more ſecure and quiet than the Sheep; they keep upon the Cliffs of the Rocks and the tops of high Hills, far enough out of the way of theſe ravenous Curs.

They tell us further, that when the City of *Porto Rico* was deſerted by the *Spaniards* all the Dogs of that place quitted it too, and might be ſeen going in whole droves together into the Woods in the day-time; perhaps they expected no mercy at the hands of their new Maſters, and that thoſe that had driven away their old ones would certainly give them no Meat, and ſo took this courſe to provide for themſelves in the Woods, where they were ſure not to ſtarve as long as the generation of Crabs laſted; and by this means they would grow wild and ravenous too by degrees, loſe all the breeding and civil qualities of the Town, and conform themſelves to the rude manners of the reſt of their Kindred that were planted there before.

Fowl.

The Iſland abounds alſo with excellent Hogs, the Pork made of which is ſaid to be as fine and ſweet as any in the World. Hares and Coneys there ſeem to be but few of, but to make up for that Defect, the abundance of Poultry, as Cocks, Hens, Guinney-hens, Turkies, &c. may very reaſonably be alledg'd. Pigeons are in few places ſo good and ſo plentiful as here; and not to mention other places, there are two or three little Iſles juſt by *Porto Rico*, near the mouth of the River *Toa*, where a Boat may go in a Morning or an Evening and take preſently nine, ten, or twelve dozen.

Parats and Paraketo's are here (both for numbers and the little account that is made of 'em) as Crows and Jackdaws are in *England*, a man may ſee 'em in whole flocks together, and 'tis only ſome very extraordinary one that happens to be valued at a higher rate than one of thoſe very vulgar Birds before mention'd is with us.

Fruits.

Pines.

The Province is ſomething larger to deſcribe the Vegetable Productions of the Iſland than the Animals of it: Potatoes are very common amongſt them; their Pines are in ſhape like a Pine-apple, but not at all in taſte, nor to the Hand that feels 'em, for that which encloſes it is ſo ſoft that it may eaſily be ſqueez'd to pieces. The Fruit is very apt to mellow, and conſequently will not keep long; 'tis of a very delicious taſte, and muſt be eaten moderately; ſome of 'em are at leaſt a quarter of a yard long, and proportionably thick; the Vegetable that bears it is ſomething like an Artichoke.

Mammeis.

The *Mammen* are a Fruit of a dark-ruſſet colour, the Rind of it very thick, which being pull'd off, diſcover a yellow well-taſted Pulp ſomething like a Carrot, but much better; within this there lie two or three great, rugged, ill-ſhap'd Stones, which whether they have Kernels in 'em or no, is not told us.

Guiavas.

The *Guiavas* are as big as a Peach, and in the outſide not much unlike, but within vaſtly different, and more like a Gooſeberry, only the Seeds of this Pulp are not ſo green as thoſe of the Gooſeberry, but inclining rather to a red.

Papaies.

The *Papaies* are a Fruit like an Apple, but of a wateriſh unpleaſing taſte.

Plums.

Their black and white *Plums* have much bigger Stones and much leſs Meat than ours in *England*, but they have a good Medicinal Quality attending 'em, which is to help the *Flux*, and this alſo the *Guiavas* and *Papeies* have in common with them.

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Wild Grapes.

The *wild Grapes* are as big as a good Muſquet Bullet, but they have ſo large a Stone, that the eatable part is very inconſiderable; but this is as improperly call'd a *Stone* as the Fruit it ſelf is call'd a *Grape*, for as the latter has little reaſon to be call'd ſo, except only upon the account of its growing in cluſters as Grapes do (and many other Fruits beſides them) ſo the former deſerves the name of a *Stone*, more for its lying encloſ'd with the meat of the Fruit than its hardneſs, denſity, or any other ſuch reſemblance. On the other hand 'tis ſo ſoft, that it may be ſqueez'd together with one's Finger without difficulty; and within it lies a Kernel of a bitteriſh unpleaſant taſte, whereas the Cortex it ſelf is of a very good and grateful one.

Plantans, Cocao's, Palmeto's.

There's no need of deſcribing their *Plantans*, *Cocao's*, and *Palmeto's*, which are known well enough from the deſcriptions given of theſe Fruits and their reſpective Trees, in the accounts of other Countries.

Beſides theſe, the Iſland yields *Figgs*, *Pomegranates*, *Muskmelons*, *Pomecitrons*, *Limes* and *Oranges* in vaſt plenty; the *Oranges* are extreamly fair, and well-taſted, but the *Pomecitrons* grow to that bigneſs, that to report 'em as great as ſome have ſaid 'em to be, would perhaps be to expoſe them and their Teſtimony to Cenſure.

Pepper.

They have *Pepper* alſo amongſt 'em, much hotter and ſtronger than the black Pepper commonly us'd with us; 'tis ſmall, and betwixt a *white* and *yellow* colour, encloſ'd in a little Bag, which is ſometimes very round, and ſometimes ſhoots out long and picked. If one ſurveys any of theſe Trees, one may ſee the pleaſing variety of *Buds*, *green* and *ripe Fruit*, and many times *Seed*, all at the ſame time.

Caſſavie, of which they make Bread.

The Vegetables that ſerve the Inhabitants with Materials for the main Staff of Life (their Bread) are the *Caſſavie*, *Mais*, and *Rice*. *Caſſavie* is the Root of a ſmall Tree ſomething like an overgrown *Hyſſop-buſh*, only the Leaves of the *Caſſavie* are not ſo broad, tho' they ſtand much thicker and cloſer together. This Root is very full of Juice, which muſt be carefully preſt out before the remaining part is fit to make Bread; the *Spaniards* generally eſteem it a ſort of Poyſon, tho' the Experience of ſome of our *Engliſhmen* (who miſtaking thoſe Roots for *Potatoes*, eat 'em without any ſuch preparation, and that without any ill conſequences) be a ſufficient refutation of that Opinion. The *Caſſavie* Bread is extream white, they don't knead it into Loaves, but roul it out into Cakes of a moderate thickneſs.

Mais.

Rice.

The Bread made of the *Mais* is much finer than the former, and commonly us'd by the better ſort of People. Of this Grain there are two ſorts, a ſmaller, not unlike *Rice* in bigneſs and taſte, and the greater ſort, very like the *Guiney Wheat*; it grows upon a knotted Stalk with large ſcatter'd Leaves like a Reed, riſing up a fathom and a half in height, and at the very top ſhoots out the Grain.

The Iſland would bear (without queſtion) other ſorts of Grain, if the Inhabitants would be at the trouble of Tillage and Sowing; nay, one of the rich *Spaniards* did make the Experiment, and had a noble Crop; but they won't take care for Bread themſelves, when Nature has taken that care for 'em, and furniſh'd 'em with Materials ready to their hands.

As for the Drinks they uſe, they are but of two ſorts beſides common Water, and theſe only or chiefly us'd by the *Spaniards* too, the former of which is made of Moloſſes and Spices together, and the latter (which the beſt People drink) of high Spices alone. All the Wines they have are brought from other Countries, for out of ſome point of Policy or other they are not ſuffer'd to plant or dreſs Vineyards themſelves.

Senſitive Plant.

Amongſt all the reſt of the Vegetables of this Country, the *Senſitive Plant* is not to be forgotten: 'Tis a very low contemptible thing to look upon, very near creeps upon the ground, and ſeldom lifts up it ſelf above the height of a hand from it: The *Phænomenon* (of a ſtrange contraction, and ſhrinking up it ſelf) which this Plant preſents to the Eye of him that touches it, is known well enough; we need only ſay farther of it, that 'tis a very common one in the Iſland of *Porto Rico*, ſince the Plant it ſelf grows in ſo many places as it does.

Having thus run over the Deſcription of this place, we muſt return back to our *Engliſh*, whom we ſaw in the ſecure and quiet poſſeſſion of it, and whoſe Affairs we are yet a little farther to enquire into.

The Earl of *Cumberland* had fully determin'd to keep this Iſland and City of *Porto Rico* in his hands, which he had ſo fortunately taken, for he look'd on it as the main Key of the *Indies*, and that which would let him into all the Treaſures of that rich part of the World: And this

Deſign did not only pleaſe his Lordſhip himſelf, but was highly agreeable alſo to all the *Engliſh* there under his command, inſomuch that thoſe look'd upon themſelves to be very ſignally favour'd whoſe Names were enroll'd in the Liſt of them that were appointed to ſtay: But a new and unexpected Scene appearing, quite broke all theſe meaſures; for a violent Flux carried off ſo many of our Men, that the number left could not be ſufficient both for manning the Fleet home and keeping the place too. They came aſhore at firſt above a thouſand in number, but now they were ſo reduc'd by this Diſtemper, that they could hardly reckon half ſo many; and then the Diſcouragement was ſo great, that thoſe that ſhould ſtay behind could look upon themſelves no other than as Sacrifices to the ſame furious Diſtemper, that had ſwept away ſo many of their Companions. Upon all theſe accounts the Earl reſolv'd not to ſtay here, but yet was willing to bring the *Spaniards* (if poſſible) to ſome Terms for the ranſom of their Iſland and City before he went: And this they made ſeveral Pretenſions to do, and came to ſome Treaties about it, but in fine they appear'd to deal very coldly and indifferently in the matter, and to have ſome other treacherous Deſigns on foot.

Sickneſs at *Porto Rico.*

The Earl finding this, and having alſo ſome other Game in his Eye, (the purſuit after which would not ſuffer him to loſe any more time) ſet ſail himſelf from *Porto*, leaving Sir *John Barkley* there, as well with the better half of the Fleet as full Power and Commiſſion to do all things in his abſence. How long this latter Perſon ſtaid after the Earl was gone, is not certain; as alſo neither what concluſion was made of that Affair between the *Spaniards* and them; but this is certain, that after a moſt prodigious Storm, (in which both the Fleets were very near overwhelm'd) Sir *John*'s Ships came up with the Earl's at the Iſland of *Flores*.

The Earl departs.

This fierce Storm had been preceded by a Calm every whit as wonderful; it continued without intermiſſion for the ſpace of thirteen days, and the Air violently hot and ſultry all the while: But that which was moſt conſiderable was, that all the time of this Calm the Sea ran monſtrouſly high, and during the whole Voyage they had not ſeen greater Seas rais'd by a boiſterous Wind, than now they ſaw without any Wind at all.

Strange Calm and Storm.

From Iſland *Flores* (without any remarkable Adventure) they proceeded in their Voyage for *England*.

And this is the laſt of the Voyages perform'd by this Honourable Perſon, at leaſt that we have an account of. He was a man of admirable Abilities both in Civil and Military Affairs; he knew how to fight, and as well how to govern, and had Virtues capable of rendring him equally illuſtrious both in War and Peace. He was ſo excellent a Perſon, that it can hardly be ſaid what was wanting *in* him; but yet there was a very conſiderable thing wanting *to* him, namely, a ſteady gale of good Fortune: Had his Succeſſes been anſwerable to his Merit and Abilities, or but in ſome tolerable proportion to his fair Projects and Contrivances, his Character had been glorious to a degree that not many of our own Nation have exceeded. But this muſt be ſaid of him (tho' without the leaſt imputation of blame imaginable) that for the moſt part his Deſigns were better laid than executed; he had not the good Luck he had a juſt Title to, nor did he come off in his Enterprizes ſo well rewarded as he deſerv'd to be: Conſidering the vaſt Expences he was at in building, hiring, and furniſhing of Ships, perhaps his Voyages did not encreaſe his Eſtate; and 'tis obſervable particularly, that the Booty brought off from this *Porto Rico* Expedition was only ſome quantities of Hides, Ginger and Sugar, eighty pieces of Ordnance, and about a thouſand Ducatoons-worth of Pearl, which was a Prize that accidentally came into their hands.

CHAP. II.

The Relation of the Adventures of Peter Carder, *his Dangers at Sea, and Difficulties at Land upon the Continent of* America, *as well amongſt the Savages as* Spaniards.

The Author one of Sir *Fran. Drake's* Company.

THIS Perſon was one of thoſe who went along with Sir *Francis Drake*, in his ſo celebrated Voyage round the World; he did not finiſh that Voyage with him, being ſeparated from the reſt of the Company by an Accident, which gave occaſion to theſe his following Adventures.

'Twas about or pretty near the *Magellanick Straits* that our Author, with ſeven more, were commanded by Admiral *Drake* to attend (in a ſmall Pinnace) the return of one of the Ships which was gone out of ſight of the reſt; and 'twas in this expectation that bad Weather, coming ſuddenly upon them, drove 'em ſo uncertainly about, that they quite loſt the opportunity of recovering their Ship again: They were certainly very ill provided for ſuch a Diſaſter, for beſides that they had no Nautical Furniture, no Inſtrument, Chart nor Compaſs to guide themſelves by, they had not Proviſions for above one day, and that term of time expir'd, they muſt be ſure to pinch if ſome better luck did not bring 'em to a place where they might be ſupplied. However, after they had beat thus about for a matter of two days, they happily recover'd the Shore, where they reliev'd themſelves with Muſcles, Oyſters and Crabs, and ſome wild Roots in the Woods.

Loſe their Ship.

Come to the *Magellanick Straits.*

When they had ſtaid here a while, they return'd back to the *Magellanick Straits*, where they ſtaid long enough alſo to lay in a ſmall ſtock of Eatables and freſh Water, and then ſail'd away to *Pengwin Iſland*, to furniſh themſelves with ſome of thoſe Fowl which the Iſland affords ſo plentifully, and from whence it has its Name.

Port *Julian.*

Iſland of Seals.

From thence they ſhap'd their Courſe for Port S. *Julian*, and then coaſting the Land ſome hundreds of leagues beyond the River of *Plate*, they found an Iſland three leagues from the Main very full of Seals; of theſe they took a good number, and found the young ones roaſted a very grateful meat.

Having paſs'd over the River of *Plate* to the North ſide, they put into a ſmall River, and landing ſix of their Men, they went up into the Woods, while the other two ſtaid behind to look to the Boat.

The Natives aſſault and wound 'em.

Theſe Men thus traverſing the Woods for Victuals, had the hard fortune to light upon ſixty or ſeventy of the Natives, who, as ſoon as they ſaw 'em, ſent their Arrows very fiercely amongſt 'em, wounded all the ſix very grievouſly, carried off four Priſoners, and purſu'd the other two to the Pinnace, from whence, by the help of the others that remain'd there, they were with difficulty repel'd; but, in ſhort, they left ſuch effects of their Fury behind 'em, that of the four Survivers two died of their Wounds, and only *Carder* with one more was left to go thro' the remaining courſe of their Misfortunes.

The miſery of the two *Engliſhmen.*

They were now in this deſolate ſtate upon a little Iſland ſome three leagues off from the place where theſe Miſeries firſt came upon 'em, and that which added no ſmall aggravation to all the reſt was, that now they loſt their Pinnace too, which the foul Weather daſh'd upon the Rocks, ſo that they look'd upon themſelves as Priſoners here without hope of redemption. They liv'd two months in this place, feeding only upon ſmall Eels and Crabs which they got out of the Sand, and a ſort of Fruit reſembling an Orange, growing upon a very high Tree with a Leaf ſomething like an Aſpen-leaf. As for Water they could find none, after a diligent ſearch thro' the whole Iſland, ſo that they were forc'd to drink their own Urine, which they choſe rather than the other ſort of ſalt Water, which the neighbouring Ocean would plentifully have ſupplied them with.

Such Extremities as theſe being not longer to be endur'd, their Invention (ſharpned by the urging violence of 'em) ſet it ſelf on work to find means of deliverance; and here being miſerably ſtreightned for want of Tools and Materials too, they could accompliſh nothing farther than the making of a ſorry thing that was to ſerve them for a Boat, and might be call'd ſo upon the account of its deſign'd uſe, tho' not for any other reſemblances; 'twas a Plank of about ten foot long, which the Sea had ſome

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way or other brought up to 'em; to this they bound ſome other pieces of Wood with Withes and Branches of Trees, and having furniſh'd it with a little ſtock of Proviſion, and two long Poles inſtead of Oars, they invok'd the aſſiſtance of Providence and put out to Sea. It was but three leagues between the little Iſland where they were and the main Land, but with this pitiful Tackling they made ſo little way, and row'd ſo badly, that it was three days and two nights before they reach'd it.

They get to the Main.

The firſt Comfort they met with upon their coming aſhore was a Rivulet of very ſweet and pleaſant Water; this was the Entertainment they had ſo long deſir'd and ſo miſerably wanted in the deſolate Iſland, and therefore having it thus luckily preſented to 'em at firſt daſh, their Appetites were violently excited by it: *Carder*, tho' he was as thirſty as the other, yet govern'd his Appetite with Prudence and drank moderately, at the ſame time adviſing his Companion to do the like, but he, ſpurr'd on by his raging Thirſt, neglected that good Counſel, and drank ſo exceſſively, that within half an hour after he gave his Friend the extream trouble of ſeeing him die before his face. Now *Carder* had nothing to do but to bury him, and ſhift for himſelf in this lonely circumſtance as well as he could: 'Twas a comfort to him that he had ſome Arms with him, which notwithſtanding were no more than a Sword and a Target, and thus accoutred he march'd along the ſhore towards *Braſile*.

One dies.

The other meets the *Indians*.

He had gone no long Journey before he met a troop of Savages arm'd with *Bows* and *Arrows*, and a ſort of *Tabrets* inſtead of *Drums*; they went dancing before him about a Muſquet-ſhot off, and then ſtopt and hung up a piece of Cotton Network upon a Stick about ſeven foot high, after which they danc'd on to the ſame diſtance as before. When *Carder* came up to this mark, he took it in his hands and look'd upon it, and ſo hung it in its place again; and then it was that the *Indians* (who all this time carefully obſerv'd his motions) beckon'd and call'd him to advance up to 'em: With what heart the poor man did this, may eaſily be imagin'd; however, they receiv'd him in a much more friendly manner than he expected, and having taken him into their company, they continued dancing along till they came to the place where they intended to repoſe for that night: This was by the ſide of a River; here they faſtned their Hanging-beds to the Trees, and made Fires, as well for ſecurity from wild Beaſts as from the cold Damps and Vapours of the Night; after this they brought out the Proviſion, and having given the *Engliſhman* a portion with them, they left him to his reſt.

They uſe him kindly.

The next morning they beſtirr'd themſelves very early, and having taken down their Beds from the Trees and pack'd them up, they began to march, and continued it that day for twenty miles, which brought 'em to their deſir'd Journeys-end, the Town where the King then reſided.

Their Town, and his Entertainment there.

This Town conſiſted but of four Houſes, and yet contain'd very near four thouſand People; the truth on't is, every Houſe was as big as a little Pariſh, being four-ſquare, and every ſide two Bow-ſhot in length; they were built all of ſmall Trees, and cover'd down to the ground with Palm-leaves; there were thirty or forty Doors on every one of the ſides, by which all the ſeveral Families that inhabited them had their own peculiar ways of going in and out. Into this Wood of a Town was our *Engliſhman* brought, and preſented to the mighty Prince of the ſame, who was pleas'd to entertain him after ſo civil and hoſpitable a manner, that he had no ſmall cauſe to be ſurpriz'd at it: The very next day after his arrival the King ſent ſome of his Men abroad to fetch in all the varieties of Proviſion that the neighbouring Country afforded, which were Fiſh, (both Sea and Freſh-water) ſeveral ſorts of Fowl, Beaſts, Roots, and Fruits, and of all this he lent him enough, both for his own occaſions and alſo to pleaſure ſome of the reſt of the *Indians*, in whoſe friendſhip he got no ſmall Intereſt by this means. Thus he liv'd amongſt 'em void of all fear and apprehenſion of any danger, their kind and free way of treating him perfectly taking away all thoughts of that kind.

Having been ſome months in the Country, he got pretty good skill in their Language, and thereby was capable of informing himſelf better in their Manners and Cuſtoms than by Obſervation alone he could have done.

Their Manners and Cuſtoms.

The Religion of this People ſeem'd moſtly to conſiſt in ſome ſort of Devotion they paid to the Moon, and that eſpecially when ſhe was new; then they abounded in all ſorts of expreſſions of Joy and Triumph, they leap'd, they danc'd and clapt their Hands, and with all the Raptures imaginable welcom'd the new Light. Their King is allow'd to have as many Wives as he will, but the Subjects muſt be contented with one, except thoſe that are men of courage and Bravery in the Wars for to ſuch as theſe two Wives are indulg'd, one to go to the Wars with them, and the other to ſtay at home to govern the Houſe and Children: This is a good way enough to encourage the Men to be valiant, for as tis a comfortable thing to have a good Companion abroad, ſo 'tis an eaſe to a man's mind to have a truſty Overſeer to manage his Affairs in the mean time at home.

1596.

The only Arms they us'd when our Author firſt came amongſt 'em were Bows and Arrows, but he added two ſorts of Weapons more to their military Furniture, (which they never us'd before) and thoſe were Clubs and Targets; the latter he taught 'em how to make of the Bark of a certain Tree, which was ſtrong and ſtubborn enough to yield 'em a good defence in that capacity. He ſupplied the place of a General too amongſt 'em, lead them out to War, and brought them home victorious, and their Succeſs was in a great meaſure owing to the Diſcipline he had introduc'd amongſt 'em, and the care he had taken to furniſh 'em with ſuch Weapons both for offence and defence, as 'twas to be preſum'd their Enemies had not.

He had not been above half a year with 'em before he was put upon this ſort of Service, and the People they fought againſt were entirely routed, and driven out of their Town into the Woods: As for the Soldiers, they gloried in the Plunder of Tobacco and Cotton-beds which the vanquiſh'd left behind 'em; and the King feaſted himſelf upon the murder'd Carcaſſes, which were broil'd for his own ſpecial entertainment. In this practice indeed their ſavage and barbarous Nature ſufficiently appears; they devour human Fleſh with an infinite greedineſs and pleaſure, yea, there's hardly any that goes down with 'em ſo heartily and ſweetly as that of their Enemies, and therefore never any Priſoner falls into their hands (if he be worth eating or fit to be ſo) but he is ſacrific'd afterwards without fail; and there's nothing can ſecure a Man from this fate but ſome very foul Diſtemper, which ſhould make him a Poyſon to thoſe that were to eat him. In this caſe the Kings-Evil or the Pox might perhaps be a little protection to a Man, for the ſtrong Stomach of a Savage, it may be, would turn at ſuch a Diſh as that; but howſoever a diſeas'd or a raw-bon'd Enemy might come off, 'tis certain a plump well-fed one is look'd upon by them with the ſame Eye that a fat Ox is by a Butcher.

Eating human Fleſh.

Execution of their Captives.

Our Author himſelf ſaw this Experiment made ſeveral times while he was with them, and that not only upon ſome of their Priſoners of War, but ſome *Portugueſe* too that accidentally fell into their hands. Their way is to faſten the miſerable Sacrifice to a Stake, and then the whole Company dances ſome time about him, and in the intervals they drink a certain ſtrong Liquor of their own ſlovenly preparation; after this Ceremony, one of them with a huge maſſy Club beats out the Wretch's Brains, and then they cut him out into pieces and broil him, and are very merry at the eating of him.

Their Liquor.

That Liquor juſt now mention'd is made by their Women, from a certain Root, in this manner: They firſt boil it, and then chew it ſubſtantially in their Mouths for ſome time, after which they ſpit it out into a long Trough and pour Water upon it, and let it lie working there (like Ale) for two or three days, then they take it out and put it into broadmouth'd earthen Jarrs, and ſo let it ſtand for uſe. This Liquor has it ſeems a conſiderable ſtrength with it, and they have no inconſiderable love for it, for what between the one and the other, they are very often (both Men and Women) as drunk as Apes with it: But drunk and ſottiſh as they are, they are not to be tax'd with Covetouſneſs, they have no paſſion at all for Gold and Silver, nor do they feel any of thoſe pains and diſquietments that attend the Fever of avaricious Deſires in other Minds; to be rich amongſt them is to lie ſoft and eaſie, upon good Cotton Beds, and to have plenty of Tobacco and ſtrong Drink; in theſe Enjoyments they poſſeſs all the Pleaſure they have any notion or conception of, and believe themſelves ſo happy in 'em, that they ſeek for nothing farther; a very cheap and eaſie Felicity indeed, that requires nothing elſe to make it up but good Drink and Tobacco, both which things ſince their own Country yields 'em, they are in a hopeful way never to be miſerable.

Contempt of Riches.

Theſe People take a mighty deal of care to make their Valour in War known to others about 'em, and perhaps it coſts 'em almoſt as much to do ſo as it did to exert at firſt thoſe acts of Courage which they are ſo ſollicitous about publiſhing, for there's not a Man they kill in Battel but they make ſo many holes in their own Faces upon

that

Signs of Valour.

that ſcore; they begin firſt with the under Lip, then to the Cheeks, next to the Eyebrows, and laſtly to their Ears; all theſe are perforated in proportion to the number of Men they have kill'd, ſo that the moſt horrid and deform'd fellow amongſt them is eaſily known to be the moſt valiant.

Commoditys and products.

The great Commodities of this Country are *Braſile-wood*, *Tobacco*, red *Pepper*, and *Cotton-wool*. The Woods abound with *Apes*, *Monkys*, *Armadilloes*, *Hogs* without Tails, and as big as ours; and for *Birds*, the chief are *Parrats*, *Parakettoes*, *Doves* and *Oſtriches*.

He takes his leave of the *Indians*

Our Author having now ſtaid a conſiderable time amongſt theſe People, and being pretty well eſtabliſh'd in the King's Favour and good Opinion, ventur'd to addreſs him for his Liberty: And tho' it might have been reaſonably thought that a man ſo uſeful and acceptable as he would be very difficultly parted with, yet the King granted his requeſt, and order'd him a Convoy and Proviſion for his Journey. He travel'd for the ſpace of nine or ten weeks under the Conduct of theſe *Indians*, who brought him honeſtly and ſafely at laſt to a *Portugal* Town call'd *Bahiu Detodos los Sanctos*; but here he was like to fall into worſe dangers than any he had been in amongſt the *Indians*, ſo much more kind and compaſſionate were theſe *Chriſtians* than the *Savages*, for the Governour very quickly told him his Doom, which was, to be kept in Priſon there till he was ſent into *Portugal*, to ſpend the reſt of his life in the intolerable Slavery of the Galleys. This direful Sentence had infallibly been executed, had it not been for a certain *Portugal* Merchant of that Town, a particular lover of the *Engliſh* Nation, and a Perſon very ready at all times to aſſiſt any of them in diſtreſs.

Kindly entertain'd by a *Portugueſe*.

Carder being directed to go to this Man at his firſt coming to Town, found him as kind and good as he was reported to be; he took the forlorn *Engliſhman* into his protection, entertain'd him at his Houſe, and did all good Offices for him with the Governour; and when all came to all, that he was thrown into Priſon, by this Perſon's Bounty and careful Attendance he was preſerv'd from thoſe Miſeries which Priſoners (and thoſe Adverſaries too) are very frequently expos'd to. At laſt he was brought to a ſecond hearing before the Governour, the reſult of which was, That he ſhould be entruſted to the keeping of his *Portugal* Friend till the King of *Portugal*'s Pleaſure was known concerning him. It was above a year before any Anſwer came from *Lisbon* about that matter, but it was then order'd, That the Priſoner ſhould be ſure to be forth-coming till a Ship came over to tranſport him into *Portugal*.

Danger of being ſent Priſoner into *Portugal*.

In expectation of this direful Fate he paſs'd two years more, ſpending that time in the overſight of his Friend's Affairs, looking after his Negroes in the Sugar and Ginger Plantations, ſeeing them cut his *Braſile*-wood, gather the Pepper and the Cotton-wool: At laſt there came News, that the Ship which was to carry him to his ſo much fear'd Bondage would arrive in a little time; and now his Friend told him, that he could not poſſibly protect him if he ſtaid in the Country till the Ship was actually come, ſo therefore counſel'd him to endeavour his eſcape in the mean time.

His eſcape; and arrival in *England*.

This good Advice *Carder* put in ſpeedy practiſe, marching off in a Boat with four Negroes only, under the pretence of going a fiſhing; the place he got to was *Pernambucca*, where he alſo obtain'd a happy paſſage for *England*. After he came home, the fame of his Adventures brought him to *Whitehall*, and introduc'd him into the Queen's preſence, who was pleas'd to hear him tell all his Story, and at the concluſion to give him a Reward. He had ſpent between nine and ten years in theſe Peregrinations thro' the Weſtern World, having (abating the Kindneſs of one ſingle Perſon) met with as bad treatment amongſt the Chriſtian *Portugueſe*, as he did with good amongſt the much more Chriſtian *Savages*.

Chap. III.

The laſt and moſt diſaſtrous Voyage of that famous Navigator Mr. Tho. Candiſh, *extracted out of his own Letter directed to Sir* Triſtram Gorges *his Executor.*

1591.

Admiral *Candiſh's* Fleet.

THE Fleet which Admiral *Candiſh* ſet out this Expedition conſiſted of five ſail, the *Leiceſter* Gallion Admiral, the *Roebuck* Vice-Admiral, the *Deſire*, the *Dainty*, and the *Black Pinnace*. We muſt follow them out a great way to Sea before we meet with any thing in their Adventures worth rehearſing.

Great Calm.

They made it twenty days from the Coaſt of *Portugal* till they had ſight of the *Canaries*, and having gain'd that, they ſail'd away directly towards the Line: Under the *Equinoctial* they lay twenty ſeven days driving to and fro without a breath of Wind, in which time moſt of their Men fell ſick of the *Scurvy*, the violent heat of the Sun, together with the nocturnal Damps and Vapours, not a little contributing to the bringing this troubleſom Malady upon 'em.

After ſo long a Calm under the Line, a fair North-Weſt Wind began to blow upon 'em, and this ſerv'd 'em ſo well, that in twenty days ſail they had ſight of Land on the Coaſt of *Braſile*; they knew it muſt be here that the Land appear'd, tho' ignorant of what particular Part or Quarter of *Braſile* it was; but however, a certain Accident gave them information whereabout they were, for coming near the ſhore they took a Ship, the Pilot whereof told them, that they were then at *Cape Frio*, which is twelve leagues from the River of *Jenero*, and thirty from *Santos*, the place which they purpos'd to attempt the taking of. They took nothing in this Veſſel worth notice but a Frier, hid very cloſe in a Tub of Meal: This Divine, when he was pull'd out, to be ſure made a very pretty figure; in the night he might have paſs'd for a Ghoſt in a Winding-ſheet, but a little exerciſing of his Back with a good Oaken Cudgel would ſoon have driven away the Ghoſtlike form, and return'd that of the Frier again.

Cape Frio.

Ilha Grande.

Their new Pilot ſoon directed them to *Ilha Grande*, which is twelve leagues from *Santos*, and here they refreſh'd themſelves with Potatoes, and divers other good ſort of Roots, ſuch as the place afforded: They met with ſome few Hogs and Hens too, but as that ſort of Proviſion was very ſcarce, ſo they were as quarrelſom and ready to fall together by the ears about it, whenever they got any of it. The plain truth on't is, the Diſorders committed at this place were ſad Preſages of thoſe great Misfortunes that afterwards attended the Voyage; the Soldiers were like ſo many *Jews* and *Turks* to each other, all ſhifting for themſelves, diſtruſting their Fellows, and not caring what became of the Publick, ſo they could but have their own private ſatisfactions; he that got a good bit went away into ſome hole or corner of a Wood to make ſure on't by himſelf; neither was there any thing to be gotten from thoſe that had to ſpare, except it were by downright force, or fraud, or equal exchange; ſuch horrible ſharking was there amongſt 'em, that ſome poor fellows who could not ſcramble ſo well as the reſt were like to be ſtarv'd, and forc'd to wander in the Woods to get wild Roots to ſatisfie Nature withal.

1591.

The ill Temper of the Soldiers, and Differences amongſt 'em;

A certain company of theſe Vagabonds had one day better fortune than they expected, for as they were beating about for ſome Proviſion in the Woods, they met with a parcel of their Mates that were boxing each other very furiouſly; the buſineſs was, that they had got a wild Hog, which having kill'd and divided into Shares, they could not agree who ſhould have the largeſt, and ſo went to try it out that way: But in the mean time, while theſe fellows were at Loggerheads, the other Party coming in ſlily, ſtole away a quarter of the Hog, and went and made merry with it by themſelves in another part of the Wood: Theſe happy Thieves afterwards got good ſtore of Roots, and coming home the next day to the Lodgings of ſome of their Company, they found 'em dreſſing a parcel of young Whelps for Dinner; they had not ſo much Pork the day before, but a piece of a young

Puppey would go down well enough now, and therefore joyning their ſtock of Roots to the aforemention'd excellent Diſh, they were admitted upon that ſcore to dine with 'em.

At this ſort of a rate they liv'd at *Ilha Grande*, till the Admiral thought fit to give them ſome Diverſion, by making an attempt upon the Town of *Santos*.

Soldiers eager for *Santos*

The *Portugueſe* Pilot having inform'd them 'twas a very weak place, they concluded that their Long-boat and Shallop only, furniſh'd with a hundred Men, would be ſufficient for this purpoſe; and when the time came that the Boats were to be mann'd, they were all ſo eager of going, upon the ſcore of the Plunder they hoped to get, that now as hot a Diſpute aroſe about this point, as did before about dividing of the Hog; the concluſion of the buſineſs was, that they began to throw one another overboard as faſt as was poſſible, every man endeavour'd to rid the Boat of him that was next him, ſo that while all pretended to go, 'twas very likely that no body at all would be left to do ſo. The Admiral was forc'd to appeaſe this Tumult himſelf, and by freſh Orders to put the matter out of diſpute.

Town of *Santos* ſeiz'd.

The Party that went out upon this Service very happily executed the Deſign that was laid, they landed at the very time that the *Portugueſe* were at Church in the middle of high Maſs, and having thus ſurpriz'd 'em at their Devotion, they found no great matter of reſiſtance, they eaſily got the Swords of thoſe People that had any, and ſo ſtood there keeping guard upon 'em till the reſt of their Company appointed for this Expedition came up to them. They were but twenty three Men that did this Exploit, tho' there were above three hundred *Portugueſe* in the Church, beſides Women and Children. Thoſe that were left in the Town took the Alarm at the time that the Church was beſet, and diſpos'd of themſelves and their Money into places of more ſecurity; but as for them that were taken Priſoners, the Admiral diſcharg'd them all, except ſeven or eight of the principal.

The Plunder of the Town conſiſted in *Succats*, *Sugars*, *Caſſavie Meal*, and (which was better than all) pretty good quantities of *Gold* and *Silver*. One fellow that took up his Lodgings in a Frier's Cell, found a Cheſt of Silver under the good Man's Bed, it contain'd ſeventeen hundred Rials of Eight, a ſmall Hoard which this devout perſon had laid up ('tis to be ſuppos'd) for a time of neceſſity.

The *Indians* Friends to the *Engliſh*.

The *Indians* of the Country rejoyc'd mightily at the taking of this place, and deſir'd the Admiral to keep it to himſelf, and never let the *Portugueſe* come there more now they were once driven away; they proteſted they would be all of his ſide, and to juſtifie the integrity of their Pretenſions, they diſcover'd to him all the things they knew of, and amongſt the reſt three great Bags of Money which the *Portugueſe* had hid, and guided him to a place where he brought off three hundred head of Cattle, a Stock that ſerv'd 'em all the time they ſtaid at *Santos*. Moſt of the Company was for ſpending the Winter here, but the Admiral refus'd it for many good reaſons, that they made it full two months before they went away, and that expence of time was undoubtedly the overthrow of their Voyage. At their going off they burnt the outward part of the Town, deſtroy'd ſeveral of their Sugar-Mills between *Santos* and *San Vincent*, and ſet fire to all the Ships in the Harbour.

Go to the *Straits*.

From *Santos* they ſail'd towards the *Magellanick Straits*, and about the River of *Plate* had a Storm ſo horrible and amazing, that the Admiral with all his great Courage could not avoid being ſhock'd at it. The Fleet was miſerably toſt about and diſpers'd, but the Admiral having before appointed Port *Deſire* for the place of their general Rendezvouze in caſe of a ſeparation by any Accidents, the weatherbeaten Ships made in there of their own accord as faſt as they could.

Inhabitants ſhy of them.

Having refreſh'd at this Port, they ſail'd to the *Straits* Mouth, and finding the Winds there very contrary, were forc'd to lie beating before the Harbour of Port *Famine* at leaſt three days before they could double that Cape; for many times caſting Anchor without the Cape, in twenty fathom Water, on a ſudden the Current would carry away the Ships with Cables and Anchors afloat: At laſt with much ado they doubled the Cape, and got into Port *Famine*, where for ſeven or eight days they were ſhut up for want of Wind to go forwards: All the while they liv'd on Muſcles and the Fruits of the Country, there was no other more ſubſtantial Food to be gotten, the Savages themſelves (who ſometimes viſited 'em) were not able to ſupply 'em: Theſe naked People would return Feathers for whatſoever they gave 'em, and when they made ſigns to 'em for other Victuals, the others would anſwer again by ſigns, that they had none for themſelves, but juſt what they could get by their Darts. They were wonderfully ſhy and fearful, they would not come any nearer than the diſtance of a long Pole, by which they reach'd out and receiv'd what paſs'd between 'em,

Their Sufferings by cold

'Tis eaſie to be imagin'd that our *Engliſhmen* muſt needs be in very diſconſolate circumſtances at this place, ſtraitned in Proviſion, and pinch'd with ſuch ſevere Cold, that 'twas not an eaſie matter to live under the extremity of it: Many of 'em that were well in the Morning, before Night were frozen to death; and others of 'em endur'd ſuch hardſhips, that perhaps to die had been a much leſs unhappy thing. One Perſon particularly (of whoſe Adventures we ſhall hear more hereafter) pulling off his Stockings, pull'd off his Toes along with 'em, having his Feet (mortified with the Cold) as black as Soot at the ſame time; and another pretending to blow his Noſe, blew it quite off, and threw it into the Fire.

They try'd a great many places in the *Straits*, hoping to find better Shelter and more plenty of Proviſion, but they could meet with none where 'twas poſſible for Men to live at that time of the Year; yet notwithſtanding, in ſpight of all the Cold and bitter ruffling Winds, as long as they had Ground to anchor in and Tides to help 'em, they kept beating on in the *Straits*, and they pierc'd ſo far in, that they reckon'd they had made no leſs than fifty leagues within the *Straits* Mouth. The only tolerable place they came to was a ſort of a Harbour, where all the advantage they had, was perhaps not to die quite ſo faſt of the Cold, and to be ſomething leſs expos'd to the fury of thoſe extravagant Winds that were then blowing; but for all this, the Men died ſo faſt, that if they ſtaid there much longer, 'twas certain, they would have no Men at all left; and had the Men been invincible by the ſeverities of the Weather, yet the Sails and other Tackling of the Ships were not, for they decay'd and waſted apace, ſo that they were now almoſt paſt ſervice.

Sail towards *Braſile* again.

The Admiral therefore ſeeing that he muſt leave the *Straits*, (unleſs he intended to bury his whole Fleet there) and knowing that the ſooner the better too, ſet ſail from thence, and directed his Courſe towards *Braſile* again. 'Twas his inſolent mutinous Company that determin'd him to this Courſe, for he himſelf had projected a Voyage to *China*, and had all things been favourable, had made his paſſage thitherwards thro' the *Magellanick Straits*; but as that fail'd, and there was yet another way open, *viz.* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſo he had thoughts of purſuing his intended Voyage that way; but theſe factious People murmur'd, and made ſo many Remonſtrances againſt it, that the Admiral (fearing ſome bad effects if he ſhould exaſperate them by an over-obſtinate adherence to his own Deſigns) ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſwaded by them, and gave command to ſteer towards *Braſile*.

Ships loſt.

In this Courſe they loſe the *Deſire* and *Black Pinnace* by the way, which the Admiral charges upon the treachery of Capt. *Davis*; and it was not many days after that in a moſt prodigious Sterm they loſt the *Roebuck* too, ſo that now the Admiral had only his own Ship left; whatever Deſigns he had to execute upon the Coaſt of *Braſile*.

Come into St. *Vincent* Bay.

'Twas with extream labour and hazard that they reach'd the Coaſt of *Braſile*, and came to an Anchor in the Bay of St. *Vincent*. Here ſome of the Company deſir'd leave of the Admiral to go aſhore to ſome of the *Portugueſe* Farmhouſes to get Proviſions, and he yielded to it, giving them a caution not to make any long ſtay aſhore, nor to venture themſelves very far: And as long as they hearkned to this good Advice matters ſucceeded well enough, but when they began to neglect it, and ſuffer'd themſelves to be carried beyond the bounds which the prudent Care of the Admiral had ſet them, they plung'd themſelves into thoſe Miſchiefs which he ſo well foreſaw, and ſo zealouſly endeavour'd to prevent.

A certain *Indian* comes abroad, and tells them, that at a little diſtance there was a very rich *Farmhouſe*, which they would do very well to make a Viſit to, and therefore deſir'd that a ſmall Troop might be ſent thither. They had ſome reaſon to give a little credit (at leaſt) to this Story, ſince the *Indian* who told it had deſerted his own Countrymen, and been for ſome conſiderable time receiv'd into their Service: Accordingly the Admiral appointed Capt. *Barker* (a Perſon in whom he repos'd more confidence than in any one Commander beſides) to march out with twenty or thirty Men upon this Deſign, but with poſitive Orders at the ſame time to make but a very ſhort ſtay, whether he met with any thing or nothing.

Some ſent aſhore.

Contempt of the Admiral's Orders.

Theſe Men being once got aſhore, quickly forgot their Admiral's Orders; they met with good Victuals and Drink, and fell to ſtuffing their own Carcaſes, while in the mean time the Admiral and the Ship were to take care of themſelves. They liv'd ſo well, that 'tis plain

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they had no thoughts of coming aboard again, for they ſent back the Boat that carried 'em, as if they had intended to take up their Dwelling there. The Admiral expected their return with a great deal of impatience; he was ſurpriz'd to ſee 'em ſo bold and venturous, and not leſs fearful of ſome direful event, conſidering the place where they were, and the ſmall ſtrength they had to defend themſelves withal. He ſent Meſſages to them, but receiv'd no Anſwers; he commanded 'em to come away, but they were out of his reach, and ow'd him no Obedience; beſides, they were then in a very merry elevated ſtate, and conſequently were all Admirals and Great Men in their own imagination. After this manner they paſs'd away two days and two nights, and not the leaſt News to be heard what was become of 'em; at laſt, upon the third day in the morning, the poor *Indian*, all bloody and wounded, got to the Ship, and put the Admiral out of his ſuſpence by the Story of theſe Gentlemens fate.

The *Portugueſe* it ſeems finding what Bait would take with them, had given them a very plentiful Entertainment, and ſeeing them ſo entirely abandon'd to the pleaſures of Eating and Drinking, thought they had a fair Opportunity now in their hands of taking a conſiderable Revenge: In ſhort, they got together a body of eighty *Portugueſe* and three hundred *Indians*, and falling upon them with that Force whilſt they were thus engag'd, ſacrific'd every Man there preſent, and 'twas with much difficulty that the *Indian* eſcap'd (like *Job*'s Meſſenger) to come and bring the News. 'Tis true, that this was no leſs than perhaps the Admiral expected, and 'tis certain 'twas no more than theſe Men deſerv'd for the Crimes they were guilty of, but yet 'tis eaſie to imagin that the Admiral muſt needs be deeply afflicted at it; for beſides that, he had loſt not only ſo many of his little Company, but ſo many of his beſt Men, (which made it a double Loſs) his Boat was gone into the bargain, and without that, 'tis well known, a Ship is in a very forlorn caſe at Sea; and there's no doubt but he muſt have ſuffer'd the very laſt Extremities, if by good fortune he had not got an old Boat from the *Portugueſe*, but lighting on that, he was able to ſerve himſelf a little (tho' but a little) by that means; beſides this, for a little further alleviation of his Miſeries, the *Roebuck*, that had been loſt in the great Storm, (coming this ſecond time to *Braſile*) came up to him again in this Bay, but in the moſt miſerable condition that ever Ship was beheld in, all her Maſts gone except the mizen, her Sails quite blown away, and every way extreamly ſhatter'd: A Ship ſo much weaken'd and out of order was but a poor addition to the Admiral's Strength; yet for all he was in no better circumſtances for an Attempt, he could not but think of ſome Revenge upon the *Portugueſe*.

Puniſhment of Contempt

Roebuck recover'd again.

He therefore mov'd down the River towards their Town, which he intended to beat down about their Ears; but when he was about half way, he found the River ſo narrow, by reaſon of a Shoald, that thoſe great Ships could not paſs, and all the Company declar'd it would be extreamly hazardous to endeavour it; nay, it was not without danger that they went ſo far, for they had very little more Water than what the Ships drew, and if they had once come aground, it had been impoſſible ever to diſengage 'em again, ſince (beſides the ſhallowneſs of the Water) 'tis all ozie thereabouts, and no Anchors will hold to hale a Ship off.

Neceſſity of ſmall Ships on the Coaſt of *Braſile*.

Now the Admiral found the want of his little light Ships, for nothing could be done here upon that ſcore; and 'twas not only here, but at moſt other places along the *Braſilian* Coaſt, that they would have been diſtreſs'd for ſmall Ships, for all their Harbours are barr'd, and there is no getting any large heavy Ships over 'em. All the Revenge that could be taken here was, to land ſome Men and ſpoil their Farmhouſes, which they did, and brought off ſome quantities of Proviſion.

But a *Portugueſe* Pilot propos'd to the Admiral a far nobler and more conſiderable Revenge than this, which was, the taking (or battering at leaſt) the Town of *Spirito Sancto*, and promis'd to carry the Ships over that Bar without any danger, affirming, that they ſhould find at leaſt five fathom Water there.

This Project, as 'twas a very good one upon many accounts, ſo 'twas eagerly embrac'd by the whole Company, and approv'd of by the Admiral himſelf, who very well knew that there was no place in all *Braſile* like that for the ſupply of thoſe Wants he was in: But when it came to be executed it would not do, the *Portugueſe* was either very ignorant of the place or deſign'd to run the Ships aground, for the deepeſt Water all over the Bar was but three fathom, and the Ships could not pretend to paſs there. Beſides this diſappointment, the Road was ſo ill, that they could hardly ride there, neither could they take in Water and other Neceſſaries, or do any ſort of buſineſs.

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Ships to be attack'd.

And now, when it was far more likely than not, that they ſhould leave this place very ſpeedily, and that without doing any thing, they diſcover'd three Ships at anchor not far from the Town; they were all glad of this, making no doubt at all of bringing them clear out of the Harbour; whereupon the Admiral propos'd the making the Attempt that very night, before they were remov'd into a place of more ſecurity, and had all the beſt things taken out of 'em; but theſe baſe fellows, that were never good for any thing but drinking and revelling, and ſeem'd to be bewitch'd into a fatal diſlike of every thing their brave Admiral put 'em upon, grumbled, and were unwilling to ſtir then, and ſo the buſineſs was deferr'd till the next morning, but then 'twas too late, and their opportunity was gone, for the *Portugueſe* had brought the Ships in the night-time juſt cloſe to the Town, and fortified the Paſſage ſo, that they who attempted to bring off thoſe Ships were like to pay pretty dear for their Attempt; beſides, the River was very narrow which they were to go up, and over and above the Forts which the Enemy had rais'd, there was a natural Fortification of Rocks, from whence a ſmall number might beat out the Brains of an Army almoſt, by tumbling down great Stones upon 'em.

Good Adviſe neglected.

And now with all theſe diſadvantages the perverſe Soldiers were for going to attack the Ships, nothing elſe would ſatisfie 'em, and there was danger of a general Uproar amongſt 'em if the Admiral refus'd to comply; 'twas for this reaſon perhaps more than any thing elſe that he conſented to their going, but however together with his Conſent, he gave a ſtrict charge that they ſhould 'ſpy out a convenient landing-place, but not land, what opportunity ſoever offer'd it ſelf; and withal, that if the leaſt danger appear'd in coming at the Ships, they ſhould immediately return, and not pretend to ruſh thro' it, to the hazarding of both Men and Boats.

The Command in this Enterprize was given to Capt. *Morgan*, and their two crazy Boats were diſpatch'd crowded with Muſqueteers as full as ever they could hold. As ſoon as they were come within reach of the Guns from the Enemy's Sconces, they began to play pretty warmly upon 'em; and then our Men ſeeing all the Difficulties they had to encounter with, Captain *Morgan*, mindful of the Admiral's Orders, told 'em 'twas beſt to retire, and not venture any farther; but the foulmouth'd Soldiers preſently began to abuſe him, call'd him *Coward*, telling him they always thought he was ſuch a one, and now they ſaw it plainly; which was ſuch a provocation to the Captain (who was a Man of Metal and Courage enough) that in that Tranſport he forgot his Duty to the *Admiral*, and preſently commanded them to land; but alas, 'twas running upon certain and inevitable Fate: 'Tis true, they had by an exceſs of Courage ſome little advantages at firſt, and the Captain with ten more of the boldeſt ſcal'd the Walls of one of the Sconces, while another Party drove the Enemy out of the other, and poſſeſt themſelves of it; but the ſhowres of *Indian* Darts and Arrows that fell upon 'em, and the great Stones that were thrown from off the Trenches, were not to be avoided: In ſhort, the brave Captain loſt his Life, and above two thirds of the Company, and of thoſe that return'd there were not eight but what were bitterly wounded, ſome having two or three, others five or ſix Arrows apiece ſticking in their Bodies. The number of ſound Men now remaining was very ſmall, they had no hands now to ſpare for fighting, having but juſt enough to do the neceſſary Work of the Ships.

Inſolence of the Soldiers.

Capt. *Morgan* and his Company loſt.

The *Admiral*'s concern and ſorrow for theſe Loſſes was inexpreſſible, but however he ſet ſail from this unfortunate place for the Iſland of St. *Sebaſtian*; and 'twas in the way to this place that the Misfortune befell him which compleated the ruin of all his Deſigns, and perhaps the breaking of his Heart too.

His Ship the *Roebuck*, that had once before been loſt by a Storm, now wilfully loſt her ſelf, that is in plain terms, gave him the ſlip, and left him to ſhift for himſelf; but this was not all, for ſhe had got on board her the Surgeons with their Medicines, beſides the beſt part of the Proviſions, and then had left the Admiral loaded with all her ſick and wounded Men, ſo that as the ſick Men were under a neceſſity of dying for want of Phyſick, the ſound ones were no leſs expos'd for want of Proviſions, if Providence did not ſupply them. 'Twas Capt. *Devn* that commanded the *Roebuck* at this time, and to his honour it muſt be recorded, That *he was the Man that did this brave Action.*

The *Roebuck* leaves the Admiral.

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Come to the Iſland of St. *Sebaſtian.*

They made a ſhift to get to Iſland St. *Sebaſtian* by that time their laſt Caſk of Freſh-water was in hand, and they had already begun to ſuffer very greatly upon the ſcore of the ſcarcity of that grand Neceſſary amongſt them. At this place they refreſh'd themſelves, ſurvey'd their Stores of Tackling and Proviſion, mended their Boat, and made her fit for further ſervice: As for Proviſions, they had enough for fourteen weeks at their ſcanty narrow way of living, but their Tackling was much leſs and worſe in proportion, for they had hardly any Ropes left, and but four Sails in all, the Sprit-ſail and Foretop-ſail (two of the moſt neceſſary) being wholly wanting, and the reſt more than half worn out. The Admiral here told 'em plainly his deſign of going a ſecond time for the *Magellanick Straits*, for they had the Summer now before 'em, and they would not fail of a ſtock of Victuals in going that way, at leaſt if *Seals* and *Penguins* would ſerve the turn.

The Soldiers refuſe to go to the *Straits*

Theſe and other Arguments which were urg'd for this Courſe they had ſo much Patience as to hear, but ſo much Impudence as to anſwer with only factious murmurings, and at laſt downright clamours againſt him that propos'd 'em; in ſhort, they ſwore all round, that they would never go to the *Straits* again, but ſail directly home, and that nothing ſhould divert 'em from their purpoſe. The Admiral was ſo highly incens'd at this daring Inſolence, that he reſolv'd to make one of the principal Mutineers an Example to the reſt, and that with his own Hand: This fellow refus'd to go to the *Magellanick Straits*, but the Admiral would now force him to make a much longer Voyage, and for that end whipt a Rope about his Neck, and intended to ſtrangle him: When the Company ſaw that he was in good earneſt, and the fellow was going to pot indeed, they all deſir'd the Maſter of the Ship to intercede with the Admiral for his Life, and promis'd they would be obedient for the future, and take what Courſe he himſelf ſhould think fit; ſo the Criminal was diſcharg'd, and the others ſeem'd to be in a much better humour and more governable for ſome time, after the Admiral had thus exerted his Authority, and ſhewn that he was not afraid of 'em; but all the while they were not really mended, they did but carry it fairly and ſmoothly to his Face, when at the ſame time they ſecretly curs'd him and his deſigns, and plotted his deſtruction.

The Admiral's trouble with his mutinous Crew at the Iſland.

'Twas in a terrible fear of their Villany that he liv'd all the time he was aſhore at this Iſland, about new building the Boat: The *Portugueſe* had continually a watchful eye upon him, and wanted but an opportunity to aſſault him; beſides, there was but a ſmall Creek that parted theſe Enemies from him, and he had reaſon enough to apprehend that ſome of his good People might hold a Correſpondence with 'em: For him to ſuſpect thus much of them, had not been at all any injury to the Rogues; for beſides, that their rebellious and treacherous Diſpoſition was a ſufficient ground for't, they were at that time actually caballing with the *Portugueſe*, and conſpiring the Murder of the Admiral and all the Company aſhore; and a certain *Iriſhman* (one of the number) brought the Deſign to as much perfection as the circumſtance would admit of, that is, he led the *Portugueſe* over in the Night-time, and knowing that the Men were moſtly unarm'd he aſſur'd the Enemy, that they might do even what they would with 'em, ſince they cou'd make no reſiſtance; and ſo all the ſick and wounded ones were murder'd upon the ſpot, and the reſt taken Priſoners.

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Horrid Treachery.

After this Miſchief done, the *Portugueſe* went over to the other ſide again, but left ſeveral Parties of *Indians* planted up and down amongſt the Buſhes and Trees, who ſo diſtreſs'd our Men with their Arrows (and yet could not be hurt themſelves) that they were forc'd to quit the ſhore entirely, and go on board the Ship: This was a very great prejudice to them, becauſe they had not finiſh'd all the Repairs they came aſhore about, neither had they laid in that ſtock of Wood and freſh Water they wanted; but 'twas impoſſible to ſtay, and ſo they were oblig'd to ſubmit to the preſent urgent Neceſſity.

The Admiral now made only a ſhew of living, for his Heart was ſo far broken that he could hardly be ſaid to live indeed; all his Hopes were gone, and he deſir'd nothing more than to get into ſome deſolate place, and to lie down and die; yet ſtill he had ſome mind to be ſailing towards the *Straits*, but his outragious Sailors ſtubbornly refuſing it, he propos'd the going for St. *Helena*. This Deſign they ſeem'd to comply with, but yet in effect endeavour'd to fruſtrate it, for when he was aſleep they would ſail directly contrary to his Orders; and when they had gotten too far to the Northwards for St. *Helena*, 'twas impoſſible to perſwade 'em to tack about a little to the Southwards again, ſo horribly fearful were they of the *Straits*, and ſo jealous leſt the Admiral ſhould trick 'em thither.

The Admiral forc'd to ſail homewards.

What between this rude Obſtinacy of theirs and that of the Winds together, they did not come to St. *Helena*, but, as it ſhould ſeem, made the beſt of their way for *England*. This Courſe the Admiral hated worſe than Death, and as bad as his Men did the *Magellanick Straits*; for, having been unfortunate, he was aſham'd to ſee his Native Country without ſome Performances worthy both of it and himſelf: But 'twas in vain to reſiſt, and *a Man muſt go when the Devil drives*, or any ſuch Furies as thoſe were that tormented him.

He was more than 8 gr. to the Northwards of the Line when he wrote this Letter, and ſent together with it his laſt Will and Teſtament, but his account breaks off there, and we hear not whether he came aſhore or ended his weariſom Life at Sea.

And thus have we the laſt Adventure of that Brave and Great Man, Admiral *Candiſh*: His firſt Voyage was as full of Glory as this was of Misfortune; no Man ever compaſs'd the Globe in ſo little time; no Man ever did more happy things abroad, and return'd to his Country in greater Pomp and Triumph than he; and 'tis not unlikely that he might have ſhone this laſt time as bright as he did the firſt, had not the ill Humours of a company of baſe Fellows interpos'd and eclips'd him.

CHAP. IV.

The ſtrange Adventures of Anthony Knivet, *(who went out with Admiral* Candiſh *in his laſt Expedition) amongſt the* Portugueſe *and* Indians; *together with his Travels thro' thoſe parts, and the account of the People, their Cuſtoms, and the Products of their Countries.*

WHEN the Reader has conſider'd the whole courſe of this Man's Adventures, ſeen what Dangers he paſs'd, and what Difficulties he ſurmounted, it may be he'll be ready to wonder what could kill ſuch a man at laſt, and what Death he ſhould die: And indeed one may venture to ſay, that it is not likely he was born either to be hang'd or drown'd, brain'd or ſtabb'd, to be kill'd either with Heathen Arrows or Chriſtian Shot, to be roaſted in the torrid or frozen in the cold Zone, to be devour'd by Wild Beaſts nor (which is worſe) by Wild Men. We uſually ſay a Cat has nine Lifes, becauſe we ſee it ſo tough and hardy, and endure ſo many kicks and blows; and for the ſame reaſon we may allow this Man at leaſt ſo many, if not double the number. But let us follow him, and ſee how many Deaths he has confronted, that we may judge the better both of his good Fortune and Conſtitution.

Knivet loſes his Toes.

This was the Man that (firſt of all) loſt his Toes by the ſevere Cold in the *Magellanick Straits*, where he was alſo very near eaten up with Lice at the ſame time: Twice they imagin'd him to be quite dead, and accordingly took him up to fling him overboard, but juſt as they were going to do it the man ſpoke, and deſir'd them to forbear, becauſe he was not yet quite gone; and certainly he cry'd out in very good time, for he was as near going (in another ſence) as Four-pence half-penny is to a Groat.

Knock'd down

Not long after, the Admiral making a blow at one of his mutinous Seamen with a piece of a mighty Cable, by accident ſtruck *Knivet* inſtead of that Raſcal, and laid him for dead upon the Deck; and truly, having lain there for ſome time and ſhewn no ſigns of Life, they e'en took him up, deſigning to caſt him to the Fiſhes, but (as before) the poor man ſignified to them in a very happy minute that he had yet ſome life remaining, and ſo ſav'd himſelf for that time alſo.

Laid aſhore to die.

He comes to himſelf.

Companions dead.

At the Iſles of St. *Sebaſtian* he was brought aſhore (with ſome others) in the moſt miſerable caſe that one can eaſily ſuppoſe a man to be; his Body was all over black, his Feet (and what Toes he had left) extreamly raw; he was wholly unable to ſpeak, neither could he ſtir without help; he and all his Company were look'd upon to be paſt all Hope and Cure, and ſo were ſet down here to take their Fate, being left entirely to the care of Providence. As for *Knivet*'s part, being once laid, he expected to riſe up no more, but the others were in better caſe than he, being able to move about a little: However, having lain there upon the Sand, under the powerful Rays of the Sun, for five or ſix hours, he began to come to himſelf, the warm Sun carrying off that deadly Chill that poſſeſs'd him before, and raiſing his Blood and Spirits into ſome motion again. The firſt thing he did was to gaze and ſtare about, like one awak'd out of ſome deep Sleep, or a man come back again into the World from an Extaſie; and the firſt Objects that preſented themſelves to him were his Companions lying about him, ſome dead, others in their laſt Agonies, groaning and giving up the Ghoſt; this was a melancholy Scene to a man that had but juſt now recover'd his Senſes, and 'twas enough to have made him loſe 'em all again: To be ſure he was ſome time conſidering into what ſort of World he had got, how he and they came thither, and what brought 'em into that condition; but having after ſome time recover'd the memory of former things, and concluded (as we will ſuppoſe) that the Ship's Company had ſet them all aſhore to die, we'll believe that the poor man was in no ſmall diſtreſs. He found that his Companions had haſten'd their own End, ſome of them by eating a ſort of venomous Peaſe that grew by the Sea-ſide; this he relates, tho' how he came to the knowledge of it we can't tell. However, conſidering the Calamities they were deliver'd from by Death, he thank'd the merciful Providence of Heaven for ſhewing that Favour to thoſe poor Wretches, and at the ſame time bewail'd his own Miſfortune that he was left out of the number, and thereby reſerv'd for a Life of ſuch Miſeries as he had now reaſon to expect.

He look'd towards the Sea, and ſaw no ſign of any Ship or Boat that came to relieve or ſee what was become of him; and as for Food, there was nothing to be had, unleſs he would have eat ſome of the 'forementiond Peaſe: Now to do that, was to be poyſon'd; and to forbear, was to be ſtarv'd; and tho' he was not at all fond of Life, yet he could not determine by which of thoſe two ways he had beſt put a period to it.

Lives upon Crabs.

While he was in theſe thoughts he ſaw ſomething ſtir upon the Sea-ſhore, and making a ſhift to crawl thither upon all four, he found they were Crabs playing about in the Mudd; ſo having gotten ſome of thoſe, he carried 'em to a hollow Fig-tree hard by, where he found a great Fire ready made, and laying 'em upon the Coals, dreſs'd 'em in this manner and eat 'em.

After this Repaſt he lay down to ſleep again, and ſlept till the next day, and then at the time of the Ebb took his opportunity to get more Crabs, which was all his maintenance, and without which he muſt of neceſſity have been ſtarv'd. And at this rate he liv'd eight or nine days, without the ſight of any living Creature except the Crabs he fed upon; but the ſtench of the dead Bodies of his Companions beginning to grow very noiſom and offenſive, he was fain to remove his Quarters to another place, and this was at ſome convenient diſtance, by the ſide of a fair River.

A terrible Creature ſcares him.

Knivet loſes his Toes.

But he had not been here above half an hour before a terrible ſort of Creature came out of the River, and march'd directly towards him; its Back was all cover'd with Scales, it had great ugly Claws, and a long Tail. *Knivet* was too weak and lame to run away, (if that could have been a deliverance to him) and therefore inſtead of that, went forwards to meet it; the Animal upon this ſtood ſtill and look'd at him, and opening his Mouth thruſt out a long Tongue, which for the form he compares to a Harping-iron. As for his part, he ſaid his laſt Prayers, and expected the next minute to have been ſeiz'd and grip'd in thoſe horrid Claws, the very ſight of which made him tremble; but all of a ſudden the Creature turn'd about, and ran into the River again.

It may be this unexpected Deliverance did not ſurprize him a little, but yet however, ſince 'twas poſſible he might have more ſuch Viſitants if he ſtaid in that place, and ten to one if the next Monſter prov'd ſo merciful and good-natur'd as this, he went away from thence farther up into the Iſland.

His next place of ſettlement was determin'd by the ſight he had of a mighty Whale lying dead upon the ſhore, like a Ship with the Keel upwards; here he made himſelf a little ſort of a Hutt, and fed upon the Whale for the ſpace of a fortnight, and no doubt there was enough left for a fortnight more.

More Men ſet aſhore.

But, as good luck would have it, at this place he met with ſome Company; there were forty Men more ſet aſhore, ('tis to be ſuppos'd upon the ſame ſcore that he had been) and having joyn'd himſelf with them, all together they made a pretty good ſhift, and beſides, now he was in a much better ſtate of Health too, and by frequent going into the Water had ſo far heal'd his ſore Feet, that he was able to walk very well.

Portugueſe and Indians aſſault and murder 'em.

These poor men knew well enough that they ſhould never be taken into the Ship again, and therefore muſt provide for themſelves as well as they could, till ſome way was open for 'em to get clear: But it hapned that the *Portugueſe* and *Savages*, having ſome way or other had notice of their being there, landed upon the Iſland with a conſiderable number of Men, intending to deſtroy or take 'em all Priſoners. This News was brought 'em in the Night, by one of their own Men, who had eſcap'd the Enemies hands, and told 'em, that two others of their Companions were taken Priſoners, and would be conſtrain'd by the *Portugueſe* to direct them to their Quarters. Neither was there any way for 'em to avoid the approaching Danger, for they would have march'd along the Shore, but the Sea ran ſo high that they could not, and therefore were oblig'd to keep their Poſt and be upon the watch: But, in ſhort, all their Care avail'd 'em little, for the *Portugueſe* and *Indians* broke in upon 'em, and ſeiz'd 'em, and very quickly began to do execution upon theſe miſerable Captives; they knock'd about half of 'em on the head, and an *Indian* was going to ſerve *Knivet* the ſame ſauce, making two or three blows at him with his ſhort Bill, but he catching hold of a *Portugueſe* that was juſt by, and crying out, that *he would tell them ſome News if they would ſave his Life*, got a Reprieve for that time.

Knivet ſaves his Life.

Travels with a Savage to the Captain.

After he had told his Tale (which 'tis probable was even what came uppermoſt at that time in his fright) the *Portugueſe* deliver'd him into the hands of a *Savage*, with whom he was to go, but he fearing he ſhould be murder'd, beg'd of the *Portugueſe* to let him go along with him wherever he went; however, being aſſur'd that this *Indian* was his Slave, and that he might ſafely venture himſelf with him, he follow'd him along the Shore. They travel'd together almoſt all the night, and when they came to any Rocks that ran out into the Sea, the *Savage* would take him upon his Back, and ſwim round the Rocks till they were quite clear of 'em, and then land him again; at laſt they came by a great Cliff that ſtood by the Shore, and then his ſavage Guide whiſtled, to which another that was upon the top of the Cliff anſwer'd, and upon this there preſently came out five or ſix *Portugueſe*, of which one was the Captain of the Company that had thus aſſaulted them.

When *Knivet* was brought before him, he demanded of him, *What News?* but the Priſoner being ſomething hungry after his Nights Journey, deſir'd that he might firſt have ſome Victuals, and then he would tell all he knew. The *Portugueſe* laugh'd heartily at this Requeſt of his, but however they granted it, and gave him a pretty good Meal, after which he ſatisfied their Curioſity as well as he could as to the *News* they deſir'd.

More Engliſh kill'd.

The reſt of the Priſoners being alſo brought hither, receiv'd their Fate at this place; no leſs than twenty eight of them were ſacrific'd, while *Knivet* and one more alone eſcap'd.

Knivet carried to S. Sebaſtian.

After this he was carried away by the *Portugueſe* to the City of St. *Sebaſtian*, ſituated upon the River of *Janero*: At their entrance almoſt all the City came out to meet 'em, they made ſuch a noiſe with Pipes and Drums as they came along in their Canoes. The barbarous fellows (being come pretty near the Shore) took him up in their Arms and toſs'd him out into the Sea, crying,

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There's our Prize, which had well nigh coſt him his Life, for the Tide ran ſo ſtrong that he was almoſt carried away with it, and had certainly been drown'd if one who had more compaſſion than the reſt had not commanded ſome of the Slaves that were by to go and fetch him out.

Knivet's firſt Maſter.

When he was brought before the Governour, he examin'd him, and then gave him for a Slave to that very *Portugueſe* who had firſt reſcued him when the *Savage* was about to cut him down with his ſhort Bill: This was as good fortune as he could expect in his preſent condition, for that Perſon us'd him with great humanity and kindneſs, made him always eat with him and lodge in his own Room, and then his buſineſs was only to keep his Maſter's Hogs, and go down to the Sea-ſide to get him Crabs.

Sent to the Sugar-mills.

Runs away, and lives in a Wood.

But theſe good days were too ſoon over, for the Governour calling him to a ſecond Examination, the effect of it was, that he was ſent away to work at a Sugar-Mill in the Country; here he had a miſerable life on't, he was laſh'd and beat like a *Galley-Slave*, not ſuffer'd to have a rag of Clothes to his Back, and nigh ſtarv'd into the bargain; all which put together, was ſo intolerable, that he reſolv'd to run away, and tho' he had no Refuge but a Wilderneſs to flee into, yet he thought he could not meet with more ſurly Company, nor endure more Straits, than where he was; ſo accordingly he march'd off, and finding a certain convenient Cave, he fix'd upon that for his Habitation: All the Day long he went out to fiſhing, and at Nights he went up and down to the *Indians* Houſes, to exchange his Fiſh for other Neceſſaries. And here he might have liv'd quietly enough, had not the Governour's care and diligence found him out, but 'twas his Chance to be diſcover'd, tho' being come back they uſed him better, and allotted him a leſs ſlaviſh Work than formerly he had for a time.

Worſe caſe than before.

But his ever varying Fortune, not long after, brought him into the Sugar Concerns again, and that under a more tyrannical inſulting fellow than he was with before; he was under the management of one that mortally hated an *Engliſhman*, and made little difference between ſuch a one and a Dog, except it were that the Dog were the leſs beat of the two.

He is given to the Governour's Son.

Knivet groan'd under this cruel treatment for the ſpace of four months, and then a much better circumſtance offer'd it ſelf to him; the Governour's Son pitying his diſtreſſed condition, deſir'd his Father to give him to him, which was granted, and ſo he was releas'd from the bondage of that ſort of life. 'Tis true, he was a Slave ſtill, but he was not us'd ſo much like one as before; he had a *Maſter*, but it was a *Man* that was his *Maſter*, and not a *Beaſt* or a *Devil*; which was no little Conſolation too.

Wyanaſſes.

Jarawapipo.

There was at ſome diſtance an *Indian* Town call'd *Wyanaſſes*, the People of which were at peace with the *Portugueſe*, and for Knives and Hatchets us'd to ſell their Wives and Children to 'em: His Maſter being order'd by the Governour his Father to reſide here for ſome time, *Knivet* came along with him hither, and from hence to *Jarawapipo*, from which place he was diſpatch as his Factor with ſeven or eight Slaves loaden with Knives and Hatchets to another *Savage Town*, the People of which were call'd *Pories*.

He goes to the Town of the *Pories*.

An odd way of receiving Strangers.

Having put into one of the largeſt Houſes, as ſoon as he was entred a Hammock was ſet up for him, and he requeſted to lie down upon it; this done, at leaſt twenty Women came into the Room, and ſome laying their Heads on his Shoulders, and others on his Knees, they all began to cry out together in a moſt ſad and doleful manner. *Knivet* could not tell what to make of this ſort of entertainment; the beginning puzzled him ſo, that he was in ſome doubt whether the latter end would be Comedy or Tragedy, yet as much ſurpriz'd as he was, he let the Women go on with their ill Muſick without giving them any diſturbance, and they alſo (when they had done) went away without giving him any account of what they meant by it. As ſoon as the Women were gone, in comes an old *Savage* with a great wooden Sword in his Hand, his Body painted all over red and black, three great holes in his Face, one in the under Lip, and the other two in the ſides of his Mouth, and in each hole a green Stone: This fellow came ſwaggering into the Room, and ſtriking his Breaſt in a moſt paſſionate manner, he look'd as if he had been ſtark mad, talk'd prodigious loud, and walk'd up and down without ſeeming to take notice of any body's being there. The poor man in the Hammock thought the buſineſs muſt be done now without fail, and indeed ſuch an odd Scene as this would have made any one conclude that the next that follow'd would be no other than that of Death it ſelf. However, (to ſhew how pleaſantly *Knivet* was even cheated into his Life, which in his own imagination was as good as loſt) the *Savage*, after he had finiſh'd all his poſtures and preachments, comes and ſtrokes him upon the Head and bids him welcome; after that, he call'd his Servants to bring out what Proviſions he had, and then inviting his Gueſt to come and partake with him, he made him know that he was glad to ſee him. And the News of a Stranger's being at this Houſe quickly ſpread abroad in the Town, and reach'd the other Towns too that were hard by, ſo that abundance of the *Cannibals* came to gaze and ſtare upon this new Face. *Knivet* was very kindly entertain'd and us'd in all reſpects by this old *Savage* his Hoſt; but that which made it the more conſiderable was, that he prov'd to be the King of the *Pories*, and this Houſe conſequently the Palace.

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Every one of theſe Towns was a Kingdom independent, and that ſtood upon its own Baſis, ſome grave experienc'd old *Savage* or other was their King, and the reſt paid him Obedience as ſuch; perhaps *Knivet* lit of one of the beſt, and a Man whoſe Hoſpitality, Fidelity, and other Virtues would have rank'd him amongſt a better ſort of Men than *Cannibals*.

A Story of an inſolent Savage.

Knivet defends himſelf.

One day, as our Traveller was in the Houſe, there comes in a certain hectoring *Savage*, King of another Town hard by, that was a violent hater of the *Portugueſe*, and it may be at firſt took *Knivet* for ſuch a one; he brought a couple of Women along with him, and laying his Hands on their Necks, in that poſture came dancing up to *Knivet*: When he had danc'd thus about a quarter of an hour, he open'd his eloquent Lips, and began in this manner; *Doſt thou ſee theſe Women?* (ſays he) *By my Valour I got their Love, and their Deſire I am ſworn to fulfill, which is to kill thee, as I have done many more before.* The other replied, *That he was none of his Enemy, nor did not come into the Country to do him or any of his Countrymen miſchief, but ſervice, by bringing them thoſe things they wanted; but if he pretended to offer him any Violence, he and all his Country ſhould be ſure to pay for't.* The *Savage* did not mind his Anſwer, but went directly to lay hands upon his Goods that lay there, deſigning to divide them between his two Miſtreſſes, but *Knivet* then ſtarting out of his Hammock, and drawing his Sword, ran at him, and almoſt overturn'd him, which rude Aſſault ſo cool'd the *Barbarian*'s Courage, that he durſt not pretend to meddle any more, and the higheſt revenge he took at that time was, to rail, ſcold, and threaten to kill his Adverſary.

The *Pories* arm in his behalf.

The fearful noiſe he made whilſt he was thus pouring out his wordy indignation upon *Knivet*, alarm'd the old King of the *Pories*, who was not far off, and brought him into the Houſe to enquire what the matter was; and when the Caſe was told him, he ſharply reprov'd his Brother Prince for this Outrage done againſt his Friend, and that under his own roof too, and more than that, commanded him in a great fury to be gone out of his Town, and at his peril to come no more there without leave. So the other was fain to march away without his expected Spoil, but he went it ſeems with a deſign to revenge himſelf, for next day News came that he had arm'd his Town, and was coming with a good force to fetch away *Knivet*, whom he reſolv'd to ſacrifice according to the Cuſtom of the Country: But the other, as peremptorily reſolv'd to defend him as he was to deſtroy him, aſſembled all his People together, and having told them the occaſion, they all with a great ſhout declar'd their unanimous reſolution to ſtand by him and the Stranger to the laſt man; ſo they march'd out into the Field to meet the other *Savages* that were then advancing towards 'em, and found 'em much inferiour to themſelves in number, which was the reaſon that their Enemies (conſcious to themſelves how much they were overmatch'd) preſently chang'd their Pretenſions, and ſent word, *They did not come with a deſign to fight, but only to drive a Trade and be merry with them.* Upon this a Peace was preſently concluded, and they went away together to the Town of the *Pories*, into which the King freely admitted all the reſt, but would not ſuffer their Prince to come in, upon the ſcore of the Affront which he had lately offer'd him.

Knivet having ſeen ſo happy a concluſion of this buſineſs, reſolv'd to return to his Maſter again; but however, to gratifie his Hoſt for all Kindneſſes to him, he made him a Preſent of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe things he had brought, for which in return the other gave him ſeventy Slaves.

Comes from the *Pories*.

And now he took his leave, having a Guard of three hundred Bowmen, which the King of the *Pories* would

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needs ſend to convoy him along: His Maſter was at that time at *Ilha Grande*, where he was well receiv'd by him, and found him well pleas'd with his Negotiations among the *Savages*; and 'twas a ſign he was ſo, ſince by that time he had been at home two months he propos'd to him a ſecond Journey into the ſavage Countries upon the ſame account; but *Knivet*, whom Experience had taught the Inconveniencies of ſuch Journeys, and beſides finding little or no Profit in them as to himſelf, refus'd to undertake it, and was thereupon ſent away to the Governour again, who made it his buſineſs to be all day long upon the Water a fiſhing.

He is ſent to fiſh by the Governour.

In this Employ being one time upon a Rock watching for a *Dog-fiſh*, it chanced that he fell aſleep, his Line lying under him; a while after the Fiſh took the Bait, and by tugging the Line wak'd him, but he being in ſome confuſion, and running about the Rock to obſerve the Fiſh's motion, the Line tangled about his Legs, and the Fiſh ſtill pulling hard, dragg'd him off the Cliff into the Sea; here was the Fiſherman catch'd by the Fiſh, and that by the meer help of a Line, without Hook or Bait, a fine Trick, and a fair Warning to all of that Profeſſion. When the poor man was thus attracted into the Water, one may eaſily imagin he wiſh'd himſelf out again, eſpecially when he ſee the Fiſh ſwimming up to him, to catch him in a far worſe ſence than the former, that is, between his Teeth; but having always ſome good Luck (as well as bad) attending him, he got hold of the Line with his Hand, and giving it a jerk, ſo tormented the Fiſh with the Hook that ſtuck in his Mouth, that he turn'd about and ſwam away, but *Knivet* being faſtned to him by the Line, conſequently ſwam along with him. In this caſe there had been no help for him if he had not remembred he had a Knife hanging about his Neck in a String, but with that he cut the Line, and ſo diſengag'd himſelf from the danger; however, his Body was ſo beat and torn upon the Rock, that he was not able to ſtir for the ſpace of a fortnight.

As ſoon as he was recover'd again he was commanded out to his old trade of Fiſhing, by which means he had one day an opportunity of informing himſelf of ſome *Engliſh* Ships that were coming that way; and as he had (no doubt) a very longing deſire to get out of this miſerable Bondage, ſo he determin'd to try if he could not accompliſh it at this time: For that purpoſe being upon the watch, he 'ſpied the *Engliſh* Ships ſailing along at a good diſtance, but concluding that they would put in at St. *Sebaſtian* to refreſh, he ſet all the *Indians* aſhore that he had with him upon ſome plauſible pretence, and having the Wind fair, he hoiſted Sail all alone, and directed his courſe towards St. *Sebaſtian*. And he was now even within ſight of the Ships, when a contrary Wind blew ſuch a Storm that he was forc'd clear away, his Boat driven upon the Rocks of an adjacent Iſland, and daſh'd all to pieces, whilſt he himſelf was little better than ſo, by the rude blows he had againſt thoſe Rocks; but making a ſhift to get to the Shore, he lay here upon the Iſland three whole days without the leaſt nouriſhment, and here he muſt have lain perhaps till his Wounds and Hunger together had kill'd him, if the Canoes the Governour had ſent out to purſue him had not by chance landed at this place, and found him in that helpleſs condition.

Endeavours to make his eſcape.

His diſappointment.

His Entertainment when he was brought back was ſuch as was to be expected from ſuch an Attempt; he was led with his Hands bound behind him, all the Town rail'd at him and call'd him *Runaway*; the Governour, after a cholerick reception, commanded him to Priſon, and gave order how he ſhould be treated there; for a fortnight he was manag'd more like a Dog than a Man, he lay upon the bare Ground, and was fed with nothing but *Caſſavi-meal* and *Water*.

Condemn'd to be hang'd.

After this Exerciſe in Priſon, he was condemn'd to be hang'd as a *Renegado*, and was brought out of Priſon in order to his execution; but in his way to the Gallows going along by the *Jeſuites College*, all the Fathers came forth in a body, and carrying a Crucifix along with 'em, they preſented it to the Governour as a Symbol of Compaſſion, and at the ſame time falling on their Knees before him, beg'd the Life of the poor Malefactor: At their requeſt he was ſav'd, but remanded to Priſon, and after having been mortified there for three days, he was brought out into the Marketplace, and there whipt with Cords till his Skin was fetch'd off from Head to Foot, or (to uſe his own expreſſion) *till he had not a ſpot of Skin remaining upon all his Body*.

Sav'd by the Jeſuites.

Cruelly us'd in Priſon.

This Puniſhment over, he was carried to Priſon again, and treated there both as to Diet and Lodging as before, the effect of which was, that a Body ſo bruis'd and raw as his was, with lying on the bare Ground quickly corrupted, and the manifeſt ſigns of Putrefaction appear'd in Vermin and other horrible inſtances.

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Sent to the Sugar-mill.

When he was ſo far recover'd as to be able to attend Work, he was ſent to the Sugar-mill, that ſoft, lazy, pleaſant Poſt, in which he had enjoy'd ſo much eaſe before, that to be rid on't he threw himſelf into the horrours of a Wilderneſs: To prevent his running away now, they faſtned an Iron Weight of thirty pound to his Leg, and put him under the government of a man who never met him but he baſtinado'd him, whether there was reaſon for it or no; a man that never ſtood to conſider Faults, nor enquire into the Merits of a Cauſe, but took a pleaſure in puniſhing, and diverted himſelf with Cruelty. Often he complain'd to the Governour of the barbarous Practices of the Factor, and ſhew'd him the marks of his cruel hand in Scars and Bruiſes, with which his whole Body almoſt was cover'd, but he had now no more Compaſſion for him, and ſeem'd to abandon him to the Tyranny of that Officer.

Stabbs the Factor, and runs away.

At laſt, when he had ſuffer'd nine months Oppreſſion of this nature, and ſaw no hope of releaſe, but by a bold and cloſe ſtroke of his own, he determin'd to make it, and rather choſe to kill the Factor than ſuffer himſelf to be kill'd by him; and that barbarous man himſelf ſhortly after gave him both the Opportunity and the Motive to put this violent Reſolution in practiſe, for as *Knivet* lay aſleep in the Sugar-houſe the Factor comes in, and with a Cudgel ſtrikes him a ſound blow over the Ribs, with that he ſtarted up, and ſeeing him ready to repeat his ſtroke, he catch'd up a Knife, and giving him two or three ſtabbs, got off, and made the beſt of his way into the Woods: Here he wander'd up and down, wiſhing ſome Lyon or Tyger to come and devour him, rather than fall into the hands of the *Portugueſe* again; and 'twas in the midſt of his moſt fearful thoughts of this matter that he heard a great noiſe of People in the Woods, which put him almoſt beſides himſelf, he believing them to be his Purſuers.

His eſcape from thoſe that purſued.

As the Noiſe encreas'd ſo did his Confuſion; ſometimes he ran and ſometimes he ſtood ſtill to hearken, but at laſt perceiving them to come nearer and nearer, and finding a neceſſity of ſome very ſecure Shelter to be gotten that very moment, he look'd about and 'ſpied a *Caravata* in a Tree, which is a ſort of buſhy ſtuff compos'd of thick long Leaves, and as big as an Eagle's Neſt, into which he got and lay very cloſe and ſtill; but he had not been there above a quarter of an hour before the Tree was compaſs'd about with *Indians* that were ſent to ſearch for him; they knew nothing of his being there, but ſeeing it appear like a place proper enough for hiding, they ſhot a good many Arrows up into the Tree, and when they had done that (no body crying out) they went away.

Poor *Knivet* was ſo terrified with this, that he kept in his Neſt two days and nights, in all which time he eat nothing, ſo that when he came down he was in a very weak and faint condition; but as well as he was able he directed his courſe to the Sea-ſide, and went along the Shore, in which march he found two or three *Savages* lying there aſleep, with their Fiſhing-tackle by 'em, and ſome little matters of Proviſion; this was ſo ſeaſonable an occurrence to a man ready to be ſtarv'd, that it had been a fault to have neglected relieving himſelf by it, but he did it very modeſtly, and never wak'd the *Savages* to tell 'em any thing either of the Virtue or Vice of what he had done.

A little farther he met with another *Savage* aſleep, whom (upon a ſtrict obſervation) he knew very well to be one of his fellow Slaves, and him he made bold to awaken, to enquire into the reaſon and manner of his coming thither; and truly, upon comparing notes together, their Caſes were juſt alike, for he had ſhed Blood too, and was a *Renegado* as well as *Knivet*, and durſt no more go hence than he, ſo that the likeneſs of their paſt circumſtances was an Inducement to 'em to ſeek their Fortunes for the future together. And this conjunction was ſo much the happier on *Knivet*'s ſide, in that this *Savage* was a great man in his Country, and beſides of wonderful honeſt Principles, inſomuch that the other declares he never met with truer friendſhip from any than from him.

Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe dolorum.

Theſe two Wanderers (having adjuſted the matters of their Courſe) ſwam over from the Iſland to the Main, and came both very feeble and weary aſhore, for the Arm of the Sea was at leaſt two miles wide: Now they came out into a horrid Wilderneſs, where Lyons and Tygers and fearful Serpents were very common; their Food was wild Honey and Palmetoes, and a ſort of Snakes which the Cannibals call *Boaeyna*.

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A terrible Journey.

When they had travel'd here thirty ſeven days, they came out into an open champion Country, and at laſt reach'd a place, the proſpect of which *Knivet* ſeem'd to know; upon conſideration he found it was *Pianita*, (the Town of the *Pories*) where he had been ſo well receiv'd before, and his old Hoſt was no leſs glad to ſee him now alſo. Here he told 'em the cauſe of his coming amongſt 'em, with all the Barbarities the *Portugueſe* had exercis'd upon him, and this, together with ſome Perſwaſions to renounce the Alliance and Friendſhip of the *Portugueſe*, wrought ſo far on them, that they reſolv'd with one conſent to break off from them, and defend both themſelves and him againſt 'em.

And this Reſolution 'tis poſſible they had maintain'd, had not ſome of their Neighbours (that were fond of the *Portugueſe*) practis'd with 'em, and inſinuated a better Opinion of that People into 'em, but they cried up the Bounty and other good Qualities of the *Portugueſe* at ſuch a rate, that the others believ'd what they ſaid to be true; and therefore, to gratifie ſuch a People as them, poor *Knivet* was deliver'd bound into their hands, and ſo preſented to his old Maſter the Governour's Son, who was come into thoſe parts to buy Slaves.

'Tis true, the malicious Neighbours had told Tales, and inform'd the *Portugueſe* that *Knivet* was at the *Town* of the *Pories*, and tis certain alſo that Meſſengers were ſent to *Pianita* to demand him, before the *Pories* knew any thing of that Information; ſo that it muſt be granted 'twas a ſort of a Surprize upon 'em, but yet that will never excuſe their Infidelity and Breach of Promiſe.

Knivet is brought to his Maſter.

Knivet being brought before his Maſter, was now under an abſolute neceſſity of ſubmitting to all Conditions impos'd upon him, in order to the ſaving of his Life; 'twas in his power to chuſe whether he would go home and be hang'd (for that muſt be the leaſt of his Fate) or take upon him to do the Work enjoyn'd him by his Maſter, and which he had ſome reaſon to believe would not be very eaſie; however, this being (at leaſt to preſent view) more eligible than paſſing immediately into the hands of an Executioner, he choſe that part, and ſtood to his Maſter's pleaſure.

Goes another Journey.

Accordingly he was diſpatch'd (with ſome few *Savages* in company) into a certain Country of *Cannibals*, to traffick for Slaves, and a diſmal Journey he had on't for 25 days together, over Woods and Mountains, and in continual Dangers by fierce and ravenous Animals; at laſt they came to a very fair and broad River, upon the Banks of which the Town (where they were to trade) was ſituated, and having got a Canoe, as they were ſwimming down the River they overtook another Canoe in which was two of the Natives: Theſe *Savages* were infinitely aſtoniſh'd to ſee *Knivet* in his *Portugueſe* Habit; they gaz'd at him with a ſtrange eagerneſs, and ſeem'd doubtful whether they ſhould eſteem him a Man or no: And truly *Knivet* for his part was in no leſs ſuſpence about them, for they were all over cover'd with Feathers, and look'd more like Birds than Men, and if they had had Tails, might well enough have paſs'd for a couple of great Fowl. In ſhort, 'twas impoſſible to ſee of what Complexion they were, except by ſome few places in their Legs; they had beſmear'd themſelves from Head to Foot with a ſort of viſcous Gum, and laying their Feathers on upon that, they ſtuck ſo cloſe that no body could be ſure (at firſt ſight) that they did not grow there.

Strange Habits of the Savages.

After each Party was ſatisfied with looking, (which was no little while firſt) one of *Knivet*'s *Savages* which was of that Country was commanded to tell 'em the deſign of their coming, and to deſire 'em to give notice of it at the Town, which they did very willingly, having been gratified with ſome little Trifles.

About two hours after came forth a body of at leaſt five hundred of theſe feather'd Animals, leaping and ſinging, and ſhewing themſelves extreamly glad of the coming of theſe Strangers to their Town; and when they had brought them thither, all the reſt came to receive them, and expreſs'd their Joy in the like manner. *Knivet* was entertain'd with a mighty deal of Ceremony, led from Houſe to Houſe, and had long Speeches made to him by all the principal Men; and when they came to the main buſineſs of dealing for Slaves, he ſucceeded ſo well in it, that he bought no leſs than ninety.

This Affair over, he return'd to his Maſter at *Ilha Grande* with the Slaves he had gotten, and under his protection, and his company, went home again to the Governour, who had now loſt all ſentiments of Diſpleaſure and Revenge, and was become mighty full of Care and Fear for him, leſt ſome unhappy Accident or other had betided him in his Rambles. And now he was advanc'd to a Poſt in the Sugar-mills ſomething like, and brought him in ſome profit, for in the ſpace of a Twelvemonth he had laid up two hundred Crowns.

Knivet in a better place.

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From this good and credible place (by that time he was come to taſt the ſweetneſs of it) he was forc'd away by a War which broke out between ſome of the *Indians* which were Friends and Allies of the *Portugueſe* and others the moſt mortal Enemies of both.

He goes to War with the *Portugueſe*.

The *Portugueſe*, in conjunction with other *Indians*, rais'd an Army for the defence of their Friends, which march'd under the command of the Governour's Son, and *Knivet* was order'd to make one of the Company. To tell all the Difficulties and Terrours of this Journey would be a Work too tedious and irkſom; ſometimes they waded thro' Rivers, march'd thro' marſhy and muddy Grounds, croſs'd ſteep and ragged Mountains that lifted up their Heads into the middle Region of the Air; many times they were pinch'd ſeverely for want of Food, and upon this ſcore, together with their conſtant tedious Marches, the whole Army was much enfeebled, and abundance quite worn off their Legs: They had ſeveral cruel Diſtempers riſe amongſt 'em too, but principally amongſt the confederate *Indians*, who therefore cried out of Spirits and Hobgoblins that flutter'd about and tormented them at that rate; but the truth on't is, that they died chiefly (as 'tis common in thoſe hot Countries to do ſo) of exceſſive Sweating and Faintneſs, together with the Worms breeding in the Fundament and conſuming thoſe parts. The Remedy the *Indians* uſe for this is only to take Slices of *Limons* and *green Pepper*, and put it into their Fundaments, and with this they generally perform the Cure.

Difficult paſſage.

Diſtempers in *Braſile*.

Venomous Snakes.

But at one particular Stage in their Journey they were mightily troubled with a ſort of very poyſonous Snakes that were all about in a Bottom where the Army encamp'd; they kill'd about 600 of 'em before they could free their Lodging for that night, and yet they had no more miſchief done than only the loſs of an *Indian* who was bit by one of 'em; this poor man, as ſoon as ever the Wound was given, ſwell'd violently, and the Blood guſh'd out of his Eyes and from under his Nails, and in that condition he died.

Bad Fruit.

In another place they were much more endanger'd by a kind of Fruit, which was very pleaſant to the taſte and as pernicious other ways: Here the whole Army, both *Portugueſe* and *Indians*, were ſick, and *Knivet* ſays, for all that he knows had periſh'd, had it not been for a piece of Unicorn's Horn (as he calls it) which one of the Company had by him. Their beſt Food in this march was Pines, Palmetoes, and wild Honey, and ſometimes a little *Guiney*-Wheat and Potatoes, but theſe things were but ſeldom to be gotten neither, their way lying thro' more rough and unfruitful places; 'tis a ſign they were hard put to it for Victuals, when they eat up all their Leather Targets by the way, nay, the very Cowhide that cover'd the Hoſt and the ſacred Utenſils was devour'd too, and had thoſe Inſtruments been made of Leather, they would have been gone as well as the reſt: But 'tis a wonder that ſince the preſence of the Hoſt has produc'd ſo many miraculous Effects, it ſhould not do ſomething here, to keep theſe good *Catholicks* from coming to ſuch Extremities as oblig'd 'em to eat up the venerable Hide that cover'd it from the Injuries of the Weather: We are told, that the Beaſts themſelves have come out of the Woods, and the Fowls down from the Trees, to pay their Adorations to it: Ah, how happy and ſeaſonable would it have been for a company of wild Hogs or good fat Deer to have come and worſhip'd the Hoſt at this time, and have given the *Portugueſe* an opportunity to cut their Throats! But there were Infidels and our Heretical Countryman (the Spawn of *Luther*) in the Company, and who knows what an obſtruction their preſence might be?

Scarcity of Proviſion.

Now this Army (you'll ſay) was in a fine condition to encounter a furious Enemy, they had nothing to defend 'em from a ſhowre of Darts and Arrows, for their Targets (which ſhould have been upon their Shoulders) were in their Bellies; and certainly they had been in a hopeful caſe if their Enemies had not been all ran away; but when they by ſo many long and horrid Marches had at laſt reach'd their Town, they found no body there: Perhaps there was ſomething extraordinary in this, the wicked Spirits of that Town ſmelt what was coming, and in a ſtrange hurry were forc'd to fly the preſence; which hapned well enough for the *Portugueſe*, who elſe in all probability muſt have fled from theirs. The *Tamoya's* (for ſo were their Enemies call'd) had left ſome ſtore of Proviſions behind 'em, which they took poſſeſſion of, and beſides reap'd their Harveſt of *Mandioque* for 'em. They ſtaid here two months, the moſt part of which time was

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imploy'd in nothing elſe but providing a ſtock of Victuals for their return. By this Town is a Bog, which after Rains abounds with Frogs that are a very good Meat and much eaten; there are a great many large Snakes too, which devour thoſe Frogs, and are themſelves devour'd by any that can catch and kill 'em, being a ſort of Food ſufficiently eſteem'd both by the *Indians* and *Portugueſe*, but it ſeems they are bold fierce Creatures, and will both aſſault and purſue a Man, for one of the Company that went out one night a Frog-catching was like to be catch'd by one of theſe Snakes, it was a very great one indeed, at which he came in not a little ſcar'd; upon this *Knivet* (who had more courage) went out with a good Club, and coming to the place where the Snake was, ſhe immediately quitted the Prey ſhe had in her Mouth, and raiſing up her Skin, like the Scales of a great Fiſh, and opening her Mouth very wide, ſhe put her ſelf into a poſture to leap at him, but he by one ſound and fortunate blow prevented that aſſault, for hitting the Snake upon the Head, he quite cruſh'd her Skull, and tho' ſhe flounc'd about and made a great noiſe in the Water for ſome time after, yet entirely diſpatch'd her by that means; this Snake he dragg'd home, and cut her out into quarters for the Captain and the principal Officers: But notwithſtanding, this Snake had very near coſt him his Life, for it being his turn to be Centinel that night, one of the Officers reflected upon him for his negligence, and aſſerted, that he had been call'd to the Watch while he was away; upon this, tho' 'twas falſe (and prov'd to be ſo) yet ſuch a Quarrel aroſe between 'em, that *Knivet* uſing his Sword, left his Adverſary for dead upon the ground.

Furious Snakes.

Knivet kills one of 'em.

Condemn'd to die.

And now he was bound and placed in the Stocks, whilſt Articles were drawn up in form againſt him; more than this, the Frier was ſent to prepare him for another World, and tho' the good Father was ſo charitable as to make two Viſits to him, exhorting him to Confeſſion, yet not a bit of Sin could be got out of *Knivet*, who had (as he ſaid) confeſs'd them all to Heaven before. In ſhort, he was led to the place of Execution, made his Speech to the Company, and expected the fatal turn, but the Officers (who had many of 'em a kindneſs for him) hapned to fall into a Debate among themſelves what Authority the Captain had to put him to death, eſpecially ſince no Murder was done, neither was he impower'd by any Commiſſion from the King; and truly upon conſideration they found he had ſo little, that they commanded the Execution to be ſtaid, and went away to the Captain to intercede for the Criminal's Life; and tho' he refus'd to grant it, yet they were reſolv'd to have it, and ſo accordingly by their own Authority (in ſpite of all the Captain's Proteſtations to the contrary) they return'd and diſcharg'd him.

His eſcape.

When the Army had ſtaid in this Country ſome three months longer, they began to march homewards again, and *Knivet* addreſs'd himſelf to the ſeeking new Adventures; to go home with them would be to go to a certain Death, (if at leaſt any could be certain to ſo ſlippery a fellow) and therefore he beg'd leave of the Captain to go ſeek his Fortune: This was more eaſily granted him than his Life before was, for as he was not fond of the Captain's company, the Captain was not much concern'd about his, but even gave him liberty to diſpoſe of himſelf how and where he would.

He undertakes a new Adventure.

Upon this permiſſion *Knivet*, with twelve more of the *Portugueſe* in his company, took leave, and began their Journey: They went down the River of *Jaiero* in a Canoe which they made of the Bark of a Tree, and coming to a certain Village, they landed there, intending for the future to go altogether by Land. Here were no Inhabitants at all, but it ſeems the *Indians* came hither ſometimes to fiſh, for there they found good ſtore of earthen Pots, and in 'em Lines with pieces of Gold tied to them, which were uſed for that purpoſe; likewiſe here they met with many ſorts of very fine and beautiful Stones, green, red, blue, white, others very glittering, and as clear as Cryſtal. They concluded by theſe tokens that they muſt be very near to *Potaſin*, and therefore travelling South-weſt from hence, they came into a ſort of a brown barren Soil full of Rocks and Hills, and yet many ſmall Rivers water'd it too; here they found lumps of Gold as big as Hazle-nuts by the ſides of theſe Rivers, and great quantities of fine Duſt of the ſame Metal.

After this they came out into a fair open Country, where they had a proſpect of a wonderful Mountain at leaſt ten days Journey from 'em; it ſhone with a dazling luſtre, and when the Sun came about, ſo that the Beams were reflected off from thence towards 'em, they declare it was very troubleſom travelling againſt the light of it: 'Tis pity they had not told us what it was that made this Mountain to reflect ſuch a light, for it's hardly to be ſuppos'd that Men ſhould be ſo ſtupid as to paſs by and not enquire into the cauſe of ſo remarkable a *Phænomenon*, tho' it's not improbable that the vaſt numbers of thoſe fair bright Stones before mention'd might be the reaſon of ſuch a ſhining.

About the foot of the Mountain they found abundance of the *Tamandro's* or *Ant-bears*; this Animal is as big as an ordinary Bear, and like it in the Body, but it has a Snout of almoſt a yard long, and a very great Tail all black and grey; they have the Name of *Ant-bears* from their ſo conſtant devouring thoſe Inſects, for they thruſt their Tongues into the Ant-hills, and then when the Ants are ſettled in great heaps upon them, they draw them into their Mouths, and ſo ſwallow them all down. Theſe *Tamandro's* are good Meat, and our Travellers ſerved themſelves of them very conſiderably for the Fleſh-part of their Proviſion.

They went along by this Mountain at leaſt twenty days before they could find any paſſage over it, but at laſt they did find one, tho' not over, yet under it, and that by a River that ran quite thro'; where this River went, or whither 'twould carry 'em, what Vortexes and Whirlpools, what Cataracts and vaſt falls of Water over Rocks and Precipices there might be, they knew not, but yet they reſolv'd to attempt a paſſage this way.

They go down the River under the Mountain.

Now who would not think that theſe Men were in ſome very great diſtreſs to find out Death and Danger, when they went to look for't in a River that ran under a mighty Mountain, and (for all that they knew) down into the great Abyſs? Or had they been ſure to avoid all ſuch Dangers, yet King *James*'s Reaſon againſt ſhooting *London-bridge* would have prevented ſome People perhaps from engaging in ſuch an Enterprize; for ſince the Mountain muſt fall one time or other, 'twas not impoſſible it ſhould tumble down upon their Heads: However, they put that to the venture, and making 'em a ſort of a Boat of Canes, between three and four yards wide, and ſix yards long, into it they went, carrying ſome ſtore of Proviſion with 'em, becauſe they could not tell how long 'twould be before they came out again; and indeed *Knivet* plainly declares, he does not know how long they were in that horrible paſſage, he ſays they went in of a Morning and came out again of a Morning, but that's all he knows of the matter: Now this muſt evidently be from one of theſe two cauſes, either they ſlept a great while, and ſo loſt time that way, or elſe they were all the while in ſuch dreadful darkneſs that they could never diſtinguiſh Day from Night: However, he ſays, when they had gone quite thro' and ſaw once more the chearful Light, and the face of the ſuperiour World, they were wonderful glad; which any one will eaſily believe, that thinks what 'tis to ſail under the bottoms of Mountains. And now ſeeing Houſes all about 'em, they determin'd to quit their Boat, and go and throw themſelves upon the mercy of thoſe *Savages* that dwelt there, and learn of 'em how to ſteer their Courſe for the future.

Taken by the Tameyes.

So they made up towards the Houſes, and as ſoon as ever the *Savages* eſpied 'em they came out full drive to meet 'em, whooping and hollowing all the way. Having taken 'em, they preſently bound their Hands, and tied Cords about their Middles, and ſo led 'em away to their Town. Being brought thither, two or three grave old Men came to examine 'em of what Country they were, and the *Portugueſe* all confeſs'd directly what they were, but *Knivet* ſaid he was a *Frenchman*; and it had been well for them if they had been *French men* too, for they were not aware into what Country they were rambled, nor into whoſe hands they were fallen; theſe *Savages* were the *Tameyes*, their moſt irreconcilable Enemies, and to whom nothing in the World was more pleaſant than to ſhed the Blood of their Nation.

Within two hours after this Examination and Confeſſion, Execution came on; one of the *Portugueſe* was led between ſix *Savages* out into a Yard, and then an old Man came to him and bid him look about him and take his laſt view of all things that pleas'd him, for he ſhould now ſee 'em no more; upon this a luſty young *Savage* with a great Club advances up to him, *Doſt thou ſee me?* (ſays he to the poor trembling *Portugueſe*) *I am he that has kill'd many of thy Nation, and will now kill thee*; and as ſoon as the word was out of his Mouth, with two ſound blows he diſpatch'd him: When he was dead they held him over the Flame, and ſtript off all his Skin, and then having taken out the *Viſcera*, (which they gave to their Women that ſtood by) they cut out the Body into Joynts, and ſent it about from Houſe to Houſe as far as 'twould go. Thus they ſerv'd all the twelve *Portugueſe* one after another; they made ſo many Feaſts of them, and were merry to the higheſt degree, doing nothing but drink,

Manner of their Executions.

dance,

1593. dance, and hollow Night and Day as long as theſe Dainties laſted.

Knivet ſav'd.

When *Knivet* had ſeen all the *Portugueſe* thus devour'd, he expected that they would be very quickly for taſting a piece of a *Frenchman* too, but truly when they had done all their Sports they came to him, and told him he ſhould not need to fear the like treatment that the *Portugueſe* had, for as for all his Countrymen they had ever been their Friends, but the *Portugueſe* had always been their Enemies and made Slaves of 'em, and 'twas for that reaſon that they had dealt in this rigorous manner with them.

Thus our *Engliſhman* (tho' under the notion of a *Frenchman*) liv'd not only free from all fear and danger, but alſo in good credit and eſteem amongſt 'em; and he was ſerviceable to 'em upon many accounts, he taught them how to encamp, to put themſelves into order of Battel, to fight regularly, and ſeveral other things relating to Military Diſcipline; they never would go out to Battel without him, and in the time that he was with them they gain'd ſeveral Advantages over other Nations of *Savages* that came to diſturb 'em. 'Tis the Cuſtom of theſe barbarous People to go roving about, whole Nations of 'em together, from one Quarter to another, and that as often as they have a mind either to change their Habitations or make War with any other People whom they are jealous of, or ſuſpect will be their Enemies.

Tamoyes injure the Allies of the *Portugueſe*

And *Knivet* now found ſomething of an Inclination in theſe *Tamoyes* to leave the Country where they dwelt at that time, and remove into thoſe parts of the Continent where they could have Trade with the *French*, and where they had alſo formerly liv'd; he did not ſtifle this motion, but endeavour'd to promote it as much as he could, for his Fortunes ſeem'd to be inſeparably link'd to theirs, and therefore if he went along with them into thoſe parts, there was ſome hope of his ſeeing *Chriſtian* Faces again, and getting an Opportunity to make his eſcape, but if they ſtaid here thoſe hopes were for ever loſt, ſince they would never care to part with him. In ſhort, after he had given them an account of the place he fix'd upon for their ſettlement, and the probabilities of a good Commerce with the *French* there, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to relinquiſh the Country they were now poſſeſs'd of, and go and plant themſelves there; ſo they march'd away in a body to the number of thirty thouſand, thro' Woods and Deſarts, over Mountains, Hills, and Rivers, ſometimes Northward and ſometimes Southward, ſhaping their Courſe as Neceſſity and Policy together directed them, and had they not gone to War with another Nation of *Savages* by the way, they might probably have finiſh'd their intended Journey with ſafety and quiet enough, but engaging themſelves againſt a certain People who were the Allies of the *Portugueſe*, they brought a compleat Ruin upon themſelves; for thoſe People being conſiderably worſted by 'em in one Battel, went and crav'd Succour of their Friends the *Portugueſe*, who quickly rais'd an Army, and ſent it out under the Command of the Governour's Son, he with whom *Knivet* went before upon the like Expedition, and who had ſo many times been his Maſter; and theſe much better Soldiers, with their Martial Furniture, and eſpecially their terrible great Guns, ſo daunted the Army of the *Tamoyes*, that they were like ſo many Men without Life or Soul, and not at all pretending to diſpute the point with 'em, ſubmitted themſelves to their Mercy.

Portugueſe kill and captivate 'em.

The Captain was aſtoniſh'd to find his old Servant *Knivet* alive amongſt theſe People, but having examin'd him what was become of the twelve *Portugueſe* that travel'd with him before, and finding the *Tamoyes* had ſacrifice'd 'em, he preſently gave Orders to his Soldiers to maſſacre all the old Men and Women, and bind the reſt for Slaves. Thus was the whole Nation in a manner cut off, 10000 kill'd upon the ſpot, and the remaining 20000 led into a Captivity worſe than Death.

A valiant Savage King.

'Tis true indeed, that there was yet remaining a ſmall Town of this People, as they accidentally diſcover'd afterwards; for going out upon a new Expedition, againſt another ſort of *Savages*, that were come to take up their Dwellings in ſome of thoſe places where the *Tamoyes* had been before, they found a Town of theſe *Tamoyes*, who had liv'd by themſelves in a Mountain ever ſince the firſt Conqueſt the *Portugueſe* had made of 'em. Their Captain (*Knivet* ſays) was at leaſt 120 years old, a Man of wonderful Strength and Stoutneſs for his years, and of a very daring Courage; he with his People joyn'd with the *Portugueſe*, in their Deſign againſt theſe new Enemies, and being come in ſight of their Army, he runs into the thickeſt ranks of the *Portugueſe*, and bid them that had never ſeen him obſerve him now, and follow him into the Battel, (if they durſt) where they ſhould ſee his Valour: When he had ſaid this he took his Bow and Arrows and charg'd into the very middle of the Enemy, of whom he kill'd three preſently, and was himſelf ſhot with one and twenty Arrows, which remain'd ſticking in his Body. Before he died, he deſir'd to be inſtructed in the *Chriſtian Religion*, and to have Baptiſm adminiſtred to him, both which being done, he expir'd, calling upon God for Mercy in a very devout and fervent manner. 1593.

The *Portugueſe* had no great trouble to put an end to this War, for the Enemy never ſtood to joyn Battel with 'em, but ran all away, and they not thinking it worth their while to purſue 'em, return'd home.

Knivet 'ſcapes to *Angola*.

After this *Knivet* liv'd ſomething better with the Governour than before, but yet he was grown ſo horrible weary of this Country, where he had met with ſo many Diſaſters, and ſuffer'd ſo many Miſeries, that he reſolv'd once more to attempt the making an eſcape from it; and his Plot ſucceeded, he got on board a Ship, and came to *Angola* in *Africk*, from whence he went up the River of *Guanſa* to the City of *Maſangano*, intending to ſerve there as a Soldier for ſome time, and then travel thro' *Ethiopia* into *Turkey*, and ſo home.

Is taken and ſent back to *Braſile*.

But it ſeems there was another Journey cut out for him at this time, and inſtead of making a Viſit to *Preſter John* or the *Grand Seignior*, he muſt once more go and ſee the old Governour in *Braſile*. In plain terms, he was ſeiz'd here by a Purſuivant, carried away Priſoner to *Angola*, and from thence to St. *Sebaſtian* to his old Maſter again. The Governour receiv'd him after another manner now than he did the firſt time of his running away, he puniſh'd him only with Jokes and Jeſts, bid him welcome from *England*, and ask'd him how all his Friends did there; he order'd the Fetters to be taken off from his Legs, gave him good Clothes, and us'd him kindly.

Some time after this (by a favourable turn) *Knivet* had the comfort of breathing the Air of a Chriſtian Country again, for his Maſter was recall'd from his Government in *Braſile* home to *Liſbon*, of which (we may be ſure) he was not a little glad.

Goes to *Fernambuco*.

They ſet ſail from St. *Sebaſtian* for the City of *Fernambuco* in *Braſile*, where they were to ſtay ſome time, and in this Courſe they ſo wonderfully eſcap'd a Shipwreck, that hardly any Deliverance of that kind could be more ſtrange and unexpected: They got aſhore upon this Coaſt, where they had been expos'd to ſo much danger, and made the reſt of their Journey to **Fernambuco** by Land.

Goes to the Wars at *Rio Grande*.

While they lay at this place, *Knivet* went to the Wars at *Rio Grande*, for that place was beſieg'd by a very potent *Indian* King, with an Army of above 40000 Men. The *Portugueſe* ſet upon 'em unawares, and having ſurpriz'd 'em in the midſt of their Mirth and Feaſts, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that they were glad to propoſe Terms of Peace; the Conditions were, *That all their Priſoners ſhould be releas'd, and they ſhould be permitted to live in their own Country as Freemen, only acknowledging a ſubjection to the King of* Spain, *and upon this ſcore they would all of 'em, both King and People, be baptiz'd.*

The *Portugueſe* gladly accepted of theſe Conditions, and ſo Peace was made, and one of the largeſt Provinces of all the North of *Braſile* was added to that Crown. The Soldiers got very rich Plunder at this Conqueſt, they found Diamonds, Rubies, and Saphires in ſome of the Villages that ſtood by the Sea, and *Knivet* for his own part tells us, that he was above five hundred Crowns the better for this Expedition.

Sails to *Liſbon*.

When this was over, he return'd to *Fernambuco* to his Maſter, and from thence in a ſhort time ſail'd with him into *Portugal*. He liv'd in the Governour's Houſe at *Liſbon* in pretty good ſort for the ſpace of nine months; but then falling ſick, he was ſo far neglected by his Maſter (who certainly ow'd him more care and attendance) that he had ſuffer'd the laſt Extremities if a certain charitable *Engliſh* Nun had not given him a ſeaſonable Relief; and 'twas by this good Woman's means that (as his Sickneſs grew more and more violent) he was remov'd into the Royal Hoſpital, where, he tells us, the *Portugueſe* Doctors bled him twenty one times, and at laſt compleatly recover'd him; and then when the Phyſicians had done with him, his kind Friend the Nun brought him out again with Money in his Pocket.

Becomes an Interpreter to Merchants.

Now *Knivet* thinking all manner of Obligations to his Maſter for the future were utterly cancel'd by this his cruel neglect of him, did not go back to his Houſe, but ſet up for getting his own living; and the courſe that he took for it was, to be an Interpreter to Merchants; in this way he got as much buſineſs as ever he could turn his hand to, and maintain'd himſelf very well: Abundance of theſe Merchants (finding his fitneſs for buſineſs) would have imploy'd him in their Concerns in *Braſile* and other parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, but he who had liv'd in that

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Country but too long already, and had now a mind to have one look more at *England*, refus'd their Offers, and waited for a favourable opportunity to take that view he ſo much deſir'd; but the Date of his baniſhment from home was not yet out, his Fortune muſt yet have another unhappy turn, and Slavery that left him in *Braſile* meet him once more in *Portugal*. To be brief, his old Maſter, that found he would not come at him, incens'd the Viceroy againſt him, and had him laid in a Dungeon, where he was kept with ſo ſhort an Allowance that his manner of living was next door to ſtarving: In this Diſtreſs he continued for ſome time, but how long we are not certain, as neither alſo how he was deliver'd from thence, but we know by many intimations that he did undoubtedly ſee *England* again, and rejoyce with his Friends, after all the various Scenes of his diſaſtrous Fortune.

Knivet caſt into Priſon.

Having run over the Hiſtory of this Man's Adventures, we are now to ſee the Obſervations he has made upon the ſeveral Countries he travel'd thro', the varieties of People and Nations, with as much of their Cuſtoms and Rites as were known to him, and (after all) thoſe Remarks which do more immediately relate to Navigation and Geography.

The Natives of *Braſile*.

As for the People of this mighty Country (*Braſile*) the firſt Nation he deſcribes are the *Petivares*, who dwell in the Northern parts of *Braſile*, between *Baya* and *Rio Grande*; they are not of ſo wild and barbarous a diſpoſition as many of the *Braſilian* Nations are, their greateſt rudeneſs lies in their preſerving thoſe two notorious Characters of wild and rude Men, which is going quite naked and devouring Human Fleſh; otherwiſe they are a People of decent and civil Manners enough: If you come to 'em as a Merchant, they'll traffick fairly with you; if as a Warriour and an Enemy, they'll fight with as much Generoſity and Courage. They are generally portly, of a good Stature, and of no bad Complexion; their Bodies are wrought all over with fine Works, and their Lips perforated with a Roebuck's Horn, to make room for a green Stone which is to be placed there; both theſe Ornaments (the latter at leaſt) ſeem to be peculiar to the Men, neither do they aſſume them till they are of age; but this green Stone in their Lip is ſuch a mark of Gentility amongſt 'em, that he that appears without it is reckon'd to be of the very Dregs of their Nation, and to have no fine Blood running in his Veins.

Polygamy.

They allow every Man to take as many Wives as he can get, but the Women can have but one Husband at a time, yet a Wife of one Man may be paſs'd off to another, if her preſent Husband gives his conſent to it in a publick Meeting. Theſe poor Women are in one reſpect meer Porters to their Husbands, for when they go to the Wars the others lug along all the Proviſion in Baskets at their Backs.

Cuſtoms of Childbed.

But they manage the matter ſtill more odly in another reſpect, for when they are deliver'd of a Child, and ought to have all the ceremony and attendance proper to a lying-in Woman, the Husband preſently lies down in the Hammock, (as if he had been brought to Bed himſelf) and all his Wives and Neighbours come about and ſerve him. This is a pleaſant fancy indeed, that the Woman muſt take all the pains to bring the Child into the World, and then the Man lie down and gruntle upon it! there's few Women in the World would like this, to loſe all the Privileges and Triumphs of that condition, and inſtead of being careſs'd and waited upon by the Men, preſently to become Nurſes or Goſſips to 'em themſelves; but the Cuſtom obtains among the *Petivares*, and their Women it ſeems don't diſpute it.

Superſtition.

The Men are ſo very ſuperſtitious, that all the while their Wives are with Child they will not kill any female Animal, Beaſt, Bird, or Fiſh, for they believe that if they ſhould, their own Child would certainly die.

When they go out a hunting at any time, and bring home ſome agreeable Prey along with 'em, they do, by making a Preſent of it to one of their Wives, ſhew which of the number they intend to lie with that night; ſhe that receives the Favour is not a little glad and proud on't, ſhe ſmiles upon the Gift as the happy *Sultana* does, who receives the *Grand Seignior*'s Handkerchief upon the like occaſion; away ſhe goes to the Water and waſhes, then ſhe comes home, and goes up into her Hammock, and commands all the reſt of the Wives to ſerve her; in ſhort, ſhe is ſole Empreſs of the Houſe (as well as of the Bed) for that day, and all the reſt are very punctual in their obedience to the Orders ſhe gives.

The *Petivares* are great Enemies to the *Portugueſe*, and certainly eat all the Priſoners they take; they that take 'em don't kill 'em, but give 'em to their Brothers or Friends to do it for 'em; and here 'tis a Fancy that theſe People have, to aſſume as many Names to themſelves as they kill Men.

Towns and Houſes.

As for their way of living, they have good large Towns of their own, and thoſe Towns good large Houſes, for they are 220 yards long; they are cover'd over with Palmeto Boughs, and have no manner of Partitions in 'em: They divide all their Grounds, and juſtly enough obſerve every man his proper limits.

Feeding.

They are not ambitious of high feeding, living moſtly upon *Herbs*, *Guiney-wheat*, and *Mandioque*; both Men, Women and Children waſh themſelves every morning, this is a thing they never omit, but whether there be any thing of Religion in it, or whether it be pure Decency and Cleanlineſs or no, is not certain.

The moſt remarkable Animals of this Province are the *Serpents* and the *Monkeys*; the Serpents are by the Natives call'd *Jebya*, they have four Legs and a long Tail like a Crocadile, and are preying ravenous Creatures like them; they lie very ſtill and cloſe upon the ground, and hide their Tails, that they may not be diſcover'd by them when they watch for Prey, and then when any Animal (that they dare ſeize on) comes within reach, they raiſe themſelves, and darting out a couple of ſharp Fins from the fore quarters, kill whatſoever they ſtrike.

Serpent *Jebya*.

Monkeys.

The Monkeys (which the *Petivares* call *Wariva*) are as big as an ordinary Spaniel, but very black, with a Face almoſt human, and a very long broad Beard; you ſhall ſee twenty or more of 'em together in a Tree, and one of the number ſhall walk up and down with his Paw upon his Beard, chattering and making a violent noiſe, whilſt all the reſt ſit mighty ſtill and quiet, liſtening to the Diſcourſe of that preaching Monkey.

The Tapoyes.

On the Coaſt betwixt *Fernambuco* and *Baya* dwell the *Tapoyes*, which Name ſignifies *Wild Men*, and therefore all the reſt of the Cannibals abhor that People and their Name, the *Wayanaſſes* only excepted, who are like the *Tapoyes* in their Manners, and conſequently don't ſo much deſpite the Name: And they very well deſerve to be call'd ſo upon this account, that they have no ſettled Habitations, but run up and down the Woods like the wild Animals; neither do they maintain any friendſhip or correſpondence with other People, but are at war with all, and their next Neighbours are ſure to be their Enemies, let 'em come where they will. They make holes in their Lips, as other Savages do, but they don't work their Bodies all over like the *Petivares*, tho' inſtead of that they beſmear 'em with a Gum, and then ſtick the Feathers of Parrats and other Birds upon 'em. They are a cowardly treacherous ſort of People, never coming out into the open Field to fight, but hiding themſelves in Holes, and behind Trees and Buſhes, till they have a fair opportunity to attack their Enemies with ſome conſiderable advantage; they don't value themſelves by their fighting, but by their running, ſo that he's the beſt Man amongſt 'em who (when he has done a miſchief) can ſcour faſteſt away. They eat Human Fleſh as well as their Neighbours, but they ſpeak a Language very different from all the other *Braſilians*. The Women here go out to War with their Bows and Arrows as well as the Men, and therefore if they can but run as faſt, are to be ſure as good Soldiers as they.

Topinaubazes.

From the River of St. *Francis* to *Baya de Todos Santos* dwell the *Topinaubazes*, which are like the *Petivares* in all points, as to Dreſs, Language, and Manners, this only excepted, that they let their Beards grow long, which neither the *Petivares* nor any other Cannibals do, but pull it quite away, and that not only from their Faces, but their Eyebrows and Privy parts alſo.

Waymores.

From *Baya* to the *Elews* dwell a barbarous and deſperate ſort of People call'd *Waymores*; they are very big luſty fellows, exceeding ſtrong and valiant, (or rather furious) not ever conſidering Danger or the hazard of their Lives, but will attempt any thing that lies in their way, tho' with ever ſo great an odds of Men. They have no Towns nor Houſes, the Woods and other Refuges of wild Beaſts are their natural Homes: They don't care where they come, (into what Province, or amongſt what ſort of Enemies) for they are ſo very ſwift of foot, that hardly any body can hurt 'em: No Lyon can devour its Prey more greedily than they do the Fleſh of Mankind, neither is any Swine more filthy and dirty than (for the moſt part) their Bodies are.

The Tomemynes.

The *Tomemynes* dwell about *Spirito Santo*, and have every way as much Spirit and Courage, but withal are much more like Men and true Soldiers than the *Waymores* are. They have many Towns, and thoſe ſtrongly wall'd and guarded too; their Houſes are cover'd over with Bark of Trees, and made with Canes like Hurdles, that they may have the conveniency of ſhooting out thro' 'em.

Knivet

The Portugueſe war with 'em.

Knivet went to the Wars along with the *Portugueſe* againſt theſe People, but he declares, that tho' they had a conſiderable Army, they thought every man to die there, the *Savages* aſſaulted 'em with ſuch a well-govern'd fury and ſo great a reſolution: While they were beſieg'd they would come and ſtand upon the City Walls, (painted all red and black, and beſides trimm'd with Feathers) holding in their hands Wheels ſet round with combuſtible matter, theſe they would ſet of a light fire, and waving 'em about their heads, cry out to the *Portugueſe*, *Louae cyave p m'm anc*, that is, *Even like this ſhall you be conſum'd.* One of them broke into the *Portugueſe* Army one day, and coming to the General, took him up in his Arms and in ſpite of all their endeavours ran away with him to the River, where he threw him in, and had certainly drown'd him, if a timely relief had not come: But at laſt they were vanquiſh'd, and great numbers of 'em kill'd and taken Priſoners, tho' they made the *Portugueſe* ſo much work firſt, that they would eaſily grant it was not a thing of trifling difficulty to conquer the *Tomomynos.*

The Waytaquazes.

The *Waytaquazes* inhabit about the North and South ſide of Cape *Frio*, in low marſhy grounds; they are bigger Men than the *Waymores* are, and wear long black Hair like them; their Women fight as well as the Men, and are accoutred with Bows and Arrows; they don't lie in Hammocks as other Cannibals do, but like Hogs, upon the Ground, round about their Fires. Theſe are a People too that are at War with all Nations, and eat *Spaniards*, *French*, *Portugueſe*, *Blackmores*, *Braſilians*, indifferently, according as they can catch 'em. When you take any of theſe fellows Priſoners, and bind 'em ever ſo faſt, (unleſs it be with Chains of Braſs or Iron) yet you muſt have a watchful eye upon 'em if you intend to keep 'em; for *Knivet* ſays, that thirteen of 'em were left thus in a Houſe by themſelves bound Hand and Foot, and yet when they came to look for 'em, they were all gone. This had not hapned if they had put out their Fire before they had gone away, but leaving that burning, the Priſoners made ſhift to roul themſelves to it, and ſo burnt aſunder the Cords that held 'em.

Eaters of all People.

Odd way of taking Sharks and Alligators.

Hardly any beſides theſe People themſelves do perhaps dare to make ſo bold with *Sharks* as they commonly will; they'll go into the Water to 'em, manage 'em till they have got 'em by the Tail, and then drag 'em along to the ſhore in that manner.

Knivet tells us of very great *Alligators* in this Country, he ſaw abundance that were ſeven yards long, and taking it all together, (the horrible Scales, the ugly Paws, and much more ugly Head of it) he believes it one of the moſt frightful Creatures that can be look'd upon. The *Portugueſe* are mightily for taking theſe Creatures, but they dare not venture to take 'em ſo as the others do the *Sharks*, that is, go into the Water and catch 'em by their Tails; they fiſh for 'em with a great Iron Chain and a Hook as big, which they bait with a Cock or a Hen or ſome ſuch Animal. The Teſticles of the *Alligator* (he ſays) are as good as any Musk in the World, and 'tis upon this account that the *Portugueſe* do fiſh for 'em.

The Wayanaſſes.

In the *Waytaquazes* Country the Mountains are ſo full of *Crablice*, that they are a bitter plague to all that live there; they ſtick in the Skin, and when they have once faſtned themſelves, there's no pulling 'em off again; therefore *Knivet* ſays, that when all other means fail'd, they were fain to make a Fire of Straw, and ſindge themſelves all over like ſo many Hogs, and by that means they were rid of 'em. This Country abounds with wild Hogs and a kind of wild Fowl as big as Turkeys call'd *Muta's.*

Topinaques, their ſtrange Cuſtoms.

The *Wayanaſſes* dwell eighteen leagues to the Southward of the River *Janero*, at *Ilha Grande*; theſe are People of lower Stature, as well as Courage, than any others we have deſcrib'd, but they have much more Humanity, and are not addicted to ſuch barbarous Practices as the moſt of their Neighbours are; they don't paint nor carve their Bodies, but the Women colour their Faces and Bodies too with a ſort of red, like Oker, which grows in a round God like a Bean, by this means their Faces (which are otherwiſe ſufficiently well-featur'd, and adorn'd with a good natural Complexion too) are rendred far from enticing, and in ſhort very ugly. Both Men and Women have their Hair growing long by their ſides, and ſhaven on the crown, like *Franciſcan* Friers; they are mighty admirers and takers of Tobacco, and think it not only the beſt thing their Country produces, but one of the greateſt Neceſſaries of Life; for, beſides its uſe in ſmoaking and chewing, they practiſe all their Chirurgery with it, and apply that alone in caſe of any external hurt whatſoever.

'Tis of them that the *Portugueſe* buy moſt of their Slaves, and if at any time they want, they come to *Ilha Grande*, where they are ſure to find ſome of the *Wayanaſſes* a fiſhing, who quickly go to their Towns and make proviſion for a Market.

Topinaques.

The *Topinaques* have their Quarters at St *Vincent*: The Women here do all paint themſelves with divers colours, and on their Heads they wear a thin Bark of ſome Tree, like a Ribbon. When they kill any Man they are all of 'em (univerſally) painted with a ſort of Fruit they call *Janipavo*, their Heads are ſtuck with Feathers, their under-Lips ſet with Stones, and having each of 'em a Rattle in their Hands, they dance for three days together: The Men will drink of a very filthy Liquor they prepare themſelves as long as they can ſtand, and if they are ever ſo much overloaded and diſorder'd by their Exceſſes, they take a Pipe of Tobacco, and pretend to be as eaſie and freſh again preſently as if they had drank nothing.

Pories.

The *Pories* dwell from theſe at leaſt a hundred miles, within the main Land; they are in ſtature and make moſt like the *Wayanaſſes*, which is ſhort, thick, big-bellied and broad-footed; their Complexion is agreeable enough, but their Temper and Qualities are of all the *Savages* the moſt commendable, for they will not go to war with any Nation that will but ſuffer 'em to live in peace; they chuſe rather to wear Clothes than to go naked, if they can but get 'em; and then they take no pleaſure in eating human Fleſh, neither do they make that their Food, but when they muſt do it to keep 'em from ſtarving; in ſuch a caſe, if they have a dead Man by 'em, they'll eat him.

There are abundance of Lyons, Leopards and Cats of Mountain in this Country; and for Vegetables, Pines, Cocao's, and Balſamick Trees, and theſe laſt in ſuch plenty, that for a Knife or a Comb you may have five or ſix gallons of Balſam.

The Molopaques.

After you have paſs'd the furious River of *Paraeyna*, you come into the Country of the *Molopaques*; theſe differ from all the *Savages* (that our Author had ſeen) in this point, that they have Beards like the Men of other Countries, whereas amongſt all the Nations of *Braſile* you ſhall hardly find any one People that ſhew you any thing conſiderable of this token of Manhood. He commends highly their good manners and civil deportment, their order and diſtinction of Houſes and Families, each man here dwelling with his own apart from others, and not huddling two or three ſcore together in one great Stall, or under ſome ſhelter in the Woods, as many other *Savages* do. And they obſerve their ſeaſons for eating and drinking as regularly as they do the diſtinctions of Families; they eat Morning, Noon and Night, and not (like Beaſts of Prey) at every impulſe of a ravenous Appetite, or when a bit falls into their clutches.

Their orderly living.

The King.

The Kingly Power has annex'd to it the liberty of exceeding all the Subjects in the number of their Wives; and this ſeems to be the main mark of diſtinction between Soveraign and Subject in that Country, for the King has neither any Garb or Ornament, any Reſpect or Honour, or any thing elſe (as far as he could obſerve) to diſtinguiſh him from another man, but only his greater number of Women and his Title *Morouiſhava*, which they always gave him.

The Women.

The Women *Knivet* compares to the *Engliſh*, both for their Complexion, Behaviour and good Humour; they are however, he acknowledges, ſomething too reſerv'd and backward in their Converſation, being ſo very grave that you ſhall never ſee 'em laugh at any thing that paſſes, but yet ſo quick and apprehenſive withal that you can ſay nothing but what they take. In ſhort he believes, with the Civil and Religious Improvements and Poliſhments of the *European* World, they would be one of the fineſt People upon Earth.

Long Hair.

The Women have their Hair of divers colours, white, yellow, brown, black, and they generally wear it ſo long that they tie it about their middle (with the Bark of a Tree) for a covering; thoſe that have not this defence wear a ſort of a Furr inſtead of it.

Plenty of Gold.

Their Country is very rich in Gold, tho' they don't eſteem nor uſe it for any other purpoſe than to faſten about their Fiſhing-lines: This may ſerve for an Emblem good enough, and we know what multitudes of ſuch ſilly Fiſhes there are in the World, that are drawn upon the Hook with a golden Bait. They don't trouble themſelves to work in the Mines for Gold, as the *Spaniards* do, but content themſelves with ſuch pieces as they find when the Rain has waſh'd away the Earth. Where the Golden Mines are, there are no Trees, but Mountains of dry black Earth; and that particular Mountain where the *Molepaques* find moſt of their Gold, is call'd by them *Etepararange.*

The

Motayes.

The *Motaya's* poſſeſs a fair champion Country between the *Molopaques* and the *Tamoyes*; they are a People of little Stature, a good brown Complexion, and they wear their Hair (both Men and Women) much as we do in *England*, but they abhor any thing of Hair ſhould grow upon their Chins or Eyebrows, and therefore they always pull it away with a Shell.

Their Entertainments of Strangers.

When Strangers come to their Houſes they welcome them with bitter weepings and lamentations, and after that they entertain 'em with the beſt they have: *Knivet* ſays, that when he and the *Portugueſe* came amongſt 'em, they came forth ſinging and dancing to meet 'em upon the way, and brought *Guiney* Wheat and Roots to preſent 'em with; but certainly never was ſuch a Feaſt heard of as they made 'em when they came to their Houſes, it conſiſted of Frogs, Snakes, Serpents, Dogs, Monkeys and Mans-fleſh, a Treat that might have ſerv'd well enough had Lyons and Crocadiles or ſome ſuch rude voracious Animals been their Gueſts; but this was their beſt, and it ſeems ſome on't went down well enough, tho' the Mans-fleſh would not, for which the *Motayes* laugh'd at them, pitied their ignorance, and told 'em, they had not Palates nice enough to diſtinguiſh fine Meat when 'twas ſet before 'em.

Lopos.

Farther in the Country live the *Lopos*, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Birero's*; they are much ſuch ſort of People as the former, but their Women more rude and ſhameleſs, maintaining nothing at all of the *decorum* of their Sex: They live altogether in the Mountains of Pine-trees, and upon that Fruit mainly: Their Houſes are only Boughs, tied together with rinds of Trees, and therefore are chang'd as often as they pleaſe, or when more Fruit and better Shelter of Boughs invites 'em to it.

Rich in Gold.

The Country is as rich in Gold and fine Stones as moſt in all *Braſile*, but it lies ſo far in the main Land, and is ſo populous, that as yet the *Portugueſe* have got no footing there.

The Tract of Land that runs along from theſe Provinces laſt deſcrib'd, towards the Country of the *Tamoyes*, is wonderfully rich in Gold and rare Stones; here was that ſtrange Mountain before mention'd, that caſt ſuch a luſtre at a vaſt diſtance; here 'twas alſo that *Knivet* and his Company met with Gold and Precious Stones ſo very frequently as they were travelling along, that 'twas a wonder how it came about that each of 'em ſhould not bring off ſuch a Cargo of Riches as would make 'em live jollily for ever after; but he does affirm, that they oftentimes threw away the Stones they had, to take up others they met with which they thought finer and more valuable. 'Twas at leaſt two months they travel'd in this golden Country, having their Eyes every day ſtruck with thoſe Beauties and Charms which the whole World is ſo mad for, and ſo vehemently covets to poſſeſs.

Tamoyes.

And the Country of the *Tamoyes* it ſelf is not leſs enticing upon this account: Theſe *Indians* do no more value Gold and Precious Stones than we do Bricks and Tiles, and the reaſon is, becauſe they ſee 'em almoſt as commonly. They are perhaps the moſt handſom taking People in all *Braſile*, both Men and Women, and that whether we conſider the goodneſs of their Complexion, the cleanneſs of their Make, or the juſtneſs of their Stature and Proportion.

Knivet (as has been related) liv'd a conſiderable time amongſt theſe People, but he has not been ſo particular as might have been expected in diſcovering their Cuſtoms and Manners to us.

Toceman.

The Country of *Toceman* was one of thoſe that the *Tamoyes* paſs'd with *Knivet* when they travel'd towards the Sea. The Inhabitants of it are call'd *Pigmies*, becauſe they are of ſo very ſmall a ſize, but they don't ride upon Cranes, nor are they ſuch poor *Animalcula* as the vulgar Fables make 'em to be: They dwell altogether in Caves and other ſubterraneous retreats, and their main ſuſtenance is Roots, Wheat and *Caſſavi*-meal, of which the former is ſuch as we have in *England*.

This Province the *Spaniards* believe to be the common Boundary of *Braſile* and *Peru*, becauſe here are the common Products of both thoſe Countries, the *Breſilian* Roots and the *Peruvian* Corn and Grain. They keep this in their hands, (tho' it yields 'em nothing but wild Horſes) for theſe little *Tocemans* are deſperate Enemies to the *Peruvians*, and help to keep them in awe under the *Spaniſh* Government.

Caryjobs.

Between this and the Country of the *Caryjobs* ſtands the famous Mountain of Metals, ſo call'd becauſe of the Mines of Iron, Copper, Gold and Quickſilver that it contains; 'tis vaſtly high, and all bare, without any thing of a Tree.

The chief Town of the *Caryjobs* ſtands by the Sea, in a fine pleaſant riſing Ground; there's a good Bay hard by, where an hundred Ships may lie at Anchor without any danger, and here alſo one may be ſure to be always furniſh'd with good ſtore of Fiſh. In this Country a man may buy a dozen Skins of very good Furr for a Knife or a Fiſh-hook, and for any little parcel of Trifles you ſhall have an *Indian* go and fetch two or three Baskets of Metals, ſome pieces of which ſhall, it may be, be of the moſt valuable kinds; nay, ſome for the value of two or three Knives, and a Comb, and ſome ſuch things, have had brought 'em to the worth of four or five thouſand crowns in Gold and Stones. The *Caryjobs* are Men of good Courage, they ſpeak the ſame Language with the *Tamoyes*, and are in moſt reſpects like 'em. The *Tamoyes* warring with theſe People, drew the ſtrength of the *Portugueſe* upon themſelves, as was before related, ſo that here 'twas that our Traveller finiſh'd his Peregrinations about this part of *America*, going home from this place with the *Portugueſe*.

Gyants at Port *Deſire*.

As to the other parts of *America* whither his variable Fortune brought him, he tells us, that at Port *Deſire* (which is the next Haven to the *Straits* of *Magellan*) there are People which may very well deſerve the Name of *Gyants*: He ſaw ſome of the prints of their Feet upon the Shore, and affirms, that they were above four times the length of an ordinary Man's Foot; and ſome of the Fleet further told him, that when they lay at Port *Deſire* ſome of theſe monſtrous People threw ſuch huge Stones out of Slings from off the Shore upon them, that they were forc'd to weigh Anchor and lie farther out at Sea: But more than all this, he actually ſaw one of them that was taken and brought to *Braſile*, a meer Youth, but above thirteen ſpan long; he was fair, well proportion'd to his height, and wore his Hair long, hanging down upon his Shoulders. There are ſeveral ſmall Rivers about this Port, which afford great ſtore of Pearl and Coral.

Dwarfiſh People at Port *Famine*.

At Port *Famine* dwell a ſort of *Savages* very different from the former, they are not above five or ſix ſpans high, but withal very thick and well ſett; their Mouths are ſo wide that they reach almoſt from Ear to Ear, and theſe wide Mouths they fill with raw bloody Fleſh, which they devour with an exceſſive greedineſs: They beſmear their Faces and Breaſts with Blood, and then lay on light downy Feathers, which the Blood makes ſtick to their Skins (like ſo much Glue.) As for the Humour and Manners of this People, there was nothing at all to be known of either, for they were ſo exceſſively ſhy and fearful of being catch'd, that there was no Converſe with them to be obtain'd.

Knivet ſpeaks of a certain Beaſt in this Country which is bigger than a Horſe, with vaſt great Ears and a Tail like a Cow; they are very good Meat, tho' he knows no other Name of them than that which the *Indians* of *Braſile* give 'em, which is *Tapelywaſon*: He ſaw ſome of the ſame alſo in *Ethiopia*, in the Kingdom of *Manicongo*, and there the *Portugueſe* call 'em *Gomba*.

But we muſt now take a ſhort view of his Obſervations of that part of the World.

Angola.

'Twas to *Angola* that he fled from *Braſile*, and of this Country he tells us, that 'tis very ſmooth and champion, has a dry black Soil, and yields very little Corn, but good ſtore of Plantans, it yields neither no ſort of Stone, and very little Wood, ſo that the *Angolans* Houſes are ordinarily very pitiful things, cover'd with Earth, and no bigger than a reaſonable Chamber, but yet divided into ſeveral Partitions, in one of which a Man has hardly room to turn or ſtand upright. Their Beds are made of Bulruſhes ſow'd together with the Rind of a Tree. The Money moſt current amongſt them is nothing but the Shells of Fiſhes, which they pick up upon the Shore, and which the *Portugueſe* alſo bring in great plenty from *Braſile* to *Angola*.

The People and their Cuſtoms.

Theſe People do much eſteem red, blue, and yellow Clothes, and for a piece of a ſpan ſquare they'll freely give a Slave; the uſe they put it to is, to hang it before, and under that the Skin of a great Weazel, and this is all their Apparel. Their Complexion is the blackeſt of all *Africa*, and as black as Jett it ſelf: The Men cut long Streaks in their Faces, that reach from the tops of their Ears to their Chins, and the Women wear abundance of Shells upon their Arms and the ſmall of their Legs.

Monogamy.

The Cuſtom of the Country allows to each Man but one Wife at a time, and if any Perſon lies with his Neighbour's Wife, he loſes his Ears for his Offence. All their Children are circumcis'd, and have their ſeveral Proper Names given 'em at that time.

The *Angolans* do very religiouſly fear and reverence their King, they ſerve him with all the care and reſpect in the World, and think it the higheſt Crime to diſobey any Command he gives. They fight no Duels but what they fight by his ſpecial leave and permiſſion, and in his preſence; they come before him, and falling flat on their Faces to pay him their firſt Adorations, they then riſe up and kneel, and in that poſture crave his permiſſion to fight; the King then ſtrikes 'em over the Shoulders with a Horſe-tail, and by this token ſignifies his Pleaſure in granting them their Deſire. After the Battel is over, the Surviver (if there be any) comes and proſtrates himſelf after the ſame manner before the King, and having made a long Harangue, he riſes and takes the Horſe-tail from the King's Shoulder, and waves it over his Head, and then lays it upon his Shoulder again, and now he goes away with abundance of Honour, all the Nobles and Courtiers attending upon him. When this Prince goes abroad, he has two or three hundred Archers to attend him, ten or twelve Muſicians go before him playing upon Pipes made of Canes, next to theſe follow five or ſix Pages, and the rear is brought up by the Nobility.

The *Portugueſe* have a City in this Kingdom, call'd *Spirito Santo*, a place of conſiderable Trade for Slaves and Elephants Teeth, beſides Proviſions, which the Blacks bring thither conſtantly.

Congo. But *Congo* (which our Traveller viſited alſo) is certainly a much more mighty Kingdom than *Angola*: This The State of the King. King goes abroad with a vaſt deal of Pomp and Splendour, on either ſide of his Elephant there goes ſix Slaves, all of 'em Noble, ſome of 'em of Royal Blood, yea, Kings themſelves: Thus 'twas at the time of *Knivet*'s being there, there were two captive Kings, who waited by the ſide of this Monarch's Elephant, and ſeveral of the reſt were Brothers and near Kinſmen of Kings; they carry a Canopy of State over his Head, and at every the leaſt word of command he gives, they fall flat upon the ground before him: Before him march at leaſt five hundred Archers; next to them, and juſt immediately before himſelf, goes a Herauld, who proclaims all his great Actions, and extols his Virtues, that have made him famous in that part of the World; then follow his Secretaries and other Domeſticks; and in this manner he always goes abroad. When he goes to his Camp all the whole Army worſhips him, and they kiſs the Ground together; and after a Battel, if he viſits his Camp, he ever dubbs at leaſt twenty Knights, and gives 'em Livings according to their merit.

The King upon the Throne when our Countryman was there was a *Chriſtian*, the *Portugueſe* had made him ſo, and conſequently were very great about him: *Knivet* was brought before this great Prince, and finding him gentle and favourable to Strangers, he did (at his command) entertain him with very free Diſcourſes of his own Queen and Country, and when the *Portugueſe* would have interrupted him at his talking ſeveral things they did not like, the King gave 'em a paſſionate Reprimand, telling 'em, he ought to be let alone telling the truth, and it being his own Country that he ſpoke of, he was a better Judge of what was or was not ſo than they.

Two things in *Knivet*'s Diſcourſe did very greatly aſtoniſh this King, one was, That Queen *Elizabeth* had ſo long govern'd her Country without any interruption by Rebellion and Tumult; and the other, That ſhe had all that while liv'd a Maid, and ſo vigorouſly defended her ſelf from a Husband: By this Wonder the King ſeem'd to ſuppoſe that ſuch things were hardly to have been expected in his Country; and it may be ſo, for a Climate under the Line might much more naturally tend to produce the contrary effects, than one in the middle of the Temperate Zone.

That part of the Kingdom of *Congo* that borders upon the Kingdom of *Angica*, eſpecially that about the City *Maſangano, an unhealthy place.* of *Maſangano*, is very unhealthy: This City lies juſt under the Line, in a bottom, ſurrounded with four Hills, and as there is not one River, ſo there's abundance of Bogs. The *Portugueſe* obſerve a mighty regularity here in their Diet and Clothing and Phyſicking of themſelves, and yet (after all) die like any Rats; while *Knivet*, who ſlav'd hard all day long, and eat or drank any thing he could get, and that at any time too of the 24 hours, enjoy'd his perfect Health, and never made the leaſt Complaint all the while he was in this moſt intolerable Climate.

Gold. The Gold that this Country affords ſo plentifully reconciles the *Portugueſe* to it, and makes all the ſcorching Heats and cruel Diſtempers of it tolerable to 'em.

Angica. The Kingdom of *Angica* lies under the Line; the Natives are tall and very well proportion'd, valiant and reſolute to the laſt degree; the *Portugueſe* their Neighbours at *Maſangano* do diſtreſs them with Wars, but 'tis their Principle always to die when they can't conquer thoſe Enemies, for they never yield to 'em. They are a Mahometans. ſort of *Mahometans*, as their Rites and Cuſtoms (well known in that Religion) do plainly diſcover. They have not much better Dwellings (whatever their Proviſions be) than their Neighbours the *Angolans* have; but yet we hear of no more, as to the latter, than good Wheat and a Grain like Fetches, of which they make their Bread: And for Fowl, they have Hens, Partridges, and Turkies good ſtore.

Thus have we run thro' his Remarks upon the Countries he travel'd thro'; theſe that follow will more directly ſerve the Mariner.

Rio Grande. *Rio Grande* (call'd by us the *Great River*) is above two leagues broad in the mouth: On the Coaſt are many great Bays, where the *Indians* frequently find conſiderable quantities of Ambergriſe; alſo in the Country adjoyning are great ſtore of Sugar-canes, Pepper, Ginger, and Wax.

'Tis to be noted, that on the Coaſt of *Braſile* there are three Rivers that bear the Name of *Paraeyna*; the firſt lies next to *Rio Grande*, the ſecond runs thro' the Country almoſt as far as *Lymo*, and comes out between Cape *Frio* and *Spirito Santo*; the third lies betwixt the River of *Plate* and St. *Vincent*: The former has a fair great Bay, which Ships of the largeſt dimenſions may enter and come to an Anchor near the Shore.

Guyana. *Guyana* is a ſmall River that lies by the firſt *Paraeyna*; in the Mouth of it ſtands a Rock that is continually cover'd with Sea-fowl, and hereabouts you have two fathom Water; a quarter of a mile inwards, upon the South-weſt ſide, you may have freſh Water, and good ſtore of Cattle: Upon this River alſo you'll find a great many Sugar-mills, and fiſhing-Carvels that are continually carrying Sugar to *Fernambuco*; likewiſe here's *Braſile*-wood, Pepper, Ginger, Cocao's, *Indian* Nuts in great plenty.

Etamariqua. *Etamariqua* is a Point of Land like a Cape, it runs half a mile into the Sea, and upon it the *Portugueſe* have built a Town; you may anchor very near the Shore, both on the South-weſt and North-eaſt ſide of the Town, in ſeven fathom Water. All the Country till you come to Cape St. *Auguſtine* is low Land, and there's no danger in ſailing from thence to *Fernambuco*, except the Clifts which lie along the Coaſt of the River St. *Francis*, and are always to be eaſily ſeen: When there is a Spring-Tide the Seas overflow the Land behind, and if there be any Wind blowing from the Eaſt, it beats the Sea into the hollows of the Clifts, and makes a terrible noiſe, upon which account the *Indians* call this *The Land of the Bell*. Here are pretty good quantities of Sugars, and very great ones of Cocao-nuts.

On the North ſide of *Fernambuco* you ſhall ſee white Downs, and when you are paſt all theſe on the South, you are then by a place call'd *Capiguramirini*, where there are Fiſhermen always to be found; from hence to *Fernambuco* is not more than two leagues. At this time, if Caution. you are under 8 gr. you ſhall ſee a flat Land, even and bare, which is call'd *Capitua*, and then you muſt take care that you don't run Southward, for fear of a Point of Land which is four leagues from the Cape, and ſtretches into the Sea as far as Cape *Auguſtin*; 'tis call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Punto de Olynda*.

Punto de Olynda. When you have doubled this Point, you are to avoid putting in with the Town of *Olynda*, and that becauſe of the Sands call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Baybos de St. Antonic*, which lie at leaſt three or four mile into the Sea: Being near the Shore, you will ſee all the Ships that lie at Anchor over the Clifts call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Arecias*. This place where the Ships lie is a league from *Fernambuco*, and 'tis the noted Harbour into which all the Shipping from *Fernambuco* comes, and from hence to the Cape you ſhall ſee the Clifts lying one by another, and as even and regular as a Wall made by Art.

Fernambuco. The Town of *Fernambuco* is ſeated upon a Hill, and ſtrongly intrench'd round about; towards the Sea ſtand ſeveral Forts, which ſcour all the Shore from the *Arecias* to the Point of *Olynda*. From the *Arecias* runs along a River thro' the Land, about a Gunſhot from the Sea-ſhore, and goes quite behind the Town from the South to the Weſt and Eaſt, and ſo makes it a *Peninſula*, communicating with the Land on the North ſide only.

Cape Auguſtine. The Cape of St. *Auguſtin* is a ſhoot of Land that advances into the Sea two or three miles; 'tis eaſily known by the three Hills that appear, as alſo the *Portugueſe* Church, and particularly in that half a league to the Southward you ſee the Iſland St. *Alexyo*.

Iſland Alexyo. The Iſland of *Alexyo* is long and narrow, ſtretching North-eaſt and South-weſt, and lying within a league of the Shore; you may anchor between it and the Shore in all weathers, for there are ſeveral fair Bays, where you may lie in ten or twelve fathom Water; alſo upon the Iſland it ſelf you may take in Wood or freſh Water.

Porto Docalno

Porto Docalno lies Southward of *Alexyó*, it is a low flat Land; you need not fear going in by the Rocks, for hard by them you ſhall have fourteen fathom Water. This Harbour may eaſily be known from the Southern Point of the Iſland *Alexyo*, for when 'tis low water you ſhall ſee a fair Bay, and all the Shore (being a black ground) bare almoſt to the Cape. Here you have great ſtore of Sugar-canes and Cattle.

River of Stones.

About eight leagues to the Southward from *Porto Docalno* is the *River of Stones*; you ſhall ſee from Sea a great Bay run within the Land, and before the mouth of it many great Rocks: Now, to come into the Bay, you muſt keep cloſe to the Shore on the South-weſt ſide, and after you be in the Bay go full Weſt, and this Courſe will bring you to a River that runs at leaſt twenty leagues up into the Land. Here you may (if you be of any tolerable ſtrength) plunder the *Portugueſe* of their Sugars and Cattle, and meet beſides with *Braſile*-wood, Pepper, Cotton, and ſeveral other ſorts of Merchandize.

Camaryiuva.

Camaryiuva lies a league to the Southward of the *River of Stones*, and, to know it, you will upon kenning diſcover three great red Hills call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Bareos Varnellios*. The place is not inhabited, and the mouth of the River is narrow and ſhallow, having not above five foot Water, but you may anchor in the Bay hard by the River, and ſend your Boat very ſafely for freſh Water; you may fiſh alſo here very ſucceſsfully, for there's great plenty of all ſorts of freſh Fiſh.

St. Antonio River,

The River of St. *Antonio* lies ſeven leagues from *Camaryiuva*; 'tis a very great River, and is ſome fifty leagues within the Land, having ſeven fathom Water at coming in, but is ſo narrow that no Ship ought to venture entring; but the Boats may without danger, and 'tis as good a place as can be to ſupply you, if you want Fiſh of any ſort, eſpecially that great Fiſh call'd by the *Indians Varana*, which is as big as an Ox. After you are within the River, you have high Sand on both ſides, and a treacherous People that live thereabouts to deal with; if they ſee you unprovided or negligent in your Watch, they'll fall upon you, but if they find you able and always ready to defend your ſelves, then they'll come and trade very peaceably with you.

Harbour of Frenchmen,

That Bay which is call'd *The Frenchmens Harbour* (and by the *Indians*, *Aiarema Piaſave*) lies two leagues Southward from the River of St. *Antonio*; it may be known by a high Hill which ſtands over it, and is full of *Braſile* Trees. To enter this Harbour you muſt mark the Clifts, and when you are got to the Northward of all of 'em but one, you may ſafely come within a Stones-caſt of the Shore. To get freſh Water, you muſt land and go upon the South ſide of the Hill, where you'll ſee a fine Stream iſſuing out of the Hill into a great Ciſtern cut out of a Rock.

River of Crocadiles

The neighbouring River is by the *Indians* call'd *Jaquareaſicke*, or the *River of Crocadiles*, becauſe there are abundance of thoſe Creatures in it: 'Tis narrow, and is remarkable for the white Rock that ſtands in the mouth of it. To enter it, you muſt keep on the North ſide of the Rock, where you have nine and ten foot water: After you are in it you come to a great Bay, and on the North-eaſt ſide there's a ſmall River, where you may be ſupplied with freſh Water. Here a Man muſt take ſpecial care how he goes into the Water, for the Crocadiles lie cloſe by the Bank-ſide, and preſently ſeize any thing that comes into their Element. Here's nothing to be had in this place, unleſs you'll fiſh for Crocadiles, and take their Cods or Bladders for the Musk they afford, as the *Portugueſe* very commonly do.

Alaqua Riv.

The River *Alaqua* lies three leagues to the Southward from that of *Crocadiles*, and four to the Northward from the River of St. *Michael*; on either ſide of it you'll ſee a great Hill, by the *Portugueſe* call'd *Os Caivas*. There is but ſeven or eight foot water at the coming in, tho' very clear of all Rocks; but after you are enter'd, you'll find a great many banks of Sand, where ſtore of Fiſh is to be had for the pains of catching. At the coming in alſo, on both ſides, a Man may take in freſh Water.

Michael Riv,

The River of St. *Michael* is known by the Clifts that ſtand before it, like the *Arecias* Clifts of *Fernambuco*; you muſt enter at the end of the Cliff hard by the Shore on the South-weſt, taking good heed to a ſmall Clift that ſtands between the mouth of the River and the Shore; this ſmall Clift you are to leave betwixt you and the Shore, and then between it and the Rocks you may enter, and have three fathom water: But you muſt obſerve in entring not to ſail to the North-eaſt, (tho' you ſee the Bay large) and that becauſe of ſeveral great banks of Sand; therefore you muſt keep Weſt ſtill, within a Stones-caſt of the Shore, and ſo you ſhall be ſure to keep in the Chanel. Thus you muſt ſail till you diſcover a Houſe, which you will ſee doubling a Point full South from you, then 'tis beſt to caſt Anchor, becauſe unleſs a man knows the Chanel very well, he is in danger by going farther. You will ſee a River that runs up into the Land, near which dwell ſeveral *Portugueſe*, and here you may meet with Cattle enough, *Caſſavi*, *Braſile*-wood, Oyſters, (in which you'll find good Pearl) Balſam, Tobacco, and Neſico-trees, the Wood of which is very valuable, and good for Bruiſes and old Hurts.

The River of Toads.

The *River of Toads* is eight leagues from the place laſt mention'd, in the *Braſilian* Tongue 'tis call'd *Corooen*, which ſignifies as much. Here is a very good Harbour, if a man knows how to get in well; now the entrance is between the two great Rocks that ſtand right before the Bay, which by the *Portugueſe* are call'd *Os Bayos de Don Rodrigo*. When you are entred, you may anchor hard by the Rocks, and ſound the Chanel, which lies North-eaſt from you. The beſt way to get freſh Water is, to go a quarter of a mile by the Sea-ſide, and then you ſee a fair River, where you may have both Water and Fiſh too.

Cape Frio.

Cape *Frio* is a Point of Land that runs into the Sea at leaſt twelve miles, and lies under 22 gr. You may anchor on the Eaſt ſide of the Cape, in a Harbour call'd *Abayia Formoze*, which will afford you good ſtore of *Braſile*-wood, and ſometimes Ambergriſe. On the North ſide of the Bay you'll ſee a great River call'd *Uparaſen*, where you may fiſh to very good purpoſe, and in the mouth of this River there's a great deal of Coral.

R. Saquarema

Saquarema is a River that runs four leagues to the Southward from the Cape; it is narrow at coming in, and you'll have twelve foot Water till you be three or four leagues up the River: All along on both ſides you have *Braſile*-wood and freſh Water plenty. Upon the South ſide of the River you'll ſee the Hill call'd by the *Indians Boypeua*, (that is, *the rotten Whale*, for the top of it looks like a Whale) and there, if you want ſuch wild Food, you may have Potatoes, Plantans, Oranges, Limons, and the Roots call'd by the *Indians Caravaſen*, as many as you deſire.

Great Rock Etiura.

A league to the Southward of the River *Saquarema* ſtands the great hollow Rock *Etioca*. Before the mouth of this Rock, towards the Sea, ſtands another flat Rock that ſhoots out a little upon it, where may be ſeen very plainly and diſtinctly the prints of bare feet in ſeveral places up and down in that moſt ſolid Stone. Here's very good fiſhing, and alſo plenty of thoſe pretty green Stones which the *Indians* uſe to wear in their Lips. You may anchor within Muſquet-ſhot of the Shore, but if the Wind be in the Eaſt, 'tis very dangerous.

Pirateniga.

Pirateniga is a Bay five leagues to the Southward of the Rock *Etioca*; right before it ſtands a ſmall Iſland inhabited by the *Portugueſe*. This Bay runs between a Mountain a mile and more within the Land: You may lie with your Ships at the Iſland, and ſend your Boats aſhore for Cattle, *Caſſavi*, Oranges and Limons, and many other Commodities beſides; if a man has a mind to ſome Fiſh, he may ſatisfie himſelf abundantly at that Sport, either by Net, or Hook and Line. *Knivet* affirms, that at this Bay he ſaw one of thoſe Marine Creatures which the Vulgar gives the name of *Mermaids* to.

River Janero.

The River of *Janero* or *January* lies three leagues from *Pirateniga*; it is indeed a great Arm of the Sea, which runs at leaſt fourteen miles into the Land; in the mouth are four Iſlands ſituated, but the beſt mark for the City of St. *Sebaſtian* is a Fort that ſtands on the North ſide of the coming in of the Harbour, upon a Rock. On the South ſide ſtands a Hill that reaches into the Sea, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Camo*, (that is, the top of a Ship) and on the North ſide of the *Camo*, at the foot of it, hard by the Sea-ſide, ſtands the high Rock which they call the *Sugarloaf*; this is juſt as you ſail into the Harbour: But then in the midſt of the entrance, (in the very mouth of the River) lies a Rock very plain to be ſeen, ſo that to go in you muſt keep between the Rock and the Fort that ſtands on the North of you. When you are entred the mouth of the River, and are paſt the Fort, you ſhall ſee the Iſland of *Brigalion* right before you: Now you muſt be ſure to paſs on the North of this Iſland, and as ſoon as you have done ſo, you have the proſpect of the whole City, both on the Hill and the Sea-ſide, before you; then you muſt take heed not to go right to the City, becauſe of the Sands that lie all along before it as far as the Iſland of St. *Bent*: This Iſland is a quarter of a mile from *Brigalion*, and to the Eaſtward of it ſtands a great Rock, between which and the Iſland of St. *Bent* you venture to ſail: As ſoon as you have entred, you may anchor hard by the Iſland, and then you'll ſee a Church ſtanding upon a Hill, which is call'd St. *Bent*, at which time you need not fear to go right before the Town.

Cautions in ſailing to St. Sebaſtian

River *Wara-tiva.*

The River *Warativa* lies three leagues from that of *Janero*, and 'tis to be known by two Iſlands that lie exactly before the mouth of it, where alſo you'll diſcover an high Hill. On either ſide, both on the South-weſt and North-eaſt, is low Land, and there is no entring for any Ship here, tho' you may anchor between the Iſland, and ſend your Boats aſhore. Here are Fruits and Fiſh in the ſame plenty as in ſeveral other places before deſcrib'd.

Ilha Grande.

From the River of *Warativa* for the ſpace of four leagues is all low ſandy ground, and here you'll ſee an high Hill call'd by the *Indians Marambayapuam*, (or the *End of Way*) right over againſt this Point you ſee *Ilha Grande*, at the coming in of which Harbour you may be ſecure, for hard by the Shore you have twenty fathom Water. When you are in the mouth of this Harbour you ſee right before you a great white Rock, which will lie full Weſt from you: You muſt leave *Ilha Grande* Southward from you, and then another great Iſland called *Epeoya* comes in view; at a Point of this Iſland which lies full Weſt towards the main Land, you'll ſee two ſmall Iſlands, and when you are right againſt 'em, a fair Bay, where you may anchor at pleaſure. To come into this Bay, you muſt paſs between the two Iſlands juſt now mention'd. This Harbour merited a more particular Direction to be given for the finding of it out, becauſe it has this Advantage, that a Man may ſail out of it with almoſt any Wind whatſoever.

Long Iſland.

Long Iſland is eaſily found out, for 'tis hard by the main Land, and is to be ſeen diſtinctly from the Iſland *Epeoya*; and to the Southwards from it (about half a league) you'll ſee two ſmall Iſlands which go by the name of *Amembuquavo*, over againſt which is a delicate River, where you may be furniſh'd with great ſtore of Fiſh, and upon the banks find *Mandicca*, and ſeveral other good Roots.

St. Sebaſtian

The Iſland of St. *Sebaſtian* lies about three leagues from *Ilha Grande*; 'tis a long and fair Iſland, and you may ſafely anchor between it and the Shore. About half a league from the Iſland of St. *Sebaſtian* ſtands a ſmall Iſle right into the Sea, call'd by the *Indians Uraritan*, and by the *Portugueſe*, *Alquatraſſes*; here you may always meet with Seals, and ſeveral ſorts of Sea-fowl, as many as you will.

River of *Paraeyva.*

That River *Paraeyva* (that runs between the Town of St. *Vincent* and River of *Plate*) has a very good Harbour for Ships, and hereabouts you meet with abundance of the Cannibals call'd *Carijos*, whom you may trade with for Pepper, Ginger, very rich Furrs, Cotton-wool and Wax, which they bring in great plenty.

River of *Plate.*

The mouth of the River of *Plate* is wide, and within it are ſeveral Banks of Sand; you muſt be ſure to keep very near the North Shore, till you ſhall ſee an high Mountain white at top, then ſailing Southward at leaſt four leagues, you'll ſee another ſmall Hill on the North ſide, which you muſt ſail right with; this brings you into a fair Bay, where you muſt ſtill keep along the Shore, and after paſſing the Weſtern Point of this Bay, you'll have the River *Maroer*, and then you need not fear any Shalows till you come before the Town of *Bonos Ayres*.

Country between *Tocoman* and St. *Jago.*

From the Province of *Tocoman* to St. *Jago* is eighty leagues, and all the way to be travel'd with a Compaſs, and care to be taken in ſteering to a Point as nicely as if you were at Sea; the reaſon of which is, the prodigious Mountains of Sand that are found there, and which ſhift and change places as the Wind does, ſo that to day you have 'em on this ſide, and to morrow on the contrary ſide of you.

In this Journey alſo you'll paſs ſeveral Rivers, which will appear to be not above a foot deep, but without good Guides will be found deep enough in Quick-ſands to ſwallow both Horſes and Waggons together.

From St. *Jago*, till you come to *Potoſi*, you travel thro' Mountains and Valleys and great Towns of *Indians*, who all are at Peace with the *Spaniards*; and you ſhall meet with hundreds of theſe *Indians* upon the Road, who ſhall offer to carry you from Town to Town in Nets faſtned to Canes, and ſupported by two or more Men; this is the eaſieſt travelling in the World, and the price of it is no more than a Fiſh-hook, or a few Glaſs Beads.

You'll alſo paſs by ſeveral Gold Mines, and may traffick with the *Indians* for that and Precious Stones, but this ſort of Trade is not brisk hereabouts, as 'tis at *Potoſi* it ſelf, becauſe there the Mines are open and wrought on, but between St. *Jago* and *Potoſi* they are not.

At *Potoſi* you have no want of any thing, (tho' the Country of it ſelf be barren) for the Traffick they have with *Lima*, and all the Towns of the South Sea, brings a ſufficient Supply; they carry Oils and Wines in great earthen Jarrs upon the Backs of Sheep, which they commonly call Sheep of five Quarters, becauſe their Tails are as big and heavy as one Quarter of the Sheep.

The Ore.

The rich Ore (when they firſt take it out of the Mines) looks like black Lead, then they grind it in certain Engines, and waſh it thro' fine Sieves in pav'd Ciſterns made for that purpoſe. They make the *Indians* work in the Mines ſtark naked, that they may not hide any thing about 'em; and thus are they kept to the Drudgery, while their Maſters the *Spaniards* wallow in all manner of Eaſe and Pleaſures, and grow exceſſive rich into the bargain.

And here we end the Account of Knivet's *Remarks.*

CHAP. V.

Some Obſervations of the Iſland of Trinidado, *the rich Country of* Guiana, *and the great River* Oronoco, *with other Rivers; made by* Francis Sparrey, *who was left in the Country by Sir* Walter Rawleigh *A. D.* 1595, *and after that being taken Priſoner by the* Spaniards, *and living a Slave in* Spain, *return'd into* England *again A. D.* 1602.

Guiana.

THE Country of *Guiana* bears directly Eaſt from *Peru*, and lies almoſt under the *Equinoctial*.

Riv. *Oronoco.*

The River of *Oronoco* (otherwiſe call'd *Barequan*) has nine Mouths upon the North ſide of the main Land, but upon the South ſide our Obſerver could diſcover no more than ſeven; ſo that yet, what between Iſlands and broken Lands, it has ſome ſixteen Mouths in all. The entrance to this River thro' the River *Capuri* has nine foot water at the mouth in a full Sea, and at the ebb but five foot; the Water flows but a ſmall time, but riſes apace, and the ebb goes but ſlowly, continuing ſix hours in all.

River *Amana*

In the bottom of the Gulph of *Guanipa* there is a River call'd *Amana*, which leads into *Oronoco* alſo; if a Man enters this River of *Amana* from *Curiapan*, he can't poſſibly return the ſame way he came, by reaſon of the Eaſterly Winds and ſtrong Currents, but he muſt of neceſſity go into a River within the Land, which is call'd *Macurio*.

If you ſail ſome twenty leagues in the River *Amana*, you may diſcover the great and high Mountain *Oecopa*, from whence may eaſily be diſcover'd the Plains of *Samia*, thro' which you have a ſafe paſſage over Land within ten or twelve leagues of *Cumana*, or to the *Caracas*. Upon theſe Plains are four ſeveral Nations, all which are reputed great Soldiers, and they are ſomething black; their Names are, the *Samia's*, the *Aſſawaics*, the *Wikeries*, and the *Arrora's*.

Paſſage to *Oronoco.*

To go from the Iſland of *Trinidado* to the great River *Oronoco*, the River *Amana* bears South, but parting from this Rvier by a Branch which bears to the Weſt, one may this way enter *Oronoco*.

The

Riv. *Europa.*

The River *Europa* lies to the Eaſt of *Oroncco* as you come from *Trinidade*. 'Tis very eaſie to go from the River *Oronoco* to the Town of St. *Domingo*, which bears N. N. W. directly, but you muſt of neceſſity paſs the River *Amapaia*, leaving the Iſland of the *Amazons* to the S. and hold your Courſe as near as may be N. W. and N. N. W. By this means you avoid all the danger of the Cannon and Force of the Town, and land ſome ſix days Journey from St. *Domingo*.

Riv. *Wiaumli.*

The River *Wiaumli* is to the N. of *Oronoco*; to go into this River, you may go in the Land till you come to the little River *Maccab*, then directing your Courſe South, you will within two days enter the River *Wiaumli*: This River gives its Name to the adjacent Country too.

River *Drano.*

Drano is a fair River, and lies exactly South-eaſt from *Oronoco*, but it's dangerous to go far in it, not upon the account of any Dangers the River preſents to a Boat that ſails in it, but the bad Air and malignant Dews (that fall thereabouts and kill abundance even of the *Indians* themſelves) are Impediments in the way of a free converſation upon that River. Beſides this, there is another, and that is the horrible corruption of the River by the foul and loathſom Waters that are continually drein'd into it from the Fenns of *Anelas*; theſe are ſo bad, that 'tis deadly to drink of 'em, and many a one has died for't.

River *Arui.*

The River *Arui* runs continually North, and ſo to the River *Caſſipa*, and from thence into *Oronoco*: Near to *Arui* are ſeveral other Rivers, but hardly any thing conſiderable.

The firſt River that falls into *Oronoco* from the North is call'd *Cari*; beyond that, on the ſame ſide, is the River *Limo*, to the Weſt of that is *Pao*, and beyond that the Rivers *Caturi*, *Voari* and *Capuri*, which laſt 'tis dangerous to enter.

In the River *Oronoco* are various Iſlands, particularly in the midſt of it a pretty big one, and ſomewhat mountainous, call'd *Ocanita*; there's another alſo which goes by the Name of *Aio*, where the Wind is always Eaſterly in the Morning before the Sun is high.

Riv. *Ubra.*

The River *Ubra* bearing to the Weſt of *Carthagena*, bears to the Southward of the Iſland of the *Amazons*: This River *Ubra* (if you ſtand to the South-weſt) leads to that part of the Province of *Arimaijo* which is call'd *Ereegoodawe*; 'tis a barren mountainous Country, they have neither *Guiney-Wheat* nor *Caſſavi*, but *Veniſon*, *Hogs* and *Conies* they have in great abundance.

The Author's attempt to paſs by the River *Oronoco* to *Peru*.

'Twas reported to our Author by the *Indians*, that there was (on the North of *Peru*) a way to enter the River *Oronoco*, which Intimation encourag'd him to attempt the diſcovery of a Paſſage from that River to *Peru*. In this Attempt (he tells us) he was driven by a Storm into a River which his *Indian* Pilots call'd *Salma*, in which after he had been for three days, he enter'd the great River of *Papemena*, which is at leaſt ſix leagues broad: From hence he came to the ſweet and pleaſant Iſland of *Athul*, a Spot ſo delightful and in ſo benign and temperate a Climate, that he profeſſes he could willingly have ſpent the remainder of his days there: There's abundance of fine freſh Rivers, and thoſe well ſtock'd with Fiſh; there are Fowls and other Animals for Food. In the Woods (which are very numerous) you have delicate Fruits all the Year round, Cotton, Balſam, *Braſile*, *Lignum vitæ*, and Cypreſs-trees. The Soil promiſes Metals, nay, ſome ſorts of Ore he did find in divers places; the Rivers too afford fine Stones, but for want of Skill he dares not warrant the goodneſs and valuableneſs of 'em.

A Deſcription of the Iſland of *Athul.*

This lovely Iſland is but ſmall, and it has no Inhabitants, which (he ſays) is upon the account of the neighbourhood of the *Caribes*, a rude ſort of Savages, within whoſe reach People are afraid of living.

From hence he return'd to the River of *Oronoco* again, becauſe he found his labour loſt, and 'twas impoſſible to go to *Peru* that way; but he did not go back exactly the ſame way that he came, for paſſing the River *Papemena*, he left that of *Salma*, and came a much more direct way into the River of *Oronoco*, even by the River *Limo*, as his *Indian* Pilots imagin'd; but by what went before 'tis plain, that there was no great credit to be given to their Surmiſes.

The Author fruſtrated of his Deſign.

He gives us farther this account of a Voyage he made from the River *Oronoco* Weſtwardly, in which Courſe a Man is like to meet with moſt Gold, tho' there be moſt Danger too, (eſpecially in going far into the Country) by reaſon of the *Epuremi*, an *Indian* People that live continually in Arms, and are never eaſie but when they are fighting and killing their Neighbours.

From *Oronoco* he came into the River of *Ciſnero*, and ſo coaſted to *Amapaia*, (remarkable for that bad ſort of Water before mention'd) from thence to the River *Pao*, and at the term of ſix weeks came into the rich Country of *Curaa*. This is in the Province of *Guiana* or *Manoa*, and 'tis character enough of it to ſay, that it abounds in the moſt deſirable of all Metals: In ſome places you have Mines of white Stone, and the Gold running in Veins between the Stones; in others you find it in ſolid Grains in the Sands of the Brooks and Rivulets: But a Man can hardly be rich here without venturing his Life for't, that is, he can't go to the Rivers to pick the Gold grains without danger of being ſnapt by the Crocadiles. There are alſo Pearl in this Country, ſome of which our Traveller ſaw, but they are neither large, orient nor round; the *Spaniards* ſaid they were not Pearls, but Topazes, and perhaps neither he nor they ſaid true.

Province of *Curaa.*

Camalaba is a place to the Southward of *Oronoco* River, famous for a Fair of Women-Slaves which is kept there. *Sparrey* going to Market here, had ſuch a Bargain on't, that one may venture to ſay poſitively he could not be cheated of his Money; for eight of theſe female Slaves (and the oldeſt of 'em under eighteen) he gave a red-hafted Knife that coſt him exactly two Mites, ſo that a Woman here is four times as cheap as a Farthing Pye is in *England*, tho' perhaps ſhe is a much-worſe bit; at this rate a Pedler, out of the Stores of the portable Shop at his Back, might buy Women enough to plant a Country almoſt as big as the *Great Mogul*'s.

Camalaba Fair.

Tar or *Taroo* is an Iſland to the S. S. W. of *Oronoco*: This Iſland has no ſtated Inhabitants, but ſerves only for a kind of a baiting-place to the *Caribees*; thoſe Barbarians go abroad and ſteal People, and then they come hither and eat 'em. The Author came to this place with a conſiderable ſtrength, deſigning to ſacrifice ſome of thoſe Cannibals if he had found 'em here, but they were gone, tho' their Houſes ſuffer'd for 'em, and were burnt to the ground. Going about the Iſland cloſe by the Water ſide, he found Stones of ſeveral colours, tho' he makes no mention what they were, either in his own or other mens Opinions.

Taroo Iſland.

To the Weſtward of this Iſland is a River call'd *Habuc*, in moſt places about which you have 8, 10, 14, 17 & 30 fathom Water; the entrance at the mouth is barr'd, but yet at a full Sea you ſhall have 14 & 15 foot Water, and in the Chanel where the Canoes enter (and which is but narrow) there is better than ſix fathom. This *Habuc* is certainly the beſt and ſureſt Harbour for our Ships in all theſe parts, and 'tis not quite eight days Journey from *Oronoco*.

Habuc Harbour.

There is a certain River call'd *Capuriſol*, thro' which (he tells us) is a moſt ſure, ſafe, and perfect way to *Peru*, tho' the Voyage will take up eight or ten weeks to finiſh it, and it muſt be perform'd with Ship-boats or Canoes too, becauſe theſe Rivers have always very little Water. This River lies in 8 gr. 2 min. N. L. and in it you ſhall always have a light breeze of a Weſtwardly Wind, Noon-time only excepted, when there is hardly any at all: The Country in which it is has the Name of *Emeria*, and that Province is the Eaſt part of *Dorado*.

Capuriſol River, by which one may go to *Peru*.

CHAP. VI.

An Account of a Voyage to Guiana by Captain Charles Leigh, perform'd at the charges of Sir Olave Leigh his Brother, and his own: Taken out of the Captain's Journal and Letters, and the Journals of ſeveral others that went the ſame Voyage.

A.D. 1604. March.

Capt. Leigh goes for Guiana.

THE Captain ſet out in a handſom Bark of ſome fifty Tun, call'd *The Olive-Plant*, having no more company with him than forty ſix Men and Boys. The deſign of this Voyage was, to make a more compleat diſcovery of the Country of *Guiana*, and to fix an *Engliſh* Plantation there; to which the Captain (with his Brother) was the more encourag'd, in that he had viſited this part of the World once before.

Comes to the Riv. of Wiapoco.

Receiv'd kindly by the Natives.

By the 22d of the enſuing *May* they came into the River of *Wiapoco*, in the Latitude of 3 gr. ½ to the North of the Line; and the Town of *Wiapoco*, which lies on the Coaſt of *Guiana*, was that where they intended to take up their abode. The Natives were ready to give them a good Entertainment as ſoon as they came; they were extreamly willing the Captain and his Company ſhould reſide amongſt 'em, and yielded to their taking ſolemn poſſeſſion of the Country in the name of His Majeſty of *England*.

A Contract betwixt 'em.

The Mount Howard.

About this River of *Wiapoco* (otherwiſe, and by a more moderate Name, call'd *Caroleigh*) dwelt three Nations of *Indians*, the *Yaioa's*, *Arwarka's*, and *Sapayoa's*, which being driven away from their ancient Dwellings by that peſtilent and troubleſom People the *Caribes*, had ſettled themſelves here. Now the Agreement the Captain made with the *Indians* was this, That allowing him a good quantity of Ground for Gardens, and ſome Houſes for the preſent, he ſhould aſſiſt 'em againſt their inveterate Enemies the *Caribes*. This Contract was confirm'd by very good Aſſurances on both parts, and to make it the more ſure on the ſide of the *Indians*, the Captain demanded, and they freely gave, four or five Hoſtages, as Pledges of their fidelity and good meaning, two of which were Perſons of great account amongſt 'em. Their firſt Plantation was upon part of the Mountain that lies on the Weſt ſide of the entrance of the River, and to which they gave the Name of Mount *Howard*, in memory of our famous Admiral of that Name.

Mutinous Company.

In this Country might our Captain have liv'd a very fortunate life, and one very uſeful too to his own Country at home, had he not had the ſame plague with many Great Men abroad, (and which has broke the neck of many a brave and well-laid Deſign) a mutinous diſcontented Company: They had not their fine Meats and Sauces here as in *England*, nor their ſoft Down-beds, but muſt lie in Hammocks, ſwinging in the Air like ſo many Spiders in their Cobwebs; beſides, they were not to walk about and take their pleaſure only, but there were Woods to be cut down, and other neceſſary works in order to a Plantation to be done, none of all which did agree with the Conſtitution of theſe People; they were therefore very troubleſom and tumultuous, and made ſeveral bold Remonſtrances againſt the Captain's Deſigns of ſettling in the Country, demanding to be led home again. However, with kind words and many perſwaſions, he brought them to conſent to try the Country for a Year, and patiently endure all Extremities; notwithſtanding which ſome of 'em were worſe than their words and left him, even thoſe of whoſe Service and Company he had moſt need.

Worms in the Feet.

Indian Cure for the ſame.

'Twas another Unhappineſs too that the Men were very unhealthy here, ſome had *Agues*, others *Fluxes*, others again *Vertigo's*, but the moſt vexatious (tho' not the moſt dangerous) of all was a ſort of *Worms*, which made their way into their Feet, and under their Nails, and fix'd themſelves ſo ſecurely there, that they were not to be gotten out but by tearing open the Fleſh with a Needle, and then not without great pain and difficulty neither. One of the Company had his Feet ſo overrun with 'em, for want of Shoes and Stockings, that he was forc'd to ſubmit to the *Indian* method of cure, which was this, they pour'd melted black Wax upon the bottoms of his Feet till they were all cover'd, this they let lie on till 'twas throughly cold and hardned, and then with a ſudden twitch pull'd it all off at once, and they ſay all the *Worms* came off or out along with it; which any body would eaſily grant to be poſſible, ſince no doubt but the Skin and Fleſh came along with it, and 'tis probable the *Worms* might keep them company.

Ship returns.

'Tis to be noted that the Captain, the next year after his arrival, diſpatch'd the Ship home again to *England*, for freſh ſupplies of ſuch things as he wanted; it went under command of Captain *Huntlie*, and carried in it the five *Indian* Hoſtages. Now the return of this Ship was very greedily expected, for the Company was diſtemper'd many ways, and beſides, they could not at all times have from the *Indians* thoſe quantities of Proviſions they had occaſion for; and in this uneaſie condition did the Ship find 'em when it did come; however, being now all together, and the honeſt Party ſomething ſtronger than before, they acknowledg'd the Captain's Authority in general, and promis'd to aſſiſt him to the uttermoſt. After this they made an Expedition againſt the *Caribes*, the confederate *Indians* going along with 'em; but thoſe Villains, as cunning as they are miſchievous, having taken the Alarm, got away into the Woods, and avoided 'em.

Fruitleſs Expedition againſt the Caribes.

Captain dies.

Some ſtay behind.

The Fatigues of this Journey, together with the filthy Liquors they were oblig'd moſt commonly to drink, and the foul Weather they were expos'd to abroad, heightned the Fluxes amongſt 'em, and kill'd ſeveral; and worſe than all, the Captain himſelf, juſt upon the point of his going on board for *England*, to fetch a compleat lading of ſuch things as were needful for his Company, was carried off by the ſame Diſtemper; and thus by this unhappy ſtroke the whole buſineſs was quaſh'd, and all the Company began to think of ſhifting for themſelves, ſome went away in their own Ship for *England*, others got on board a *Dutchman*, and others a *Frenchman*, as many as there was room for; but, in ſhort, there were ten poor wretches that could get no paſſage, and ſo muſt ſtay upon the ſpot: Here then they liv'd, waiting for the ſame favourable opportunity that their fellows had before them, and recovering by degrees a good ſtate of Health, they imploy'd their time in planting Flax and Tobacco, and other Country Labours. They liv'd in perfect amity and friendſhip with the *Indians*, and made another Expedition with 'em againſt the *Caribes*, wherein they ſucceeded better than before, doing conſiderable damage to the Enemy. The care of their Proviſion for Life lay altogether upon the *Indians* who had undertaken it, and they did it at ſo cheap a rate, that two months Victuals would coſt our *Engliſh* no more than ſuch a trifle as an Ax or a Hatchet, or a few Knives.

They go in a Dutch Ship for Holland.

At laſt the happy opportunity came for theſe Men to return into their own Country too, and that by another *Dutch* Merchantman, which came into the River of *Wiapoco*; but the way by which they had notice of this they themſelves look upon to be very ſtrange, for ſome months before the *Indians* told 'em that there were three Ships lying in the River of the *Amazons*, one of which at ſuch a time ſhould certainly come into the River of *Wiacopo*, where they then were. Our Men ſay, that the *Indians* often converſe with *Peyar*, (ſome inviſible Being which they call by that Name) and that this Information came from him; but let it come from what it will, 'twas certainly a true one, for the Ship came exactly at the limited time.

The *Indians* were very loth to part with 'em, and being willing to have yet ſome memory of them and their Country remaining amongſt 'em, they brought abundance of their Children to 'em, to receive ſome of our *Engliſh* Names: Likewiſe there was great enquiry made after Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, (who was well known in this Country) and one conſiderable *Indian* came as far out of the Main as *Orenogue*, to ask what was become of him, and to ſend him a challenge of his Promiſe of returning again. And certainly that excellent Perſon had procur'd himſelf ſuch an eſteem in theſe parts of the World, and was ſo valued even by the *Indians*, who were not ſuch competent Judges of his worth as we our ſelves were, that if his

Fate had been to be decided by them, they would ſooner have made him the head taller by a Crown, than ſhorter in that ſence that we did.

Our *Engliſhmen* having embark'd themſelves in the *Dutch* Ship, ſail'd with them to *Amſterdam*, and from thence came ſafe to *England*.

To this may be added the following Account of another Ship ſent by Sir Olave Leigh *to his Brother at* Wiapoco, *but which put in by the way at Iſle St.* Lucia, *and never finiſh'd her Voyage to* Wiapoco.

IF the former Voyage had an unfortunate iſſue, and beſides had ſomething ſad and melancholy in it, tho' more than the Scenes of common and uſual Deaths, this now before us was certainly much more ſad in its Conſequences, ſince the Scenes here were moſt of 'em bloody ones, and the Deaths barbarous Executions.

A.D. 1605

This Ship (the *Olive Bloſſom*) ſet out for *Wiapoco* the ſame Year, in *April*, that the other Ship did in *July* from *Wiapoco* for *England*; the Commanders were Captain *Catlin* and Captain *St. John*. What between contrary Winds and Currents, and eſpecially the unſkilfulneſs of the Maſter, they quite loſt all hopes of recovering their intended Port in any due time, and therefore they put in firſt at *Barbados*, and afterwards the Iſland of St. *Lucia*, deſigning from thence to return to *England* again; but examining their Stores of Proviſion, and finding not near enough to ſerve ſo great a Company as they were ſo long a Voyage, Captain *St. John*, with ſeveral of the Paſſengers, to the number of 67 Men, reſolv'd rather to ſtay and take their Lot upon the aforeſaid Iſland, than run the hazard of being ſtarv'd at Sea. Here therefore they were ſet aſhore, with their Swords, Muſquets, Powder, one ſmall Piece, and a Barrel of Biſcuit for Food, which was all the others would allow 'em; but notwithſtanding they quickly found a way to get a conſtant ſupply, which was by trading with the *Indians*, who were willing to maintain that Correſpondence with 'em; they would bring 'em all ſorts of Roots and Fruits that their Country afforded, together with ſome Fowl too, as Hens, Gulls, Pelicans, Woodcocks and Snipes, and then with a little trouble they could every night take delicate Tortoiſe upon the Sands.

67 Perſons ſet aſhore.

For ſome five or ſix weeks they liv'd in the little Hurs or Houſes they had built, and never made any Excurſions into the Country, nor any Journey towards the diſcovery of it: But the Captain ſeeing one day certain Plates of Metal upon the Arms of ſome of the *Indians*, and being inform'd that they were Gold, enquir'd of 'em from whence they had it, who told him pointing to a very high Mountain in the North-weſt part of the Iſland: Upon this the Captain himſelf with ſeveral of the chief, (to the number of a Boat-full) went in queſt of this golden Mountain, the reſt being appointed to keep good guard at home in the mean time; but the Journey not being very long, they promis'd to return in a weeks time again.

When this part of the Company was gone, the others that ſtaid behind expected the *Indians* to come and bring 'em Victuals as they us'd to do, but they did not come near 'em, and for three days together they ſaw nothing of 'em. The *Indians*, it ſeems, had obſerv'd when the Captain went, and had follow'd him to ſo good purpoſe, that they cut him off, with his whole Company, in that Journey; and this was the reaſon why the treacherous *Barbarians* did not come with Proviſions according to their Cuſtom, for they were then at the ſlaughter of the *Engliſh* at the Mountain.

Capt *St. John* and his Men kill'd.

And now they intended to make a like riddance of their Companions, for in the next place they began to gather about 'em in great numbers, but yet carried it fairly and ſmoothly, to take away all grounds of ſuſpicion from 'em; but our Men, who well ſaw how many came to 'em both by Sea and Land, and therefore began to miſtruſt ſome ill Deſign, kept a ſtrict watch, and fortified their little Camp as well as they could: The *Indians* came up and down to 'em, and drank and ſmoak'd with 'em as before, and amongſt others there came a certain deſperate Savage, whoſe Name was *Augramert*, who was a Captain of the Iſland of St. *Vincent*, and whom they had invited hither to ſerve 'em in this Enterprize.

Indians prepare to deſtroy the reſt.

After Dinner one day *Augramert* (who had been well entertain'd) would needs have our Men to his Quarters, alluring them with the Promiſe of furniſhing whatſoever Proviſions they had occaſion for; for 'tis to be noted that the *Indians* had laid up large Stores for the uſe of theſe new-comers, tho' they had none to ſpare for the *Engliſh*. There was eighteen of the Company that went along with him and his Father, and very pleaſant they were till they came within ſight of the Houſes, but then all of a ſudden, whilſt Mr. *St. John* (who was the Captain's Brother) was jeſting and playing with *Augramert*, that Savage catch'd hold of his Sword with one hand and his Poignard with t'other, and at the ſame time the old man his Father knocks him down with a great wooden Sword: Then the *Caribes* that lay in ambuſh began to ſhew themſelves, and the Arrows flew out of the Woods like Hail; our Men were but eighteen againſt four or five hundred, and ſurpriz'd too, ſo that hardly having time to light the Matches of their Guns, there were not above ſix diſcharges made: However, after their firſt diſorder, they rallied and made a ſtand in a certain Paſs, where they might poſſibly have defended themſelves to ſome good purpoſe, even againſt that multitude, had not a new Company aſſaulted 'em behind, but receiving a ſhowre of Arrows in their Backs, they had no other way but with their Swords in their hands to break thro' them, and endeavour to run for't; but 'twas impoſſible to eſcape, for they had laid ſo many Ambuſhes, and ſo effectually ſtopt up every Paſs, that all theſe brave Men (one only excepted) died upon the ſpot, ſeveral of 'em being pierc'd with more than a hundred Arrows, and the Savages taking care all along not to come within reach of them till they ſaw 'em drop, and then with their huge *Braſile* Swords came and knock'd 'em o'th' head.

Savages ſurprize and aſſault the *Engliſh*.

He that made his eſcape from this direful ſlaughter had a hard matter to do it, he was forc'd to hide himſelf in a Wood, and then ſwim a Lake, and ſo get home, which he did time enough too, to give his Fellows the Alarm.

And 'twas in a very little time after, that a body of the Savages came and preſented themſelves upon the Sands to their view, intending to aſſault 'em, but they quickly march'd off again when the others let fly with their Piece of Cannon upon 'em.

But in the ſpace of two or three days they return'd with thirteen or fourteen hundred Men, and beſet them round both by Sea and Land, ſhooting their Arrows continually in amongſt 'em, and wounding ſeveral: This ſort of Combat held for ſeven or eight days, but then the Savages bethought themſelves of a more dangerous piece of Policy, they ſhot Fire along with their Arrows, which burnt both the Houſes of the poor Defendants and all their Cheſts too, which they encompaſs'd themſelves withal as a Barricado againſt the Enemy; however they maintain'd their ground, and quickly erected themſelves a new ſort of a Fort made of the ruins of the old one, and cover'd with Earth and Sand; this effectually ſav'd 'em from all danger by Fire, and (as they had order'd the matter) kept off the ſtorms of Arrows too: Their Enemies ſeeing they could not accompliſh their deſign, went all away and left 'em.

Savages attack them in their Houſes.

They defend themſelves.

But now they were ſtill expos'd to very dangerous Enemies, tho the others were gone out of ſight, there was Hunger and want of all Neceſſaries for Life coming upon 'em with violence, and which way to guard againſt theſe they could not tell; but Providence was pleas'd to incline the minds of ſome of theſe ſavage Creatures to be kind and pitiful to them in their extremity, for they came and of themſelves offer'd to traffick with 'em for Proviſions, and thus conſtantly ſupplied 'em for the ſpace of a week: At laſt our Men told 'em, *Their deſire was not to ſtay in their Country, to be any farther troubleſom to 'em, but to be gone, in order to which if they would furniſh 'em with a Boat, they would give them in requital Hatchets, Knives and Beads, as many as would content 'em.* To this the *Indians* agreed, and brought 'em a Boat, upon which they preſently went to work to fit her up for ſervice, and went off as ſoon as poſſible, becauſe theſe friendly Savages told 'em, there were farther Preparations making againſt 'em.

Some of the Savages ſupply 'em with Proviſions.

They put to Sea in a very bad condition, having no Chart, nor Compaſs, nor Skill to manage and direct a Boat; neither could they hold out long as to the matter of Proviſion, for four or five gallons of Water, with a few Plantans, Potatoes, about twenty Biſcuit, and a little Rice, was all their Store.

They were ten days at Sea, and one of thoſe days had a very great Storm, which tho' it brought 'em often into danger of drowning, yet did 'em this kindneſs, to bring 'em Rain to quench their thirſt: Some Sea-fowl alſo (tir'd with flying) came and reſted themſelves upon the ſide of the Boat, and theſe help'd to eke out their ſcanty Proviſions.

They being nineteen of 'em in one little Boat, crowded and preſs'd it ſo, that the Brim was near enough the Water to let every little Wave roul over it, ſo that four of 'em were continually imploy'd by turns to lade out the Water.

'Twas upon the tenth day that they firſt 'ſpied Land, but what or where 'twas they knew not, having only gone as the Wind and Sea carried 'em, except that ſometimes they directed their Courſe a little by the Sun in the day, and the Stars by night; however, they could not reach Land the ſame day they 'ſpied it, but labouring with a Calm till night, they came upon the Shore before they were aware, and ſo ſplit their Boat upon a Rock; here ſome ſcrambled up the Rocks, and others the Roots of Trees that ſtood upon the Shore where they were caſt; 'twas a certain Iſland, but without Inhabitants, and indeed any thing that was fit to preſerve Life.

After they were all got on ſhore, and began to look about 'em, they found into what a miſerable place they were caſt, and they eaſily concluded that if there was no way found to get looſe from hence (in a very little time too) they muſt every man of 'em ſubmit to his Fate; in ſhort, they muſt be ſtarv'd, all of 'em together, unleſs ſome (that could and would attempt ſuch a Diſcovery) ſet themſelves to find out relief. Upon this conſideration they agreed, that a certain number of 'em ſhould take the Boat and go over to the main Land, while the reſt ſtaid there praying for their good ſucceſs, and a deliverance from the Deaths that threatned them. The Men that went had certainly their ſhare of Danger, as well as them that ſtaid behind, who had nothing in the Earth to ſatisfie Nature withal but Salt-water and Tobacco; theſe Travellers (I ſay) were ſometimes in danger of ſtarving as well as they, but then they were more expos'd upon other accounts, as particularly in croſſing ſeveral Rivers, where ſometimes the *Sharks* and other times the *Alligators* would purſue 'em for a good way together.

Scarcity of Proviſion.

When they had wander'd ſome time, and were hardly able to go any further, they came to a Cave, where they ſaw a Veſſel of Wheat-flower, which without any further ceremony they made into a ſort of Cakes, and gave Thanks to God for't, without troubling themſelves about the Owners. Shortly after this, they were ſo happy as to light upon ſome company which were *Spaniards*, *Indians* and *Negroes*, and theſe were as kind and compaſſionate to our Men as their diſtreſſed caſe requir'd; they feaſted 'em with the beſt of their Proviſion, and becauſe they ſaw 'em ſo very feeble, let 'em ride, and went themſelves on foot: Thus they brought 'em to an *Indian* Town, where they had the ſame ſort of treatment ſtill, and here 'twas that they began to open the miſerable caſe their poor Companions were in at the deſolate Iſland; and as ſoon as ever they had recover'd ſtrength enough to undertake the Journey and ſhew the way, the *Spaniards* and *Indians* went along with 'em, and carried Proviſions for thoſe poor Men: Providence had diſpos'd of ſome of 'em in the mean time, ſo that the number was leſs by five, and indeed the remainder was ſo near going the ſame way too, that 'twas a queſtion whether Nature were not too far tir'd and ſpent to be recover'd again; for they were not able to eat, ſo that 'twas with a great deal of Art and Care that thoſe feeble and ſick ones were to be manag'd, and no little pains to be taken to ſet 'em upon their Legs again; however, they carried 'em over to the main Land, and from thence to that ſame *Indian*-Town where their Companions had been ſo kindly entertain'd before, and ſo to another Town inhabited by *Spaniards*.

The *Engliſh* treated kindly at *Coro*.

Both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* ſhew'd all the Generoſity and Good-nature imaginable in the treatment of theſe Men, and they ſeem'd ſo glad of the opportunity of relieving ſo much Miſery, that 'twas even a matter of Contention amongſt 'em who ſhould be moſt forward to do it; all the Dons of the Town took each his Man to entertain at his Houſe, to provide for both at Bed and Board, and to furniſh with all the Materials of a comfortable and pleaſant Livelihood; and then for a Country Entertainment, at any time when they pleas'd they went out into the Villages, where the *Indians* would give 'em a true and hearty welcome with the beſt Fruits and Meats they could provide, and ſeeing alſo that they were pleas'd with Apes, Monkeys, and Parrots, they would catch ſtore of thoſe Creatures, and have em ready in their Houſes againſt the *Engliſh* came; thus well were they diſpos'd of after their miſerable circumſtances, and ſo conſiderable a breathing time had they to prepare 'em for freſh Troubles.

After they had been here ſome time, they began to think of their own Country, and ſome of 'em made a motion to the *Spaniards* for a permiſſion to go; and indeed it was but ſome of them that had a mind to be gone, for as to the others, they liv'd ſo much at eaſe that they did not care to think of interrupting that ſort of life by a new courſe of Adventures; beſides, they perſwaded the *Spaniards* not to let their Fellows go, and ſuggeſted ſeveral little Jealouſies to 'em, which was far from the Kindneſs to be expected from Countrymen, and Men too whom common Dangers and Sufferings ought to have endear'd to each other; however, at laſt three of 'em got both leave and opportunity to go, breaking thro' all the tempting Offers of the *Spaniards* to keep 'em in the Country.

Go to *Carthagena*.

The Town they went from was call'd *Coro*, and the place they were bound for was *Carthagena*, where the many Recommendations they had to the chief of the City would in all probability have procur'd a very good reception, had not the Governour died juſt as they came thither; but that happening, (unluckily for them) they were immediately clapt up in Priſon, and in no ſmall danger of being condemn'd to the Gallies, had not the mediation and kindneſs of one conſiderable man prevented that; and by his means alſo they were conſtantly ſupply'd with good Proviſions all the while they lay there, for the barbarous *Teniente* (he that ſupplied the Governour's place) would not allow 'em any thing: This ſame good-natur'd *Spaniard* alſo, with another as rich and charitably diſpos'd as himſelf, were the Bail for theſe poor Men, entring into a Bond of a thouſand Ducats for their forth-coming; however, that was more a piece of Formality than any thing elſe, for the *Teniente* himſelf, at their delivery out of Priſon, did give them their Liberty. And now they were only to ſpend their time in making much of themſelves, till the Galeons were ready to ſail for *Spain*, with whom they were to go. One of the generous *Spaniards* carried 'em down to his Country-houſe, and treated 'em in a manner more like Noblemen than poor common Sailors; then the Dons and the Great Men that came to his Houſe as Viſitants would (out of their winnings at Cards) give each man of 'em ſix or ſeven Pieces of Eight at a time. And at this rate did he and the reſt entertain 'em, till the Galeons went, at which time he procur'd 'em each their paſſage.

Impriſon'd there.

Set at liberty.

As for the reaſon of this extraordinary Courteſie this *Spaniard* ſhew'd our *Engliſh*, it was the Favour ſhewn by Sir *Francis Drake* to his Father; for when *Carthagena* was taken and plunder'd by the *Engliſh*, Sir *Francis* ſav'd that Perſon's Life and all his Goods; and his Son did this to diſcharge himſelf in ſome meaſure of the Obligation that laid him under.

CHAP.

Chap. VII.

An Account of a Voyage to Guiana, *perform'd by* Robert Harcourt *Eſq*; *of* Stanton-Harcourt *in the County of* Oxon: *Written to Prince* Charles.

Bay of *Wiapoco.*

OMitting the ſeveral Particulars of the Voyage, (in which there occurr no Remarks capable of giving any Entertainment) we'll conſider the Author as at the end of it, and already come to an Anchor in the Bay of *Wiapoco*. It was not long before ſeveral Canoes of *Indians* came to ſee who and what they were, and finding 'em to be *Engliſh*, came on board 'em without any farther Ceremony.

The *Indians* here were no leſs pleas'd with our Mens Knives, Beads and Toys, than our Men were with the Plantans and Potatoes, the Hens and the Fiſh, which the others brought with 'em; there was a mutual ſatisfaction of Appetites amongſt 'em, of the one ſide for Eating, and of the other for Play; the Belly here, and the Fancy and Humour there, were equally entertain'd.

Town of *Caripo.*

The *Indians* come aboard the *Engliſh.*

The Town from which theſe People came was call'd *Caripo*, ſeated upon the Eaſt ſide of the Hill in the mouth of *Wiapoco* River; and 'twas not a little advantage to our Men in coming hither, that the Lord or petty King of this very place was on board their own Ship at this time; he had been it ſeems ſome years in *England*, and now (with another of his Countrymen) came over with Mr. *Harcourt*, tho' his true Quality was not known till the *Indians* now diſcover'd it. There was very great Joy amongſt them for the return of their Prince, and the more effectually to expreſs that, as alſo their Gratitude to the *Engliſh* for this Benefit, all the chief *Indians* of the Town came on board Mr. *Harcourt*'s Ship, and brought plenty of their Country Proviſion with 'em. As for their parts, they deſir'd no better Entertainment than *Aqua Vitæ*, and that they had till their *Indian* Humour and Gaiety was rais'd to a pretty high pitch; but after theſe ſort of Merriments were over, Mr. *Harcourt*, in a Speech, gave 'em to underſtand the deſign of his coming; he put them in mind of what had been done by Capt. *Leigh* before, who by their free conſent took poſſeſſion of the Country in the name of the King of *England*; That His Majeſty intended no ſort of unjuſt Uſurpation over 'em, nor to treat 'em in any way like Slaves and Vaſſals, but only to be their friendly Protector, and deliver 'em from the Inſolencies and Oppreſſions of the *Caribes*: He told them alſo of the Kindneſſes that had been done them by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who freed 'em from the *Spaniſh* Servitude, burnt the Town of *Trinidado*, and deliver'd five of their *Indian* Kings, that lay there bound Neck to Neck with Collars of Iron, and would have been ſacrific'd; particularly alſo, That their Countrymen the *Oronoqueponi* (who border upon the River *Oronoco*) did then actually ſurrender their Country to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the name and for the uſe of Queen *Elizabeth*; and from all this, That the ſame Reſolution was likewiſe expected from them.

Mr. *Harcourts* Speech to 'em

Indians Objection.

They conſult.

The *Indians* were ſenſible of the truth of all theſe things, but yet they ſeem'd to be much diſſatisfied that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* himſelf did not come again amongſt 'em, according to his Promiſe; and when Mr. *Harcourt* had excus'd that, they objected, That they had not room enough to receive ſo great a Company as now was come, for their Town was but ſmall, and beſides, their Gardens but little neither, ſo that the Products of 'em would never be ſufficient to maintain both themſelves and our Men too. But this Objection they did not urge very ſtiffly, for they were told, that the *Engliſh* did not intend to be chargeable to 'em and live upon their coſt, but to traffick with 'em for Proviſions, upon the Principles of a juſt and equal exchange, and would alſo be no leſs diligent than themſelves in dreſſing and improving their Garden-grounds, that they might have enough of thoſe Neceſſaries of Life. Upon this the *Indians* crav'd the liberty to withdraw and go to conſult amongſt themſelves, which they did, and ſate above two hours debating and drinking *Aqua vitæ*, and at laſt gave this as their final and unanimous Reſolution: That the *Engliſh* ſhould be very welcome to ſettle amongſt them, and that they would furniſh them with Houſes and all other Neceſſaries as far as they were able; but only, ſince the ſame things had been ſeveral times promis'd them before, and no *Engliſh* had yet planted in their Country, they fear'd leſt this ſhould prove to be more Words and Ceremony too than any thing of Performance; however, they would be contented to try once more.

They yield to the Propoſals made.

And now our Captain, with all his whole Troop, went aſhore to the *Indian* Town, where the beſt reception that could be expected from ſuch People as they was given 'em, and they were diſpos'd of up and down in convenient Lodgings.

Caripo Town.

This Town of *Caripo* is very advantageouſly ſeated; for, ſtanding upon a great rocky Mountain, it is not acceſſible but only by certain narrow foot-paths, (which are eaſily defended too) and that by reaſon of very ſteep Clifts and rough woody ways, ſo that our Men were lodg'd here as in a Fort, and wonderful conveniently in reſpect of the Harbour, for that was but at the bottom of the ſame Hill, on the top of which they liv'd, ſo that their Ships rid at Anchor juſt underneath 'em.

Hope fruſtrated by the Guide.

The great Rains, that fell almoſt without intermiſſion, made 'em lie ſtill here in this Neſt for at leaſt a month, and there was no going out to travel the Country. But that wet ſeaſon being over, the Captain addreſs'd himſelf to the ſearch of thoſe Golden Mountains that had been ſo much talk'd of, and which his Company had been ſo often promis'd from the very beginning of the Voyage: But as many times great Hopes and Promiſes do, ſo did thoſe that they were fed up with, prove vain and empty at laſt, and their moſt forward Guide, who had before made no doubt of ſhewing them the richeſt Treaſures of Gold, now when it came to the tryal, upon the ſpot where he had pretended theſe to lie, could diſcover nothing at all.

This Diſappointment ſo ſtirr'd the inconſtant Humour of the common Soldiers, and thoſe that came out meerly for the ſake of the charming Gold, that they were like to have put all into downright confuſion; but the prudent Commander us'd his utmoſt endeavours to cool that heat, and ſilence the noiſe made upon this ſcore, and that ſo ſucceſsfully, that what by ſoft words and politick contrivances to ſet 'em at work and keep their hands full of buſineſs, he prevented the matter from running up to the extremity of an open Mutiny.

Gold Tokens.

Beſides, ſome of the *Indians* diſcover'd to him, that the Country of *Guiana* was not ſo barren of Gold as the ignorance and miſtake of their Guide might have made it imagin'd, for they ſhew'd him one day certain Images of Metal, which upon examination were one third part at leaſt Gold; and they told him too, that thoſe things were made in the high Country of *Guiana*, where great ſtore of 'em was to be had. But then the very white Sparr, of which alſo all the high Country is full, was another confirmation of this; for as every ſort of Mine has a peculiar Sparr, ſo that of Gold and Silver has one, which by its extraordinary whiteneſs and pureneſs is very diſtinguiſhable from all others.

M. Gemeribe.

But tho' the Captain was out of all hope of advancing to any of thoſe Mines now, yet he ſet himſelf to perfect what Diſcoveries he could of the Country in order thereto, and therefore did in perſon travel up the River of *Wiapoco*, to make Obſervations there, and alſo diſpatch his Brother (with ſome others) to diſcover the River of *Arrawary* and the Country bordering upon it, which adjoyns to the River of the *Amazons*: He went alſo and took poſſeſſion of the Mountain *Gemeribe*, which is the uttermoſt Point of Land to the Northward in the *Wiapoco*; this he did with the Ceremony of Twig and Turf, in the preſence both of his own People and the *Indians* too. After poſſeſſion taken, the Mountain was deliver'd over to an *Indian* to hold and poſſeſs the ſame, himſelf and his Heirs, of His Majeſty *James* King of *England* paying the yearly Duty of a tenth part of all Tobacco

Cotton-wool, Annoto, and other Commodities growing within the Limits of the ſame.

Dangerous Voyage.

But the Attempt of the Captain's Brother and Capt. *Harvey*, in diſcovering the River *Arrawary*, was attended with great Difficulties and Hazards, for their length run by Sea to this River was near an hundred leagues; and in the way they had many fearful plunges, by reaſon of a high-going Sea that breaks upon the Flats and Shoals, eſpecially at the next great Cape to the North of *Arrawary*, which they nam'd *Point Peril*, upon the ſcore of the Danger they paſs'd there. Then up the River their Diſcovery proceeded fifty leagues more, and yet all this while they had none but flat-bottom'd Canoes, not near ſo broad, tho' ſomething longer than the common *Thames* Wherries.

Diſcoveries up the River of *Arrawary*

Shy People.

The *Indians* they met with up this River plainly diſcover'd they had never ſeen *European* Faces before; they would not a long time be enticed to any ſort of Trade or Converſation with them, no, not with the other *Indians* they brought along with 'em, becauſe they were as much as the others perfect Strangers to 'em, but always ſtood upon their guard, and by their actions declar'd that they look'd upon 'em as Enemies; but at laſt the fine Toys wrought upon 'em, and an earneſt deſire to poſſeſs ſome of thoſe things, the looks of which pleas'd them ſo well, that it induc'd 'em to come to ſome terms for Proviſions.

What progreſs they made in diſcovering this River ſhall be afterwards related, but they had certainly gone farther if they could have been ſupplied with Bread and Drink, for as for Fleſh and Fiſh, they could procure enough, but the other Neceſſaries failing, 'twas impoſſible to perſwade their *Indian* Guides to proceed with the Voyage, and ſo they ſail'd homewards again: And here their greateſt danger attended 'em, for coming to the *Carripoory* Iſlands, they would needs paſs between them and the main Land; now the *Indians*, who well knew the extream danger of ſuch an attempt, had ſaid all that could be ſaid to diſſwade them from it, and yet nothing would do, but they muſt go that way. And here 'twas that they met with ſuch a Breach of the Water, that if the *Indians* had not been extraordinary induſtrious indeed, they had been all ſwallow'd up: The Seamen call theſe violent Breaches of the Water by the name of *Boors*, for 'tis like the furious claſhing or ruſhing together of two enrag'd Creatures; after the firſt ſhock they part and retire back, to meet with more violence, till one has entirely run down his Adverſary; ſuch a ſort of a Combat is here between two contrary Tides, they ſtrive and preſs upon each other with a horrible noiſe and foaming of their Waters; and our Men, as if they had a mind to ſee which was the ſtrongeſt of the two, muſt needs come where they thus broke upon one another, but 'twas their good luck to eſcape and come home ſafe again to *Wiapoco*.

Return for England.

Not long after this Mr. *Harcourt* was oblig'd to return for *England*, having left his Brother to command in chief in his abſence, to whom was joyn'd as Aſſiſtant (or rather as his Lieutenant) that ſame Captain *Harvey* before mention'd.

Riv. Courwo.

Divers other Rivers found by Mr. Harcourt.

Having parted from *Wiapoco*, he came firſt of all to *Caiene*, where finding ſome defect in his Ships, he left them at that place to repair what was amiſs, and in the mean time, with his Ship-boat alone, went to ſee what diſcovery he could make. He follow'd the Coaſt to the Weſtward, and paſſing by the River of *Mecco-oria*, he lodg'd that night in the mouth of the River *Courwo*, which has an entrance narrow enough, tho' deep, but within affords a good Harbour. The next day he continued his Weſtwardly Courſe alſo, and paſſing the Rivers *Manmanury*, *Sinnamara*, *Oaraſſonini*, *Coonaunonia*, *Uracco*, and *Amanna*, he came to the River *Marrawini*; the Bar lies two or three leagues off at Sea, and 'tis all Shoal upon it, being but two fathom Water, but within it the Chanel is three, four, five and ſix fathom deep: At a matter of five leagues within the River are the Iſlands *Curewapory*, which are wholly uninhabited, becauſe at the riſing of the Waters they are overflow'd; and there are abundance of other Iſlands of this nature up and down in this River.

Falls of Water.

He omits ſeveral *Indian* Towns and Villages, together with the Entertainment he had at them, and only tells us, that having gone about twenty leagues from the Sea, he found the River in a manner barr'd up with Rocks, over which the Water fell with prodigious violence, notwithſtanding all which Falls he had the Courage to proceed; but ſtill the farther he went, the more dangerous he found them to be and the more in number too; but then when he had paſs'd the firſt Mountain towards the high Country of *Guiana*, (which is call'd *Sapparow*) and had diſcover'd ſeveral other high Mountains before him, being then at leaſt ſix days Journey up the River, he met with ſo bad and ſhoaly a Water, and ſuch vaſt Overfalls, that here he was forc'd to put an end to his Journey.

Difference between the River Marawini and that of Wiapoco.

Tapuramune.

Strange Indians.

Being return'd back to his Company and Ships, he had the following account of the Country from a Kinſman of his, who had been at the trouble of travelling to make ſome diſcovery. He went at leaſt eleven days Journey up the River *Marrawini*, which by the way is much different from that of *Wiapoco*, ſince the latter is not paſſable but when the Waters are fallen to the loweſt, and the former not but when they are riſen to the higheſt. Here he came to a Town of the *Caribes* call'd *Tapuramune*, which is above a hundred leagues from the Sea, and three days Journey from *Moreſhego*, another Town of the ſame People alſo: The *Indians* of this place inform'd him of ſeveral great and mighty Nations that he would come to, if he travel'd ſome ſix or ſeven days beyond *Moreſhego*, particularly of ſome that were in ſtrength and ſtature beyond other Men, and had conſequently Arms (Bows and Arrows) vaſtly bigger than what were us'd or could be manag'd by any other People: Farther, That ſeveral very great and conſiderable Rivers do fall into the River *Marawini*, (ſome of which he ſaw himſelf as well as heard of) and that 'tis twenty days Journey from *Tapuramune* to the head of *Marawini*; moreover, that a days Journey from thence to the Landward, a man comes into a plain level Country, very fit for Cattle, upon the account of the mighty Graſs it affords. In ſhort, this Perſon in his Journey met with above eighty Overfalls of Water, and ſeveral of 'em very dangerous, which tho' as he came they made him difficulty enough, yet in returning they did not a little quicken his paſſage; a Man generally in this caſe ſwims three days Journey in one.

Pitch of Cape Brea.

Hot Bath of Mevis.

Mr. *Harcourt* now ſail'd homewards with all the Expedition imaginable, and had a Voyage to his deſir'd Port ſafe and proſperous enough, in his accounts of which we have only one or two Remarks to take notice of; the one is, of the excellent Pitch at Cape *Brea*, which is known pretty well in the World upon that ſcore, 'tis here in ſuch plenty, that all places on this ſide the Globe may be ſtor'd with it, and 'tis ſo good and ſo proper for all Ships that go into the very hot Countries, that nothing can be imagin'd more; any Man will eaſily conclude this, when he is told that this Pitch will not melt nor run with the Sun's heat, as all other Pitch does: The other Note is, of the famous hot Bath at the Iſland of *Mevis*, and which Mr. *Harcourt* commends as an admirable Remedy for ſeveral Diſeaſes; he himſelf experimented the Vertues of it, he brought a very bad and dangerous Cough along with him out of *Guiana*, of which he was very ſpeedily cur'd by bathing and drinking the Water; farther, one of his Servants had his Hand ſo burnt with Gunpowder that he was like to loſe the uſe of ſome of his Fingers, the Sinews were ſhrunk and the Hand contracted after a very odd manner, but by bathing two or three times all was much alter'd for the better, his Hand was perfectly heal'd, and tho' not reduc'd ſo entirely as was deſir'd, yet 'twas in a fair way ſo to be. Several others of his Company were alſo cured of ugly Swellings in their Legs, and that within the compaſs of a Day.

After this account of the Voyage, we muſt take that alſo of the Country to which 'twas made, its Qualities and Inhabitants.

River of the Amazons.

It is bounded on the North with the Sea and the great River *Orenoco*, on the Eaſt and South parts with the celebrated River of the *Amazons*. This River of the *Amazons* is perhaps the greateſt River now known in the World, and ſeveral valuable Writers have eſteem'd and call'd it ſo; it has its riſe from the Mountains of *Peru*, and (winding and turning it ſelf as it does) runs the ſpace of fifteen or ſixteen hundred leagues; it diſcharges its burden into the Ocean with ſuch a violent force, that a great way out at Sea you may drink freſh Water, and Mr. *Harcourt* declares, that being thirty leagues from Land, they drank as good and well-taſted Water as could come out of a Spring, and this from the River of the *Amazons*.

'Twould be an endleſs work to deſcribe all the leſſer Rivers and Branches that communicate with this mighty Stream, 'tis enough to ſay that there is a prodigious number of 'em, and perhaps as many ſeveral Nations of *Indians* that dwell about 'em; there is a ſeveral Kingdom almoſt at every River, and ſometimes to go from one Bank to another, is to come into a new Country: But we are now more immediately concern'd with *Guiana*. One of the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant Provinces of this ſpacious Country is that which they call *Coſſheberry*, that

lies

The Country of *Guiana.*

Topazes here found.

lies to the Northward of the River *Arrapoco* (the moſt Weſtwardly Branch of the River of the *Amazons* that falls into the Sea.) The *Engliſh* that travel'd here found a delightful mixture of open Downs, fruitful Meadows, and thick Woods; there were abundance of ſtately Mounts that afforded pleaſing Proſpects, and very low Valleys beneath 'em, all ſhaded with Trees and moiſtned with freſh Streams running thro' them: According to their deſcription, no ſpot of Ground in the Univerſe could be more capable of charming a man than this, eſpecially the Air of it, being as healthy too as the appearance is inviting. It affords a ſort of Stones which at firſt were taken for Diamonds, but prov'd not to be ſo, tho' very good and lovely; but this they ſay of 'em further, that they are a ſort of a ſign of Diamonds, and 'tis obſerv'd that at *Tenaſſeren* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where there is the greateſt plenty of Diamonds, theſe Stones are plentifully found too; our Men gave 'em the Name of *Topazes*, but what they were ſeems to be uncertain.

Beſides this *Cooſheberry*, there are alſo the Provinces of *Arracoory* and *Morownia*, which are very pleaſant and fertile ones. In general, this Country affords as many Minerals and Metals as any part either of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*, and there's demonſtration enough that, as for ſome of the Metals, they are none of the baſeſt.

Phyſical Drugs.

For Phyſical Druggs, there's *Spikenard*, *Senna*, *Caſſia Fiſtula*, *Bole Armoniac*, *Terra Lemnia*, yellow *Amber*, and ſeveral noble *Gums*; but there's one Gum call'd *Colliman* which they thought merited a particular deſcription, 'tis black and brittle, and looks almoſt like common Pitch, if you put a little of it upon burning Coals, it will quickly fill the Room with a moſt ſweet and pleaſing odour, and the ſame Fumes receiv'd up into the Head, will effectually cure the *Vertigo*, *Megrims*, and all Diſtempers of their kind; it is commended alſo for its great uſe in the dead *Palſie*, and Womens pains in their Backs, the effect of their Labour; in this latter caſe they order it to be ſpread upon a piece of Leather, and applied to the part: Laſtly, 'tis good for all Wounds and Sores, for any Ache or Pain, and is very proper to be uſ'd where any part requires a particular ſtrengthning and refreſhment. Beſides this, there is another Gum which they call *Baratta*, which is every whit as ſoveraign a Medicine and as rare a Perfume.

Vegetables.

Strong purging Apple.

As for the Vegetables of this Country, there are ſome very odd ones; there's an Apple, which goes by the name of the *Sleeping Apple*, but may as juſtly be call'd the *Purging Apple*, ſince it produces both thoſe effects, and with violence too; this a certain *Engliſhman* found to his no little trouble and diſorder, he only bit a piece to try how the Apple taſted, ſpitting it out again preſently becauſe 'twas ſo violently hot, however that very ſmall matter which went down produc'd the effects of an extraordinary ſleepineſs and purging, and the latter diſorder did not ſtop till it had made the man ſit down at the leaſt ſixty times.

There is farther a certain Berry in theſe parts (admirable againſt the *Dyſentery*) which the *Indians* call *Kellette*.

Medicinal Plants.

The Juice of the Plant *Uppea* cures Wounds made by impoyſon'd Weapons, and that of the Leaf *Icari* is as good a Remedy againſt the Headach.

Woods for Dyers.

See Knivet's Voyage.

But the Mechanicks as well as Phyſicians may find in this Country Materials for the practiſe of their ſeveral Profeſſions; the Joyners here may find the delicate Wood *Pira Timinere*, which will ſerve for all the Curioſities of their Trade; it is red and ſpeckled, and worth thirty or forty pounds *per* Tun. The Dyers have all the main Ingredients for Colours that can well be wiſh'd for; the Berry *Annote*, rightly prepar'd, gives a perfect Orange-tawny in Silk, and there's another that dyes a blue; there's a Gum which in Cloth dyes a ſure and perfect yellow in grain; Leafs which (well prepar'd) dye a deep red; a Wood which gives a purple, and another a yellow; but that which is more worth obſervation is, that there is a certain ſort of Wood which tinges a hot Liquor with a noble purple, and a cold one with as good a crimſon. The Wood that intoxicates the Fiſh is alſo here in great plenty, of which ſome account was given before, but 'tis a ſort of a Providence that it grows ſo plentifully here, becauſe the People are hardly ingenious enough to ſhift for themſelves by other methods of Fiſhing, as other *Indians* do.

Tobacco.

Tobacco is one of the moſt topping Commodities of this Country, and 'tis the opinion of our Authors that this very thing alone might be manag'd ſo, as to bring in the *Engliſh* Nation as much Profit as ever the *Spaniards* had by the richeſt Silver Mine they are Maſters of in the *Indies*; the Soil is certainly very kind to and fit for it, no place can be more natural to it, except the Pipe in which 'tis to be ſmoak'd.

Sugar-canes.

The Sugar-canes are another Product of as great a character as the Tobacco, they grow here to a vaſt bigneſs in a very little time, and therefore (conſidering alſo the mighty plenty of 'em) a man may fairly conclude that no little advantage might accrue by erecting ſome good *Ingenio's* here.

Cotton and fine Hemp.

Cotton-wool and fine Hemp or Flax are very common Commodities alſo, of the former they make Fuſtians, Bombaſt, and the *Indian* Hammocks or Swinging-beds, and of the latter a Cloth extraordinary fine, and fit for the beſt uſes.

And ſince we are ſpeaking of Vegetables, it is not amiſs to bring the *Senſitive Plant* (as 'tis vulgarly call'd) into the number; they are not uncommon in ſome parts of the Country, they appear almoſt like Roſebuſhes, and are about half a yard high; our People made ſeveral Experiments upon 'em, both by touching and cutting the Leafs, and they had taken care to put ſome of 'em up in Pots to bring over, which they had effected, but that the Monkeys (who will always be imitating what they ſee Mankind do) went to make ſome Experiments upon 'em too, and quite ſpoil'd the Plants.

Caſſavi, Mais, and Guinea-Wheat.

As for matter of Proviſions, the Inhabitants depend mainly upon what the Earth brings forth ready to their hands; their Food is moſtly like themſelves, wild and in its pure naturals, at leaſt if they take any pains, they ſpoil a Diſh by the dreſſing on't: The *Caſſavi* Root is their principal ſtaff and ſupport for Bread, they rub the Root upon a Stone, and preſs out all the Juice of it, and afterwards bake and ſo grate it into flower; the raw Juice is ſaid to be Poyſon, but boil'd with *Guinea*-Pepper makes an excellent wholſom Sawce. They have alſo a vaſt deal of *Mais* or *Guinea-Wheat*, which is a Grain that yields a wonderful Encreaſe, even a thouſand or fifteen hundred for one, and many times more; it makes very good Bread and Cakes, and may be uſ'd to any purpoſes that our Wheat may.

Their Drinks.

And they are beholden to the *Caſſavi* and the *Guinea-Wheat* alſo for their Liquors, of which they have ſeveral ſorts, ſmall and ſtrong, thick and thin, clear and muddy, ſome that muſt be drank preſently, and others that will keep ten or twelve days, but yet (they ſay) all of them pretty tolerably taſted. Wine they have none at all, for there is not a Vine in the Country, but the Soil being ſo rich as it is, and the Clime ſo warm, 'tis more than probable that (were they planted here) they would proſper exceedingly.

Honey.

But they have as good Honey as any in the World, and as much of it too, tho' it be all wild, and taken out of hollow Trees and holes in the Earth.

Fruits.

Their common Fruits are Pines, Plantans, Medlers, Plums, and Nuts of various kinds, the three firſt of which are greatly commended, but the two laſt to be eaten with caution, inaſmuch as the Plums are very apt to give the Flux, and the Nuts to bind too much, unleſs eaten moderately.

Beaſts wild and tame.

And as for thoſe that cannot content themſelves with theſe common Products of the Field, there's Fleſh enough for 'em of all ſorts, Deer, wild Swine, Hares and Conies, but very different from ours in *England*, Maipuries (which taſte like Beef, and will take Salt) and Baremoes or Ant-Bears, that taſte as much like Mutton; beſides theſe, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, Ounces, Marmoze's, Porcupines and Armadillo's.

Fowls.

For Fowls there are wild Ducks, Wigeons, Teal, wild Geeſe, Pheſants, Partridges, Doves, Stockdoves, Woodcocks, Snipes, Blackbirds, Curlews, Goodwits; Birds of Pleaſure, as all ſorts of Parrots, Parrakeroes, and ſmall Birds of delicate colours; Birds of Prey, as Hawks, Vultures, and others of the ravenous kind.

Fiſh.

The varieties of Fiſh are ſtill as great, if not greater, for here you have plenty of Sea-Breams, Mullets, Soals, Scates, Thornbacks, Swordfiſh, Sturgeon, Seal, and Salmon; of Shell-fiſh, Shrimps, Crabs, Lobſters, and Oyſters, which laſt may be taken off from the Branches of the Trees by the Sea-ſide; but the moſt remarkable freſh-water Fiſh is that which is call'd *Caſſerwa*, it is bigger than a Smelt, and much more delicious Food; this Fiſh has a flat Back indented, and the Ribbs round, very different from moſt other Fiſhes; but 'tis odd enough which is farther reported of it, that it has two pair of Eyes, ſo that as it ſwims along it keeps the lower ſights always within the Water, and the upper ones above or out of it: A very circumſpect Fiſh indeed, that looks into both Elements at once, and wants only a pair of Eyes more in the Tail to make it impoſſible to be catch'd. There is another Fiſh too that deſerves a particular mention, call'd by the *Indians*, *Coiumero*; by the *Spaniards*, *Manati*; and our *Engliſh* the *Sea-Cow*: It is properly a Sea-fiſh, but it always comes into the freſh Water in Winter and wet weather, and ſometimes 'twill come up into the Shallows in the drown'd Lands, and feed upon Graſs and Weeds. The Meat of it taſts like Beef, takes Salt very well, and will ſerve to victual Ships, as many of our *Engliſh* have experienc'd: It affords an Oyl excellent good for many purpoſes, and the Fat of it ſerves to fry Fiſh or Fleſh as well as Butter or any other Fat; but then as the inſide of it is furniture for the Belly, ſo is the outſide alſo for the Back, for the Skin is as good as Buff, and being dry'd in the Sun, and preſerv'd from wet, 'twill make Targets and other pieces of defenſive Armour, in which a Man may expoſe himſelf to a ſhowre of *Indian* Arrows.

The *Sea-Cow* and its Uſe.

Before we come to ſpeak of the Inhabitants of this Country, their Manners and Cuſtoms, we muſt take a little view of the diſpoſition of the Land and Air it ſelf: By the Sea-ſide 'tis all very low, and the ſcorching heat would render it wholly uninhabitable here, were it not for the freſh Eaſterly Breezes that cool and temper the Air, blowing generally moſt forcibly in the heat of the day; and in many places the low Lands are actually very little inhabited for all this Remedy, and that becauſe of the overflowing of the Waters, a Diſtemper which the cool Breezes can never cure. In the mountainous parts the Air is fine and pleaſing, the Soil in many places very fertile, and in others barren, tho' that barrenneſs is alſo fruitful of rich Metals and Minerals very often. The champaign Country is very temperate and healthful, and abounds in Meadows, Paſtures, and delicate freſh Rivers; 'tis inferiour to none for all ſorts of Sports and Pleaſures, and in many places too will give a Man the particular Sport of digging Gold and other valuable Foſſiles out of the Ground.

Quality of the Land and Air.

The Weather and Seaſons upon this Coaſt do differ conſiderably with reſpect to the ſeveral parts of it, for in the Eaſtern parts, towards the River of the *Amazons*, the dry weather begins in *Auguſt*, and the violent Rains and bluſtering Winds come on in *February*; but in the Weſtern parts, towards the River *Oronoco*, the dry weather begins in *October*, and the Rains and Winds in *April*; but as for degrees of Heat and Cold, 'tis much at one both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern parts, tho' ſometimes (from ſome particular cauſes) thoſe Seaſons may commence or end ſooner or later both in the one and the other of 'em; and this the Experience of them that have liv'd there confirms.

The Weather and Seaſons.

The principal Nations of this Country are, the *Parawagoto's*, *Arrucoories*, the *Charibes*, the *Arwaca's*, the *Yaio's* and the *Suppaio's*; the *Engliſh* were moſtly converſant with the three laſt, as being the Inhabitants of thoſe parts which they moſt frequented, tho' they had ſome correſpondence with ſome of the friendly *Charibes* too. Of all theſe the *Arwaca's* have the beſt Character for ſober civil deportment; the *Yaio's* are a ſort of a proud flouting People, and the *Suppaio's* crafty and cloſe in their dealings, and both the one and the other require good looking to.

The Nations of *Guiana*.

What their Religion is, could never be diſcover'd, there is ſo little ſign of any external Form amongſt 'em; they ſeem to ſhew a certain obſervance of the Sun and the Moon, but they don't expreſs it by any formal act of Worſhip, or by any Sacrifices made to them, yet there appears to be rooted in their Minds a certain Notion of another ſtate, wherein Men exiſt after this Life, as alſo of Rewards and Puniſhments therein: Thus whenever a Prince dies, they always kill ſome one or other of his Slaves; and they give this reaſon for it, That he ſhould attend his Maſter in the other World where he is gone. Again, when thoſe *Indians* die amongſt thoſe which have the Reputation of being good, they point up to Heaven, as when thoſe that have been miſchievous and troubleſom are gone they point down to the Earth, intimating thereby the different circumſtances of the Good and the Bad in their different Habitations and Houſings after this Life. It has been further obſerv'd of 'em, that they have expreſs'd to the *Engliſh* a mighty deſire of having Men brought amongſt 'em that ſhould teach 'em to pray, and particularly Capt. *Leigh* was mightily ſollicited by 'em to this purpoſe. Now 'twould be odd to ſuppoſe ſuch a Deſire in Men, without ſuppoſing alſo at the ſame time that they were aware of the Exiſtence of ſome very powerful and good Being, at whoſe hands they were to ask Protection and Supply of their Wants. And indeed, if what our Countrymen do very poſitively affirm be true, that their Prieſts or Soothſayers have ſometimes actual Conference with wicked Spirits, and that theſe poor wretches themſelves are ſometimes diſtreſs'd by 'em, and feel the effects of their Malice, 'tis no wonder (if they have any Notion of a Being that is both kind and great too) that they ſhould deſire to learn the way of invoking Him.

Their Religion.

Some hints of their Belief of a future ſtate.

But, to let this paſs, they have no other Diviſion nor Computation of Time than by Moons and Days; and as for numbering, they reckon from One to Ten, and then ſay, *Ten and One*, *Ten and Two*, inſtead of Eleven and Twelve, and ſo on. In common Converſation they reckon by their Fingers and Toes, by which way they expreſs their Numbers and keep their Reckoning exactly and readily enough. When they promiſe or appoint any thing to be done by a time limited, each Party takes a bundle of Sticks containing as many as there are Days or Moons in the ſpace of time they agree upon, then every Day or every Moon each Man draws one Stick out of his bundle, and when they are all gone they know the appointed time is come.

Their account of Time.

Their greateſt Solemnity is at the death of any of their Princes, Captains or Friends of great note and quality, but the plain truth on't is, 'tis no more than a drunken bout, for the *Guianians* are exceſſively given to this Vice, and 'tis the ſureſt mark of a brave Man amongſt 'em, when he will ſtand as firm as a Poſt over a Jarr of Drink, and empty two or three down into his Belly: Upon ſuch an occaſion they meet together, and bring ſeveral Jarrs of their ſtrong Liquor along with 'em, for (as was hinted before) this is the very Spirit of the Solemnity, and without Drink they cannot remember the Departed: Here then they drink, dance and ſing; and to make the Harmony more compleat and raviſhing, the Women that are a-kin to the Party deceas'd ſet up their Pipes and cry all the while. Theſe mighty doings laſt juſt as long as the Drink does, and no longer, for when that's out the Ceremony is over, the Muſick ceaſes, and the whole Company is quaſh'd, ſo now they begin to diſperſe themſelves again. Oh! did but ſome of the great Rivers of the Country run with ſtrong *Parranow* or ſome other ſuch Liquor, how ſoon would theſe People change their Element, become amphibious Animals at leaſt, and duck themſelves half the day in the belov'd Fluid?

Solemnity at the death of a Captain or Friend.

And indeed, ſince they eſteem a Man ſo much for his Drinking-abilities, one would think this qualification ſhould determine 'em in their choice of a General for the War; but they are not ſuch deſperate Sotts neither, tho' they are bad enough of all conſcience; they know that a General muſt know how to handle other ſorts of Inſtruments than a Pot or a Jugg, and be able to look other Enemies in the face than a Jarr of ſtrong *Parranow* or *Caſſavi* Beer; in ſhort, they require Patience, Courage and Hardineſs in him they elect to this Charge, and therefore when they have fix'd upon a Man, they thus proceed to try whether he has thoſe Virtues or no; they ſet him in the midſt of 'em, and after they have harangu'd him a while upon the Qualities of a good General, they take their Rods and begin to whip him ſoundly; the noble Candidate ſtands unconcern'd under this ſevere trial, he never ſtarts nor flinches, tho' every ſtroke draws Blood from him, and the dy'd Rods declare his Fleſh to be carbonado'd: Thus when his Virtues have been written over and over in ſcarlet, and the Examiners conclude 'em to be viſible and manifeſt enough, they put an end to the examination, and with one conſent ſalute him General: A very pretty method indeed! a man that is ambitious of this Honour need only get the reputation of having a caſehardned Backſide, and he is in as fair a way to Preferment as can be.

Method of chuſing a new General.

Theſe People are of a tall neat make, well limb'd and proportion'd; they go all naked, both Men and Women, without any ſort of covering, and the Women ſubmit to it with as little concern and regret as the Men: But if it be ſaid that Paint is a covering, then indeed they muſt be allow'd to be cover'd, for they do beſmear their Bodies with that, eſpecially when they go to Feaſts, and would make the fineſt figure.

Their Houſes are built much after the manner of our Barns in *England*, but much longer, for ſome of 'em by meaſure were a hundred and fifty paces long and twenty broad, ſo that a hundred Perſons at leaſt dwell in one of 'em; they are very artificially contriv'd, and the thatching is ſo nice and exact that no wet whatſoever can poſſibly moleſt them that are within.

Their Houſholdſtuff conſiſts of earthen Pots or Jarrs, which hold their Liquor, and are made ſo neat, that they look as if they were gilt; then Baskets of divers ſorts, very artificially made; and their Hammocks, ſome of which are made of Cotton-wool, and others of the Bark of Trees.

The Men and the Women never keep company together all day long, they eat, drink and converſe apart, the former at one end and the latter at the other end of the Houſe by themſelves: Alſo when a Woman is to be deliver'd, ſhe goes into a Room all alone by her ſelf, and going thro' her Labour without ſo much as a Cry or a Groan, when the Child is born ſhe calls to her Husband to come and take it, who immediately goes and receives the Infant, puts it in a Pot of Water to waſh it, and then paints it over with ſeveral colours.

The Commodities theſe *Indians* moſtly deſir'd of the *Engliſh*, by way of exchange for the Products of their Country before mention'd, were all ſorts of Edge-tools, Nails, Fiſh-hooks, Harpon-irons, Looking-glaſſes, Beads, Needles, Pins, Hats, Linnen and Woollen Cloths, Shirts, Bands, Salt, Powder and Shot, Swords and Muſquets; but theſe latter ſort of Tools our Men were cautious (and that juſtly) of making them very familiar with. They laid a great deal of ſtreſs upon the aſſiſtance and friendſhip of the *Engliſh*, and 'twas as great a baulk to any of 'em all to find the *Engliſh* engag'd againſt 'em.

There was one of theſe *Guianian* Princes nam'd *Leonard Ragapo*, whoſe Country was that very pleaſant Province of *Cooſheberry* before deſcrib'd; this Perſon (who was a true Friend to the *Engliſh*) had invited them into his Country, and upon that invitation, and by the Captain's order, ſome of 'em went and reſided with him for a time. While they were there the *Caribes* broke into his Dominions, committing horrible Outrages, and not content with doing that miſchief at a diſtance, advanc'd their Army towards the place where *Leonard* himſelf was; the brave *Indian* arm'd ſome of his Troops with their uſual Weapons, Bows and Arrows, ſharp-pointed Staves, and wooden Swords and Targets, and then deſiring four of our *Engliſh* Muſquetiers to bear him company, he march'd to meet the Enemy; he was himſelf the entire orderer of the March, and diſpoſer of the Battel, the *Engliſh* permitting all this as well in a compliment to him, as to ſee their way and method in martial affairs, and the poſture he ſet 'em in was thus; firſt the four Muſquetiers two abreaſt, then two *Indians* arm'd with Swords and Targets, next two Archers, and then two carrying ſharp-pointed Staves, and thus the whole Army, which was not near a hundred, went on: The *Caribes* came on in the ſame good order, but coming within view, and ſpying the four *Engliſh* in the front, they made a ſudden ſtand; *Leonard* preſently gueſſing the reaſon of it, commanded his own Men to ſtand too, and then (taking only his Sword and Target) advanc'd towards the *Caribes* till he came within hearing, and call'd out for their Captains to come and meet him; here he ſmartly reprov'd 'em for the Injuries they had done him and his People, demanded ſatisfaction, and withal warn'd them of ever coming into his Territories more in that hoſtile manner; but he told 'em, if they would not ſatisfie for the Wrongs they had done, and promiſe never to diſturb the Peace of his Country more, he ſtood ready there with his Friends the *Engliſh* to give 'em Battel, in order to the taking a juſt Revenge; and laſtly he bid them take notice, that if they were reſolv'd to fight, and any of the *Engliſh* died in the Conflict, he would fetch all the Power of that Nation from *Wiapoco*, and cut 'em all to pieces, and burn their Houſes. This, ſpoke with a good grace and courage, and enforc'd with the preſence of the *Engliſh*, had the deſir'd effect, the *Caribes* (tho' vaſtly more in number) were cool'd and quieted, they ſubmitted to the Conditions of Peace impos'd upon 'em, and ſo march'd back to their Habitations.

From hence 'tis plain, that what by the Factions of theſe *Indians* among themſelves, and the Neceſſities ſome of the weaker Parties lie under of protection and defence, a foreign Power (managing the matter well) would find no great difficulty to plant it ſelf amongſt 'em.

CHAP. VIII.

A brief Account of the Country and People about the River of the Amazons; *by* William Davis *Barber-Chyrurgeon of* London, *who liv'd there ſome time.*

THIS Country (the Relater tells us) is extreamly full both of Woods and Rivers, as alſo of Lakes and Pools, ſo that the Inhabitants are far enough from any danger of wanting thoſe two great conveniences of life Wood and Water; the Woods abound with all ſorts of wild Beaſts, and there's plenty of good wild Fowl in 'em too; but *Parrots*, he ſays, are more common there than *Pigeons* in *England*, and he commends 'em for as good Meat: The Waters, both the running and ſtanding ones, afford as much Fiſh; but there are ſo many *Crocadiles*, *Alligators*, and *Water-ſerpents*, that thoſe who frequent 'em for that Sport muſt always be upon their guard.

The Country is very ſubject to violent Rains, Thunder and Lightning, and thoſe Storms, as they are very frequent, ſo they commonly hold ſixteen or eighteen hours of the twenty four. But the worſt Perſecution to Strangers that come hither is that of the *Muskitoes* or *Flies*; theſe importunate Animals will be continually hovering about a Man and ſucking his Blood, let him do almoſt what he can to defend himſelf; and 'tis to be ſuppos'd the Author ſuffer'd pretty conſiderably under this perſecution, becauſe he ſeems to ſpeak ſomething feelingly of the matter.

There are abundance of petty Kings about this great River and the various branches of it; they have their ſeveral Rivers to themſelves, which confine their Territories and Power, and upon which they very often fight one with another; 'tis upon the Water that they decide moſt of their Quarrels, and he that's overcome is not thrown out of his Canoe to feed the Fiſhes, but ſerves for a principal Diſh at the Table of the Conqueror, the victorious King eats up him his Arms have ſubdued, and buries him in his own Royal Belly; notwithſtanding which one is bound to believe, that the honour of ſuch a Sepulchre is no temptation to any man to be overcome. The Enſigns of Majeſty here are a Crown of Parrots Feathers, a Chain of Lyons Teeth or Claws hung about the Neck or the Middle, and a wooden Sword in the Hand; he that appears thus adorn'd is thereby known to be a King.

The People go (both Men and Women) as naked as they came into the World, they wear their Hair long, but the Men have it pluck'd off on the crown, which is all that can be call'd Faſhion relating to them: As for the Women, they have none at all, but their Hair and Breaſts are both ſo long, that 'tis a queſtion which of the two are longeſt. The Men wear little Canes thruſt thro' the foreskin of the *Pudenda*, as alſo thro' their Ears and lower Lips; at the bridge of the Noſe they faſten ſmall glaſs Beads or Buttons, which hanging down directly before their Mouths, bob to and fro as they ſpeak, and in this pretty motion they take not a little pride and pleaſure: But as fooliſh as they are in this reſpect, they are crafty and ingenious enough in others; they are horrid treacherous too, light of Finger as well as light of Foot; they are very dexterous at ſhooting, and kill not only Beaſts and Fowl, but even the Fiſhes too in the Water with their Arrows; as ſoon as they have ſtruck a Fiſh they preſently throw down their Bows and leap into the Water to catch him; this Weapon is made of *Braſile*-wood, 'tis about two yards long, and the Arrow ſeven foot, the String is made of the Rind of a Tree, and lies cloſe to the Bow without any bend. When they have got any Prey they meet together in companies, and eat every man what he has got himſelf; this they do without Bread or Salt or any ſort of Drink but Water, the Author ſays Water and Tobacco, but 'tis to be ſuppos'd he does not mean Water with Tobacco ſteep'd in it, for if he does, their Liquor is ſtrong enough of all conſcience in one ſence, whatever it be in another. The Country yields neither Gold nor Silver, as far as the Author could diſcover, but vaſt quantities of Fruits and Roots, ſuch as have been deſcrib'd in the other parts of *America*.

The People are ſo wiſe as to deſpiſe Money, or at leaſt ſo happy as to be ignorant of it, and they'll exchange a parcel of Proviſions for a glaſs Bead or a Jews-harp that they won't take ten or twenty Shillings for, and if all other People had been of their mind, that part of the World had been leſs viſited than 'tis.

CHAP. IX.

A compleat Account of the great Country of Braſile, *with the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants; from a* Portugueſe *and a* Frenchman, *who liv'd there a great while.*

Ten Nations in *Braſile* who uſe the ſame Tongue.

WE ſhall not pretend to reckon up the vaſt numbers of Nations with which this mighty tract of Land is peopled, to tell their ſeveral Names and Tribes, nor to deſcribe the particular places of their abode; ſomething has been done this way before, in the account of Mr. *Knivet*'s Adventures in this Country, upon which ſcore we ſhall forbear entring any farther into that ſubject now; 'tis ſufficient to ſay, that amongſt all the diverſities of Languages which theſe ſeveral ſorts of People uſe, there is one which (becauſe it ſpreads more than any ſingle Language beſides) may be call'd the principal Tongue of *Braſile*, and 'tis ſpoken by ten ſeveral Nations of *Indians*: This is that which the *Portugueſe* do underſtand and ſpeak in all their converſes with theſe People, and their Children born here ſpeak it much more perfectly than themſelves; it is an eaſie, eloquent, and pleaſant Language enough, and very copious, but the great fault of it, and that which renders it difficult to Learners is, its having ſuch a multitude of Compariſons in it.

Friends to the *Portugueſe*

The People that ſpeak this Tongue are (and were) the ancient Friends of the *Portugueſe*, and 'twas by their Arms and Aſſiſtance partly that the Country was conquer'd; they joyn'd with the *Portugueſe* in their Endeavours to extirpate the reſt of their barbarous Neighbors, and their Endeavours have ſucceeded ſo well, that they are now almoſt all gone from the Coaſt, and are retir'd to ſurer Refuges in the inner part of the Country.

Tapoyes.

Theſe People, as diſtinct from the ten Nations before mention'd, are all comprehended under the general Name of *Tapoyes*, and there is no leſs than ſeventy ſix ſeveral Nations of 'em, each of which uſes a peculiar Tongue; they are inveterate Enemies to the *Portugueſe*, and to all the reſt of the *Braſilians*, tho' 'tis ſaid that there is one ſort of 'em that dwell near the River of St. *Francis*, that maintain a friendly correſpondence with 'em, many of which are alſo made Chriſtians after their manner, that is not inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Faith, but ſprinkled with the Water of Baptiſm.

The temper of the Country.

The Climate of *Braſile* is temperate and healthful, and (amongſt the Natives at leaſt) the Thread of Life is ſpun out to as great a length here as any where: The Gountry is full of old People, and 'tis a common thing to ſee ninety and a hundred Years in a hopeful way of going on to a greater number. This will make it eaſily believ'd that the Air they breath is pure and clear, as indeed it is, and the Heavens always ſhew a bright face over their Heads; you ſeldom ſee black Clouds flying about here, or noiſom Fogs and Miſts riſing, every ſcent of which ſometimes gives a man a Diſtemper, if the ſight of 'em does not make him melancholy. In the Winter, 'tis true, there are great Rains, and the Skies help to overflow the Country as well as the Rivers, but all this wet does not make it unhealthful, nor breed ſuch Diſtempers as ſhorten the Lives of the Inhabitants.

Seaſons.

There are very ſhort Twilights in this Country, 'tis no ſooner Day but the Sun's up, as alſo 'tis Night as ſoon as ever he is down. The Summer begins in *September*, and ends in *February*; the Winter in *March*, and ends in *Auguſt*, and the Days and Nights are almoſt equal all the Year round.

From *Fernambuco* as far as the Government of *Spirito Santo* 'tis all full of Hills, and you hardly meet with any Stone, eſpecially 'tis ſo towards the Sea-coaſt; but from thence to St. *Vincent* 'tis very rough and rocky, and abounds with Stone Quarries.

Vegetable Products.

In deſcribing the Products of this Country, we will begin with the Vegetables; and here the *Mandioca* comes firſt to be conſider'd. This is a Root ſomething like a Carrot, but bigger and longer; they grow to the height of fifteen ſpan, and at every ſpans diſtance there are certain Joynts; out of the ſides ſhoot ſeveral little Stalks or Branches, which have a white Pith within, and if broken off and ſet in the ground, will themſelves in ſix or eight months have gotten Roots big enough for Food, for 'tis to be noted that this Root is the main thing they make their Bread of; they ſteep it in Water, and then making it up in Balls with their hands, they dry it upon Hurdles over the Smoak, then they ſcrape and ſift it, and ſo get a Flour which is whiter than that of Wheat; this Flour mix'd in a certain proportion with the raw *Mandioca*, makes 'em a Biſcuit, which they call *Biſcuit of the War*, becauſe it ſerves the *Portugueſe* and *Indians* when they go to Sea-ſervice. There is alſo another ſort of Biſcuit, which is made of the Water or Juice of the green Root, congeal'd and dried by the Sun or the Fire; this is of all the whiteſt and pureſt, and is ſo delicate, that 'tis made only for the beſt ſort of People.

Mandioca Root.

The Uſe of it

This *Mandioca* Root ſerves 'em for the making ſeveral ſorts of Broth alſo, and thoſe ſo very healthful and reſtorative, that they give 'em to ſick People, as the moſt proper and effectual means to recover 'em. But beſides all theſe Uſes, they make Cakes, Pies, Fritters, and Cimnels of it; yea, there's hardly any uſeful or pleaſant ſort of Food belonging to a Houſe, and which can be made of Grain, but they fetch it out of this Root.

As for the Medicinal Vertues of it, 'tis commended as an excellent Remedy againſt the bitings of venomous Creatures, when 'tis prepar'd by drying in the Smoak; notwithſtanding to eat this Root raw is of dangerous conſequence, for it contains a cold crude Liquor, which produces fatal effects in the Body of Man, yet other Animals have the privilege of eating it raw without any hurt, and not only ſo, but with a great deal of benefit, for it fattens and nouriſhes them to a great degree; but ſhould they drink the expreſs'd Juice, it would infallibly kill 'em, and they would live no longer than till that got down into their Stomachs. There is one particular ſort of it which the *Indians* call *Aypim*, that they except from this property of poyſoning when eaten raw, and which boil'd or roaſted is very well taſted, and makes good Flour for Cakes and Bread; but the Wines which the *Indians* make of it are ſuch a Medicine for the Liver, that to their frequent drinking of this Liquor is attributed their freedom from all Diſeaſes incident to that part.

Herb *Nana*.

The Herb *Nana* is very common in this Country, it is like the *Semperviva* or Herb *Aloes*, and has Leaves like that, but not ſo thick, and is all round about full of ſharp Prickles: in the middle of it grows a Fruit like a Pine-apple, full of Flowers of divers colours, and very pleaſing to the ſight, and at the bottom come out four or five Sprigs, which are fit for planting. The Fruit is one of the beſt in the World, has a grateful ſmell and a very pleaſant taſte, and is very full of Juice; if one would compare the taſte of it to that of any other known Fruit, one would ſay it reſembles that of a Melon, but 'tis vaſtly better. The Juice is very good for them that are troubled with the Stone, but found to be as hurtful wherever there is a Fever; and for a vulgar uſe of it, it perfectly takes away all ſpots out of Clothes. This Fruit is ſo very plentiful, that the *Indians* fatten their Hogs with it, and except ſome ſmall quantities that are preſerv'd for a ſort of Sweetmeat, they have no other way for common ſpending of 'em, but only to carry them to Sea, where the Sea-ſick People eat 'em, and find benefit by 'em; and then to infuſe 'em in Wine, and drink a draught of it in the morning, they look upon to be very wholſome.

Its Uſe.

Fig-tree *Pacoba*.

The Fig-tree *Pacoba*, which grows here very commonly, is that which the Natives call *Adam*'s Fig-tree; it is very big, and grows to twenty quarters long, the Stalk is ſoft and ſpongy, the Leaves extreamly long, ſmooth and ſoft like the *Bragamza* Velvet, ſo pleaſantly cool and refreſhing, that People ſick of Fevers have theſe applied to 'em to abate their violent heats and make 'em eaſie The Fruit grows in cluſters like Figs, upon certain *Pedunculi*, which come out of the main Stalk every foot diſtance, and each cluſter contains about two hundred of the Figs, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs. The Fruit gather'd and laid to ripen becomes very yellow, and acquires a pleaſant taſte; but beſides its gratefulneſs to the Palate, 'tis medicinal to the Body, as thoſe that lie down of Fevers or that ſpit Blood do experience to their benefit. This is an ordinary Fruit alſo in their Gardens, and they have of 'em all the Year round.

Of the *Palm-trees* of this Country (of which they make four or five kinds) there is one ſort particularly which they call *Iri*, that bears a cluſter of Fruit like Damaſcens, but the whole is ſo large and heavy, that a man can hardly lift it with one hand; the Kernel is of the bigneſs of a Cherry, and may be eaten, tho' of the Fruit it ſelf we have no account either one way or the other. Upon the tops of theſe Trees there grow certain white Tendrels or young Branches, which they cut off and eat, and thoſe that have been troubled with the Piles affirm, they afford relief in that caſe.

Iri, a ſort of Palm.

The Tree call'd *Aijri* by the *Braſilians* is ſomething like the *Palm*, but the Stock is arm'd on every ſide with ſharp Thorns and Prickles, which will do the ſame execution upon a man's Fingers that touches 'em that ſo many Needles would do: It bears a Fruit not very large, but which contains a Kernel as white as Snow, and not to be eaten. This Tree ſeems to be a kind of Ebony, for the Wood is very black, ſo hard that the *Braſilians* make Arrows and Clubs of it, and ſo heavy that, being thrown into the Water, it preſently ſinks to the bottom.

Tree *Aijri*.

There are Trees alſo whoſe Woods are of divers other colours, and ſome of 'em as variouſly entertaining the Smell with their different ſcents, as they do the Sight with their colours; one particularly perfumes the Air like a Roſebuſh, and another that throws out a ſcent like a Bed of Garlick; this latter Tree is ſo ſtrong, that no man can endure the place where 'tis either hewn or burnt; 'tis every way a Poyſon to the whole Body, as well as to the Noſe, and if a man eats the Kernel of the Fruit, he is in as much danger of dying by that as by the horrid ſtink without eating. The Natives paſs by all theſe bad qualities, and love the Fruit notwithſtanding, becauſe it furniſhes them with materials for making their Rattles. The Leaves of this Tree reſemble the Leaves of our Apple-trees, and the Fruit appears (in ſhape) ſomething like a rough Cheſnut.

Choyne-tree.

The *Choyne-tree* is of an indifferent height, with Leaves of the ſame green and form too as thoſe of a Bay-tree, and a Fruit as big as a Child's Head, not round but oval; the bard Shells of theſe ſerve 'em for Rattles, and being alſo divided in half, they are uſed for Cups and other ſmaller Houſhold Veſſels.

Sabaucaie.

To this uſe alſo do they put the large Fruit of the Tree *Sabaucaie*, but Nature has directed 'em to this by making the Fruit in the form of a Cup. In the bottom of it there are a parcel of ſmall Kernels that look like Almonds, and have the ſame pleaſing taſte too.

Acaiow.

The Fruit by the *Barbarians* call'd *Acaiow* comes from a Tree of the height of our Service-tree, 'tis of the ſhape and bigneſs of a Hens-egg, and when ripe, of a golden colour like a Quince; it affords a Juice of a tart quick taſte, and that is reckon'd a very proper and good cooler for the Body, when diſorder'd with any preternatural heats.

Paco-aire.

Paco-aire is a Shrub of ten or twelve foot high, with a Stock many times as thick as a man's Thigh, and yet for all that ſo tender that it may be cut aſunder with a Sword at one ſtroke. The Fruit it ſelf has the name of *Paco*, and 'tis as long as a man's Hand, and not unlike a Cucumber either in colour or ſhape when it comes to be ripe; but then theſe grow for the moſt part twenty and twenty five thick together upon every Bough, ſo that the *Braſilians*, when they gather and carry 'em to their Cottages, do often find themſelves loaded with a few of thoſe Boughs. When the Fruit is ripe, the Knop being pull'd off after the manner of a freſh-gather'd Fig, it ſeems clotty and full of little cluſters, upon which account them that eat it do imagine almoſt they are eating a Fig, and indeed the taſte is not only as good, but much better than that of the moſt delicate Figs that come from *Meſſilie*. The Leaves of the *Paco-aire* are in form like thoſe of *Water-ſorrel*, but big enough to cover the *Water* it ſelf as well as the *Sorrel* that grows in it; the length of 'em is generally ſix foot, and the breadth two, but they are very ſlender and thin, and having only one ſtrong middle rib to ſupport and hold 'em together, the Winds do ſo tear 'em with blowing 'em about, and leave 'em hanging in ſo many rags, that to thoſe that look on 'em at a diſtance, the ſhrubs appear to be all ſtuck with Feathers.

Ananas.

This Country affords ſtore of thoſe Trees likewiſe that bear the *Ananas*, that noble and uſeful Fruit; whether theſe of the *American* growth are better or worſe than thoſe in other parts of the World is not readily told, but 'tis certain that here they are very excellent. The Plant is in form like the *Flower de Luce*, with crooked bending Leaves, which are divided round about ſomething like the Aloe, and of the form of thoſe of the greater Thiſtle; the Fruit is as big as an ordinary Melon, and of the ſhape of a Pine-apple, growing after the manner of our Artichoke; when they are ripe they are of a golden colour, and yield the ſmell of the Fruit of the *Idean* Bramble, ſo that they diſcover themſelves by their fine ſcent to thoſe that walk in the Woods and other places where they grow; in taſte they excell to that degree, that none of our preſerv'd Fruits do go beyond 'em, and the Liquor drawn from 'em by expreſſion is nothing inferiour to the *Malmſey* Wine.

Murcuia.

The Plant *Murcuia* runs up the Walls and Trees like Ivy, it is very pretty to look upon when 'tis in Flower, and yields a round Fruit, which is not always of the ſame colour, but ſome yellow, and others black, and divers other colours beſides 'em: The little Kernel and Juice within are of a pleaſant taſte enough, tho' ſomewhat tart; but taken all together, 'tis a Fruit of a very good account in the Country, and of no little uſe. The Leaves of the Plant beaten with Verdegriſe, is a Specifick for inveterate Ulcers and the Pox.

To theſe may be added the *Mulberries*, the *Dewberries* both red and black, *Common* and *Kidney-Beans* of many ſorts, *Potatoes*, *Pumpions*, ſo large, that when they have hollow'd 'em they uſe 'em for Veſſels to carry Water in; *Millet* of many ſorts, the Root *Cara*, which is like a Turnep, and the *Taiaoba's*, that reſemble Cabbages, and purge a man that eats 'em.

Jetigeucu.

But the Root call'd by them *Jetigeucu* (which is the *Mecoacan* of the *Antilles*) is remarkable for this Vertue alſo; it is a long Root like a Radiſh, of a conſiderable bigneſs, and purges ſufficiently; beaten alſo in Wine or Water, 'tis a Medicine for the *Ague*, and preſerv'd or made into a ſort of Marmalade, is taken to very good purpoſe upon ſeveral other accounts.

Ipecaya, a Remedy for the Bloody-Flux.

The Plant *Ipecaya* is a Specifick for the *Dyſentery*; the Stalk is a quarter of a yard long, and the Root rather more; it has only four or five Leaves, but thoſe (as indeed the whole Plant) of a very rank and filthy ſmell: They beat the Root well, and then infuſe it in Water, letting it ſtand all night, the next morning they ſtrain it off and drink the Infuſion, which purges ſo effectually, that the malignant Humour is entirely carried away and extirpated by it.

Cayapaia, a Counter-poyſon.

Cayapaia is an Herb which for its ſingular vertue in ſecuring the Body from all the miſchievous effects of Poyſons, particularly that of Serpents, has got the name of *Snakeherb*; and 'tis reckon'd as good a Remedy as the *Unicorne* and *Bada*, the *Bezoar-ſtone* or *Cocao* of *Maldiva*. There is no part of it of any ſignificancy for this purpoſe but the Root only, which is thin and ſlender, and in the middle has a Knot like a Button; this they beat and infuſe in Water, and ſo drink the Liquor: And 'tis the ſame courſe alſo that is taken if a man be wounded with an envenom'd Dart or Arrow, or if he has a *Fever*; they have no other method of preparing it but give their Patient a Doſe of this Water, which they repeat as the caſe requires.

The Herb *Tyrequi* or *Tarerequi* is (as ſome would call it) a Solar Plant, from the particular regard it bears to that Luminary; it lies as it were dead and wither'd, quite ſhut up and contracted all night long, and in the morning, as ſoon as the Sun is up, it begins to recover and ſhew all the marks of Life, in the opening and expanding of it ſelf, and ſpreading its Flowers; thus it continues till Sun-ſet, and then it dies away again, till the comfortable Beams of the next morning Sun come and give it a new reſurrection. The Root of this Plant is very jagged, the Branches ſlender, the Leaves like them of *Baſil*, the Flowers red, and come forth all at the very top: It's good to deſtroy *Worms* both in Men and other Animals, and the *Indians* (when they are ſick) perfume themſelves with it, to preſerve 'em from dying; but how vain ſoever that Fancy be, 'tis pretty certain that it may preſerve a man from dying of the *Bloody-flux*, if he uſes it in good time, for 'tis eſteem'd a very great Remedy for that Diſtemper, but then 'tis not the Fumes that cure neither, but the infuſion or ſome other preparation of the Plant, according as thoſe *Braſilian* Doctors pleaſe to manage it.

The ſame is partly the vertue of the Herb *Embeguacu*, it helps the *Flux*, and is upon many accounts more proper for Women than Men; the Roots of it are ſo long that it does almoſt exceed belief; the Rind is very ſtrong, and ſerves for the making ſubſtantial Cords and Cables for Ships, which are of ſuch a nature, that by being in the Water they grow green.

Caccobaringa is a ſmall Herb, which bears a Flower as big as a Haſle-nut, with a very few Leaves, green above and white underneath; the Roots and Leaves ſtamp'd are an excellent Remedy againſt all ſorts of Wounds, but they uſe the Leaf alſo it ſelf without any ſtamping or preſſing, for only laying it to the Wound, it ſticks faſt till it has done the buſineſs.

The Herb *Cobaura* ſerves for the cure of old Sores that are advanc'd paſt the reach of all other Remedies; they lay it both bruis'd and burnt to the part affected, and it quickly maſters the Ulcer, dries up the Humour, and brings a new Skin.

The *Holy Herb* (as they call it) does this ſervice in the caſe of Wounds, and a great number of internal Maladies too; they uſe it for Aſthma's, Coughs, Catarrhs, diſorders of the Head and Stomach; but the *Portugueſe* and *Indians* do make ſome other (and thoſe very unholy and unclean) uſes of this holy Plant, for they'll ſit and ſuck the ſmoak on't for a whole day together, till they are as drunk as ſo many Apes; they make certain Pipes or Tubes of Palm-leaves, and fill 'em with this Herb dried, and then ſetting fire to it at one end, and holding the other in their mouths, they keep drawing till they have drawn themſelves into a ſtate of abſolute Drunkenneſs; and they are not contented neither to do this all the day long, but the *Portugueſe* will do it in Bed, and the *Indians* as they lie in their Hammocks for a whole night together, and are the next morning as mellow as if they had been drinking Wine or ſtrong Beer all that time.

Guaraquimiya is reckon'd to be the Mirtle of *Portugal*, and beſides other excellent Properties, has this, ſo effectually to expel *Worms* out of the Body, that thoſe that eat it do ordinarily void 'em preſently.

Camaracatimbae is a Plant that reſembles the *Sylva's* of *Portugal*, the Water wherein 'tis boil'd is an admirable Remedy for *Scabs*, *Pox*, and *Green Wounds*; the Flower of it is very fair and lovely to look upon, and finely ſcented, and being ſo, they uſe it to adorn both their Houſes and Altars.

Aipo is the very *Smallege* of *Portugal*, and has the ſame Vertues; it is found only about the Sea-coaſt, eſpecially in the River of *Janero*, for which reaſon perhaps 'tis that it is ſo much ſharper and more pungent than that of *Portugal*.

The *Meadmallow* of this Country has the ſame effects with that otherwhere; the Flowers are a curious red, very large, and look almoſt like *Portugal* Roſes.

Caraguata is a ſort of Thiſtle that bears a yellow Fruit as long as one's Finger, which eaten raw will bliſter the Lips, but boil'd or roaſted, produces no ill effects, only they are forbidden to Women with Child, becauſe they are ſaid infallibly to cauſe Miſcarriage.

There are alſo others of theſe *Caraguata's* that have vaſt long Leaves like Flags, and bear a Fruit like the *Nana* before mention'd, but not at all well-taſted; the beſt part of the Plant is the Leaf, of which a very fine ſort of a Thread may be made, fit for many good purpoſes, but in order to the getting of this Thread, they prepare the Leaf by ſteeping it in Water.

Good Thread from a Leaf.

Timbo.

Timbo is a Plant that comes up from the Earth like a String, and riſes up to the tops of the higheſt Mulberry-trees, to which ſometimes alſo it grows cloſe like Ivy; they are exceeding ſtrong and tough, and therefore ſerve for all manner of bindings, even thoſe that are as big as a Man's Leg may be wound and twiſted about without breaking. The Bark or Rind is an infallible Poyſon to the Fiſh, and being caſt into the Water, leaves hardly any of 'em alive: This ſeems to be ſomething of the ſame nature with a kind of Wood (before deſcrib'd) which had the like miſchievous effects upon the Fiſhes.

See Knivet's Voyage.

Cotton.

The *Bombaſine Cotton-ſhrubs* are found in great numbers in this Country; they grow to an indifferent height, and have Flowers like the little yellow Balls of Cucumbers. The Fruit, when ripe, divides it ſelf into four parts, each of which yields the Cotton in flocks of the bigneſs of a little Ball; in the midſt of theſe flocks are found certain black Grains very compact and cloſe preſs'd together, in form and bigneſs not much different from a Bean. The *Braſile* Women are very skilful in gathering and ſpinning this *Bombaſine Cotton*, and the great uſe they make of it is about their Beds, as we ſhall ſee farther by and by.

Maſtich.

Maſtich grows here alſo amongſt the Briers and Buſhes, which, together with all the reſt of the odoriferous Plants and Flowers, perfumes the Woods after a moſt pleaſant manner. In theſe Woods you find Reeds of the bigneſs of a Man's Leg, and whilſt they are ſtanding upon the ground, ſo very tender, that with one blow of a Sword one may cut off the largeſt of 'em, yet let 'em be but dried and you'll find 'em hard and ſtiff enough; the *Braſilians* head their Arrows with 'em, and they are ſo very piercing, that whatever wild Beaſt is ſtruck with 'em is ſure never to ramble the Woods any more.

Beſides the Reeds, they have as many varieties of Canes, ſome of which are extreamly big, and others very long, conſiſting of a great number of Joynts, and theſe the *Indians* uſe for Weapons alſo.

To conclude, the Plants found here that co-incide with thoſe of our own Country, are *Ferns*, *Parſly*, *Purſlain*, *Baſil-Royal*, *Sowthiſtle*, *Beets*, *Endive*, *Peony-royal*, *Mint*, *wild Sage*, tho' ſuch of theſe as ſmell ſtrong enough in our Climate, have but very little (if any at all) in that.

This following Account of ſome other Braſilian *Vegetables, tho' it was not lit of time enough to be put into the foregoing one, yet deſerves to be preſented to the Reader, which we ſhall therefore do.*

Other Plants

OF the *Acaiow*-trees the Author (whoſe Name we know not) obſerves, that the Timber or Wood it ſelf is found to be fit for no uſe whatſoever, but it affords a ſort of a Gum good for painting, and that in great plenty; with the Bark of it they dye their Yarn and the Veſſels they uſe about their Houſes: If the ſame be ſtamp'd and boil'd with Copper till the third part of the Water be conſum'd, 'tis a ſovereign Remedy for old Sores, and makes 'em heal quickly.

Mangaba.

The *Mangaba*-trees have green Leaves all the Year round, and bear Fruit twice a Year; their Flower is altogether like the Jeſſamin, and ſmells as well; the Fruit is as big as an Apricock, yellow, but ſpotted with black, and within has ſeveral Kernels, which are eaten as well as the Fruit it ſelf; they are wholſom, well taſted, and lie ſo light upon the Stomach, that thoſe who have eaten ever ſo many can hardly find they have eat any at all: The Tree and Fruit both being green, are full of a clammy milky Juice, and bitter to the taſte; the Fruit is always gather'd green, and laid to ripen in their Houſes.

Murucuge.

The Fruit *Murucuge* is like the wild Pear of *Portugal*, it has a very long ſtalk, and is always (like the former) taken green off the Tree; the trunk of it affords a milky Liquor, but of ſuch a conſiſtence when 'tis well ſettled and congeal'd, that if the Inhabitants had the Art of writing Letters, this might ſerve 'em inſtead of Sealing-wax.

Araca.

The *Araca* is a ſort of a ſmall Pear, (or at leaſt nearer that than any other Fruit) the colour of which is yellow, red, or green, for there are of all theſe kinds in *Braſile*, and thoſe very common and plentiful too; it is a Fruit that holds very near all the year round, and is pleaſant enough in the eating, eſpecially to them that love but a ſmall reliſh of the ſowre.

Ombu.

The *Ombu* is a great Tree, not very high, but well ſpread; the Fruit is like a white Plumb, and therefore the *Portugueſe* do give it that Name; it has this odd property, that it makes thoſe People loſe their Teeth that eat it; but the Root is much more favourable, it has no influence to make a man loſe any good thing belonging to him, but will contribute to the ridding him of whatever is evil and troubleſom, for they give them with advantage to People in *Fevers*, and they ſerve inſtead of Water to thoſe that travel the Deſarts, becauſe being naturally very cool and refreſhing, they help to abate the violence of a man's thirſt in that caſe.

Jacapucaya.

The Tree call'd *Jacapucaya* is one of the greateſt and faireſt of the Country; it bears a Fruit like a Pot, and big enough to anſwer the uſe of a Pot too, and is at leaſt two fingers thick; but the beſt of all is, that upon this Pot there is a Cover which (pull'd off) diſcovers the Nuts that lie within, but if you ſtay till the Fruit is ripe, the Cover will open of its own accord and let the Nuts fall out. The Nuts do very much reſemble the *Indian Myrobalans*, but if a man eats many of 'em green they bring all his Hair off: The Husks are uſed for Drinking-veſſels, and the Timber of the Tree (which is very hard, and never rots) is much uſed about the Sugar-mills

Araticu.

The *Araticu* is a Tree of the bigneſs of an Orange-tree, and the Leaf is like that of a Citron or a Limon; the Fruit is of the ſize of a Pine-apple, being better ſcented than taſted, and more wholſom than either: Amongſt the ſeveral ſorts of 'em there is one call'd *Araticu Panania*, the Fruit of which is ſo cold, that much of it eaten has almoſt the effects of a Poyſon. The Roots of theſe Trees for lenity are as ſo many Corks, and therefore the People out of them do make Buoys for their Nets.

Pequea,

Of the *Pequea-trees* there be two ſorts, one bears a Fruit as big as a good Orange, and the Rind of it is as thick as that of the Orange is, but within it you find a Liquid which you may call a Honey, if at leaſt the ſweet taſte and the fine Amber colour will allow it that name; there is as much of it as comes to the quantity of an Egg, and there are ſeveral Kernels mix'd with it. The other *Pequea* is only for Timber, but 'tis ſome of the heavieſt and moſt durable of this Country.

Jabaticaba.

The Tree *Jabaticaba* diſtinguiſhes it ſelf by this in a pretty remarkable manner from moſt other Trees, that it is wholly beſet with Fruit from the very Root to the top Bough or Sprig; all along the Body of the Tree you find the Fruit, as well as in the uppermoſt Branches, and ſo going downwards you do the ſame till you come to the very Earth it ſelf. The Fruit is of the bigneſs of a good Limon, and has a ſowre taſte, like ſome Grapes; the *Indians* make a kind of a Wine of it, but what or how good we are not able to ſay.

As for the *Pines*, *Palms*, and *Cocao's*, they are too common to inſiſt upon their deſcription.

Cabueriba.

The *Cabueriba* is a very large Tree, and affords Timber for ſtrength and ſervice inferiour to none; but that which renders this Tree moſt valuable is the ſovereign Balm it affords, a Balm compar'd to that of *Gilead*, that perfectly heals all green wounds, and takes away the ſcarr. The way of getting it is, to make an inciſion in the Bark, and ſo the Balm diſtills from the Tree into a Veſſel ſet to receive it: 'Tis a ſign that the Balm it ſelf is a rare Perfume, when the Bark of the Tree is ſo good a one, and the Natives make Bracelets and Necklaces of it upon that account; but the Woods where they grow ſmelling all over, will make a man ſenſible of this at ſome diſtance.

Cupayba.

Cupayba is a ſort of Fig-tree, commonly very high, ſtrait and big, if it be cut it yields a vaſt deal of Oyl that ſerves both for Lamps and the cure of Wounds, even to the taking away the Scarr it ſelf: The Wood is good for nothing, the entire Vertue of the Tree being wrapt up in this oily matter; and therefore, tho' our Author tells us that the Beaſts, who are taught by Nature the Vertues of this Tree, will come and rub themſelves againſt it, as if 'twere to borrow ſomething from it in order to the cure of their Diſtempers; we cannot be of his mind in this matter, but believe that the ſence of the Beaſt's rubbing is the very ſame with that of a Man's ſcratching where it itches, and that they do it againſt this Tree, and not another, is becauſe this happens to be next 'em, or to lie readieſt in their way.

Ambaigtinga

Ambaigtinga is another kind of Fig-tree, which affords Oyl for Lights alſo as the former; but they draw a peculiar Oyl from the Leaves, by laying them in the Sun for ſome days, then ſtamping and boiling them, and taking off the Oyl which ſwims at top. This Oyl is a very good Remedy for them that are troubled with continual Vomitings, and can't retain what they eat, as alſo for the Cholick and Obſtructions in the Bowels; the uſe of it lies altogether in external application, namely, anointing the region of the Stomach pretty plentifully with it.

Igbacamuci.

Igbacamuci is a Tree that bears a Fruit in faſhion like a Pot or Pan, and is as good as a Quince; within there are certain ſmall Seeds, that are a noble Remedy for the Bloody-flux.

Igcigca the Maſtich.

The Tree that yields the *Maſtich* is call'd *Igcigca*, when 'tis cut there diſtills a white Liquor, that afterwards congeals, and is the *Maſtich* it ſelf.

But there is another Tree of this kind call'd *Igtaigcica*, which ſignifies in the *Braſilian* Language *Maſtich* as hard as Stone; and it anſwers its name, for 'tis ſo hard and ſhining withal, that it looks more like Glaſs than Gum, and the People do really uſe it to glaze their earthen Veſſels, valuing it mightily upon that account.

Curupicaiba

Curupicaiba is like the *Portugal* Peach-trees in the Leaf, and the Liquor that comes from the Leaves of it is excellent for the Pox, and for all Wounds, both green and old ones; the Bark upon inciſion yields a matter ſo clammy and viſcous, that they uſe it inſtead of a Birdlime, and catch the ſmaller ſort of Birds with it very eaſily.

Caaroba.

The *Caaroba* Tree is medicinal all over, and not a part belonging to it but is ſome way or other a Remedy; the Leaves chew'd and laid to a Pocky Sore, dry and heal it; the Wood has the ſame effect that the *China* Wood and that of the *Antilles* have in the ſame Diſtemper; and of the Flowers they make a Conſerve of no contemptible uſe in that caſe alſo.

The Wood *Caarobmocorandiba* has the ſame vertues with the former, and beſides it cures the Looſeneſs; it's grey, and has a hard Pith like the *China* Wood.

Jaburandiba

All the Country of *Braſile* abounds with the Trees call'd by them *Jaburandiba*, and in that with a Remedy for all Diſeaſes of the Liver, as powerful as any that's known; 'tis the Leaf that is to be eaten for this purpoſe raw, and as it comes from the Tree; and the Author ſeems to ſpeak with more than ordinary aſſurance in this caſe, as having been ('tis probable) an Eyewitneſs to a conſiderable number of Cures.

Betel.

The *Betel-tree* affords a Remedy as proper and ſure for the Toothach, which is the Root (a little bit of it put in the hollow of the Tooth, but then it bites and teazes the Tongue like Ginger, and conſequently draws plenty of Rheum, which may do good in other caſes.

Caſſia Fiſtula.

The *Caſſia Fiſtula* Tree is reported to grow in *Braſile*, and the *Spaniards* declare 'tis as good as that which comes from the Eaſtern World; but our Author does not pretend to have found any here.

Anda.

The *Anda*-trees are very fair and great, their Wood ſerves for all uſes that Wood can be put to; the Fruit gives an Oyl for Wounds, but the *Indians* value it as much for the uſe they make of it in their Unctions.

Maxeruguigba

The *Maxeruguigba*-tree bears a Fruit as big as an Orange, in which are a parcel of Kernels, from whence they draw another ſort of Oyl to anoint themſelves with; the Bark kills the Fiſhes, and all other Creatures that drink the Water where 'tis caſt have the ſame fate alſo.

Aiuraturiba.

The Fruit of the *Aiuraturiba*-tree affords a red Oyl, and that of the *Aiabutipita* a black one, both which the *Braſilians* very frequently anoint themſelves with: 'Tis to be noted too that Fruit which yields the red Oyl is red it ſelf, as that which yields the black is black, and this latter is very much eſteem'd amongſt 'em, as a Medicine of no ſmall vertue.

Janipaba.

The *Janipaba*-tree is a very large one, bearing a Fruit like an Orange, and in taſte like a Quince; the Leaf reſembles that of a Walnut, and changes every month; the Timber is very fit for ſervice, and the Fruit a Remedy for all ſorts of Fluxes; of this alſo they make an Ink or a Paint to colour themſelves with, which when firſt made is white, and ſo it continues for ſome hours after 'tis laid on upon their Bodies, but then it changes into the contrary colour, and they remain as black as ſo many Negroes; not that the *Braſilians* do make themſelves all over of this complexion, they only give ſome fine ſtrokes about the Face, Arms and Legs, draw a pair of Stockings perhaps, or a ſluſh'd Doublet, or ſome other piece of dreſs, to make themſelves a little fine, but then all this finery wears off in eight or nine days time, and longer than that they can't keep it upon their Backs do what they will; they muſt renew the decaying colour when that time is expir'd, and lay on freſh, or elſe they loſe their *European* Habits, and become poor naked *Braſilians* again as they were before: Repeating this often, makes the Skin very tough and hard; and 'tis to be obſerv'd, that in order to have a Paint that ſhall anſwer the deſign, the Fruit muſt be gather'd green, for being ripe it will not do.

Jaquitinguacu, good for waſhing.

The Tree call'd *Jaquitimguacu* bears a Fruit like the *Spaniſh* Strawberry, the Seed or Kernel of which is very hard and black, and ſhines with a gloſs like Jett; the Husk of it is bitterer than Aloes, and ſerves for waſhing as well as the beſt Soap in *Portugal*.

To theſe may be added the fine *Braſile*-wood, of which the red Ink is made, and other Woods of ſeveral colours, fit not only for the making other colour'd Inks, but all ſorts of carv'd and turn'd Works. Then the Smelling Woods, the Incorruptible Woods, that never rot being either laid in the Earth or in Water, the Woods of *Angolin* and *Aquilla*, Cedars and Nutmeg-trees, which tho' not quite ſo fine as thoſe of *Eaſt-India*, yet come very near 'em; of all theſe our Author tells us no more than that they are Natives of this Country alſo as well as the former. He ends his Diſcourſe of Vegetables with an account of a Tree which will be thought not a little ſtrange; it is a very great and ſpreading one, growing about in the Fields and otherwhere in the main of the Country; the Boughs of it are perforated up and down in ſeveral places, and the holes are many times the length of an Arm, and full of a clear well-taſted Water; they are always found full, and ſtand at the ſame ſtay Winter and Summer; a whole troop of weary Travellers may come and refreſh themſelves under one of theſe Trees, repoſe in the cool ſhadow, and quench their thirſt with the Water of this Fountain; and the want of Water being moſt commonly one of the greateſt Inconveniencies to thoſe that travel the inland parts of the Country, it ſeems as if Providence had provided this Remedy for't, in diſpoſing up and down here and there ſuch funds of of Water as theſe are, which ſhould not be liable to the uncertainties that the common ones are.

Bees of *Braſile.*

Having done with the *Vegetables*, we come to the *Animals:* The *Bees* of *Braſile* differ conſiderably from ours, and are more like that leſſer ſort of black Flies we are troubled with in the Summer than our Bees by much; they make their Combs in the holes of rotten Trees, from whence the *Braſilians* gather it with a great deal of Art and Care; the Honey being ſeparated, the Wax remains as black as Pitch, and this they preſerve very nicely, but not to make Torches or Candles with, (for as for Lights they uſe only a ſort of Wood which yields a very clear and bright flame) but to ſtop cloſe up the great Canes in which they keep their Feathers, that they may not be gnaw'd by the Butterflies.

Butterflies.

Theſe Creatures (which the *Europeans* call *Butterflies*, and the *Braſilians Aravers*) are as big as Graſhoppers, they come about the Firehearths in great multitudes, as our Crickets do, and are ſure to conſume and devour any thing (unleſs it be Stone, or Bone, or Metal) that lies in their way; but there is nothing which is not Meat that 'ſcapes 'em worſe than Leather and things made of it, and therefore if they lite of any Leather-breeches, Jackets, Shoes, &c. they eat off all the upper grain entirely, and leave a thin ſlight buſineſs behind, which a man may call the remainders of Leather if he pleaſes, but without he knew it to be ſo, he would be hard put to it to prove it. If a *Fowl* or any thing of that kind be in their way, they'll make a clear Anatomy on't, and ſhew a man the wonderful ſtructure of the Bones, without giving him the trouble to pick off the Fleſh. In a word, theſe Animals are not a little vexatious to them, and if their Houſes have not the plague of Rats and Mice like ours, yet they have Butterflies, which by the advantage of their Wings can come where the former ſort of Vermin can't pretend.

Spiders and Scorpions.

Our Authors tell us likewiſe (but without deſcriptions) of various ſorts of *Spiders* here; of *Scorpions*, which are almoſt as common about their Houſes as the *Lizards* are, and they are in every hole, and the walls themſelves are cover'd with 'em: But the ſting of the Scorpion is not ſo fatal it ſeems in this Country as 'tis in many others, for they ſeldom die of it, nor is it attended with any horrible ſymptoms preſently, only in the ſpace of twenty four hours it will produce very violent pains; the Remedy the *Braſilians* uſe is a bruiſ'd Scorpion applied to the part. In the account of the Snakes and Serpents we ſhall be more particular.

Divers ſorts of Snakes.

How they ſeize their Prey.

The *Giboya* is one of the largeſt Snakes of the Country, and ſome of 'em are found of twenty foot long; the miſchief they do is not by their Poyſon (for they have none) but their Teeth, as other ravenous Creatures do; they lie upon the watch along the Highways, and when they ſee their Prey within reach, they at once throw themſelves upon it, and wind themſelves round the body of it with I know not how many folds, by which means the poor entangled Animal is cruſh'd, and all his Bones broke. This Snake has it ſeems a good large ſwallow, for they report of him, that no leſs than a whole Stag goes down his Throat at once.

The *Guiraupiaguara* is a very black long Snake, and has a yellow Breaſt; they glide along upon the tops of the Trees faſter than any man can run upon the Ground, and here they catch Birds and eat their Eggs, for which reaſon the *Braſilians* gave 'em that name, which in their Language ſignifies *Eaters of Birds-eggs.*

There is another ſort alſo that do as well mount the Trees for Birds and Eggs, as deſtroy the Chickens and rob the Henrooſts below; theſe are very long and big too, but all over green and beautiful enough to behold, and the name they give 'em is *Caminana.*

A Snake with a long Snout.

Boytiapua ſignifies having a long Snout, and the Snake of this name is remarkable for that; it is very long and ſlender, and feeds only upon Frogs. The Natives conjure with this Snake, for when a Woman has no Children they take and laſh her over the Hips with it, and then ſay ſhe ſhall be ſure to have ſome; a very probable cauſe of ſuch an effect, but ſure the help of her Husband is not excluded at the ſame time.

An odd way to have Children.

The *Gaitiepia* (a large Snake) has all the ſcent of a Fox, ſo ſtrong and rank that he is diſcover'd by it whereever he is; ſo has the *Boyuna* too, which is black, and very long and ſlender. Some People fancy the ſmell of a Fox is good for the Palſie, and if ſo, theſe Snakes might perhaps be kept to as good purpoſe.

The *Bom-Snake* is call'd ſo from the noiſe he makes as he goes along; it is of a very large ſize, but does no manner of hurt.

The *Boicupecauga* (which ſignifies a Snake having Prickles upon its Back) is very formidable, as well for his dimenſions as his poyſonous nature; and whereas ſome of thoſe Creatures may be met with ſafely enough, both Men and all other Animals endeavour as much as they can to keep out of this Snake's way.

Jararaca is a general name for four ſorts of very venomous Snakes; the firſt is about ten ſpans long, having two fearful fangs or tusks that lie as it were cover'd up in their Gums, but when they bite they ſtretch 'em out to a great length, and ſtrike 'em with a mad fury into the Object that provokes 'em. Some ſay the Venom is in the Gum, others, that it is encloſ'd in the cavity of the Tooth, but however this is certain, that there is an Inciſure along the ſide of the Tooth for an outlet to it: this venomous liquor is very yellow, and ſo ſtrong that it diſpatches a man in a few hours time. Another ſort have the ſame colour and form with the Vipers of *Spain*, and are every whit as dangerous. The third and worſt of all has a red Chain along the Back and Breaſt, and all the reſt of the Body grey. The laſt kind are but ſmall in compariſon with the others, are of an earthy colour, have ſome things about the head like a Viper, and make ſuch a noiſe as that does.

The *Curucucu* is about fifteen or ſixteen ſpans long, a fierce and poyſonous Creature, that lies cloſe among the Trees, and leaps at Men or any other Animals without diſtinction.

Bell Snake.

The *Boyciningna*, otherwiſe call'd the *Snake of the Bell*, is twelve or thirteen ſpan in length, it is reckon'd very poyſonous, and moveth with a mighty ſwiftneſs toward its Prey, inſomuch that upon this account they have given it the name alſo of *The Flying Snake*; but notwithſtanding this advantage, it does not hunt ſo ſucceſsfully as other Creatures of that kind do, for Nature has form'd a Bell in its Tail, which makes ſuch a noiſe as it moves along, that 'tis a warning to all Creatures that hear it to keep out of the way. There is another of theſe *Bell-Snakes* that is ſmaller than this, but black and very venomous.

Strange Poyſon.

The Snake *Ibiracua* is remarkable for this effect of its Poyſon, that it makes the Party bit preſently void Blood at all the paſſages of the Body, at Mouth, Noſe, Eyes and Ears, and thus it continues ſtreaming forth till by ſome proper method the Flux is ſtopt, which if not done in time too, ſignifie nothing, and the whole maſs will at laſt be exhauſted.

But of all the reſt known the Snake *Ibiboboca* is ſaid to be the moſt fatally poyſonous; this lives in chinks and crannies of the Earth, and by the providence of Nature is ſo form'd, as to be very dull and ſlow in its motion; it is all over (both Head and Body) ſpotted with red, white and black, which diverſity hath procur'd it the name of the *Snake of many colours* amongſt the *Braſilians*.

Musk Snake.

As for that which is call'd the *Musk Snake*, we have no more ſaid of it, than only that it deſerves that Name, as carrying a very powerful (but pleaſing and fragrant) ſmell of Musk along with it wherever it goes, ſo that the blind man, by the direction of his Noſe, may poſſibly keep out of the way of theſe as well as the other above-mention'd. The *Braſilians* are endanger'd by theſe venomous Creatures not only abroad in the Woods, but even in their own Houſes, and according to the account given by our Authors, there's hardly a day but ſome miſchief or other is done; they find 'em about their Seats and in their very Beds, and are peſter'd with 'em in ſo many places, that 'tis (at leaſt it muſt be thought ſo by them that are not us'd to ſuch companions a very vexatious life they muſt needs lead, to be forc'd to be ſo continually upon their guard.

Divers ſorts of Deer, &c.

We will now go on with the reſt of the terreſtrial Animals, and then come to thoſe that dwell in the Water. The *Deer* (call'd in the *Braſilian* Tongue *Cuacu*) is a Creature that the Natives themſelves do as highly eſteem as any, and that partly becauſe their Sinews furniſh them with Bowſtrings, and their Horns with heads for their Arrows: There are ſeveral ſorts of 'em found in the Country, ſome that feed altogether in the Woods, and others that frequent the plain Fields, and are to be ſeen there in whole herds; ſome that are very large, great-headed, and have ten or twelve Snags; others of a ſmall ſize, and that have one only. The Skins of them ſerve for ſeveral occaſions, and the Fleſh is alſo of no little account amongſt 'em.

The *Tapiirel:* (which ſome call the *Elkes*) are made like a Mule, the Tail is about a Fingers length, and the Snout (which they ſhrink up and extend at pleaſure) a ſpan, but they have no Horns at all; they'll take the water and ſwim a great way, and not only ſo, but dive too, tho' when they do this they quickly get to the firm bottom, and going along there, come up again in another place.

Wild Boars. The wild Boars are of divers ſorts; the common ones (which are alſo the ordinary food of the *Indians*) have exactly the ſcent of a Fox, by which they are betray'd to the Dogs that hunt 'em.

Others call'd *Tayacutirica* (which ſignifies a Boar that grinds his Teeth) are much bigger than the ordinary ones, and much more rare; they are arm'd with Tusks, which render 'em very formidable to the other Animals, and they are ſure to aſſault any they meet.

But yet theſe are much leſs fierce and terrible than a third ſort, which they call *Tayacupita* (the ſence of which is a Boar that ſtands ſtill and waits); theſe will fly upon the greateſt Dogs, or any Hunters, tho' ever ſo well arm'd, that come near 'em, and what they maſter they rend in pieces and eat, whether it be Man or Beaſt. If they purſue a Man, and he takes the ſhelter of a Tree to avoid their fury, they'll beſiege him there, and ſtay till he comes down, ſo that at this rate he muſt of neceſſity either ſtay there and be famiſh'd, or become a banquet to the hungry Boar at laſt; and therefore the *Indians* that are acquainted with this trick take care to go with their Bows and Arrows, and ſo play upon the Beſiegers out of the Tree till they have diſpatch'd 'em.

The *Tapirouſſon* is a Beaſt that much reſembles a Cow as to its ſhape and ſize, tho' in other reſpects it differs very much from it; it has long ſhaggy Hair of a reddiſh colour, no Horns, a very ſhort Neck and Tail, long hanging Ears, a ſlender thin Leg, and a whole Hoof; 'tis a Creature of no fierceneſs at all, and notwithſtanding Nature has given it a ſett of very ſharp Teeth, is not at all apt to imploy 'em in any actions of violence upon Men or other Animals; the Natives hunt 'em abundantly, catching 'em ſometimes in Traps and Gins, and piercing 'em at others with their Arrows, but 'tis not ſo much for the ſake of the Fleſh (tho' that be good enough, and taſts not much unlike our Beef) as for the Hide, of which they make their Targets, and is, when well dried in the Sun, of an obſtinacy that no Weapon in the World can make yield.

Ounces. The *Braſilian* Woods are well ſtock'd with *Ounces* likewiſe, ſome black, others grey, others ſpotted; there's hardly any Beaſt to be found in 'em more cruelly furious than this; the Boars will purſue a Man to a Tree, and ſtay for him there, but the Ounces will mount the Tree, and go up after him, eſpecially if they are any thing big; there is nothing they meet can be ſecure from their rage if they happen to be a little fluſh'd, they'll aſſault whole troops of other Animals at once, break into the herds of Swine, deſtroy the Henhouſes, and leave waſte and deſolation wherever they come in thoſe fits; the killing of one of 'em is reckon'd a very glorious action among the *Indians*, he that does it gets a Name by it that makes him not every one's fellow, and they uſe the ſame Ceremonies of Triumph in this caſe that they do when they have conquer'd a human Enemy, the only difference is, that they eat the latter, but make no ſuch uſe of the former; they afford nothing that's good (as far as is known) but a Skin, which the *Portugueſe* Women uſe for Rugs and Coverlets, eſpecially the fine ſpotted ones.

Ant Bear, mention'd by *Knivet*, but not deſcrib'd. The *Tamandua* (or *Ant-Bear*) is of the bigneſs of a large Dog, but bigger than 'tis long; the Tail is twice or thrice the length of the Body, and ſo well ſet with Hair, that 'tis a Skreen to him from the Injuries of all weathers, and a Cover, in which he can wrap up himſelf ſo ſecurely as not to be ſeen; the Head is ſmall, the Snout thin, and the Mouth very little, but the Tongue (with which he licks up the Ants after he has open'd the Hills with his Paws) is full three quarters long: All the Dogs are ſaid to be exceedingly afraid of theſe Creatures, and the *Ounces* too have at leaſt an averſion to 'em, if not a fear of 'em.

Acuti. The *Acuti's* are like the Conies of *Spain*, chiefly in reſpect of their Teeth; they are of a dunn colour, inclining ſomewhat to a yellow and are bred up tame about the Houſes; they take into their fore-feet whatſoever they eat, and ſo carry it to their mouths; they always eat very faſt, and what they leave at one time they preſently go and hide till the next that they are hungry.

Paca. The *Paca* does in ſome meaſure reſemble a Pig, the Fleſh is pleaſant and well taſted, but not very eaſie of digeſtion; there are great numbers of 'em, and yet they never bring forth more than one at a time; ſome of 'em are pure white, which are great Rarities, and found chiefly about the River of St. *Francis*.

The *Aguti* is of the ſize of a young Pig, and has a cloven Foot and a ſhort Tail like that, but the colour on't is red, and the Noſe and Ears like that of a Hare; theſe are very delightful Meat.

Pague. The *Pag* or *Pague* is of ſomething a larger ſize than the former, and eats like Veal; the Head is very deform'd, but the Skin ſo beautiful and fine, all ſpotted with black and white, that 'twould be of no little account to thoſe that are skill'd in Furrs or would make Merchandize of 'em.

Carigue. The *Carigue* is like the Fox of *Spain*, (tho' ſomewhat leſs) but ſmells much worſe; it has a Bag that reaches from the fore-feet to the hinder, with ſix or ſeven Teats in it, and in this Repoſitory their young ones are lodg'd till they are big enough to provide their own food. It generally brings half a dozen or more at a litter, which is too many by five for ſuch ravenous Vermin as they are, for they deſtroy all manner of Poultry, and climb up the Trees and Houſes too in the night-time, ſearching for Prey; in ſhort, there's hardly a Bird that can 'ſcape 'em.

Tatu. The *Tatu* or *Armadillo* is of the bigneſs of a Pig, of a whitiſh colour, and has a very long Snout; the Body of it is wonderfully defended with hard Plates or Scales which no Arrow can pierce, neither is the Creature vulnerable, except he be hit juſt in the Flanks; they will dig ſo very faſt, that ſeveral Men with their Mattocks have not been able to do ſo much as one of theſe with his Snout alone, ſo that they preſently convey themſelves into a ſure refuge under-ground, where they are not to be undermin'd nor indeed taken by any other trick, but only that of throwing Water into their holes, which if it be done, they are eaſily maſter'd: Their Fleſh is as white and tender as that of any Hen or young Pig, and the Skin is uſeful for the making of Purſes; the *Braſilians* are mightily pleas'd with 'em, and breed 'em up for domeſtick Companions.

Sarigoy. The *Sarigoy* is a Beaſt which the *Braſilians* will not touch to eat of, becauſe of the loathſom ſmell it has with it, but the *Europeans* have found 'em notwithſtanding that to be very good Meat, if they are but flea'd and all the fat that lies about the Kidneys carefully taken away, for Experience has told 'em 'tis this alone is the cauſe of that vile ſmell, and when this is gone the *Armadillo* it ſelf is not more agreeable Food.

Wood Rats. The Woods abound likewiſe with a ſort of great *Rats* (as our Author calls 'em) which are as big as a Squirrel, and their Fleſh not much inferiour to that of the moſt delicate Conies.

Canduacu. The *Canduacu* ſeems to be no other than the *African* (tho' here 'tis the *American*) *Porcupine*, amongſt which there is this difference, that ſome of 'em have their Briſtles or Quills black and white, others have 'em yellow and black at the points, and all theſe throw or dart out their Quills as that Beaſt is vulgarly known to do; but then there is one ſort of 'em very ſmall, which tho' they are furniſh'd with thoſe natural Darts as well as the reſt, yet never ſhoot any about as they do; but they all agree in this property, that they are a very good ſort of Meat.

Hirara. The *Hirara* is a Beaſt very like the *Civet-Cat*, and are of ſeveral colours, as white, black and grey; there's nothing will ſerve this Creature for Food but Honey, ſo that the *Braſilians* loſe many a ſweet ſuck by their means; they do nothing elſe but hunt about the Woods for it, and when they have found a ſtock, they go and fetch all their young ones to that place, then the old one goes in and brings it out to the others till their Bellies are full, and ſatisfies her ſelf with their leavings.

Cuati. The *Cuati* by its grey colour reſembles the *Portugal Badger*, the Claws and Snout are very long, and by the help of the former it climbs the Trees like a Monkey; they are ſo ravenous that there's no Animal they light of (that is not more than a match for 'em) that 'ſcapes being devour'd by 'em, but Snakes, Birds and their Eggs is moſtly what they live upon. Some keep them tame in their Houſes, as being docible Creatures and apt for ſeveral purpoſes both of ſervice and diverſion, but they are withal ſo malicious, and given to tear and devour all that lies in their way, that they are not much liked for domeſtick Companions. Of theſe there is two or three kinds more, which are as big as Dogs, and have tusks like wild Boars, and do very near as much miſchief as they.

Wild Cats.

As for theſe Beaſts which our Authors call *Braſilian Wild-Cats*, 'tis probable they are no other than *Tygers*, which their delicate Furrs, their extraordinary ſwiftneſs and fierceneſs, does ſeem very ſufficiently to juſtifie; yet they find none of 'em bigger than an ordinary Dog, but for colour they have both black, white and ſaffron.

Jagoarucu.

The *Jagoarucu* is call'd the *Dog* of *Braſile*, more for its Dog-like yelping than any other reſemblance; they are of a grey mingled with white, their Tail very hairy; they live upon Fruits as well as Animal Prey, and will bite what they ſeize on after a very terrible manner.

Tapati.

The *Tapati* are like the Conies of *Portugal*, and they alſo make a kind of a noiſe like the barking of a Dog, but this is chiefly in the night-time, and the *Indians* never hear it but they are ſurpriz'd, looking upon it as an evil Omen; they are very rare, for not only the Beaſts of Prey, but the ravenous Birds too do aſſault and devour 'em.

Jaguacini.

The *Jaguacini* are as big as a *Portugal* Fox, and of that colour; they feed chiefly upon Sea-crabbs and among the Sugar-canes, of which they deſtroy abundance; they are a mighty ſleepy ſort of Creature, and are very often taken napping and kill'd.

Biarataca.

The *Biarataca* is like a Ferret, but conſiderably bigger, and has a remarkable Croſs of white and grey along the Back; this Creature makes wretched havock of the poor Birds and their Eggs, but its moſt beloved food is Amber, which it very often walks the Sea-ſhore to find; it has neither ſharp Teeth nor long Claws, nor any formidable Weapon, and yet is able ſo well to defend it ſelf and offend its purſuer, that no Beaſt of Prey can do better: In ſhort, 'tis by a ſtink that it makes, and one ſo very foul and horrid, that it has made both Dogs and Men that have taken it ſick to the very death; they don't tell us which way it comes, whether upwards (which is leſs probable) or downwards, as alſo whether it be from any Excrement voided, or is only a meer Fizzle; but which ſoever it be, 'tis ſaid of 'em, that they are ſo cunning as to make a hole in the ground and do their ſtinking occaſions there, when they would not be diſcover'd, as on the other hand, when they are ſurpriz'd, to ſcatter that fine Perfume abroad, and ſo by poyſoning the Huntſmen and Dogs to put an end to the chaſe.

Priguica.

The *Priguica* is like a ſhagg'd Dog, very ugly to look upon his Legs very long, and arm'd with fearful Claws, yet with theſe long Legs they go with their Belly juſt touching the ground, and move ſo very ſlowly along, that 'tis an eaſie matter to take 'em, but all the blows a Man can give 'em ſhall never make 'em mend their pace. Their only or principal Food at leaſt are the Leaves of certain Fig-trees, which if they are depriv'd of, they die.

Sagovin.

The *Sagovin* is by ſome reckon'd a kind of Monkey, 'tis of the bigneſs of a Squirrel, and has red Hair, but in the make of the Body, the Noſe, the Neck and Breaſt, ſhews a lively Image of the ſtately beauty of the Lyon; but the reſemblance is ſtill nearer in reſpect of the Spirit of this Animal, but 'tis very haughty and full of Stomach, apt to reſent an affront, and would pine to death with meer diſcontent and vexation, ſhould any thing be offer'd contrary to its humour; 'tis for this reaſon partly that they don't attempt to bring 'em into this part of the World, they would never endure their Priſon, nor digeſt the injury of the Confinement, but would die out of ſpite by the way, and make their Jaylors loſe their triumph; but then they are but poor little feeble Animals, and don't appear to be fit for fatigue and travel, eſpecially by Sea, ſo that (tho' they would be mightily eſteem'd in this part of the World if we ſaw 'em) yet upon this account alſo they don't attempt their tranſportation.

Hay.

The *Hay* is of the bigneſs of a Dog, of an aſh-colour, with a very long Tail, its Feet and Claws are horrible, like thoſe of a Bear, and its Belly hangs down like a Sow ready to farrow. While this Creature is in the Woods it is extreamly fierce, but being taken and us'd to the preſence and company of Men, it becometh tame and gentle.

Coati.

The *Coati* is of the ſize of a Hare, with ſhort ſpotted Hair, a ſmall Head, and little ſharp Ears; it has a Snout more than a foot long, perfectly round, and of equal bigneſs, except juſt at the extremity, where it diminiſhes all of a ſudden, the cavity of it is very ſmall, and will ſcarce receive ones little Finger; it is a very ſtubborn, obſtinate, little Beaſt, and when 'tis taken will gather up its four Legs and lie down all of a heap, and till 'tis pleas'd of it ſelf to riſe, will neither be ſooth'd nor beaten into it; and not only ſo, but it won't eat neither, unleſs you provide a Banquet of Ants for it, which Creatures it often feaſts upon in the Woods.

Janouare.

The Braſil. are afraid of 'em.

The *Janouare* is a Beaſt of Prey very like the *Lynx*, in reſpect of his ſpotted Skin; his Chin is furniſh'd with a Beard of long ſhaggy Hair, his Legs as long almoſt as thoſe of a Greyhound, and he runs no leſs ſwift than that Creature does; the *Braſilians* are horribly afraid of theſe Beaſts, and not without reaſon, for they are many times ſnapt by 'em and torn in pieces; on the other hand when they catch any of the *Janouares* in their Traps, they revenge themſelves upon 'em with all the malice imaginable, they put 'em to the moſt lingring deaths they can contrive, pierce 'em now and then with an Arrow, that they may feel themſelves die, and by their torments make thoſe they have offended ſome ſatisfaction for their Crimes; and 'twas upon this account that theſe People the firſt time they ſaw our *European* Hounds ran away every man for his Life, as faſt as their Legs could carry 'em, they fancied they were *Janouares*, and concluded our Men to be out of their Senſes to let 'em leap and fawn upon 'em ſo as they did. We read alſo what ſervice Dogs have done the *Spaniards* in their Wars with the *Indians* upon ſeveral occaſions, how the poor *Barbarians* were terrified, their Troops diſorder'd and broken by the letting looſe of the Dogs amongſt 'em, and the *Spaniards* Victories over 'em facilitated by this only aſſiſtance; nay, there don't want inſtances wherein we find a main ſtreſs of the Battel to have lain upon the Dogs, while their Maſters ſtood by, look'd on, and only cry'd *halloo*. Now 'tis very poſſible what we have been ſpeaking of might be ſome cauſe (at leaſt) of this ſo mighty a fear and conſternation, and that granting a parcel of Dogs to be capable of diſturbing a naked Enemy, as the *Indians* were, yet their reſemblance to the moſt hated and fear'd *Janouares* made the impreſſion of Horrour much deeper than otherwiſe 'twould have been.

Apes and Monkeys.

The Apes and Monkeys are very numerous in this Country; of the former there is a peculiar ſort call'd *Aquiqui*, which are as big as a good Dog, black and very ugly every way, the Face is white, and the Beard reaches from Ear to Ear, and is as preciſe as if 'twere cut with a pair of Sciſſars. Notwithſtanding their colour, they have ſometimes a young one that happens to be rediſh, and the government of the Apes always belongs to theſe, for (we muſt know) their Kingdom is elective, tho' the Honour goes along with this Carrot-colour'd Family.

There are Apes and Monkeys both of ſeveral other colours beſides, and ſome of 'em are reputed to be ſo fierce and ſtomachful, that if they are wounded with an Arrow, they'll turn again and fling it at him that ſhot it, and then for their cure they look out for a certain Leaf, which they chew and cramb into the Wound. 'Tis ſaid alſo that when their Cubbs are ſo very little that they can't go, they leap with 'em from Tree to Tree, hanging about their Necks, and thoſe little Animals will hold and cling as faſt to their Dams as a Burr to a Man's Coat; but if their young are ſo big that they can go, but not ſtrong enough to leap, then if they have occaſion to move from one Tree to another that is within their length, one of the old ones lies acroſs and makes a ſort of Bridge, holding faſt by one Tree with his fore-Paws and the other with his hinder, and ſo all the little ones paſs over his Back.

Crocadiles and Lizards.

To the Land-Animals we may alſo joyn the *Lizards* and the *Crocadiles*; 'tis true, the *Crocadile* frequents the Water as well as the dry Land, but thoſe that do ſo (or which is all one, the *Alligators*) ſhall afterwards be mention'd with the other Animals of that Region: We have here to do with the *Crocadiles* that keep the Land, and of theſe, our Authors aſſure us, there is no ſmall plenty in *Braſile*; there are many of 'em of the bigneſs of a man's Thigh and proportionable length, but ſo far from doing any harm, that the little Children play freely with 'em, and they run about the Houſes as commonly (but in far greater numbers) as Dogs and Cats do about ours.

And that we may be ſure that theſe are not really *Lizards* which they call *Crocadiles*, (miſtaking one for the other) 'tis to be obſerv'd that they tell us of the *Lizards* beſides, how large they are, what colour, and how good meat: Their Skin is ruſſet, and adorn'd with multitudes of ſpots; they are very harmleſs inoffenſive Creatures, and never known to do any thing to forfeit that character they commonly have, of being friendly to Mankind; their Fleſh is as white, tender and ſweet as that of the beſt Capon, ſo that thoſe who have loath'd it upon the conceit of the Creature, have upon taſting it been fond of it above all other meats. 'Tis true that theſe now deſcrib'd are the *Lizards* that frequent the Marſhes and Rivers, but then we are aſſur'd there are others that are purely Inhabitants of the Woods, and of which alſo 'tis as true, that they have nothing of that cruel and ravenous humour in 'em that *Crocadiles* are always deſcrib'd by: Was it ever known that Animal refus'd a good morſel when he could eaſily come by it? that he ſtood to ſtare and gaze upon his Prey, and then tamely run away from it? But one of our Authors (*Levins* the *Frenchman*) does confirm this of theſe *Lizards* upon his own knowledge and experience, and to that purpoſe tells this Story.

A ſtory of a *Lizard*.

He and two more of his Countrymen were travelling ſome part of *Braſile*, and paſſing thro' a certain Valley, they heard a fearful noiſe, made by ſome Beaſt or other coming towards 'em, and quickly after, upon a little Hill about thirty paces from 'em, they 'ſpied what it was, but 'twas with no little fear and ſurprize that they ſaw a *Lizard* bigger than a Man in the Body, and near ſix foot long, cover'd with white rough Scales like Oyſter-ſhells; the Monſter ſtood and look'd on 'em, as they could well ſee by his glaring Eyes, and they being in no condition to make any aſſault upon him, kept their ſtation, expecting when he would come and fall aboard 'em; but the *Lizard*, it ſeems, had no ſuch deſign, for as he ſtood upon that riſing ground for a little freſh Air, (which they ſaw him draw in with open mouth, the weather being extreamly hot) ſo when he had taken his fill both of that and looking at them too, he turn'd ſuddenly about and ran away. 'Twas a full quarter of an hour that this Interview laſted, and Monſieur tells us he was not a little glad when 'twas finiſh'd, and he ſaw the *Lizard*'s Tail: However, it confirm'd him in the opinion that this Creature has a love to Mankind, ſince in his caſe there was a fair opportunity, if it had lov'd only to devour 'em.

There are alſo other Animals beſides the *Lizards* which would make an ordinary Stomach heave at the thoughts of eating, and yet are very acceptable meat with the *Braſilians*; ſuch are a great large ſort of *Toads*, which they roaſt and eat without ſo much as bowelling, and *Land-Serpents* colour'd with black and red, as big as a Man's Arm, and four or five foot long; theſe they catch abroad in the Woods, and bring 'em home and throw 'em down amongſt their Wives and Children, who take 'em up and handle 'em without any manner of hurt; ſo that 'tis certain theſe Creatures, both *Toads* and *Serpents*, have not that poyſonous quality in 'em that ſome others have in the very ſame Country; tho', allowing all that, a man would faſt as long as Nature could hold out, and it ſhould be ones laſt ſhift to make a meal of 'em.

Divers ſorts of Parrots, and other ſmall Birds.

Let us come now to the wing'd kind, and leaving the groſs Earth, look over the Inhabitants of a finer Element.

Parrots are ſome of the moſt vulgar Birds of the Country, they flie together in whole flocks, and are kill'd by thouſands, for all which they ſwarm ſo, that there's never any miſs of 'em: There are various ſorts of 'em, and there's only one known but what will talk with a very little teaching; their colours are very beautiful and ſhining, and ſo admirably mix'd in ſeveral of 'em, that one of thoſe Birds alone is an entertaining ſight.

Some have a Breaſt as red as ſcarlet, and all along the Body are yellow or green or blue, but not without a little ſprinkling of all theſe colours too: Theſe never lay more than two Eggs at a time, and breed in the trunks of old Trees and about the Rocks. Others with all the former colours have black and grey beſides, and they'll breed and bring up their young in the Houſes, for which reaſon they are much more eſteem'd. There is another that is black ſprinkled with a little green throughout the Body, the Feet yellow, and the Eyes and Beak red. Another that is all green, the Cap and Collar yellow, the Pinnions red, the Tail red, yellow and green, and over the Beak a tuſt of blue Feathers that adorn it to a wonderful degree.

But the Parrot call'd the *Tuin* is ſomething more curious, if not for the colours, yet for the ſize; 'tis no bigger than a Sparrow, but ſo chearful, that 'tis always tatling or ſinging after its manner, and will skip up and down upon a man's Breaſt and Shoulders that breeds it up, and eat the Victuals out of his Mouth, or pick his Teeth with its Bill if he'll give it leave; theſe are eſteem'd as very great Rarities.

But there is another, which they call *Guiratiuba*, that they make more account of than the former, but the only reaſon ſeems to be becauſe 'tis ſcarce and far-fetch'd: This Bird is hardly ſeen out of a great man's Houſe, and they value 'em as ſome men do their Hawks, and as others do the Birds that delight 'em with the moſt charming Notes, and yet this is a Creature that never ſings nor talks, but is always ſad and ſullen, and of a humour not capable of giving any diverſion; ſo that there's no doubt to be made but 'tis the uncommonneſs of it that enhances the price, and makes 'em ſo much eſteem it. This ſilent melancholly Bird is a Jewel in the midſt of all the thouſands of talking Parrots in *Braſile*, for the ſame reaſon that one of thoſe talking Parrots would be ſo if all the reſt were tongue-ty'd and dull like this.

The *Yapu* is a Parrot of the bigneſs of a *Pye*, its Body of a fine black, the Beak and Tail yellow, and on its Head it has a Coronet conſiſting of three tufts; they are bred up in Houſes, and live upon Spiders, Beetles, Crickets, and ſuchlike Inſects, in catching of which they are ſo ſharp and diligent, that they keep a Houſe very clear of 'em; they are ſo much for pecking, that if a man holds 'em in his Hand they'll be apt to run to his Eyes and peck there, for which reaſon they don't make 'em ſo familiar as they do other Parrots. 'Tis a common obſervation of theſe Birds in general, that they are extreamly ſenſible and apt to learn, and we are told a Story of one whoſe docility is no ſmall ſupport to the Reputation of all Parrots in this reſpect, at the command of his Miſtreſs he would either dance, whiſtle, talk, or counterfeit the noiſe the *Braſilians* make when they go to battel, and at the leaſt word from her leave off in the middle of the Dance or Song, or whatever elſe he was doing; neither was it poſſible to make him move either Tongue or ſo much as his Foot, till the Miſtreſs ſignified ſhe gave leave: Our *Frenchman* made the Experiment, and endeavour'd by Careſſes to ſeduce the Bird into a little motion, but all in vain, *Poll* ſtood as immovable as a Poſt, and as ſilent too, and paid an exact obedience to the Law his Miſtreſs had impos'd upon him, in ſpite of all artifices and endeavours to the contrary. The Woman valued this Parrot at ſo high a rate, that ſhe abus'd him when he offer'd to buy it; and when he demanded the price of it, ſhe told him, a piece of a braſs Cannon.

The *Guamimlique* is commended for one of the neateſt and clever'ſt little Birds that is; in its flight it makes a noiſe like an *Humble-Bee*, and flies much after that waving uncertain manner, and then never eats its Food ſitting ſtill, but always flying; the colour of the Body is grey, but the Cap upon its Head is ſuch, that 'tis hard to ſay what colour 'tis of, for whatever ſide or way you look upon it, you ſee almoſt all ſorts of colours, and 'tis the ſame if one looks upon the Breaſt; it has a very long Bill, and a Tongue that ſtretch'd out is full twice the length of the Bill. Whether this Bird ſleeps much or no is uncertain, however the *Indians* ſay that it ſpends ſix months entirely in a profound Sleep.

The *Guiranheugeta* is of the bigneſs of our *Goldfinch*, the Back and Wings blue, the Breaſt and Belly yellow, and a Diadem of the ſame-colour'd Feathers upon his Head; 'tis an admirable Bird for the Cage, indeed in this alone a man has the pleaſure of many, for it has the Notes of a great many other ſorts of Birds, and makes ſuch a variety of changes and turns in its whiſtling, that it is a Conſort by it ſelf; neither is it for giving its Maſter a little touch of Muſick and away, but continues the Song to ſuch a length, as effectually ſhews the goodneſs both of the Birds Lungs and Humour at the ſame time.

The *Tangara* is about the ſize of a Sparrow, 'tis all black except the Head, which is of a fine Orange-tawny. If there were any way to be let into the Myſteries of the actions of theſe Creatures, or a Rule to know the meaning of 'em, a body would imploy that piece of Skill.

The Fowl that frequent the Salt-water are next to be conſider'd.

Sea-Fowl.

The *Gairatinga* is as big as the Crane of *Portugal*, the Body extreamly white, and its Legs and Bill very long, but the former reddiſh, and the latter yellow; on the Neck a man finds the greateſt beauty that belongs to it, which is a Plume of very fine Feathers, not to be compar'd to any but thoſe of the *African* Eſtridges.

The *Caripira* is otherwiſe call'd *The forked Tail*, becauſe its Tail is divided in the midſt; the fat of this Fowl is good for the Looſeneſs, and the Feathers ſerve the *Indians* for their Arrows: 'Tis ſaid of 'em, that they are certain forerunners of the Ships arrival, and it very ſeldom fails that ſome few days after they are ſeen the Ships come into their Ports.

The *Guaca* is taken to be the Sea-*Mew* of *Portugal*, which, becauſe 'tis common enough, we ſhan't ſtand to deſcribe; they live upon Cockles, which to open and come at, they take 'em up in their Bills, and let 'em fall upon the Rocks till they have broke the Shell in pieces.

The *Guiratouteen* is a Fowl, the moſt remarkable property of which is, the Lethargy or deep Sleep that it is moſt commonly found to lie in; the *Indians* light on 'em lying thus on the ſhore to all appearance dead, and tho'

Sea-Fowl. handled, diſcover no ſigns of life; but then to bring 'em to themſelves again they give 'em a cant, throwing 'em a good way, and ſo by means of the fall the Bird is thorowly wak'd, and makes uſe of its Wings to avoid being toſs'd in that manner any more.

The *Calcamar* is as big as a Pigeon, and the report of the Country is, that they lay their Eggs in the Sea, and there hatch and breed their young; they don't fly at all, but by the help of their Wings and Feet together ſwim along upon the Water very ſwiftly: The Mariners generally expect a great Calm when they ſee theſe about, and this they do ſometimes in ſuch vaſt numbers, that they are even troubleſom to 'em.

The *Agaya* is of the ſize of a *Pie-annet*, its colour is white beſpotted with red, and the Bill is long and faſhion'd like a Spoon; 'tis a mighty catcher of Fiſh, to do which it uſes this ſlight, to ſtrike it with its Foot upon the Water, and then ſtretch out its Neck to wait for the Fiſh till a fair opportunity offers to ſeize 'em.

The *Caracura* is a little grey Bird, whoſe Eyes are made very beautiful by a red circle that appears in each of 'em; thoſe that hear the noiſe it makes are deceiv'd, imagining it the Voice of ſome very large Bird; but 'tis odd that this Bird can't ſing with its fore-mouth, but muſt do it alſo with that behind at the ſame time, that the Song ſhould come both ways at once, and that with ſo filthy a ſmell too, that 'tis no little puniſhment for a man to be by. 'Tis true, as to the concern the Ear has in the matter, the Harmony may be both ways much alike, and the Fart as melodious as the Song, but ſince another Senſe is alſo to give its Verdict and declare it ſelf offended, we muſt pronounce an odds between 'em, and ſay the ſuperiour Organ makes the ſweeteſt Muſick. This Entertainment uſually begins two hours before Day, and laſts all the Evening till the end of the twilight, and the People obſerve that for the moſt part 'tis a token of fair weather.

The *Guara* is as big as a *Pie-annet*, it has a long Bill which at the end is like a Creſcent, and its Legs are about a ſpan; there's hardly any Bird ſo ſtrange as this, for the various colours it appears in; 'tis the true *Proteus* among the Fowl, and he that knows it at one time cannot poſſibly do it at another, without he goes by ſome ſurer marks than that of the colour. When firſt it comes out of the Shell 'tis black, and quickly after turns grey, by that time it comes to have the command of the Wing it becomes whiter than the pureſt Dove, and this innocent colour it next exchanges for that of Blood, 'tis redder (if poſſible) than ſcarlet it ſelf, and ſo continues all the reſt of its life. Theſe may be bred in Houſes, but their food muſt be Fiſh or Fleſh, and always put in Water; the *Braſilians* highly value their Feathers, and make all thoſe gawdy fantaſtical Ornaments (for which they are ſo noted) as much of theſe as of any other their Country yields.

Our Authors tell us of ſeveral other ſorts of Water-Fowl, but not deſcribing any of 'em, we will hear their account of the Fiſh and other Animals that live in the Water, ſome altogether, and others amphibious.

Divers ſorts of Fiſh. We will begin with the *Ox-fiſh*, ſo call'd from its likeneſs to that Creature, particularly with reſpect to its Head, which with the hairy Skin, the Ears, the large Tongue and Cheeks, reſembles an Ox ſtrangely; the Eyes are but ſmall in proportion to the Body, but they are defended with Eyelids, by which the Creature ſhuts and opens 'em at pleaſure, wherein there is a remarkable difference between it and other Fiſh; but there is alſo as much in the point of breathing, for this cannot dwell long under water, as others can, but muſt every now and then come up for a mouthful of Air, and breathe a little: The Body is of a great bigneſs, and all cover'd with yellow Hair; it has two Arms each a cubit long, and two Hands with five Fingers a-piece, and on each a Nail like that on a Man's; under theſe Arms the Females have two Dugs, with which ſhe ſuckles her young, but theſe are never more than one at a time: The Inwards of it appear exactly like thoſe of an Ox, and on all the outſide it has nothing of a Finn, ſo that the moſt of the Fiſh is ſeen in the Tail, which is notwithſtanding all round and cloſe: In the Head, a little above the Eyes, are found a couple of Stones of a conſiderable magnitude, white and heavy, and reputed to be the beſt Remedy for the *Stone* in the World, being beaten to powder and drank in a draught of Wine or Water, it forces away the Stone if it be voidable, and of this they give us an inſtance of their own knowledge. The Bones of this Fiſh are all hard and maſſy, and not only as ſolid, but as white as Ivory; the Meat is to be compar'd with the beſt of Beef, which it much reſembles, and is as ſubſtantial a food either for a Houſe or Ship; and indeed it is ſo much more like Fleſh than Fiſh, that it rais'd a diſpute amongſt the *Portugueſe*, whether 'twas a proper Diſh for Fiſh-days or no; and both Parties had enough that was plauſible to urge on their ſides, for if one could ſay 'twas an Inhabitant of the Water, and came out of the ſame Element that all Fiſh live in, the other might reply, So did *Mermen* and *Mermaids* too, and yet a holy Father would hardly allow a Diſh of that ſame on a *Wedneſday* or *Friday*; beſides, there's the ſtrength and ſubſtance of Fleſh in it, and 'tis too rank and high to anſwer the ends and purpoſes of a Fiſh-day. In ſhort, how they ended the matter is uncertain, but the caſe being weighty, and the Peace of Mens Conſciences concern'd in it, it ought to have been well diſcuſs'd by Divines, and brought to a compleat determination.

The *Beijupira* is like the *Sturgeon*, and not much leſs valued, for its good taſte and wholſom nature; they are taken in the open Sea only with a Hook and a Line, being ſix or ſeven ſpans long, their Bodies very round, black on the Back, and white on the Belly.

The Fiſh call'd the *Ox-eye* is like the *Tunnie*, as well for its ſize as form, the inward as the outward parts; it is vaſtly fat, and they take out of it Courſes as thick as a four-ſhilling-piece of the *Portugal* Money; this ſerves for all the purpoſes that good Butter or rather Hogs-lard does. The Eye of it is ſo very like that of a terreſtrial Ox, that upon that ſcore it goes by this name.

The *Camurupi* is as much eſteem'd for eating as any of the former, it's twelve or thirteen ſpan long, and has a Finn upon the Back (which it always carries rais'd up) that is at leaſt two or three; the grain of it lies all in flakes interlarded with fat and greaſe, but notwithſtanding it has abundance of bones, and muſt be eaten with much care and caution. They generally kill 'em with Harpon-irons, for 'tis a thick Fiſh and heavy, being burden ſufficient for two men to lift; there are multitudes of 'em to be found in thoſe Seas, and they are a profitable Prey enough, conſidering the quantities of Oyl that are drawn from 'em.

The *Piraembu*, otherwiſe call'd *The ſnorting Fiſh*, is known and diſcover'd by the ſnorting noiſe it makes, which is heard very diſtinctly if it be any thing near: It is pretty conſiderably big, and eight or nine ſpan long, of a good taſte, and much eſteem'd; in the Mouth it has two Stones of the breadth of a Hand, whoſe uſe and office is to grind the Wilks and other ſuch hard things whereon they feed: Theſe Stones the *Indians* prize at a great rate, and wear 'em about their Necks as Jewels.

Whales are ſo common upon this Coaſt, that they are to be ſeen ſometimes forty or fifty together, and many Barks have been overwhelm'd by 'em; any loud roaring noiſe ſcares 'em ſtrangely, particularly the beating of a Drum does it effectually, and makes 'em very fierce and mad.

The *Swordfiſh* alſo (the everlaſting Enemy of the *Whale*) is no ſtranger in thoſe Seas; their Weapon is eight or ten ſpan long, ſet on both ſides with a row of very formidable Teeth, which are longer or ſhorter according to the dimenſions of the Fiſh; the *Whale* very frequently feels the exceeding ſharpneſs of this Weapon, in the terrible battels fought between this Fiſh and it; but the *Shark* comes in for a ſhare in the honour of the Victory too, for the *Swordfiſh* ſeldom engages alone, but while that gives the Wounds the hungry *Shark* comes and ſucks the Blood, by which means their Adverſary is ſo enfeebled, that at laſt he is forc'd to yield the day. The *Swordfiſh* Enemies to the *Whale*.

Of the *Sharks* there are ſix or ſeven kinds obſerv'd about the Coaſt of *Braſile*, but all fierce and voracious to the laſt degree; they will not only purſue a Man upon the Water, but leap aſhore after him too, and by that means they are ſometimes prevented from returning back again. All that they can ſeize or light on is their Prey, Ravenous nature of the *Sharks*. and be it what it will, down it goes, provided it be not a Harpon-iron, or an Anchor, or any thing of that untractable nature; their Bellies are ſometimes furniſh'd like a Saleſman's Shop, for there you ſhall find Skins, Cloth, Doublets and Breeches; in ſhort, any piece of Tackling from a Ship, or any Rags that drops from the Back of a Sailor, is meat for a *Shark*. Thoſe cruel Teeth of theirs, that rend their Prey in ſo fearful a manner, do as much miſchief after they are dead as when they are alive, for the *Indians* uſe 'em in their moſt deadly Arrows, and he that has once ſeen what theſe Teeth are, may eaſily imagine what a wound ſuch a Weapon (coming with a great force too) would make upon the tender fleſh of a human body; 'tis almoſt too cruel for Mankind, and ought only to be imploy'd againſt the *Sharks* themſelves, and 'twould be proper enough to deſtroy ſuch deſtroyers with their own Teeth.

Divers ſorts of Fiſh.

The *Flying Fiſh* and the *Cattle* abound alſo in theſe Seas, but theſe have both been deſcrib'd in other places.

The *Toadfiſh* or (as 'tis call'd in their Language) the *Amayacu*, is about a ſpan long, and oddly painted, but the Eyes are fine and fair to look on; when 'tis taken out of the Water it will ſnort and ſwell ſtrangely, for which reaſon it had the name of the *Toadfiſh* given: If it be flea'd (they ſay) it may be eaten, but otherwiſe it infallibly and ſuddenly kills thoſe who pretend to feed on it, as ſome have found to their coſt; and no great wonder it ſhould kill Men, when 'tis a Poyſon for Rats, as it ſeems 'tis, and there's none of thoſe Vermin that eat of it but die for their curioſity.

There are two other kinds of theſe *Toadfiſhes*, one that is all over cover'd with Prickles like a Hedghog, and ſnorts and ſwells out of the Water like the former, and may alſo (like it) be eaten if the Skin be pull'd off, and (they ſay) with advantage too in caſe of the *Bloody-flux*, tho' methinks it ſhould be a man's laſt Remedy, if there be any room for choice. The other is of a triangular form, and the Poyſon (which in the two former was but Skin deep) in this is ſunk down into the Bones and *Viſcera*, which clear taken out, the Fiſh notwithſtanding is ſaid to be eatable; and eatable only it ſhould be, without ever being actually eaten, unleſs it come in for a laſt refuge in Food, as the other ſhould do in Phyſick.

The *Amorealy* is like the *Toadfiſh*, that is, full of ſharp Spikes or Prickles, for this is arm'd in the ſame manner: It lies cover'd up under the Sand upon the ſhore, ſo that ſometimes it wounds the Hands and ſometimes the Feet of them that are ſearching there after other things, and in this caſe a man's only remedy is by Fire, this alone draws out the Venom.

The *Puraque* is in form like the *Scale*, but in nature and quality reſembles the *Torpedo*; for if a man touches it, tho' but with a Stick, his Hand ſhakes like that of a Paralytick, and is benumb'd to that degree, that all ſence and uſe of it is for a time taken away: Notwithſtanding all this, the Fiſh is eaten without any manner of prejudice.

The *Camararu* is ten or fifteen ſpan long, very fat, and roaſted taſtes like Pig; the Body is cover'd with Spikes, which are yet a leſs dangerous Weapon than the Teeth, for the Arm or Leg that's bitten by 'em ſeldom recovers, but rots away. The Natives ſay they engender with the *Sea-Snakes*, for they find em in the Sands waiting for 'em, and many times actually knit and twiſted with 'em.

The *Amaya Curub* is a round Fiſh, and of the bigneſs of the *Bugallo* of *Spain*; it is very venomous, and its Body is as full of a ſort of Warts as it can hold, for which reaſon it has the Name of *Carub*, that word ſignifying a *Wart*.

Beſides this and others mention'd before, there are ſeveral other ſorts of venomous Fiſhes, and ſuch as have ſo vehement a Poyſon too, that few eſcape who eat or touch 'em.

Mermen and *Mermaids*.

But what ſhall we ſay to our Authors accounts of the *Ypupiepra* or *Merman*, a Story which for a long time has appear'd as ridiculous to ſome People as that of the *Sphinx* or *Centaur* it ſelf; neither would they any more believe the Seamen telling of an Animal that is both Fiſh and Man, than the Poet's deſcribing another which is a compound of Man and Horſe; not that they mention them neither as ſuch a mixture of the parts of Man and Fiſh, but rather as all over and entirely human in their ſhape; but yet, tho' the deſcription be not particular as to the matter of fact, they make no manner of doubt. They come up to the Barrs of the freſh Rivers, and are to be ſeen there very frequently; and in *Jagoaripe*, ſeven or eight leagues from the Bays, a great many of 'em have been diſcover'd: In *Porto Seguro* they have been both ſeen and felt too, ſeveral *Indians* having been kill'd by 'em; and 'twas but in the Year 1682. that an *Indian*, upon the Water in a Canoe, was purſued by one of 'em, and with very much difficulty made his eſcape; but this fellow coming home miſerably frightned, it ſeems, told the Adventure to his Maſter, who would needs go to ſee the Monſter, but he had better have taken his Man's word for't as it fell out, for ſitting careleſly in his Canoe with one of his Arms out, the Creature (who had 'ſpied him) ſuddenly ſeiz'd him by that Hand and carried him under Water: What they catch they are ſaid to embrace ſo ſtrictly in their Arms, that they do with graſping cruſh it all to pieces.

The *Apula* is a Shell-fiſh that looks more like the joynt of a Cane than any thing elſe; 'tis good to eat, and if reduc'd to powder and drank faſting, has the name of very great good in Diſtempers of the Spleen.

The Fiſh call'd *Sea-fomes* by the *Portugueſe*, *Aguas mortas* or *Dead-waters*, are as broad as a Hat, and by the multitude of folds they have (by which alſo they catch other Fiſh) do reſemble the *Barbary* Purſes: Theſe are not to be eaten at all; their ſtinging cauſes very great pains and (which is a peculiar property) unavoidable weepings, and therefore we are told of an *Indian* who had receiv'd many a bitter wound with Arrows, and never ſhed Tear for any of 'em, but being ſtung by this Creature, wept plentifully; ſo that it ſeems not to be the effect of any violence of pain, but of ſome particular property of the Venom, which forces it ſelf that way, and well deſerves to be further enquir'd into.

Crabbs.

There are ſeveral ſorts of *Crabbs* found in this Country, and moſt, if not all, are made Food by the People; one kind that caſts its Shell, always when it does ſo retires into its hole, and there tarries the ſpace of two or three months, and then comes out again: Another is ſo large, that a Man's Leg will go into the Mouth of it; theſe Creatures are ſo affected with Thunder, that it always fetches 'em out of their holes, but they make at the ſame time ſuch a rattling noiſe themſelves, that they may be heard a great way, and they have ſometimes been miſtaken for troops of arm'd Enemies upon a march. That kind that keeps in the trunks of the Trees which grow by the Sea-ſide live moſtly upon Cockles, and uſes a notable artifice for getting the Fiſh out of the Shell; when they ſee a Cockle gaping, (as they do very often) they preſently by the help of their Claws ſlip ſome little Stone or other into the aperture, ſo that the Cockle cannot poſſibly cloſe his Shell again, by which means they have an opportunity to pick out the Fiſh, which they do with a great deal of dexterity.

The *Periwinkles* and *Muſcles* are very fine and good, and plentiful too hereabouts; they both afford a ſort of ſmall Seed-pearl, but of the *Muſcle-ſhells* particularly the *Indians* ſerve themſelves for Knives and Spoons.

But the *Oyſters*, as they are extreamly large, ſo they yield many of 'em Pearl that are very big and rich: The *Indians* in former times us'd to come and fetch vaſt quantities of *Oyſters* to ſerve 'em all the Year round, and the Shells they piled up in mighty heaps up and down in ſeveral parts of the Country, which by degrees came to be cover'd with Earth and Trees; the *Portugueſe* by digging have diſcover'd ſeveral of theſe vaſt Hills of buried Shells, and do continually find more and more of 'em, and the uſe they put 'em to is, to make a ſort of Lime of 'em for building. How great theſe collections of Oyſter-ſhells are, may be gueſs'd by this, that of one heap alone was built part of a College, the Governour's Palace, and ſeveral other Buildings, all which notwithſtanding had not exhauſted it, but part was yet remaining when our Authors were in *Braſile*. This Lime is very white, and very fit for all the purpoſes 'tis made for; this only is to be ſaid of it, that the Rain turns it blackiſh.

Wilks.

The great *Wilks* are valued at a high rate by the *Braſilians*, for the ſake of the many Nicknacks they make of 'em, nay, to purchaſe one they'll part with a Priſoner or a Slave very frequently. Thoſe of the largeſt ſort are two ſpan in breadth and one in length, and not to be exceeded in whiteneſs by Ivory it ſelf. As for the leſſer ſort of *Wilks*, *Scallops*, and another ſort of Shell-fiſh call'd by the *Braſilians Piraguaig*, (which are eaten, and their Shells us'd for Ornaments) theſe are too common with 'em to be ſo much regarded.

Large *Shrimps* and *Prawns* are no uncommon things in *Braſile* neither; and in a word, about the holes and cracks of the Rocks are abundance of Animals to be met with; they afford refuges to the *Sea-ruffs*, *Crabbs*, *Oyſters*, *Water-rats*, *Parrets*, and many others, which may at any time be found there by thoſe that will venture to ſearch ſuch places.

Other Animals that uſe the Water

To the Fiſh alſo we may ſubjoyn theſe following, which tho' not of that kind, yet do either in whole or in part belong to the Water; ſome of theſe are of the *Serpentine* kind, and as formidable as any others whatſoever.

There's the *Snake* call'd by the *Braſilians Cucurijube*, which is reckon'd one of the very largeſt that is known in the Country; there are ſome of 25 and 30 foot long, and a yard in compaſs, which are dimenſions large enough to make the Report credible of their ſwallowing the larger ſort of Animals, ſuch as great *Hogs*, *Stags*, and the like: It has a Chain all along the Back from the Head to the Tail, and the Teeth wherewith the monſtrous Beaſt grinds her Prey are like a Dog's, both for ſize and form, but the method it takes to ſeize and ſecure it is, to wind and fold it ſelf about it, and let it be Man or Beaſt that is once made a Priſoner in that manner, there's no poſſibility of redemption again. When they have gorg'd and glutted themſelves pretty well they are mightily diſpos'd to ſleep, which coſts 'em many times their Lives, for the *Indians* come and chop a piece or two of their

Tails off when they find 'em napping, and this (they ſay) is to be done without incurring any danger, for the Animal lies in a Sleep ſo deep, and ſo like a Death, that ſhe does not rouze even at theſe abuſes. Thus one day they found one aſleep, and cut two pieces of the Tail off, and the next day they came and found her dead, and ſaw ſhe had two wild Boars in her Belly; ſhe was twelve yards and a half long, and proportionably big.

The *Manima* is another *Water-Snake*, and rather bigger than the former, and has a fine painted Skin; the *Braſilians* hold it for a mighty lucky thing to ſee this Creature, they bleſs themſelves upon it, and take it for an Omen of long Life; but other People perhaps would be of a contrary opinion, and take it for very ill luck, and an infallible Prognoſtick of a ſudden Death, to meet ſuch a filthy Monſter as this is. Theſe two laſt-mention'd are freſh-water *Snakes*, but the *Terepomonga* is a *Snake* that lives in the Sea.

The word *Terepomong* in the *Braſilian* Tongue ſignifies a thing that cleaves faſt, and this Creature is of that ſtrange nature, that whatſoever touches it ſticks to it ſo faſt, that 'tis not to be parted from it again; this *Phænomenon* is as ſtrange as any in Nature, and 'twould be worth while to enquire the cauſe of it, and to know by what ſort of a glutin it is that the *Terepomonga* binds other Animals ſo cloſe to it ſelf, or what elſe can be the cauſe of this adheſion. It ſeems however that by this means ſhe gets her Livelihood, 'tis a neceſſary advantage that ſhe cannot part with nor ſubſiſt without; for whether 'twill do in the Sea or no is uncertain, but 'tis ſure that the *Snake* comes aſhore for recruits, contracts her ſelf up into a little compaſs till ſhe has got ſomething faſtned to her, and then ſhe marches away with it to the Sea, and returns again to her own natural bigneſs, which is equal to that of a large Cable.

Jacare Lizards.

The *Jacare Lizards* are as big as Dogs, their Snout is like that Creature's alſo, and their Teeth long and large; their Skin is like Plates of Armour, and will defie any Arrow in the World to pierce it, yet they do no manner of harm, and the *Indians*, who take 'em often in their ſnares, do very ſeldom (if ever) deſtroy 'em. Their haunts are diſcover'd not only by the great Cries they make, but alſo the musky ſmell they carry with 'em, and which, of all the parts of the Animal, is particularly predominant in the Teſticles. They lay Eggs as big as Gooſe-Eggs, and ſo hard, that ſtriking one againſt the other, they ring like Iron. They frequent both the Land and the Water too.

The *Jaguamcu* is a Creature bigger than any Ox, and its Teeth more than a ſpan; theſe are very miſchievous, and prey both by Land and Water; they are not very common, but ſome of 'em are found in the River of St. *Francis* and in *Paraguacu*.

Sea-Wolfs.

The *Atacape* ſeems to be a Sea-Wolf; 'tis vehemently ravenous, and comes frequently up out of the Water to watch for Men, and then 'tis ſo ſwift a runner, that 'tis a hard matter to eſcape it.

Water-Hogs.

The *Water-Hog* (call'd *Capiioara*) is as big as that which lives altogether on the Land, but has no Tail like that; it will ſtay a long time under Water, but yet tho' it be ſo familiar in that Element, it lodges on the dry Land, and always brings up its young there: In the roof of the Mouth it has a very great Stone, which ſerves inſtead of Teeth; its food is Graſs and the Fruits that are to be met with along the Rivers.

The *Tortoiſes* may be mention'd too, theſe ſwarm to an incredible degree, as well they may, conſidering they lay two or three hundred Eggs at a time; they lay 'em all in the Sand, and when the young ones are hatch'd they lead 'em away to the Sea, where they are brought up. The Eggs are as big as Hens-eggs, very round, and have this property, that whether boil'd or roaſted, the White is ever ſoft. Some of the *Tortoiſes* are ſo big, that their Shells make compleat Targets for the Wars, and there was one taken upon the Coaſt of *Braſile* of ſuch a ſize that twenty men could not lift it from the ground.

In the freſh Rivers they tell us likewiſe of *Otters* and other Water-beaſts that have rich and delicate Furrs, ſome of which do no harm, and others very fierce and given to devour.

Frogs that the *Indians* fear their noiſe.

Amongſt the ſeveral ſorts of *Frogs* that lie croaking about in the Pools and Puddles of this Country, that kind which the *Indians* call *Guaririci* is not to be forgotten: What notions they have of it we can't tell, but this is certain, that they are ſo fearful of hearing it croak, that they die with that fear almoſt; and if it be their lot at any time to hear that fatal Muſick, 'tis impoſſible to perſwade 'em to think of living, but the fancy that they muſt die thereupon is ſo deeply rivetted in 'em, that they do indeed languiſh and die in good earneſt: This ſeems to be the pure effect of odd Notions and Imaginations, and is not a deſpicable Inſtance of the danger of yielding to thoſe Impreſſions at firſt. Some fantaſtical old Hagg or crackbrain'd Fellow or other amongſt the Anceſtors of theſe *Indians*, diſliking the noiſe this Animal made, gave it an ill Name, and ſpoke of it whatever a wild and crazy Imagination dictated, and their Poſterity, who think themſelves bound to believe all they ſay, took it and kept it like an Oracle, and now it has paſs'd from Generation to Generation, and is ſunk ſo deep into their heads that they can't throw it out again, but muſt preſerve it in ſpite of all Senſe and Reaſon. A poor little *Frog* can't croak in a Puddle, but half a dozen Lubbers that hear it muſt come home ſick and die upon't.

That account which has now been given of *Plants* and *Animals* relates to ſuch chiefly as are the peculiarities of this Country, at leaſt are ſtrangers to us in *Europe*; but beſides theſe, our Authors tell us, thoſe of our part of the World do live and thrive there in abundance too.

Braſile appears like another *Portugal*, for here you have the Horſes, the Herds of Cattle, the Poultry, the Grain, the Fruits, the Flowers, the Plants which that Country yields. The Reader will eaſily underſtand this of ſome, and not all theſe ſeveral things; neither do we intend any more by that reſemblance of *Braſile* and *Portugal*, than that the *Portugueſe*, who are Maſters of the Country, have tranſported a great many of the Products of their own Soil hither, and made 'em now as it were Natives of this.

Having now ſurvey'd the ſtate of Nature in this great Country, it remains that we dip a little into the civil and moral Hiſtory of the ſame.

The Religion of the Natives.

Their notion of a Deity.

Of the general Flood.

The Religion of the *Braſilians* is (like themſelves) ſomething wild and unpoliſh'd, digeſted into no Precepts, attended with no Ceremonies, and (in a word) hardly capable of any deſcription. That Power which they call *Tupan* is explain'd by them to be the Author of the Thunder and Lightning, (or rather the Thunder and Lightning it ſelf) but 'tis plain that they have no very good opinion of him, for being violently ſcared when any Tempeſt riſes upon 'em, they ſay, that's no good God that puts 'em into ſuch a fright. Yet others of 'em have attributed ſome Goodneſs and Bounty to *Tupan* too, for they ſay 'twas he that firſt gave 'em their Mattocks and Tools for Country Labours, and 'twas he that gave their Food and the encreaſe of their Lands: But when our Travellers diſcours'd to them the ſubject of the Creation and Government of the World by one Almighty Being, they look'd upon one another, like men that heard a new and ſtrange Story: Their way is when they are mightily ſurpriz'd to expreſs themſelves by this word *Teh*, which is their note of admiration, and ſolemn with them upon ſuch occaſions; thus they did now, they anſwer'd the Diſcourſe with *Teh*, *Teh*, and diſcover'd a conſiderable degree of aſtoniſhment. But the notion of the univerſal Deluge paſſes currently amongſt 'em, and they often have it in their Songs, (as well as their Diſcourſe) that the whole Earth was oppreſs'd with a Flood of Waters, and all Mankind were drown'd, except ſome of their Anceſtors, who ſav'd themſelves by climbing up into monſtrous high Trees: This both our Authors agree in to be a generally-receiv'd Tradition amongſt 'em, and they profeſs to have expreſly heard it from 'em.

Of a future ſtate.

Neither are they utterly void of notions of Good and Evil, and the conſequences of each as to ſome kind of future ſtate; 'tis true, that future ſtate is blindly deſcrib'd by 'em, and their Suppoſitions about Rewards and Puniſhments as full of barbarous Whimſie as that of their Anceſtors deliverance from the Deluge.

Virtue with them is, to defend their Country, to murder their Enemies and eat 'em when they have done: And their after-Felicities are, to be gather'd to the far-diſtant Region where their Progenitors are, to live in pleaſant Gardens, and ſport amongſt the Trees and Flowers with them. On the other hand, their Wicked Men (that is, Cowards and feeble-ſpirited inglorious Fellows) ſhall be all fetch'd away by *Aignan*, and treated in a very ſevere and cruel manner by him: But yet this, with all the whimſie and conceit of it, is ſo ſurely and firmly their Belief, that they are inſpir'd by it to do thoſe things which (according to their meaſures) are actions of Virtue and Piety. Neither are they ſo obſtinately fix'd in their own way, and ſo fond of their Opinions, as not to bear the Propoſal of any other, or to take it ill if they are diſputed with or ſometimes contradicted, they would endure all theſe Liberties with much eaſineſs and good humour, nay, would be pleas'd to hear the accounts the *Europeans* gave of their God and Religion. And truly herein the Endeavours of *Lerius* the *Frenchman* were very good and commendable; he was not backward to make uſe of any opportunity to inſtruct theſe poor barbarous People in thoſe matters which the other *Chriſtians* (who upon pretence of their Converſion conquer'd their Country) never took the pains to give 'em any information about. But to this purpoſe he tells this Story; That being one time at a certain *Braſilian* Village, there was a mighty crowd of the People about him, whom the novelty of ſuch a ſight as himſelf and his Countrymen had drawn together; the People, glad of their arrival, made 'em a great Feaſt, at which they themſelves alone ſat down, the grave men of the *Braſilians* ſtanding by and attending them all the while, for 'tis their Cuſtom never to ſit down to eat with thoſe whom they highly honour and reſpect. They obſerv'd that *Lerius* and his Companions pull'd off their Hats and ſpoke ſome words before they began to eat, and in like manner when they had done, which appearing a very odd thing to 'em, one of the elderly Men came and enquir'd the meaning of it, *What meaneth this Cuſtom* (ſays he) *which you now uſed, when taking off your Caps you all kept ſilence except one? To whom was that Speech which he made directed? Was it to any of you here preſent, or to ſome that are abſent?* Upon which *Lerius* took occaſion to diſcourſe of ſeveral points of Religion to them, and they heard him very patiently out, nay, diſcover'd ſo much reliſh and liking of the matter he had talk'd of, that many of 'em promis'd to obſerve the new Law which he had taught 'em, and did ſeveral times joyn with him and his Company in their Exerciſes of Devotion.

Reaſons of the difficulty of their converſion to Chriſtianity.

But as they are wonderfully fond of imitating the Examples of their Forefathers, and think it the higheſt glory to be like them, ſo it follows that they muſt very tenaciouſly maintain the Cuſtoms their Anceſtors did, and keep (as ſacred) whatever comes by Tradition from 'em. Beſides, they are apprehenſive of a mighty ſhame and ſcandal in abandoning an old Cuſtom and conforming to ſtrange Modes even in any thing, they think it argues a fooliſh fickleneſs and inconſtancy of mind, (tho' they change for the better) which will render them the ſcorn and deriſion of their Neighbours; and this one thing alone weigh'd very heavy with 'em, as appear'd by their own confeſſion to *Lerius*; they told him they ſhould lie under the ſcoffs and reproaches of all the bordering People, if they ſhould now become tame and gentle to their Enemies, and be afraid to eat their Fleſh as they had formerly done. This is ſuch a piece of Virtue and Bravery amongſt 'em, to treat their Adverſaries in the moſt ſevere and inhumane manner, that till their notions of Virtue and Vice are alter'd, 'tis not to be expected they ſhould ever leave it. Yet it muſt be own'd that they ſeem'd to think the *Europeans* who had no ſuch Cuſtoms better men than themſelves that had, and were it not for the 'forementiond reſtraints, could e'en be content to part with 'em. *Mair*, (would they ſay to *Lerius*, for by that name they call all *Frenchmen*) *you are very happy, who know ſo many Secrets as you do, which are all kept hid from us poor miſerable men.*

Notion they have of the Devil.

But to proceed; 'tis very clear and certain that they have a notion of ſome evil and hurtful Being, which has both will, power, and opportunity ſometimes to do 'em miſchief; the Name they give him moſt commonly (for they have ſeveral) is *Aignan*, and 'tis in no little fear and dread of him that the poor wretches live; *Lerius* affirms, that he has been often talking with them when they have fallen into an agony without any apparent reaſon, acted like mad-men, and cried out raving, that *Aignan* beat 'em. As for themſelves, they pretend to ſee very odd ſights not uncommonly, but what we now ſpeak of is what the Author was an Eyewitneſs to ſeveral times: And ſuppoſing the truth and ſincerity of his relation, (and what ſhould move any man to invent ſuch Lies of the Devil?) 'tis odd that any Prepoſſeſſions, any degree of a powerful Imagination, *Flatus*, *Hypo*, or any thing of that kind, ſhould ſhake every Limb and Bone of a Man's Body, make him ſweat with very anguiſh, and appear with a diſtorted countenance, like one ſuffering the utmoſt extremities of a rack. It is true indeed, there are amongſt 'em a parcel of Raſcals that go for Witches, and are likely enough to impreſs the People with the worſt of notions, and make 'em believe all thoſe things which will moſt contribute to the reputation of their Impoſtures; theſe go by the name of *Caraibes*, and their chief buſineſs is to go about from Village to Village, inſinuating a belief of a mighty Power they are poſſeſs'd of, and the ſtrange things they can perform; they perſwade 'em that they are able to inſpire 'em with Courage and Fortitude, and that the very Fruits of the Field are in their power, ſo that they can either make 'em flouriſh, or hinder their kindly growth if they pleaſe; and which is worſe than all this, the *Braſilians* are ſo bewitch'd as to believe 'em, and have ſo great an opinion of their Skill, that they don't take it well to have it call'd in queſtion, and 'tis almoſt the ſame thing there as to deny the Infallibility of the Pope in *Europe* amongſt them that believe it: But of the blind Credulity of the one and the roguiſh Tricks and Impoſtures of the other, this is alſo a further inſtance remarkable enough; the *Caraibes* will take three or four of thoſe Rattles they call *Maraca*, which are as big as Oſtriches Eggs, and dreſſing them up with Feathers, they thruſt the Staff unto which they are faſtned into the ground, then they command the very beſt Meat and Drink that the Houſe where they are affords to be ſet before theſe Hobbyhorſes, telling the People, that the *Maracca's* will devour it all, and they as readily believe it as that they themſelves do ever eat or drink; and thus they make them furniſh a conſtant ſupply of Proviſions for I know not how many days together, all which they take their opportunity to come and ſteal away themſelves, and ſo play the ſame trick that their honeſt Brethren the Prieſts of *Bell and the Dragon* did.

The Deluſions of the Caraibes.

Tricks of the Caraibes.

'Tis a common thing in travelling up and down the Country to ſee a parcel of theſe fine Meſſes ſtanding before a Broomſtaff, (for 'tis no better, abating the Feathers) but *Lerius* and his Companions were ſo wiſe when they met with 'em as to baffle the Conjuration, and eat 'em themſelves; this made the *Caraibes* their mortal and irreconcilable Enemies, and the *Braſilians* believ'd ſome very great misfortunes would happen to 'em for ſuch a piece of Impiety.

Solemnities of the Braſilians.

There is alſo a certain ſort of a religious Solemnity in uſe amongſt 'em, in which the *Caraibes* bear no little part. The *Tonoupinambaltii* (for 'twas amongſt thoſe that *Lerius* convers'd moſt) have a Cuſtom of coming together in a general Aſſembly once every third or fourth Year; 'twas our Author's hap in his Travels to come to that place when this great Aſſembly was met, and ſeeing ſome of the *Caraibes* amongſt 'em, and gueſſing from thence that ſome very odd things would be done, he reſolv'd to ſtay and ſee the end of it; the multitude was divided into three parts, the Men by themſelves, the Women alſo apart, and the Children ſo too, and each troop ſhut up in a diſtinct Manſion; *Lerius* and his company being Strangers, were ſhut up with the Women, and the laſt Orders the *Caraibes* left with them was, that they ſhould not any of 'em dare to ſtir out of that place, but diligently attend to the ſinging of the Men. After ſome time they began to hear a low muttering noiſe from the Apartment of the Men, at which the Women roſe up, buſtled together, and ſtood all of a heap liſtning to thoſe doleful ſounds; but when the Men rais'd their Voices, ſo that the words were diſtinctly heard, particularly the Interjection *Hè, Hè*, which they often repeated, the Women immediately broke out too, and anſwer'd in the very ſame terms; but then they proceeded to ſuch extravagancies, that the *Frenchman* was well nigh ſcar'd; together with their howlings, they ran out into ſuch wild poſtures and motions, ſhaking their Paps, foaming at the Mouth, falling down in Agonies, and lying like ſo many perfectly dead, that (to uſe his own expreſſion) one would have thought the Devil had taken corporal poſſeſſion of 'em. The Horrour was likewiſe encreas'd by the diſmal cries and ſcreamings of the Children, who when the Women were rais'd to this pitch, began to open their Pipes too; and this, *Lerius* confeſſes, made him loſe very near all his Courage, and he began then to think what might be the end of this matter, but he was freed of thoſe melancholy thoughts a little while after by the removal of the cauſe of 'em, for the diſmal ſounds languiſh'd away by little and little, and by doing ſo gave the Ear the pleaſing reſpite of a profound ſilence; the Men had finiſh'd that round of Song, and the Women and Children (like ſympathetick Chords, that beat only upon beating of the others) gave over too and held their Tongues.

The Author goes amongſt 'em.

After a ſhort interval the Men began again, but with ſo ſweet and truly harmonious a Note, that our Author was now as much raviſh'd as he was terrified before, and had a mighty deſire to remove to that Manſion where they were, that he might ſee as well as hear 'em; his Interpreter diſſwaded him upon the ſcore of the danger, and told him 'twas an Enterprize himſelf durſt never attempt, who had been converſant amongſt 'em ſeveral years; the *Braſilian* Women alſo alledg'd the ſame thing, but he being inflexibly bent to ſee the Ceremony, broke thro' all perſwaſions to the contrary, and accordingly went.

At his entrance (contrary to all expectation) the *Braſilians* diſcover'd no manner of concern, but kept their

The manner of their dancing.

order and went on with their Dances as if no Stranger had been preſent; the manner of their Dance was thus: The whole multitude was divided into three parts, and each of thoſe threw themſelves into a circle, all ſtanding very cloſe by one another, but not joyning Hands, every man's right Hand was laid upon his Buttock, and the left hanging down ſtreight by his Side, and in this poſture they danc'd along in the round ſhaking their right Legs; in the middle of every ring ſtood three or four *Caraibes* dreſs'd up after their antick manner, and holding in each hand one of the *Maraca's* before mention'd; theſe Impoſtors ſtood here to do the great Office for which they are ſo highly reverenc'd by theſe ſilly People; they mov'd up and down, danc'd backwards and forwards, and ſhook their Rattles, with ſeveral other amuſing nonſenſical actions, but theſe were but the introductory Ceremonies, for in the next place they took long Canes, into which they ſtuff'd an Herb they call *Petum*, which they put Size to, then turning themſelves hither and thither, they puff'd out the Smoak upon the multitude that ſtood round 'em, uſing theſe words, *Receive the Spirit of Fortitude, whereby you may overcome all your Enemies*: The Dances and the Muſick held on the mean while, and as for the latter, the Author (who was himſelf not ignorant of Muſick) in plain terms profeſſes, that 'twas matter of the higheſt wonder to him, how People utterly unskilful, as they are, ſhould ever lay their Notes ſo harmoniouſly together, and form Tunes ſo very pleaſing as they did; it had, he ſays, then ſuch an influence upon him, touch'd his Paſſions ſo agreeably, and excited ſo many delightful Senſations within him, that he was all Tranſport and Extaſie, and gone quite beyond himſelf, neither could he ever think upon it afterwards, but a ſecret Joy would ſteal upon him at the remembrance; in a word, he could not forget it, and that pleaſing din was always ſtriking his Ears.

The Songs they ſung at this Solemnity were partly Lamentations for their dead Anceſtors, repetitions of their Acts, hopes of their own meeting with 'em again beyond the Mountains, and diſmal threatnings of their Enemies; alſo here 'twas that our Author (amongſt the medley of Subjects their Songs went upon) heard them commemorate the general Deluge, and the drowning of the whole World except ſome of their Nation.

The buſineſs being over, the *Braſilians* made a moſt ſumptuous Feaſt (after their manner) for the entertainment of the *Caraibes*, to which they invited *Lerius* and his Company alſo; neither did they at all reſent that liberty he took in coming into their Aſſembly without their leave, tho' perhaps the firſt thing of that kind that ever was done by any *European*.

Lamentations for the Dead.

Praiſes they give the dead

Their manner of Burial.

The Ceremony of their Lamentations for the Dead and performing the Funeral Rites is no leſs odd than the former, a man that is not us'd to it, and comes amongſt 'em at ſuch a time, muſt either reſolve to lie awake all night, or elſe go ſeek a Lodging at another Village; the Women ſcream and howl at ſuch a rate, that the Muſick of a whole Wilderneſs of Wolves is not more intolerable: This is the trade as ſoon as ever a Party is dead, the Breath is no ſooner out of the Body, but Grief comes out of their Mouths with ſo helliſh a noiſe and fury, that 'tis a wonder they don't blow it all clean away, eſpecially conſidering that they hold it ſo long too, for if a Perſon dies in the Evening they'll make this melody all night long without intermiſſion; neither are they only the Members of a ſingle Family, or of two or three perhaps that are allied, that make up theſe Conſorts, but if it be a Perſon of ſome conſideration amongſt 'em that is dead, the whole Town meets to run mad together upon this occaſion: They ſay all the fine things of the Deceaſed they can think of, reckon up all his noble Qualities, as his Valour, his Hunting, his Fiſhing, his Bounty in giving Captives to his Friends to be devour'd; and this they do ſpeaking to each other in parts, mixing their Cries and Lamentations between: This our Author heard when the Dialogue proceeded thus; *That moſt valiant man is dead* (ſays one Party) *which gave us ſo many Captives to be devour'd*; to which the others anſwer'd, *Oh that notable Hunter, moſt excellent Fiſher! Oh, valiant killer of the* Portugals *and* Margaiates! And thus they went on exaggerating the Praiſes of the Dead, but then the burden of the Song (or rather of the howling) was thus, *He is dead, he is dead whom we lament*; to which the others replied, *Alas, he is dead, and we ſhall ſee him no more till we dance with him behind the Mountains, as our* Caraibes *teach us*. When they have finiſh'd theſe Ceremonies they waſh the Corps and paint it over very neatly, and then wrapping it in Cotton, they ſet it into a Veſſel which ſtands in a deep hole in the Earth; but 'tis to be obſerv'd that their way is not to lay dead Bodies horizontally, as the Cuſtom obtains in *Europe*, but either bolt upright or at leaſt ſitting in that 'foremention'd Veſſel: The Maſters of Families are generally buried in the middle of their own Houſes, and along with 'em all thoſe things they us'd to value and admire, and the reaſon they give for it is, that they may not by lying in the way revive the remembrance of the Deceaſed, and cauſe new ſorrow as often as they are ſeen; but if any man has a thing by him when he dies that was given him by another, it returns again to him that gave it, and he may lawfully ſeize it wherever he finds it, for they ſay that a man by dying loſes all right to every thing that comes to him this way.

Into the Manſion of the Dead they alſo put great ſtore of Proviſion; this is to ſtop *Aignan*'s mouth, who comes rummaging about the Graves, and if he finds no good Victuals there, eats up the Corps in revenge: And this they continue to do conſtantly till they think the Body is conſum'd, and the Worms have ſecur'd it from *Aignan*'s Depredations for ever.

It will be eaſily conceiv'd that this Notion was put into their Heads by the *Caraibes*, who come and ſteal away the Proviſions, and then make 'em believe the Devil does it; but one would ſooner believe he was in their Bellies than any where elſe, to lick ſo many Platters clean every night as they do, and that for ſo long together. Notwithſtanding the *Braſilians* believe as they tell 'em, and will do ſo in defiance even of ocular demonſtration to the contrary, *Lerius*, by watching their waters narrowly, and ſhewing them the Proviſions ſet in over night remaining untouch'd in the morning, made them plainly ſee there was no Devil in the matter, but the hungry Guts of the Prieſts, and yet they could hardly believe their own Eyes; and as 'twas with a great deal of difficulty that ſome few were convinc'd, ſo the reſt were not to be wrought upon, but perſiſted ſtill in their old Opinion, that *Aignan* came and eat up all the Victuals. What is the power of Errour and Prejudice, when inſinuated into the minds of Men, and artfully cheriſh'd there? It will upon occaſion render all their Senſes uſeleſs to 'em, and make 'em as blind with a pair of Eyes in their Heads as the Moles are that have none at all; here were People that were in doubt whether a *Dæmon* had not quite devour'd the Proviſions, tho' they ſaw it plainly lying in the Diſhes before their faces; and no doubt but the *Caraibes* could make them believe a Pig to be a Dog, or a Gooſe to be a Parrot, if they ſet themſelves to try their power over 'em.

How they end their Mournings.

After a Corps is buried, all the Kindred continue their Lamentations night and day for the ſpace of a Moon, not howling with open throat, ſo as they do at firſt when the loſs is juſt come upon 'em, but in the more moderate way of weeping and ſighing, and doing a ſort of Pennance, abſtaining from all Food the whole day, and taking a little refreſhment at night only; but when the date of the mourning time is out, they immediately apply themſelves to the work of redeeming their loſt time, and having been ſo long divorc'd from all Pleaſures and Entertainments, they plunge into 'em with no little eagerneſs, both Men and Women fall to drinking, and (that they may never be troubled with their Sorrows more) they drown them.

Manner of curing Diſeaſes.

But now theſe People, that are ſuch paſſionate bewailers of the Dead, are very ill tenders of the Sick, and one would fancy, by the trouble and pains they put themſelves to upon Deaths and Funerals, they ſhould not be very fond of 'em. They have indeed a ſort of Men amongſt 'em which they call *Pages*, and are their Phyſicians, but much fitter to be Pages in the *Engliſh* ſence of that word than in the *Braſilian*; they pretend to cure Diſtempers by Suction, that is, when the ſick perſon has diſcover'd the affected part, they apply their mouths and draw, making believe they draw and ſuck away the cauſe of the Diſtemper. Now ſuppoſe a man had a *Fiſtula in Ano*, theſe Doctors would have a fine cleanly work on't, and 'twould be odds if (while they made the Patient well) they did not make themſelves ſick: The practiſe of Phyſick in other Countries requires a man to have a good Head, but here it requires a ſtrong Stomach, and he that can eat a —— without ſpewing for the matter, may ſet up for a well-qualified Doctor.

Hard treatment of the Sick.

It's a ſtrange Humour of theſe People, that when any body is ſick they never give them any Victuals without they urge it themſelves, ſo that if a man ſhould loſe the uſe of his Tongue in a Diſtemper, he muſt ſtarve of conſequence without remedy: But it is much ſtranger ſtill, that thoſe who are about the ſick Party do nothing but dance, drink and ſing all the while he is languiſhing upon his Bed; this is a very hard caſe, and a man had much better be diſpatch'd out of the way when he begins to be ill, than be tormented with a continual noiſe in his Ears when he is in ſuch a caſe: 'Tis true, they are willing to be rid of the trouble of Attendance, and have the ſick Man at the end of his pain to as ſoon as may be, and no doubt but this is an effectual Method to accompliſh both; but then they ſhould not make ſuch a terrible ſplutter afterwards, for 'tis odd to go firſt of all to kill a Man by ill management, and then fall a howling because he is dead. But they have (as was ſaid before) a Conſolation that comes afterwards, and know how to waſh away all the Remainders of their Sorrow.

Their Marriages.

In the Point of Marriage, the *Braſilians* ſtick at no degree of Relation but that of own Mothers, Siſters and Daughters; as to all the reſt, they are free, the Uncle marries his Niece, and the Nephew his Aunt: But tho' theſe Bloods may be lawfully mingled, yet thoſe of two intimate Friends are held ſo near, that 'tis a Crime amongſt them to pretend a Marriage there. No Man may marry the Daughter or Siſter of his *Atourasſap* (as they term it) that is, his moſt familiar Friend, who lives together with him in ſuch a manner, that all their Goods are common. Their way of proceeding in the getting of Wives, is, firſt to make ſure of the Woman's Affection, and then go to her Parents, or (if ſhe has none) the next Kindred, and ask their conſent, which if they give, well and good, if not, they are contented of both ſides, and forget one another. A young Man did not uſe to be ſuffer'd to marry amongſt them, till he had given ſome Proof of his Courage in the Wars by taking or killing an Enemy, and he was obliged alſo to hold certain Feaſts for two or three Year before: So the young Women having diſcovered the Tokens of Ripeneſs, kept their Feaſts likewiſe, and then their Parents began to think of Huſbands for them. But there is a mighty deal of mirth and feaſting when a young Bride is brought home to her Bridegroom; all the Parents and Kindred of both ſides come together, and lay the Foundation of their new Relation in good eating and drinking. After the Feaſt is over, the concluding Ceremony is the delivery of a Net clean waſh'd, to the young Couple; this ratifies the Marriage, and they go preſently away to conſummate it. But leaving them in the Hammock, the Bride's Father in the mean time in the other Apartment, acts a very comical part: He takes a Stake or ſomething of the like nature, and falls to cutting and chopping of it, and what is this for, but to chop off the Tails of the young Grand-children that are now to be expected. They are mightily afraid any of their Race ſhould appear like Monkeys; but they believe they would, and come with Tails into the World, if they did not take this Method to prevent it; and therefore the Bride's Father very ſolemnly chops a Stick, which how natural a Tendency it has to hinder the growing of Tails, any body that conſiders the Matter a little deeply, will eaſily ſee.

A ſtrange Cuſtom.

Some Cuſtoms of the *Braſilians* were hinted by Mr. Knivet, but theſe Authors were in other parts of the Country.

Priviledges of the married ones.

When the *Braſilians* have married their Children, they then allow them the liberties of drinking and carouſing freely, which before they denied them; they think it proper for Youth to be bred up in all manner of moderation and abſtinence, and not have that Spur added to their natural heat and vigour, which Wine and ſtrong Liquors will certainly add: And they are introduced to this Liberty with ſomething of ceremony, the old People make a Speech to them about the ſober and moderate uſe of Wine, tell them they muſt drink ſo as not to make their Tongues run to faſt, and encline them to ſpeak bad things; and then they give them the Initiating Cup, and hold their Heads at the ſame time leaſt they ſhould be ſick and vomit; for 'tis to be noted, that if their young Men are over-power'd with the firſt Wine, they take it as an Omen of their being Cowards, but if they carry it off bravely, they conclude they'll be fit for the Wars, and fight with courage.

A prognoſtick of a good Souldier.

Cuſtoms at the birth of Children.

When a Child is born, the Father thus far performs the Office of a Midwife, as firſt of all others to receive the Child into his Arms, to waſh and paint it, cut the Navel ſtring, and preſs down the Noſe; which latter they do, becauſe they imagine the greateſt Beauty of their Children to lie in the flatneſs of their Noſes: Then without wrapping it in any ſort of Swaddling-clouts, he lays it down in a Hammock, and if it be a Boy, he brings a little wooden Sword, a Bow and Arrows, which he puts down by it, and a Bunch of Herbs, which repreſents the Enemies the young Heroe ſhall kill when he comes of age. After this, he kiſſes it, and leaves it with this ſhort hortatory Speech, *My Son* (ſays he) *when thou art come to Man's eſtate, be valiant, and take revenge of thy Enemies.* As for their management of Children, they generally let them ſuck a Year and a half, and their Mothers carry them about in Nets at their Backs, thro' heat and cold, and all weathers, wherever they go. They are extravagantly fond of, and indulgent to them, avoid all things that may make them cry, and therefore (even when they are capable of it) they never give them any correction, that they may not have ſo diſpleaſing a ſound in their Ears. But one thing deſerves particular notice, which is, that the *Braſilian* Children do in great meaſure confute our Notions here in *Europe*, about the firſt management of them, for 'tis generally ſaid, that Children would grow crooked, bandy legg'd, and every way out of ſhape, if they were not bound and ſwath'd up very cloſe and tite; whereas the *Braſilians* never uſe a Rag about theirs, they are laid down naked upon a Cotten Bed as ſoon as they are born, and carried ſo afterwards at their Mothers Backs, and yet none are better ſhap'd than they, and grow more ſtrait and upright; 'tis not common to ſee a deform'd or a diſtorted Limb amongſt them, or if there be, 'tis known to be the Effect of ſome other Cauſe.

Braſilians never ſwaddle their Infants.

Poligamy allow'd.

Poligamy is a Cuſtom generally receiv'd and allow'd in this Country; there's nothing to bound or ſtint any Man as to the number of his Wives, but his own Humour and Circumſtances; neither do they with a multiplicity of Females under their Roofs, lead lives leſs quiet and pleaſant than thoſe that have but one. The Women don't ſcold and quarrel about the biggeſt ſhare in the Man's Affections, nor plot and contrive to circumvent one another in their Amours. The Huſband may make one his Darling if he pleaſes, and the reſt will look patiently on, and won't give him or the happy Favourite any trouble by their Jealouſy. If either of the Wives ſhould defile his Bed by any adulterous practice, he has a Power in his Hands to revenge himſelf; and that he may do, either by killing her that has ſo abuſed him, or if not that, yet by putting her away with all the ignominy in the world: Death or Divorce are the Puniſhments of the Crime. But unmarried Women may take all the freedom imaginable, and no body reproach them for't. They are under no Law but that of Inclination, and know no reſtraint but that of want of Opportunity, and if that be taken away, 'tis eaſy to imagine what follows; yet to do them juſtice, the Authors ſay, they wiſh the *Europeans* did not give occaſion to ſay, that they are more beyond all ſhame and modeſty in thoſe matters than the *Braſilians.*

Adultery puniſh'd.

Free uſe of unmarried Women.

Habit.

As to what concerns the Dreſs and Habit of theſe People, 'tis quickly deſcrib'd; they go naked, except only the Ornaments of Paint and Feathers. In ſome Parts where the *Portugueze* have to do, they have conform'd themſelves a little to the *European* Cuſtom, and wear ſome ſort of Apparel; but 'tis more for pure faſhion's ſake, than regard to modeſty and decency; or, becauſe the *Portugueze* oblige them to it, and they dare not diſobey them. 'Tis plain, that they look upon Cloaths as an incumbrance, and do what they do only out of form, by their way of uſing on't; for amongſt thoſe that are provided with all neceſſary Apparel, you ſhall ſee one come abroad with a Cap only on his Head, and another with a Waſcoat or ſhort Jacket that reaches to the Navel, and every where elſe as naked as he was born; this is dreſing to good purpoſe, and ſuch a ſhort Jerkin as that, well anſwers the great deſign of Cloaths. They have various ways of cutting their Hair, of polling and ſhaving in uſe amongſt them; and indeed this is one of the main Characters by which the ſeveral Nations are diſtinguiſh'd from one another, The VVomen always cut their Hair when they become Mourners for the Dead, and alſo when their Huſbands go long and dangerous Journeys, in both which Caſes by this Cuſtom, they expreſs their ſorrow and concern.

Houſes.

Their Houſes are made of Timber, and cover'd with Palm Leaves, have two or three Doors each, and conſiſt of a great number of Rooms: Each of theſe is taken up by a diſtinct Houſhold, and has its own proper Fire-place, Hammocks and other Furniture belonging to it; they are not parted from one another by any VVall, ſo that when a Man is once entred the Door, all that the Houſe affords or contains, is open to him. Some of them are ſo large, that they hold 200 People and more, and generally all are govern'd by one principal Perſon, who is, as it were, the Maſter of the whole united Family.

Furniture.

Their Houſhold Stuff conſiſts of Earthen Jars, Baſkets, Baſons, Platters and Cups; the Cups are made of Gourds and other Fruits hollow'd for this purpoſe, and all their Baſkets and Panniers, ſome of Ruſhes, others of Graſs, but ſo very ingeniouſly wove together, that their Art deſerves highly to be commended. But the greateſt Curioſity belonging to their Houſes, are their Hanging-Beds, which they work in Looms made after their Country faſhion; ſome of them are made like Nets, others like ſolid Cloth; they are five or ſix Foot long and an Ell broad, having at either end certain Cotton Loops, thro' which the Cords paſs that faſten them to the Beams of their Houſes.

Waſhing.

VVhen theſe Hammocks are become dirty with long uſe, or by reaſon of the Smoak of their Fires which burn all Night cloſe by them in the VVinter time, they cleanſe them after this manner: The VVomen go into the VVoods and gather a Fruit not much unlike a plain Gourd in ſhape, but much bigger, ſo that one of them can ſcarce be held with one hand: This they cut into pieces, and having thrown it into a great Earthen Veſſel, and pour'd on a little water, they ſtir it vehemently about with a Stick, till a ſort of Froth ariſes; this is their Soap, and all beſides, and they need nothing elſe, for it makes their Beds comparable to the cleaneſt and whiteſt things in nature.

Works and Labours.

The Men ſpend their time in Employments ſuitable to their Sex; in Hunting, Fiſhing, Fowling, Fighting, and making Arms for that purpoſe. The VVomen ſpin and weave Cotton, dreſs Victuals and do Garden work, and are, in a word, marvellouſly induſtrious and handy. The chief Man in each Family preaches to all the Houſe in the Morning as they lie in their Hammocks, he tells them when 'tis time to riſe and go to their ſeveral Labours, and what they ſhould beſtow their time in for that day. This Cuſtom they ſay they learn'd from a certain Bird (which they call the Lord of Birds) 'tis like a Hawk, and ſings every Morning with the firſt advances of the day; they argue, that as that Bird ſets up his Note ſo as to be heard of all the reſt about him, even ſo ſhould the Maſter of a Family make all that he is concern'd with, hear his Inſtructions.

Cuſtom taken from a Bird.

Diet.

As for their Diet, it is e'en what they can get; what Nature and Providence affords, or Art and Induſtry can procure them; what the VVoods or the VVater, or the Air will yield them; what they can kill with an Arrow, or catch in a Trap, pluck from a Tree, or dig out of the Ground; 'tis the Fleſh of any Creature, rational or irrational, Fruits, Grain, Herbs, or Roots; their Stomacks are not nice and ſqueamiſh, nor do they need the courtſhip of fine Sauces: They won't ſtick even at the moſt loathſome Animals, and many Snakes and Toads have been Inſtances of the ſtrength and goodneſs of their Digeſtion. And as they are indifferent to what they eat, ſo they are as little thoughtful about the Concern of providing it; they don't ſpend time in collecting and laying up great hoards of Proviſion, but content themſelves to get in reaſonable Supplies as their VVants return upon them. The VVoods are at hand, and their Bows and Arrows, and Fiſhing Tackling, are always ready, and if they light of any ſport, they eat and are merry, if they fail, they are patient, and bear the Inconveniencies of Hunger and Thirſt with an eaſy mind, till they can remove them.

Times of eating.

They obſerve no ſtated times for eating; the Formalities of Breakfaſt, Dinner, and Supper are not known amongſt them: If they have a Stock of Proviſions by them, they make but one Meal on't, but that runs thro' the whole 24 Hours; for they eat all Night as well as all day long, and like ſome People that we ſay their Money burns in their Pockets, and they can't be quiet till 'tis all gone, ſo the *Braſilians* are as reſtleſs till their Cup-boards are empty, and the Houſe be clear'd about them.

Drinking Feaſts.

Ordinarily they don't drink at their Meals, but make a diſtinct and particular buſineſs of that afterwards; they love it ſo well, that they won't do it, but when they have leiſure to attend and ſet to it; and indeed they ply it ſo cloſe, that they generally lie level with the Horizon by that time they have done. But their extravagancy this way appears much more at their ſet Feaſt, which they often make. Upon theſe Occaſions there are ſome of them that go ſinging about from Houſe to Houſe, calling and inviting all they can find to come to be merry. This Mirth laſts two or three days, or perhaps more, and it's made up of Muſick, Drinking, and Dancing; there is ſome eating work alſo, but that's at the beginning, and (as the leſs principal part of the Entertainment) ſerves only for an Introduction to the reſt. And they are ſo indefatigable in theſe Sports, that they allow themſelves no time for reſt; they never ſleep a wink all the while, but ſpend the whole time in dancing and drniking. Sometimes too the ſtrong Liquors work ſo powerfully, that they go to lugging one another by the Ears, to breaking of Pates, and fingering one anothers VVives promiſcuouſly; they fall all of a heap, and do all the ruſtical things that a wild Mobb let looſe upon one another can be ſuppoſed to do. Abſtracting from theſe accidental Diſorders, they are a People of ſober civil carriage enough; they agree wonderfully well together, and very ſeldom brawl or fight; but if any quarrel happen, and one be wounded by another, if he that did the miſchief can be taken, he is wounded exactly in the ſame part of the Body by the Kinſmen or Friends of the Sufferer. In a word, they are mighty punctual in their Retributions in caſe of Corporal Damage; the *Lex talionis* obtains amongſt them in its utmoſt vigour, and 'tis not only Life for Life, but Eye for Eye and Tooth for Tooth, without any limitation or excuſe.

Good qualities of the *Braſilians.*

Their exact Juſtice.

Kindneſs to their Wives.

None are more kind and gentle to their VVives than the *Braſilians* for the moſt part are; if they are otherwiſe, 'tis when VVine has got the maſtery of them, and then they excuſe it to the good VVomen afterwards, telling them that the fault was in the VVine; which commonly makes up the matter betwixt them. And, whether it be out of love or jealouſy, or a mixture of both, they ſeldom go out, but their VVives go with them; when they go from home the Man walks before, and the VVoman comes after, which is, that if there ſhould be a Danger of any ſort, the Man may meet with it firſt, and give his VVife an opportunity to make her retreat; but when they come homeward, they ſhift places, the VVoman is firſt, and the Man comes behind for her guard; ſo that either way the VVoman is ſtill neareſt home.

Care for their Children.

They teach their Children very early to dance after their Country manner, and not only that, but to ſing too; theſe are the firſt things they learn as ſoon as they are capable, and 'tis indeed the chief part of their Inſtitution. But 'tis obſervable, that they document ſo, that even while they are very young, one ſhall ſeldom ſee thoſe little Squabbles and Fallings out amongſt them, that Children are very incident to in other places; they don't fight and call one another names, nor give any ſort of bad language to one another, but follow their Play with a great deal of peace and quietneſs. The *Braſilians* are much more thankful if any one does theſe young ones a kindneſs; if he teaches them any thing, or makes them a Preſent, than if 'twas done to themſelves; and there's no ſurer way to make an entire Purchaſe of their Friendſhip, than to expreſs a fondneſs for, and a good will to their Children. And for this Reaſon 'twas that they had ſo great an eſteem for the *Portugueſe* Fathers; thoſe Prieſts were very intent upon the Education of their Children, taught them to read and write and caſt account, and to ſing after the *European* manner, and in ſhort, always gratified and delighted them with one new thing or other; ſo that the Parents look'd upon them as the very beſt of Men, and were entirely captivated by theſe Methods.

Contentedneſs with their mean way of living.

As to worldly Grandeur and Riches, as there is very little of it to be ſeen amongſt the *Braſilians*, ſo they ſeem to be a People wholly void of all manner of Ambition and Deſire that way. They affect no ſtately Pallaces, ſplendid Equipages, or great and pompous way of living. If they have Kings amongſt them, they are crown'd with Feathers; and a Gentleman is not one that has 1000 Pound a Year, and is follow'd by half a dozen Footmen in gawdy Liveries; but a poor naked Fellow that has a Skin as thick as Parchment, and raced all over after ſuch a manner, that it looks as if they had been pricking Patterns upon it. They content themſelves with their homely Cottages, that juſt ſerve to defend them from the Injuries of the weather; and conſidering nothing but Convenience and a bare Supply of the Neceſſities of Nature, they move their Dwellings up and down, fixing themſelves here and there, according as they can beſt anſwer thoſe Purpoſes. Neither do they trouble themſelves any more about the getting a great deal of Land, than of building fine Houſes, making curious Walks and Proſpects, and other Delights of that nature. They have Ground indeed to improve and cultivate for the Service of their Families, but not with all thoſe Guards of Hedges and Ditches that we have: Every Maſter of a Family uſes at pleaſure what will be convenient for his own Houſe, without drawing Lines to mark out properly, or ſetting up any Land-marks for a Caution to his Neighbour: So that here are no Quarrels nor Contentions about the Diviſion of Lands and the Bounds of Eſtates; no going to law for a Hedge or a Fence, or ſpending whole Eſtates about a Foot of Ground. The *Braſilians* wou'd ridicule ſuch People to the laſt degree, unleſs they thought them mad, and ſpared them upon that account; for they look upon the Earth to be equally free for them all, and that 'tis every ones Priviledge to enjoy as much of it as ſerves his occaſion, and when that's done, as he has reaſon to be contented, ſo no body elſe has any thing to do to diſturb him in his Poſſeſſion.

Move their Dwellings up and down.

No diviſion of Lands.

Money

No Money amongſt them.

They work for Neceſſaries.

Money is a thing wholly unknown amongſt them, neither have they any manner of need of it in their happy and eaſy way of living. If they have occaſion for one another's Labour or Aſſiſtance, they make the Recompence in ſomething or other which Nature furniſhes to their Hands. Thus when they call others to help them in their Huſbandry Works, they make good ſtore of Wines for the Labourers to drink, and this is every whit as pleaſing a Reward to them, as ſo much Money a day wou'd be to others, neither do they care how long they work upon the ſame ſcore; their Neighbours that employ them give them the Neceſſaries they want, and they believe they have nothing beyond that in life to look after. And if there be any ſhadow of ſuch a thing as Trade amongſt them, its only bartering and exchanging one Commodity for another, unleſs we allow Shells, Feathers, and fine Stones to be Money, for then we may ſay indeed that there is buying and ſelling. Now conſidering theſe things, one muſt yield the *Braſilians* to be thus far a happy People; and by their great contentment with ſo little of the World, to reprove the covetous and ambitious temper of others who (tho' ſuperiour to them in many excellent Qualifications) yet are ſo far from reaching this Point of Vertue, that they have no other care nor paſſion left in them, but that for hording and raking up together as much Wealth as is poſſible. VVhat quiet and truly pleaſant lives do theſe Savages (if we muſt call them ſo) live in compariſon with them? Their Heads are burden'd with no great and mighty Deſigns, nor do they break their reſt with thinking of the Fortune of ſuch an Adventure at Sea, or ſuch a Project at Land: They ſleep ſound in their Hammocks, dreaming of no Shipwracks nor Plunders, and their Minds lie as eaſy as their Bodies in thoſe ſoft hanging Beds. 'Tis true, a Muſqueto or ſome troubleſome Inſect or other may poſſibly viſit them ſometimes, but the ſting of a Flie is much eaſier to be born than that of painted Thoughts, and Fears, and Cares; ay, a Scorpion is a more tollerable Companion than theſe.

A Diſcourſe between the Author and a *Braſilian.*

'Twas a Conference well worth obſervation, which *Lerius* once had with a *Braſilian* upon theſe Matters, and admirably well ſhews the Sence of their Minds about thoſe things which the reſt of Mankind commonly dote ſo much upon. *What is the meaning* (ſays the *Braſilian*) *that you* Mairs *and* Pero's (that is, *French* and *Portugueſe*) *come ſo far as our Country to fetch Wood? does your own Country afford you no Fuel for the Fire?* To this *Lerius* anſwer'd, *That they had in his Country Wood enough to burn, but that was not the Uſe they put the* Braſile-*wood to; they uſed that in the Buſineſs of Dying, which none that grew in his part of the World was fit for. But* (replies the other) *have you need of ſo great quantities of it, and won't leſs than you fetch away ſerve your turn?* He told him No, *one rich Merchant alone in his Country was Maſter of as many Scarlet Cloths, Looking-glaſſes, Knives, and Beads, and all the fine things that they admired, as would buy ſeveral Ships Lading of the* Braſile-*wood. Ah!* ſays the *Braſilian, You tell me very ſtrange and wonderful things; but pray does that great rich Man you ſpeak of never die? and if he does, who is Heir of all thoſe Goods he leaves behind him? Lerius* told him, *His Children, or if he had none, his next Kindred. Surely by this* (replies the wiſe old Savage) *a Man may eaſily perceive that you* Mairs *are very great Fools; for what need you tire and turmoil your ſelves at that rate in ſailing over the Ocean, where (as you tell us your ſelves) you ſuſtain ſo many Hardſhips and Dangers? Is it that you may get Riches for your Children and living Kinsfolk? Simple Men! Is not the Earth that has nouriſhed you, ſufficient alſo to maintain them? We have Children and Kinsfolk as well as you, and them (as you ſee) we love dearly; but ſince we confidently hope that it ſhall come to paſs, that after our departure beyond the Mountains, the ſame Earth which has nouriſhed us, ſhall alſo relieve and cheriſh them; herein we repoſe our ſelves and reſt content.* Here the Dialogue broke off, and what our Author anſwer'd to the laſt Sentence of the *Braſilian*, is not told us; it may be he held his Tongue and ſaid nothing, which perhaps was the beſt reply he could make in this caſe.

The *Braſilians* liberal.

The good Temper of theſe People is farther ſeen in their diffuſive bounty and Charity: A Man can't offer them a greater affront, than by calling them Niggards, or any way ſuſpecting their generoſity and good nature; and they are much pleaſed on the other hand, if a Man will make uſe of their Kindneſs, and ſuffer them to ſupply his Wants. They make a conſtant Practice of giving one another Fiſh, and Meal, and Fruits, or almoſt any thing that they are Maſters of, and if they know of any one that wants what they have in the Houſe by them, they'll be ſure to ſend him a Supply. They carry it after the ſame free and kind-hearted way to Strangers too, and tho' they have the Name of Barbarians put upon them, yet none are certainly more truly hoſpitable than they. * 'Tis true, their ways of receiving Strangers is ſomething odd, and may look a little barbarous, tho' the worſt of it is, that it may probably frighten thoſe that are not accuſtomed to it; but if a Man can ſtand the firſt Shock of their rude Salutations, and hear all their Weepings and Out-cries without fear, he'll have no cauſe to be afraid afterwards, but may promiſe himſelf to be made very much of.

**Knivet's* entertainment in another part of the Country was in many things like this.

This was amongſt the *Tououpinambaltians.*

An Adventure of the Authors amongſt them.

They ſtrip him.

Lerius profeſſes that he was not a little confounded at their manner of treating him at his firſt arrival amongſt them; and expected no other than firſt of all to be rifled, and afterwards ſent beyond the Mountains. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, they came ſwarming about him, and jabber'd out all together, their *Marapè Derere?* that is, *What's your Name?* In the mean time one takes off his Hat and puts it upon his own Head, another gets his Coat, and a third his Sword and Belt, which he threw over his naked Shoulders; and thus dreſs'd up with his Spoils, they run up and down ſhewing the fine things to their Companions. A little while after, this firſt Tranſport was over, and they came and very civilly reſtor'd every thing again; which was ſo much beyond *Lerius*'s expectation and deſire, that he would freely have given all that and more, to have had them kept away for good and all, and not have come near him a ſecond time. But his Interpreter then told him, they greatly deſired to know his Name; now they are not able to pronounce any of our *European* Names, neither can they make any ſence of them if they could ſpeak them; for all the Names in uſe amongſt them being taken from things, and things that they ordinarily converſe with, it would appear a kind of mockery to them, to tell them of any other but ſuch. *Lerius* therefore ſuppreſſed his Chriſtian Name *John*, and that of *Lerius* ſignifying an Oyſter in the *Braſilian* Tongue, he took that hint from the Interpreter, and told him he was call'd *Leriy-ouſſou.* This gave them a great deal of Satisfaction, and they often uſed their word *Teh* at it; at laſt they replied, *Surely this is a very excellent Name, nor have we ever yet met with any* Mair *that had ſuch a one as this.* All this while *Lerius* cou'd not well tell what to make of them, and was ſtill under ſome fear leſt they ſhould eat the Oyſter, as they had done many others of the ſame kind before; however, his Interpreter who knew their Cuſtoms perfectly well encouraging him, he reſolved to venture a little farther amongſt them. When they came into the Village where they intended to lodge for that Night, they found the People dancing and very merry upon the account of one of their Enemies whom they had taken and killed that day; but *Lerius* could not find in his Heart to bear a part with them in their Mirth; one of the firſt Sights he ſaw, was the Limbs of the dead Man broiling upon a Gridiron, and this made him relapſe into his former fear, and begin to doubt whether his own wou'd not be the next to be ſo dreſs'd. Yet he went into the Houſe, and, according to the cuſtom, immediately laid himſelf down in a Hammock, where he had not been laid long, but the Wives and Daughters of his Hoſt came weeping and lamenting about him: They rejoiced at his happy coming in tears, and ſpoke abundance of things in his commendation: *Have you taken ſo much pains to come and ſee us? you are good, you are valiant, you are wiſe, you have brought many excellent Merchandizes along with you which we want here.* But *Lerius* underſtood neither their Complements nor their Wants, only the Preſence of his Interpreter was a Comfort to him, and made him hope all would end well. Now they always expect that their Gueſts ſhould diſcover ſome ſort of Paſſion and Concern while they are entertaining them after this manner; and therefore they muſt ſit with a very ſober ſettled Countenance, and if they can't cry in good earneſt, they muſt pretend to do ſo at leaſt, and fetch many deep and bitter ſighs: But ſome of the *French*-men did not need to counterfeit a Paſſion; for whether 'twas out of fear or meer ſympathy, is uncertain, but however they cried and ſobb'd as well as the Women, and *Lerius* himſelf was obliged to make them believe he was not far from doing the ſame. When this Scene had held a while, in came the *Mancaſſat* (the Maſter of the Houſe) very buſily employ'd about making an Arrow, which he minded for ſome time without ſo much as once caſting an Eye upon his Gueſts, or ſaying any thing to them. At laſt he came up to *Lerius*, and gave him the Salutation, expreſſing a great deal of ſatiſfaction at his coming thither, and enquiring preſently whether he were not hungry or no; then he order'd his People to bring in what the Houſe afforded, which

Enquire after and are pleaſed with his Name.

tho' but their ordinary Fare, and ſerv'd up in a homely courſe manner, yet gave plain Indications of a ſincere and hearty Welcome. The *Braſilians* of this Village were (as was hinted before) making merry upon the death of a Captive, to which Sports *Lerius* had no mind to go, being weary and indiſpos'd, but inſtead of that, betook himſelf to his reſt in his Hanging-Bed; but he had not ſlept long, before the noiſe which the Savages made (dancing and carowſing upon this Occaſion) waked him, and had not that done it, what follow'd would; for preſently upon this, one of them comes up to him, with a roaſted Foot of the poor Victim in his Hand, which he held out to him, intending thereby that they look'd upon that ſort of Food as a Dainty, and had ſent him that piece to taſte. But *Lerius* who look'd about him and found his Interpreter gone, began now to act that part himſelf, and interpreted that the holding up of this roaſted Foot to him, ſignified the like piece of Cookery ſhortly to be performed upon himſelf. Had there been any way of eſcape for him left, he had that Minute quitted his Hammock, and ventured out into the Woods, but there was none; for he ſaw a Guard of *Braſilians* ſtanding about him, and theſe he thought were to keep him for the Gridiron next Morning; but were indeed no other than the Waiters which they always make attend upon Strangers, as a piece of civility they think due to them. Seeing himſelf therefore ſhut up on every ſide, he betook himſelf to his Prayers, and ſpent the whole Night in Devotion; as any Man duly touch'd would, who expected he muſt be executed next Morning. All this while the *Braſilians* wondred what had come to the Man, that he was in ſuch an agony; he mutter'd to himſelf, and ſigh'd and groan'd, and had a world of uneaſy Poſtures in his Hammock; yet they ſaid nothing to him, but let him alone. The honeſt Interpreter for his part had ſpent the Night with the Savages at their merry Bout, and was in no concern about his Maſter, becauſe he knew the Fidelity and good Diſpoſition of the People among whom he was. However at break of day home he comes, and finds him very ill, as pale as Aſhes, and taken with a Feavour, at which he was ſurpriz'd, and therefore ask'd him whether he had not reſted well that Night. One may eaſily imagine what Anſwer *Lerius* gave to this Queſtion, and how the Interpreter was ſchool'd after his Night's Paſtime; but yet to compleat the Jeſt, he tells the *Braſilians* in what a Terrour his Maſter had lain in all Night, and how they had frighten'd him with holding up the Leg of the roaſted Man to him. They ſaid they were very ſorry they had made him ſo uneaſy, and that indeed they perceived he was out of order; then they were not able to hold out any longer, but broke out into ſuch an extravagant fit of laughter, that *Lerius* inſtead of being afraid, was now more aſhamed that he had made them ſo much ſport. One may venture to relie upon the Credit of this Story, ſince the Author tells it of himſelf, and it does not ſeem to make much for his advantage. But beſides this, he had ſeveral other Adventures amongſt the *Braſilians*, all which (as he declares) gave ample teſtimony of their Courteſy and Hoſpitality to Strangers, and makes it very certain that no Man need fear to go amongſt them, provided he does not exaſperate them by Injuries and Affronts.

How to procure the good will of the Savages.

On the other hand, at the expence of a few Trifles, ſuch as Knives and Combs for the Men, Sciſzers, Bracelets and Looking-glaſſes for the VVomen, and Fiſh-hooks for the Children, a Man may purchaſe the Friendſhip of a whole Nation of them; for they value all People (that diſcover any thing of a bountiful temper) at a high rate, and therefore, tho' if you have nothing to give, you may freely have the Refreſhment their Houſes afford, yet if you oblige them with any of theſe little Toys, they'll be even Horſes to you into the Bargain: If you are weary and can't travel, they'll take you up aſtride their Shoulders, and go along with as much briskneſs as can be. *Lerius* ſays, he often made uſe of theſe two legg'd Hackneys, and the Hire perhaps was a two-penny Knife. They need no VVhip nor Spur, but rather a Bridle, for they never ſtop till they come to the End of their Journey. He out of pity one time deſired the *Braſilian* that carried him, to ſtand ſtill and take a little breath, but he anſwer'd him laughing, *What*, ſays he, *do you think I am ſo effeminate, or of ſo weak a courage, that I ſhould faint and lie down under my Burthen? no, I would rather carry you all the day without any Intermiſſion.* This Drudgery the *Braſilians* are train'd up to from their Cradles as it were; for there are no Beaſts of burthen amongſt them, ſo that all the heavy Loads that ſhould be laid upon the Backs of Horſes, Camels, and the like, are forced to come upon their own; and indeed they are broad enough to bear them.

The *Braſilians* carry Men upon their Backs.

We have hitherto ſeen ſomething of the more civil Manners and Cuſtoms of this People, we muſt now conſider thoſe that relate to War, and their Treatment of their Enemies, in all which we ſhall find them as fierce and violent, as we did the others tame and good-natur'd. The *Braſilians* live in perpetual Wars with one another; there's hardly two Nations of them that agree and league together, unleſs perhaps to the deſtruction of ſome others to which they are both Enemies. And where a Quarrel is once ſprung amongſt them, it is immortal, and goes on from one Generation to another; neither (conſidering the Principles and Notions they go upon) can it poſſibly be otherwiſe; for they are not led by thoſe Motives to make War upon one another that other People are; it is not Ambition and the Fame and Glory of a Victory, they are not ſolicitous about enlarging their Territories, nor puſh'd on with a covetous Deſire of poſſeſſing the Goods and Spoils of their Enemies; they fight purely for revenge, and to do themſelves juſtice upon thoſe that have killed and devoured their Friends and Kinsfolk. Now then every Battle that is fought beſides revenging the old Injuries on both ſides, muſt unavoidably introduce new ones; for 'tis hard to imagine any Action of this nature, without ſuppoſing ſome ſlain or taken Priſoners at the ſame time. So that here are new Wrongs and new Occaſions of fighting continually added to their old ones; every time they fight their Paſſion and Revenge has a freſh Spur added to it, and every ſucceeding Generation has all the Quarrels of the foregoing ones entail'd upon it.

Cauſes of their Wars.

Old Men make Speeches.

The elder Men, by long Speeches and Harangues made for that Purpoſe, excite their Courages, and prompt them on to Battle; this is a ſolemn Cuſtom amongſt them, and they ſeldom go to war without having firſt ſeveral Sermons made upon the noble Actions of their Anceſtours, and paſſionate Exhortations to initiate them in the Vertues of ſlaying and devouring their Enemies. Thus do theſe rude Oratours ſtir up the People in every Village, and they being eaſily moved and enflamed, aſſemble themſelves together, and meet at the appointed place of Rendezvouz. Theſe old Men have alſo the Charge of the Army, and the Conduct of all the Military Affairs, and tho' they march their Troops in no manner of order at all, yet they obſerve this Rule, to keep the moſt valiant Men in the Front, and make them give the Enemies the firſt of his Entertainment.

Their Furniture.

As for Weapons, they are provided with thoſe that are ſufficient to anſwer all the bloody Purpoſes of War.

Swords.

The Swords are made, ſome of a red and others of a black wood, that is very cloſe and heavy; they are five or ſix Foot long, and a Foot broad in the wideſt part, of a kind of an oval form; the thickeſt part of the Back is at leaſt an Inch, but the Edge is exceeding thin and ſharp; 'tis true, they are wooden Swords, but they don't cut after a wooden manner; for the Author ſays a very ſharp Ax will hardly do more execution.

Bows.

Their Bows are made of the ſame ſort of wood, and exceed ours ſo much in length and thickneſs, that few *Europeans* are able to bend or unbend them; nay, 'tis taſk enough to manage even the Bows they make for their Children of 10 or 12 Years old. The Bow-ſtrings are made of a Plant call'd *Tocou*, which tho' it be very ſlender, yet it is ſo tough and ſtrong, that it will bear the force of a Horſe pulling it.

Arrows.

Their Arrows are about an Ell long, conſiſting of three Joints, the middle part is Cane or Reed, and the two Extreams are black wood, and theſe Joints are ſo firmly bound together with the Bark of Trees, that Glew it ſelf could not make them faſter: The Tails of them are furniſh'd with Feathers of a Foot long to make them fly the more ſteadily; and the Heads arm'd with the Tooth of ſome Beaſt, or ſome ſharp Fiſh-bone, or a Reed four or five Inches long, and made ſmooth and thin like a Surgeon's Launce. Since the *French* and *Portugueze* came amongſt them, they have learn'd to make the Heads of their Arrows of Iron, and ſometimes perhaps ſtrike in a very long ſharp Nail at that end: But which way ſoever 'tis, they are a bloody Weapon, and will go thro' any thing almoſt; they'll cleave a large Stick aſunder, and have been known to flie quite thro' a Man's Body and ſtick faſt in the Ground on t'other ſide. Many times they poiſon them too, and and notch and jag the Heads at that rate, that they carry as certain death along with them almoſt as a Cannon Bullet, tho' much more cruel and painful.

Skilful Archers.

But they are ſtill more terrible Weapons, by being in the Hands of ſuch ſkilful Shooters; for there's hardly any Mark, tho' ever ſo ſmall, but they will hit it, and they can not only fetch down the ſmalleſt Bird from a Tree, but ſtrike even any little Vermine whatſoever that crawls upon the Ground; and they are every whit as quick and dextrous as they are exact and ſure in the uſe of their Bows; they'll ſend one Arrow flying after another with a wonderful nimbleneſs, and 'tis as much as the beſt *European* Archer can do to diſpatch four or five in the time that they will a dozen.

Targets.

For defenſive Armour, they have only Targets made of the Hide of a Beaſt, with which they cover themſelves in Battle, and receive the Arrows of their Enemies: Neither do they care for or deſire any more, and they are ſo far from fancying the Cuſtoms of other Nations that uſe Coats of Mail, Head-pieces, and the like, that if they had but a Shirt on, they would throw it off before they went to fight, becauſe they look upon any thing of this nature as a burthen and an incumbrance to them. As for Iron Swords, they did not eſteem them for the Purpoſes of War, and when the *French* beſtow'd ſome amongſt them, they always kept them out of the Scabberds, and us'd them to cut Sticks and Boughs of Trees withal, as they wou'd any other Domeſtick Inſtrument.

Trumpets and Pipes.

To encourage their Souldiers, they have alſo a kind of warlike Muſick, which keeps playing as they march: Some blow with a ſort of Horns that are about an Ell and half long, and broad like a Trumpet at the lower end; others pipe with little VVhiſtles, which they make of the Bones of their Enemies, and theſe to be ſure have a mighty influence to inſpire them with courage and reſolution.

Their way of attacking an Enemy.

Their Armies are more or leſs numerous, according to the Occaſion, but when they have aſſembled what Forces they judge convenient, they begin to march towards the Enemies Country; and when they have enter'd their Borders, a ſelect number of the beſt Souldiers advance a Day or two's Journey before the reſt, and poſt themſelves in the VVoods, waiting there till they have an Opportunity to fall upon the Enemy with ſome advantage; or if that Deſign fails, and the Enemy keeps out of their reach, they take their time to ſurprize them in their Villages, which they may eaſily do, ſince they lie all open, and have no manner of fence about them; yet ſince the coming of the *Europeans* amongſt them, they have learn'd to fortify themſelves a little, making certain Intrenchments about their Villages, and defending the Entrances with ſharp Stakes, by which means they grew more cautious of aſſaulting one another in the Night than they uſed to be before. But when they agree of both ſides to decide the Controverſy fairly in the Field, and come to a pitch'd Battle, nothing (as *Lerius* tells us, who was an Eye-witneſs) can be more fearful and horrible. He with ſome of his Country-men, accompanied the *Tououpinam-baltians* in an Expedition againſt the *Margaiates*, that moſt deadly Enemy, tho' all the Service they did, was only to ſet the others on, and every now and then to let fly a ſmall ſhot or two.

The fury of their pitch'd Battles.

As ſoon as ever the *Tououpinam-baltians* had ſight of their Enemies, they broke out into ſuch loud and horrible Out-cries, that they made all the Shoar ring again, and *Lerius* ſays, he believes Thunder cou'd ſcarce have been heard at that time. VVhen they were advanc'd nearer to each other, they redoubled their Cries on both ſides, blew their Horns and whiſtled with their Bone Pipes, and when that Shout was over, they ſtood threatning one another for ſome time; ſome held up the Bones of their dead Enemies, and others ſhew'd the Teeth of them, which they had hung in Strings about their Necks; in ſhort, they had ſo many frightful Actions and Geſtures, that 'twas enough to ſcare a Spectator to ſee only what they then did: But when they once came to join Battle, the Terrour of all the former Scenes was quite forgotten; the Rage and Fury that tranſported the *Tououpinam-baltians* was hardly to be expreſs'd; they expoſs'd their naked Bodies (cover'd only with their Targets) without fear or diſcretion, to the Showers of Arrows their Enemies threw upon them; thoſe that were wounded, tore the Arrows out of their Fleſh, bit them for madneſs like ſo many Dogs, and then went on fighting as before. No VVounds nor loſs of Blood, no Danger nor Pain could make them leave fighting, only thoſe that died were quiet; as for the others, their Fury held up to the ſame pitch, and the inſatiable thirſt of Blood ſtill hurried them on, till the Enemy not able to endure ſo much violence, gave ground, and left them entire Maſters of the Field.

Horrible and pleaſant ſight together.

But notwithſtanding the Horrours of ſo bloody a Field, the Author ſays, that there was ſomething very pleaſing and entertaining to the Eye in it too; for beſides the comical Actions of the Combatants, in their whiſtling, leaping, and throwing themſelves about into ſeveral Figures, with a ſurprizing nimbleneſs and dexterity, their Habits of Feathers with the Sun ſhining upon them, and putting a luſtre upon all thoſe varieties of Colours, was a very agreeable ſight; then the vaſt numbers of Arrows flying to and fro in the Air with thoſe long and beautiful Feathers faſtned to them, made a very glaring Shew, and a Spectatour that ſtood ſafe out of the way, might be very well pleaſed with the bare Phenomenon. *Lerius* and his Friends purchaſed no little good will amongſt the Savages, by going to War with them, for they are mightily pleaſed at any Strangers being witneſs of their valour (the virtue they moſt value themſelves upon) and therefore upon ſuch Occaſions, always deſire their Company along with them, and take it extreamly well if it be granted. But the plain truth on't is, 'tis a dangerous piece of Civility to yield to them in this matter, for here a Man may (not unlikely) complement himſelf out of Life or Limb; while the Arrows thus flying about at randome, he that does not fight, but only gapes upon them that do, may chance to have one in his Mouth, and that would go near to ſpoil him for an Oratour for the time to come.

Their Triumphs after Victory.

When the War is ended, the victorious Troops march home with a great deal of noiſy clamorous Triumph; now the Bone Whiſtles and the Horns of an Ell long, make all the muſick they can, and the Songs of the Women that follow the Camp (like the Out-cries of the Men before the Battle) make all the Country ring about them. Of all the Honours attainable in this life, theſe People are ſenſible of none greater than that of beating their Enemies and leading home a multitude of Captives; And therefore they celebrate no Feaſts with ſo many Ceremonies, nor with ſo profuſe and extravagant a Mirth, as they do thoſe they obſerve upon theſe Occaſions. But all this Joy is a ſad preſage to poor Priſoners, and denounces to them their approaching fate. They are to furniſh the Materials of the Feaſt, and whatever be the Drink, their Bones muſt be pick'd to find Meat for't.

How they manage their Priſoners.

He that has taken a Captive (as a mark of his condition) ties a ſmall Cord about his Neck, and if he be thought likely to attempt an Eſcape, faſtens one Hand alſo to his Neck; beſides this, he paints his Eyelids, Eyebrows and Beard, and polls him after his Country faſhion, and then trimming him up with Feathers (ſo thick that nothing elſe can be ſeen about his Head) makes a ſhow of him in every Town he comes to. Thus are theſe miſerable Wretches inſulted all the way till they come into the Conquerour's Country, and here they are met upon the Borders by the Women, who come ſhouting to receive them: After this, they don't any way torment or deal hardly with them, nor ſo much as impriſon them; they only put a hard Collar about their Necks, and inſtead of Shackles, tie their Legs below the Knees with a very weak ſort of Bandage, which a Man may eaſily get himſelf free from. But this they don't often do neither, unleſs they apprehend any danger of looſing their Prey; on the other hand they appoint him a Keeper or two, that never ſtir from him, and ſo give him all the liberty imaginable of going about the Fields and the Woods: And 'tis pleaſant enough that the *Braſilians* ſhould think their Women fitteſt for this Office, and make them guard the Priſoners as they do: They had ſure a mighty confidence in the Vigilence and Fidelity of that Sex, to commit that to their keeping, the loſs of which would ſpoil all their Sport. But however they have been well enough rewarded ſometimes for their good Opinion; for theſe truſty Guardians have not only let the Priſoners go, but alſo run away themſelves after them: 'Tis true, they have endeavour'd to prevent this, by employing thoſe Women, whoſe intereſt and relation to the principal Perſons concern'd, ſhould oblige them to be faithful in the Caſe; but notwithſtanding all that, they expoſe themſelves to hazards, and they ought to be ſure the Woman does not like the Priſoner before they make her his Guardian; for if ſhe does, ſhe lies under a powerful temptation to put him in a way of ſaving his life, and then when ſhe has done that, ſhe muſt run after him to ſave her own. 'Tis much pleaſanter ſtill, that this Woman who is the Priſoner's Keeper, and beſides, his Cook to dreſs his Victuals, is alſo commonly given him for a Wife too. This is yet a ſtronger Motive to Infidelity; but 'tis a ſad Dilemma the poor Woman is brought to, ſhe muſt either betray her own Friends (perhaps her own Father) or reſign her Huſband up to a barbarous death, when 'tis in her power to deliver him; and certainly whatever puniſhment ſhe deſerves for the former Crime, yet if ſhe were guilty of the latter, ſhe ſhou'd e'en go down upon the ſame Gridiron and broil together with him.

Some of the Captives content to die.

him. But it happens ſometimes that there needs not very much caution and vigilence in the matter; the Priſoner himſelf deſpiſes liberty, and is contented to be eaten. He eats, and drinks, and ſleeps, and grows fat upon't; he keeps company, and takes his pleaſure, as if he were condemn'd to live, and to live merrily too; and ſome of them are ſo far beſotted as to be pleas'd with their fate, and to think it a mighty great Priviledge (by being buried in the Mens Bellies) to be excus'd from the noiſome Putrefactions of a Grave, and being eaten by ſuch vile Creatures as Worms are. But they need not trouble themſelves about that, for their Enemies are ever ready to do them that favour, and will find Burying-places for as many Corps as they pleaſe; only this is to be fear'd, that they may'nt lye altogether ſo ſecure as they promiſe themſelves; for the Worms is a very common Diſtemper in thoſe Parts, and thoſe Vermine may poſſibly meet with them at ſecond hand, in the Bellies of the other People.

Feſtival Uprours.

'Twould be endleſs to tell all the Particulars of theſe Feſtivals, how they drink and dance, and dreſs up the Victim with Feathers, and diſguiſe him with Paints, till they have made him look like a Monſter, that is indeed more fit to be knock'd o'the Head, than ſuffer'd to live. In a word, they are all drunk and mad upon this Occaſion, there's nothing but noiſe, babbling, and confuſion amongſt them; they are not contented to talk, but they ſtand whooping and ſcreaming out Stories to one another, of their own and their Great Grand-father's Acts in the Wars: And here every Man will be heard, tho' it coſts him the breaking of a Vein; ſo that the great Point is, who can be loudeſt, and moſt effectually drown the reſt of the pretending Voices about him. Theſe ſort of Entertainments laſts for three or four days, neither is there any intermiſſion of noiſe for all that time (including the Nights too) any longer than while they juſt drink, or go aſide to eaſe nature. After this, the Captive is ſacrific'd, and not without abundance of odd Ceremonies and Conjurations; the fatal Inſtrument is wav'd this way and that way, paſs'd forwards and backwards between the Legs of the Victim, and then deliver'd (conſecrated as 'twere for that Office, and with no little formality) to him that is to do the Execution. But this is many times not preſently diſpatch'd, for he that is to die, what by wrigling about, inclining his Head, and ſometimes dapping quite down when he ſees the Sword lifted up, makes them ſo much work, that tho' they begin to prepare early in the Morning, yet 'tis high Noon before the Slaughter is over. Theſe People have prodigious hard thick Skulls too, and 'tis not an eaſie matter to beat out their Brains; yea, *Lerius* tells us of one that had a Skull invincibly hard, and the ſtrongeſt Executioner of them all (with that formidable heavy VVeapon they uſe) was not able to break it. VVhen this bloody work is done, the more ſolemn Feaſts begin; for now the grand Materials for them are ready, and there needs only the Fire to compleat all: And this may be ſaid of them, that the moſt luxurious Man in the VVorld, the moſt abſolute Epicure does not ſwallow his choiceſt and fineſt bits, either with more greedineſs or true reliſh, than the *Braſilians* do the Fleſh of their Enemies.

Ceremonies of making a Gentleman.

As for the Executioner, if he was a vulgar Fellow before, he is now become a Gentleman; this Action makes him ſo, or at leaſt gives him an undoubted Title to that Badge of Gentility, which none that ſee can pretend to deny. His Relations proclaim what he has done thro' all the Village, then they rub him with ſome part of the dead Man, and lay him down in his Hammock as if he was ſick; within a few days after they make him ſo, for they race his Skin (all over the Body) with the Tooth of a certain Beaſt, and then ſoak him with the Juice of ſome Plant mix'd with a Powder very finely Ground, which torments him to no ſmall degree; but Honour is the Conſolation he has in his Miſery, and the enduring this ſmart is one ſtep towards his being a Gentleman. Thus he lies in his Hammock till he is perfectly well again, and never ſpeaks a word, nor opens his Mouth upon no occaſion whatſoever; and that he may have no occaſion to do otherwiſe, all his Victuals ſtand by him, that he may take it when he pleaſes; but this is neither Fiſh nor Fleſh, but VVater, Flour, and a little Fruit. VVhen this Mortification is over, they celebrate his riſing with a Feaſt of VVines; he cuts his Hair, and paints himſelf with black, and from thenceforth has the Honours and Priviledges of a Gentleman.

CHAP. X.

An Account of Sir Richard Hawkins's *Voyage into the South Sea; Collected from his own Obſervations, and thoſe of ſome curious Perſons that went along with him.*

April, A. D. 1593.

THE Deſign of this Voyage was to viſit the celebrated Kingdom of *China*, the Iſles of *Japan*, the *Molucca's* and *Philippines*, by the way of the *Magellanick* Straits and the South Sea; in order to which Sir *Richard Hawkins* furniſh'd at his own charge two ſubſtantial Ships and a Pinnace, with Men and all Neceſſaries, intending, if Providence favour'd him, to fetch no leſs a Compaſs than *Drake*, *Candiſh*, and the reſt of the famous *Circum-navigatours* had done before him.

Sir Richard Hawkins's Misfortunes at ſetting out.

VVe ſhall paſs over all the Diſaſters he met with in the Channel by the roughneſs of the VVinds and Sea, but much more by the rudeneſs and knavery of his Mariners. Thoſe ſhifting Fellows, who cared for nothing but how to get a Sea of Drink into their Bellies, took the advantage of the idle time (that a Storm found them to ſpend aſhoar) to run themſelves and their Maſter in debt, pawning their very VVeapons, Inſtruments and and Shirts upon their Backs, and after all abſenting themſelves from their Ships, and upon pretence of a Preſs then going on, running quite away; ſo that if the Admiral had not prudently provided againſt ſuch Miſchiefs as theſe, by raiſing at firſt more Men than he had need of, he muſt have gone to Sea with his Ships half mann'd, or have loſt time, and ſtaid till he had ſupplied himſelf.

By this means it came about that three Months were ſpent by that time they came to the *Canarie*-Iſles, which are famous in the VVorld upon ſo many accounts. The VVine of the Iſle *Palma* is well known by the Merchants, the lofty Pike of *Teneriff* by all the Men that uſe the Sea: The Pitch which theſe Iſles afford is no new thing to the Sailors neither, and 'tis remarkable for that Property, that the heat of the Sun won't melt it. The Corn that grows here is very good, but there's a ſort of worm that breeds in it, which eats out all the Subſtance, and leaves the Huſk entire. Between the Iſles *Forteventura* and *Lancerota* (which are two of the ſeven *Canaries*) is a very good Sound, and fit for the meeting of a whole Fleet, eſpecially too upon the account of the ſecure Anchorage, and the abundance of Fiſh there to be met with.

Canarie Iſle. The wonderful Tree in the Iſle *Fierro*.

But the greateſt Rarity of all theſe Iſlands, is the Tree in the Iſle *Fierro*, whoſe Leaves continually diſtil pure water, and ſufficient both for the ſervice of Man and Beaſt there: It ſtands upon the Declivity of a Hill, and is ſhaded about with a multitude of ſtately Pines, that defend it from the ſcorching Sun: It is of the bigneſs of a middle-ſiz'd Oak, and ſix or ſeven Yards high; the Bark is white like Hardbeame, the Boughs are very ragged, the Leaf like that of the Bay, white on one ſide and green on the other, but it bears neither Fruit nor Flower. In the Night time a thick Cloud or Miſt always hangs about it, and the water drops off from the Leaves very faſt and in great quantities. The Inhabitants have laid Pipes of Lead from the Tree to a great Pond in the Valley, ſo that all the VVater diſcharges it ſelf in there: This Pond is handſomly pav'd with Stone, and holds 20000 Tun of VVater, but notwithſtanding the largeneſs of it, it will be fill'd in the ſpace of a

Night

Water for the whole Iſle.

Night. The Iſland contains about 7 or 8000 People, and many more thouſands of Mules, Camels, Goats, and other Beaſts, and all are ſupplied from this Fountain; for the great Pond communicates the Water it receives to ſeveral other leſſer ones, which diſperſe it abroad thro' the Iſland.

Note for Sailors.

The City of the *Grand Canaria*, and the chief Port, is on the Weſt ſide of the Iſland; the principal Town and Port of *Teneriff* is on the South ſide; and the Towns and Ports of *Palma* and *Gomera* on the Eaſt ſide. In *Gomera*, ſome three Leagues Southward from the Town, is a very large River, but all theſe Iſlands are ſomething dangerous to land upon, becauſe of the violent waſh of the Ocean. Thoſe that are not obliged by any neceſſity to do otherwiſe, may do better to go to the Eaſtwards or Weſtwards of theſe Iſlands, as well to avoid the Calms that ſometimes hinder eight or ten days ſailing, as the Diſtempers and intemperate heat of the Climate is apt to cauſe.

Cape de Verd Iſles.

Violent heat there.

Dangerous Conſequences of taking cold by the Breezes.

Remedy uſed by the Natives.

Pernicious Effects of the Moon.

Neither are the Iſles of *Cape de Verd* a jot better in this Reſpect; Sir *Richard Hawkins* ſays, that both times he was at thoſe Iſles, it coſt him near half his Company by Feavors and Fluxes, and other Maladies. They lie within 14 Degrees of the Equinoctial, and therefore it may well be imagin'd that the Sun has no little Power there, even all the Year round; ſometimes they paſs three or four Years alſo without rain, and the Earth is ſcorch'd in that manner, that a Man well ſhod can ſcarce endure to go where the Sun ſhines. This violent heat fatigues People at that rate, that they are greedy of any ſort of Cooling whatſoever, and apt incautiouſly to expoſe themſelves to it whenſoever it comes. Thus the N. E. Wind that generally blows every Afternoon at four a clock, comes very cool and freſh, and they conſidering nothing but the pleaſure and eaſe of being deliver'd from a burdenſome heat, lay themſelves open to it, and conſequently to many very diſmal Diſorders by that means. 'Tis not ſtrange that a Flux or a Feavour ſhou'd follow, upon ſo ſudden a ſhutting up of all the Pores of the Body by a cool brieze of Wind; that the Limbs ſhou'd be diſtemper'd, the Blood boil, and all the Fluids be put in tumultuous Motions, when what was fairly going out thro' thoſe Vents in ſo large quantities, is violently repealed and forc'd back again. Strangers who are more liable to theſe Inconveniencies than the Natives, have now learn'd this way of prevention of them; they defend their Heads and Bodies with as many Coverings as they can almoſt endure on; upon the former they wear a Night-cap, a *Montero*, and over both them a Hat, and upon the latter a Suit of thick Cloth, and over that a Gown furr'd or lin'd with Cotton or Bays; in ſhort they arm themſelves againſt the Heat, as the People in *Nova Zembla* would againſt the cold, and by this means they not only feel leſs of it, but alſo are more out of danger of catching cold by the Breezes. They find alſo by many and common Experiences, that the Moon has here very ſenſible but thoſe pernicious Effects upon humane Bodies, that are expos'd to the Rays of it; and therefore they take care never to ſleep in the open Air, or in a Houſe with the Windows open, thro' which her Beams can come. Sir *Richard Hawkins* had in this matter the Experience of a very credible Perſon, who ſleeping one Night in his Cabin with the Moon ſhining in upon him, had ſo extraordinary a pain, accompanied with a violent burning in that Shoulder, that for more than 20 Hours he was like a Man down-right diſtracted; and 'twas not without a great many Applications (beſides a world of torment and pain that it coſt him) that he was freed from it at laſt. This Accident happen'd upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, in which Country the bad Effects of this Planet are very commonly felt this way.

Obſervations of the Canaries.

The *Cape de Verd* Iſles, which are ſix in number, belong to the Crown of *Portugal*, as the *Canaries* do to that of *Spain*. The chief of them all is St. *Jago*, well known to the *Engliſh*, as having been ſack'd twice by them, once under Sir *Francis Drake*, in *A. D.* 1585, and another time under Sir *Anthony Sherley*, in *A. D.* 1596, as it had alſo been once before, in *A. D.* 1582, by *Manuel Serades*, a *Portugueze*, with a Fleet of *French*: And the Iſle *del Fogo* is known to all the VVorld for its burning Mountain, the Flames of which are ſeen in the Night time 20 Leagues off at Sea. The beſt watering place in any of them is on the VVeſt part of the Iſle *Brano*, where there is a great River; but then the Anchoring is bad, as 'tis for the moſt part all about theſe Iſles. The *Canaries* have much the advantage of the *Cape de Verds*, for Corn and VVine, Iron, Pitch, and ſome other Commodities perhaps, but theſe latter pretend to Ambergrice, Civet, Elephants Teeth, Gold, (which they have from the Main of *Guinea*) Salt, Rice, Cotton-wool and Cotton-cloth, Spunges and Pumice-ſtones; as for Sugars, both the one and the other have good ſtore of them: Neither are the two *Madera* Iſles inferiour to either of them in this reſpect; they are known to produce excellent Sugars, rich VVines, and fine Sweet-woods.

The Fleet having paſt all theſe Iſles, and being now within five Degrees of the Equinoctial, was in no ſmall danger by reaſon of the Shoals, as they apprehended. They obſerved the colour of the water to change, and be much whiter than it ever is known to be where there's any thing conſiderable of depth: And accordingly having made the Experiment with their Lead, at 14 Fathom they found Ground; but at the ſame time ſending ſome up to the top of the Ship, they preſently diſcover'd the main Land of *Guinea*. Now the Reckonings of all the Ships agreed in this, that they were at leaſt 70 (ſome ſaid 80) Leagues from the Land, which notorious Errour therefore immediately forc'd them to conclude ſome ſtrong Current ſetting to the Eaſtward had been the cauſe of it. And this Errour was no other, than what all muſt unavoidably fall into, that come within the reach of Currents, while there is no infallible rule for finding the Longitude.

The Current from the Equinoctial to 20 Degrees North, is very ſtrong, and ſets very nearly Eaſt, directly upon the *Guinean* Shoar, as they found by experience to their no little danger; but what particular Shiftings and Variations it may have, they are able to give no Rules as to that: So alſo the Current that is met with between *Newfoundland* and *Spain*, ſets nearly Eaſt and Weſt, and did a long time impoſe upon the Mariners and put them out in their Reckonings: And Sir *Richerd* tells us, that he has ſeen in ſome Sea Charts the difference of above 30 Leagues between the Iſle *Tercera* and the Main: That ſome have aſſured him, that coming from the *Indies*, and looking out for the *Azores*, they have got ſight of *Spain*; and others looking out for *Spain*, have had ſight of the *Azores*. There's the ſame Current in the *Levant*; but it runs trade betwixt the Mains, and changes ſometimes to the Eaſtward, and other times to the Weſtward. Upon the *Braſilian* Coaſt and the South Sea, the Current is likewiſe changeable, but it ever runs along the Coaſt, keeping company with the Wind; and it is an infallible Rule, that 12 or 24 Hours before the Wind alters, the Current begins to change. In the more Northerly parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, the Current is found to run continually one way, and ſets along the Coaſt from the Equinoctial to the North, and in this caſe when it ſets North or South, the Effects of it are eaſily diſcover'd; but how to know truly the ſetting of a Current from Eaſt to Weſt, and in the open Sea too, is difficult, beyond the reach of any Rules hitherto given to account for't. When they came within three or four Degrees of the Line, the Company began to be miſerably afflicted with the Scurvy, abundance of 'em died, and the reſt were ſo frightened and diſcouraged with it, that they grew uneaſie, wiſh'd the Voyage were at an end, or that the Admiral wou'd make it be ſo, and ſail homewards. The Winds alſo had been contrary, and continued ſo for a good while after they had paſs'd the Line, and as they approached the Coaſt of *Braſile*, it veer'd to the Eaſtward. About the middle of *October* it grew large and fair for them, ſo that in few days they got thwart Cape St. *Auguſtine*, and near the latter end they were in ſounding of the great Shoalds, which lie along the Coaſt betwixt the Bay of *Todos Sanctos*, and the Port of *Santos*, otherwiſe call'd *Nueſtra Senora de Victoria*, between 17 and 18 Degrees South Latitude. Theſe Shoals are diſcover'd by the multitudes of ſmall Birds that live upon the Rocks and broken Lands about them, and are ordinarily met with many Leagues before a Ship comes in any danger of them.

A Story of the Dolphins.

Amongſt the Accounts given of ſome Fiſhes, as Dolphins, Bonitoes, Sharks, Swordfiſhes, Threſhers, and the like, which have been deſcrib'd in other places, the Author tells us one thing of the Dolphins, which is ſomewhat remarkable. It was an old Story of this Fiſh, that it is a mighty Lover of Mankind, and lov'd to follow Ships upon that account: Now as for their following of Ships, Sir *Richard Hawkins* aſſerts that to be a Truth upon his own knowledge, for he ſays, that ſetting out from the *Weſt-Indies* in 1583, he met with a Shole of them, which followed him from thence to the *Azores*, which is near 1000 Leagues; and to make it paſt all doubt that they were ſome of them the very ſame Dolphins that attended the Ship at firſt, he ſays that the Sailors had mark'd ſeveral of them, hurting one upon the Back, another near the Tail, and another about the Fins ſo that they were very eaſily to be known from the reſt; and then if thoſe that had ſo bad entertainment from them by being thus wounded, would not for all that forſake the Ship, 'tis leſs probable that the others who had no ſuch cauſe ſhould do it. But the reaſon of this he does not aſcribe to any ſuch Affection to Mankind as is talk'd of, but a Love to their own Bellies, for they get a great many Scraps of Proviſion out of a Ship; the Seamen throw out broken Victuals ſometimes into the Sea, and the Dolphins love to gather up that, as may be eaſily imagin'd; ſo that they are Hangers on to a Ship upon no other ſcore, than a Company of Beggars are to a good Houſe, where they ever now and then meet with a belly ful.

Sport with the Sharks.

The Seamen in this Voyage had a great deal of Paſtime with the Sharks, of which they catch'd abundance; and as they are the moſt mercileſs Devourers in the World, ſo they had no mercy at all upon them, but ſtudied a thouſand ways to torment them: At the Tail of one they tied an empty Hogſhead well ſtop'd, another they yok'd like a Hog, and ſet him a ſwimming, from a third they would pluck out the Eyes, that he might never ſee to do any more miſchief; another's Belly they would rip up and throw him into the Water with all his Guts hanging out, which every one of his Fellows would be ſure to have a ſnatch at; ſometimes they would take two together, and bind them Tail to Tail, and ſo leave it to themſelves to part afterwards as well as they cou'd in the Ocean. And the Reaſon why they made this horrid havock amongſt the Sharks was partly becauſe they depriv'd them of the pleaſure of ſwimming and waſhing themſelves, which a Man dares not as long as a Shark is in the way; but Superſtition perhaps had ſome hand in it too, for the Seamen look upon it as a bad Omen to have theſe Fiſhes attending about a Ship; it looks as if ſome of them were ſhortly to die, and the Sharks were come already in expectation of their Carkaſſes: And they who are altogether for a jolly life, don't care to have any of theſe melancholly Preſages about them; it muſt needs be a diſturbance over a Bowl of Punch for a Man to ſee one of theſe Devourers hankering about him, and ſhewing him his Coffin and Grave both at the ſame time.

How the Sharks manage their young.

The Sharks don't ſpawn as moſt other Fiſh do, but whelp like Terreſtrial Animals, and their young ones upon occaſion, go in and out of their Mouths very frequently, till they are of a conſiderable bigneſs; as ſuppoſe there were a Storm, or any other danger that threaten'd, the old Shark immediately receives them into their Shelter, where they are out of harm's way: And Sir *Richard Hawkins* ſays, that he has ſeen them do thus when they have been more than a Foot and a half long, and after the killing of the Dam, the young ones have been all found in her Belly or Pouch.

The Threſher.

Thoſe that go to Sea too very often, ſpeak of the formidable Battles between the Whales and his two grand Enemies, the *Swordfiſh* and the *Threſher*; and as to this, our Author tells us, that he has heard the ſound of the mighty Stroaks the Threſher gives, at leaſt two Leagues off, and at the ſame time the roaring of the Whale might have been heard much farther; 'tis with the Tail that Fiſh lays on at this rate upon the Head of the Whale, and indeed conſidering how hard he labours, he well deſerves the name of a Threſher.

Obſervations of the Wind.

Concerning the Winds, he gives us theſe Obſervations farther too; that from the North Tropick to three or four Degrees from the Equinoctial, the Breeze (which is the N. E. Wind) obtains generally throughout the Year, only near the Shoar it's variable: That in three or four Degrees of the Line, either North or South, the Wind hangs Southerly; the Months of *July*, *Auguſt*, *September*, and *October*, and all the reſt of the Year, from the Cape of *Good Hope* to the *Azores*, you find the Breeze continually: That the beſt of all times to croſs the Line from North to South, is in the Months of *January*, *February*, and *March*, tho' the Paſſage be good enough alſo in *September*, *October*, and *November*; yet not ſo ſure as in the former. When they had made betwixt 19 and 20 Degrees to the Southward of the Line, the troubleſome Winds and the Diſtempers of the Company, made them reſolve to look out for the Shoar: And that which firſt offer'd it ſelf to their ſight, was the Port

Porto Santo.

of *Santos*, or *Nueſtra Senora de Victoria*, which is eaſily known by the great high Hill over the Port, which riſes in the form of a Ball, and coming near the Shoar, a white Tower or Fort is ſeen, which ſtands upon the top of a Hill over the Harbour. Entring the Port, within a quarter of a Mile is a ſmall Village, and three Leagues higher up is the chief Town, where they have two Forts, one on either ſide the Harbour, and within them ride all the Ships which come to load or diſcharge. In the ſmall Village ſpoken of, is ever a Garriſon of about 100 Souldiers, part whereof watch there, and the other part in the white Tower upon the top of the Hill which commands it. But their Expectations from this place were not at all anſwer'd, for the Governour ſent word, that he had expreſs Orders from his Majeſty of *Spain* to ſuffer no *Engliſh* Ships to come there, and therefore required them to depart the Port in three days. All the comfort was, that they got two or three hundred Oranges and Limons aſhoar, which was no little help to them that were down with Scorbutick Diſtempers, there being hardly any Remedy in the World known to be comparable to this Fruit, for all that contract theſe ſort of Illneſſes at Sea. Being obliged to conform themſelves to the Governour's Orders (for they were too weak in all Sences to pretend to force any better Treatment from him) they ſet ſail and held a W. S. W. Courſe.

A ſtrange ſtory.

And here Providence, which but a little before had very ſtrangely preſerved them from the horrible Effects of fire in their Ships, now as wonderfully deliver'd them from a Shipwrack, and a Wrack ſo ſudden and ſurprizing, that they had been all loſt before they cou'd have had the leaſt ſence of their Danger, if a ſtrange accident had not prevented it. The Maſter of the Ship (who was gone to ſleep) had committed the care of the Steerage to one of his Mates, and he either being drouzie, or over confident of the ſkill of the Man that manag'd the Helm, neglected the overſight of him, and left him to ſteer entirely according to his own mind: And in ſhort he ſteer'd ſo, that they were now e'en almoſt upon the Shoar, and neither the Mate nor Helms-man diſcover'd any thing of the matter: But the Maſter who was fallen into a very deep ſleep, by reaſon of his Labours and long Watchings before, all of a ſudden waked out of it in a terrible fright; he knew no reaſon why he ſhou'd be ſo diſcompos'd, there was no noiſe nor alarm in the Ship, the Winds and Sea were both very ſtill and quiet, and 'twas a fine clear Night; he endeavour'd to compoſe himſelf and go on with his ſleep, but he cou'd not conquer his uneaſineſs, nor forbear yielding to a powerful Inclination to riſe and go upon Deck, and this he had no ſooner done, than he ſaw the Ship juſt as it were running aground; but there being time enough yet to give a command, he made him at the Helm immediately put cloſe a Sterboard and ſo edge her off; and preſently ſounding their depth, they found hardly three Fathom water, by which they more clearly ſaw in how good time this turn was given to the Ship, and the wonderfulneſs of their Deliverance from a Danger that had otherwiſe been unavoidable.

Cape Blanco.

The next day they came athwart Cape *Blanco*, which is very low ſandy Land, and extreamly dangerous; for, for a matter of four Leagues into the Sea (acroſs it) lie Banks of Sand which have a little water over them; and here by ſending out their Boat and Shallop to ſound, they obſerved their depths and ſo kept clear of them.

Iſles of St. Ann.

From hence they ſteer'd to the Iſles of St. *James*, or (as others call them) of St. *Ann*, where they purpos'd to refreſh their ſick Company. Theſe Iſles are two in number, and lie 22 Deg. and a half South Lat. the Air of them is good (as many of the ſick People found to their benefit) but the Water very bad; for in one of them, what Water there is, is a meer Pool, and a filthy one too, full of ugly Worms and Serpents; and that of the other, tho' it be a running one, yet paſſing along by the Roots of certain Trees, which have a ſtrong rank ſcent like Garlick almoſt, contracts ſuch a hogo from thence, that 'tis not to be drunk. Beſides, they ſuſpected it to have ſome pernicious quality, for ſome of their Men died here with a ſtrange ſwelling of their Bellies, which they could not attribute to any thing elſe, but the drinking of this Water.

Fruits growing there.

The Fruits the Iſles afforded were a ſort of Cherry, or a Fruit to which they gave that name for its reſemblance to our Cherry in colour and reſpect of the Stone, but it differ'd from them in ſhape, for it was not round but oblong, and ſomething dented about, however of a very pleaſing and grateful taſte.

They found alſo Palmito-Trees, the Fruit of which was exactly like a Coco, but no bigger than a Walnut; and a Fruit growing in Cods very like Beans, both as to the thing it ſelf and the Cod wherein 'twas incloſed; but the Effects of them were not very pleaſing, for they made thoſe that eat them evacuate both upwards and downwards.

Another Fruit they met with here, was the Prickpear, as the Sailors call them; it grows ſomething like an Artichoke, but leſs, and in the out-ſide red, white within, and compaſs'd about with Prickles: The Fruit grows

upon

Seamens rule for eating unknown Fruits.

upon the ſide of the leaf, and is of ſo good a taſte, that they ſay the *Indies* hardly affords any of a better. The Birds, and other Creatures, find them out as faſt as they ripen, for they love them mightily, which our Seamen cou'd find by the marks they had left of their eating; and this (by the way) is the great Rule they go by in judging what Fruits they ſhall eat, and what they ſhall let alone, when they light of thoſe they are not acquainted with: they look to ſee whether the Birds or the Cattle have been beforehand with them or no at the ſame; if they have, they think they may fall on boldly, for they conclude they wou'd not eat it if 'twas poiſon, and what is good and healthful for thoſe Animals, they conclude is likewiſe ſo for themſelves. But this Rule may chance to deceive them, for it will by no means follow, that that which does not kill a Horſe or a Dog, ſhall not do a Man any harm; 'tis well enough known, that ſome Creatures have their peculiarities in this kind, and what's Meat or Phyſick to one, is as bad as poiſon to another. There's no doubt, but as ſome of our Vomits and Purges wou'd kill a great many other Animals, ſo abundance of thoſe things that are ſalutary and beneficial to them, wou'd make ſad work in our Bodies, if not quite unhinge them. Beſides, when one ſees a Fruit that ſome Creature has been nibbling at, who knows what effects it has had, and how dear the Animal has paid for taſting? So that if one can't make trials, a body had better uſe one's Reaſon and Judgment, than follow the conduct of the Brutes in this matter.

Two Rocks by the Iſland.

Animals upon the Iſland.

Tides.

Danger of the *Portugueſe* and *Indians.*

Adjoining to theſe Iſlands are two great Rocks, about which they light of great ſtore of young *Gunnets* in their Neſts, the broth of which they found did their ſick People ſervice; as alſo the *Purſlane* which they met with about thoſe Rocks, which boil'd and eaten for a Sallet, was very grateful to their weak Stomachs, and renew'd a languiſhing Appetite. In theſe Iſlands are abundance of venemous Creatures, as Adders, Scorpions, and ſeveral other ſorts. The chief of the Fowl they obſerv'd were Parrots, and a kind of Pheſants, but much bigger than thoſe with us. The water highs and falls here about 5 or 6 foot, and but once in 22 hours, as 'tis in all this Coaſt, and in many other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, as upon the Coaſt of *Peru* and *Chili*, except where there are great Bays or Nidraughts, and there the Tides keep their ordinary courſe of twice every 24 hours. In the leſſer of the Iſlands is a Cove for a ſmall Ship to ride in, Land-lock'd, and ſhe may Moor her ſelf to the Trees on either ſide; to this they gave the name of *Palmito* Iſland, for the plenty it has of the larger ſort of thoſe Trees. All about this Coaſt the *Portugueſe* keep ſtrict Watch and Ward, ſurprizing many Ships when their Companies are aſhore, and oftentimes (if that Feat be not to be done) making Priſoners of the Men themſelves, if they don't ſtand nicely upon their guard to prevent them. They make great uſe of the *Indians* for theſe thieviſh purpoſes, for they are generally great Maſters of all the Arts of Treachery and Surprize, and have their Canoes always ready by them to carry them where any ſuch work is to be done.

Caution to them that go aſhore.

A pleaſant Story.

The power of Imagination.

Several of our *Engliſh* Commanders have found this to their coſt, and Admiral *Candiſh* particularly loſt 80 Men by them, together with his Boat, at the Iſland of *St. Sebaſtian*, which was one (and not an inconſiderable) ſtep towards the overthrow of his Voyage. Sir *Richard Hawkins* being aware of this, and the beſt part of his Company lying aſhore, he had given them a particular charge not to neglect their Watch, but to keep themſelves always in a due poſture of defence. And to try whether his Orders were obſerv'd or no, as alſo to make them watchful from a more lively principle of fear for the time to come, himſelf, with a few Soldiers, came over from the Ships, and landed at a conſiderable diſtance from the place where the Booths were erected for the company that was aſhore. They march'd as ſilently along as they cou'd, and did their endeavours to ſurprize them, but by that time they were come within 40 Paces of them they were diſcover'd, and all the well and the ſick together came out to oppoſe them, and fight for their lives. Here were Men that had not ſtirr'd out of their Beds but by the help of others for many months, that now buſtled and beſtirr'd themſelves; they cou'd not move their dull Scorbutick Limbs before, but this Alarm put ſtrength and ſpirits into them, and the apprehenſion of the *Indians* being come to knock them all o'th' head, ſuſpended their pains for the preſent. The other Party came upon them with a horrible noiſe, (as the *Indians* always do in their aſſaults) and theſe receiv'd them as briskly; but having juſt begun a Skirmiſh (in which there was no damage done on either ſide) upon the report of a Gun from one of the Ships the aggreſſors retired, made haſte to their Boats and got away, but having rowed about to the uſual Landing-place, they came aſhore in all haſte, and march'd up to them, as if they had been juſt come from the Ship on purpoſe to aſſiſt them. The Defendants told them, if they had come a little ſooner their company might have done them ſome ſervice, but the action was now over, and the enemy quite gone away. They ſaid the *Indians* (who thought to ſurprize them) had aſſaulted their little Camp with a wonderful deal of fury, but finding them better provided than they expected, and hearing that the Ship had taken the alarm, they run away to their Cano's as faſt as they cou'd. And to put the Admiral out of all doubt that they were *Indians*, ſome ſaid they ſaw their Cano's, others their Bows and Arrows; nay, there were them that ſwore they plainly ſaw their long ſhaggy hair, and the very paint upon their skins. Neither did Sir *Richard* go about then to undeceive them, but let them alone in the miſtake, and left the fancy of the long hair and painted skins to work its utmoſt effects upon them, in making them watchful againſt the time when ſuch things ſhould come in reality. Had the Iſland had the ill reputation of being haunted, theſe Men cou'd as well have fancied Devils as *Indians*, and deſcrib'd their Horns and Tails, and flaming Eyes; 'tis an eaſie matter for a Man, when he is prepoſſeſs'd, to ſee all thoſe Figures with his Eyes which his diſturb'd Imagination draws, and to deſcribe them to other People in great order too.

A good cure for Negligence.

Placentia Iſland.

Some time after they were gone from this dangerous place, and out at Sea, where it cou'd do no harm to reveal the Plot, Sir *Richard*, for the Jeſt's ſake, told them how he had ſerv'd them; but 'twas all one, the moſt of them held in the ſame opinion, and the Picture of the *Indians* was ſunk ſo deep into their heads, and ſo lively figur'd there, that all that could be ſaid cou'd neither convince them, nor obliterate that. And it ſeems it did them a great deal of good, for they were wonderfully careful and vigilant ever after, in all places where they were obnoxious. The ſick company was ſo well refreſh'd here, that there was but few of them that continued to be ſo at their going away; the whole time of their ſtay was above a month, and from this place they ſail'd to Cape *Frio*, and ſo to *Ilba Grand*. They commend the Harbour of this Iſland, its Bays, and excellent Water. But as there are abundance of other ſmaller Iſlands (for it is it ſelf 8 or 10 Leagues long) that lie within it, ſo there is one particularly, which for its fertility and pleaſant ſituation has deſervedly the name of *Placentia*. This is Peopled, but all the other lie deſert; it affords Plantanes, Pines, Potatoes, Sugar-canes and Hens, with all which our company ſtored themſelves.

Ilba Grand.

As for *Ilba Grand*, they ſay 'tis a meer Wilderneſs, cover'd ſo thick with Trees and Shrubs, that a Man can hardly find a place there, if he paſſes, he is not in danger of leaving ſome of his Skin behind him. Theſe Woods are full of wild Beaſts too, that are continually howling day and night; and there are ſo many diverſities of tones and voices, that 'tis a very diſturbing muſick to them that lie thereabouts. The greateſt curioſity it affords are the delicate Shells found upon the ſhore, like thoſe of the Mother of Pearl, which are brought out of the *Eaſt-Indies* to make ſtanding Cups; but theſe are vaſtly beyond the others for fine natural Works, inſomuch that they are commended by our Travellers for ſome of the greateſt rarities they ever ſaw.

Sail for the Streights.

Trade of Slaves to the R. of *Plate*.

From hence they ſet ſail for the *Magellanick* Streights, in their way to which they took a *Portugueſe* Ship laden with *Caſſani* Meal and Sugars; ſhe was bound for *Angola*, and there to be laden with Negroes for the River of *Plate*, which is a mighty great Trade, and very much uſed. The Negroes are carried from the head of the River of *Plate* to *Potoſi* to work in the Mines, and 'tis a very ſorry Slave that is not worth there 5 or 600 Pieces, every piece of 10 Rials; all which Money they pay and receive in Rials of Plate, for there is no other current thereabouts.

* His name was *Tharlton*, the ſame perſon who by a like treachery blaſted Adm. *Cavendiſh's* laſt Voyage.

About the heighth of the River of *Plate*, and 50 Leagues from the Coaſt, a violent ſtorm overtook them, and in theſe the * Captain of the other Ship took the opportunity to ſlip away for *England*, and thereby effectually fruſtrated all the deſign of the Voyage, and laid them open to all thoſe diſaſters that afterwards befel them, as will plainly appear in the following relation. While this ſtorm laſted, there were abundance of Fowl as large and big as Swans, that came hovering about the Ship, and as the Wind calm'd they ſetled themſelves in the Sea, and fed upon the ſweepings of the Ship. Being therefore deſirous to ſee what they were, they threw out a line and hook, which one of theſe ravenous Fowl preſently ſeized, but ſwallowing the bait was himſelf

A Sea-Fowl.

taken, but the Men that went to lay hold of him were ſoundly paid for their attempt, for the Bird laid on ſo faſt and ſo hard upon their Fingers, that they both let go their hold, and came off, ſhewing their hands all black and blue. After this manner they fiſh'd up ſeveral others, but were forc'd to faſten a Cord about their necks, and ſo drew them up into the Ship, for they were too fierce and furious to be handled. They prov'd very good Meat, tender, and of kindly nouriſhment; they were of two colours, ſome white, and others grey, their beak was more crooked than that of a Falcon; in each Wing they had three joints, and both Wings being extended to their full ſtretch, from the extremity of one to that of the other was more than two fathom.

An unknown Country.

Holding on their courſe for the Streights, in the Latitude of between 48 & 49 degrees, they diſcover'd Land, but were utterly ignorant what Land it ſhou'd be, for no Plat nor Sea-Chart made mention of any which lay in that manner, and about that heighth: 'Twas a goodly Champion Country, and well Peopl'd, as they ſaw by the multitudes of Fires upon the Coaſt, but they could not come near enough to ſpeak to any of them, wanting their Pinace to diſcover the ſhore before them. It had abundance of freſh Rivers, and the out-ſhoots of them diſcolour'd the Sea in many places as they paſs'd along.

The Streights of *Magellan* are well known, and have been deſcrib'd already, upon which account there needs no inſerting of their relation of them; and ſo alſo of the *Penguin* Iſlands, which are juſt by: But as thoſe Kingdoms are viſited by moſt Seafaring-men that come this way, for the ſake of the Fowls which they afford in ſuch plenty, ſo did our Company make a ſtep thither too for the ſame refreſhment.

Penguins.

This Fowl dwells and feeds in both Elements; at Sea it lives upon Fiſh, and at Land upon Graſs and Weeds as a Gooſe does, which it reſembles in its proportions, tho' it has no feathers, but only a ſort of down all over the body: but Nature, that has not furniſh'd them for flying, has in ſome meaſure made it up by ſwift running, and they are able to move that way as faſt as moſt Men. They harbour themſelves under-ground in deep Burrows, in which they hatch their young, and the bigger Iſland is all over undermin'd by them, except one Valley only which they have reſerv'd to feed in. The Seamen here had one day a ſolemn bout of *Penguin*-hunting; their way was to caſt themſelves into a Ring, and ſo encloſing the Fowl, with Sticks and Staves to knock them down. They are not to be taken without ſome ſuch Stratagem as this, and the aſſiſtance of a great many hands; nay, they would very often break the Ring, and get out into the open Field, and then there was no little ſport in the following of them, for the ground being all hollow'd and undermin'd, the purſuers in the middle of their running ſlipt into thoſe holes: one perhaps leap'd to eſcape a hole before him, and lighting upon falſe ground tumbled into a worſe; another lifting up his Arm to deliver a blow upon a *Penguins* head, ſunk up to the Arm-pits, and had need of help to draw him out, however they made a bitter ſlaughter amongſt the poor *Penguins*, and they were ſo afraid of coming into their hands, that they wou'd run down Rocks and Precipices, or any thing to avoid them; a Man wou'd have thought they ſhou'd have kill'd themſelves with ſuch falls, but yet they ſay they wou'd preſently run away to the Sea, and be as brisk and lively as ever. They are good Meat either roaſted, bak'd or boil'd, but beſt the former way, tho' which way ſoever they are dreſs'd they muſt be flea'd; the Seamen pouder them up in Hogſheads.

Hunting of *Penguins.*

Gulls and Gannets.

The ſame place afforded them good ſtore of *Gulls* and *Gannets* too, thò' not ſo plentifully as *Penguins*; but they commend the *Gulls* for moſt delicate Food. The *Ducks* were numerous too, but different from ours, and not ſo good Meat. They had one part of the Iſland peculiar too, and taken up only by themſelves, which was the higheſt Hill in it, and more than a Musket-ſhot over. The Art and Order which theſe Creatures ſhew'd in building and diſpoſing their Neſts was plainly wonderful; they are made of the ſelf ſame Mould that all the Hill conſiſts of, but becauſe this is too ſtiff to be wrought into a convenient Figure, they fetch water in their beaks and moiſten it, till they have made a ſort of Clay on't that they can manage. They are as regularly made as if done by Mathematical Rules, being a kind of Cylinders, the top and bottom about a foot over, and the heighth 8 inches. They are ſo exact in this matter, that you can't find any Neſts that differ from one another in any of their dimenſions; and as they are all of the ſame baſe, and heighth and depth of the inſide hollow, ſo they are plac'd at the ſame diſtances from one another, and their poſitions are ſo artificial, that a Man wou'd be puzzled to find a place for another Neſt to ſtand in, excepting only thoſe little paths that are left between the rows for the Ducks themſelves to paſs along. And had ſeveral Brooms been here to ſweep all about the Hill, it cou'd not lie more neat and clean than it's kept by theſe Birds; there was not a ſtick, a ſtraw, a feather, a bit of dung to be ſeen any where, and the Neſts themſelves were as clean in the inſide as thoſe little Walks and Avenues were in the outſide.

Ducks.

The admirable Art of their Neſts.

Seals.

Another ſort of Animals that gave them ſome diverſion here were the *Seals* or *Sea-Wolves*, as ſome call them. One of the Mariners by chance ſpied a company of theſe lying aſleep, with their bellies toaſting againſt the Sun, and went to call the reſt of his company, who thought to ſteal upon them unawares and ſurprize them; but theſe Creatures always provide againſt that, and ſet a Watch. One of the number ſtands Sentinel while the others ſleep, and at the approach of any danger gives them warning; and by this vigilance of theirs, it came to paſs that the Seamen were diſappointed of their ſport, for as ſoon as ever the Sentinel diſcover'd them, he ſet up a great howl and wak'd the reſt, and they all preſently fell a running towards the Sea. Some of the Mariners got betwixt them and the water, thinking to cut off their retreat, but the *Seals* run againſt them with ſuch a force that they tumbled them all down; and tho' they dealt a few blows amongſt them, yet they could not ſtop them in their career, a Sword won't pierce their thick Hides, and to give them a blow with a ſtick is to beat upon a Rock, there's no way for't but to ſtrike them upon the Snout, if poſſible, which makes them fall down dead preſently.

Their vigilance to prevent a ſurprize.

Deſcription of the *Seals.*

This Fiſh is like a Calf, it has 4 legs, but thoſe not above a ſpan long each, and the skin of it is very well known in *Europe* for its manifold uſes, but theſe upon *Penguin* Iſland, our Authors ſays were different from all they ever ſaw, not only that they were of a ſize ſo much larger, but in their foreparts had ſo much reſemblance to a Lion, their hair very long and ſhaggy, and beſides they had Muſtachoes.

The troubleſomneſs of ſailing through the *Magellanick Streights*, is very well known to all thoſe that have made the experiment; there are ſo many turnings and windings, ſo many Nooks, Points and Reaches, that the wind that ſerves at this place will perhaps be contrary to a Man a few Leagues off, tho' it keeps ſtill in the ſame Point. This was one cauſe why they made but a ſlow progreſs, they were driven to and fro by the Winds, and having got a conſiderable way out of a Harbour, were many times forc'd back into the ſame again.

While they thus loiter'd up and down in the *Streights* they mended their Ships, and repaired as well as they cou'd the damages done to their Casks by thoſe peſtilent Worms which the *Spaniards* call *Broma*, and the *Engliſh Arters*: Theſe Vermin are a ſad plague to Ships, and when once they have work'd themſelves into the Planks, will bring all in danger in a little time unleſs the Ships be ſheathed. They enter at firſt no bigger than a needle, but by degrees grow to be as large as a Man's little finger, and the Planks look like Honey-combs by the holes they eat in them: In order to prevent this inconvenience, Sir *Richard* propoſes his Father Sir *John Hawkins*'s method of ſheathing Ships, which he affirms to be vaſtly better than all the ways formerly uſed, and indeed ſufficient for the purpoſe, which none of them can be allowed to be; and that is, before the Sheathing-board is nail'd on, to ſmear it all over with Tar half a finger thick, and upon the Tar to lay another Stratum of hair ſuch as the White-Limers uſe, as thick as the former, over all which the ſheathing is laid and nail'd on faſt, the nails ſtanding very cloſe to each other, the thicker and cloſer the better. Experience has prov'd that this way does effectually defend a Ship againſt theſe Worms; but beſides, it has this farther to recommend it, that 'tis of all other the cheapeſt. It has been the common Opinion, that theſe Worms are bred in the freſh Water, and carry'd along with their ſtreams into the Sea; but Experience has taught the contrary, and aſſures us that they breed in the great Ocean, and that in all Climates, but eſpecially near the Equinoctial.

The Worms *Broma*, that eat the Planks of Ships.

Beſt way to ſheath the Ships.

In paſſing along the *Streights* they ſaw but very few ſorts of Animals, and fewer of the humane kind; ſome of their Habitations indeed they ſaw ſometimes at a diſtance, but theſe People come down and live by the Sea-Coaſts in the Summer-time, and then retire up into the Country, where they have warmer ſhelters, when the Winter ſtorms come upon them.

Winter's Bark.

The Tree which affords that Bark call'd by ſome *Cortex Winteranus* they met with here, the leaf is of a whitiſh green, and in form not unlike the *Aſpeni*; the Fruit, The Tree and its Fruit.

which is green, grows in cluſters, each Berry being of the bigneſs of a Pepper-corn, and containing within it 4 or 5 grains twice as big as a Muſtard-ſeed, and being broken is white within-ſide, and has a hot biting taſte like Pepper, but is rather more afflictive to the Tongue than that. The Bark is a kind of univerſal Spice, for it has the taſte of all together; 'tis very comfortable to the Stomach, and preferr'd by many to any Spice whatſoever.

Muſcles in the *Streights* with the Pearl they yield.

They found likewiſe abundance of Muſcles, which were very good, and no ſmall part of their refreſhment here; they had moſt of them ſome Pearl in them, but not very large, nor ſhewing any thing of that bright Orient colour which is ſo deſirable in them, and is found in the Oyſter-Pearl, but ſome Muſcles had no leſs than 20 or 30 Pearl in them, which lay diſpers'd up and down in ſeveral parts of the Fiſh.

'Twas with no little trouble that our Ship, after ſo long labouring up and down in the *Streights* of *Magellan*, got her ſelf free, and came to have the open proſpect of the great South Sea; however being out, they ſhap'd their Courſe for the Iſland of *Mocha*, paſſing along by *Baldinia*, which was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, but afterwards (together with the *Conception*) taken from them by the *Indians*, and were the two principal places they had in that Kingdom, and both Ports.

Baldinia.

Baldinia ſtands in 40 degr. S. L. in a fine woody Country, it has a pleaſant River, and navigable, ſo that a Ship of good burthen may go up as high as the City.

Iſland *Chule*, not known from the Main.

Some degrees to the Southward, before one comes to *Baldinia*, lies the Iſland *Chule*, which according to the Information given by ſome *Spaniards*, is not eaſily to be diſtinguiſh'd from the Main, and it lies ſo, that thoſe that paſs by it are apt to think 'tis a part of the Main; it's rich in Gold, and therefore inhabited by the *Spaniards*, who as certainly flock to all ſuch places, as Eagles and Vultures do about thoſe that are full of Carrion.

Iſland *Mocha.*

Our Company made no diſcovery of this Iſland, but held on their Courſe and came to the Iſland of *Mocha*. It lies in 39 degr. S. L. and is about ſome 4 Leagues over; it is moſtly a high mountainous ground, but round about the foot of it, at half a League diſtance from the ſhore, it's Champion, well cultivated, and ſtock'd with Inhabitants. They had ſome Commerce here with the People, but forc'd to be very wary, and always to ſtand upon their guard while they did ſo, for theſe *Indians* are wonderfully ſly and ſubtle, and ſuch mortal Enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they are jealous of all Foreigners upon their account, and ſuſpect them to be either *Spaniards* themſelves, or to come amongſt them with ſuch deſigns, and for ſuch purpoſes as the *Spaniards* did. 'Twas for this reaſon that they dealt ſo inhoſpitably with Sir *Francis Drake*, and deceiv'd him with ſo fine a treachery; the reſult of which was the killing or wounding all his Company, and grievouſly hurting himſelf into the bargain. He had fewer wounds than any of his Men, but yet he had three, and two of them upon his Head. Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who had this example before his Eyes, endeavour'd to manage matters ſo with them as not to be made a Second himſelf, but yet they had very near been too hard for him with all his care and vigilance, and he was forc'd to deal roughly with ſome of them to prevent their doing him a miſchief.

Subtle People.

Their Habits and Houſes.

Theſe *Indians*, for their Manners and Cuſtoms, are pretty near akin to them of *Arawka*, which have the reputation of the moſt valiant and hardy Soldiers in all that part of the *Indies*: They are all Cloath'd in Woollen, their Caſſocks are made like a Sack, ſquare, with two holes for the Arms, and one for the Head, but they are all open below, without Lining, or any other Art to be found in the compoſure of them. Their Houſes are built round like our Pigeon-houſes, with a ſort of a Funnel (which ſerves for a Chimney) at the top to diſcharge the ſmoke. As for the People themſelves, they are generally tall, ſtrong and well made, of very great agility and dexterity in the uſe of their Arms, or any ſort of Exerciſes; they have much better Countenances than moſt of the *Indians* in other Parts, and thoſe better Faces in them are the Companions of much better Senſe, and more Ingenuity too. They uſe the common Weapons of the barbarous Countries, but not after the common and barbarous manner, for they are skilful and valiant Soldiers, and capable of making an Adverſary tremble that has to do with them. The Iſland affords excellent Sheep, but the People were not willing to part with any of them, ſo that they only juſt taſted the Mutton to be extraordinary good, but could not purchaſe any ſtore of it upon any terms whatſoever. There's no doubt, but thoſe that had come hither before ſuch things as *Spaniards* were known amongſt theſe People, might have found very good Entertainment; for as the Country is able to afford it, ſo the Inhabitants don't ſeem to be naturally ſo ill-diſpoſition'd as they ſhew'd themſelves to be, but rather to be ſour'd by ill uſage, and provok'd into ſuch a fierce and froward temper by the Cruelties and Barbarities that have been practis'd amongſt them. As for our Men, they plainly ſaw that there was no good to be done here, nor no way to perſwade the *Indians* into a good opinion of them, for they made great fires upon the Iſland and upon the Main, which was evidently to give notice to one another to be in a readineſs either to reſiſt or attempt ſomething, and either way was proof enough that they deſign'd to have nothing to do with them; and therefore they determin'd not to ſpend any more time a courting of their Friendſhip, but having well refreſh'd themſelves ſet ſail.

Good Mutton.

Miſchief of the *Spaniards* ill treatment of the *Indians*.

Note.

On the S. W. of this Iſland lies a great ledge of Rocks which are very dangerous, and 'tis good to be careful how one approaches with a Ship to the Iſland on any ſide. Over againſt this Iſland of *Mocha* lies the City Imperial, 8 or 10 Leagues up in the Country; and all along the Sea-coaſt from *Baldinia* to 36 degr. the *Indians* have in a manner rid their hands of the *Spaniards*.

Imperial.

St. Mary's Iſland.

They held their Courſe now for Iſland *St. Mary*, which lies in 37 degr. 40 min. which is little and low, but fertile and well peopled. Some 10 Leagues to the Northward of this Iſland lies the City *Conception*, which has a very good Port; from whence they Coaſted along till they came in 33 degr. 40 min. about which height lies the Iſlands of *Juan Fernandes*, betwixt 60 and 80 Leagues from the ſhore, known for the plenty of Fiſh they yield, and the good refreſhment to be had there. Sir *Richard Hawkins*'s deſign was not to diſcover himſelf upon this Coaſt till he was got paſt the great Port of *Lyma*, and there were many weighty Reaſons that inclin'd him thereto; but his head-ſtrong company would not hear of this, their minds were ſet upon Spoil and Plunder, and they were for taking the firſt they met with, whether it expos'd them to the *Spaniards* notice or no. To comply with their humour, therefore he hal'd the Coaſt aboard, and diſcover'd that Evening the Port of *Valparizo*, which ſerves the City of *St. Jago*, ſtanding ſome 20 Leagues into the Country; in this Harbour they found 4 Ships, who no ſooner ſaw them coming, but thoſe that were aboard them turn'd in, and run aſhore with that little they cou'd ſave, leaving them the reſt, and the rifling alſo of all the Store-houſes upon the ſhore. The Pillage of theſe Ships was more for the Belly than the Pocket, conſiſting of Wines, Hens, Beef, Bacon, Wax, Tallow, and other Commodities; beſides which, there were Planks, Spars and Timber, for *Lyma* and the Valleys, which is a very rich Trade, ſince they have no Timber but what is brought from other places. But another Ship that came into the ſame Port while they were there, ſupplied the defects of the others, and brought them a pretty good quantity of Gold which ſhe had brought from *Baldinia*, *Conception*, and ſome of thoſe places: and then the Owners of the other Ships coming to terms with them, for the redemption of the beſt part of their Goods, there was Money coming in that way alſo, ſo that what with one and the other the Booty was not inconſiderable; but then a part of the Eatables, and other uſeful Commodities, were reſerved for the uſe of their own Ship, ſo that upon all theſe accounts they were as well furniſh'd with Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, as at their firſt ſetting out of *England*.

Perverſe tempers the overthrow of a well deſign'd Voyage.

Valparizo Harbour.

This Harbour of *Valparizo* is good for all Winds, except thoſe that blow from ſome point to the North, for it runs up S. & by W. and S. S. W. but 'tis to be conſider'd that it has abundance of foul ground. A League to the Southward, or better, before a Man diſcover this Bay, there lies a great Rock or ſmall Iſland near the ſhore, under which a Ship may ride: It is a good mark, and a ſure ſign of the Port; and when the Bay is diſcover'd, a Man muſt give a good birth to the Harbour, for there are dangerous Rocks lying a good diſtance off. There is neither in this Port, nor any other place till you come to *Guayaquill*, any thing of flux or reflux; which *Guayaquill* is in 3 degr. S. L.

Quintera Harbour.

About 10 Leagues to the Northward of this Harbour is the Bay of *Quintera*, which is very open, and affords good anchoring. Here 'twas that Admiral *Candiſh* was betray'd, and ſeveral of his Men murder'd and taken by the treachery of a raſcally *Spaniard*, whom he had brought out of the midſt of a hundred Deaths at the *Magellanick Streights*, and maintain'd, together with his Company, (who muſt all have ſtarv'd elſe) till he had ſet him down here.

Coquinbo an Admiral's Port.

From *Valparizo* they ſail'd to *Coquinbo*, which is in 30 degr. This is one of the beſt Harbours in the whole S.

Directions to find it.

Deſcription of the Country of *Coquinbo.*

Gold.

Commodities.

Sea, it is Land-lock'd for all Winds, and capable of holding a great many Ships; but the ordinary place where Ships lade and unlade is between a Rock and the Main, on the Weſt-ſide, about half a League up within the entrance of the Port, which lies S.&S. by E. In the Country directly over the Port is a round piked Hill like a Sugar-loaf, and before the entrance on the S. point of the Port, coming in out of the Sea, is a great Rock, a good birth from the ſhore; and theſe are the beſt marks to know the Port by. While *Baldinia* and *Arawca* were in Peace, and free from the troubles and combuſtions of the War, that is, before the raking *Spaniards* got thither, the moſt plenty of Gold was reckoned to be there, and perhaps is ſtill; however, the Mines of *Coquinbo* have ſince got the reputation. But this Country is not only rich in Mines of Gold but Copper alſo, which they carry to *Peru*, and ſell it cheaper there than 'tis ſold in *Spain*. In *Coquinbo* it ſeldom rains but a ſhower proves a golden one to them, for the violence of the water waſhes the Gold off from the Mountains, and beſides furniſhes them with water for the ſetting their Engines a work. It affords a great deal of Linen and Woollen Cloth, and great ſtore of *Indian* Mantles, with which they furniſh other Parts, but 'tis very courſe Stuff. They have no Iron nor Pewter, as alſo no Silk nor fine Linens, and therefore all theſe are mightily eſteem'd; and ſo are all Haberdaſhers Ware, Edge-tools, Arms and Ammunition, and the like.

Arawca.

An excellent Country.

Fruits and Animals.

Gold out of the Mines, and from the Mountains and Rivers.

Bezoar Stone.

Qualities of the People.

Courage of the *Arawcans.*

A Story of an *Arawcan* Captain.

From the Port of *Coquinbo* they ſhap'd their courſe for *Arawca*, one of the fineſt Countries that the Sun ſhines upon, for the temperate and wholſome Conſtitution of the Climate, and the abundance of all things ſerviceable in life, either for Pleaſure or Neceſſity. The Mines of Gold and Copper are innumerable, and all manner of Proviſions are ſo plentiful, that the meaneſt of the Inhabitants have their Houſes always furniſhed with Bread, Wine, Fleſh and Fruits; and out of their Stores, or rather Superfluities, they ſupply the neighbouring Parts. The *Spaniards* brought in the Country at firſt *European* Horſes, Oxen and Goats, which took ſo well, and multiplied to that degree, that they are to be ſeen thouſands of them together in Droves and Herds, wild, and without any Owner; but beſides theſe, there are thoſe which are bred in the Country, and common to moſt Parts of *America*, in vaſt numbers too. Amongſt theſe kinds of Animals, the greateſt curioſity is the *Chinchilla*, a little Beaſt like a Squirel, but grey, and its Furr the moſt ſoft and delicate of any that's known, for which reaſon all the Princes and Noblemen are very fond of them, and buy them almoſt at any rates. They have all the Fruits that are to be found in *Spain*, except Plumbs, Cherries and Almonds, beſides thoſe that are of the peculiar growth of the Country; but as for them three ſorts of Fruits, our Travellers tell us they never obſerv'd any of them in theſe Parts of the *Indies*. Their Gold they got two ſeveral ways, one by waſhing away the Earth and Droſs from it in great Trays of Wood, which requires no little Art and Care, and the other by drawing it out of the Mines, which is much more laborious, not only in the procuring the very Ore, but ſeparating and purifying the Gold afterwards. Another Commodity they have alſo, which ſome *Europeans* have made almoſt as valuable as Gold, which is very fine and large Bezoar Stones; thoſe they have great plenty of, for the Animals that afford them are far from being rarities amongſt them. The People are very Induſtrious and Ingenious, of great ſtrength and invincible Courage. This is ſufficiently prov'd by their ſuſtaining a violent War againſt the *Spaniards* for above 40 Years together, and maintaining their Liberty inviolate at laſt, for the *Spaniards* could not by any means conquer and enſlave them as they had done by the reſt of the *Americans*; and 'tis certain that they never did meet with ſo vigorous an oppoſition, and ſo rough a treatment any where, take it all over the *Weſt-Indies*, as they did here. They fight either on foot or a Horſeback: thoſe that uſe Horſes, are arm'd with no ſtouter Armour than a Beaſt's Hide, which they put on upon their own backs juſt as it comes off from the others, green and raw, without any farther dreſſing or preparation; and if it be wet at firſt, they wear it till 'tis dry, if ſoft and pliable, the heat of their Bodies will make it hard and ſtiff, and ſit like a Coat of Mail. Notwithſtanding, one *Arawcan*, in this leathern Sute, let him have but a Lance, will fight hand to hand with the beſt *Spaniard* cover'd with Steel from head to foot. And for an inſtance of the indomitable Courage and Reſolution of theſe People particularly againſt the *Spaniards*, we have this Story related of a famous Captain amongſt them. This Perſon had ſignaliz'd himſelf in ſeveral very conſiderable Actions againſt the *Spaniards*, and was known always to be one of the forwardeſt to undertake or enterprize any thing that tended to the freeing his Country from the Tyranny of ſuch cruel enemies; but at laſt, 'twas his hard fortune to fall into their hands, and they very well knowing him, and his particular ſpleen againſt them, reſolved to prevent his fighting for the future, and for that end cut off both his hands. They were ſure now indeed never to fall into his, but he had a pair of ſtumps yet left to plague them, and a heart as full of courage as ever; and therefore to have made themſelves ſecure, they ought not to have truſted this bold *Arawcan* with a Head upon his ſhoulders, but have taken that into their keeping too as well as his hands. However it was, whether by policy he made his own eſcape, or the *Spaniards* deſpiſing his (now) impotent rage and fury, ſent him back into his own Country, yet home he came, and inſtead of being baulk'd at ſuch a loſs as he had ſuſtain'd, or ſitting ſtill as a Man that had no more to do with the concerns of War, he beſtirr'd himſelf more vigorouſly than ever, aggravating the barbarities committed by the *Spaniards*, and doing all that cou'd be to provoke his Countrymen to a ſevere revenge; and they who needed but little perſwaſion to fight with the *Spaniards*, were now incens'd to the higheſt degree to ſee one of their principal Leaders thus ſerv'd by them. In the ſucceeding Battel this brave *Arawcan*, who cou'd not fight, diſcharg'd the Office of a General; he was continually going about from one place to another, to encourage and hearten the Soldiers, and having loaded his two ſtumps with bundles of Arrows, he ſupplied thoſe that wanted with freſh, as faſt as they ſpent upon the Enemy. In a word, what with his Preſence and Soldier-like exhortations, he did as much ſervice without ſtriking a ſtroke, as a part of the Army did with fighting; and tho' the particulars of the Battle are not told us, yet there's reaſon to believe the *Spaniards* had cauſe to wiſh they had taken his Head the ſame time they did his Hands.

Arawca.

The *Indians* of *Moormoreno*, and their kindneſs to the *Engliſh*.

The *Spaniards* kindneſs to them.

A fine Inſtructor.

As for the Town of *Arawca*, it ſtands in a great large Bay, in about 18 degr. S.L. before you come to it, a League to the Southward of the Town and Road is a high round Hill, much higher than the reſt of the Land of the Bay about the Town. When our Ship came to an Anchor here, they met with a Bark laden with Fiſh from *Moormoreno*, a high Head-land between 24 and 25 degr. S.L. whether the Boats ordinarily go a fiſhing every Year. Our *Engliſh* were much beholding to theſe *Moormorenians*; 'tis true they were their Captives, but they complimented them exceedingly, and gave them particular marks of their friendſhip and eſteem. They call'd the *Engliſhmen* Brothers, and were themſelves the greateſt Brutes in the World, and had hardly any thing of Men except the ſhape; they were, to ſpeak properly, rather Fiſh than Men, for they liv'd as naturally in or under the water, as in the open air, and wou'd dive as well as if they had been ſpawn'd in that Element. Their Country is barren, and affords them little or no ſuſtenance, and therefore they go into the water for't, where if they meet with a live Fiſh they ſwallow him preſently, and eat without the Ceremonies of Sawce and Dreſſing, as other Sharks do. The *Spaniards* make their Markets of them, and uſe them as they would Otters in the water to catch Fiſh, or Aſſes upon the Land to carry Burdens: they give them neither Food nor Wages, but leave them to ſhift for themſelves; their other Slaves they uſe like Men, in reſpect of the Body, but theſe they uſe like Beaſts, taking care neither for Body nor Soul. But one wou'd not expect much care for the Souls of Men from ſuch, one of whoſe Inſtructors of a Town of *Indians*, had no more to teach them than this, To ſay *per ſignin ſancti cruces*; a profound Doctor, and who ought to have learn'd Grammar along with his Catechize.

Bay of *Piſco.*

Cape of *Sangalean.*

Spaniſh Armado comes after them.

From the Town before-mention'd, they continu'd their courſe along the Coaſt till they came athwart the Bay of *Piſco*, which lies in 15 degr. 15 min. S.L. after which, being clear of Cape *Sangalean*, with its Iſland, they Anchor'd two days athwart of *Chilca*. But now the Vengeance they had pull'd down upon their heads by ſailing upon theſe Coaſts began to purſue them, a formidable Armado was rigg'd out and in queſt of them: Advice had been given by Sea and Land, and the Viceroy of *Peru* had had more than ſufficient Information that ſuch Enemies were beating about upon the Coaſt. In order therefore to put an end to their Piracies, he fitted out 6 Warlike Ships, furniſh'd with 2000 Men, and all other Neceſſaries, under the command of one of his Relations; and our Ship had gone but a little way from the Port of *Chilca* before ſhe diſcover'd them. The *Spaniards* and they being in ſight of one another, great preparations were made of both ſides for a fight, but the Wind interpos'd, and fought ſo well on our Mens behalf,

that

Their Ships beaten with the weather.

Engliſh eſcape thro' them.

that the unweildy Ships of the *Spaniards* came off with broken Maſts and ſhatter'd Tackling by the bargain. The Admiral ſnapt her Main-maſt aſunder, and ſo began to lagg a-ſtern, and with him two other Ships. The Vice-Admiral ſplit her Main-ſail, and the Rear-Admiral crack'd her Main-yard, and one only of the Armado (that was gotten to the Windward of them, and had none of theſe afflictions) was at leiſure to fight, but ſhe had no ſtomach to it, and durſt not begin the Attack. Thus they lay for a whole day viewing one another; but as night came on, Sir *Richard* began to conſult with his Officers what courſe was beſt to take, they were in a manner ſurrounded, for the *Spaniſh* Admiral, with two more, were a-ſtern of them, the Rear-Admiral right a-head, the Vice-Admiral to the leeward, and one upon the loof, and moſt of them within ſhot. In ſhort, after many debates, 'twas concluded that they ſhou'd bear up before the Wind, and endeavour to make their eſcape between the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, which they accordingly put in execution (before the Moon was up) and very happily perform'd, ſhaping their courſe for the Bay of *Atacames*, where they intended to take in Neceſſaries, and to purſue their Voyage. Inſtead of being puniſh'd by the *Spaniards* for what they had already done, they were now going on to do more, and an opportunity ſhortly offer'd it ſelf, which was a good Ship coming in their way about 50 Leagues to the Northward of *Lyma*, and in ſight of the Town of *Mongon*; ſhe was laden with Wheat, Sugar, Cordovan Skins, and *Miele de Canas*, of all which they took what they had a mind to, and ſo burnt her, but the company they ſet aſhore.

Sailing with few Men in the South-Sea, and the reaſons of it.

It's ſtrange to ſee with how few Men they'll manage a Ship in the South Sea, for in this Prize, which was above 100 Tun, there were but 8 Men, and they don't uſe to beſtow above 14 or 15 in a Ship of 300 Tun; nay, more than that, 'tis credibly reported that a Ship has been ſail'd from *Guayaquill* to *Lima*, which is above 200 Leagues, by 14 Men only, and yet deep loaden too. But then the buſineſs is, they are forc'd to gain their Voyage by turning to Windwards, which is the greateſt toil and ſlavery the Mariners have, and they ſail at a very ſlow rate in all theſe ſort of Voyages, inſomuch that they are ſometimes 4 or 5 Months between *Guayaquill* and *Lima*; but they are pretty ſecure in that Sea from Storms, and have aſſurance of a never-failing Breeze, which is the reaſon that every Seaman ſtrains himſelf to the uttermoſt to do the work of two Men.

Port *Malabrigo.*

They held on their courſe till they came thwart the Port of *Malabrigo*, which is in 7 degr. S. L. In all this Coaſt the current runs with a very great force, but never obſerving any ſtated Courſe, except that ſometimes it runs along the Coaſt to the Southward, and at other times to the Northward. As for inſtance, at this time the Courſe of it was to the Northward, and it forc'd them ſo violently to the Landwards, that without eſpecial Providence calming the Wind, they had there had a miſerable end put to their Voyage. 'Twas about the Point of *Aguſſa* that they were in this imminent danger (which they note thus particularly, that others may be aware of the ſame when they come thereabouts.) Thwart of this Point lie two Deſert Iſlands called *Illas de Lobos*, for the multitudes of Seals that haunt the ſhore; in the bigger of them is very good and ſecure Harbour, and they both lie in 6 degr. 30 min. S. L. or near thereabouts.

After this they continued their Courſe along the ſhore, and came athwart the River of *Guayaquill*; this has two Iſlands in the mouth of it, the Southerly and biggeſt call'd *Puma*, in 3 degr. S. L. and the Northerly call'd *Santa Clara*. *Puma* is inhabited, and 'tis here that the *Spaniards* build their principal Ships, becauſe of the vaſt quantities of Timber hereabouts; for from this River, both *Lima*, and all the Valleys, are furniſh'd with Timber, and they have none but what is brought from hence or from *Chili*. By this River alſo paſſes all the chief Trade of the Kingdom of *Quito*; it's Navigable ſeveral Leagues into the Land, and is all along well-ſtock'd with Timber. The water of it is found by experience to be good for all aches of the Bones, and for the Stone and Strangury; the reaſon of which, ſome will fetch from the Vertues of the Sarſaparilla, with which 'tis impregnated, all the Banks and Low-lands adjoining being abundantly repleniſh'd therewith, but how wiſely or truly the Philoſophers and Phyſicians muſt judge. Another thing the River affords, which ten to one cures all diſtempers if a Man happens to light on't, and that's a very fierce and ravenous Alligator; many poor *Indians* and *Spaniards* have had their Bones cruſh'd by theſe, and they are ſo numerous too, that they are ſeen here in whole ſhoals together, as Fiſh are in other Rivers.

In *Puma* the Tide riſes 15 or 16 foot, and from this Iſland to *Panama* they keep the ordinary regular Courſe. Some 5 or 6 Leagues to the Northward of *Puma* is *la Punta de Santa Elena*, under which is good Anchoring, and very clean ground. Having paſs'd this Point, they made the Iſland *de Plata* in 2 degr. and *Puerto Vicio* in 2 degr. 10 min. and Cape *Paſſaos* which lies directly under the Equinoctial. Some 80 Leagues to the Weſtward of this Cape lies a heap of Iſlands, call'd by the *Spaniards Illas de los Galapagos*, which are deſert, and afford no manner of refreſhment. From Cape *Paſſaos* they directed their Courſe to Cape *St. Franciſco*, which is plac'd in 1 degr. N. L. 'tis remarkable enough not only for its heighth, but being all cover'd with Trees, as is alſo the Land over the Cape, and all the Coaſt from hence to *Panama*. From the *Magellanick Streights* to this Cape *St. Franciſco*, in all the Coaſt from Headland to Headland, the Courſes lie betwixt the N. & N. by W. and ſometimes more W. tho' that but ſeldom. It's a bold Coaſt, and but little ſubject to foul Weather, or alteration of Winds, for the *Breeze* (which is here the Southerly VVind) blows continually from *Valparizo* to Cape *St. Franciſco*, except it be a great chance indeed.

They ſee the *Spaniſh* Fleet.

Noiſe and boaſting amongſt the Seamen.

Perfidious Gunner.

The Bay of *Atacames* (which they had propos'd to come to) lies about 7 Leagues from the Cape; in the midway, ſome Leagues from the ſhore, you meet with a a Bank of Sand, to avoid which, ſome care muſt be taken, for in ſeveral parts of it there's but little VVater. This Bay appears like an Iſland, and in high Springs 'tis believ'd that the Sea goes quite round about it. To the Eaſtward it has a high ſandy Cliff, and in the midſt of the Bay, a fair Birth from the ſhore, lies a big black Rock above water, from which to the ſandy Cliff is a drown'd Marſhy ground, and a River which is broad, but has no depth. The Bay of *Atacame* is in 1 deg. N. L. the fatal place in which the Voyage was terminated, and all their deſigns ruin'd. But for a clear account how this came about we muſt know. That after Sir *Richard Hawkins*, with his Ship and Pinnace, had got thro' the Armado, they being diſappointed of their hopes, return'd back again to *Lima*; but here they were moſt miſerably inſulted and mock'd for their fruitleſs Expedition. The Women, to abuſe them the more ſenſibly, put on Swords, and took Fire-Arms in their hands, and demanded of the Viceroy that they might be diſpatch'd to fight with the *Engliſh* Ship. This went ſo near the hearts of theſe gallant Soldiers, and beſides provok'd the Viceroy ſo far, that he commanded the Armado forth again, making them ſtronger than they were before; ſo that theſe buſie Goſſips were the cauſe of all the miſchief, if they could but have held their Tongues, and been contented to have ſate down with the diſgrace as well as the Men, (who were more concerned in it than they) our *Engliſh* might have preſerv'd their Ship and their Liberty; but they muſt be paſſing their Jeſts upon the Soldiers, and putting Swords by their ſides forſooth, as if they knew how to manage them as well as Ladles, Pokers and Fire-pans, their own proper weapons. They were very angry no *Engliſh* Priſoners were brought home, (which we muſt ſuppoſe they expected) and therefore wou'd not, or cou'd not be quiet, till they had ſent the Armado abroad again to get ſome. VVell; it was in the Bay of *Atacames* that our People firſt ſpied the enemy approaching, and as ſoon as they knew who they were, they gueſs'd without much trouble what they came for. The Mariners were all in general very uppiſh upon this Occaſion; there was nothing but hectoring and bouncing amongſt them, and no noiſe cou'd be heard but the Proclamations of the great Actions they wou'd do. One promis'd to cut down the Admiral's Main-yard, another to take his Flag; and the Gunner, for his part engaged, that with the very firſt tire of ſhot he would lay one of them in the Suds. Others wiſh'd they had never come out of their Country to be ſo diſgrac'd, becauſe Sir *Richard Hawkins* made ſome demur about fighting this Armado, ſo well provided as it was, and ſo much ſuperiour in number. But (as commonly it happens) theſe very bluſtering People were as much cool'd when they came to the trial; they did little or nothing of the many mighty things they had talk'd of, and the Gunner, for his part, was like a Man without life and ſoul. But there were ſhrew'd ſuſpicions of his ſullenneſs and treachery, and if he were not a Villain, he was the likeſt to one that ever ſtood in ſuch a Poſt, for all his Implements were out of order, ſpoil'd, and not fit for uſe; and he was either ſuch a Coward, or ſo great a Raſcal, that he himſelf ſtood as uſeleſs as a great many of his Tools. Notwithſtanding this, the fight was long and tedious, and (there being ſome good hearts and diligent hands on both ſides) briſk and ſharp too; they fought, and then breath'd, as it were by conſent, and then fell

to

Dreadful fight.

Engliſh yield upon good terms.

Engliſh make their terms.

Spaniards accept them.

The kind uſage of Sir *Richard* and all the *Engliſh* by the *Spaniſh* Admiral.

Cuſtom amongſt the *Spaniards*.

to it again, and held it at this rate for three days, and almoſt all the nights too. The *Spaniards*, for the moſt part of that time, kept pouring in the great and ſmall Shot, which could not be anſwered ſo warmly by the *Engliſh*, as wanting both materials and hands to manage it. But they were ſo civil too, as ever now and then to call upon the *Engliſh* to ſurrender, promiſing them good Quarter upon that condition; and this the company were fond of ſubmitting to, and importun'd Sir *Richard Hawkins* to take pity of their diſtreſſed Caſe, and not make them all Sacrifices or Slaves to the *Spaniards*, whoſe fury 'twas impoſſible for them now to eſcape. But this thought of yielding (tho' of a ſingle Ship to a whole Armado) wou'd not down with him, and therefore he commanded them all to their reſpective Stations again; yet he was now ſo wounded and weak himſelf, that he had little reaſon to expect to ſee the iſſue of the matter, and was beſides obliged to undertake the diſcharge of the hazardous and laborious Office of a Gunner. In ſhort, they maintain'd the fight till the 3d day in the Afternoon, and then it appear'd to be impoſſible to do ſo any longer, for all the Sails were torn, the Maſts ſhatter'd, the Pumps ſhot to pieces, the Ship all over mangled, with the beſt part of the Men kill'd, and 7 or 8 foot of water in the Hold. Being therefore in this ſinking condition, there was no farther time to diſpute whether the *Spaniards* Offer ſhou'd be accepted or no; and therefore Sir *Richard* order'd a certain *Spaniſh* Pilot, which he had Priſoner aboard, to go in his Name to Don *Beltran de Caſtro* the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and tell him, That if he wou'd give his Word and Oath (as the King's Officer) to receive them all a *buena querra*, to give them Life and Liberty, and Paſſage as ſoon as might be into *England*: And farther, to ſend alſo ſome certain Pledge for the confirmation of all this, that then he wou'd ſurrender his Ship; but if he would not engage to do thus much, he ſhou'd never enjoy any of the Fruits of his Victory, ſince they were all reſolv'd to periſh with their Ship, rather than endure any manner of ill treatment from the *Spaniards*. And really, by their Demands, one wou'd not have thought they were in much danger of any, or that they muſt the next hour, by an unavoidable neceſſity, be either ſwallow'd up of the Sea, or fall into the hands of the *Spaniards* without any terms at all. And 'tis no ſmall wonder that the *Spaniards*, under ſuch circumſtances of advantage, ſhou'd ſtand to argue *Pro* and *Con* about the matter, and not rather purſue what they had begun, and accompliſh the fate of the crazy Ship, and its as weak Defendants. But whatever were the reaſons, 'tis certain they did otherwiſe; the Admiral ſwore by his Maker, and by his Knighthood, (to bind the bargain more firmly) that he wou'd receive them all to fair Quarter, and grant every thing elſe they demanded, and in token of this he drew off his Glove, and ſent it for a Pledge. Upon this the *Spaniards* enter'd the Ship, crying *buena guerra* as they came; neither was there any ſort of Outrage or Inſolence committed by them. And which was a particular mark of the Admiral's civility to Sir *Richard Hawkins*, he ſent for him into his own Ship, that he might be ſure to be out of all harms way when the multitude came aboard. The kind and honourable uſage he had from that generous *Spaniard*, as it was hardly to be expected from an Enemy whoſe patience had been ſo tried, ſo not eaſily expreſs'd. Neither did his Humanity and Courteſie ſtop there, but extended it ſelf to all the Seamen and Mariners who were now become his Priſoners; he gave Order for the ſupplying them with all Neceſſaries, and the looking to their Wounds, which was done with ſo much care and diligence, that not one of all the whole company died that was alive at the ſurrender of the Ship. 'Tis true, there were ſome of the *Spaniards* that were of quite another temper, that grumbled at this kindneſs, and ſaid that the *Engliſh* ought to be treated as Pirates, and Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks, and many other things of that nature; but the Admiral put Sir *Richard* out of all doubt and fear, by repeating his ſolemn promiſe that all things ſhould be managed according to the agreement, and that provided the King of *Spain* (according to cuſtom) left him to his diſpoſal, his Liberty ſhould coſt him no more than a Brace of *Engliſh* Greyhounds, a Ranſom ſmall enough, conſidering what 'twas in his power to have demanded. Neither did the *Spaniſh* Admiral's making this proviſo (if his Maſter left Sir *Richard Hawkins* to his diſpoſal) ſeem to be any way capable of giving a juſt ſuſpicion of any ſiniſter deſign on foot againſt his liberty, for the King might poſſibly uſe his Prerogative againſt Cuſtom, and not allow his Admiral the Privilege that us'd to be allowed as his Right, otherwiſe the matter was plain enough, and the preſumption as ſtrong as well cou'd be, that Sir *Richard* might be ſure of his liberty, for in the *Spaniſh* Armado's the Cuſtom obtains thus: If there be an abſolute Admiral, the 10th part of all Spoil and Plunder belongs to him, and he has it not by Lott, and as it happens to fall to his ſhare, but by Choice, for he takes what he pleaſes himſelf; in the ſame manner he proceeds if there be ever ſo many or ſo few Ships of the enemy taken, but if there be but one, ſhe is entirely at the Admiral's diſpoſal, and ſo are the Fortunes and Liberties of all that are aboard her.

Pearl-Iſland.

A great Pearl.

With this hope and expectation, our *Engliſh* went away with the *Spaniſh* Fleet towards *Panama*: In this Courſe they came by the famous *Pearl*-Iſland, which lie along the Coaſt, beginning ſome 8 Leagues W. S. W. from *Panama*, and run to the Southward near 30 Leagues. There are ſeveral of them, and moſt of them inhabited by *Spaniards*, and *Negroes* which are their Slaves, and kept only to fiſh for Pearl. The Pearl lie in ranks in the uttermoſt part of the Oyſter which is call'd its Ruff, and the biggeſt are generally found next to the end or joint of the Oyſter. Thoſe in the *Eaſt-Indies* have commonly the Character of the beſt and fineſt, tho' the *Weſt-Indies* (in the judgment of our Author) do produce as good; and perhaps one of the largeſt in the VVorld was found in theſe Pearl Iſlands, it was as big as the Pommel of a Ponyard, and was given by King *Philip* the Second of *Spain* to his Daughter *Elizabeth*, Wife to *Albertus* Archduke of *Auſtria*. Within the Pearl Iſland lies a ſmall Iſland which they call *La Pachete*, which contains not a League of ground, but is a moſt fruitful ſpot; it belong'd to a private Man, who by his own and his Slaves induſtry, made it bring him the value of 50 or 60 pound every Week in Fruit, which he conſtantly ſent to the Market at *Panama*.

Direction in failing to *Panama*.

In their Courſe to *Panama*, they ſail'd between the Iſland and the Main, where there is a very good Channel of 3 or 4 Leagues broad, and without any danger, except a Man come too near the ſhore on any ſide; and yet this is thought the better Courſe than to go a Seaboard of the Iſland, becauſe of the ſwift running of the Tides, and the advantage to ſtop at Ebb; as alſo for Succour and Aſſiſtance, if a Man ſhou'd happen to be calm'd, which may happen here ſometimes.

Perico, the Port.

At laſt they came to an Anchor under *Perico*; theſe are two little Iſlands which make the Port of *Panama*, which is about two Leagues W. N. W. from the City, yet the City has alſo a Port for ſmall Barks at full Sea, having then about 7 foot water, but at ebb 'tis quite dry.

Joy amongſt the *Spaniards*.

News being ſent to *Panama* of the ſucceſs of the Expedition, there was great rejoycing there, expreſs'd by the diſcharge of all their Artillery, and the prodigious Illuminations, which made the City at a diſtance look as if it had been all of a blaze. The Armado alſo came thundering on with their Artillery, and the Triumph wou'd have better befitted the Conqueſt of another Armado, than one poor Ship, which was yet all they had to ſhew for it.

As to the particulars of Sir *Richard*'s Entertainment, Detainure there, Liberty and Travels homewards, we have no account of them, for here his Relation breaks off, tho' he promiſes a ſecond Part, wherein theſe ſeveral Paſſages ſhou'd be largely handled.

The reſt of Sir *Richard*'s Adventures.

In general, we find by what is occaſionally dropt, that after being ſome time at *Panama*, where he was very civilly entertain'd by the ſame Don *Beltran de Caſtro*, he was ſent into *Peru*, and reſided both at *Lima* and *Cuſco*, the two moſt celebrated Cities of that glorious Empire. That he was a Priſoner here is paſt all doubt, but that he was treated by the Vice-Roy, and all the Noblemen of the Country, more like a Prince than a Priſoner, is alſo moſt certain. How 'twas with him at the Iſland of *Tercera*, at *Madrid* and *Sevil*, (for at theſe places he was alſo confin'd) and what accidents befel him there, the ſecond Part which he promiſed muſt diſcover. This muſt be ſaid, that he no where diſcovers the leaſt degree of ſuſpicion of any treachery in the *Spaniards*, nor complains of any hard uſage; and his company were every where as eaſie as himſelf.

One thing is to be obſerv'd, that Don *Beltran de Caſtro* ſhew'd him a Letter from the King of *Spain* to the Vice-Roy of *Peru*, wherein was given an account of his Voyage, the Ships, their Number, their Burden, their Ammunition, and whither they intended to go; adding withal, *You may ſee* (ſays he) *by this, whether the King my Maſter has not ſome good Friends in* England. To this Sir *Richard* reply'd, *That 'twas no wonder his Maſter had ſo many Friends every where, ſince he had ſo much Gold and Silver; and 'twas no uncommon thing to ſee them make People tell Tales out of School, and out of Country too. And the truth of it is, the* Spaniards *ought not to be blam'd in this caſe for getting Advice, but the baſe and perfidious* Engliſh *for giving it.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

An Account of the taking of St. Vincent, *and* Puerto Bello, *in the* Weſt-Indies, *by Captain* William Parker *of* Plimouth.

Nov. A. D. 1601.

A great Tornado.

THE Fleet which did theſe great Exploits was but ſmall, conſiſting of no more than two Ships, one Pinnace and two Shallops. The *Prudence*, Admiral, was but of 100 Tun, and had about 130 Men aboard her; the *Pearl*, Vice-Admiral, was of 60 Tun and 60 Men; the Pinnace of 20 Tun and 18 Men. The Perſons that ſignaliz'd themſelves in this Action, and had a part of the Command, were theſe that follow: Captain *Giles*, Capt. *Ward*, Capt. *Fugars*, Capt. *Loriman*, Capt. *Aſhley*, with ſome other Gentlemen as Volunteers. In their paſſing by the Cape of *St. Vincent* in *Spain*, commonly call'd the South Cape, they met with ſuch a violent Tornado, or guſt of tempeſtuous Wind, that their Pinnace, with all her Men but three, were loſt with it, and glad to come off themſelves without any more damage.

St. Vincent taken.

Directing their Courſe from thence to the Iſlands of Cape *Verd*, immediately upon their arrival there they ſet upon *St. Vincent*, which is one of them, and took the Iſland and the Town; the Spoil of which was given to the Soldiers, and the Town it ſelf after that to the Flames.

Pearl Fiſhery taken.

Hence they haled over to the Coaſt of *Terra Firma*, and coming to the *Rancherie*, or Pearl-Fiſhery in the ſmall Iſland of *Cubagna*, they found the Governour of *Cumana* there with a Company of Soldiers; notwithſtanding which they landed their Men, and were receiv'd with great warmth and briskneſs by the Enemies, however at laſt they got the better on them, took the Place, with divers of the beſt Men Priſoners, together with ſeveral of their Barks and Boats at the ſame time; for the Ranſom of all which, Capt. *Parker* had 500 *l.* in Pearl paid him.

Portugueze Ship taken.

This done they proceeded with their Voyage, ſailing directly for Cape *de la Vela*, where they met with a great *Portugueſe* Ship laden with Negro's from *Congo* and *Angola*, and bound for *Carthagena*, from whence thoſe wretches were to be ſent to the Mines. This Prize, with very little trouble and reſiſtance, came into their hands, and the Redemption of theſe Slaves came to 500 *l.* more; 'tis true they had no benefit by it, being ſtill where they were before, (and 'tis certain are Men that can't alter their condition, being every where doom'd to Slavery) but the Seamen had ſome benefit by it, and tho' 'twas not much, yet 'twas better than lying ſtill upon the water and doing nothing.

They enter the Haven.

After this they went to the Iſland *Cabecas*, where they embark'd 150 of their Men in two ſmall Pinnaces and two Shallops, and then ſail'd to the Iſland *Dos Baſtimentos*, where they pick'd up ſome Negroes for their Guides, and ſo with their Boats and Pinnaces preſently enter'd the mouth of the River of *Porto Bello*; it was night, but they had a bright Moon ſhining upon them, by the help of whoſe light the Watch had quickly diſcover'd them. At their very firſt entrance into the Haven (which is by the way above twelve ſcore over, and very deep at the mouth, and a good way upwards) they were haled by the ſtrong Caſtle of *St. Philip*. Here is always 35 good Braſs Pieces ready mounted to bid an Enemy welcome, and Soldiers enough to manage them. Theſe, as was ſaid, haled our Pinnaces, and ask'd whence they were; to which they (having ſome *Spaniſh* Tongues aboard them for that purpoſe) immediately anſwer'd that they came from *Carthagena*. Upon this, the others commanded them to come to an Anchor, which they did; but about an hour afterwards, Capt. *Parker* took his opportunity to go up the River with his two Shallops, leaving the Pinnaces there at Anchor before the Caſtle of *St. Philip*. But as there is another leſs Fort, called the Fort of *St. Jago*, that lies directly oppoſite to the Caſtle, ſo it happen'd that ſome of the Soldiers there ſpied the Captain moving on with his Shallops, and cried out to him to ſtay, running after him along the ſhore; but he neglected their outcries, went on directly to the Town of *Triana*, and landed his 30 Men, (for he had no more with him upon this deſign) and in a trice, tho' the alarm was given, ſet it on fire, and leaving it burning, march'd into the great and rich Town of *Porto Bello*, to which *Triana* was as it were an inlet. Being entred here, he directed his march immediately to the King's Treaſure-Houſe, where he found a Squadron of Soldiers drawn up to receive him, with two Braſs Field-pieces well mounten on their Carriages. The fight that ſucceeded was ſharp and long, and Capt. *Parker* had loſt the beſt part of his 30 Men, when thoſe which commanded the Pinnaces hearing the alarm, and finding 'twas high time to advance, timely came into his relief with 120 freſh Men, which aſſiſtance turn'd the Scale, and quickly put an end to the conflict, for the *Spaniards* now began to ſecure themſelves by flight, and a good number of them got into the King's Houſe, where they defended themſelves very reſolutely. The beſieging of this took up at leaſt four or five hours, all which time they continued in ſome Action or other with the Defendants; but at laſt the *Engliſh* made their way in, and became Maſters of it, as they were alſo of the whole Town entirely. Amongſt the Priſoners of Quality were the Governor, and the *Scrivano*; as for the *Alcade*, he was run out of Town, and had taken care to have the company of a great gold Chain along with him, which he fled with about his neck. As for the Treaſure found in the Treaſure-Houſe, it was nothing to what they expected, for this place is the Repoſitory at one time of the Year, of all the Treaſure that comes from *Peru* and *Chili*, which ſometimes amounts to more than 6 Millions of Ducats. They, for their parts, now met with no more than 10000 at this time, but if they had come 7 days ſooner had got a Booty of 120000, which were gone in two Frigats for *Carthagena*. The Spoil of the Town otherwiſe, in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, was not inconſiderable, and was all given to the Soldiers, to their no little ſatiſfaction. They did not think fit to make a Penny of the Priſoners that were taken, but rather by ſetting them free without Ranſoms, to give the *Spaniards* an example of civil and generous Deportment towards their Enemies. This Town had two goodly Churches, 6 or 7 fine Streets, 3 ſmall Forts on the one ſide, beſides the great Caſtle of *St. Philip* on the other; and the *Engliſh* were ſo kind as to ſpare all theſe Buildings too, when it was in their power to have demoliſh'd them all, and left nothing but Ruins behind them.

Capt. *Parker* goes on with 30 Men.

Triana taken.

The fight in *Porto Bello*.

The Town taken and ſpar'd by the *Engliſh*.

The *Spaniards* don't diſturb them in the poſſeſſion of it.

In a word, they ſtaid in the Town for a day or two, to ſhew that they were abſolute Maſters of it; in all which time they had not the leaſt diſturbance from any rallied Forces of the *Spaniards*, nor no alarm given, only as they were ſailing away again the Enemy began to appear, and make ſome little ſtir, but 'twas only the exchanging of a few Bullets, and taking leave of each other at parting out of the mouths of their great Guns.

They leave it.

This Action of the taking a Town of ſuch great ſtrength with ſo few Men, bred ſuch an Idea of the *Engliſh* Valour in ſome of the *Spaniards*, that the Governor of *Carthagena* particularly, ſwore he would give a Mules lading of Silver to have a ſight of Captain *Parker* and his Company; and had they been ſure he would have parted with what he had upon ſo eaſie terms as they at *Porto Bello* did, 'tis very likely they might have ſold him that favour, but his ſtrength being uncertain as well as his pay, they did not think fit to attempt him.

The little Fleet came ſafely into *Plimouth* Harbour again, having had the Honour of taking with a few Men, in a little time, and an inconſiderable loſs, one of the fineſt Towns the King of *Spain* has in the *Weſt-Indies*.

CHAP. XII.

Some Notes relating to the General Hiſtory of that Part of the Weſt-Indies *under the Dominion of the* Spaniards: *Collected from the broken Obſervations of* Alexandro Urſino, *a* Roman, *who lived in* Peru *and* Chili 34 *Years; of* Pedro Ordonnes de Cevallos, *a* Spaniſh *Prieſt; of* Lopez Vez, *a* Portugueſe, *taken by Captain* Withrington *at the River of* Plate, *with his* American *Notes about him.*

AS to what concerns the Hiſtory of Nature, the Civil Policy, Cuſtoms and Government of theſe noble Countries, we ſhall afterwards produce, and theſe things in a large and particular Account by it ſelf; wherein the Hiſtories of the two Celebrated Empires, *Mexico* and *Peru*, ſhall be trac'd in all the moſt valuable Heads, and whatſoever we can pick out of Authors of any Character writing upon thoſe Subjects, ſhall be preſented to the Readers view. What is offer'd now, is only a Collection of ſome looſe Notes relating more to the Geography of ſome particular Parts and Places, than of the general Heads that will allow them to come in fairly afterwards; they were thought to be of ſome uſe by their Authors, and therefore by them diligently preſerved and tranſmitted to us. But as things of this kind (being independant upon one another) wont run on (as other relations have done) in a continued uninterrupted Story, ſo the Reader muſt be contented to take them in pieces and parcels, as their Authors have deliver'd them, and the nature of the thing admits of.

Country of New Spain. *Ports.* *Veragua rich in Gold.* Unhealthy. *A ſhort cut to the Sea.*

The Country of *New Spain* has ſeveral very excellent Ports both on the North and the South ſide: The principal of them on the North is *St. Juan de Lua*, at which place all the Armadoes that come from *Spain* are diſcharg'd, and the Merchandizes are carried to the great City of *Mexico*. There are ſeveral alſo which it has upon the South Sea, from whence they trade with *Peru*, *Parawna*, the *Philippine* Iſlands, the *Moluccas* and *China*. The firſt part of the Country (reckoning as you proceed along the Coaſt) that is inhabited by the *Spaniards* is *Veragua*, the richeſt perhaps of Gold in the whole *Indies*, but intolerable ſickly, and hardly fit to be dwelt in. The air is very hot and ſultry, yet not clear and ſerene withal, but thick, and always full of rainy Clouds. It yields little or no Fruit neither, and moſt of the ſuſtenance of the Inhabitants comes from other places; and yet all theſe inconveniences do the *Spaniards* endure for the ſake of the beloved Gold, and wont quit a place that has ſo many contrarieties to nature, for one thing that makes it agreeable to a ſordid covetous humour. There is no more than 4 Leagues between the River *de Carinas* (which iſſues from the Lake of *Nicarague*) and the South Sea, and to bring theſe two together, and open a communication between both ſides of the *American* World by this means, is thought by our Authors to be a much leſs difficult work than ſome of thoſe of the like nature, that were projected formerly by the *Egyptians* and *Romans*.

Terra Firma. *Nombre de Dios.* *Carriage of Goods to Panama.*

From this tract of *Veragua* unto the Iſland of *Margereta*, the Coaſt along is call'd *Terra Firma*; the *Spaniards* gave it that name, becauſe 'twas the firſt firm Land they conquer'd after they had paſs'd the Iſlands. This is alſo hot, wet and unhealthy, like the former. Particularly the Town of *Nombre de Dios* has a ſcandalous reputation upon this account; 'tis the firſt place inhabited after you have paſſed *Veragua*, and were it not for a convenience, the air of it certainly wou'd never have recommended it to have been inhabited at all. But it has a good Port, and 'tis the way by Land to the South Sea, and the trade of *Peru*; and then over againſt it (as it were) on the South Sea Coaſt, ſtands the well-known City of *Panama*, which is not above 18 Leagues from *Nombre de Dios*. To this Town of *Nombre de Dios* does the *Spaniſh* Shipping come and unlade, the Goods being carried from hence in Barks up a River to a Houſe which is call'd *the Houſe of Croſſes*, and from thence upon Mules by Land to *Panama*, which is but 7 Leagues from that forementioned Houſe; and this Carriage is very laborious and chargeable to them, becauſe of the great Rains, and the uneven mountainous rugged ways.

Carthagena. Great Trade. Gold from *Granada.* Carriage of Goods to *Granada from Carthagena.*

From *Nombre de Dios* you proceed to *Carthagena*, the the Country about which is much more healthy, and fuller of Proviſion; the Town it ſelf alſo is larger and fairer by much, and has a Port which far ſurpaſſes all the reſt. If the Trade of *Spain* has made *Nombre de Dios* a rich place, that and others have done much more for *Carthagena*, for here the Ships always ſtay when they go and come from *Spain*; and if they chance to Winter before they go home, they are ſure to lie at *Carthagena*. Beſides, there's abundance of Goods and Merchandize diſcharged here to be carried into the Kingdom of *New Granada*, and great quantities of Gold come from that Kingdom hither. But there is no Land-carriage of Merchandize from *Carthagena* into *Granada*, not only in that this lies 200 Leagues within the Land, but there are vaſt unpaſſable Mountains, and ſtanding Waters in the way, ſo that they carry all up the great River *Magdalen*. This River, tho' it be both large and very deep, yet they cannot go with their Barks above 20 Leagues up it, becauſe of a great current; ſo that the Barks diſcharge all their Goods into ſmall Canoes, which row cloſe along by the ſhore ſide.

Paſſage into *Peru.*

There is a paſſage by the new Kingdom and *Popayan* from *Carthagena* to *Peru*, which is in all about 500 Leagues; ſo that taking the 200 Leagues which they go up the River, the other 300 are thro' a Country well inhabited, and where there is good and quiet travelling. The Poſts do often paſs to and fro this way, but becauſe 'tis very long and tedious, the Merchants don't uſe it but when they are conſtrained to it.

St. *Marta.* High Mountains. Valley of *Tagrona.*

Santa Marta lies 50 Leagues diſtant from *Carthagena* along the ſame Coaſt; 'tis but a poor Town in reſpect of Trade or Building, yet great quantities of very fine Gold are ſaid to be gather'd up hereabouts, which one wou'd think ſhould alter the Character of the place. Here begins the great tract of Mountains whoſe tops are cover'd with Snow, that run thro' the whole Continent almoſt to the *Magellanick Streights*, and are eaſie to be ſeen by their white heads above 3 Leagues into the Sea. Adjoining to them there is a Valley call'd *Tagrona*, the richeſt place yet known; but the Inhabitants are very numerous, and a valiant courageous People too, and uſe ſuch artifices in poiſoning their Arrows, that they have lived hitherto pretty free from invaſions and diſturbances by Foreigners. The *Spaniards* have indeed made ſome attempts upon them, but they have as often been baffled and defeated, and the Valley lies ſtill unconquer'd.

Diſcovery of the River of *Amazons.*

Omitting the Iſlands upon the Coaſt of *Terra Firma*, which are above 70 in number, our Authors proceed with the Port Towns along the Coaſt of the Main-land, and tell us, That paſſing once the Iſlands of *Margareta*, there are none inhabited by *Spaniards* till you come to *Fernambuco* on the Coaſt of *Braſile*. Between this Iſland and *Fernambuco* is the River of * *Maranyn*, one of the greateſt in the World, and firſt found when the *Spaniards* were ſeeking out the other Coaſt. 'Tis impoſſible to enter this River, becauſe of the mighty current that comes down; and withal, there are many ſandy ſhelves lying about the mouth of it, upon which account it came to paſs that 'twas a long time before the Riches, which the River affords, could be known. It was not till the time that *Peru* was conquer'd that this diſcovery was made, but it was then done by *Gonſalo Pizarro*; for travelling up into the Country he came to a great River, where he ſaw the Natives in their Canoes bringing Gold to exchange with the *Spaniards*. Finding this, he was deſirous to ſee the end of this River, but could not travel by Land

becauſe

* They certainly mean the River of *Amazons.*

Riches of it.

A ſecond attempt.

A third attempt.

Pedro de Oruza goes from *Peru* down the River.

Foundation of a Town.

Mutinous Company.

Lopez de Agira, a ſeditious Fellow, kills the Captain.

A K. choſe.

becauſe of the Mountains, and for that reaſon he made a ſmall Pinnace, and ſent *Orillana*, one of his Captains, with 30 Men, who went down the River: But they cou'd not poſſibly return again, becauſe of the violent current that was againſt them, and forc'd them quite out into the Sea, ſo that they came to the Iſland of *Margareta*, however they were very near a Year and half upon the River, for it has abundance of turnings and windings, which make a long paſſage on't; but they never durſt go aſhore, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of People inhabiting about it, and not knowing how they wou'd entertain them. But thus far they obtain'd their deſign, that they were fully aſſured the River was a very rich one in Gold, and had ſome of it to ſhew for undeniable proofs; which they did not think fit to return with and ſhew to their General *Pizano*, but, in ſhort, went home into *Spain*, and preſented it to the King. And this ſame Captain his Majeſty diſpatch'd back again with a Fleet of Ships, and 600 Men, to take poſſeſſion of the rich River; but the Project came to nothing, for the Captain himſelf died, with many of his Men, by the unhealthineſs of the Country, and thoſe that remain'd diſpos'd of themſelves as they thought fit, every Man his own way. Notwithſtanding, the Fame of the River and its Riches being mightily ſpread abroad, and ringing particularly in the Court of *Portugal*, a certain *Portugueſe* Gentleman, *Leus de Melo* by Name, ask'd Leave of King *John* the Third to go upon this Expedition; for 'tis to be noted, that that part of *America*, from the mouth of this River to the mouth of the River of *Plate*, is held by the Kings of *Portugal*, according to the Treaty of Partition made between them and the Kings of *Spain*. This Perſon had 10 Ships and 800 Men, but coming to the mouth of the River, he loſt all his Ships but two; and as for the Men, tho' the moſt part of them were ſaved, and got aſhore, yet they did not proſecute the Diſcovery, but went to the Iſland *Margareta*, and from thence were diſpers'd all over the *Indies*. This bad fortune of two Fleets deterr'd others from making the attempt; yet two or three Captains from the Kingdom of *New Granada* did afterwards endeavour to diſcover it by Land. Yet none had any conſiderable ſucceſs, till ſome years after one *Pedro de Oruza*, a Native of *Navarr*, but in the *Spaniſh* Service, came to the head of this great River, with at leaſt 700 Men out of *Peru*. Here he made Pinnaces and Canoes, in which he carried above 2000 *Indians* along with him, to be ſerviceable to him in his deſigns, together with a great many Horſes, and good ſtore of Proviſion; all which was of neceſſity to be carried by water, for there's no doing it by Land, not only becauſe of the Mountains, but alſo the many Rivers which run between them, and communicate with the great one of *Maranoyn*. They went down the River with their whole Company and Cargo till they came to a plain Country, where they began to lay the foundations of a Town, but being moſt of them Men not uſed to ſuch ſorts of Labours, and withal tired with the hot and rainy Seaſons, they quickly laid it down again, and having nothing elſe to do, began to murmur at their Captain, and wiſh themſelves at home in *Peru* again; not but that the Country where they were afforded Proviſions enough, and beſides was capable (one wou'd have thought) to have charm'd them into good humour, with the proſpect of Gold which it gave them. But their ſeditious Minds were not to be quieted with any thing, and there was a certain Fellow amongſt them (one *Lopez de Agira* a *Biſcaian*) that made it his buſineſs to blow up the coals, and by his cunning inſinuations to heighten the diſcontent they had already receiv'd. He had been an old Mutineer in *Peru*, and had had his hand in many ſuch buſineſſes as this, and therefore finding now a fair occaſion wou'd not ſtick to lay hold on't, but fell to his old way of practiſing againſt his Officers. In a word, by his means they were work'd into the humour and deſign of making away with their Captain, which they did, ſtabbing him in his ſleep, and murdering at the ſame time all his Friends; and yet theſe factious Fellows muſt needs be Loyal and Dutiful to their King too, they wou'd huzza, and cry out, *God ſave the King*, at the ſame time that they were cutting the throats of his Officers. But they did not ſtop here, for now *Lopez* falls to making Orations to them; and, in ſhort, harangues them ſo long, till he had perſwaded them to make a certain Creature of his their Supreme Head, and himſelf their Captain, to manage the Affairs of War. And having gone thus far, he thought he had e'en as good carry them one ſtep farther, and that was, to change this Title of Head into King, and renouncing all Allegiance to the King of *Spain*, to acknowledge this Tool of his as their Sovereign for the future, and do homage to him as ſuch. All which they did, and to bind the bargain with ſomething more than ordinary ſolemnity, the Rogues built an Altar, and upon that forſwore all Duty and Obedience to the K. of *Spain* for ever, and engaged their Allegiance to the Upſtart, the new created King *Fernando de Goſman*. But his Majeſties reign was but ſhort, for *Lopez*, who had a mind to his Place and Title, within 20 days took an occaſion to diſpatch him; this he did with his own hand too, to ſhew that he had Authority to make and depoſe, or murder Kings, Captains, Generals, or who elſe he pleas'd. And now he had his deſire, and was King himſelf, but for all that being no Gentleman, he was reſolv'd to rid his hands of all them whoſe better and more deſerving Blood might reproach his baſe Pedigree, or whoſe Vertue might be any way an impediment to his deſigns. And therefore, one of the firſt things he did was to cut the throats of all the Gentlemen, and thoſe that were of any conſiderable degree; in order to effect which, and ſuch like deſigns, he choſe him out of the whole Army a ſelect number of Ruffians, which he always kept about his Perſon, and were his Tools to do any of the bloody work his barbarous Mind projected. But as it commonly happens, that a great deal of Guilt and Impiety brings horrid fears and ſuſpicions along with it, and thoſe that are conſcious of evil deſigns and practices againſt others, are as apt to be afraid of the ſame from others; ſo it was here, this Miſcreant cou'd not enjoy himſelf with his new Dignity, the Title of King was no eaſe and ſecurity to him, and he was jealous that every one would be as ready to violate the reſpect owing to the Character as he had been himſelf. If he had but ſeen two Men talking together, it was a certain ſign of a Plot againſt his Life, and conſequently to prevent the execution of it, they muſt loſe theirs. At this rate he tyranniz'd over the multitude, which by ſuch methods was reduc'd to a number that cou'd by no means deſerve that name; and for the concluſion of all, at his going away from the Country, he left all the Women and the ſick Men behind him for a prey to the Natives, or the wild Beaſts, which come firſt. And theſe were no inconſiderable number, for the Climate being ſomething intemperate, (at leaſt the Seaſon was ſo) it bred many diſeaſes amongſt them.

And kill'd by *Lopez*.

Lopez King himſelf.

Jealous of ill practices againſt him.

Lopez leaves the ſick.

Gold.

Amazons.

During their ſtay here, they took a great many Canoes of the People of the Country, in which they found ſtore of Gold; and in ſhort, by one way or another, partly upon the Water, and partly upon the Land, enrich'd themſelves to a conſiderable degree. Here 'twas alſo that they ſaw thoſe warlike Women which have given an occaſion to ſome to raiſe a Story of *Amazons* dwelling hereabouts, and the River has been Chriſten'd by that name upon this very account. The buſineſs was only this, that the *Spaniards* fighting with ſome of the Natives, the Women came and fell on too, their Husbands they thought were in danger, and they came to help them, like truly tender and loving Wives. And they ſay, that they fought more valiant than the Men; what weapons they uſed they don't tell us, but 'tis pretty certain 'twas not their nails. The *Spaniards*, it ſeems, were ſomething ruggedly dealt with by them, and talk as if they had rather have fought with the Hnsbands than the Wives, if they had been to chuſe one of the two. So that all the Stories of thoſe warlike Heroins, the one breaſted Ladies, that call Men out of the next Country when they have occaſion for their Service; that ſend the Boys back to their Fathers, and keep the Girls to breed them up to the War, and are, in ſhort, an entire Society of Females. This, I ſay, all vaniſhes into this one point of fact, That there were a parcel of honeſt Women that had ſo much courage and love to their Husbands, that when they ſaw them aſſaulted, wou'd chuſe rather to run the hazards of the Battel, than ſtand by and ſee them knock'd on the head.

Lopez's treachery, and the riſing of the Country againſt him.

But to proceed: *Lopez* with his company ſail'd down the great River of the *Amazons*, and came to the Iſland *Margareta*, by which time his number was reduced to 230 Men. The Governor thinking him to be one of the King's Officers (but little imagining he was King himſelf) receiv'd him handſomly, and for his reward the Villain kill'd him; and having landed upon the Iſland, and rummag'd about there, he went off again to the main Land, forcing ſome few Soldiers along with him. And now he was for conquering the whole *Indies*, for he was ſo vain as to tell himſelf, that as he march'd, all wou'd turn to his ſide; but he was deceiv'd, for the alarm having ſpread about the Country, the Governor of *New Granada* rais'd an Army, and follow'd him into the Continent. And whereas he fed himſelf up with hopes, that the King's Army wou'd run over to him when it came to the trial, he was ſadly cozen'd in that too, for

Lopez's death.

his Army run over to the Kings. Thus every way forſaken, and out of all hopes of ever retrieving his Affairs, and ſure beſides, if taken, to be made an example, to the terror of all ambitious Traitors in the World, he reſolv'd to prevent that, and be his own Executioner. In order to this, he firſt gave his Daughter a mortal Stab, (that ſhe might never have the reproach of his infamous actions) intending afterwards to do the like to himſelf; but in the interim, the King's Soldiers broke in upon him and hack'd him to pieces. This was the fate of *Lopez de Agira*, that of a common Soldier became a Captain, of a Captain a General, and of a General a King; and for his laſt Preferment would have been his own Hangman, but cou'd not.

The River of the *Amazons*, which we had occaſion to mention, has engaged us in this Diſcourſe of its Diſcovery; which finiſh'd, we proceed with the general Account of the reſt of the Continent.

All the Coaſt between this great River and the River of *Plate*, is properly the Coaſt of *Braſile*; and, as has been ſaid, belongs to the Kings of *Portugal*, by vertue of the Treaty between them and the Crown of *Caſtile*.

Braſile diſcover'd.

Braſile was firſt found by Don *Pedro Arnales Cabrell*, the ſecond time that the King of *Portugal* ſent his Ships to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and was then taken poſſeſſion of in his Name.

River of *Plate*.

The diſcovery of it.

Strange multiplication of Horſes.

The River of *Plate* was diſcover'd by *Solis* firſt of all; next by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who went up it 150 Leagues and built a Fort; afterwards by Don *Pedro de Mendoza*, who made no great matters of any particular Diſcoveries himſelf, but left a conſiderable number of *Spaniards* behind him. Theſe Men got Boats and went up the River, and leaving at a certain place, where they were, three Mares and Horſes, they multiply'd to that degree in the ſpace of 40 Years, that for 20 Leagues together the Country was crouded almoſt with thoſe Creatures.

Spaniards dwell with the *Indians* at *Aſcenſion*.

More People come out of *Spain*.

City of *Aſcenſion*.

Unknown Coaſt.

The *Spaniards* ventur'd at leaſt 300 Leagues up the River, and found the Country very full of Inhabitants, and well provided with the Neceſſaries of Life; and the *Indians* proving very kind and friendly to them, they lived together with them in a Town on the North-ſide of the River, which they gave the Name of *Aſcenſion* too. And they had lived here full 20 Years, before thoſe in *Spain* knew any thing of their being here, for the Admiral *Mendoza* loſt moſt part of his Ships, and died himſelf in the way homewards. But they now growing old, and doubting their Children, born and brought up in this heatheniſh Country, (for the *Spaniards* here took *Indian* Wives) wou'd become at laſt one People with the Natives, and quite loſe their Chriſtianity, for this reaſon ſent into *Spain* to give the King notice of their Affairs; who, thereupon, diſpatch'd two or three Ships with more Men and Women for the good of the Plantation, and a Biſhop, Prieſts and Friers, for the ſupport of the Chriſtian Religion amongſt them. When this Relief was come, they planted two places more on the North of the River, and travell'd 300 Leagues beyond the Town of *Aſcenſion*; but finding no Gold nor Silver to invite them to ſettle there, they return'd to the place from whence they came. This Town by degrees grew ſo populous that 'twas inlarg'd into a City, and from a City became one of the moſt conſiderable in the whole *Weſt-Indies*. The Country about it is fruitful, and yields plenty of all ſorts of Proviſion; and as for Trade, the two principal Commodities are Sugar and Cotton. The Coaſt along from this River of *Plate* to the *Magellanick-Streights* has been very little diſcover'd either by Sea or Land, only ſome Ports have been taken notice of by Ships going to the *Streights*.

Country from the *Streights* to *Chili*.

As for the Land that lies from the *Magellanick-Streights* to the Coaſt of *Chili* its little known, becauſe of the great Mountains of Snow that hinder travelling by Land; and the Shoals, and the multitude of little Iſlands that lie off the Main, have alſo hindred any exact Diſcoveries to be made by Sea.

Caſtro.

Chili.

The firſt known Country on the Coaſt of *Chili* (coming from the *Streights*) is that of *Caſtro*; 'tis the worſt of all thereabouts, becauſe there's very little Gold, and as little Proviſion, and then 'tis exceſſively cold. The whole Country of *Chili* is above 100 Leagues long N. & S. but not more than 25 Leagues in breadth. There run from the high Mountains into the Sea a great number of Rivers, which make it one of the pleaſanteſt Countries in the World, and that 'tis as fruitful and rich too is paſt all doubt.

Arauco.

The Province of *Arauco* is not above 20 Leagues long, but has a fine plain Country, which lies juſt over againſt the Iſland of *Mocha*.

The chief City of all *Chili* (and the richeſt too) was *La Conception*, but it has been plunder'd and burnt by the valiant *Araucans* ſo often, that it became a poor decay'd place upon't.

Several Towns.

Bounds of *Chili*.

Peru.

No rain.

Province of *Tucuman*.

Santa Fee.

Camana.

Acari.

St. *Jago* (which ſtands 25 Leagues up in the Country) ſucceeded *La Conception* in the character of the principal City, which it has kept, and is a conſiderable place. The Port of *Valparizo* upon this Coaſt, is that whither all the Ships come from *Lima* and unlade their Goods. Next to *Coquinbo* (which is the next Town by the Seaſide beyond *Valparizo*) is *Copiapo* a Port Town, but more remarkable for being the utmoſt Boundary of the Country of *Chili*; when you are paſs'd this, you come into a Country that leads you to *Peru*. The tract of Land between *Capiapo* and *Peru* is near 160 Leagues, but it lies deſolate 'tis ſo rugged and mountainous. *Peru* is at leaſt 800 Leagues from North to South; upon above 600 of which 'tis ſaid that no Rain ever falls, and yet the moſt wanton and luxurious appetite in the World can crave for nothing which this Country will not yield. The reaſon of which, ſome attribute to the vaſt ridge of high Mountains that runs along upon the Weſt frontier, which defends thoſe ſweet Valleys of *Peru* from the rainy Clouds that wou'd otherwiſe water them. But however, from theſe Mountains there iſſue out abundance of Rivers which diſcharge themſelves into the South Sea, and as they run along their waters are drawn off by Sluces and Channels cut for that purpoſe, by which the Vineyards and Corn-fields are ſufficiently refreſh'd, and the whole Country made exceeding fruitful. Betwixt theſe Mountains and the Mountains of *Chili*, that ſtretch to the *Magellanick Streights*, there lies a mighty Plain of 60 leagues over, which is ſo cold, that it is unfit for the production of Corn, but yet is very fruitful as to ſeveral other ſorts of neceſſaries. Behind the ridge of ſnowy Mountains lies the Province of *Tucuman*, wherein the *Spaniards* have ſome Towns; the laſt of them is called *Cordova*, from whence to *Santa Fee*, upon the River of *Plate*, is about 70 leagues; which Town of *Santa Fee* was built in that place to favour the deſign of ſeeking a way to *Peru* by the River of *Plate*. The firſt Town in *Peru*, as you come from *Chili*, is called *Atacama*, and from hence to *Arica* all the Coaſt is inhabited by *Indians*, that acknowledge the *Spaniſh* Authority. From hence you go to *Camana* (the next Port Town) and ſo to *Acari*, famous for the beſt and greateſt quantity of Wine made in all *Peru*; from thence along the Coaſt to *Calao*, the well known Port of *Lima*.

Guayaquill.

Timber and Saſſaparilla.

Proceeding ſtill Northward, you come to the rich City of *Truxillo*, which is one of the principal ones of *Peru*; the next to which of note is *Guayaquill*, which ſtands 40 leagues up into a great Bay or River, at the entrance of which ſtands *Tambez* an *Indian* Town. *Guayaquill* is remarkable for the quantities of Saſſaparilla they gather here, and the ſtore of Timber it affords for the building Ships, but much more for its being the firſt place in *Peru* where it rains, for all between *Atacama* and *Guayaquill* there is none.

Emeraulds at *Puerto Vicio*.

From hence you go along the Coaſt to *Puerto Vicio*, formerly a noted place for Emeraulds, but it ſeems the plenty and commonneſs of theſe Stones have ſo ſunk the value of them, that the trade is decay'd, and the Town grown poor; by the way, 'tis much more likely that theſe ſhou'd not be true Emeraulds, than that a Town which had plenty of ſuch noble Jewels ſhou'd ever go to decay.

Popaian.

The *Symmarons*.

Their Habitation near *Panama*.

Coſta Rica.

Nicaragua.

Within the Main, ſome 50 or 60 leagues from hence, ſtands *Popaian*, a place of ſome trade; but from thence, as far as *Panama*, you meet with no Town at all, for the Country is very mountainous, full of Rivers, and unwholſome too. About this Country dwell the *Symmarons*, a company of fugitive Negroes, that being run away from their *Spaniſh* Maſters, here eſtabliſhed themſelves into a Community. The reaſon of this Revolt was the hard uſage they had from their Maſters, and tho' there were ſeveral attempts made to reduce them to their former Obedience, yet they all prov'd unſucceſsful; the Negroes ſtoutly defended their Liberty, and very often made the *Spaniards* feel the effects of their indignation and reſentment. At laſt they came to a ſort of a Compoſition, and becauſe the *Spaniards* cou'd make no better terms, they yielded the Negroes ſhou'd have their liberty, and live in a place by themſelves, provided they wou'd be quiet. Their principal place is St. *Jago de los Negros*, not far from *Panama*, where they have all Officers of their own, only a *Spaniſh* Governor reſident amongſt them. The Coaſt running along betwixt *Panama* and *Nova Eſpanna*, is call'd *Coſta Rica*; next to which is a mountainous Country call'd *Coſta di Nicaragua*, inhabited by the *Spaniards*, and containing ſeveral good Ports, to which great ſtore, and many varieties of Merchandize are brought. This have we gone round this whole great

Continent, and ſeen the Coaſts of both ſides of it; it remains now that we add ſome other Remarks of our Authors.

Muſo the beſt Emeraulds.

The Town of *Muſo*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, has the beſt Emeraulds known in all the *Indies*, and are taken out of a Rock, which is it ſelf an inexhauſtible Treaſury of that ſort of Riches. A certain *Indian* found here a Stone which was ſent to King *Philip* of *Spain*, the value of which was not to be fix'd, and all the Jewellers were puzzell'd to ſay what 'twas worth.

Mines of *Potoſi*.

The great Mountain in *Potoſi*, where the Mines are, has always a Cloud hanging over the top of it, even in the pureſt and cleareſt weather. At the foot ſtands the City, but there's no ſuch thing as Graſs or Paſture within 6 leagues all about. The entrance into the Mine-works, and the working there, are ſo dangerous, that they which go upon that deſign uſe to take the Sacrament of the Altar, expecting never to return more. The Metals lie at a vaſt depth in the Earth, at leaſt 200 times a Man's heighth: Rain is very neceſſary for theſe Works in the Mines ſometimes, and this they uſually have about *Chriſtmaſs*. In *February* the Silver comes from *Potoſi* and *Porco* to *Lima*, and about the ſame time the Ships come with Gold from *Chili* to the ſame place, and this amounts to near 3 Millions, half of which is the King's, but in all, both Gold and Silver, 'tis about 12 Millions. From *Lima* it goes to *Panama*, in the Month of *April*; from *Panama* by Land to *Nombre de Dios*, and from thence by Sea to *Carthagena*. The Gold that comes out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and the Province of *John de Salina*, is alſo brought by a River to *Carthagena*, ſo that at that place there's a good Booty to be met with every Year, if ſome well-laid project were as well put in execution.

Times of carrying the Treaſure, and the places.

Mines of *Oruto* and *Guacovelica*.

The Mines of *Oruto* are given over through the defailure of the Quickſilver; and the rich Silver Mines of *Guacovelica*, which uſe to yield 8000 Quintals yearly, have been ſtopp'd up by the falling in of ſome Mountains.

Wine and Aſſes ſcarce in *Quito*.

To conclude theſe Remarks, they tell us that two things are exceſſively ſcarce and dear, conſequently in the great City of *Quito*, and thoſe are Wine and Aſſes. The former is worth 8 Rials a Quart if brought from *Lima*, but 12 if it comes from *Spain*. The latter are ſuch rarities, that one has been ſold for 1500 Pezo's; and 'tis a ſort of Proverbial Queſtion in the Country, What's deareſt at *Quito*? To which the Anſwer is, An Aſs. But they were always reckon'd a very ſenſible ingenious People, and 'tis but agreeable to their Character to have few of theſe Animals amongſt them.

The diſcovery of *Solomon's* Iſlands.

It may not be amiſs to add to this, the Account they give us of the firſt Diſcovery of the Iſland of *Solomon*. The *Spaniſh* Vice-Roys in this part of the World, to ingratiate themſelves the more with the King their Maſter, and keep his favour, that they may the longer keep theſe profitable Poſts, uſe to ſet themſelves to make new Diſcoveries. Thus Don *Luis de Velaſco*, Vice-Roy of *New Spain*, ſent out a Fleet and diſcover'd the *Philippine* Iſlands. After the ſame manner one *Caſtro*, Vice-Roy of *Peru*, ſent out a Fleet from *Lima*, a principal Commander in which was *Pedro Sarmiento*, a famous ſearcher of the *Magellanick Streights*. They ſail'd 800 leagues to the Weſt of the Coaſt of *Peru*, and in 11 degr. S. L. they found ſeveral Iſlands inhabited with People of a tawny complexion, and quite naked. Theſe Iſlands afforded Ginger, Cloves and Cinnamon, tho' not the very beſt; there was alſo ſome appearance of Gold. Between 9 and 15 degr. S. L. they diſcover'd 11 great Iſlands, the largeſt of which had its Name *Guadalcanal* from the firſt Obſerver, and upon the Coaſt of this they ſail'd 150 leagues, before they cou'd know whether 'twere an Iſland or part of the Main-land; nay, they cou'd not at laſt find the end of it, ſo that they concluded it might poſſibly be part of a Continent ſtretching to the *Magellanick Streights*. However, theſe were thoſe afterwards call'd *Solomon*'s Iſlands, and they afforded excellent Victuals of all ſorts; ſo that they are the moſt convenient refreſhing places that can be as a Ship ſails from the Coaſt of *Chili*, *Peru*, or the *Magellanick*, for the *Moluccas*. Here is alſo Gold to be had, which the Natives will give in truck for other Commodities. The *Spaniards* did not think of finding Gold hereabouts, but yet they brought home to the value of 40000 Pezo's, and good ſtore of Spices too. The Natives were very ſtout Men, and fought continually againſt the *Spaniards*, ſo that they got no more Spoil of one ſort nor another, than what they got by main force. They were at leaſt 14 Months in diſcovering theſe Iſlands from one to another; at the end of which they return'd home, ſailing to the North of the line, and ſo falling with the Coaſt of *New Spain*.

Spices

Gold

Store of Proviſions.

The reaſon of their Name.

That the *Spaniards* might be encouraged to go and Plant theſe Iſlands, the Diſcoverers politickly gave them the Name of *Solomon*'s Iſlands, as if they ought to ſuppoſe theſe were the very Iſlands that Prince fetch'd all his Gold from to adorn the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. This was a good contrivance to ſend ſome away, and ſo make more room for the reſt in the rich and delicious Country of *Peru*. And the trick took ſo far, that Colonies were actually going to be ſent thither, but at the ſame time they had notice that Sir *Francis Drake* was gone into the South Sea; upon which, Orders were ſent that they ſhou'd not be inhabited, to the end that the *Engliſh*, and all other Nations paſſing that way to the *Moluccas*, might meet with no other refreſhment there than what they cou'd get from the Natives, who are not very forward to entertain Strangers.

CHAP. XIII.

The Natural Hiſtory of the Spaniſh Indies *in general.*

We are here to run over thoſe things that relate to the Hiſtory of Nature in this part of the World, and therefore ſhall make no diſcourſe of Long. and Lat. of length and ſhortneſs of Days, of Shadows, Twilights, and other things of Mathematical conſideration. For theſe things we muſt go to our Globes, till we find them determin'd by infallible Obſervations made in the Country. In the mean time, we may ſurvey with pleaſure the Land, Rivers and Springs, the Mountains, Meadows, and fruitful Valleys, Animals, and all the rich Products of the Earth; amongſt which variety of Subjects, we ſhall meet with ſome that will poſſibly entertain us.

The temper of the Climate.

What the quality and temper of the air for the moſt part is, may be pretty eaſily gueſs'd from the ſituation of the Country; yet this is not a Rule that holds without exception, neither are the degrees of heat and cold in any Country preciſely to be determin'd by its nearneſs to, or remoteneſs from the Equinoctial, ſince there are abundance of other cauſes that concur to theſe effects, and are to be conſider'd in their ſeveral influences and relations thereto. The Torrid Zone is in a great many places truly ſo, and the Inhabitants are as it were continually roaſting; thus 'tis in *Ethiopia*, and almoſt all Parts of *Africk*; in ſome Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and many others of *Aſia*; and ſo in part of *Braſile*, and others for the *American* World. But yet in the ſame Zone, in other places, 'tis quite otherwiſe; the air is cool and temperate, and the Sun, tho' he comes directly over the heads of the Inhabitants, yet does not torment them at that rate with his heat. At *Quito* in *Peru*, the heat is very gentle and moderate, and ſo 'tis generally upon the Plains of that Country, but about *Potoſi* 'tis downright cold, and by the bare feeling of the temper of the air thereabouts, a Man wou'd gueſs that he were much farther removed from the Equinoctial than he is. And 'tis the ſame too moſtly in the Kingdom of *New Granada*, which enjoys a pleaſant temperate air, rather inclining to cold than heat, as is very well ſeen in the skins and complexions of the Inhabitants. But this difference is not only obſervable by Land, but at Sea too; for as about all the Sea of *Panama*, and the Coaſt of *Braſile*, you have violent and hardly tolerable heats, ſo upon the *Peruvian* Sea it has been taken notice, that even when the Sun has been directly over the heads of thoſe that have ſail'd along, they have had as much cold as they car'd

Difference of heat and cold in the burning Zone.

Difference of heat and cold upon the *American* Seas.

The influence of the winds in this matter, and the difference between the ſame winds in thoſe Parts and *Europe*.

for. 'Tis paſt all doubt, that the Winds and Breezes are the principal cauſes of this difference, and tho' we can give no particular account of the various Laws obſerv'd by them in all Parts of this great Country, yet ſome few things, which pretty conſtant experience has juſtify'd, are to be taken notice of. In *Europe* we find, that in the Summer time our moſt cool and pleaſing Seaſons are in the Morning, the Evenings being more frequently (if compar'd with them) hot and ſultry. Contrariwiſe in *Peru* (and it holds too in many places in the middle Zone) they feel ſome of their greateſt heats in the Morning, becauſe at that time the freſh Winds from the Sea don't blow upon them, but towards the middle of the Day thoſe Winds (with their conſtant and ſtated courſe) return and make the air cool and pleaſant. Again, the North Winds which with us are ſharp and piercing, yet diſperſes Miſts and Clouds, and clears the air, is in many Parts of *Peru* troubleſome and unwholſome, darkens the air, and brings Rain along with it very frequently.

Effects of the N. & S. winds.

On the other hand their South Winds are healthy and refreſhing, and make very bright and pleaſant weather along the Plains and Coaſt of that Country; and yet neither of theſe Rules will hold univerſally, for they have there extremely cold and dry North Winds, and their Rains wet South ones, as is well known in ſome mountainous Parts of *Peru* and *Chili*.

Of the E. & W. ones

Again, our *Solanus*, or Eaſt Wind, is reckon'd far leſs mild, kindly and healthful, than the *Zephyrus* is; but here (and ſo 'tis all over the Torrid Zone, the Eaſterly wind, which they call the Breeze, blows not only pleaſure and refreſhment, but health and advantage to the Body: One can't ſay it does more ſo than the Weſterly does, becauſe that Wind that is the full Weſt, ſeldom or hardly blows at all between the Tropicks.)

The wet and dry Seaſons.

As for the order and conſequence of the dry and wet Seaſons one upon another, the Rule obtains here that is eſtabliſh'd by univerſal Experience every where in the Torrid Zone, that when the Sun is fartheſt from them they have their faireſt and dryeſt weather, and the contrary when he returns and comes over their heads again. Thus in *Peru*, when the Sun makes his courſe towards the Tropick of *Cancer*, the air is very clear and calm, they have nothing of Rain or Snow, all their Rivers fall, and ſome are quite dried up. On the other hand, as the Sun approaches to them, and comes to ſhine with more direct and forcible beams upon them, the Rain and Snows come on too, and the Rivers ſwell and overflow their Banks. The ſame Law is obſerved in proportion in the Coaſt of ***New Spain***, the Iſlands of *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba*, and *St. John de Porto Rico*, and univerſally on the North-ſide of the Line, with reference to the Sun's acceſs to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, as on the South-ſide with reſpect to that of *Cancer*.

Difference between the Torrid and Temperate Zones in the point of weather.

But this Law ('tis well known) holds only in the Torrid Zone, for all the Regions without the Tropicks have Rain and Snow, and all that foul weather when the Sun is fartheſt from them, and together with the return of that Luminary, not only their great heat, but cleareſt sky and drieſt weather too. This Rule is ſo well confirm'd by Obſervations throughout the World, that 'tis not to be in the leaſt queſtion'd.

Conſtitution and Diviſion of the Land.

The temper and conſtitution of the Land is to be conſider'd with reſpect either to the low, the high, or the middle Lands. In general, the low Parts towards the Sea-Coaſt are hot and moiſt, and not ſo fit to be inhabited, nor near ſo healthy as others are.

Sands and marſhy grounds.

There are ſome of them that are plainly uninhabitable, not only by reaſon of the Sands which lie in vaſt mountains in many places, but the watry plaſhy Grounds, which is the other extreme; for the waters that fall from the Mountains, finding no outlet in theſe flat and low Lands do perfectly drown them, and render them unfit for living in. And what by one and the other of theſe, eſpecially the latter, the greateſt part of the Coaſt of this Empire, particularly that upon the South Sea, is made a very ill ſort of a Habitation. Only 'tis to be ſaid, that this admits of an exception, with reſpect to ſome Parts of *Peru*, where the low Lands are cool, fertile and healthy.

High lands.

Paſture and Cattel.

Mines.

The high Lands are cold and dry, very healthy, but not very fruitful nor pleaſant; yet there are Paſture Grounds, and good ſtore of Cattel, out of which they ſupply their want of Corn and Grain, but then they have the advantage of having the rich Mines amongſt them, and all things we know obey Gold and Silver. Theſe two advantages of Paſture and Mines in the high Lands, do countervail the other two of Trade, and abundance of Wines which are found in the lower along the Sea-Coaſt. The middle Lands are moderate in temper as well as ſituation, they have not the hot muggy air of the one, nor the piercing cold of the other;

Products Corn and Grain.

they abound in many ſorts of Grain, as Wheat, Barley and Maize, which grows not at all in the high Countries, but pretty well in the lower. There's alſo delicate Paſture-Grounds, Fields full of Cattel, Orchards and Gardens of Fruit, and an admirable mixture of Woods and Foreſts. This is the part of the Country that is beſt form'd for Health and Pleaſure; and 'tis the moſt crouded and thronged with Inhabitants, who live here a ſort of Paradiſiacal life.

Nature of the Land in *Mexico*.

But for a more particular Account of the Nature and Quality of the Land, we may conſider how it is in the two well-known Parts of this vaſt Empire the Countries of *Mexico* and *Peru*. As to the former, 'tis obſerved that what way ſoever you enter it you are upon the aſcent, and having mounted a good heighth you begin to fall again, tho' but a very little. All the Land about *New Spain* and *Mexico* is of this nature, not but that there are high Mountains and deep Valleys; but the buſineſs is, that the main of the Country lies thus conſiderably elevated above that which runs along the Sea-Coaſt.

The Land in *Peru* *Lanos*, *Sierras*, *Andes*.

Peru is to be conſider'd as divided into three Parts, which are call'd by the *Spaniards* the *Lanos*, the *Sierras*, and the *Andes*. The *Lanos* runs along the Sea-Coaſt, the *Sierras* be all Hills with ſome Valleys, the *Andes* are ſteep and craggy Mountains. The *Lanes* takes up ſome 10 leagues in breadth, in ſome Parts leſs, and in others a little more; the *Sierras* run ſome 20 leagues in breadth, the *Andes* as much, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs. It never rains upon all the *Lanos* or Sea-Coaſt, but ſometimes there falls a ſmall dew; to defend themſelves from which the Inhabitants need no more than coverings of Mats, with a little Earth upon them. Upon the *Andes* it rains almoſt continually, tho' ſometimes the Seaſons vary there as to more and leſs. In the *Sierras*, which lies betwixt both the Extremes, the Rains obſerve the ſame Seaſons that they do in *Spain*.

Goats and Sheep.

Apes and Parrots.

Plant Coca.

The *Sierras* abounds with a ſort of wild Goats and Sheep, and their Valleys are very pleaſant and full of Fruits. The *Andes* afford great numbers of Apes and Parrots; and here alſo they find the Plant *Coca*, which is ſo greatly eſteemed of the *Indians*, and of the Trade of which they make ſo much Money. The *Andes* and *Sierras* run along for above 1000 leagues in view with one another, and almoſt parallel too.

Great Champian.

Beyond the Royal City of *Cuſco* they open from one another, and form a large and ſpacious Champian, repleniſh'd with abundance of fine Rivers and flouriſhing Paſtures. It is a healthful Soil, the beſt Peopled, and the richeſt of all the *Indies* for all kinds of Proviſions, Corn only excepted; but they have all the Cattel of *Europe*, beſides thoſe that are peculiar to the Country, and excellent Fowl, particularly ſtore of Partridges.

Store of Fowl.

Province of *Callao*.

This is call'd the Province of *Callao*; the next to which, namely *Charcas*, has abundance of very fruitful Valleys, and Mountains that afford the richeſt Fruit in the World, which is the charming Metals of Gold and Silver.

Lakes.

Great Lake of *Titicaca*.

There are ſeveral very great Lakes in this Country: The Lake of *Titicaca*, in the Province of *Callao*, (juſt now mention'd) is full 35 leagues in length, and 15 in breadth at the wideſt place, and there are 10 or 12 great Rivers that empty themſelves into it. The water is not ſalt nor brackiſh like that of the Sea, but has ſo many ill qualities that 'tis not fit to be drunk; there are ſeveral Iſlands in it which formerly were inhabited and cultivated but now lie waſte, but for all that Lake is inhabited ſtill, and you may ſee a great many Villages of *Indians* floating in it.

Floating Villages.

For 'tis to be noted, that there grows here a ſort of Reed which they call *Tortora*, of which they make a ſort of Boats, and then tying a good number of theſe all together they compoſe a Village, which removes from place to place according as their Occaſions lead them.

Fiſh and Fowl.

The Lake is well repleniſh'd with Fiſh and wild Fowl, which are the things theſe *Indians* mainly depend upon for their livelihood. Tho' it receives ſo great quantities of water, yet it has but one vent only, which running in a current for at leaſt 50 leagues, forms at laſt another Lake; this is leſs than the Original one, but yet very large in it ſelf, and upon the Banks of it feed abundance of Cattel that grow very fat with the fine Paſturage they meet with there. At the end of the Valley of *Tarapaya*, near *Potoſi*, there's a Lake ſo round in its circumference, that it ſeems as if it had been deſcrib'd by Compaſs. But 'tis ſtranger ſtill, for the quality of its water;

Boiling Lake

in the middle it boils up like a Pot for at leaſt 20 foot ſquare, which is the very riſing of the Spring, and 'tis ſo hot, that that compariſon is juſt enough alſo upon this account. They very frequently bathe in it towards the outward Parts, and near the Banks, but going farther 'tis ſo hot that 'tis not to be endured. They have cut a great Channel which draws off a conſiderable ſtream of water from the Lake, (for the

ſervice

Great Lake of *Mexico.*

Two ſorts of water.

Hot Baths.

Great ſtore of Fiſh.

ſervice of their Metal-Engines) notwithſtanding which the Spring works up ſo very faſt, that the Lake always keeps full without any apparent decreaſe. The mighty Lake of *Mexico*, upon ſome accounts deſerves more admiration than the former. That great City it ſelf is ſeated in it, but the proſpect of the floating Gardens is not leſs fine and agreeable than that of ſo many Houſes, for here you ſhall ſee large Plats of ground full of all ſorts of pleaſant Herbs and Flowers ſwimming along upon the water, and floating from one part to another. The Lake affords two ſorts of water, one ſalt like that of the Ocean, and another ſweet and clear, from the many Rivers that enter into it. In the midſt of it is a great rocky Iſland, which has ſeveral Baths of hot water, very wholſome and medicinal, and much us'd upon that ſcore. The quantities of Fiſh it affords are ſo great, that the Revenue of the Lake is ordinarily reckon'd at 300000 Ducats *per Annum*. In general, all the Lakes of *New Spain*, and *Mechoacan* particularly, are very full of Fiſh; and as there are not a few of them, ſo 'tis plain that the Inhabitants can't want that ſort of Proviſion.

Rivers. *Alvarado. Magdalen.*

River of the *Amazons.*

Wide Channel.

River of *Plate.*

Great Floods.

Swift Rivers.

Divers ways of paſſing the Rivers.

This Country is admirably well water'd with Rivers, and ſome of the greateſt in the World have their riſe from ſome parts of it. The River of *Alvarado* in *New Spain* is a very conſiderable one; and that of *Magdalen*, which falls into the Sea betwixt St. *Martha* and *Carthagena*, runs with a ſtream of above two leagues breadth into the Ocean, which it does with ſuch a force, that for above 10 leagues it preſerves it ſelf diſtinct and unmixt with the Salt water. But the great River of the *Amazons*, and that of *Plate*, are ſtill more wonderful for their largeneſs, velocity, and the great quantities of water they pour into the Ocean. They both riſe out of the Mountains of *Peru*, where they receive conſiderable additions from the Rains, and other little Rivers. The former opens into the Sea with ſo wide a mouth, that 'tis almoſt incredible; a Man ſees only Sky and Water there, and 'tis juſt as if he were in the great Ocean; 'tis much about or near the Line that it thus communicates with the Sea. Some allow it 70 leagues of breadth in that place, others not ſo much, but all agree 'tis the greateſt River known in the World, and neither the *Danube*, *Nile*, *Volga* or *Ganges*, are comparable to it. The Tides flow almoſt 100 leagues up the River, in which reſpect alſo it may claim precedency of all the Rivers in the World that have been yet diſcover'd. The River of *Plate* runs into the Sea in about 35 degr. S. L. and ſometimes 'tis ſo overcharg'd with waters, that it drowns all the Fields about it, and the Country looks like a Sea; this Deluge holds for a matter of 3 Miles, and then the River returns to its ordinary Courſe or Bounds again. The Natives, when they find this coming upon them, they quit their Habitations, and retire with all their Goods into their Canoes, and ſo float up and down till the ſwelling River ſinks again, and makes way for them to return to their Houſes. On the South-ſide of the Mountains of *Peru* the Rivers are not uſually ſo great, becauſe their Currents are not long, and many waters cannot join their forces together; but then they are very ſwift in their deſcent from the Mountains, and have ſudden falls, upon which account they are very dangerous, and many have loſt their lives in attempting to paſs them. The methods that the *Indians* have to help People over their Rivers are various, and ſuch, as they that try them had need be above the fears of drowning. In ſome places they make uſe of a long Rope that reaches from one Bank to the other, on to which is faſten'd a Basket, and in that the Party that is to paſs over puts himſelf; ſo then the *Indians* that undertake the buſineſs ſwimming over to the other ſide, they drag him by the Rope along to them. In other places they ride aſtride upon a wadd of ſome light ſtuff or other, and mount the Paſſenger behind them, and ſo with a piece of board, inſtead of an Oar, they row themſelves over. Others of them again, do compoſe a kind of a Float of Gourds or Pompions faſten'd together, upon which they place all the People, and their ſeveral things that are to go over; on to this Float they fix certain Cords, which the *Indians* that go ſwimming before do pull, and ſo tow along the whole Machine, while at the ſame time others come behind, and do that ſervice by thruſting which the others before do by pulling. Sometimes they have undertaken to carry Men over Rivers upon a Table-board, which they have born upon their ſhoulders, and this without any manner of fear or concern; and the learned Jeſuit *Acoſta* paſs'd the *Alvarado* in *New Spain* after this manner, and tho' 'twas in a ſhallow part of the River, yet ſometimes the *Indians* were many times out of their depth and loſt their footing, and then when 'twas ſo they preſently fell to dabbling and treading the water; ſo that bottom or no bottom 'tis all one to them. As for Bridges they uſe none, unleſs floating ones made of Hair and Straw ſometimes; the *Spaniards*, 'tis true, have built Bridges of Stone over ſome Rivers, and the *Indians* may uſe them 'tis poſſible when they lie in their way; that is, if they have not Gourds or Pompions at hand to make a Float of, or a wadd of Straw, or ſome ſuch conveniency, which is much better than a Bridge, which may tumble down into the water while a Man is going over it. In ſhort, there's no need of Bridges for People that are as ſafe in the water as upon the dry land, and in no more danger of drowning than the Fiſhes themſelves.

Indians uſe no Bridges.

Springs and Fountains.

A petrifying water.

Inca's Baths.

A Fountain that yields Salt.

Medicinal waters.

Smoking water.

Waters of various colours.

There are Springs and Fountains in this Country that have ſomething rare and wonderful in them. In *Guancavelica* in *Peru*, there's one that ſends out hot water, which as runs along petrifies and turns to perfect Rock. It's true, this ſtrange ſort of Stone is ſoft, light and eaſie to cut, but yet 'tis ſtrong and laſting, and ſo fit for uſe, that almoſt all the Houſes of the adjoining Village are built of it. They ſay alſo, that 'tis very fatal for Men or Beaſts to drink of this water, and there's no doubt to be made on't, if it turns to ſtone in their Bellies; to be ſure 'tis no good Diuretick, and wont paſs quite ſo well as a Chalybeat. But by means of this petrifying quality of the water, it comes to paſs that the Fountain blocks up its own way, and ſo neceſſarily changes its Courſe, and is continually forcing it ſelf new paſſages. At the Baths which they call the *Inca's* Baths, there are ſome ſtreams which come almoſt boiling hot out of the ground, and cloſe by theſe are others that are as cold as Ice. In the Province of *Charcas* eſpecially, there are a vaſt number of theſe hot Springs; and the *Spaniards*, who meaſur'd Time by *Ave-Maries*, won and loſt Wagers about holding their fingers in the water while thoſe ſhort Devotions paſs'd, but a Devotion as warm as the water, wou'd have made them find out ſome other way to meaſure the Time, while they were playing the fool thus with one another; a Man can't well burn his finger to purpoſe without crying oh! for't, and that's very pretty ſport in the middle of a Prayer. Near *Cuſco* there's a Fountain that has its waters impregnated with a Salt very white and good, which it leaves behind as it runs along, and that in ſuch quantities, that if the People thought it worth their while they might make it turn to ſome good account; but they have ſo much of this Commodity thereabouts that they altogether neglect it. The waters which run in *Guayaquill* in *Peru* near the Line, are reckon'd good for the *French* Diſeaſe, and many other caſes of the like nature; for which reaſon they are viſited by People that live at a great diſtance all round about, and they talk of very great cures that are wrought by them. They attribute the vertue of theſe waters to the Saſſaparilla, that the Country is known to abound with. Out of the Mountain *Bilcanota* in *Peru* there iſſues a Spring, the water of which, as it comes juſt from the Rock, is of an Aſh-colour, and looks like Lye; beſides it caſts a fume from it like a thing that's on fire: it continues after this manner for a great way, till the ſtream has ſo many other waters mix'd with it, that all the heat and fuming is quite gone. There are alſo Springs, the waters of which are of very odd colours; thus in *New Spain* there's one, whoſe water is blue, and in *Peru* another of a blood red colour, the ſtream of which the Inhabitants call the Red River, but as to the Vertues and Properties of either of theſe, we can give no account.

Volcanoes.

A great one by *Mexico.*

That of *Arequippa.*

Thoſe of *Guatimalla* in the South Sea.

If we Survey theſe Parts of the World, we ſhall find two burning Mountains and Volcanoes, no leſs terrible than thoſe famous ones of *Ætna* and *Veſuvius* in *Europe*. That of *Mexico*, which is near the Village of *Angels*, is a very conſiderable one, and takes up ſo much ground, that they go turning and winding about it in the aſcent a matter of 30 leagues. There has been no fire obſerv'd yet breaking out of it, but thick Clouds of ſmoke are very common, and ſeen almoſt every day; and ſometimes it throws out great quantities of Aſhes and Cinders too. Theſe Paroxyſms are ordinarily in the Morning and the Evening, tho' *Acoſta* tells us he has obſerv'd them at other times of the day. That of *Arequippa* is alſo vaſtly high, and the Mountains is all over nothing but Sand; it has never flam'd viſibly, tho' the effects of an inward fire are diſcernible enough in the ſmoke which at certain times it ſends out. Thoſe of *Guatimalla* are more remarkable ſtill, as well for their heighth and greatneſs, as the horrible flames that are ſeen to aſcend out of them; this Phenomena is often diſcover'd by thoſe that ſail a great way off in the South Sea, they can ſee at that diſtance, by the vaſt Columns of ſmoke and flame, when the Volcanoes are in their raging fits. The Country about *Quito* has a conſiderable ſhare in this ſort of Calamity

The influence of the winds in this matter, and the difference between the ſame winds in theſe Parts and *Europe*.

for. 'Tis paſt all doubt, that the Winds and Breezes are the principal cauſes of this difference, and tho' we can give no particular account of the various Laws obſerv'd by them in all Parts of this great Country, yet ſome few things, which pretty conſtant experience has juſtify'd, are to be taken notice of. In *Europe* we find, that in the Summer time our moſt cool and pleaſing Seaſons are in the Morning, the Evenings being more frequently (if compar'd with them) hot and ſultry. Contrariwiſe in *Peru* (and it holds too in many places in the middle Zone) they feel ſome of their greateſt heats in the Morning, becauſe at that time the freſh Winds from the Sea don't blow upon them, but towards the middle of the Day thoſe Winds (with their conſtant and ſtated courſe) return and make the air cool and pleaſant. Again, the North Winds which with us are ſharp and piercing, yet diſperſes Miſts and Clouds, and clears the air, is in many Parts of *Peru* troubleſome and unwholſome, darkens the air, and brings Rain along with it very frequently.

Effects of the N & S winds.

On the other hand their South Winds are healthy and refreſhing, and make very bright and pleaſant weather along the Plains and Coaſt of that Country; and yet neither of theſe Rules will hold univerſally, for they have there extremely cold and dry North Winds, and their Rains wet South ones, as is well known in ſome mountainous Parts of *Peru* and *Chili*.

Of the E. & W. ones

Again, our *Solanus*, or Eaſt Wind, is reckon'd far leſs mild, kindly and healthful, than the *Zephyrus* is; but here (and ſo 'tis all over the Torrid Zone, the Eaſterly wind, which they call the Breeze, blows not only pleaſure and refreſhment, but health and advantage to the Body: One can't ſay it does more ſo than the Weſterly does, becauſe that Wind that is the full Weſt, ſeldom or hardly blows at all between the Tropicks.)

The wet and dry Seaſons.

As for the order and conſequence of the dry and wet Seaſons one upon another, the Rule obtains here that is eſtabliſh'd by univerſal Experience every where in the Torrid Zone, that when the Sun is fartheſt from them they have their faireſt and dryeſt weather, and the contrary when he returns and comes over their heads again. Thus in *Peru*, when the Sun makes his courſe towards the Tropick of *Cancer*, the air is very clear and calm, they have nothing of Rain or Snow, all their Rivers fall, and ſome are quite dried up. On the other hand, as the Sun approaches to them, and comes to ſhine with more direct and forcible beams upon them, the Rain and Snows come on too, and the Rivers ſwell and overflow their Banks. The ſame Law is obſerved in proportion in the Coaſt of *New Spain*, the Iſlands of *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba*, and *St. John de Porto Rico*, and univerſally on the North-ſide of the Line, with reference to the Sun's acceſs to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, as on the South-ſide with reſpect to that of *Cancer*.

Difference between the Torrid and Temperate Zones in the point of weather.

But this Law ('tis well known) holds only in the Torrid Zone, for all the Regions without the Tropicks have Rain and Snow, and all that foul weather when the Sun is fartheſt from them, and together with the return of that Luminary, not only their great heat, but cleareſt sky and drieſt weather too. This Rule is ſo well confirm'd by Obſervations throughout the World, that 'tis not to be in the leaſt queſtion'd.

The temper and conſtitution of the Land is to be conſider'd with reſpect either to the low, the high, or the middle Lands.

Conſtitution and Diviſion of the Land.

In general, the low Parts towards the Sea-Coaſt are hot and moiſt, and not ſo fit to be inhabited, nor near ſo healthy as others are.

Sands and marſhy grounds.

There are ſome of them that are plainly uninhabitable, not only by reaſon of the Sands which lie in vaſt mountains in many places, but the watry plaſhy Grounds, which is the other extreme; for the waters that fall from the Mountains, finding no outlet in theſe flat and low Lands do perfectly drown them, and render them unfit for living in. And what by one and the other of theſe, eſpecially the latter, the greateſt part of the Coaſt of this Empire, particularly that upon the South Sea, is made a very ill ſort of a Habitation. Only 'tis to be ſaid, that this admits of an exception, with reſpect to ſome Parts of *Peru*, where the low Lands are cool, fertile and healthy.

High lands.

The high Lands are cold and dry, very healthy, but not very fruitful nor pleaſant; yet there are Paſture Grounds, and good ſtore of Cattel, out of which they ſupply their want of Corn and Grain, but then they have the advantage of having the rich Mines amongſt them, and all things we know obey Gold and Silver.

Paſture and Cattel.

Mines.

Theſe two advantages of Paſture and Mines in the high Lands, do countervail the other two of Trade, and abundance of Wines which are found in the lower along the Sea-Coaſt.

Products Corn and Grain.

The middle Lands are moderate in temper as well as ſituation, they have not the hot muggy air of the one, nor the piercing cold of the other; they abound in many ſorts of Grain, as Wheat, Barley and Maize, which grows not at all in the high Countries, but pretty well in the lower. There's alſo delicate Paſture-Grounds, Fields full of Cattel, Orchards and Gardens of Fruit, and an admirable mixture of Woods and Foreſts. This is the part of the Country that is beſt form'd for Health and Pleaſure; and 'tis the moſt crouded and thronged with Inhabitants, who live here a ſort of Paradiſiacal life.

Nature of the Land in Mexico.

But for a more particular Account of the Nature and Quality of the Land, we may conſider how it is in the two well-known Parts of this vaſt Empire the Countries of *Mexico* and *Peru*. As to the former, 'tis obſerved that what way ſoever you enter it you are upon the aſcent, and having mounted a good heighth you begin to fall again, tho' but a very little. All the Land about *New Spain* and *Mexico* is of this nature, not but that there are high Mountains and deep Valleys; but the buſineſs is, that the main of the Country lies thus conſiderably elevated above that which runs along the Sea-Coaſt.

The Land in Peru Lanos, Sierras, Andes.

Peru is to be conſider'd as divided into three Parts, which are call'd by the *Spaniards* the *Lanos*, the *Sierras*, and the *Andes*. The *Lanos* runs along the Sea-Coaſt, the *Sierras* be all Hills with ſome Valleys, the *Andes* are ſteep and craggy Mountains. The *Lanos* takes up ſome 10 leagues in breadth, in ſome Parts leſs, and in others a little more; the *Sierras* run ſome 20 leagues in breadth, the *Andes* as much, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs. It never rains upon all the *Lanos* or Sea-Coaſt, but ſometimes there falls a ſmall dew; to defend themſelves from which the Inhabitants need no more than coverings of Mats, with a little Earth upon them. Upon the *Andes* it rains almoſt continually, tho' ſometimes the Seaſons vary there as to more and leſs. In the *Sierras*, which lies betwixt both the Extremes, the Rains obſerve the ſame Seaſons that they do in *Spain*.

Goats and Sheep.

The *Sierras* abounds with a ſort of wild Goats and Sheep, and their Valleys are very pleaſant and full of Fruits.

Apes and Parrots.

Plant Coca.

The *Andes* afford great numbers of Apes and Parrots; and here alſo they find the Plant *Coca*, which is ſo greatly eſteemed of the *Indians*, and of the Trade of which they make ſo much Money. The *Andes* and *Sierras* run along for above 1000 leagues in view with one another, and almoſt parallel too.

Great Champian.

Beyond the Royal City of *Cuſco* they open from one another, and form a large and ſpacious Champian, repleniſh'd with abundance of fine Rivers and flouriſhing Paſtures. It is a healthful Soil, the beſt Peopled, and the richeſt of all the *Indies* for all kinds of Proviſions, Corn only excepted; but they have all the Cattel of *Europe*, beſides thoſe that are peculiar to the Country, and excellent Fowl, particularly ſtore of Partridges.

Store of Fowl.

Province of Callas.

This is call'd the Province of *Callao*; the next to which, namely *Charcas*, has abundance of very fruitful Valleys, and Mountains that afford the richeſt Fruit in the World, which is the charming Metals of Gold and Silver.

Lakes.

Great Lake of Titicaca.

There are ſeveral very great Lakes in this Country: The Lake of *Titicaca*, in the Province of *Callao*, (juſt now mention'd) is full 35 leagues in length, and 15 in breadth at the wideſt place, and there are 10 or 12 great Rivers that empty themſelves into it. The water is not ſalt nor brackiſh like that of the Sea, but has ſo many ill qualities that 'tis not fit to be drunk; there are ſeveral Iſlands in it which formerly were inhabited and cultivated but now lie waſte, but for all that Lake is inhabited ſtill, and you may ſee a great many Villages of *Indians* floating in it.

Floating Villages.

For 'tis to be noted, that there grows here a ſort of Reed which they call *Tortora*, of which they make a ſort of Boats, and then tying a good number of theſe all together they compoſe a Village, which removes from place to place according as their Occaſions lead them.

Fiſh and Fowl.

The Lake is well repleniſh'd with Fiſh and wild Fowl, which are the things theſe *Indians* mainly depend upon for their livelihood. Tho' it receives ſo great quantities of water, yet it has but one vent only, which running in a current for at leaſt 50 leagues, forms at laſt another Lake; this is leſs than the Original one, but yet very large in it ſelf, and upon the Banks of it feed abundance of Cattel that grow very fat with the fine Paſturage they meet with there. At the end of the Valley of *Tarapaya*, near *Potoſi*, there's a Lake ſo round in its circumference, that it ſeems as if it had been deſcrib'd by Compaſs.

Boiling Lake

But 'tis ſtranger ſtill, for the quality of its water; in the middle it boils up like a Pot for at leaſt 20 foot ſquare, which is the very riſing of the Spring, and 'tis ſo hot, that that compariſon is juſt enough alſo upon this account. They very frequently bathe in it towards the outward Parts, and near the Banks, but going farther 'tis ſo hot that 'tis not to be endured. They have cut a great Channel which draws off a conſiderable ſtream of water from the Lake, (for the

ſervice

Great Lake of *Mexico.*

Two ſorts of water.

Hot Baths.

Great ſtore of Fiſh.

ſervice of their Metal-Engines) notwithſtanding which the Spring works up ſo very faſt, that the Lake always keeps full without any apparent decreaſe. The mighty Lake of *Mexico*, upon ſome accounts deſerves more admiration than the former. That great City it ſelf is ſeated in it, but the proſpect of the floating Gardens is not leſs fine and agreeable than that of ſo many Houſes, for here you ſhall ſee large Plats of ground full of all ſorts of pleaſant Herbs and Flowers ſwimming along upon the water, and floating from one part to another. The Lake affords two ſorts of water, one ſalt like that of the Ocean, and another ſweet and clear, from the many Rivers that enter into it. In the midſt of it is a great rocky Iſland, which has ſeveral Baths of hot water, very wholſome and medicinal, and much us'd upon that ſcore. The quantities of Fiſh it affords are ſo great, that the Revenue of the Lake is ordinarily reckon'd at 300000 Ducats *per Annum*. In general, all the Lakes of *New Spain*, and *Mechoacan* particularly, are very full of Fiſh; and as there are not a few of them, ſo 'tis plain that the Inhabitants can't want that ſort of Proviſion.

Rivers. *Alvarado. Magdalen.*

River of the *Amazons.*

Wide Channel.

River of *Plate.*

Great Floods.

Swift Rivers.

Divers ways of paſſing the Rivers.

Indians uſe no Bridges.

This Country is admirably well water'd with Rivers, and ſome of the greateſt in the World have their riſe from ſome parts of it. The River of *Alvarado* in *New Spain* is a very conſiderable one; and that of *Magdalen*, which falls into the Sea betwixt St. *Martha* and *Carthagena*, runs with a ſtream of above two leagues breadth into the Ocean, which it does with ſuch a force, that for above 10 leagues it preſerves it ſelf diſtinct and unmixt with the Salt water. But the great River of the *Amazons*, and that of *Plate*, are ſtill more wonderful for their largeneſs, velocity, and the great quantities of water they pour into the Ocean. They both riſe out of the Mountains of *Peru*, where they receive conſiderable additions from the Rains, and other little Rivers. The former opens into the Sea with ſo wide a mouth, that 'tis almoſt incredible; a Man ſees only Sky and Water there, and 'tis juſt as if he were in the great Ocean; 'tis much about or near the Line that it thus communicates with the Sea. Some allow it 70 leagues of breadth in that place, others not ſo much, but all agree 'tis the greateſt River known in the World, and neither the *Danube*, *Nile*, *Volga* or *Ganges*, are comparable to it. The Tides flow almoſt 100 leagues up the River, in which reſpect alſo it may claim precedency of all the Rivers in the World that have been yet diſcover'd. The River of *Plate* runs into the Sea in about 35 degr. S. L. and ſometimes 'tis ſo overcharg'd with waters, that it drowns all the Fields about it, and the Country looks like a Sea; this Deluge holds for a matter of 3 Miles, and then the River returns to its ordinary Courſe or Bounds again. The Natives, when they find this coming upon them, they quit their Habitations, and retire with all their Goods into their Canoes, and ſo float up and down till the ſwelling River ſinks again, and makes way for them to return to their Houſes. On the South-ſide of the Mountains of *Peru* the Rivers are not uſually ſo great, becauſe their Currents are not long, and many waters cannot join their forces together; but then they are very ſwift in their deſcent from the Mountains, and have ſudden falls, upon which account they are very dangerous, and many have loſt their lives in attempting to paſs them. The methods that the *Indians* have to help People over their Rivers are various, and ſuch, as they that try them had need be above the fears of drowning. In ſome places they make uſe of a long Rope that reaches from one Bank to the other, on to which is faſten'd a Basket, and in that the Party that is to paſs over puts himſelf; ſo then the *Indians* that undertake the buſineſs ſwimming over to the other ſide, they drag him by the Rope along to them. In other places they ride aſtride upon a wadd of ſome light ſtuff or other, and mount the Paſſenger behind them, and ſo with a piece of board, inſtead of an Oar, they row themſelves over. Others of them again, do compoſe a kind of a Float of Gourds or Pompions faſten'd together, upon which they place all the People, and their ſeveral things that are to go over; on to this Float they fix certain Cords, which the *Indians* that go ſwimming before do pull, and ſo tow along the whole Machine, while at the ſame time others come behind, and do that ſervice by thruſting which the others before do by pulling. Sometimes they have undertaken to carry Men over Rivers upon a Table-board, which they have born upon their ſhoulders, and this without any manner of fear or concern; and the learned Jeſuit *Acoſta* paſs'd the *Alvarado* in *New Spain* after this manner, and tho' 'twas in a ſhallow part of the River, yet ſometimes the *Indians* were many times out of their depth and loſt their footing, and then when 'twas ſo they preſently fell to dabbling and treading the water; ſo that bottom or no bottom 'tis all one to them. As for Bridges they uſe none, unleſs floating ones made of Hair and Straw ſometimes; the *Spaniards*, 'tis true, have built Bridges of Stone over ſome Rivers, and the *Indians* may uſe them 'tis poſſible when they lie in their way: that is, if they have not Gourds or Pompions at hand to make a Float of, or a wadd of Straw, or ſome ſuch conveniency, which is much better than a Bridge, which may tumble down into the water while a Man is going over it. In ſhort, there's no need of Bridges for People that are as ſafe in the water as upon the dry land, and in no more danger of drowning than the Fiſhes themſelves.

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Smoking water.

Waters of various colours.

There are Springs and Fountains in this Country that have ſomething rare and wonderful in them. In *Guancavelica* in *Peru*, there's one that ſends out hot water, which as runs along petrifies and turns to perfect Rock. It's true, this ſtrange ſort of Stone is ſoft, light and eaſie to cut, but yet 'tis ſtrong and laſting, and ſo fit for uſe, that almoſt all the Houſes of the adjoining Village are built of it. They ſay alſo that 'tis very fatal for Men or Beaſts to drink of this water, and there's no doubt to be made on't, if it turns to ſtone in their Bellies; to be ſure 'tis no good Diuretick, and wont paſs quite ſo well as a Chalybeat. But by means of this petrifying quality of the water, it comes to paſs that the Fountain blocks up its own way, and ſo neceſſarily changes its Courſe, and is continually forcing it ſelf new paſſages. At the Baths which they call the *Inca's* Baths, there are ſome ſtreams which come almoſt boiling hot out of the ground, and cloſe by theſe are others that are as cold as Ice. In the Province of *Charcas* eſpecially, there are a vaſt number of theſe hot Springs; and the *Spaniards*, who meaſur'd Time by *Ave-Maries*, won and loſt Wagers about holding their fingers in the water while thoſe ſhort Devotions paſs'd, but a Devotion as warm as the water, wou'd have made them find out ſome other way to meaſure the Time, while they were playing the fool thus with one another; a Man can't well burn his finger to purpoſe without crying oh! for't, and that's very pretty ſport in the middle of a Prayer. Near *Cuſco* there's a Fountain that has its waters impregnated with a Salt very white and good, which it leaves behind as it runs along, and that in ſuch quantities, that if the People thought it worth their while they might make it turn to ſome good account; but they have ſo much of this Commodity thereabouts that they altogether neglect it. The waters which run in *Guayaquill* in *Peru* near the Line, are reckon'd good for the *French* Diſeaſe, and many other caſes of the like nature; for which reaſon they are viſited by People that live at a great diſtance all round about, and they talk of very great cures that are wrought by them. They attribute the vertue of theſe waters to the Saſſaparilla, that the Country is known to abound with. Out of the Mountain *Bilcanota* in *Peru* there iſſues a Spring, the water of which, as it comes juſt from the Rock, is of an Aſh-colour, and looks like Lye; beſides it caſts a fume from it like a thing that's on fire: it continues after this manner for a great way, till the ſtream has ſo many other waters mix'd with it, that all the heat and fuming is quite gone. There are alſo Springs, the waters of which are of very odd colours; thus in *New Spain* there's one, whoſe water is blue, and in *Peru* another of a blood red colour, the ſtream of which the Inhabitants call the Red River, but as to the Vertues and Properties of either of theſe, we can give no account.

Volcanoes.

A great one by *Mexico.*

That of *Arequippa.*

Those of *Guatimalla* in the South Sea.

If we Survey theſe Parts of the World, we ſhall find two burning Mountains and Volcanoes, no leſs terrible than thoſe famous ones of *Ætna* and *Veſuvius* in *Europe*. That of *Mexico*, which is near the Village of *Angels*, is a very conſiderable one, and takes up ſo much ground, that they go turning and winding about it in the aſcent a matter of 30 leagues. There has been no fire obſerv'd yet breaking out of it, but thick Clouds of ſmoke are very common, and ſeen almoſt every day; and ſometimes it throws out great quantities of Aſhes and Cinders too. Theſe Paroxyſms are ordinarily in the Morning and the Evening, tho' *Acoſta* tells us he has obſerv'd them at other times of the day. That of *Arequippa* is alſo vaſtly high, and the Mountains is all over nothing but Sand; it has never flam'd viſibly, tho' the effects of an inward fire are diſcernible enough in the ſmoke which at certain times it ſends out. Thoſe of *Guatimalla* are more remarkable ſtill, as well for their heighth and greatneſs, as the horrible flames that are ſeen to aſcend out of them; this Phenomena is often diſcover'd by thoſe that ſail a great way off in the South Sea, they can ſee at that diſtance, by the vaſt Columns of ſmoke and flame, when the Volcanoes are in their raging fits. The Country about *Quito* has a conſiderable ſhare in this ſort of Calamity

That by *Quito* in *Peru.*

too; there's one in that neighbourhood that throws out Aſhes and Cinders for many leagues about, and ſometimes fills the air at that rate with them that 'tis quite darken'd, and there's little difference between Day and Night while that combuſtion laſts. And the forementioned Author tells us, that he was in the City of *Quito* at a certain time when the Volcano raged, and threw out ſuch a prodigious quantity of Aſhes, that the People were not able to walk the Streets for't.

Earthquakes.

To the Volcanoes we may not improperly add Earthquakes, which are another, tho' a very formidable head of the Natural Hiſtory of this Country. The Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* are both liable to them, but eſpecially the latter, which if it were not for this inconvenience wou'd be above objection in every point, and compariſon in moſt; but it muſt be acknowledg'd that 'tis ſubject to theſe direful concuſſions, and its neighbour *Chili* is equally expos'd to the ſame calamity too. It was but in *A. D.* 1586. that the City of *Guatimala* was almoſt all ſwallow'd up with an Earthquake, and the great Volcano there had then been vomiting out whole torrents of fire for ſix months together, without any conſiderable intermiſſion by day or by night. The ſame was the fate of the City of *Arequippa* about three years before that. A little before that there was an Earthquake that, as it were, run along from *Chili* as far as *Quito*, which is above 100 leagues; but this was not ſo terrible as another which happen'd upon the Coaſt of the ſame Country of *Chili*, which entirely demoliſh'd ſeveral Towns, overturn'd great Mountains, which tumbling down into Rivers ſtopt the Courſes of them, and converted them into Lakes; the Sea at the ſame time was in a fearful commotion, and relinquiſhing the Channel, the Ships in ſeveral places were left upon dry ground.

City of *Guatimala* deſtroy'd.

Arequippa likewiſe.

A ſhock from *Chili* to *Quito*.

Dreadful Earthquakes in *Chili*.

A terrible one in *Peru*.

In the forementioned Year 1586. or thereabouts, there was the like confuſion at the City of *Kings* in *Peru*, and the adjoining Country; 'tis true there were not many lives loſt at that time, for the People were warn'd of the approaching miſchief by a diſmal grumbling noiſe in the Bowels of the Earth, upon which they left their Houſes and Gardens, and betook themſelves to the open Fields. But a great part of the City was ruin'd, and the Inhabitants themſelves muſt have been deſtroy'd too, if they had not retir'd farther up into the Country, for by the convulſion the Sea was furiouſly thrown out of its Bounds, and carried near two leagues up into the Land, the water riſing above 14 Fathom, ſo that the Country was perfectly delug'd for that diſtance, and there was no living there but in Boats or very high Trees.

Leſs violent in *Mexico*.

Mexico alſo has its ſhare of theſe Misfortunes, but they are not near ſo violent there as in *Peru* and *Chili*. Theſe two laſt Countries have not the horrible Commotions of the airy Region, the frightful Thunders and Lightnings that many other places have; but inſtead of that, they are paid off with Earthquakes, which ſort of Commotion is the more formidable of the two, and moſt commonly attended with the greater miſchiefs.

The Riches:

This part of the World has had the name for wonderful Riches ever ſince 'twas diſcover'd; and not without juſt reaſon, for none all over the Globe can pretend to ſo great Treaſures as it, if we reſtrain the word to Gold and Silver, not but that there are Jewels and Pearl to be found here too in no ſmall plenty in many places; but perhaps the *Weſt-Indies* will give the precedency to the Eaſt in this matter, and acknowledge its own Pearl and Jewels leſs beautiful and valuable than thoſe of the other. As for their Gold, they find it one of theſe three ways; either in Grains, which is always pure, without any manner of mixture, and needs no melting nor refining in the Fire; or in Duſt, which is found about Rivers and Places where much water hath paſs'd, and is to be ſeparated by waſhing away the Sand and Earth that contains it; or elſe in Veins in a kind of Stone which comes out of Pits and Mines, and requires much labour to dig it out of the Earth at firſt, and refine it in the Fire afterwards. The firſt ſort is not ſo plentiful as the ſecond and third, but 'tis the ſecond ſort that they get the largeſt quantities of in the *Indies*; tho' there are Mines that afford the Gold Stone, in ſome pieces of which you ſhall ſee the Stone intermix'd and ſtreak'd as it were with gold, in others you ſhall have half Gold and half Stone. And this Stone runs in a perfect Vein in the Mine as Silver does, as *Acoſta* tells us, he was an Eye-witneſs in the Mines of *Caruma* in this Country.

Ways of getting Gold.

Gold Mine.

Beſt Gold.

The fineſt Gold is reckon'd to be that of *Caranava* in *Peru*, and of *Baldivia* in *Chili*; and next to this the Gold of *Veragua*. The Gold is commonly found mix'd with Silver or Copper, but that which is found mix'd with Silver is, generally ſpeaking, of fewer Carrats than that mix'd with Copper. What abundance of this rich Metal theſe Provinces yielded may be gueſs'd by this, that the *Incas* of *Peru* had almoſt all their Houſhold Materials, and other Utenſils, made of it. They did not content themſelves with ſmaller Veſſels of Gold, as Pots, Cups, Goblets, Flaggons, nor with the larger ones, as great Kowles, and others of that ſort, but had even their Chairs of State, and Litters of Maſſy-gold. And 'tis certain alſo, that at *Mexico* the *Spaniards* found in the Temples Images of various forms, and of a very great magnitude too, all of the ſame ſolid Metal. As for Silver, the chief Places from whence they draw that are the Mines of *New Spain* and *Peru*, but thoſe of *Peru* do vaſtly ſurpaſs the others; and amongſt all theſe, the Mines of *Potoſi* are the moſt admirable. 'Tis true thoſe of *Porco*, which are 6 leagues diſtant from *Potoſi*, were diſcover'd long before them, being open long before the *Spaniards* ever ſaw the Country; but tho' the Metal there be very good and rich, yet by reaſon of ſome obſtructions they have left off to dig there. 'Twas at leaſt 12 Years after the *Spaniards* had entred the Country that the Mines of *Potoſi* were diſcover'd, which was brought about by this accident: A certain *Indian* of the Province of *Cuſco* (whoſe Name *Gualpa*, for this Diſcoveries ſake, we ought to mention) being one day a Hunting, his Game running up ſome part of this great Mountain of *Potoſi*, where the way was very full of Buſhes and Shrubs, he, to help himſelf along, catch'd hold of a branch or twig of ſome Buſh, and by that means pull'd it quite up; but happening to obſerve the Earth about the root of it, he ſaw the Silver Ore, which he preſently knew to be very good, having had conſiderable Experience in thoſe Matters by attending the Mines at *Porco*. At the ſame time alſo, ſearching a little farther, he found ſeveral pieces of Metal which lay diſpers'd about the ground near the place where he had pierc'd this Vein. Being thus ſecure of his good fortune, he came ſeveral times, and drew Silver out of this vaſt Treaſury, never giving the leaſt hint to any body. At laſt another *Indian* his Neighbour (*Guanca* by Name) obſerv'd not only that his way of living was alter'd mightily for the better, and he ſpent at a very great rate, (as a Man might well do that had the Mines of *Potoſi* to bear him out in't) but alſo that the Silver which he refin'd was quite different from that of *Porco*; this gave him a ſuſpicion of the truth, and he never left working till he had work'd it quite out, and *Gualpa* confeſs'd the whole matter to him; nay, more than that, went and ſhew'd him the place whence he had all his Riches. And now theſe two Men agreed to ſhare this glorious Mountain between them; *Gualpa*, for his part, kept the Vein he had firſt diſcover'd, and *Guanca*, for his, had another rich Vein very near the former. A very comfortable Subſiſtence this was for each of them, and a fine Inheritance to be left to a Son, and this, 'tis very probable, they might have enjoy'd a long time, if they had not claſh'd and fell out with one another; but as Diſcord helps to bring a great many things to light, ſo 'twas here. *Guancas* Vein was very fine and rich, but 'twas harder to work than *Gualpas* was, and therefore he wou'd fain have come in a ſharer with his Comrade in the Profits of his; but the other not being willing to admit of this, they fell out about it, and *Guanca* preſently went and diſcover'd the Secret to his Maſter *Villaroel* a *Spaniard*. And he having aſſur'd himſelf, by Ocular Demonſtration, of the truth of what was told him, open'd the buſineſs to the Governor, and ſo, according to the Law, he and his Servant *Guanca* remain'd Lords of the Mine, to dig and draw forth the Silver as their own, paying only the King's Duty, which is a fifth part. For 'tis to be noted, that thoſe that diſcover a Mine have the Profits of it granted to them, and their Names are Regiſtred in the King's Books, with the Place and Time of diſcovery.

Riches of the *Incas.*

Silver Mines.

Porco-Mines a long time open.

Potoſi-Mines how diſcover'd.

More Veins diſcover'd.

Quickly after this, there were two Veins more diſcover'd in the ſame Mountain of *Potoſi*, ſo that there are four in all that they draw Silver out of; but the firſt was the beſt and richeſt, being half Silver; and beſides that wonderful frequency of it, it went on at that rate for 50 or 60 Stades, which is ſo many times a Man's heighth, but there it fail'd. All theſe Veins lie of the Eaſt-ſide of the Mountain, neither is there any ſuch thing to be diſcover'd on the Weſt-ſide. They run in very irregular forms, divers other leſſer ones ſhooting out of them as ſo many branches out of the arm of a great Tree; in the wideſt part they have 6 foot, and in the narroweſt a ſpan breadth. Every Vein has ſeveral diſtinct Mines, which are parts and portions of the ſame, and are divided between ſeveral Proprietors whoſe Names they alſo bear. The largeſt of theſe contains about 80 Yards, neither may it be more by the Law, and the leaſt about 4 or 5. By continual working and

The odd figure and running of the Veins.

drawing

The depth of them.

The Soccabones or Horizontal Mines.

The hard task of them that work in the Mines.

drawing ſuch vaſt quantities of Ore out of the Bowels of them they are become very deep, and in the rich Mine they reckon the depth in ſome places to be 200 Stades; 'tis true this is the greateſt depth, but they have gone in many other places, both of that and the other Mines, to 60, 70, and 80 Stades. To remedy the inconveniencies ariſing from hence, they have made certain Mines or Paſſages Horizontal ways from the lower parts of the Mountain, which running acroſs, meet with the Veins at laſt; and by this means, they work with much leſs pains, charge and danger. Theſe croſs Mines they call Soccabones, and they make them a matter of 8 foot broad, and a Stade in heighth, having Doors to ſhut and open them as they pleaſe. They coſt no little charge and trouble to finiſh, and one only of them was 29 Years a making; but there are ſeveral of them, and the Proprietors of every Soccabone have this advantage allow'd them, that the 5th part of all the Metal drawn forth is theirs. But the Men that do all the work of the Mines, that labour at drawing out the Silver, are Slaves indeed. They work in continual darkneſs, without knowledge or diſtinction of Day and Night. They breathe a groſs unwholſome air, or indeed rather Metallick fumes and vapours, which breed horrible Diſeaſes, and make them very ſick. They have the raw ſmell of the Earth continually in their Noſtrils, and are expos'd to all the damps that riſe, which many times are attended with fatal conſequences. But then the dangers of being cruſh'd with the falling Earth, or their own falling from ſuch heighths, they are forc'd to mount too in carrying up the Silver; as they are very great, ſo they are continual, and it can never be ſaid that they live one moment in ſafety while they are in thoſe diſmal Caverns. They carry up all the Metal upon their ſhoulders, from the lower depths of the Mine, perhaps 150 Stades high, where they deliver it. For which purpoſe they have pendulous Ladders made of twiſted leather, and croſs'd with Staves of wood, by which they are continually aſcending and deſcending with their burdens upon their Backs. At the end of each of theſe Ladders, there are Platforms of Wood rais'd with Seats for the poor Labourers to ſit and breathe themſelves. And 'tis a vaſt deal of pains they take in hewing out the Metal at the bottom of the Mines, for 'tis commonly very hard, and they are forc'd to uſe great Hammers to overcome it; they weary themſelves with ſtrong and heavy blows upon the hard and untractable Rock, and get no more ground many times than by working upon ſo much Flint.

Pliny's Account of Mines.

Mines of *Spain.*

Riches of the Mine of *Bebello.*

The vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver that are brought from *America.*

What *Pliny* has ſaid of the workers in Mines at that time, agrees very well with the caſe of theſe poor Labourers at *Potoſi*: *We enter even into the very Bowels of the Earth* (ſays he) *and go hunting after Riches to the place of the Damned. Thoſe that ſeek for Metals perform Works more than Giants, making Holes and Caves in the depths of the Earth, and piercing Mountains by the light of Candles, where Day and Night are all alike, and they ſee no light of the Sun for many Months. With heavy Wedges and Hammers they pierce the hard Rock, and break the Flints how ſtrong ſoever, for the hunger of Gold is yet more ſharp and ſtrong.* Thus that Author, who talks as if the Mines of *Potoſi* had been diſcover'd in his time, and he had ſtood by and ſeen the Workmen in all their toil and drudgery. But however it comes to paſs that the *Spaniards* are come abroad into the New World to fetch Gold and Silver, 'tis certain from the forementioned Author that they had it in no ſmall plenty within their own Territories. He reports that *Spain*, above all other Countries of the World, (that is which were known and under the *Roman* Juriſdiction) did abound with Gold and Silver, eſpecially *Galicia* and *Portugal*, and above all the *Aſturias*, whence (he ſays) they brought every Year 20000 pounds of Gold, and that they did not find ſo great plenty in any other place. Particularly he tells us, that the Pits or Holes of thoſe Mines in *Spain*, which they began to dig in *Hannibal*'s time, were remaining in his time, and held till then the Names of their Diſcoverers. Amongſt theſe, that which *Bebello* diſcover'd was very famous, and kept that Name in *Pliny*'s time, and was then alſo dug to the depth of 1500 paces into the Mountain, which they having continued to labour in it from the time of *Hannibal* till then. But the advantages which that great *Carthaginian* made of it were very conſiderable, for according to the account of our Hiſtorian, they brought every day 300 *l.* weight of Silver out of it; yet is all this in a manner inconſiderable to the Riches brought out of the *American* World, for *Acoſta* tells us, that the Fleet in which he came from thoſe Parts, brought 12 Caſſons of Gold, every one of which was 100 *l.* weight, beſides a vaſt deal more in Bars, all which was the King's ſhare, not reckoning that which came for Merchants and private Men, which was all Regiſtred, and much leſs ſtill that which was not Regiſtred, which amounted to a greater Sum yet. At the ſame time there were above 11000000 of Silver tranſported in the two Fleets of *Mexico* and *Peru*, and very near half of it was for the King. In ſhort, it appears by the Regiſter-Books for the Province of *Potoſi*, that they did every *Saturday* enter ſometimes 150000, ſometimes 200000 Pieces into the Books, whereof the King's fifth Part amounted to 30000 or 40000 Pieces; ſo that every day they drew from this Mine to the value of 30000 Pieces, (every Piece worth 13 Rials and half) and the King's daily ſhare was at leaſt 6000 Pieces.

At this rate have the Mines of *America* poured out their Riches to the *Spaniards*, which will appear vaſtly greater yet, if it be conſider'd that the beſt part of the Silver, which the *Potoſi* Mines have afforded, was never Cuſtom'd, which notwithſtanding went about amongſt the *Indians* and *Spaniards*; nay, if we may depend upon the credit of *Acoſta* in this matter, not the one third Part, no not half of the Silver of *Potoſi*, ever was Cuſtom'd, or came into the open light.

No water in the Mines at *Potoſi.*

The work goes on ſo much the eaſier in the Mines of *Potoſi*, becauſe they never yet have met with any water to ſtop them in all their diggings; and 'tis the happineſs (one may ſay the wonder) of this Mountain, that they have gone to the depth of 200 Stades, and never had any hinderance upon that ſcore. But as this is a very common impediment in Mines, ſo perhaps 'twas partly owing to this that they made no more progreſs formerly in thoſe in *Spain*, or that they did not think fit to continue working in them: For *Pliny* reports, that the fam'd Mine of *Bebello* was very full of water ('twas even like a River coming in upon the Labourers) and therefore that the *Gaſcoignes*, who were employ'd to work in it, beſides all their toil of hewing and hammering out the Metal, were incredibly fatigu'd with drawing out and emptying the water: till which was done they were not able to work, at leaſt with any manner of eaſe and quiet; and this was alſo the caſe of the Mines of *Porco* in *Peru*.

Qualities of the Silver.

As for the quality of the Silver they got at *Potoſi* 'tis very different, for in one and the ſame Vein you ſhall meet both with very rich and very poor Ore, ſome of it is red, another ſort aſh-colour, and ſo of divers colours; but the richeſt of all is of the colour of Amber, and the next to that inclines to a black. They have uſually drawn out of one Quintal of Ore, 30, 40 and 50 Pieces of Silver, but out of the fineſt 200, and 250; the pooreſt of all is that which yields 3, 4, 5 or 6 Pieces.

Method of refining by fire out of uſe.

Their way of refining the Silver was firſt of all by melting, and diſſolving the Maſs over the fire, and in that ſtate of liquefaction the Droſs, and all heterogeneous Mixtures, were caſt off by themſelves. For this purpoſe they built abundance of ſmall Furnaces all about the Mountain of *Potoſi*, (there were above 600 of them) where with Wood and Coal-fires they carry'd on this Work; but becauſe it conſum'd vaſt quantities of Wood to do ſo, one who it ſeems ſet himſelf to contrive a way how to ſave that charge, and yet do the work too, found out the way of uſing a ſort of Straw inſtead of Wood and Coal. It is a thing almoſt like a Reed, and they call it *Ycho*; but 'tis wonderful to ſee what an influence the flame of it has to diſſolve theſe Metals, and how much better it does than any other ſort of fuel. Then there's this conveniency too, that there's great plenty of it throughout almoſt all the Mountains of *Peru*: And this is agreeable to what *Pliny* tells us upon this Head, that there is Gold which melts more eaſily with the flame of Straw than with hot burning Coals.

A ſtrange note.

In ſome of theſe Furnaces they uſe the natural, in others an artificial Wind from Bellows; and 'tis worth obſervation what has been confirm'd by long Experience, that the Metal of the *Porco* Mines is eaſily refin'd with Bellows, and that of *Potoſi* cannot be but by the natural air from the Mountains; but of later Years they have for the moſt part left off their Furnaces, and make uſe of Mercury for the refining of their Silver.

Method of refining by Mercury.

In order to this, they beat and grind the Silver-ſtone or Ore very ſmall in the firſt place; after which they ſearch it, reducing it to as fine a Powder as they can. This Powder they put into Veſſels over the fire, mixing a good quantity of Salt with it, which promotes the deſign of ſeparation of the Impurities; the common proportion is 5 Quintals of Salt to 50 of the Metallick Powder. Then they ſtrain the Quickſilver into the Veſſel, ſtirring it about well that all may incorporate together. And whereas they at firſt us'd to do all this off from the fire, mingling their Silver and Mercury in great Troughs, and ſo ſtirring and letting it ſettle ſeveral times one after another, which took up almoſt a Month to accompliſh, Separation of the Silver and Mercury.

Difference of the Ore as to the Mercury it takes up.

Obſervation.

Refining by Mercury unknown to the Ancients.

pliſh, they have ſince made uſe of fire, which mightily promotes the work and ſhortens the time, ſo as that in the ſpace of 5 or 6 days the Mercury is ſufficiently incorporated with the Silver. After this union of the two Bodies, the great work is to ſeparate them again, which they do in this manner: They pour the whole mixture into water, and ſtir it about well, by which means all the Earth and Droſs is clear of the Mercury and Silver, which being by far the more ponderous, take their places at the bottom accordingly. This operation they repeat ſeveral times, till they have perfectly cleanſed it from all the feculencies. When the Silver and Mercury are clean and begin to ſhine, they put all into a Cloth and ſtrain it pretty forcibly, ſo that all the Quickſilver runs out and leaves the Silver behind. But becauſe there is ſome of the Metal that ſlips away with the Earth and Droſs (which they call the waſhings) they therefore waſh this over again, and draw out the remainder. The Silver Ore differs much as to the proportion of Mercury it conſumes, and the quantity of pure Metal it yields, for ſome yields a great deal of Silver, and waſtes but little Quickſilver: Another again conſumes a deal of Quickſilver, and yields little Silver; a third ſort conſumes much Quickſilver, and at the ſame time brings a great deal of Silver; and a fourth, as it requires but little Quickſilver, ſo it affords but little Silver. But yet 'tis obſerv'd, for the moſt part, that the richeſt Ore, as it gives the moſt pure Metal, ſo it conſumes the moſt Mercury, and the quite contrary in that which is poor and thin. The Silver drawn with Mercury is ſo fine, that the Workmen are forc'd to allay it with ſome mixture; but this Art of refining, as uſeful as it is, there is ſome good reaſon to believe 'twas unknown to the Ancients, in *Pliny*'s time at leaſt, ſince when he makes mention of the refining of Silver, he ſpeaks only of melting, and ſays in one place plainly, that Mercury will aſſociate it ſelf with no metal but Gold alone, which this way of refining is a ſufficient confutation of.

Quickſilver Mines of Guancavilica.

Indians value the Vermilion.

The uſes ſome other Nations put the Vermilion to.

Quickſilver Mines in *Spain*.

How the Mines of Guancavelica were found.

Having had occaſion to ſpeak of the Uſes of Mercury, it mayn't be amiſs to go a little farther into the Hiſtory of this wonderful Metal: The Country we are treating of affords it in abundance, eſpecially the Mountains of *Guancavilica*, near the City of *Guaruangua* in *Peru*; there is the vaſt Treaſury of this Metal, as in the Mountains of *Potoſi* is of Silver. The *Indians* have had indeed Mines of Quickſilver open amongſt them for many Ages before theſe of *Guancavelica* were diſcover'd, but it was not for the ſake of the Quickſilver (for they knew not what it was till the *Spaniards* came amongſt them) but for the ſake of the Vermilion which is incorporated with it; for we muſt know that Quickſilver is found in a ſort of Stone, which likewiſe yields the Vermilion, or Minium, as the Ancients call'd it. The *Indians* give it the name of *Limpi*, and having a very great eſteem for it, they took abundance of pains to open the Earth, and dig it out of the deepeſt Mines: and the principal uſe they made on't was, to paint and colour themſelves with it, eſpecially when they went to the Wars; as alſo now a-days, upon all Publick Solemnities, Feaſtings, Dancings, and the like. Neither is it amongſt theſe People alone that this Mineral has been in ſuch eſteem, for *Pliny* reports that both the *Romans* and *Ethiopians* were very fond of it, for theſe and ſuch like purpoſes; that the former were accuſtom'd to paint the face of *Jupiter* with it, and the latter not only the faces and bodies of their Idols, but alſo their own; and that the *Romans* ſometimes did this too as well as they. That all the Vermilion was brought to *Rome* from *Spain*, where they had a great many Pits and Mines of Quickſilver, and that the *Romans* wou'd not ſuffer it to be refin'd in *Spain* for fear they ſhou'd ſteal ſome of it, but had it all brought to *Rome* ſeal'd up juſt as it came out of the Mine, and ſo refin'd it there. In a word, that they brought every Year from *Spain*, eſpecially from *Andaluſia*, a matter of 10000 weight; and this, he ſays, the *Romans* valued as an infinite Treaſure. This Mineral however (as was ſaid before) the *Indians* had known of a long time, but knew nothing of the Nature and Uſes of the Quickſilver which is to be drawn out of the ſame Maſs. And the *Spaniards* themſelves had been in the Country a conſiderable while before they knew of any of theſe Mines; and the firſt diſcovery, as it was of the Mines of *Guancavelica*, ſo it was purely accidental like that of the Silver at *Potoſi*. For a certain *Portugueſe* (*Henrique Guarces* by Name) having a piece of this *Limpi* which the *Indians* uſed, obſerving it well, found that it muſt needs be the very ſame thing with that which they call'd Vermilion in *Caſtile*, and knowing that this and Mercury were lodg'd together, he went to the place whence they drew their *Limpi* to make trial of it, and found it to be ſo. Immediately upon this diſcovery the Mines began to be opened, and vaſt quantities of Quickſilver were tranſported to *Mexico*, where they firſt began to refine their Silver with it; and from thence the method was brought to *Potoſi*, where they us'd it ever afterwards. The largeſt of all theſe Mines extends above 80 yards in length, and 40 in breadth, in which they have made ſeveral Pits and Ditches of 70 Stades deep, ſo that at leaſt 300 Men may very well work altogether in it.

How they draw the Quickſilver.

Engines for grinding the Metal.

Ponds and Sluces.

The Mountain of *Potoſi*, its barrenneſs and dimenſions, &c.

The way of drawing out the Quickſilver, is to take the Stone and beat it well, and then ſet it in Earthen-pots, cloſe luted, over the fire to melt, by which means the Mercury is ſeparated into a body by it ſelf; for mounting up in fumes it encounters the Veſſel, and ſo falls down again congeal'd. When 'tis thus drawn they put it into Skins, and lay it up in the King's Store-houſe, from whence it goes by Sea to *Ariqua*, and from thence by Land upon their Sheeps back to the Mines at *Potoſi*. 'Twill be of little uſe here to ſtand to deſcribe their Engines and Mills for grinding the Silver Ore, to prepare it for the receiving of the Mercury; 'tis enough to ſay in general, that in ſome of them they uſe the ſtrength of Horſes, in others the force of Water to ſet them awork. And this water being for the moſt part Rain, they have made 7 Ponds for the receiving of it, which are three Stades deep, and 1600 Rods in compaſs, and each provided with their proper Sluces; ſo as that when they have need of any water, they open a Sluce, and let out a ſtream of water as much as they have occaſion for: but becauſe for the moſt part they have little Rain, except in the Months of *December*, *January* and *February*, and then if they come plentifully, their Ponds are well fill'd, and the grinding holds for 6 or 7 Months; for this reaſon, all about *Potoſi*, they pray for Rain for the ſake of the Silver, as they do in other places for Bread-corn. After the Silver is melted and caſt into Bars, the next work is to give it the Alloy; for which 'tis carried to the Aſſay-maſter, whoſe buſineſs we will leave to himſelf, and not dive into it. Having been thus long in the Mine, 'twou'd be unpleaſant to detain the Reader any longer in the Mint; we ſhall only obſerve a little farther concerning the Mountain of *Potoſi*, that the Air about it is very cold, the Soil dry and barren, the Ways very rough and uneven. There grows neither Graſs, Grain nor Fruit, and what thro' the infertility of the Earth, and the intemperature of the Climate, 'twou'd be utterly void of Inhabitants, if the charms of Silver did not draw them thither. But the outward Poverty of the Mountains is not valued, ſince 'tis ſo extravagantly rich within; covetouſneſs has made People overlook all thoſe defects and inconveniencies, ſo that 'tis more plentifully ſtock'd with Inhabitants than any other place in all the Kingdom of *Peru*. You may have there all ſorts of Meats, Wines, yea, the moſt exquiſite Dainties whatſoever, tho' the place it ſelf is hardly able to keep a Man or a Horſe from ſtarving for one Night. The Mountain is vaſtly higher than all others about it, 'tis reckon'd from the top to the bottom 1680 yards, and 'tis a league in circuit at the bottom.

Pearl in the North Sea as well as the South.

Emeraulds.

The Kingdom of Emeraulds.

Differences between them.

The other part of the Riches of this Country lies in Pearl and Emeraulds. Of the former we have ſpoken up and down already, ſo that we ſhall need to ſay no more here; only taking notice, that whereas the greateſt plenty of them has been commonly ſaid to be at the *Pearl-Iſlands* in the South-Sea, near *Panama*, *Acoſta* relates that the beſt and greateſt ſtore were found at the time of his being in the *Indies* in the North-Sea, near the River of *Hatch*. But to ſpeak the truth, the *Pearl-Iſlands* ſeem to have been diſcover'd ſince that time, ſo that the North-Sea might afford the moſt and beſt then, and the South-Sea have the reputation afterwards. As to the Emeraulds, the greateſt ſtore of them is found in the Kingdom of *New Granada*, and in *Peru* near *Manta* and *Port-Viel*, according to the accounts of the ſame Author. He tells us alſo, that towards that place there is a certain happy Soil which bears the Name of the *Land of Emeraulds*, for the abundance of them which are found there; but the *Spaniards* had not been able to reduce that Country, and make themſelves Maſters of the Emeraulds in his time. Theſe Jewels grow in Stones like Cryſtal, and (as he tells upon his own Obſervation and Experience) appear faſhion'd like a Vein in the ſame. There's a vaſt difference amongſt them as to the perfection of colour, and the diffuſion of the green tincture thro' the body of the Jewel; for ſome are half white and half green, others very near all white, others very perfect, and tinctur'd with the true noble green all over. Their ſizes are as different too as their colours, and tho' there are ſome reported to be of a vaſt magnitude indeed, yet the foremention'd Author never pretends to have ſeen any larger than a good Nut. Both Pearl and Emeraulds are little eſteem'd in the *Indies*, in compariſon to what they are in *Europe*; and there is no other reaſon for't but only this, That things that People converſe with very familiarly and frequently (whatever they are) at laſt become little and vulgar to them. Even Diamonds themſelves wou'd not be exempted from this common fate of loſing their reputation, if they came abroad in the World as much as many other things that do. It was perhaps not upon this account however of ſeeing ſo many Jewels together, that an *Italian* Lapidary valued them at no greater a rate. There was a certain *Spaniard*, who having an admirable Emerauld, ſhew'd it the *Italian*, and ask'd him the value of it, who told him he priz'd it at 100 Ducats; upon which he ſhew'd him a larger than the former, and that the *Italian* valued at 300 Ducats. The *Spaniard* quite drunk with this diſcourſe, carries his Lapidary home to his Lodging, and ſhews him a whole Caſket full of the ſame Jewels, deſiring his opinion of them: Oh, Sir, (ſays the *Italian*) they are very good Stones, and take them one with another they are worth a Crown apiece. 'Tis pretty likely he had ſome deſign upon a bargain, but whether the *Spaniard* let him have it or no is uncertain.

A Story of a *Spaniard* and an *Italian* about the price of Emeraulds.

Vegetables in the *Spaniſh Indies*.

We have done now with the Riches that are buried under the Earth, or hidden in the Waters, and it follows next to take a little ſurvey of thoſe upon the ſurface, the Plants and Animals, which are more uſeful to humane Life by far than the former. But here we ſhall endeavour to take care, that thoſe Animals or Vegetables which are common to this part of *America* with thoſe Parts which have been already deſcrib'd, ſhall be here omitted, at leaſt as far as the varieties and ambiguities of Names will allow us to make a judgment of them.

Maize.

The deſcription of it.

Uſes of it.

Ways of preparing it in order to making drink.

Obſervation of the Maize.

The moſt noted Grain in this part of *America* is the Maize, of which the *Indians* make both Bread, and a very ſtrong ſort of Liquor, which intoxicates the drinker ſooner than the Juice of the Grape. It is thought to be no way inferior to our Wheat in ſtrength and ſubſtance, only the eating much of it, where a Man has not been accuſtom'd to it, is ſaid to incline him to Scabs and Swellings. This Grain grows upon Canes or Reeds, every one of which bears one or two bunches or cluſters, in each of which there ſhall ſometimes be 600 or 700 grains. They ſow the grains one by one, and not very thick nor cloſe together; it requires a Soil both hot and moiſt, and where it meets with ſuch a one it thrives wonderfully. The green Leaves and Canes, or Stalks of the Maize, is very good Provender for the Horſes and Mules, and when 'tis dry it ſerves them inſtead of Straw: and to give them the Grain it ſelf, they eſteem much better than the giving them ſo much Barley, becauſe of the goodneſs of the nouriſhment it affords; only they obſerve this Rule always, to water them before they feed them with this, becauſe 'tis of ſo ſwelling a nature. The *Spaniards* and *Indians* eat the Maize both boil'd and roaſted, and the buds of it being very fat and oily, do ſerve them inſtead of Butter. As for the ways of making Liquor of it, ſome ſteep the grain till it breaks, and then they boil it to ſuch a degree of ſtrength, that a little will overturn a Man. Others go a more cleanly way to work, which is firſt of all to chaw and ſqueeze it well in their mouths, and ſo making a kind of a Leven of it, to boil it well afterwards: Nay, ſome of the *Indians* are of opinion, that to make good Leven it muſt be chaw'd by Old Women, which if they drivel ſubſtantially, may without all doubt put ſome vertue in it. This Drink is commended for the ſervice it does to the Back and Kidneys, and for eaſing pains in thoſe Parts: one wou'd rather think (as the Old Women prepar'd it) it ſhou'd ſerve for a Vomit, and while it cured one illneſs in the Back, ſhou'd bring another in the Stomach. 'Tis remarkable, that neither this Grain nor Wheat will grow ſo as to come to any perfection in any of the *Spaniſh* Iſlands, as *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba*, *Porot-Rico*, and *St. Domingo*, tho' there has been not a little care nor pains taken to bring it to paſs. For when they have been ſown (for inſtance Wheat) it comes up well 'tis true, and is green preſently, but ſo unequally that it comes to nothing; for at one and the ſame time ſome is ſpindled, ſome is in the ear, and ſome does but bud, here 'tis great and there ſmall, in one place in the graſs, and in another in the grain. And ſuch is the quality of the Soil, that no Art nor Tillage cou'd ever cure this diſtemper of it. The ſame thing is obſerv'd in ſome parts of the Continent, as on the heights of the *Sierras* of *Peru*, and the Provinces of *Colao*, none of this Grain will grow there; tho' the cauſe of it in theſe Parts is the great drought and coldneſs of the Region, contrary to what it is in the forementiond places, where the ſame effect proceeds from too great heat and moiſture. For want of Wheat and Maize in thoſe Parts of *Peru*, the Natives uſe a ſort of Roots to make their Bread of, which they call *Papas*; they are like Ground-Nuts, very ſmall, and ſend out a great many Leafs. They dig up theſe Roots and dry them well in the Sun, after which they beat them, and make them into a kind of Bread, which is not noly eat privately in their Houſes, but great quantities of it alſo are carried to the Mines of *Potoſi*.

Papa Roots.

This is, in ſhort, the chief of all their Roots for Bread, and 'tis of the ſame uſe and ſignificancy for that purpoſe in theſe Parts of the Country, that the *Caſſani* Root is in others. The *Caſſani* is alſo found here, and a great many others, which ſerve partly as common Food, and partly as Dainties, which we ſhall not ſtand here to recite the Names of, ſince we know little more of them than that comes to. They have ſeveral ſorts of Pulſe amongſt them anſwering to our Lentils, Beans and Tares; but *Acoſta* is of opinion, that none of theſe were in the Country before the *Spaniards* came, who brought them out of *Europe* hither, where they grow and increaſe to a wonderful degree. And there is hardly any ſort of Plant brought out of the *European* Countries into theſe Parts, but what meets with a Soil ſomewhere or other that ſuits it as well as the natural; tho' on the other hand, thoſe that go from the *Indies* into *Spain* or *Portugal*, very ſeldom thrive and do well. In ſhort, 'tis hard to think of any ſort of *European* Grain, Pulſe, common Garden Herb, or Fruit-tree, but what the *Spaniards* have brought into *America*, and grows there as well as can be deſir'd. There is only an exception as to Cherries, which don't proſper ſo well: Medlars and Services are not very common neither, as alſo Nuts and Filberds; Oranges, Limons and Citrons, do grow and multiply moſt extravagantly, and of the former eſpecially, a Man may ſee whole Woods and Foreſts. The ſame is to be obſerv'd (in proportion) of Apricocks, Peaches and Figs; as for Apples, Pears and Plumbs, tho' they are to be metwith, yet they are not ſo very plentiful as the former, but none of theſe defects are perhaps to be imputed to the Soil, but rather to the negligence or unſkilful management of the People. The *Indian* Melons and Pompions grow to ſuch a monſtrous bigneſs, that 'tis almoſt incredible. The Valley of *Yoca* in *Peru*, is particularly famous for the former of theſe; the Root continues ſeveral Years in the ground, and brings Melons every Year, and they trim and dreſs it as they wou'd a Tree. The Pine-apples are of the ſame form and faſhion with thoſe of *Spain*, but otherwiſe they differ, having nothing of a ſcale, but are all one entire pulp as it were, fit to be eaten when the skin is pull'd off. 'Tis an excellent Fruit both for ſmell and taſte, and the way that they dreſs it is to cut it in pieces, and ſteep it a while in Salt and Water. They grow one by one upon a Cane or Stalk, which riſes up amongſt a great many leaves like a Lilly, but bigger. The Apple is on the top of every Cane, and it grows only in hot moiſt ground. We muſt note, with reference to this and ſeveral other Fruits, (and not only them, but various other vegetable Productions, and Animals too) that the *Spaniards* at their firſt coming over gave thoſe *European* Names to things they found here, which reſembled any way what they had converſ'd with in *Europe*, and were call'd by thoſe names there. Thus, I ſay, they call theſe Pine-apples, upon the ſcore of a bare reſemblance in one particular reſpect as to the form; and ſo likewiſe 'tis the ſame by theſe that follow. The *Indian* Cucumbers are ſo call'd, becauſe (for the moſt part) in length and roundneſs they reſemble the *Spaniſh*; but they are not green, but of ſeveral colours, as violet, yellow and white. They are very pleaſantly taſted, full of liquor, eaſie of digeſtion, and very refreſhing in hot weather. The Meat does not taſte quite ſo ſharp as that of the Pine-apple, and the outſide is not at all rough and prickly, but very ſmooth and even. They require temperate Soil, and muſt have pretty much watering. That which they call the little Fruit of *Chili* is of a very pleaſant taſte, nearer that of a Cherry than any other *European* Fruit, but in colour and grains reſembles a Mulberry not ripe, tho' more rough and bigger than that. The Plant it ſelf is very little and low, ſpreading it ſelf upon the Earth, and grows naturally up and down in the Fields of *Chili*. Of the Fruit which they call Prunes there are divers ſorts; thoſe call'd the Prunes of *Nicaragua* are very red and ſmall, and have little Meat upon the Stone, but that little is of an admirably pleaſant taſte, and 'tis given to ſick People to provoke an appetite. There are others which are very large, and of a dark colour, and have each two or three ſtones apiece, but hardly of any taſte at all. The *Capolie* is a Fruit ſo like a Cherry in form and taſte (only 'tis ſomething bigger) that it may well paſs for the

Sorts of Pulſe.

Difference of the *Indian* and *European* Soils.

Fruits of the *Indies*.

Vaſt Melons and Pompions.

Pines.

Cucumbers.

Little Fruit of *Chili*.

The Plant.

Prunes of *Nicaragua*.

Capolie.

Capote. Chicocapote the Marmelade Fruits.

Blanckmangar an excellent Fruit.

Mamey.

Guayvos.

Palto.

Almonds of *Chachapoyas.*

Almonds of the *Andes.*

Cacao mightily eſteem'd in *Mexico.*

Coca is much valued in *Peru.*

Cherry of this part of the World. The *Capote* and *Chicocapote*, are call'd the Marmelade Fruits by ſome, in that their taſte and colour do both come pretty near to that of this Sweet-meat; there is but little difference between them, and both are cried up by ſome People for the moſt excellent Fruit of the *Indies*. Others give this title to the *Blankmanger*, which is reported to taſte like a mixture of Almonds and Cream. The form of it is like a Pear; the Meat within is white, tender and ſoft, like Butter or Cream, and contains ſeveral black kernels in it. The *Mamey* is like a Peach, but bigger; they have one or two ſtones, and the meat and rind both very hard; the Fruit is but indifferent, but the Conſerves made of it are like Marmelade. The Tree is large, well-faſhion'd, and bears a pretty broad leaf. The Fruit of *Guayves*-Trees are like little Apples, but ill taſted, and full of ſoure kernels, and hardly wholſome. Upon this account neither Man nor Beaſt eats it, and therefore the Trees are infinitely multiplied, for the Fruit falling down, and receiv'd upon the hot moiſt Soil, ſprings up into a new Tree; and ſo the multiplication proceeds. In *Peru* the *Guayvos* differ from others, in that the Fruit is not red but white, neither has it any ill taſte, but is altogether as good as the beſt of thoſe in *Spain*, and paſſes for a Fruit reaſonably wholſome and agreeable to the ſtomach. The *Palto* is a Fruit like our Pears in form, but in the inſide very different, for it has a large ſtone, and the meat is ſo ſoft, that when they are full ripe 'tis of the conſiſtence of Butter, and has a very delicate taſte. In *Peru* this Fruit is very large, and has a hard tough ſcale, which may be taken off whole; in *Mexico* it has a very thin skin, which may be peel'd off like that of an Apple. As for *Coco's* and *Plantane*, or *Plantane*-Trees, with their reſpective Fruits, they have been deſcrib'd in the relations of other Parts; they are very common here in the *Indies*, and of both there are various ſorts. Altho there are excellent Almonds in *Spain*, yet this Country affords a ſort that far exceeds them; they call them the Almonds of *Chachapoyas*, and beſides their pleaſing delicate taſte, the Phyſicians have pronounc'd in favour of them, that they are the wholſomeſt Fruit in the *Indies*. 'Tis known that the Coco yields a ſort of an Almond, and there is abundance of them brought out of the *Andes* of *Peru*; but as theſe are fatter and richer than thoſe of *Spain*, ſo the Almonds of *Chachapoyas* are much richer than them of the *Andes*, tho' they both come out of the ſame Country, namely *Peru*. They grow upon very high Trees bearing great leaves; they are incloſ'd not in a ſhell, but a ſort of a husk ſomething like that of a Cheſnut, but beſet with prickles. The *Cacao* is a Fruit not quite ſo big as an Almond, but ſo much eſteem'd amongſt the *Indians*, that it has been one of the richeſt and beſt Merchandizes of *New Spain*; it has paſs'd amongſt them for Money upon all ſorts of occaſions, and they uſe to give it the poor inſtead of Alms. It is hard to tell for what reaſon this Fruit ſhou'd be ſo much valued, for it does not ſeem to be any way extraordinary either as to taſte, ſmell, colour, or any other property that one can think upon; it is more fat and oily than an Almond, and when roaſted has no ill taſte, which is the moſt that can be ſaid of it, and is by far too little to procure it ſuch an eſteem as it has. As for the drink they make of it, 'tis in very great repute, the *Spaniards*, both Men and Women, are vaſtly fond of it, and the *Indians* give it for an Entertainment to Great Men as they paſs up and down the Country; but after all, 'tis a loathſome thing to them that are not uſed to it, and the ſcum, or froth of it, is little better than a Vomit. So that the beſt account of the matter is, that the People have taken a fancy to it, and having done ſo they may eaſily imagine it to have all the fine properties in the World. The Tree whereon this Fruit grows is pretty big, but ſo very tender, that they are forc'd to ſet ſome large ſpreading Tree always by it, to ſhelter it from the heat of the Sun. The Province where there is the greateſt Traffick for this ſort of Commodity is *Guatimale*, and 'tis about thoſe Parts and *Mexico* where 'tis in ſo very great eſteem; but the People of *Peru* are even with them as to another fancy which they have, and the *Mexicans* can't be fonder of their *Cacao* than the *Peruvians* are of their *Coca*. This is a ſmall green leaf which grows upon a Tree about a fathom high, and requires as much care in the Planting and Dreſſing as the leaf it ſelf does in the keeping after it is gather'd; but it has this remarkable property, that every 4 Months it comes forth with a freſh ſpring of theſe leafs. The *Coca* is as great a Commodity in *Peru* as the *Cacao* is in *Mexico*, and the Trade of it in *Potoſi* it ſelf amounts every Year to above half a Million of Pieces. A Baſket of it there is worth 4 Pieces at leaſt ready Money, and in *Cuſco* it goes for two or three Pieces; in ſhort, all the Markets and Fairs almoſt depend upon it, and 'tis a ſort of univerſal Merchandize.

Difficulty of managing the *Coca.*

It grows in the *Andes* and Valleys of *Peru*, where there is an extreme and abundance of Rain; and abundance of poor *Indians*, that come out of other Parts to labour about the cultivating of this Plant, do here loſe their lives, what with the hardneſs of the work and the intemperateneſs of the weather, for 'tis a very nice tender ſort of a Vegetable, and ſince it coſt the lives of ſo many Men to manage it, the *Spaniſh* Doctors fell into hot Diſputes whether it ſhould not be quite deſtroy'd or no, however at laſt they agreed that they ſhou'd ſtand.

The *Maguey* Tree.

The *Maguey* is a Tree of which abundance of Wonders are written; and to ſum up the character of it in ſhort, it yields Water, Wine, Oil, Vinegar, Honey, Needles and Thread, and they ſay a great many other things beſides. It is moſtly a Native of *New Spain*, where the *Indians* eſteem it at a great rate, and commonly have one of them about their Houſes to furniſh them with theſe Neceſſaries. At the end of the leaf (which is very large) there comes out a ſtrong and ſharp point or prickle, which ſerves for a Needle, and the leaf it ſelf is to be drawn out into a kind of thread. The body of the Tree being cut, affords a Liquor very ſweet and freſh, which they drink like water: this Liquor boil'd becomes a Wine, and that ſuffer'd to ſtand open a while, ſoures and turns to Vinegar; and the ſame Wine boil'd for a conſiderable time longer, thickens into the conſiſtency of a honey. The wood of this Tree being very light and ſoft keeps fire a long time, and ſerves for a ſort of Touch-wood; the *Indians* that have Guns uſe it inſtead of Match.

The *Tunal.*

The *Tunal* is another noted Tree in *New Spain*, but 'tis the moſt deform'd and irregular of all Trees, and more properly to be call'd a confuſed heap of Leaves than a Tree. For firſt, one leaf comes out of the ground, then another upon that, and ſo they continue upwards; but as they grow up, thoſe below become ſo large that they almoſt loſe the form and quality of leaves, and are rather great branches, but of very odd figures and ſhapes, and beſides ſo ſharp and prickly, that the Plant has in many places the name of a Thiſtle upon this ſcore. There are ſome of theſe *Tunals* that bear Fruit much eſteem'd amongſt the *Indians*; they are bigger than Plumbs, and have a ſort of a ſhell, within which is the meat which is very like that of a Fig. There are two kinds of them, the white and the red; the former of which are by much the beſt, both for ſweet taſte and fine fragrant ſmell.

Quinces and *Pomegranates.*

As for *Quinces* and *Pomgranates*, they abound in all parts of this Country, only of the latter 'tis to be obſerv'd, that they are all very ſweet; neither do they value thoſe that have any thing of ſharpneſs, ſo that there's none of that kind to be found.

Grapes and *Olives.*

Plenty of Wine.

Vines of *Peru.*

Here's great plenty alſo of thoſe two moſt uſeful and ſerviceable Fruits, *Olives* and *Grapes*; each of which affords a Liquor, the benefit of which all Mankind is acquainted with. The *Indians* don't much trouble themſelves with making Oil of their Olives, but think it much better to eat the Fruit it ſelf; neither do the *Spaniards* follow this Trade much, but content themſelves with the Oil they bring from *Spain*. The Grapes grow in all Parts of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, Iſlands and all, but they don't thrive any where ſo well as in *Peru*; neither do they make any quantities of Wine comparable to what is made in that Country. The truth is, the Grapes don't ripen ſo kindly, the exceſſive Rains that fall keep them from coming to that perfection and maturity that Wine requires; and therefore they bring Wine from *Spain* and the *Canaries* to all the Parts of the *Indies*, *Peru* and *Chili* only excepted, which need no ſupplies from thoſe Countries in this caſe. The Vines of *Peru* are commonly in very hot Valleys, where there are Waters running along for the refreſhment of them; and they are forc'd to make uſe of that to water their Vines, for the Heavens there afford no Rain. But yet there are ſome places, where the Vines are neither watered by the Clouds nor from the Rivers, and for all that they bring forth in abundance; but they generally ſay (to account for this) that the Soil is well moiſtned by the waters that fall from the adjoining Mountains, and that this keeps the Vines in heart, and is the reaſon why they are ſo fruitful under ſo viſible a want of water. The moſt fertile Valleys for Vines are *Victor* near *Arequippa*, yea, in the Territory of *Lima*, and *Caraguato* in the Country of *Chuquiavo*; and from all theſe together are drawn ſuch ſtore of Wines, that the Revenue is very conſiderable. 'Tis remarkable, that in the City of *Cuſco*, and ſeveral Valleys beſides, there are ripe Grapes to be met with all the Year round: But 'tis ſtranger ſtill what *Acoſta* relates

lates

A ſtrange Fig-tree.

lates of ſome Trees in *Peru*, one part of which yields Fruit for one half of the Year, and the other part for the other half; and he gives a particular inſtance of this in a Fig-tree at the Town of *Malla*, 13 leagues from the City of *Kings*, one half of which that is towards the South is green, and yields Fruit when 'tis Summer upon the *Sierras*, and the other part towards the *Lanos* or Sea-coaſt is green, and bears Fruit in the contrary Seaſon when 'tis Summer upon the *Lanos*: For the truth or falſhood of this, that Author ſtands accountable; we ſhall only ſay, that if it be a truth 'tis a very odd one, and if a lye 'tis as roundly and boldly told.

Sugar. Cotton. *Anir.* *Cochinile*, an Inſect. Silk.

To the Vegetables we may alſo ſubjoin thoſe Vegetable productions that are of note in this Country, as Sugar, which brings in a great Revenue, and goes from hence in vaſt quantities to *Spain*: Cotton, which is not leſs plentiful and profitable than the former, eſpecially in the Valleys of *Peru*, *New Spain*, and the Province of *Tucuman*, where the Cotton-ſhrubs grow in abundance; *Anir*, a thing that comes from ſome Herb, and ſerves for the dying of Cloth, and is a very profitable Commodity, but what the thing it ſelf is, or what the name or nature of the Plant that affords it, we cannot inform the Reader. *Cochinile*, tho' not a Vegetable, or part of a Vegetable it ſelf, yet being a ſort of an Appendix to a Vegetable, may be mention'd here likewiſe. Thoſe Inſects which we give this name to (for *Cochinile* is no other than a dried Inſect) are found breeding in great numbers upon the leaves of one of the kinds of the *Tunal*-trees; that Tree, 'tis true, bears no Fruit of its own, but the *Cochinile* is ſo valuable a one that the Tree is excus'd, and not only ſo, but mightily priz'd, tho' otherwiſe barren. Silk is an Animal production too, but the Mulberry-trees (that maintain thoſe uſeful little Animals that make it) will allow it a place here. Originally there were no Mulberry-trees in the *Indies*, and conſequently no Silk-worms nor Silk, but the *Spaniards* ſettling here, brought theſe out of *Europe*, where they thrive incomparably well; they make abundance of good Taffata's in the Country, but in *Acoſta*'s time were not come to the making of either Damasks, Sattins or Velvets.

A great Tree. Another taken notice of in Hiſtory.

We ſhall not trouble the Reader with a long Catalogue of Names of other ſort of Trees, after we have been thus long upon the more uſeful ones, which by their Fruit, or ſome production or other, are ſerviceable to the Neceſſities of Mankind. Oaks, Cedars, Pines, Firrs, Palms, Ebeny, are the moſt common and well-known, as well as the moſt profitable ones of the Country, for all the uſes of Life. The *Molle* is a Tree from whence the *Indians* draw a ſort of Wine; it came originally from *Peru*, and it has the name of the *Peruvian*-tree at *Mexico*, but they do much better there than in their own native Country. It mayn't be amiſs here to take notice of a vaſtly great Cedar (as 'twas reported to be) about 3 leagues from *Guayaca* in *New Spain*; this Tree was ſtruck with Lightning from top to bottom, and ſo ſtrangely too, that 'twas by that means all hollow'd in the inſide. Being meaſur'd within, it was found to be 9 fathom in circumference, and without, near the Root, it was 16 fathom, and a little higher 12. The People of the Country ſay, that before the Lightning ſhatter'd it, it was able to ſhelter 1000 Men, who might very well ſtand under the ſhadow of it; and 'tis pretty certain that they did uſe to come and dance, and perform ſeveral of their ſuperſtitious Ceremonies under it. All that remains of it now beſides the ſtock, is only ſome of the great branches, which renew their verdure with the Spring ſtill, and ſhew ſomething (tho' but very little) of the ancient beauty and majeſty of the Tree. Thoſe that think this ſtrange, may remember what *Pliny* reports of the Plantane-tree of *Lidia*, the hollow of which was 81 foot, its vaſt boughs made it appear more like a Wood than one Tree, and the ſhadow of it cover'd a great part of the Field where it ſtood.

Spices. *Axi*, or *Indian* Pepper. The uſes of it. Excellent Gums, and other Drugs.

But we ſhall quit this Diſcourſe of the Trees, and take a ſhort view of the Spices, Gums, and other valuable and uſeful Drugs. 'Tis true this Soil is not ſo happy as to produce the noble Spices of Cloves, Cinnamon and Nutmegs; neither is Ginger natural to it, tho' vaſt quantities of that Spice have been tranſported from ſome Parts of the *Weſt-Indies* into *Spain*, particularly from *Hiſpaniola*, whither it was firſt brought from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and where it thrives ſo well, that it grew to be an incumbrance at laſt. But the natural Spice of the *Weſt-Indies* is a ſort of Pepper which they call *Axi*, and is uſed generally all over the Country; it grows in the hotteſt Valleys, and is of ſeveral ſorts, ſome green, ſome red, ſome yellow and of a burning colour, which latter they call *Caribe*, and is extremely hot and biting. There is indeed a ſort which is not at all diſpleaſing to the taſte, and may be very well eaten alone as other Fruits are; but as for the common ſorts, they have no little ſhare of the ſtrength and fire of Pepper, and are us'd by them in Sauces for that purpoſe. To correct this *Axi*, and render it more temperate and fit for uſe, they mix it with Salt, and ſometimes with a ſort of Grain call'd *Tomates*, which is very cool and full of juice, and gives a very pleaſing reliſh to any Sauce 'tis an ingredient in. *Acoſta* ſays, that ſeveral of the *Spaniards* have been of the opinion that this *Indian* Pepper was cold in its nature, but the moſt do ſay that it burns in their mouths and ſtomachs at a ſtrange rate, and beſides that 'tis a ſtrong provocative to Venery, if any thing liberally taken; ſo that thoſe Men that will have a thing that produces theſe effects to be of a cold nature, may poſſibly come in time to diſpute whether fire it ſelf ben't ſo or no. This Country has furniſh'd ſeveral excellent Gums for the increaſe of the *Materia Medica*. Here's the famous *Gum-Animi*, the *Tacamahacca*, *Caranna*, and *Storax*; the uſes of which are well known in Medicine. Here's alſo the *Caſſia*, *Fiſtula*, *Mechoacan*, *Guajacum* and *Saſſaparilla*, all in vaſt plenty, but the former comes for the moſt part from the Iſland of *St. Dominick*.

Indian Balm. Two ſorts. Uſe of it in the Church. Obſervation of the Balm-tree.

To theſe alſo may be added Liquid Amber, *Copal*, and Oil of *Aſpick*, which the Phyſicians and Painters both make uſe of, the one for Plaiſters, and the others as a Varniſh for their Pictures; but the moſt celebrated of all is the rich Balm, which is an admirable Perfume and Medicine too. The Tree that affords it is as big as a Pomegranate-tree, and not much unlike it in faſhion. The Balm is of various colours, white, red, greeniſh and dark-colour'd, of which the firſt is commonly moſt eſteemed. The pureſt of all is that which diſtils of its own accord upon the inciſion of the Bark, and this is call'd *Opobalſamum*; the other is drawn from the leaves and bark boil'd and ſtrain'd, which has the name of *Xylobalſamum*, and that very properly. Although it be to be had in many places up and down in this ſpatious Country, yet that which comes from *Tolu* (not far from *Carthagena*) bears the beſt Character. The *Spaniards* and *Indians*, tho' they eſteem it, yet don't value it at that rate that we do; the Balm has the fortune of abundance other rich things, not to be much minded becauſe they are common and eaſie to be had. However, amongſt the *Spaniards*, a great deal of it goes off upon Spiritual Occaſions, and in the Service of the Church; for they had leave from the Apoſtolick See to uſe this Balm inſtead of Cream in their Unctions, and other daubing Ceremonies. How much this *Weſt-Indian* Balm-tree differs from that of *Paleſtine*, which yielded the noble Balm of *Gilead*, as 'tis vulgarly call'd, is evident from all the accounts that both Antiquity and Modern Travellers have given of that Tree. *Pliny*, who had ſeen it himſelf, ſays 'twas a ſmall Tree, and faſhion'd like a Vine; and thoſe that have viſited thoſe Parts of the Eaſt where it grows ſay much the ſame thing. Notwithſtanding this, *Strabo* affirms that the ancient Balm-tree was of the bigneſs of a Pomegranate-tree, which very well agrees to the deſcription of the *American* Balm-tree, but not at all to that of *Judea*.

Animals. Four-footed Beaſts. Great ſtore of Sheep and Paſturage in *Peru*. Vaſt numbers of Sheep. Wooll and Clothiers.

And thus we have done with the Vegetables of this Country; we are next to conſider the Animals. As for the *Quadrupeds*, we may conſider three Claſſes of them, either ſuch as were carried by the *Spaniards* into the Country, or ſuch as were found there by them of the ſame kinds with the *European*; or laſtly, ſuch as are peculiar to the *Indies*, and not known on this ſide the Globe. Of the firſt ſort are Sheep, Kine, Goats, Swine, Horſes, Dogs, Cats, and ſeveral others; for of all theſe there is very great plenty. The ſmaller ſort of Cattle, Sheep eſpecially, have multiplied here to a very great degree, and if they thought it worth while to make profit of their Wooll by ſending it into *Europe*, there's no doubt but it would be a very rich Trade; for the Stocks of theſe Animals, that are in the Country, are hardly to be imagin'd, and there is ordinarily ſo much Paſturage for them, that they can hardly go any where but they'll find it. In *Peru* there is ſo much, that they don't trouble themſelves to bound and limit, to fence and hedge it in; no Man has any proper to himſelf, but ſends his Flocks roving about where they will, to pick and chuſe their own feeding. There are ſome that are Maſters of 60, 80, nay 100000 Sheep a-piece, as *Acoſta* tells us he knew of a certainty in his time, and yet with all theſe vaſt Flocks they are put to no ſhifts to find feeding for them, ſo fruitful is the Country in Graſs and Paſturage. Some little uſe they have made of their own Wooll both in *Peru* and *New Spain*, in both which there are a great many Clothiers, (eſpecially in the latter) and tho' the Cloth which they make ſerves the poorer People of the Country, yet they don't much value it themſelves, but are very deſirous of the Cloths that come from *Spain*, which generally bear a very great price. 'Tis certain that they are much better than the *American* ones, either becauſe the Wooll is finer, or the Workmen more expert; or from both theſe reaſons together.

Wild Kine and tame.

As for Kine, there are no ſmaller numbers of them than of the Sheep in compariſon, and they are of two ſorts. Some are tame, (as they may be call'd) and feed together in Herds in the Paſtures, of which they make conſiderable profit, partly by their Fleſh, and partly by the Milk, Butter and Cheeſe that comes from them; neither are they of little uſe to them in their Country Labours, as Tilling the ground, and the like. The other ſort is altogether wild, and live at liberty in the Mountains and Foreſts, without Owners or Government. He that firſt takes or kills any of them is their Maſter, for they treat them in this reſpect as they do any other wild Beaſts.

Numbers of them at *St Domingo.*

There are ſuch multitudes of them, that ſome Parts of the *Indies* are quite over-run; in *Santa Domingo* they are to be ſeen by thouſands in the Fields and Woods, and 'tis a Solemn Exerciſe with the People to mount on Horſeback on purpoſe to Courſe and kill them.

Uſe of the Hides.

They do this only for the ſake of the Hides, which are a good Commodity; for as to the Fleſh they never meddle with it, but having flead off the Skin, they leave the other for meat to other Animals that may be glad on't.

Goats Tallow us'd.

There are alſo great numbers of Goats, the chief profit of which is their Tallow, uſed by almoſt all ſorts of People to make Lights of; the Skins they uſe for Shoes.

Horſes.

Horſes have multiplied in the Country exceedingly, and in many places there are found as good as the beſt in *Spain*, either for Pomp or for Service.

Camels.

Aſſes and Camels are both very ſcarce; of the latter there were ſome brought into *Peru* from the *Canary Iſlands*, but they have not multiplied very much: but one thing is, they uſe another ſort of Animal for carrying burdens, which is their Sheep, of which we ſhall ſee more by and by.

Dogs *Alco.*

The *Indians* had no Dogs amongſt them, till the *Spaniards* brought them from *Europe*; a little Creature they had ſomething like a Dog, which they call *Alco*, and upon that ſcore of the reſemblance, they call all Dogs by that Name. Of this Animal they were ſo exceſſively fond, that they wou'd ſpare the Meat out of their own bellies to feed it, and when they travell'd always carry'd theſe along with them for Companions, either in their boſoms or upon their ſhoulders. But ſince the Conqueſt, Dogs have been no rarities in the *Indies*, in the Iſlands eſpecially, and particularly at *St. Domingo*; at this Iſland they have been an affliction and a plague to the People, for they go about in troops and devour the Sheep, ſo that they were forc'd to endeavour the extirpation of them, by propoſing rewards to them that kill'd a Dog, as they do to them that kill Wolves in *Spain.*

Wild Beaſts.

Lions, Tigers, Bears, Boars and Foxes, are to be found in great numbers in the Woods, and were Inhabitants of thoſe wild places before the *Spaniards* came to be Inhabitants of any. Stags and Deer are alſo very numerous in the Foreſts; but amongſt theſe, the moſt common are a ſort of Deer without Horns, like the *Corcos.*

Saines.

The wild Hogs go in great Herds in the Woods, and are of a very ſmall ſize, but extremely fierce, and are ready to aſſault any that haunt them if they don't ſecure themſelves in the Trees; and therefore their way is to climb for't, and ſo while the Hogs are biting and gnawing the Tree below, to dart down their Lances at them and kill them. The fleſh of them is very white and tender, and when they fat them with Maize, their greeſe paſſes amongſt the *Indians* inſtead of Oil.

Creature that has a Navel on the back.

The Name they go by in the *Indies* is *Sainos*, and had they no Name at all they wou'd be remarkable enough, if 'twere only for that one odd mark which Nature has ſet upon them in their formation, which is, to have a Navel upon the ridge of their backs; this is expreſly what thoſe who pretend to have ſeen them declare of them.

Guadatinias.

There is another ſmall Creature which ſeems to be ſomething of the ſame nature with this, which they call *Guadatinias*, and are reckon'd very good meat.

Dantes.

And as the *Sainos* reſemble Swine in all other points but that laſt mention'd, ſo do the *Dantes* come as near to ſmall Kine, the furniture of the horns only excepted, which theſe Creatures want.

Uſe of the Hides.

That which is moſt eſteem'd of them is their Hides, which they make Jerkins and other Coverings of; and it has this property, to be ſo hard and ſtout as to be a good defence againſt any blows whatſoever.

Chinchille.

The *Chinchille* is a ſmall Beaſt like a Squirel, having a wonderful ſmooth ſoft skin, which they uſe very frequently to wear next their ſtomachs, reckoning it very wholſome; of the hair they make Rugs, and ſeveral other ſorts of Coverings.

A warm skin.

The Hares and Conies, which are very plentiful in the Country, need no deſcription; as alſo neither the Ant-Bears, Armadilloes and Monkies, with many others which have been mention'd before in the other accounts of *America*.

Various other Animals.

Only as to the Monkies, we may note that there are ſome of them in theſe Parts of the *Indies*, very extraordinary both as to their ſize and their colours too, for beſides black, grey and bay-colour'd, there are ſome that are ſpotted after a very curious manner.

Strange Monkies.

But ſome things are yet more wonderful in them than all that can be imagin'd in their make, and that is their agility, their ſubtilty, and their ſence. *Acoſta* ſays he ſaw a Monkey leap from one Tree to another which ſtood upon the other ſide of a River; he does not ſay what the River was, or how broad, but to be ſure 'twas not the great River of the *Amazons.* The ſame Author tells us of a Monkey of his acquaintance that belong'd to the Governor of *Carthagena*, which had abundance of very clever tricks with him; but if the Reader thinks they argue too much ſence for ſuch an Animal, and that we make a Man of a Monkey, he is deſired to remember that the Story is not ours.

Obſervation of a Monkey at *Carthagena.*

This Animal wou'd very orderly go to the Tavern for Wine, carrying his Pot in one hand, and the Money in t'other; neither wou'd he give the People the Money before he had his Pot full of Wine. Sometimes, when he was diſpatch'd upon theſe Errands, the Boys wou'd aſſault him in the Streets, and throw Stones at him, but Pug (who wou'd take no affronts from them) in that caſe always ſet down his Pot, and pick'd up Stones and pelted the Boys again, and ſo when he had clear'd the way march'd home with his Wine. And tho' he lov'd this Liquor entirely (for *Acoſta* ſays he has ſeen him drink luſtily ſeveral times) yet he wou'd never touch a drop till his Maſter had given him leave. If he ſaw any Woman patch'd, he wou'd expreſs a great deal of indignation, and not only chatter and make faces, but if he cou'd come at her wou'd have left the print of his teeth behind him. Mankind have born their teſtimony againſt this vanity a long time ago, but now it ſeems the very Monkies take notice of it, and rebuke the pride and folly of that Sex. The Ladies had better pull off their patches themſelves, than have Apes and Monkies ſcratch them off, for this wou'd be the way to have occaſion for patches in good earneſt.

The Slow-Dog.

But there is another Beaſt, of which *Oviedo* gives us an account, that deſerves a particular notice. The *Spaniards*, by the rule of contraries, call it *Cagnuolo Leggiero*, or the Light-Dog, whereas 'tis one of the heavieſt dulleſt Animals in the World; 'tis ſo ſlow in its motion, that it can't go above 50 paces in a day. They are as odd ſhap'd as can well be imagin'd; about two ſpan in length, their feet arm'd with long claws like Birds, and their bellies trailing upon the ground, for their legs are not able to ſupport them. One can't ſay whether the face be more like that of an Owl or a Baboon, for it has ſomething of the beauties of both theſe Creatures; the ſmall eyes and noſtrils ſhou'd belong to the Baboon, and the very round face to the Owl: but beſides this, it has a very little mouth, and a ſtrait high neck every where of a bigneſs, and is like a Cylindrick Rouling-pin. By the help of thoſe long nails, which Nature has furniſh'd them with, they eaſily climb Trees, which is their great delight, and they are moſt commonly found up in ſome Tree or other. Their colour is moſt like that of a Weaſel, and they have this obſervable mark over and above, to be wholly without a tail.

Its note.

But the ſtrangeſt thing of all is the Muſick they make; *Oviedo* ſays that they have ſix notes very clear and diſtinct from one another, and are heard ſinging them always in the night. This Author declares he has kept them in his Houſe, and cou'd never diſcover what ſort of food 'twas that they liv'd upon, for they were never ſeen by any to eat, only they frequently open'd their mouths, and ſuck'd in the freſh air or wind. They are no way harmful or miſchievous, but a dull lumpiſh unprofitable Creature, that takes no other pleaſure it ſelf, (nor affords none to Mankind) but only that of crawling up into a Tree, and making that noiſe in the night.

Bardato.

The ſame Author deſcribes a ſort of Beaſts which he calls *Bardato*, which he ſays reſembles a barbed Horſe; that is, a Horſe cover'd with Armour for the Wars. But by the particulars of this deſcription, this Creature ſhou'd be no other than the *Armadillo*, which we have given an account of before; and the rather, becauſe he recommends them for ſo good meat, which the *Armadilloes* are generally reported to be.

Before we leave the *Quadrupeds*, we muſt ſpeak a little more particularly of the *Indian* Sheep and Goats, which we have hitherto only mention'd by the by. Thoſe Beaſts which we here call Goats, are call'd *Vicugnes* in the

Country,

Vicugnes or Goats.

The Hair fine.

A good Medicine for the Eyes.

The *Pacos* and *Guanacos.*

Burden Carriers.

Their Wooll.

Country, and we give them the name of Goats only for this reaſon, that they have more reſemblance to a Goat than any other Animal. They have no horns, and are ſomething larger than common Goats; they feed upon the higheſt tops of the Mountains, and are ſo far from being offended with Froſt or Snow, that they ſeem to delight in it. They uſe to Shear theſe Creatures, and of their fleece or hair to make ſeveral ſorts of Coverings; and whatever they make on't 'tis very fine and durable, and ſo is the colour alſo, for they never Dye it, but uſe the natural colour, which is like that of dried Roſes, and has this good property never to fade nor change. The fleſh of the *Vicugnes* is no good meat, tho' the *Indians* ſpend pretty much of it; they aſſemble in great companies, to the number of 1000 or 2000 Men, on purpoſe to hunt them, taking 300 or 400 at a time, out of which they chuſe what is fit for their turn, and let go the reſt. But yet they are no extraordinary Breeders, and for that reaſon the *Incas* of *Peru* did formerly forbid the taking any of them unleſs it were by their ſpecial commandment. The greateſt uſe of this fleſh is in Phyſick, and 'tis reported to be a certain remedy for weak and ſore eyes. *Acoſta* tells us he made the Experiment himſelf: He had one time travell'd a long way through the Snow, which diſturb'd his eyes at that rate, that he was afraid he ſhou'd have loſt the uſe of them, but coming into an Inn, an Old Woman told him of this remedy, and promiſed him relief if he wou'd but try it; ſo a piece of the fleſh of one of the *Vicugnes*, juſt kill'd and all bloody, was applied to his eyes, which accordingly perfectly cured him. But the moſt profitable Beaſt in all the Country (all things conſider'd) is the Sheep; of this there are two ſorts, one that they call the *Paco*, and the other the *Guanaco*, the main difference between them being this, that the former have a pretty good fleece of Wooll upon their backs, and the latter are almoſt bare. Theſe Creatures ſerve not only for Food, but Beaſts of Burden: they are their Horſes, their Aſſes, and their Camels; the moſt part of the Silver that comes out of the Mines of *Potoſi* goes upon their backs to *Arica*, which is at leaſt 70 leagues. Each of them will carry five or ſix *Arrobes* of Silver Bars, tho' when they have a very long Journey indeed, they don't drive them above 4 leagues a day. And 'tis a ſtrange thing to ſee with how ſlender a Guard the *Spaniards* ſend along a vaſt Treaſure of Silver upon the backs of theſe Creatures; you ſhall meet a troop of them laded with as much as comes to 400000 Ducats, and no more than a few *Indians* or *Spaniards* perhaps to drive them along, and theſe fellows ſometimes ſhall lie down to ſleep in the midſt of the open Fields, and leave the Sheep to take care of themſelves. The *Pacos* and *Guanacos* both are of ſeveral colours, ſome white, ſome black, others grey or ſpotted, and they dye the Wooll they get from the *Pacos* of as many ſeveral colours as the Animals themſelves are; but the *Guanacos*, as was ſaid, ſupply them with no Wooll, tho' they are generally the fitteſt for burden.

The odd qualities of the *Pacos.*

Bezoar-ſtones.

The beſt found in the *Tarugues.*

Great Bezoar-ſtones.

A Pine-apple found within one.

This ſort of Cattel delights in a cool freſh air, for which reaſon they live and do well upon the *Sierras*, and die in the *Lanos* becauſe of the heat; nay, in all the extremities of the weather, and when they are cover'd over with Ice and Froſt, they continue very ſound and well. They ſometimes make a great deal of ſport to the Beholders by a motion they have, which is indeed ſomething pleaſant; for as they are going upon the Road they'll ſtop all of a ſudden, and raiſe up their long Necks, looking very wiſtly upon every one that ſtands about them, which to be ſure has ſomething very ſignificant, and expreſſive of a concern the Animal is under, if one cou'd interpret their meaning, and know what. But then they have ſome very ugly tricks, at leaſt thoſe that drive them have reaſon to ſay ſo; for without any apparent reaſon, they'll ſometimes ſet a running as if they were mad, and run up Mountains or Rocks, or whatever lies in the way, ſo that very often they are forc'd to ſhoot them dead as ſoon as they can, that the Silver Bars they carry may not be loſt. Again, at other times, they ſhall grow reſty and lie down under their burdens; and when this humour takes them, they'll endure rather to be cut in pieces than riſe and go on the Journey. The only remedy the Driver has in this caſe is patience, he muſt e'en ſubmit to the Creatures humour; he muſt ſtroak him, and make much of him, and ſo by fair and gentle methods entice him out of his ſullenneſs, and bring him to the uſe of his legs again. Notwithſtanding this, 'tis many times a long and a tedious work to make them get up; and whatever weather there be, the poor Drivers are forc'd to ſpend many hours in't in the open Fields, meerly attending upon theſe perverſe Animals. But we are farther to take notice both of theſe *Indian* Goats and Sheep, that they afford the ſo much valued and admired Bezoarſtone; and not only theſe, but the Stags in *New Spain* do the like, tho' there are few of theſe in *Peru*, as there hardly is any of the former in *New Spain*. They find them indifferently both in the Males and Females of both ſorts; the greateſt Stones are generally found in the *Vicugnes*, and they are white or grey, or of a dark green. Thoſe that are drawn from the *Pacos* and *Guanacos* are leſs, and black, and not ſo much eſteem'd for their Phyſical uſes: but above all, thoſe that come from the *Tarugues* (before-mention'd) are of the greateſt value, at leaſt vulgar fame has made them ſo; they are commonly of a light colour, inclining to grey, and have their films bigger and thicker than the reſt. They differ alſo as much in their forms and ſizes as they do in their colours and other properties: ſome are round, others long, ſome as ſmall as Filberds and Wall-nuts, others as big as a Hens-egg; yea, *Acoſta* ſays he has ſeen them as large as an Orange. 'Tis pretty odd to ſee upon what ſort of Stuff theſe Stones do grow, and are form'd in the Animal as pieces of Wood, bits of Iron, or ſome other Metal; and the Author juſt now mention'd ſays, he ſaw a couple in *Peru* that were form'd upon Pines, which were very diſtinctly to be ſeen in the cavity of the Stone when it was open'd. As for the Philoſophy of the *Indians* about the generation of this Stone, and why theſe Creatures alone do yield it, and not others as well as they, we believe it a little too extravagant to preſent the Reader with it: We ſhall only obſerve, that together with this natural, they have alſo this piece of immoral Philoſophy amongſt them, which is to cheat the World with counterfeit Bezoars inſtead of true and genuine ones; they have found out ways of imitating Nature, and make a ſort of artificial Stones that are not to be known from the other but by nice Experiments.

Other Animals of the Country.

As for the other Animals, both Fowl, Fiſh and Reptiles, we ſhall not hold the Reader ſo long in the deſcription of them, as perhaps the greatneſs of the Country, and the variety of theſe Animals found there, may ſeem to require. But it muſt be conſider'd, that the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* and *Braſile* do not lie ſo far from one another, but we may well ſuppoſe them to have a multitude of the ſame Animals common, and that therefore many of the *Mexican* and *Peruvian* ones are already inſerted and deſcrib'd in the *Braſilian* Collection. Beſides, all Travellers have not the ſame degrees of care and curioſity in obſerving, and in this caſe we may ſay that many (even of conſiderable reputation) have hardly done their Parts ſo well with reſpect to this Country, as others of leſs name have done for *Braſile*.

Fowl.

As to Fowl, we may ſay in general that the Country yields great varieties both of Land and Water-Fowl, of wild and tame, of Birds for Game and for Pleaſure, and that either in reſpect of their Muſick or their fine Colours. And certainly, as to the point of entertainment of the Eye, by admirable Colours, the *Weſt-Indies* do infinitely outdo all the Countries of the known World; for 'tis not only the ſeveral ſorts of Parrots that are to be brought in upon this account, but a great many others too, amongſt which the *Tomineois* (thoſe very minute Birds which a Man wou'd almoſt miſtake for Bees or Butterflies) are thought to have ſome of the perfecteſt colours imaginable in their feathers.

But there are ſome others that deſerve to be mention'd, tho' not ſo much upon the account of any particular Beauties that pleaſe the eye, as upon the ſcore of that Senſe and Sagacity that Nature has endow'd them with, and which they diſcover upon ſeveral Occaſions.

The *Picuti.*

A ſtrange beak.

Good way of keeping guard.

The *Picuti* is a Bird no bigger than a Quail, but cover'd with a mighty number of feathers, and thoſe of ſeveral colours too: But (which is very ſtrange) the beak of this little Bird is at leaſt one quarter of a yard long, and three fingers broad towards the upper part, ſo that this alone weighs much more than all the reſt of the body beſides; it is not ſtrait, but bent and crooked, and 'tis of ſingular uſe and ſervice to them in forming their Neſts, and Repoſitories for their young. Their way is by the help of theſe beaks to bore holes in the Trees big enough to go in and out, where they lay their Eggs, and hatch and breed up their young. And becauſe the wild Cats are very apt to come and viſit their Neſts, and wou'd plunder them too if they were not well guarded, therefore they uſe to defend themſelves in this manner: When they ſee any of theſe ravenous Beaſts coming they preſently whip into their Neſts, and thruſting their long beaks out thro' the hole, they ſtand in that poſture ready to give a puſh (or rather a peck) at the face of the Enemy when he comes: And the Paſs being thus guarded with ſo ſharp a weapon, is commonly very ſecurely kept; the Cats dare not come within reach of it, and are forc'd to go away diſappointed of their prey.

Another proviſion againſt the wild Cats.

An excellent defence.

The *Matti* are a ſort of Birds ſomething bigger than our Thruſhes, almoſt all black, only they have ſome few white feathers in their necks: They ſhew no leſs cunning and contrivance than the former in the defence of their young; for becauſe the wild Cats are very good at jumping, and will eaſily throw themſelves from one Tree to another, unleſs they are ſo far aſunder as to be beyond their leap, therefore theſe Birds always build their Neſts in Trees that have no others near them. And if they ſhou'd climb up into thoſe Trees where their Neſts are, they form them after ſuch a manner that there's no entrance; for they make them very large and wide at the bottom, but growing narrower and narrower ſtill towards the mouth, ſo that the hole by which they enter is juſt big enough to receive them, and no more. Beſides, they defend them with ſharp and ſtrong thorns, which they ſtick in of all ſides of them, and are ſo cunningly faſten'd about them, that no humane Art can do any think like it; and the Cats can by no means come at the hole to thruſt their paws in to do the young ones any harm, as well upon this account of the thorns, as alſo that the Neſts are made ſo deep, that they cou'd never reach them unleſs they ſcratch'd them to pieces. Another thing they obſerve, is for a great many of them to make their Neſts together in the ſame Tree; which ſeems not to be ſo much for Society as mutual Defence and Preſervation, for always when the Cats come they make a moſt fearful noiſe and chattering, and the others generally run away as ſoon as they hear them begin to grow ſo clamorous.

The like Policies are obſerv'd in the *Gazzuoli*, which are bigger than *Stares*, all over black, and have their tails very long, and beaks reſembling thoſe of the *Popingayes*.

Neſts over the water.

Wild Cats don't ſwim.

The *Pintadelli* have a mixture of ſeveral colours in their feathers, and they go quite another way to work to defend their Neſts from the wild Cats; for they build always in Trees that hang over the water, and in the very utmoſt parts of the boughs too, ſo that Cat or Dog that comes there muſt expect to tumble into the water. But the wild Cats, they ſay, do ſeldom venture at theſe, for they never care for coming near the water; and of all the Land-Animals known, they are the only ones almoſt, that can't by ſwimming preſerve themſelves from drowning. The Birds indeed don't know this natural defect of the Cats, but as theſe are the moſt hungry devouring Creatures that can be, and will let no Animals live in peace about them that are but within their reach, ſo Nature has taught the *Pintadelli* this way of avoiding them.

The *Picuti* have ſharp long bills to bore holes in the Trees to lay their young ones there in ſafety; and the *Matti* build very deep hollow Neſts, and fortify them with a Crown-work of thorns; and the ſame Wiſdom has taught the *Pintadelli* another artifice, which is to make their Neſts in Trees over the water, where their Perſecutors can never come.

Serpents and Reptiles.

The other Fowl, Fiſhes, Reptiles and Inſects, are ſuch as have been deſcrib'd in other places up and down: *Oviedo* tells us of Dragons in the *Weſt-Indies*, and of a formidable ſort of Serpent call'd a *Juanna*, which he makes to be an amphibious Creature, and no certain Inhabitant either of the Land or the Water.

As for his Dragons, we believe he means no other than ſome ſort of very great Serpent, of which we know there are abundance in thoſe Parts of the World, and not a Creature with a ſpiral Tail, great flaggy Wings, and a crooked Snout, ſuch as St. *George* is pictur'd trampling under his Horſes feet.

Juanna.

As for the *Juanna*, he ſays it has four feet, and very long claws, a ſet of very ſharp teeth, a ſpotted skin, that it makes no noiſe, nor diſcovers any thing of a voice, that it will faſt for many days together, and is very good meat, even preferable to any Coney; in a word, as to the ſize of it, he ſays 'tis as big as a Coney, and ſometimes as an Otter. After all, 'tis not impoſſible that this may be ſome kind of *Lizard* or *Jacare*, to which many of theſe Characters agree, eſpecially ſince he alſo adds that the tail of it is very like that Creature.

Very hurtful Vipers.

He ſpeaks alſo of a ſort of very venemous Vipers, the effect of whoſe biting is a ſudden and ſpeedy coagulation of the whole Maſs of the Blood; and of this he gives ſomes inſtances of his own knowledge.

Fiery Adder.

The Adder that is as red as Blood, and appears at Night like a burning Coal almoſt, he ſays is 7 or 8 foot long, but not ſo dangerous as the Viper before-mention'd; but that it does appear with that fiery aſpect at night, he gives us his own experience.

Monſtrous Toads.

There are a ſort of very great Toads which agree with the *Braſilian* ones, in this reſpect that they are not poiſonous; but he ſpeaks of their having bones, and thoſe ſo large, that a Man wou'd think them to be the bones of Cats or Dogs.

Strange Spiders.

There are Spiders of a prodigious bigneſs too; and that Author declares he ſaw one that was larger than a Man's Hand, and another the Eyes of which were as big as thoſe of a Sparrow. Theſe Creatures, as well as the former, are of various colours; and we may eaſily believe our Author, when he ſays that they are both of them very ugly and diſagreeable ſights.

Wiſdom of the Ants.

But 'tis very remarkable what he ſays of the Ants, which are ſo miſerably perſecuted and devoured by the Ant-Bear, as it is call'd upon that very ſcore: Theſe Creatures (which for many actions of theirs have deſervedly been ſtil'd wiſe and prudent) in many places work themſelves up great hillocks of a Man's heighth, but of ſo hard and ſtubborn a ſort of Earth in the outſide, that 'tis like a defence of Lime or Stone; for Experiments ſake, he made ſome of them be broken open, but they wou'd hardly yield to pikes of Iron they were ſo denſe and compact. Under this hard ſhell lie the Ants in infinite numbers, very well skreen'd by this means from the ſearching Tongue of their enemy. It may not be wholly improper to add an account of two or three remarkable things in Nature, tho' ſome of them perhaps out of their due place.

Poiſonous Fruit.

Danger of it.

Stinking Wood.

The main thing the *Indians* uſe to poiſon their Arrows withal is a ſort of Fruit, which in form and ſize reſembles the Muſcadel-Pear of *Sicily* and *Naples*; 'tis ſtain'd with red ſpots up and down in many places, and is of a moſt ſweet and pleaſant taſte. The Tree that bears it has a leaf like that of a Pear-tree, only ſomething leſs and rounder, and is never found but near the Sea. The Fruit it ſelf is of ſo alluring and inviting an aſpect, that a Man can hardly ſee it without having at the ſame time a ſtrong deſire to taſte; the doing of which wou'd infallibly be attended with ſome fatal conſequences, for the miſchievous nature of it is hardly to be deſcribed: And 'tis credibly reported, that if a Man does but lie down to ſleep under the Tree, he will find his Head and Eyes ſwollen when he awakes again, and 'twou'd be little leſs than the loſs of ſight, to have a drop of the dew that falls from it come into the Eye. One thing farther is obſervable concerning it, namely, that the Wood of theſe Trees, when burnt, makes ſo horrible a ſtink that no Man can endure it, and the malignant fumes that iſſue from it do cauſe a violent pain in the Head. The *Indians* uſe this deſperate poiſon about their Arrows, ſometimes alone, and ſometimes mix'd with that of ſeveral venemous Animals; but either is ſufficient to anſwer the end and purpoſe of their uſing it, which is to deſtroy them that are ſo unfortunate as to be wounded by thoſe Arrows.

Tree *Xagua*.

A Medicinal Water from the Fruit.

The Tree *Xagua* is a very tall, ſtrait and well-made one, and of it the *Indians* make all their Darts, Pikes and Javelins: It bears a large Fruit almoſt like the head of the great Poppey, and very good for eating; but out of it they get a water which is an admirable remedy for weak, faint and weary Limbs; it renews their ſtrength and vigour, and makes the fleſh which was before looſe and ſoft, to become ſound and firm again, and all this only by waſhing the Part with it. Yet it has this ill quality, that it does the skin almoſt as much harm by blacking it, as it does the fleſh good other ways; it leaves ſo thorough and deep a black, that 'tis a hard matter to get it out again. And the ſame good effects, as to the Fleſh and Limbs, the Bark or Rind of the Tree *Hobi* is known by experience to have, if it be boil'd in water, and the Parts waſh'd with it. This Fruit is ſmall and yellow, of a very good taſte, and in form not unlike a Damſon.

The Deform'd Tree.

Remedy for broken bones.

The Deform'd Tree, which grows moſt frequently in *Hiſpaniola*, is yet more remarkable in every reſpect: 'Tis ſo confus'd a heap of leaves and thorns, that nothing but a Painter's Pencil can deſcribe it; but with all this irregularity of ſhape, there goes along a noble vertue and healing property, which render theſe leaves the moſt compleat remedy for broken Limbs that perhaps is known. They only take the leaves well ſtamp'd and ſpread upon a Cloth like a Plaiſter, and apply this to the broken Member; it ſticks of it ſelf ſo very faſt, that 'tis difficult to pull it off before the buſineſs is done, but when once the Part is throughly ſoder'd and heal'd, it drops off without any help, and the doing ſo is a ſign that the Cure is finiſh'd, and this is commonly about 15 days a performing. *Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedo*, Governor in the *Weſt-Indies* for the Emperor *Charles* V. affirms (in a Diſcourſe of the Country which he ſent to that Prince) that he himſelf (as well as ſeveral others of his knowledge)

knowledge) had made trial of the ſoveraign vertue of this Plant, and that it has really that property of cleaving ſo faſt to the Part, and then falling off its own accord when it has done the work it was laid on for.

Plant which affords Threads for cutting Iron.

There is a Plant which is like a yellow Lilly, about the leaves of which there grow and creep along certain Strings or little Cords, that are of very great uſe to the *Indians* upon many accounts. There are two ſorts of theſe Cords, a thicker and groſſer, almoſt like the wiek or twiſt of Hemp in compariſon to the other, and this they call *Cabuia*: The finer ſort is like Flax, and they give it the name of *Henequen*; but both one and the other are of the ſame colour, which is between white and yellow, and ſome quite white. Of theſe the *Indians* make very ſtrong and ſubſtantial Cords, by which they hang up their Hammocks, and they put them to all uſes wherein any thing of a ſtout ligament is wanting. But 'tis ſtranger ſtill, that by the help of the fine threads of the *Henequen* they ſhou'd be able to overcome the ſtubbornneſs and ſtrength of Iron, and to ſaw aſunder Fetters, Chains, or Iron Bars, as they can eaſily do, and often practiſe it. When they wou'd perform any of theſe operations, they take a thread of the *Henequen*, and draw it this way and that way upon the Iron in the manner of ſawing, putting ever now and then a ſmall matter of very fine Sand upon the Thread, or upon the Iron; and when the thread, by continual rubbing, is worn and grown feeble, they take a freſh one, and go on with the work, till the Iron is quite parted in two. And thoſe that have ſeen the *Indians* at this work, ſay that they do it with a great deal of eaſe and dexterity; and that Iron, tho' ever ſo big and ſtrong, is with little trouble conquer'd by this means.

After this little view of Nature in this Country, we come to conſider the Cuſtoms, Government and Policy of the ſame, and this diſtinctly for each of the two famous Kingdoms of *Mexico* and *Peru*.

CHAP. XIV.

The Civil and Moral Hiſtory of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

The *Mexicans* had Notions of God.

Honour'd the Sun.

Multitude of Idols.

Famous Idol *Vitzilipuztli*.

Deſcription of him.

WE will begin with the Account of *Mexico*, as being the firſt of the two Kingdoms laid open to the knowledge of *Europe* by the *Spaniſh* Conqueſt. The People of this Country, tho' much ſuperiour to many other of the Nations upon the ſame Continent, both in reſpect of Civil Politeneſs and Natural Endowments, yet ſtand upon the ſame level with them all as to Matters of Religion. They are Idolaters as well as the moſt Savage and moſt Barbarous, tho' perhaps it may be allow'd them to have made their Idolatry more fine and pompous, as well as more ſolemn and ceremonious than many others of them have done. Notwithſtanding this, ſome there are that ſay the *Mexicans* had undoubtedly a Notion of one Supreme Being, the Maker and Preſerver of all things, and that the *Spaniards* at firſt found little or no difficulty to convince them of this Truth, their own natural Notions, tho' blind and confus'd, ſetting in with the Arguments urg'd upon them for that purpoſe. But whatever Notions they had of this kind, 'tis certain that all their viſible Services and Adorations were paid to Idols; and tho' they had a high veneration for the Sun, as the Fountain of Light, and ſo many other Bleſſings to the World, yet we can't find that ever they honour'd him with any formal Worſhip. What the *Peruvians* did we ſhall ſee afterwards, but the *Mexicans* ſeem not to have done any thing of this nature. As for them, their Deities were all of a groſs and terreſtrial compoſition; they dug the materials of them out of their Mines and Quarries, or cut them out of their Foreſts and Woods, and of the many hundreds they had, ſome were Gold, or other baſer Metal, others Wood or Stone, or what pleas'd their own extravagant fancies. The moſt celebrated of all this number was an Idol which they call'd *Vitzilipuzli*; what they imagin'd it the repreſentative of is uncertain, but they ſtil'd it the moſt Puiſſant Lord of all things, and erected a Temple in Honour of it, that was by far the proudeſt and moſt ſumptuous in the Country. The Image it ſelf was made of no finer Matter than Wood, but infinitely adorn'd with Gold, Jewels and Feathers. It was in the form of a Man, his Head cover'd with a Crown; in his Right Hand he held an Azure-colour'd Staff, and in his Left a white Target, and at his Sides were ſtuck 4 Darts. It was ſet upon a Stool mounted upon a high Altar, with a rich Curtain always drawn before it, to make all appear more Venerable and Sacred.

It would be to no purpoſe to deſcribe even all the principal Idols they had amongſt them, with the particulars of their Furniture and Decking, and the ſeveral odd Notions the *Mexicans* had of them; 'tis ſufficient to ſay, that they had one more which ſtood in an Apartment of the ſame Temple adjoining to the former, which they made almoſt equal in Dignity and Power with *Vitzilipuzli*.

Other Idols.

The Repreſentatives of their Power.

As for the reſt, they allow'd them their ſeveral peculiar Offices and Provinces, and accordingly made their applications to them: And they always made every Deity known what he was, and what he preſided over-govern'd or had care of, by ſome Devices of Painting, or Carv'd work about them. Thus the God of Famine, Peſtilence and Barrenneſs, was ſeen with Dead Men's Bones and Skulls drawn upon his Seat: The God of Merchandize and Traffick with a World of Toys and Trifles; and him of Repentance and Pardons with ſmoking Firebrands, to ſignifie the Prayers and Contritions of Sinners. A multitude of other Symbols and Characters were to be found about their Idols, the ſenſe and ſignification of which is a Task fit for their own Prieſts only to diſcover.

Temples.

Great Temple at *Mexico*.

The Deſcription of it.

The Temples wherein theſe fine Pageants are ſeated with ſo much State and Majeſty, are themſelves as rich and beautiful as all the Skill of that Part of the World, in conjunction with their Zeal and Superſtition, cou'd poſſibly make them. Perhaps they may be ſhort of the *Peruvian* Temples, for prodigious Riches and Treaſures in the inſide, but then they generally exceed in pomp of Building, in auguſt Figure, and all the beauties of Art and Contrivance. That of *Vitzilipuzli*, in the City of *Mexico*, is a wonderful Structure, whether one conſiders the bulk and dimenſions of it, the ſymmetry and regularity of the Parts, the goodneſs of the Workmanſhip, or of the Materials. It was built with great Stones cut in the faſhion of Snakes tied to one another, taking up a vaſt compaſs of ground, as may eaſily be gueſs'd from the bigneſs of the Court within; this Court wou'd contain better than 8000 People dancing in a round, which it very often did upon the account of thoſe Solemnities which were ſtatedly held there. Within the Circuit of the Court were all the Chambers of the Religious, the Oratories and Manſions of the Idols; upon the top of every one of which was a Column as black as jet, and very neatly wrought, and each Pillar adorn'd with a ſort of Battelment, which was ſupported with two *Indians* carved in Stone, and holding Candleſticks in their hands. Upon the moſt elevated part of the whole Structure were two Chapels of Stone, the Repoſitories of the two Grand Idols; they had all the Ornaments that Carving and Painting cou'd give to them, and the aſcent up to them was by 120 Stone ſteps. Before each Chapel was a Court of 40 Foot ſquare, and in the middle of each a lofty Pyramid, at which the Humane Sacrifices were always made. This magnificent Temple had four Gates anſwering to the four Cardinal points of the Compaſs; at every one of which begins a fair Cawſey of two or three leagues in length. For 'tis to be obſerv'd, that there are four large Cawſeys that run thus a-croſs, in the midſt of the Lake in which the City of *Mexico* ſtands, and at the end of each Cawſey is a handſome Portal or Entry, which faces directly ſome Gate of the Temple. And to render the appearance every way the more great and awful, they plac'd an Idol upon every one of theſe Portals, with the face turn'd to the Cawſey, that ſo all that advanc'd towards the Temple might have them in full view. Before the great Court of the Tem-

Walk of Trees.

ple (at ſome diſtance from it) was an aſcent of 30 Steps, upon the top of which was a Walk 30 foot broad. Thro' the middle of this Walk run a Paliſadoe of very high Trees, planted in order at a fathom diſtance from one another: The Trees were all pierc'd with ſmall holes from top to bottom, thro' which run a vaſt number of Rods from Tree to Tree, and theſe were all hung with the Skulls of thoſe humane Victims that had been offer'd to the great Idol. Theſe Objects ſtruck a deal of horrour into a Beholder; the mournful ſight made the place appear leſs lovely and pleaſant, tho' perhaps it contributed not a little to the Religion of it.

Multitude of Sacrifices at *Mexico.*

As to the buſineſs of Sacrifices, no People in the World perhaps have imbrued their hands in more Blood than the *Mexicans*, and that the Blood of Mankind too; only this is to be ſaid, that the *Peruvians* have outdone them in ſome particular circumſtances of theſe Sacrifices, ſhedding that blood which the others never pretended to. The *Mexicans*, as far as we can find, never offer'd any Victims of this nature, but what the fortune of War put into their hands; they were always Captives and Priſoners that were dealt thus with, and their Gods were ſerv'd only with what the Sword had left undevour'd.

Priſoners only Sacrific'd.

Indeed, this was one of the great Deſigns of their making War; they ſeldom fought for any thing but Victims for their Altars, and therefore took care to kill as few as was poſſible when they were engag'd in Battel, but made it their chief buſineſs to get Priſoners.

Diſcourſe of *Montezuma* and a *Spaniard*

The Great *Montezuma*, in a Diſcourſe with a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, that had aſſiſted at the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, ſignified as much as this came to. The *Spaniard* ask'd him how it came about, that being ſo great as he was, and abſolute Sovereign of all the reſt of the Kingdoms about him, he had not conquer'd the Province of *Tlaſcalla*, which was juſt by him? The Prince told him that there were two things that induc'd him to leave that Province unconquer'd; one was to keep his Soldiers in exerciſe, and prevent their growing idle, lazy and unapt for the Wars; but the other, and the principal one, was, to have a conſtant Supply of Captives for Sacrifices to his Gods. And there were abundance of Ceremonies us'd in the doing of this ſolemn Work:

Prieſts that perform the Sacrifices.

There were ſix Perſons particularly employ'd in it, who had each his peculiar Part and Office in the Bloody performance; two were appointed to hold the Hands, and as many the Legs of the Victim; another to hold his Head, and the laſt to open his Stomach, and pull out his Heart. The Name they gave theſe Perſons was *Chachalmuas*, which ſignifies as much as the Miniſters of holy Things; and that Office was very highly eſteem'd, and paſs'd from one to another by Inheritance. It was the buſineſs of the chief of them all (of him that was as it were a Biſhop in compariſon with the reſt) to give the fatal ſtroke, and do the whole of the Execution.

The Habits of the Prieſts at the Sacrifices:

The Name he went by was that of *Tepilzin*; his Habit was a red Robe with Taſſels beneath, a Crown of the richeſt Feathers upon his Head, and Pendants in his Ears. The others were attir'd in white Robes wrought with black, no Crowns upon their Heads, but their hair bound up, and circles of Paper painted with ſeveral colours ſtuck upon their Foreheads.

Strange Cuſtom.

When the Arch-Prieſt had opened the breaſt of the poor Victim, and taken out his Heart, he held it up reeking in its Blood to the Sun, and then preſently turning towards the Idol he threw it in the face of him; a coarſe Compliment to a Deity, and an odd way of making him an Offering. After this the dead Body was tumbled down the Temple Stairs, and thoſe that had the beſt Title to them took them up, and divided them amongſt themſelves, and ſo went to feaſting upon them. Thus were all the Captives ſerv'd one after another, for the moſt part 40 or 50 together; for they reckon'd it no honour to their Idol to offer him a ſmall number.

Idol of Paſte.

The Idol that ſtood by them at this Ceremony, was one which the Arch-Prieſt always brought with him from the top of the Temple; it was made neither of Wood, Stone nor Metal, but Paſte of Wheat and Maize mingled with Honey.

Prieſt holds it up to the People.

And ever before the Ceremony begun, the ſame Chief-Prieſt mounting up the Terraſs in the middle of the Court, held up an high this Image of Dough, ſhewing it to all the People, and bidding them behold their Deity. This was a ſort of excitement to the cruel Work that follow'd; and the People ſaw with leſs tenderneſs and compaſſion the miſerable fate of the Sacrifices, when they were thus prepar'd by the ſight of their Idol, and thoſe addreſſes of his chief Miniſter.

Captives fight for their Lives.

But the *Mexicans* ſometimes gave a Captive the liberty of fighting for his life; they furniſh'd him with a Sword and Target, but tied him by one of his Legs to a Pillar, ſo that he muſt either conquer him that he was to combat with or die. Here was no running away in this caſe, and nothing but downright Valour cou'd do any good. However, if the Captive got the better of his Adverſary they let him live, and live with Glory, for ever after that he had the Reputation and Dignity of a brave Captain; but if he was worſted, he was condemn'd to die, and the ſame hand that overcame muſt alſo Sacrifice him.

But they have alſo a ſort of a Sacrifice amongſt them, before which they treat the Slave that is to die after the moſt honourable manner in the World, and do all that can be to make him fat againſt the Day of Slaughter.

A Slave honour'd with the Idol's Name.

They pick out a certain Slave whom they will, and deliver him to the Prieſt's Cuſtody, calling him at the ſame time the Image and Repreſentation of their Idol. More than that, he went for the future by the very Name of the Idol, and was honour'd and reſpected in a manner like the Idol it ſelf. At his firſt entrance into this Dignity he was waſh'd, and cover'd with the ſacred Robes and Ornaments, and had the nobleſt Manſion in the whole Temple aſſign'd to him; but yet a Guard ſet upon him too, that he might not run away. He was ſerv'd by all the chief Miniſiers, and had none but great Perſons about him; and as for his Food, it was of the richeſt that cou'd be provided. When he paſs'd through the Streets a train of the Nobility follow'd him, and all the People came out of their Houſes to ſee him; the Women particularly, wou'd come and preſent their Children to him to have his Benediction. In ſhort, for a Twelvemonths ſpace, he lived at this rate honour'd and ſerv'd as ſomething more than Humane, and then his Heart was alſo ſhew'd to the Sun: They ſacrific'd and eat him up as they did the reſt; they firſt dubb'd him a Deity, and then made Stakes and Raſhers of him afterwards. If this Perſon happen'd to make his eſcape, the principal Man of his Guard ſucceeded him in his Honour, and afterwards had his fate.

Prieſts maintain theſe Cuſtoms.

This abominable effuſion of Humane Blood, as it was firſt of all introduc'd by the Prieſts, ſo the Cuſtom was continually held up by their artifices, and improv'd to ſuch a degree, that ſome Feſtival days no leſs than 4000 or 5000 have been ſacrific'd. Thoſe wretched Men having the Ear of the Princes always open to them, would inſinuate into them a belief of the pleaſure and delight the Gods took in thoſe Sacrifices: They wou'd tell them the Gods, at ſuch a time, demanded ſuch a number, and wou'd be diſpleas'd if a ſpeedy ſatisfaction were not given them. And then War muſt be made out of hand, right or wrong; ſome neighbouring Province or other muſt be invaded to get Captives for the Prieſts to butcher. 'Tis matter of no little admiration, that Humane Nature ſhou'd ever ſtoop to ſo intolerable a Servitude as this, and ſo peaceably wear the Fetters of a parcel of Men, whoſe only buſineſs and deſign was to tyrannize and govern all the World about them.

Indians groan'd under the Yoke of this Bondage.

Some of the *Spaniards* indeed ſay, that the *Indians* were weary of the Yoke impos'd upon them by the Prieſts, and were glad of the Occaſion of a new Religion appearing amongſt them (which was all full of Mildneſs and Goodneſs) to throw it off: But there may be ſome reaſon to ſuſpect partiality in their Accounts of the Matter, tho' it be not at all ſtrange either that they ſhou'd be tired with the Cruelties and Slaveries of their own Law, or invited and allured by the ſweetneſs of the Chriſtian. *Ferdinando Cortes*, in his Letter to the Emperor *Charles* V. aſſures him, that after the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, there came an Embaſſy to him out of the Province of *Mechoachan*; the deſign of which was, to deſire ſome information in the Nature of the Chriſtian Law, and to let him know that they had no very good opinion of their own, and intended to leave it. This requeſt *Cortes* granted, and *Acoſta* ſays that the *Mechoacans* made the beſt Chriſtians in all *New Spain*; which is poſſible, tho' if they were no better than a great many of their Teachers, one might conclude, without breach of Charity, that they were not very good ones.

But to return to the Prieſts: Theſe Men were highly honour'd and eſteem'd by the People, and had very great Offerings made them, beſides their ſtated Revenues, which their own ambition, and the blind fondneſs of the People, had made very conſiderable.

Office and Duties of the Prieſts.

The Prieſts of the Grand Idol *Vitziliputzli* had their Offices by Inheritance, but thoſe of the Inferiour ones by Election; at leaſt they were dedicated to the Service in their Infancy, and were along brought up in the Temple. Their moſt conſtant work was to Incenſe the Idols, which they did four times a day; at Day-break, at Noon, at Sun-ſet, and at Midnight. The laſt of theſe Exerciſes was the moſt ſolemn; the performance was attended with the Muſick of Trumpets, Cornets and Flutes, and after the Offering of the Incenſe, they all went into a Chapel to do one of the ſevereſt Penances imaginable. Each of them, with an Awl or a Bodkin, pierc'd the Calves of their Legs thro'

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Their horrid uſage of themſelves.

and thro', drawing forth a deal of Blood, and were very careful afterwards to let the People know their Sufferings. Beſides this Mortification, they obliged themſelves to another, which was a rigorous Faſt for at leaſt a Week together, and this always before any of their great Feaſts. At theſe times they took no more Food than juſt was neceſſary to keep them alive; they drank no Wine, they hardly allowed themſelves any Sleep; and to make the Faſt univerſal, they denied themſelves all Converſation with their Wives. And as if all this were not enough, they wou'd diſcipline their fleſh with moſt unmerciful Whips, and give themſelves laſhes fitter to be born by Horſes than Men; which trick the People learnt of them too, and practis'd at the Feaſt of the God of Repentance.

What the *Spaniards* ſay farther of their Religion.

Some of the *Spaniſh* Writers here go on, and carry the buſineſs of the *Mexicans* Religion much farther yet: They tell us of Confeſſors and Confeſſions, of Unctions and Baptiſms, and Repreſentations of the Euchariſt amongſt theſe People. In ſhort, they trace out very near all the Sacraments, and make Popery to have been in the Country before they came to bring it thither. 'Tis true this is a good ſtroke enough, but a Man has no need of very nice Spectacles to ſee what lies at the bottom of ſuch Inſinuations as theſe are. They ſay the Devil has always been very buſie to form his Church like that of Chriſt's; to caſt his Worſhip in the ſame Mould as near as can be, and dreſs it up with reſembling Rites and Ceremonies. But if the Worſhip of the *Indians* be ſuch as they deſcribe it, pray whoſe Image and Superſcription is upon it? To what Church does the Character of ſeven Sacraments belong? If Satan then be for building his Church like that of Jeſus Chriſt, and has form'd that in the *Indies* after ſuch a manner as he has, we may underſtand from hence what the true Church is, and where 'tis to be found; 'tis the Original that anſwers to this Picture, and that can be no other than the Church of *Rome*.

An *Innendo* of the *Spaniards* concerning the Church.

Now if theſe things of the *Indians* be punctually true, 'tis an odd way enough to alledge the Devil's practiſe, in order to the inſinuating a belief of the Churches Authority; but if they are falſe, 'tis ſtill worſe to tell Lyes of him for the ſame purpoſe, and make the World believe he has been ſo buſie in *America*, that he has had no time to do work in *Europe*. We ſhall not trouble the Reader therefore with the Accounts of theſe Confeſſions, and the Penances enjoyn'd upon the Confeſſing Sinners; the Unctions, and the numbers of venomous Ingredients in the Matter of them; the Ceremonies of their Preparation, nor thoſe of their Application. As alſo neither with any Stories of the Witchcrafts, Sorceries and Enchantments perform'd by their Prieſts, nor the Deluſions and Jugglings of the Fortune-tellers, both theſe agreeing together to cheat the People of their Money; and which is worſe, of their Underſtanding too.

Pope amongſt the *Mexicans*.

We ſhall only obſerve, that to make the Repreſentation of the Natural Religion of the *Mexicans* yet more Romaniſh, *Acoſta* has found out a Pope amongſt them too; for he ſays, that in the ancient Tongue of the People, the High Prieſt was call'd *Papa*, which no doubt was of the Devil's inventing, for the ſake of the imitation of him in the true Church of Church.

Other Religious Men.

The *Mexicans*, in the Month of *May*, Celebrated the great and ſolemn Feaſt of their Idol *Vitzilipuzli*: For the clearer account of which Ceremony, we muſt underſtand that beſides the ſeveral Orders of Prieſts, who had their Manſions and Apartments in the Temple, there were alſo (according to the account of the forementiond Authors) two other ſorts of Religions, the one Men, and the other young Women, and each ſhut up in their ſeveral Cloyſters, within the Circuit of the great Temple, and under their peculiar Governors and Governeſſes; the former Miniſtred to the Prieſts, ſwept and made clean the Holy Places, and kept the Fire perpetually burning upon the Altar. They lived in extreme Continency and Modeſty, wou'd not dare to look upon a Woman if they met her in the Streets, and were perfectly obedient to their Superiors. They had no Incomes nor Revenues, but lived upon the Alms and Charity of the People; they ſuffer'd their hair behind to grow long, and tied it up in treſſes, but were ſhaved upon the crown: that is, they were faint reſemblances of Monks and Friers; differing chiefly in this, that theſe *Mexicans* were not condemned to perpetual Slavery and Poverty, to drudge in the Temple and beg all their lives long, but came out of it at the end of a Year, at which time a new Sett was brought in in their room.

Religious young Women.

The young Women likewiſe lived moſt chaſtly and regularly, as Virgins devoted to the Service of their God; they roſe at Midnight, as well as the Men, to the worſhip of the Idol, and perform'd all the ſame Exerciſes as the Religious of the other Sex, even to the ſhedding of their Blood. Their buſineſs was to prepare Meat for the Idol and his Miniſters, and do other Offices peculiar to their Sex. The leaſt indiſcretion, as to any Converſation with Men, coſt them their lives, and they died many times upon bare ſuſpicion, grounded only upon ſome of theſe prepoſterous Omens and Signs which that People had a world of, and were mightily govern'd by. But when the term of a Year was expired, they had the ſame Privilege with the Men, and went out of this Houſe of Bondage into the Comforts of Matrimony.

The Faſt of *Vitzilipuzli*.

In order to the Feaſt of *Vitzilipuzli*, theſe Virgins two days before made the Repreſentation of the Idol in Paſte, compoſed of Maize and the Seeds of Beets mix'd with Honey; it was cover'd with a rich Robe, and mounted in a Chair (which was placed in a Litter) in a poſture ready to be carry'd abroad. The Morning of the Feaſt being come, the Maids were dreſs'd all in white, and appear'd with Garlands of Maize upon their Heads; their Cheeks painted with Vermilion, and their Arms (from the Elbow to the Wriſt) cover'd with Parrots feathers of the ſame colour. They brought out the Idol of Paſte into the great Court with all imaginable Solemnity, where the Religious young Men receiv'd it, delivering them from the burden, and taking the Litter upon their own ſhoulders; theſe were dreſs'd in red, and had Garlands upon their Heads too. After this they carry'd it abroad to ſeveral places without the City, a vaſt multitude of People attending it. At their return they had Humane Sacrifices, and a greater number that day than any other; the Sacrifices were ſucceeded with ſolemn Dances in the great Court of the Temple, the Religious dancing in the middle, and the Nobility making one great Circle about them.

Jeſuits make the counterfeit of the Euchariſt of it.

The Romiſh Fathers will have it, that after this, the Idol of Paſte being conſecrated by the Prieſts, was deliver'd to be eaten by the People, and receiv'd with the greateſt reverence by them; yea, they call'd it the Fleſh and Bones of their Idol, and look'd no more on it as common Paſte. The ſick alſo had the benefit of it, as well as the healthy and well, and 'twas carried to them with no little ceremony; but 'tis plain whither all this tends, here's Tranſubſtantiation added on to the reſt, but we want Purgatory ſtill.

Feaſt of T. callipuca.

Next to this Feaſt came that of *Tezcallipuca*, the God of Repentance; this fell in the ſame Month with the former, and laſted 9 or 10 days. The Idol upon this Occaſion was adorn'd with a new Robe, and ſeveral Devices of feathers, and other fine things; and being thus trimm'd up, the Veil or Curtain was drawn from before his Manſion door, that he might be ſeen of the whole Aſſembly. Upon this, one of the Officers of the Temple ſounded a Muſical Inſtrument, turning to the four quarters of the Heaven, intimating thereby that all muſt hear him. Afterwards he gather'd up Earth, and put it into his Mouth, eating it in token of Adoration.

Humiliations and Prayers.

The multitude there preſent follow'd his Example, and afterwards proſtrated themſelves upon the ground, invoking the Idol, and ſhewing all the ſigns of Sorrow and Contrition for their Offences. This Exerciſe laſted for ſeveral days together, and then the Idol it ſelf was ſolemnly carried about the circumference of the great Court, which was all ſtrew'd with Flowers, Boughs and Garlands. All ſorts of People made Offerings according to their quality and ability; ſome brought Gold and Jewels, others excellent Meats and Fruits, which the Prieſts firſt laid at the foot of the Altar, and then carried to their Chambers. The next part of this Solemnity was a Humane Sacrifice according to the uſual manner, and then all concluded with Dancing, Muſick and Feaſting. The Perſon ſacrific'd at this time was he that had born the Character of the Idol for a Twelve-month before, according to the former Accounts; every three Years there was no more Humane Blood but that of this Perſon only ſhed at this Feaſt, but the fourth Year they had ſeveral others to bear him company, for the Solemnity was every way much greater at that time, and the Religion of it heightned.

Feaſt of *Quetzacoult*, or of the *Merchants*.

Not much unlike to this was the Feaſt of *Merchants*, celebrated in Honour of *Quetzacoult*, the God of Trade and Riches. The Sacrifice here Repreſented the Deity alſo, and was highly careſs'd by the Merchants; but his Reign was but ſhort, and he had no more than 40 days allow'd him to enjoy his Eaſe, and take all this Pleaſure. They had this Cuſtom in particular, to give him a ſolemn warning of his approaching Death, which was done by two of the Ancients of the Temple in a moſt humble and reſpectful manner. And they took a great deal of notice how he receiv'd it, whether he was ſad and me-

Heart offer'd to the Moon.

A Drummer of a Prieſt.

Temple at *Cholula*.

lancholly, or appear'd as brisk and gay as he us'd to be ; if the former, they concluded it an ill Omen, and the Merchants fear'd ill Succeſs in their Trade. When his Heart was taken out of his Body, 'twas offer'd to the Moon, and not to the Sun ; and the Carkaſs it ſelf was dreſs'd up with very fine Sawces, and made a Banquet for the Merchants. This ſort of Men took it in their turn to find one of theſe Sacrifices for every returning Year, neither cou'd any one that traded much be lawfully excus'd from it. The *Mexicans* gave *Vitzilipuztli* the Title of their moſt Puiſſant Lord, but in ſhort they honour'd *Quetzacoult* as much as he ; his Temple was much frequented, and his Rites punctually obſerv'd, ſo diligent a thing is Religion where there is Intereſt too. This Idol was more in eſteem at *Cholula*, the Capital City of a *Mexican* Province, than at *Mexico* it ſelf, and 'twas the Cuſtom there to have one principal Prieſt to officiate every Week. And one great part of his Work was to beat up a Drum at Sun-ſet and at Day-break, for at Night, upon the ſound of it, all People quitted Publick buſineſs abroad and retired to their Houſes, ſo that there was a profound Silence all through the Town ; and in the Morning, upon this Alarm, all Travellers and Strangers began their Journeys, neither was it permitted them to ſtir before they heard it. The Temple had an aſcent of 60 Steps to it, and a fine ſpacious Court, in which was a Theatre of 30 foot ſquare for publick Dances, Plays, and other Diverſions, which always follow'd the Celebration of the Feaſt.

Sacrifice of the *Tlaſcallans*.

Stags and Foxes burnt out of their holts.

The *Tlaſcallans* (the Neighbours, but moſt inveterate Enemies of the *Mexicans*) had their principal Sacrifice of Stags, and other Animals of the Woods and Foreſts ; for they were great Hunters themſelves, and he whom they honour'd as a Deity was a mighty Hunter too, and their Country the moſt fit for all thoſe Sports of any in the whole Empire of *New Spain*. When the time of their great Feaſt came, they went abroad into the open light to do what they did ; they did not ſhut themſelves up in Temples, nor make uſe of artificial Lights to perform their Matters by, but look'd the Sun in the face, and made him a Witneſs of their Actions. They erected an Altar upon the top of a high Mountain, and upon that they ſeated their Idol. Then a vaſt multitude of them march'd out of the City with all ſorts of Muſick in uſe amongſt them, and encompaſs'd the Mountain of all ſides. In ſhort, they ſet fire to the Trees and Buſhes all round, and burnt the Stags, Hares, Coneys, Wolves and Foxes, out of their ſeveral ſhelters and retirements, which thereupon made up to the higher parts of the Mountain in ſuch crouds, that they heap'd upon one anothers backs, and the Peoples too. The Hunters following of them hither, did here begin the Maſſacre ; they kill'd great numbers of them, and pull'd out their Hearts before the Idol, and then retired laden with all theſe Spoils to the City again, where they made their Feaſt, and concluded it with Dances, and ſeveral ſorts of Theatrical Repreſentations.

Funerals.

Riches buried with them.

Servants ſlain.

Soldiers Obſequies.

As to the point of Funerals, and the Obſequies of the Dead, the *Mexicans* were not Superſtitious and Ceremonious than in their Sacrifices. Amongſt ſome of them the dead Bodies were buried whole and entire, amongſt others they were burnt to aſhes, and thoſe remainders afterwards committed to the ground in Urns. The former were generally buried in their Gardens and the Courts of their Houſes ; the latter in their Temples, or ſome Dormitories adjoining to thoſe Sacred Places. But whether one way or the other, 'twas ſtill the Cuſtom for a dead Man, before he was Interr'd, to be ſaluted by all his Friends and Kindred as if he was living. They brought him (if a Prince or a Nobleman) Preſents of Gold and Jewels, and fine works, and buried a great Treaſure along with him, for his Expences in the other World. Upon the ſame ſcore, ſeveral of his Domeſticks were obliged to attend him, and die to continue their Service to him in that other ſtate. His Cook, his Butler, his Prieſt, his Dwarfs and common Slaves, all went after him to do their ſeveral Offices there. Yea, ſometimes ſome of the Kindred and Relations underwent this fate, for amongſt the Nobility 'twas look'd upon as a point of State to be ſerv'd by thoſe of their Blood. The Martial-men had particular Trophees and Marks of Honour, to diſtinguiſh them at their Funerals from other Men. Their Arms were carried along to the place of Interment before the Body, and whatever Heroical Actions the deceas'd had done in his Life-time, they were expreſs'd by a ſort of Blazonry, ſo that all the Aſſembly might be ſure to know them. The Ceremony of Interment was perform'd by the Prieſts with a world of ridiculous actions and geſtures ; yea, they were ſometimes dreſs'd ſo frightfully upon theſe Occaſions, that the very ſight of them was almoſt enough to have made more Funerals.

Marriages.

The Man and Woman faſten'd by a knot.

Divorces.

Diviſion of Goods.

Liberty of Marriage afterwards.

Ceremony at the birth of Children.

Marriage amongſt theſe People was even in the literal ſenſe the tying together of a Man and a Woman : When a Couple came before the Prieſt to be thus united, after having declar'd their mutual Conſent, he took the corner of the Woman's Veil, and the skirt of the Man's Gown, and tied them together in a knot, and ſo led them thus join'd away to the Bridegroom's Houſe. Here a fire was preſently kindled, and the Prieſt led Miſtreſs Bride ſeven times round the Hearth, which was the Conſummation of the Ceremony, and left them actually Man and Wife. The *Mexicans* being very jealous of the Integrity of their Wives, do many times part with them, when perhaps the Women have given no juſt Occaſion either for the Divorce, or the Jealouſie that is the cauſe of it. In this caſe, when it comes to ſuch an extremity, they divide their Goods, and the whole Stock, according to what each of them had when they came together ; the Man has his Part, and the Woman hers, and ſo ſhe has no more dependance upon him, nor concern with him ; and that they may be exact and punctual in theſe Diviſions, they have Inventories always drawn up at Marriage, which the Fathers of both ſides keep in their hands, and bring forth upon theſe Occaſions. The Children are divided too as well as the Goods ; the Daughters follow the Mother, and the Sons the Father. And the knot of the Veil and the Gown being now perfectly untied, the Man and Woman are both at liberty to go and tie it again where they pleaſe ; only they muſt never do it with one another again by the Law, for if they die for't ; and let them repent or change their Minds, or wiſh and deſire as much as they will, 'tis all one, the Separation muſt be eternal. If a Man and his Wife lives eaſily and pleaſantly together, without any manner of Jealouſies and Suſpicions, there's old Feaſting and Rejoycing of both ſides ; the Man treats and preſents the Kindred of ſo good a Wife, yea, expreſſes his gratitude to the Gods too, by very great Offerings upon the ſame account. The Children of Princes and Noblemen, when born, were waſh'd by the Prieſt, and a little Sword put into the Right Hand, and as ſmall a Target into the Left. The Children of the Vulgar had ſome Inſtruments of their Callings put into their Hands ; and the Daughters particularly, thoſe for Spinning, Knitting, and other Employments of the Women. This Ceremony was continued for four Days ſucceſſively, and always perform'd before ſome Idol.

Their Learning and Books.

No Letters.

Way of Writing.

Counting of Time.

Their Days, Months and Years.

Weeks of Years.

Ages.

The *Mexicans* had alſo their Books and their Learning too, tho' both much ſhort of what the *Europeans* cou'd pretend to ſhew them. Their Books were the leaves of certain Trees folded into a convenient form, but they had no ſuch things as letters in uſe amongſt them, but did all by Images, Symbols, and Hieroglyphick Characters. Where they intended things that cou'd be repreſented by their own proper natural Images, they made uſe of thoſe Images, but where thoſe were wanting, they expreſs'd them by other arbitrary Characters which they invented themſelves. The *Mexicans* write neither like the *Europeans*, *Africans* or *Aſiaticks*, but have a way by themſelves ; their way is the Inverſe of the *Chineſe*, for whereas they write from the top to the bottom, the others go upwards from the bottom to the top. Their computation of Time was very different from the *European* ; they divided their Year into 18 Months, each of which contain'd 20 Days, and ſo made up 360. The other 5 Days that compleated the number of 365, were entirely left out of the Account of the Year ; they reckon'd them apart by themſelves, and called them the Days of Nothing, and this with very good reaſon too, for during thoſe Days they did nothing ; that is, nothing of buſineſs for themſelves, nor ſervice to their Gods. The Temples were ſhut up, and the Sacrifices ceas'd, and they ſpent the whole time in viſiting one another. When thoſe Days were paſt they began the Account of the Year ; and *Acoſta*, who pretends to have look'd over their Kalendars, ſays the firſt Day of the Year fell in with our 26 of *February*. In the Kalendar, each of the 18 Months had its proper Name and Picture, both which always related to ſome Feaſt or other Accident of the Month, or perhaps to ſome Change or Diverſity of the Seaſon of the Year then coming on. Their Weeks conſiſted of 13 Days, and each of theſe was mark'd in the Kalendar with a Cypher. But beſides Weeks of Days, they had alſo Weeks of Years in their computation ; each of which took in 13 Years, and 4 of them Weeks being 52 Years, made up what the *Mexicans* call'd an Age. For every Age they had a Wheel, upon which all the leſſer Diviſions of Time were laid out in ſeveral Colours. In the Centre of the Wheel was pain-

Chronologick Wheels.

ted a Sun, from which paſs'd out four Rays, dividing the whole Circumference into four equal Parts, each of which repreſenting a great Week of that Age, was again divided into 13 Parts or Years more; and ſo the Diviſion of the Age were compleated. Every Year alſo had a certain Picture belonging to it, either of a Houſe, a Coney, a Reed, or a Flint; they had no more varieties than theſe four, and every Year had one or other of them. Along with this Picture they drew alſo any remarkable thing that happen'd that Year: Thus, to repreſent the Conqueſt of their Country by the *Spaniards*, they painted a Man in a Hat and a red Jerkin, which was the Habit of the firſt *Spaniard* that *Cortes* ſent to *Mexico*. So that to denote the time of any event, they expreſs themſelves after this manner; at ſuch a Houſe, or ſuch a Reed, in ſuch a Wheel, happened ſuch or ſuch a thing.

Education of Children.

Theſe People take care to give their Children a laudable and good Education, according to the Cuſtom of their Country. For this purpoſe they have in their Temples Schools and Seminaries, where they teach them to Sing, to Leap, Vault and Tumble, and to handle Arms; uſe them to Exerciſes for the increaſing both Strength and Courage; teach them the Hiſtory and Cuſtoms of their Country, and particularly make them learn by heart and Dialogues and Verſes made by ſome of their moſt eloquent and learned Men, and which their Maſters rehearſe over to them. Thus they fit them up for the Court, the Temple, or the Field, into the ſeveral Poſts and Offices, of which they are remov'd as faſt as they are qualified for them. One thing eſpecially is very commendable in them, that they endeavour, as ſoon as may be, to draw off their Children from all the little fooliſh Sports and Recreations that age is ſo fond of, and to fix their Minds upon more profitable and ſolid Diverſions, which may be of ſome ſervice to them in the World.

Dances and Exerciſes.

The *Mittote*.

Circles of Dancers.

The *Mexicans* perhaps have outdone all the reſt of the People of that ſide the Globe, as to the pomp and variety of their Dances. The moſt noted and ſolemn of all was that which was call'd the *Mittote*, in which the *Mexican* Emperors themſelves ſometimes aſſiſted and bore a part; of ſo high and honourable a Character was it amongſt them. Their Muſick was of ſeveral kinds, ſome reſembling Drums, others like Flutes and Cornets, but together with theſe they had Vocal Muſick alſo, and that not ungrateful to the Ear; they kept Time ſo nicely with the Inſtruments in all their motions, that that harmony was alſo very pleaſing to the Senſe. Theſe Dances were held either in the great Courts of the Palaces of the Emperors, or thoſe of the Temples of the Gods, tho' moſt commonly in the latter. The Muſick ſtood in the middle; round them was a Circle of the Nobility, who manag'd the Dance with much more ſlowneſs and gravity, and ſung with a more ſtately air than the reſt. This Circle was encompaſs'd with another of the Common People, who diſcover'd a great deal of briskneſs and jollity, as well in their ſinging as their light and quick motions.

Theſe Dances, 'tis true, were in ſome meaſure brought into their Religion, and made as it were a part of it, but being originally of another deſign, and only borrow'd by the other for the ſake of Pomp and Solemnity, the *Spaniſh* Fathers thought good to tolerate the *Mexicans* in the uſe of them, only taking care that they did not mingle their Superſtitions with them.

The nature of their Government.

The ſix Electors.

King not crown'd till after a Victory.

The *Mexican* Empire has been all along, from its firſt riſe, Elective, tho' the Electors themſelves have been changed. At firſt the Power of chuſing lay in the Commons, but afterwards 'twas transferr'd to the Nobility, and they conſtituted ſix Electors, four of whom were Grandees of *Mexico*, and the other two Princes that were Subjects to that Crown, the King of *Teſcuco*, and the King of *Tucuba*. In the Election, the main qualifications they required were a Martial temper, love of Glory, and ſome ability in managing Warlike Affairs. When the Election was made, there was a ſplendid Feaſt at the Prince's firſt taking poſſeſſion of the Throne; abundance of Orations and Speeches were made to him, and Sacrifices offer'd upon the Occaſion. At the Coronation there was ever another as ſumptuous and magnificent as the former; but then, before this Ceremony was perform'd, ſomething was to be done on the King's Part. The Imperial Crown was not to be ſet upon his Head till he had fought one Battel, and his victorious Arms brought home a great number of Captives to be offer'd to the Idols: This done, that Enſign of Honour and Dignity was added to him, the Crown was ſet on, and 'twas the King of *Teſcuco's* Place and Office to do it.

Duty to their Prince.

Dignities amongſt the Nobles.

Councils, Tribunals, &c.

Treaſurers, Receivers, &c.

The *Mexicans* are a People that have always expreſs'd the higheſt degrees of Duty and Loyalty to their Prince; they were never known to have their hands in any Plots or Treaſons, or to cheriſh any Factions or inteſtine Diſcords amongſt themſelves. Their Grandees have appear'd ſo free from Ambition and ſiniſter Deſign, and poſſeſs'd with ſo generous and untainted a love to their Country, that they have ſome of them put away the Imperial Crown when it has been offer'd them, purely upon this conſideration, that 'twou'd be more profitable for the Community to have it plac'd upon ſome other Head. The Government was in all Points regulated and diſpoſed very well, and whatever ſome of their Religious Cuſtoms were, their Politicks were far from being barbarous. There were four principal Degrees or Dignities amongſt the Noblemen; that of the Electors was firſt, and they were moſt commonly Princes of the Blood. Beſides theſe there were three more, and out of theſe four Orders the Grand Council of the Empire was made up. But then there were a great many other ſubordinate Councils, Courts of Audience, Tribunals and Juriſdictions, which for Number, Order and regular Dependance upon one another, are ſaid by ſome not to be at all inferiour to thoſe in *Spain*. And there was as good a Policy eſtabliſh'd for the gathering in the Revenues of the Crown, out of all the many Provinces of this great Empire. There were Collectors, Receivers and Treaſurers, in every Province; and all the Tributes were conſtantly return'd into the Royal Treaſury at *Mexico* every Month.

Valiant Men preferr'd.

Orders of Knights.

The higheſt Honours and Preferments in this Country, generally fell to the ſhare of the Men of Arms. Indeed the Nobility were (originally) only the beſt Soldiers, and always thoſe that cou'd perform noble Deeds in the Field, had their reward in ſutable Honours and Titles at Court. They enjoy'd Privileges that none elſe cou'd pretend to, and if the Princes were ever prodigal of their favours, it was to thoſe Men that had ſhewn him, by ſome good proofs, they had Military Vertues worth his taking notice of. They had three Orders of Knighthood inſtituted amongſt them, for the encouragement of Valour and Bravery: The firſt and moſt honourable of all had their hair tied up with a red Riband, and a rich Plume of Feathers ſpreading upon their ſhoulders; beſides 'twas allow'd them, as a particular diſtinguiſhing mark, to wear certain rouls of Feathers, and that as many as they had perform'd remarkable Actions in War. The next to theſe were call'd the *Lions* and *Tigers*, as being generally the moſt rough and hardy Soldiers of all, and put upon the moſt deſperate Services; their mark was to be compleatly Arm'd, but without thoſe gaudy Accoutrements which the former had. The laſt of all were the *Grey Knights*, which had their hair cut round about the Ear, and were never Arm'd but half way. All Knights were allow'd to carry Embelliſhments of Gold and Silver, to wear rich Cottons, to uſe gilt and painted Veſſels, and to have Shoes made after the *Mexican* faſhion; the Common People were denied all theſe, and incurr'd a Penalty by pretending to them. The Knights had alſo their Apartments and Lodgings in the Palace, mark'd with the ſeveral proper marks of their Order; under them were the Lodgings of the inferiour Officers, who were under ſo ſtrict Rules, that if any one of them Lodged out of his Place, he did not forfeit that, but his Life.

Original of the Empire.

The *Chichimecans*.

Their barbarous Manners.

Not to be conquer'd by the *Spaniards*.

Having thus given ſome account of the principal Cuſtoms and Policies of this Empire, it remains that we touch upon the Riſe and Foundation of it, and ſome of the moſt remarkable paſſages of its Hiſtory. Thoſe that have ſearch'd into the Records and Traditions of the *Mexicans*, do generally agree that they were not the ancient Inhabitants of the Country they now poſſeſs, and have done for ſeveral Ages, but were Foreigners that left their native Seats and planted themſelves here. The old Inhabitants were call'd *Chichimecas*, a Barbarous and Savage People, that liv'd altogether upon Rapine like the wild Beaſts themſelves. They had no Order nor Government, no Worſhip nor Ceremonies amongſt them; neither did they live in Societies together, but diſpers'd up and down in Caves and Woods, where they cou'd find the moſt agreeable ſhelters. They did neither Till the ground, Plant or Sow, or undertake any ſort of Labour, but ſpent their time in Hunting their Fellow Brutes up and down the Mountains and Foreſts. Their Food was any raw Fleſh they catch'd, and wild Herb, Root or Fruit, that came to their hands; there was no more of Art in their Diet and Dreſſing, than in the reſt of the circumſtances of their living. 'Tis reported that there are yet ſome remainders of them ſcatter'd up and down in *New Spain*, that maintain themſelves by Spoil and Robbery, and live much after the old rate. The *Spaniards* cou'd never reduce them by fair means, and to have made uſe of force had been the ſame thing as de-

Coming of the *Navatalcas* out of the North Parts into *Mexico*.

Their Tribes.

Their Plantations.

War between the Natives and *Tlaſcallans*.

The *Tlaſcallans* beat the *Chichimecans*.

Chichimecans a little Civiliz'd.

Vain Stories of the *Mexicans*.

Long time by the way.

claring War againſt the wild Beaſts, that can cover and hide themſelves in the Labyrinths of Caves and thick Woods from all the Armies in the World. According to the Computations of the *Mexican* Regiſters and Kalendars, 'twas in that Year which is co-incident with our *A. D.* 720, that their Anceſtors firſt left their own Country and came into this. That Country is ſome one of them that lie far to the Northward, and the People were call'd *Navatalcas*. This was a general Name that comprehended all their Tribes; for we muſt know, that they conſiſted of ſeven diſtinct Nations or Tribes, all of which were much more Polite and Civiliz'd every way than the *Chichimecas*, whoſe Country they came to poſſeſs. 'Tis farther to be obſerv'd, that all theſe ſeven Tribes did not come into the Country (afterwards call'd *Mexico*) at at the ſame time; but firſt one, and then ſome time after another, and laſt of all the *Mexicans*, which was at leaſt 300 Years after the firſt Tribe ſet out, according to the Accounts of their Hiſtories. Of theſe Tribes that came firſt, ſome planted themſelves about the great Lake (now call'd the Lake of *Mexico*) others ſpread themſelves abroad into other Parts of the Country, where they met with the beſt accommodations to invite them to a Settlement. They quickly after began to build Towns and Cities, the moſt remarkable of which were *Azcupuzalco*, *Teſcuco*, *Quahunachua*, and *Tlaſcalla*; of which we may have occaſion to ſay ſomething in the courſe of this Hiſtory. As for the Natives of the Soil, the *Chichimecans*, when theſe Foreigners firſt intruded themſelves upon them, they made no reſiſtance, but e'en quitted their Country to them, and betook themſelves to the ſecureſt ſhelters their Mountains and Dens cou'd afford them: Yet, after a while, they recollected themſelves, and gave ſome of the Invaders ſome trouble; the *Tlaſcallans* were frequently vex'd with their Inroads, and were forc'd at laſt to make uſe of a treacherous Policy to procure their own quiet. They invited them to a Banquet, and having made them all drunk, diſarm'd them; that is, they ſtole away their Weapens, and then ſet upon them. This afterwards produc'd a fierce Battel, in which the *Tlaſcallans* (having the advantage of Arms, and much better Diſcipline than their Enemies) carried the Victory; the conſequence of which was, that the *Chichimecans* let them alone for the time to come. But then ſeeing alſo how amicably and ſociably theſe Foreigners liv'd with another, (for all the ſix Tribes maintain'd an inviolable Friendſhip) and how much better it was to live in ſome Order, and under Government as they did, then like themſelves to run wild about the Woods, and be under no Rules nor Laws, but thoſe which a Savage appetite preſcribed, they began to think of conforming to their Example; they built them Cottages, put on Apparel, and had a ſhadow of Government and Society. Their barbarity wore off in ſome meaſure, and ſomething like Humane Nature began to diſcover it ſelf amongſt them; yet they would always live in the Mountains apart from the reſt, hardly knowing how to take Mankind for their Companions. 'Twas at leaſt 300 Years after the firſt 6 Tribes of the *Navatalcas* came hither (as was hinted before) that the laſt Tribe which took the name of *Mexicans*, from their chief Captain *Mexi*, follow'd them, and came into the Country too. They pretend to have had Inſtructions from their Idol relating to their Journey; that he commanded them firſt to go into that Country, deſcrib'd to them the place of their Settlement by infallible Marks and Signs, and gave them all along counſel and directions how to manage their Affairs. But leaving theſe ſuggeſtions, it is more credibly reported of them that they made a great many halts by the way, met with many letts and hindrances from Enemies, and were weaken'd by two or three Diviſions amongſt themſelves, in which ſome conſiderable numbers of their body went off from them, and planted in other places: ſo that 'twas no little time they ſpent before they came upon the Spot that they were to inhabit, even as their Hiſtories report of the 6 Tribes, that they were 80 Years making their Journey, for they built them Villages, cultivated the Grounds, and ſow'd Corn in abundance of places as they came along; ſo that tho' they ſet out from their own Country, *A. D.* 720. yet they made it *A. D.* 902. before they entred that of *New Spain*. However, the Tribe we are now ſpeaking of being come at laſt as far as the great Lake, they concluded to ſettle there; for the adjoining Country was rich and fruitful, and the Lake it ſelf afforded them all that they cou'd deſire of Fiſh and Fowl.

Story of the finding out the place where the City was to be built.

They tell a thouſand Stories of the marks their God gave by Revelation to the Prieſts, of the very place in the Lake where they ſhou'd lay the foundation of a City that ſhou'd be Sovereign Miſtreſs of all the reſt about it, and become famous through the World. That they ſhould find a *Tunal*-tree growing upon a Stone, and an Eagle ſtanding upon it, with diſplay'd Wings, devouring other ſmall Birds, which they ſay came to paſs, (and one may venture to receive it as a thing no ways impoſſible) upon which account they add, that they ſtill carry in their Arms an Eagle with one foot upon a *Tunal*, and the other lifted up, holding a little Bird in the tallon; and this was a Symbol of the future Glory and Grandeur of the City. Upon this ſcore alſo they gave it the name of *Tenoxtiltan*, which ſignifies as much as a *Tunal* upon a Stone, tho' the name that grew into common uſe was *Mexico*.

Mexicans trade with their Neighbours.

Quarters of *Mexico*.

Tlatelulco built.

Mexicans chuſe a King.

The City adorn'd.

In order to the building of this, the *Mexicans* were forc'd to go to trafficking with their Neighbours, and this they cou'd the more eaſily do, becauſe having had occaſion in their march hitherwards to make ſome of them feel the effects of their Valour, they had ſtruck a kind of terror into them, ſo that they were even forc'd to grant them the Trade and Commerce they demanded, tho' ever ſo much againſt their intereſt. To their Neighbours therefore the *Mexicans* brought all ſorts of Fiſh and Fowl that the Lake yielded, and had of them in exchange Stone, Lime and Timber, for their building. They fill'd up alſo a part of the Lake with Rubbiſh, made the Cawſeys, and divided the City into four quarters, which now at this day bear the names of the *Quarters of St. John*, *St. Mary the round*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Sebaſtian*. They had but juſt ſeated themſelves in this new Neſt, and were not yet warm in it, before another Diviſion happen'd, to the weakning of their yet young, but growing Power. The diſcontented Party that made this buſtle, was angry at the method taken in the diviſion of the City, looking upon themſelves not to be dealt with therein according to their Merit. Theſe therefore remov'd, and went and fixt upon another piece of ground in the Lake, where they built a City, and gave it the name of *Tiatellulco*, becauſe the ground reſembled a Terraſs. This City was the Daughter of *Mexico*, being ſprung as it were out of the very bowels of it; but it prov'd a very unnatural and rebellious one, endeavouring by all ways imaginable the deſtruction of her Mother, which yet notwithſtanding ſhe was never able to accompliſh. However, the fear of ſo many growing enemies about them, made the *Mexicans* think of eſtabliſhing their Government upon the ſureſt foundations, and caſting themſelves into ſuch a form as ſhou'd leave them the leaſt liable to any attacks. They therefore thought good to chuſe a King, and becauſe they wou'd prevent all private Feuds and Animoſities amongſt themſelves, as alſo to oblige a neighbour Prince, whoſe Predeceſſor they had grievouſly offended, they unanimouſly agreed to offer him their Crown. This was the Son of the King of *Culbuacan*'s Daughter by a *Mexican* Prince, his Name was *Acamapixtli*; him they requeſted for their King, and him they had, his Grandfather thinking it no unprofitable thing to have an Alliance with ſo Valiant and Polite a People as the *Mexicans* were. This Prince ſpent his whole long Reign in Peace and Quietneſs; he adorn'd the City with fine Buildings, large Streets and Conduits, and was a zealous promoter of the good of his Country. All his time the *Mexicans* groan'd under the Tyrannical Impoſitions of their Neighbours (and one of their own Tribes originally too) the *Tapanecans*, whoſe Metropolis was *Azcapuzalco*. Theſe People envied the riſing Grandeur of the *Mexicans*, and beſides fear'd to have them ſome time or other become troubleſome Enemies to them, they loaded them with heavy burdens of Tribute, and exacted even things next to Impoſſible of them. Neither did the *Mexicans*, in this Prince's Reign, make any Efforts towards their own Freedom, but patiently endured the Oppreſſion.

Alliance of the *Mexicans* with them of *Azcapuzaloo*.

To *Acamapixtli* ſucceeded his Son *Vitzilovitli*, by the favour and choice of the whole Community. This Prince married the King of *Azcapuzalco*'s Daughter, in order to the making ſome advantage for the *Mexicans* by ſuch an Alliance. And this was the happy conſequence of it, for when the new Queen of *Mexico* had brought a Son into the World, her Father pleas'd at that, diſcharg'd the *Mexicans* from all thoſe intolerable Tributes, and contented himſelf only with ſome ſmall acknowledgment, as a token that they were at his diſpoſal, and liv'd in his Land. But thoſe days of tranquility laſted not long, for both the *Mexican* King and Queen ſhortly after died, leaving a little Son of ten years old. This Prince's Name was *Chimalpopoca*, and as young as he was, he was choſen to ſucceed his Father, and crown'd with all the uſual Ceremonies. The *Mexicans* having a Prince who was Grandſon to their great Enemy, grew a little bold under his Protection, and began to make Demands.

They

Mexicans demand water.

A Rupture.

They wanted good water (that of the Lake being very thick and muddy) and therefore made their King beg Leave of his Grandfather to bring the water to *Mexico*, from a Mountain about a League off. This he granted, and they made a ſort of an Aqueduct of Faggots, Reeds and Flaggs; but that not ſerving the turn, they ſent to the King of *Azcapuzalco*, to require him to provide them both Workmen and Materials, that they might have an Aqueduct of Stone to ſupply their City with water. This Demand (ſo little becoming the ſervile ſtate and condition of thoſe that made it) diſpleas'd the King, but highly incens'd his Council, and made them take up Reſolutions very pernicious to the *Mexicans*. They forbid all Traffick and Correſpondence between their Country and *Mexico*; and not only ſo, but determin'd utterly to root out that Fugitive People ſhut up in the Mud, as they call'd the *Mexicans*, becauſe they dwelt in the Lake.

K. of *Mexico* murder'd.

A new Election.

Commons not for War.

Bold Undertaking.

Bargain between the Mobles and Commons about the reſult of the War.

Azcapuzal-*co* defeated. City taken.

All thoſe Governments were then ſo popular, that Kings ſignify'd little amongſt them beyond the Name and the Figure, for the People diſpos'd of all, and made War or Peace as they pleas'd. The King of *Azcapuzalco* cou'd do no more than make Remonſtrances to the contrary, and deſir'd them only at leaſt to ſecure his Grandſon, and then execute their pleaſure upon the *Mexicans*. But tho' ſome of the Nobility promis'd this, yet another Faction was againſt it, and reſolv'd to deſtroy the young King firſt, that the *Mexicans* being deſtitute of ſuch a Protection might be more entirely at their mercy. This Plot they put in execution a little while after, and treacherouſly murder'd the young King in his own Palace. The *Mexicans* were tranſported with all the choler and fury in the World at this outrage, and wou'd preſently have gone to Arms to revenge it; but being moderated by the grave Advice of ſome of their old Men, they reſolved to defer it till they had fill'd up the vacant Throne, and gotten a new King. Then having made complaint to their Neighbours of *Teſcuco* and *Culmacan*, of the barbarous injury they had ſuſtain'd, and deſired them at leaſt to ſtand Neuters in the War they were going to make with the *Azcapuzalcans*; they farther intreated them to aſſiſt at the Election of a new King, and ſo proceeded to that Affair. The Prince made choice of was *Izchoalt*, a Son of *Acamapixtli* by a Slave, and by Marriage allied to the King of *Teſcuco*. Preparations for War being preſently made of both ſides, the *Mexicans* found that their Enemies the *Azcapuzalcans* were by much too ſtrong for them, and therefore unanimouſly preſs'd the King to lay down his Arms, and ſue for Peace, chuſing rather to ſerve the King of *Azcapuzalco*, and diſſolving their own Government, to be thrown into the body of his Subjects, than run the riſque of ſo dangerous a War. And this had been done, (the King not being able to withſtand the importunities of the Populacy) if a young Nobleman nam'd *Tlacaellec* had not put a ſtop to theſe proceedings: He, by his Courage and good Advice, prevented this baſe ſubmiſſion, and the overthrow of the Government; he went alone, and gave a bold defiance to the Adverſary King in his Palace, proclaimed the War openly to his Guards, and had like to have been cut in pieces for ſo doing. The Commons of *Mexico* were like to be in a tumult upon this; they were ready to have broke up in confuſion, left the City and King both, and gone to find ſome places of Retreat for themſelves and their Families. But upon the King's promiſes and perſwaſions they came to terms, and an agreement was made between the Nobility and them to this purpoſe: That ſince the main ſtreſs of the War was to lie upon the ſhoulders of the Commons, if in the ſucceeding Battel the *Mexicans* were overcome, the Commons ſhou'd be at their full liberty, and diſpoſe of King and Noblemen as they thought fit; but if, on the other hand, they got the Victory, they ſhou'd quit all pretenſions to any Intereſt in the Government for the future, and be Vaſſals to the Noblemen, they and their Deſcendants after them. This wiſe bargain made, and confirm'd in the moſt ſolemn manner, they went and engaged the Enemy, where by the Courage and excellent Conduct of *Tlacaellec*, they gain'd an entire Victory: they took the City of *Azcapuzalco* it ſelf, with all the rich Spoil of it, putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword; and not contented with this, they purſued the broken Forces of their Enemies to the Mountains, and having reduc'd them to the laſt extremities, ſpar'd them upon condition of owning the Sovereignty of *Mexico* for the time to come.

Other Dominions added to *Mexico*.

Suchimilcos conquer'd.

Cuitvalaca taken by Boys.

Teſcuco ſubmits.

Chalco ſubdued.

Rite of the Cuſtom of Sacrifices at the Coronation.

Generous Action.

Tlacaellec's death.

Tequantepec ſubdued.

Tlatelulco conquer'd.

Thus had the King and Nobility two Victories at once, one over their own Party, and another over their Enemies; the Commons were now their abſolute Servants, and continued ſo to be, till a Foreign Power made King, Nobles and Plebeians, Slaves all together. This was the firſt ſtep of the greatneſs of *Mexico*; here was a potent City that now receiv'd Laws from it, and ſubmitted to its Yoke. And the good fortune of the *Mexicans* increas'd every day, Victorices and Triumphs came tumbling in upon them apace: For quickly after this, the little Governments of *Tucula* and *Cuyoacan*, (which were parts of the Kingdom of the *Tapanecans*, of which *Azcapuzalco* was the chief City) theſe I ſay were ſwallow'd up by the ſame growing Power. From theſe Cities there was a vaſt deal of rich Plunder, Gold, Silver and Jewels, carry'd away to *Mexico*, which now began to put on ſomething of an Imperial face, and her Prince to appear like a great Monarch. Theſe *Tapanecans* were the Poſterity of one of the Tribes that came out of the North to inhabit this Country, and were conſequently (originally) Countrymen to the *Mexicans*: however, now they were their Slaves, and ſhortly after another of the Tribes, the *Suchimilcos*, were ſo too; and being entirely defeated by *Tiacaellec*, preſented their Crown to King *Izchoalt*. The next Conqueſt was that of the City of *Cuitlavaca*, which ſtood in the Lake of *Mexico*; *Tlacaellec*'s Name was ſo formidable in all that Part of the World, that he himſelf was almoſt Army enough to have done the buſineſs. However, to affront the Enemy more, he carry'd an Army of Boys along with him, and having aſſaulted the City, he preſs'd it ſo cloſely with his young Soldiers, that the Defendants (who to be ſure did not do much, and were conquer'd by the very Fame and Character of the General) quitted their Poſts, and reſigned the City to him. This made ſo much noiſe, that the King of *Teſcuco* concluded he ſhould not be able to defend himſelf long from the Power of Arms, ſo fortunate as thoſe of the *Mexicans*, and therefore by the Advice and Conſent of his Council, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to offer his Submiſſion to King *Izchoalt* too, who by this means had another Crown added to what he had before. This fortunate Prince having enjoy'd theſe Crowns a while, died, and made way for a Succeſſor to put them on; leaving (beſides his many Conqueſts) this ſtanding Memorial of himſelf, namely, the great Cawſey extending along the Lake from *Mexico* to *Samilcho*, which was full four Leagues, a Work of no leſs uſefulneſs to both Cities, upon the account of Commerce and Trade, than it was of Coſt and Labour. The next Choice fell upon *Montezuma*, the firſt of that Name, who was Nephew to the famous General *Tlacaellec*, as this latter was alſo to the laſt King *Izchoalt*. This Prince was a mighty Conqueror too, he ſubdued the Province of *Chalco*, and paſſing the Mountain *Menade*, he conquer'd on to the North Sea; from thence returning towards the South Sea, he ſubdued ſeveral other Provinces, and by the ſurpaſſing Valour and Glory of his Unkle *Tlacaellec*, rais'd the *Mexican* Name and Glory to a very high pitch. He built the famous Temple of the Idol *Vitzilipuztli*, and augmented the Grandeur of the Imperial Palace, by appointing greater numbers of Officers and Miniſters than ever were us'd by any of his Predeceſſors. 'Twas he alſo that firſt ſet a-foot the Cuſtom of the King's going in Perſon to the Wars, to fetch in Captives for the Sacrifices of their Coronation Solemnities. He was crown'd with more pomp and ceremony than any Prince before him had been, and the publick Shews upon that Occaſion were much more numerous and ſtately. He being dead, the Crown was offer'd to *Tlacaellec*, in conſideration of his great Merit, but he as generouſly refus'd it, and gave his Vote for *Ticocic*, the doceas'd *Montezuma*'s Son. This Prince was directly the Reverſe of his Father; he was a Coward, weak and indiſpos'd to Action. The *Mexicans* (the moſt dutiful Subjects in the World) cou'd not bear him, and therefore poiſon'd him out of the way, and made room for a more worthy Succeſſor. This was *Axayca*, another of the Sons of the Great *Montezuma*, and brought into the Throne likewiſe by the Intereſt of *Tlacaellec*; that brave General did not live to ſee this ſecond King (which he had made) crown'd, but expired worn out with old Age, and the toil of buſineſs. The whole Empire was deeply afflicted at his Death, and they bury'd him with a Solemnity becoming the Quality of the greateſt of their Princes; no leſs than this was due to the Founder of their Empire, and the greateſt Man in that part of the World, as all agree he was. *Axayca* was a very ſucceſsful Prince in all his Undertakings, and the moſt valiant the *Mexicans* ever had. He added to the Empire the Province of *Tequantepec*, which lies 200 Leagues from *Mexico*, and carry'd his Conqueſts as far as *Guatulco*, a well-known Port in the South Sea. He reduc'd the Government of *Tlatelulco* to the Obedience of *Mexico* likewiſe, and made that Seditious Party, which had ſeparated it ſelf from the main Body, unite again, and become one People with them. The *Tlatelulcans* refus'd to do it by fair means, and their Prince, inſtead

of

Duel between the Emperor of *Mexico* and the Lord of *Tlatelulco*.

of acknowledging *Axayca* for his Sovereign, ſent him a Challenge to fight Hand to Hand with him. They had both of them their Armies ready drawn up, but they commanded all to ſtand ſtill till the Controverſie was decided betwixt them two. The effect of it was, that the Prince of *Tlatelulco* not able long to endure the furious blows of the *Mexican* Emperor, turn'd about and run away towards the City, and his own Men ſeeing him run, took their heels and run after him, and both were follow'd by the *Mexicans*, who purſued them very cloſe. The Prince of *Tlatelulco* got into the Town, and to ſave himſelf, run up to the top of a Temple, but *Axayca* being all this while in chaſe of him, enter'd the Temple almoſt as ſoon as he, and laying hold of him, he dragg'd him along, and threw him from the top of that lofty Building to the very bottom. The *Mexican* General (the fam'd *Tlacaellec*'s Son) had in the mean time entirely defeated the Forces of the *Tlatelulcans*, ſo that this City was alſo now forc'd to accompany a great many others in their fortune, and do Homage to *Mexico*.

Quaxalatlans conquer'd.

This Prince was ſucceeded by another who was one of the Electors, and his Name was *Autzol*: He ſubdued and quieted the Rebellious *Quaxalatlans*, who inhabited one of the chiefeſt Provinces of *New Spain*; in order to come at them, (for there was a little Arm of the Sea in his way) he made a floating Iſland of Earth, Faggots, Reeds, Canes, and divers other Materials, upon which he plac'd himſelf and his Army, and ſo got to the Enemy. He extended the Limits of his Empire as far as *Guatimala*, which is 300 Leagues from *Mexico*; but while he was augmenting the Buildings and Beauties of *Mexico*, he had like to have quite laid it under water, and that by bringing a mighty Water-courſe to the City, which ruin'd a good part of it, and had well-nigh drown'd the whole. But he quickly drew off that Flood again, and repair'd the Streets that had ſuffer'd, and left the City much more fine than ever, and encompaſs'd with water like another *Venice*.

Strange Boat.

Mexico almoſt drowned.

Story of the laſt and great *Montezuma*.

This Prince dying, made way for *Montezuma* the ſecond of that Name to come upon the Throne. And here the *Mexican* Greatneſs was come to the higheſt pitch; both the Monarch and the Monarchy it ſelf were the moſt Glorious that was ever. This Prince was he that ſaw the fatal period of all this Grandeur, and an Empire that had been ſo many Years growing Great and Rich, ſwallow'd up in one or two by a Foreign Power. But becauſe his Story contains more variety in it, and Matters that have been more talk'd of in the World, we ſhall be a little more particular in this than in the former ones.

His excellent qualities.

Montezuma was a Perſon of excellent Endowments, and for his Wiſdom and Gravity wonderfully reſpected in the Emperor's Privy Council, of which he was a Member. He was alſo Cunning and Politick in the higheſt degree, and underſtood all the Arts of Diſſimulation and Intrigue as well as he did thoſe of War: None had more Courage for the Field, nor more Wit and Management for the Court than he. And to poſſeſs the People with Notions of his great Piety and Reverence of the Gods (which was one, and not an unlikely way of getting their Affections) he us'd frequently to retire himſelf into a private Chapel in the great Temple, where he was very buſie in performing the Rites of his Religion. Upon all theſe accounts his Election was ſhort and eaſie, the Eyes of all Men were turn'd upon him as the fitteſt Perſon to be Intruſted with the Charge of the Empire. When he had Intelligence that he was choſen, he hid himſelf in the Temple, and ſeem'd very unwilling to accept the Honour; and the Lords were forc'd to come and fetch him out, and place him in the Throne as it were by violence. The Ceremony of his Inſtalment was attended with more Superſtitions than were uſually practis'd for his Predeceſſors; he drew Blood himſelf from his Ears and the Calves of his Legs, and had the griſtle of his Noſe pierc'd, and a rich Emerauld hung thereat. And as 'twas always the Cuſtom upon an Election, for ſome of the Great Men to make Speeches to the Prince elected, ſo hardly was any Prince ever ſo harangu'd as he, and ſo much rapture expreſs'd upon ſuch an Occaſion. The like exceſſes were alſo obſervable at his Coronation; the Feaſts, the Shews, the Plays, the Dances, the Sacrifices, the Illuminations, and, in a word, the whole Pomp of the thing was every way extravagant.

Publick Triumphs at the Coronation.

Amongſt the crouds of Strangers that came to *Mexico* to ſee the Solemnity, there were ſome of the *Tlaſcallans* and *Mechoacans*, the moſt inveterate Enemies of the *Mexicans*, whom when *Montezuma* had diſcover'd, he treated with all the kindneſs and generoſity in the World, and order'd all his Subjects to do the like. But never was any of thoſe *American* Princes (or perhaps hardly any other) ſo high and ſtately as he; all Plebeians were turn'd out of his Palace, and not ſuffer'd to bear any Office about him; he was ſerv'd only by his Noblemen; and no other dared ever to come into his Preſence; if a Plebeian look'd him in the face he was puniſh'd with Death. He never wore any Garment, or eat or drunk out of any Veſſel more than once. When he went abroad, the Noblemen carried him in a Chair of State upon their ſhoulders; he never ſet his foot upon the bare ground, but if he lighted at any time there were rich Carpets ſpread for him to walk upon. And always in his Progreſſes, he and his Nobles were enclos'd by themſelves, and all the reſt of the train kept without thoſe Bounds; none daring to ſtep within them. He was a moſt exact and impartial Diſpenſer of Juſtice, never abated an ace of the rigour of his Laws, and 'twas a woful Caſe that Man was in whom he found any way faulty in the diſcharge of his Duty. To keep a more ſtrict and watchful eye over his People, he wou'd pry into their actions himſelf, and not rely altogether upon the Reports of other Men. 'Twas not uncommon with him to throw off the King, and go up and down in a Diſguiſe, to ſee who were truſty and diligent in their Offices and who were not. Particularly he wou'd viſit his Judges, and try their Integrity, by offering them Fees and Bribes, which if any of them took, he certainly Executed them for it afterwards; and he made no difference between Nobles and vulgar Men, between Strangers and Kindred, yea, the neareſt of his Blood, if he found them tardy in the performance of their Duty.

Juſtice and Jealouſie over his People.

Prodigies and Preſages.

This great Prince had ſpent about 14 Years in all this Glory and Felicity, when the *Spaniards* came to thruſt him out of it. The Story ſays, that there were abundance of Prodigies that foretold this mighty change; Comets, ſtrange unaccountable Lights in the Air, Voices and Monſters. In a word, ſome Stupendious Signs or other in all the Elements, which together with the Predictions of the Magical People amongſt them, made the Emperor exceſſively melancholy, and confus'd the whole Country.

We ſhall not trouble the Reader with the recital of theſe, becauſe a great part of them perhaps were owing to the Superſtitious fancies and conceits of the *Mexicans*; and on the other hand, we don't ſuppoſe but that ſome extraordinary things might happen before ſo remarkable a Cataſtrophe as this was, and the fate of ſo mighty an Empire be uſher'd in with Events and Appearances very ſurprizing, as credible Hiſtories aſſure us concerning ſome other Parts of the World. But then this is to be added too, that the *Indians* are ſo very full of whimſical ſuperſtitious Notions, that they are ready to make Miracles and Prodigies of every thing they don't underſtand the reaſon of; and ſo 'tis with reſpect to Omens and Preſages, a Bird can hardly fly in the Air, or a Beaſt move upon the Ground, but they'll find ſomething or other of an Omen in't. However, in *A. D.* 1517. the Calamities they fear'd began to come nearer in view, for there appear'd in the North Sea certain huge Bodies moving along upon the water, and the *Indians* upon the ſhore were under ſome concern to know what ſort of Animals they were. We in *Europe* call theſe things, Ships, but they took them to be Whales, or ſome other Monſters of the Sea. But they were much more aſtoniſh'd and frighted when they ſaw them draw near to the ſhore, and living Men come out of the Bellies of them, and Men with long Beards and Muſtachoes too, and in a ſtrange Garb; they believed theſe to be of the ſame Species of Animals with themſelves, becauſe they ſaw them go erect, and heard them talk, but thoſe Beards and Whiskers were very puzzling circumſtances, and made the Matter a little doubtful to them. The *Spaniards* however treated them well, and pleas'd them with ſome *European* Toys, informing themſelves at the ſame time of the Greatneſs of the Prince, and the Riches of the Country. Having got this notice they diſmiſs'd the *Indians*, and theſe latter preſently ſent tidings to Court of what they had ſeen, and together with that the Pictures of the *Spaniards*, their Habits and Ships, drawn upon Cloth, and the trifles they had given them. All this went ſpeedily to Court, and miſerably confounded both the Emperor and his Council; hereupon he gave Orders that Watches ſhou'd be ſet upon all the Sea-Coaſts, to give notice when theſe ſtrange things appear'd again. And this was no longer than till the next Year, for then they diſcover'd the *Spaniſh* Fleet which had *Cortes* and his Men aboard. The Council now (to encourage the Emperor, or elſe out of a blind belief of what the Prieſts told them) aſſur'd him that this was only their great Lord *Quetzalcoalt* come again to them,

Spaniards come the firſt time to get notice of the Country.

Indians Notions of the Ships and them.

News ſent to Court.

Spaniards come the ſecond time.

Embaſſy ſent to Cortes.

who had been for ſome Ages in the *European* World, and was now return'd into the Weſt according to his Promiſe. Upon this *Montezuma* ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy to *Cortes*, with abundance of noble Preſents, to congratulate his arrival; to tell him alſo, that he knew he was his Lord *Quezt zalcoalt*, and therefore acknowledg'd himſelf his Servant, and that he held his Country only in his Name, and as his Repreſentative. This was no little advantage to *Cortes*, and therefore he humour'd the buſineſs accordingly, pretending he was that very Perſon they expected, and made the beſt figure poſſible at the reception of the Ambaſſadors, who (poor wretches) paid him even Divine Honours and Reverence.

Spaniards terrifie the Indians.

Cortes and his Officers now conferr'd together upon this Matter, and concluded that they ought not let ſlip this opportunity of making an entrance into the Country; in order to this, to give the *Indians* the greateſt Notions of them and their Valour poſſible, and to appear in all the terrors of a Warlike figure before them. This reſolution being follow'd, they accordingly ſhew'd them all their *European* Arms, and made the Attillery be diſcharg'd from all the Ships; the roaring noiſe of which aſtoniſh'd the *Mexicans*, as much as if they had ſeen the Heavens fall before them.

In a word, the Embaſſadors went home with quite another opinion of *Cortes* than they had at firſt; they ſaid they were ſure their Lord was not come in that Troop, but as for theſe, they were ſome Powers that were their Enemies, and came only to deſtroy them.

Montezuma receiv'd theſe Embaſſadors with abundance of Superſtitious Ceremonies in his Palace of Audience, where he always ſate upon ſuch Occaſions as theſe. There were a great number of Humane Sacrifices prepar'd, the Blood of which was ſprinkled upon them as they went into the Emperor. However, the News they brought was ſo perplexing to him, that now he was almoſt beſides himſelf; and to omit all the Stories of his conſulting the Sorcerers and Magicians, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of theſe Foreigners by their pernicious Arts, as alſo the fruitleſs attempts they were reported to have made for that purpoſe, 'tis more credible that he went another way to work, and that was to endeavour to ſoften his Enemies by ſhews of Humility and Submiſſion, whom he deſpair'd of overcoming by open Force.

For this end, he ſent Orders to the Provinces all about to receive the *Spaniards*, as Men ſent from Heaven, and to ſerve them with all the reſpect imaginable; and indeed, the conſternation and fear the whole Country was in, as well as their Emperor's poſitive Commands, diſpos'd them well enough to this tame and quiet ſubmiſſion to the *Spaniards*.

Tlaſcallans join with the Spaniards.

In the mean time, *Cortes* had been joyn'd by the *Tlaſcallans*, (the old Enemies of *Mexico*) who were a very great help to him, and without whom he could never probably have done any thing to the purpoſe. For they inform'd him of all things neceſſary for a Foreigner to know, that was come to Invade anothers Country; they ſhew'd him all the beſt and ſafeſt ways, and, in a word, conducted his march to *Mexico*.

Montizuma refuſes to fly.

Montezuma hearing that the *Spaniards* were advancing towards him, with the *Tlaſcallans* in his company, reſolv'd to make a Vertue of Neceſſity, and go forth to meet them; for he deſpis'd the mean and cowardly Advice of ſome of his Sages, to go hide himſelf, and lie ſecure out of the reach of his Enemies; on the other hand, he counſell'd his People to uſe all methods for their own ſafety, but for his own part, he determin'd to meet his fate with a greatneſs of Mind worthy of himſelf.

He goes to meet *Cortes*.

In purſuance of this Deſign, he was carried upon the ſhoulders of his Noblemen in a rich Chair of State, three or four Leagues out of *Mexico*, where he met with *Cortes*. At that Interview this great Prince alighted from his Chair, (the firſt time he ever did ſo to any Mortal) and ſaluted *Cortes* very civilly. The *Spaniard*, after thoſe Salutations were over, told him he ſhould baniſh all manner of fear and care, for he had no Deſign upon his Country, nor at all to leſſen any thing of his Authority; ſo they march'd all away to *Mexico* together, where *Cortes* and his Companions were Lodg'd in the Royal Palace, *Montezuma* himſelf retiring into another.

The next day, *Cortes* made the Emperor and all the Nobility aſſemble together in the great Hall of the Palace, where he let them know, that he was ſent by a Mighty Prince into thoſe Parts of the World, not to make Conqueſts, but to do Offices of Kindneſs and Friendſhip; and therefore ſince the *Mexicans* and *Tlaſcallans* were ſo much at odds with one another, he wou'd interpoſe his Mediation to make them Friends again; but in the mean time, he and his Company wou'd ſtay there in the Country, without injuring or encroaching upon either Party, or carrying on any other Deſign than that of promoting the Common Peace and Tranquility of the Empire. This wheedling Declaration wonderfully pleas'd all them that heard it, and both *Montezuma* and his Lords expreſs'd a great deal of Satisfaction and Eaſineſs upon it. The *Spaniards* were careſs'd with all the Delights and Entertainments that that pompous Court cou'd afford, and the Emperor was not ſparing of his Preſents to *Cortes* and his Officers.

Spaniards and Mexicans quarrel.

However this calm laſted not long, and the *Mexicans* cou'd not be ſo blind, but they muſt needs ſee through theſe pretences; ſo that Jealouſies and Diſtruſts grew of both ſides, and both *Spaniards* and *Mexicans* were uneaſie.

The Emperor made a Priſoner.

Cortes finding theſe Diſorders to increaſe daily, thought to make one ſure ſtroke to keep the *Mexicans* in awe, and prevent their taking Arms in their own Defence, and that by ſeizing *Montezuma* himſelf, whoſe Preſence might encourage them to it. This was put in practice, and that great Prince made a cloſe Priſoner, and put under a *Spaniſh* Guard; tho' the ſucceſs was not at all anſwerable to the deſign, and the *Mexicans* were but the more incens'd for ſuch an Outrage as this upon the Perſon of their Emperor.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, *Cortes* was forc'd to go away from *Mexico*, and that upon the account of ſome Diſorders in the Country, occaſion'd by the arrival of another *Spaniſh* Commander *Pamphilio Narvaes*, who, probably, unwilling that *Cortes* ſhou'd have all the Glory and Profit of ſuch a Conqueſt, was come to put in for a ſhare; and 'tis a ſign he was an Adverſary not to be neglected or deſpis'd, becauſe *Cortes*, to quiet him, went away and left his Affairs at *Mexico* in ſo ill a poſture.

Mexican Nobles murder'd.

When he was gone, his Lieutenant manag'd things with ſo much Imprudence and Violence, that he quickly brought all to Extremities: He made his Soldiers fall upon the Nobility at their Publick Ball in the Palace, Maſſacring a great number of them, which barbarous Action incens'd the *Mexicans* to the higheſt degree and made them run to Arms with a fury which nothing but the Blood of the *Spaniards* could quench the fire of.

Spaniards beſieg'd in the Palace.

The *Spaniards* were now cloſely beſieg'd in the Palace, and all their great Guns could not terrify the *Mexicans* from making Approaches to aſſault them. They did all they could to cut off Supplies of Proviſion from coming to them; and, in ſhort, preſs'd them ſo cloſe every way, that the *Spaniards* were fain one day, in the midſt of a furious Battel, to expoſe *Montezuma* to their view, ſetting him upon the Battelments of the Palace, that they might ſee he was alive, and be ſomething pacify'd thereby. The *Mexicans*, as ſoon as ever they ſaw their Lord, were transform'd in that moment from raging Lions to meek and gentle Lambs; they laid down their Arms, and kept a profound ſilence while he ſpoke to them.

Montezuma revil'd by his own People.

Montezuma, for his part, adviſ'd them to be quiet, and not fight with the *Spaniards*, ſince all their ſtirs cou'd do him little ſervice, being a cloſe Priſoner in their hands; but he cou'd not carry on his Speech far for the Reproaches of his People. One particularly (a bold young Man nam'd *Quicuxtemoc*, and whom they afterwards made Emperor) gave him the foul Names of Coward and Traitor to his Country; revil'd him for his baſe and tame ſubmiſſion to the *Spaniards*, and told him, That ſince he had betray'd himſelf ſo weakly, the *Mexicans* were no longer bound to obey him. With that he began to draw his Bow to ſhoot at him, and ſeveral of them follow'd his Example, and pelted the miſerable Prince with ſtones; however, they were ſo far from taking his Counſel, that they fell in upon the *Spaniards* again with more fury than before. And now the beſieged were ſo diſtreſs'd, that they were forc'd to ſend privately away to *Cortes* to come with all ſpeed to their Relief.

Cortes's Return.

Cortes having by this time quieted the tumults raiſ'd by *Narvaes*, and ſetled the Peace of that part of the Country, came to *Mexico* with as good a force of Men as he cou'd make; and taking the opportunity of the *Mexicans* Reſting-day, (for 'tis their Cuſtom in War to lie ſtill every fourth day) he broke through, and got with his Supplies into the Palace.

The *Spaniards* fly.

Notwithſtanding this addition to their Strength, and the Preſence of their General, the fury and reſolution of the *Mexicans* ſtill increas'd, which *Cortes* finding, and concluding 'twou'd be impoſſible to hold out long in that place, he reſolv'd to give them the ſlip, and march off his Men in the dead time of the Night. In order to this, he was forc'd to lay a couple of Bridges over two very dangerous Paſſes, and the *Spaniards* had march'd over the firſt of them, and were upon the ſecond, when an *Indian* VVoman ſpied them, and gave the Alarm to

Mexicans purſue them.

the City. Upon this all was preſently in an uproar, and the *Mexicans* fell with ſo hearty and well govern'd a rage upon the *Spaniards*, that above 300 of their ſmall Army were loſt before they cou'd get over that ſecond Bridge. Many of them too, ſtaying to ſecure their Gold and Jewels, were taken by the *Mexicans*, and Sacrific'd with all the cruelty imaginable to their Idols. The *Mexicans* purſued them for two or three days, and diſtreſs'd them at that rate with continual Aſſaults and Alarms, that they were almoſt quite ſpent and tired out, as well for want of Reſt as of Proviſion. However, at laſt, they got into the Territories of the *Tlaſcallans*, their Friends and Allies, where they made Proviſion in good earneſt for the Conqueſt of *Mexico*.

Montezuma's Death.

How the great *Montezuma* died is uncertain; the *Spaniards* tell one Story, and the *Mexicans* another. Some ſay that he died of a wound he receiv'd with a Stone or a Dart, in that tumult when his own Subjects fell upon him. *Cortes* himſelf tells the Emperor *Charles* V. that the *Mexicans* Sacrific'd him, together with one of his Sons, that Night the *Spaniards* fled away. On the other hand, the *Mexicans* ſay they found *Montezuma* dead, and cover'd with wounds given by *Spaniſh* Ponyards. Which way ſoever 'twas, 'tis certain that unfortunate Prince met with his fate at that time, and was one of the greateſt inſtances of the changeableneſs and uncertainty of all worldly Greatneſs and Felicity.

The Conqueſt of *Mexico*.

The new made Prince taken.

After his death, the *Mexicans* ſubſtituted *Quicuxtemoc* in his room, who did not ſit eaſie in his Throne perhaps at all, and not quiet but a very little while. *Cortes* having made great Preparations for the War, both in Land Forces, and Boats and Brigantines, to fight in the Lake, being join'd alſo by the *Tlaſcallan* Army, return'd to *Mexico*, which after above 60 dangerous Battels, with much ado he conquer'd at laſt. *Quicuxtemoc* having reſolutely maintain'd the laſt fight a great while, was taken Priſoner and led to *Cortes*, together with ſeveral others of the *Mexican* Nobles; when he came into the *Spaniard's* Preſence he drew his Dagger, and advancing towards him, *Until this Day* (ſays he) *have I done my beſt Endeavour for the Defence of my People, and now I have no more to do, but to give thee this Dagger to kill me with.* *Cortes* told him he had no deſign upon his Life, and gave Orders that he ſhou'd be treated and attended in ſome meaſure ſutable to his Dignity. Thus came that mighty Empire into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and the Glory of the *Mexican* Princes, that had ſhin'd ſo long and ſo bright, to be quite extinct.

From the Hiſtory of *Mexico* we go on to that of *Peru*, wherein, beſides the other Authors which we have had occaſion to conſult, (who yet were moſt of them ſuch as had been upon the ſpot, and ſeen thoſe Countries themſelves) we ſhall here make uſe of a Native of the Country, one of the Family of the *Incas*, and who may reaſonably be preſum'd to be perfectly well acquainted with the Cuſtoms and Policies of his own Nation.

His Name was *Garcilaſſo di Vega.*

The Author we now ſpeak of was born at *Cuſco*, the Capital City of *Peru*, his Father was a *Spaniard*, and his Mother related to the *Incas*; and he declares that what he relates of his Country, was from his own Knowledge and Experience, and the Traditions of his Family. He tells us, that while his Mother reſided at *Cuſco*, thoſe of her Relations that had eſcap'd the cruel hands of the Emperor *Atabalipa*, us'd to come thither every Week to viſit her, and their Diſcourſe was always of the Original, Cuſtoms and Laws of their Empire, which they were mighty careful of conveying an exact account of to all the younger ones about them, that they might preſerve the memory of them to Poſterity.

Peruvians Opinion of God.

The Notions of the *Peruvians* about one Supreme Being, the firſt Cauſe of all things, ſeem to have been much more clear and diſtinct than thoſe of the *Mexicans*. 'Tis certain alſo, that they had a proper Name in their Tongue to expreſs the Deity by, which was the word *Pachacamac*; the meaning of which is as much as the Quickner of the Univerſe, or as others wou'd call it, the great Soul of the World. This Name was ſo very Sacred and Venerable amongſt them, that they never mention'd it but upon extreme neceſſity, and then not without all the ſigns of Devotion imaginable, as bowing the Body and Head, lifting up the Eyes to Heaven, and ſpreading out the Hands. They call'd him the Inviſible and Unknown Being, and for that reaſon offer'd no Sacrifices to him, nor built him ordinarily no Temples, but paid him only an internal Worſhip and Reverence in their Minds; yet in a certain Valley in *Peru*, there was a Temple dedicated to him, and call'd by his Name. The Sun is generally eſteem'd to have been the great Deity of the *Peruvians*, as having both Temples and Sacrifices in abundance, and the *Incas* making this the main point of the Glory of their Original, that they were the Offſpring of the Sun, and conſequently (in their Notion) of a Divine Race. Beſides this, ſeveral other Deities have been brought in for a ſhare of their Worſhip too, by *Acoſta* and the *Spaniſh* Writers; the Moon and the Stars have been mention'd, the Earth, the Sea, the Meteors of the airy Region, the Springs and Rivers, and other meaner Objects upon the ſurface. But our *Inca* denies all this, and imputes it to their ignorance partly of the *Peruvian* Rites and Ceremonies, and partly of the Language, which agrees with the *Chineſe* in this reſpect, that one and the ſame word having a multitude of ſignifications, is to be determin'd to this or that particular ſignification by the tone and accent.

Temple dedicated to him.

An inſtance of this he gives in the word *Huaca*, the various Sences and Pronunciations of which being not underſtood by the *Spaniards*, was the occaſion of their making many and groſs miſtakes in theſe Matters. The laſt Syllable of this word pronounc'd high in the roof of the mouth, determines it to ſignify an Idol for the moſt part, tho' 'tis alſo frequently us'd to ſignify Conſecrated things in general, as Altars, Temples, Offerings, and the like. It alſo denoted all things that were rare and extraordinary in their kind, or that were out of the common courſe, and any way prodigious; thus the monſtrous Snakes, that were 25 or 30 foot long, were call'd *Huaca*, and the Sheep that bore Twins had the ſame Name, thoſe Creatures for the moſt part bringing but one.

A pleaſant Relation of one of the Emperors.

The ſame word *Huaca* pronounc'd with the laſt Syllable in the inner part of the Throat, had alſo different and peculiar ſignifications; and thus 'twas in abundance of other words in the ſame Language. The *Spaniards* therefore might eaſily miſtake, and make the *Peruvians* ſeem to be guilty of fouler and groſſer Idolatries than really they were. And that they acknowledg'd a Being ſuperiour in Power and Majeſty to the Sun (to which the moſt of their Temples were erected) is clear from the account the laſt Emperor *Atabalipa* gave of his Faith to the Friar *Vincent de Valle Viridi*, who came to Catechize him: *I hold* (ſays the Prince) *the Sun for God, the Earth for Mother, and* Pachacamac *for Creator of all.* But there was a paſſage of one of his Predeceſſors (the Inca *Huyana Capac*) to this purpoſe, which ought not to be forgotten. This Prince one day looking up to the Sun, (which they held to be unlawful to do) the High Prieſt, who was by him, reprov'd him for't; but he ſtill perſiſting in his view, and the Prieſt in his reproof of him, at laſt he turn'd to the Prieſt with this Queſtion, *Which of you all* (ſays he) *dares bid me, who am your Sovereign Lord, riſe up and go a long Journey?* The Prieſt reply'd, *None wou'd be ſo mad as to do ſo. But* (continues he) *if I command the greateſt of my Princes to go from hence to* Chili, *will he not do it?* To this the other return'd, *That none durſt Diſobey him. Why then, I conclude* (ſays the *Inca*) *that our Father the Sun muſt needs have a mightier Lord than himſelf, that commands him every Day to take ſuch a long Journey; for if he were a Supreme Lord, he wou'd certainly ſome time or other lie ſtill and reſt himſelf.* The Emperor ſpoke incomparably well; tho' had *Nicolas Copernicus* been in his Court, he wou'd have told him his Argument for a Power Superiour to the Sun was of no force nor efficacy, ſince he never makes any Journeys at all, and does nothing elſe but take his Reſt.

Belief of a future State.

The *Peruvians* divided the Univerſe into two Worlds more beſides this; the high World, whither they ſaid good Men went after Death to be rewarded for their Vertues, and the Center of the Earth, or the Houſe of the Devil, where thoſe that were Lewd and Vicious had a juſt Recompence for their Enormities. This Earth they call'd the World below, and ſaid it participated of the other two; of the Reſt and Satisfaction of the one, and the Sorrows and Diſcontents of the other.

Superſtitious keeping their Hair.

They had a Notion of their returning to live here in this World again after a long ſpace of time: For which reaſon (ſince they cou'd preſerve nothing elſe of themſelves) they were very curious in preſerving their Hair againſt that time; and this, that when their Souls came to ſet all things together again that belong'd to them, they might not be troubled to look and ſearch about for their Hair, but have it ready at hand, for the quicker diſpatch, eſpecially ſince (as the *Inca* ſays they believe) there will be ſuch hurly-burlies and confuſions at that time. Upon this account, whenever they Poll'd or did but Comb their Heads, they laid up their Hair like a Jewel. If they were abroad and did it, they wou'd thruſt it into a Tree, or the hole of a Wall; and if another ſaw it fall out of its place at any time, he wou'd take it up, and very carefully lay it in again.

Their

Supplying the Dead with Proviſions.

Men kill'd at Funerals.

Their Notions of a Future State were ſuch, that they believ'd thoſe that were gone from this World, had yet need of the Comforts and Conveniences of it; therefore, ſome ſay, they us'd to Cloath the dead Bodies with new Apparel, and to ſtuff their Hands and Mouths with Gold and Silver. 'Twas not uncommon neither for them to lay in good ſtores of Proviſion, both Meat and Drink, into the Graves, that they may ſatisfy thoſe Appetites when they pleaſe. Eſpecially, they concluded that all great Men wou'd have occaſion for their Trains and Retinues of Servants in the other World, and therefore they took care to ſend them after them in great numbers; that is, they were Sacrific'd at their Maſters Funerals. Thus when the Emperor *Guanalapa*, the Father of *Atabalipa*, died, there were above 1000, and thoſe of all Ages and Conditions, that went away to accompany him.

The pleaſant fancy of a *Portugueze* to ſave his Life.

We can't in this place omit taking notice of the ingenious thought of a certain *Portugueze*, to ſave his Life upon ſuch an Occaſion. This Man having been taken Priſoner, and made the Servant of ſome Nobleman or other, when his Lord died they fix'd upon him for one of the number that ſhou'd go to attend him in the other World; but he having been in the Wars, and loſt one of his Eyes, told them 'twou'd be a diſgrace to his Maſter in that World to have a one-ey'd Servant in his Retinue, and that therefore to avoid doing him that diſkindneſs, they had better by half ſend another in his room that had both Eyes. The Relations of the Deceas'd conſider'd what the *Portugueze* had ſaid, and finding ſome Reaſon in't, and loth alſo to diſcredit their Kinſman there, they excus'd him, and ſubſtituted another in his place.

Arts of Preſerving Dead Bodies.

Figures of the *Incas*.

They are mighty curious in their Arts of Preſerving Dead Bodies, without any thing of ill ſcent or putrefaction, for a great number of Years; and in this manner they ſerv'd the Bodies of all their Emperors and Noblemen. There were ſome of the old *Incas* which were remov'd from their Dormitories in *Cuſco*, and brought to *Lima* by the *Spaniards*, which having lain there for ſo many years, made every body admire to ſee the Bodies ſo fair and ſound. But beſides this, to Preſerve the remembrance of them more perfectly, they made the Figure or Image of every *Inca* in his Life-time; and tho' *Acoſta*, with ſome of his Tribe, ſay that the *Peruvians* perform'd an Idolatrous ſort of Worſhip, both to the Embalm'd Bodies of their *Incas*, and theſe Images too, yet our *Peruvian* Author acknowledges nothing of this nature, and he does not ſeem to be at all partial to, or criminally fond of his Country.

Peruvian Sacrifices.

As for the Sacrifices us'd to be made in this Country, the *Spaniards* tell us of Men, Women and Children, beſides all other ſorts of Animals; and particularly, as to Children, that no Nation under Heaven ſhed ſuch vaſt quantities of that innocent Blood as the *Peruvians* did. Our Hiſtorian *Inca* agrees to this Account thus far, that in ſeveral Provinces which the Emperors of *Peru* ſubdued by their Arms, (and ſo fell within the Limits of their Empire) they did offer Humane Sacrifices, and that plentifully too, to their Idols; but that the *Peruvians* themſelves, the genuine Subjects of the *Incas*, did ſo, he utterly denies. And as there were no Sacrifices offer'd to any Being except the Sun alone, (for the Inviſible *Pachacamac* was honour'd with another ſort of Devotion) ſo thoſe that were offer'd were only common Animals, as Ewes, Rams, Lambs, Coneys, and all Birds that were fit for Mankind to eat of. Sometimes alſo fine Garments were burnt upon the ſame ſcore; Corn, Fruits, and ſtrong Liquors, were not uncommon Offerings neither.

Way of offering Liquors.

As to the buſineſs of Liquors, the ceremony was firſt of all to dip their finger into one of the Veſſels, and then looking up to Heaven, with a drop of the Liquor hanging thereat, they by that action ſignify they offer it to the Sun; after which, having made ſome motions with their Lips a little, they drink it off without any more ado.

Our *Peruvian* Author does not ſcruple at all to charge his Countrymen with a great deal of Idolatry in their Rites and Ceremonies; nay, he goes farther, and tells us of Sorcerers and Witches amongſt them, and of their Converſations with the Unclean Spirit. The like alſo does *Acoſta*; according to whom, thoſe ſorts of People are very numerous all over the *Weſt-Indies*, but ſince neither the one nor the other gives us any particular Relations of this matter, which they can pretend to offer as infallible Truths, we ſhall not trouble the Reader with bare Surmiſes or Traditions.

No Image but that of the Sun.

Cuſco it ſelf an Idol.

The *Peruvians* had no Idols in any of their Temples, but only the Image of the Sun; one may ſay indeed (as the *Inca* himſelf does) that the City of *Cuſco* was an Idol and a grand one too, being reſpected as Sacred and Divine, in that 'twas founded by the Great *Manco Capac*, who was the immediate Off-ſpring of the Sun according to their Tradition, and has all along been the Reſidence of the *Incas* his Deſcendants. Upon this ſcore, any thing that came from *Cuſco* was valued at a higher rate than a thing of the ſame kind and of equal goodneſs any where elſe; yea, a Man that came from *Cuſco* had a reſpect paid him by others upon the Road that were in Quality as good as himſelf, much more if he were a Native or a Citizen of that place.

Glorious Temple of the Sun.

The great and ſplendid Temple of the Sun in this City deſerves a particular remark: The moſt glorious part of it was the Chapel or Shrine of the Sun, which was wrought of poliſh'd Stone, and in figure four ſquare. Every Wall was cover'd from top to bottom with Plates of Maſſie Gold, and upon the Eaſtern-ſide ſtood the Image of the Sun made with a Humane face, and rays darting out of every ſide. The rarity of it was, that 'twas made out of one entire Plate of Gold, and yet it tock up all that end from one VVall to the other.

Image of the Sun.

Bodies of the *Incas*.

Large Cloiſter, with other Chapels and Shrines.

At the Rifling of this rich City and Temple by the *Spaniards*, the Image of the Sun fell by Lott to one particular Officers ſhare, and that extravagant Man hazarded it at a certain Game, and loſt it all in one Night; from whence it came to be a Proverb there of a prodigal Gameſter, *He has plaid away the Sun before his Riſing*. On the one and the other ſide of the Image of the Sun, were the Bodies of the Deceaſed Emperors plac'd according to their Antiquity, and ſo finely preſerv'd, that they look'd as if they were alive: They were ſet on Seats of Gold rais'd on Supporters of the ſame Metal, with their faces towards the People that entred; only *Huyana Capac* was ſet with his face towards the Sun, as being in their Opinions the Favourite Son of the Heavenly Luminary. All the Doors of this moſt magnificent Temple was cover'd with golden Plates, and in the outſide upon the top of the Walls, which girt it round, there ran along a chamfred work of Gold in the form of a Crown which was above a yard broad. The People hid moſt part of theſe Royal Bodies, with a prodigious quantity of the Treaſures, ſo that the *Spaniards* cou'd never be Maſters of them; tho' what they had was ſurprizing, and ſome of the Corps were found, *viz.* three of the Emperors, and two of the Empreſſes, and brought to *Lima*, as was before hinted. Beyond the Temple was a Cloiſter conſiſting of four large Squares, round about the tops of which were Crowns of chamfred Gold after the manner of the Temple; and to theſe Squares were adjoining ſeveral delicate Chapels. The firſt of theſe was dedicated to the Moon, in which was her Image made of a vaſt Plate of Silver, and all the Doors were cover'd with Plates of the ſame Metal. Hither they came to recommend themſelves to her good Influences, as being the Wife and Siſter of the Sun, and Mother of the *Incas*, but they offer'd no Sacrifices to her as they did to the golden Luminary. On each ſide of the Moons Image were rank'd the Bodies of the deceas'd Empreſſes according to the order of their time, and juſt before it, face to face, ſtood the Mother of *Huyana Capac*, who had that Dignity conferr'd on her for bringing ſuch a Son into the World. The next was dedicated to *Venus*, and the Planets in general; all of which they held to be the Servants of the Moon, and therefore plac'd near at hand by their Sovereign Miſtreſs. That which ſucceeded to this was the Chapel of the fix'd Stars, the Roof of which was adorn'd with Stars ſmall and great, and had the reſemblance of a Firmament. This and the former were both cover'd with Silver Plates like that of the Moon, to repreſent the paler light and fainter luſtre of the Bodies they were conſecrated to. After theſe came the Chapels of the Thunder and Lightning, and of the Rainbow, which were both garniſh'd with Gold; and upon the golden Walls of the latter was drawn a large Rainbow. Laſt of all was a ſtately Manſion for the Prieſts, which was alſo cover'd with Gold from top to bottom. In this great Cloiſter before-mention'd there were various other Apartments, Shrines and Tabernacles, which were comparable to any of the former for extravagant Pomp and Riches. Beſides Gold and Silver, every place ſhone with Jewels too, ſuch as the Country afforded; theſe are principally *Turquoiſes* and *Emeraulds*, for Diamonds and Rubies they have none. Upon the whole, no Princes in the whole World have ever adorn'd their Temples and Places of VVorſhip ſo as the *Incas* of *Peru* have done. For ſeveral ſorts of Sacrifices they had ſeveral Rooms ſet apart, ſome for one, and others for another ſort; but one wou'd hardly at ſight have imagin'd, that a Houſe ſo glorious as this ſhou'd have been

Chapel of the Moon, &c.

Riches of the Shrines.

Several Rooms for ſeveral Sacrifices.

Glorious Garden.

Utenſils of the Temple.

Temple of *Titicaca*.

devoted to Butchery and ſhedding of Blood. If there were ſome Pillars of Stone, there were others of Gold and Silver, not maſſie, but hollow; and the very Pipes of the Fountains, that brought water to ſerve the Occaſions of the Prieſts, were of no baſer Metal. But it almoſt goes beyond all belief what is reported of the Garden of the Temple, that there were the reſemblances of a vaſt number of Animals and Vegetables wrought in pure Gold and Silver; *Quadrupeds*, Birds and Reptiles, Flowers, Herbs, Trees with the Fruit on them, all done to the Life, and diſpos'd up and down in moſt natural Order. Beſides theſe, they had Humane Bodies in Effigie, both Men and Women; and, in ſhort, hardly any thing of this nature wanting, that exquiſite Art cou'd contrive and make, and ſtately Power (like that of the *Incas* of *Peru*) command to be done. As for the Veſſels and Utenſils belonging to the Temple Service, they were none of them beneath the Metals before-mention'd; and 'twas the ſame as to the Inſtruments that related to the Garden, even the very Spades and Pick-axes were of the ſame valuable Materials. And 'twas not the Temple of *Cuſco* alone that was thus Divinely embelliſh'd and ſet forth, there were ſeveral others in the Empire that were not much inferiour to it, but that which came neareſt, and, as ſome ſay, might pretend to rival, if not outdo it, was the Temple of *Titicaca*, which ſtands in an Iſland in the midſt of a Lake that bears the ſame Name. That which occaſion'd ſuch a prodigious Maſs of Treaſure to be brought hither, was a fond conceit of the *Peruvians*, that after the Deluge the Sun ſhined upon this ſpot before any other upon the Globe; and therefore, to acknowledge this benefit of their Father the Sun, they built him here a Temple, and all the Provinces of the Empire did make their Annual Offerings of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. The *Peruvians* themſelves have ſaid, that there was Gold enough in that Iſland (beſides what was wrought into fine Shapes and Figures) to have built another Temple from the foundation, but all went into the Lake when the *Spaniards* came into the Country, and ſo did a good part of the Treaſure of *Cuſco* go into the ſame ſure Repoſitory under water.

Quality of the Prieſts.

The Prieſts of the Shrine of the Sun at *Cuſco* were all of them of the Blood Royal of the *Incas*, and had conſequently the Title of *Incas* themſelves; as for the other Services of the Temple, there were *Incas* not by Birth, but ſuch as were ſaid to be ſo by Privilege. The High-Prieſt was commonly either Unkle or Brother to the Emperor, he muſt at leaſt be Legitimate of the Blood, or he was utterly uncapable of Diſcharging that Function. In the other Provinces, the Inferiour Prieſts were the Kindred of the Noblemen of thoſe Countries, and the chief Prieſt alone an *Inca*, for that Dignity muſt be at the head of all the greateſt Offices, both Sacred, Civil and Military. The Prieſts (which is much) had no peculiar Veſtments; they ſerv'd their Courſes in the Temple by Weeks, in which time they did not ſtir out of it Day nor Night.

Religious Women.

But beſides theſe Religious, the *Peruvians* had alſo ſome of the other Sex, Women incloſ'd in certain Houſes, and living there the Lives of Nuns under the Government of their Superiours; theſe were to be all of them of the Royal Blood, without mixture on either ſide. They liv'd in perpetual retirement to their dying day, neither might they ſee or ſpeak with any Perſon but thoſe that belong'd to their own Houſe. 'Twas Death for any Man to enter the ſecond Gate of their Houſe, as no Woman might enter that of the Prieſts; only the Empreſs her ſelf, and her Daughter, had the liberty of going in and conferring with them.

Their Works.

Others in the Provinces.

Concubines for the *Inca*.

They had multitudes of noble Attendants of their own Sex to do all inferiour Works and Offices for them; as for their own parts, they did only exerciſe themſelves in the fine works of Spinning, Weaving and Sewing, and making the ſplendid Robes that the Emperor or Empreſs did wear, as well as thoſe which were offer'd to the Sun. They made alſo the Bread for the Sacrifices to the Sun at the great Feaſts, and the Drink which *Inca* drank at that time. All the Utenſils of their Houſes were as rich as thoſe of the Prieſts in the Houſe of the Sun, and they had a Garden alſo adorn'd with the ſame golden varieties. Their Manſions were not in the Temple of the Sun, but diſtant from it by a whole Street. Like this at *Cuſco* were ſeveral others in other Parts of the Empire, in which the ſame abatements were made as to the condition and quality of the Perſons admitted into them, as was obſerv'd concerning the Prieſts; for here, tho' the Governeſs muſt be of the Blood Royal, yet that of the Nobility, by ſpecial favour, was admitted to the Honour of growing old and cold in this retired Service. Their Employments were ſuch as thoſe at *Cuſco*, and their Maintenance like them from the *Inca*, and the Furniture of their Houſes no leſs rich and noble than the former, at leaſt as to the quality of the Materials, for the *Peruvians* ſcorn'd to uſe any thing below Gold and Silver (where it might be us'd) in the buſineſs of their Religion. But there was a Privilege which belong'd to theſe Country Nunneries which that in *Cuſco* never taſted of, and that was, that ſome of the Members of them might be diſcharged from their Priſon upon the *Incas* peculiar fancy and liking to be his Bedfellows. After that piece of Honour done them, they never return'd to their former ſecluded Lives in the Nunneries again, but either went into the Service of the Empreſs, or into their own Countries, where they paſs'd under no little Character. Thoſe that were grown old in the Service too, might have the ſame liberty of retiring to their reſpective Homes; but as there was no great danger of theſe for becoming Wives afterwards, ſo thoſe that were young, and had been called out for the *Incas* Pleaſure, might never afterwards beſtow themſelves upon other Men, for 'twas reckon'd a ſort of putrefaction of the Character. Yea, the Women themſelves commonly were too proud on't to loſe it in any haſte, ſince to be Miſtreſs to the *Inca* was a greater Glory than to be Wife to the greateſt Lord in the Empire.

Other Nuns.

Puniſhment of thoſe that violated the Chaſtity.

There was another ſort of theſe Religious Women which liv'd retired only in their own Houſes, and took the liberty of going abroad upon very urgent and preſſing Occaſions. Their greateſt mortification was a Vow of perpetual Virginity, which they commonly kept inviolable. The penalty inflicted upon any Man that was guilty of ſo flaming a crime, as to offer violence to any of all theſe conſecrated Virgins, was Death in the crueleſt manner, and 'twas not only his own fate to die, but his Wife, Children, and all his Kindred, were involv'd in the ſame puniſhment; this was the Law, but 'twas ſeldom or never executed, there being hardly any ſuch thing as an Offence of this nature known to be perpetrated. If the VVomen themſelves loſt their own Chaſtity, they were either bury'd quick, burn'd, or thrown to the Lions.

Feaſt of the Sun.

The moſt Solemn of all the Feaſts celebrated in this vaſt Empire was that of the *Raymi*, or rather of the Sun, and it was to acknowledge the Suns Deity, and to commemorate the happy Deſcent of their firſt *Inca* from him. All great Men in all Poſts whatſoever were obliged to be at it; but if Age, Sickneſs, or the *Incas* buſineſs detain'd them, they ſent their Repreſentatives, either their Sons or Brethren. And at this time, all endeavour'd to make the brighteſt Figure poſſible, and to ſhew the utmoſt of their Pomp, and that in Perſonal Ornaments, as well as Equipages and Retinues. The People of every Province came with the ſeveral ſorts of Arms they us'd in fight, and bore along with them their ſeveral Devices and the Pictures of their warlike Exploits.

Faſt.

Adoration of the Riſing Sun.

Their march to the Temple.

This great Solemnity is introduc'd by a rigorous Faſt of three Days, all which time they eat nothing but a little raw Maize, or a few Herbs; they kindle no fire in all the City of *Cuſco*, nor keep company with their VVives during this preparation. The Night before they make great quantities of Dough of their Maize, which is to ſerve at the Feaſt; and they never do make that Grain into Dough but at this Feaſt, and one more. Early in the Morning the *Inca* himſelf attended, with all the reſt of the *Incas*, (or Princes of the Blood) goes barefoot into the principal Street of the City, and there wait for the Riſing Sun. As ſoon as they ſee him peep forth, they fall into a poſture of Adoration, and cover their Faces with their Hands; the Nobles are all this while in a Street adjoining, performing the ſame VVorſhip that the *Inca* and his Family does here. Neither is this Cuſtom peculiar to the *Peruvians*, all the People of the VVorld worſhip the Riſing Sun as well as they, tho' the ceremony of doing it be ſomething different. This Devotion over the *Inca* riſes up, and takes two great Veſſels of Gold full of Liquor, one in each Hand; that in his Right Hand he pours into a Golden Pipe, by which it is convey'd to the Temple of the Sun, and is as it were a Draught conſecrated to that Luminary. Then he drinks a part of that in his Left Hand, and ſo gives it to the reſt of the *Incas*, who all this while continue in that humble poſture they at firſt put themſelves into; the Nobility in the next Street perform the ſame ceremony of drinking that the Royal Family does. After this the whole Train join'd, and went away in great order towards the Temple of the Sun. The Nobility ſtopt ſhort at a conſiderable diſtance from the great Gate, and only the *Inca*'s themſelves went on and enter'd that Sacred Place, where they fell proſtrate before the great Golden

Image

Offerings.

The Sacrifices.

Image of the Sun, and then made every one his Offering of golden Veſſels; the Supreme, or as they call him the *Capa Inca*, with his own hands offer'd thoſe to the Sun that he drank to him in before, but all the reſt gave theirs to the Prieſts to offer for them, that is, thoſe of them that were not Inveſted in the Prieſtly Office, for if they were they might perform this ceremony, otherwiſe no degree of Dignity cou'd make it lawful. The Prieſts having diſpos'd of theſe Offerings of the *Inca's*, went out to receive thoſe of the petty Princes or *Caracas*, (as they call them) who preſented them in order according to their Antiquity, and the time they had been ſubject to the Empire. The ceremony of the Offerings being finiſh'd, they return'd in the ſame order to the Streets again, where they had plac'd themſelves before, and the next performance that came on was that of the Sacrifices, the principal of all which was a black Lamb.

Prognoſtications from the Sacrifices.

And here they had a world of Auguries and Preſages; the beſt ſign was, if the Lungs diſcover'd any motion after they were taken out of the Body, and the worſt if the Animal, while 'twas opening, happen'd to get looſe from them that held it, and ſtood upright on its Legs. If one prov'd unlucky, they laid that aſide and tried another; and if all were ſo they gave over the Feaſt, ſaying the Sun was angry for ſome crime or other, and expected nothing but Wars, Famine, Peſtilence, and all manner of Calamities.

No Culinary Fire.

The fire they us'd upon theſe Occaſions was Sacred and Cœleſtial too, fetch'd down from their Father the Sun by the help of a Burning-glaſs (or a Jewel) which the High-Prieſt us'd for that purpoſe; with this they did the Service of the Day, and kept fire in the Temple all the Year round. If the Sun did not ſhine they ſtruck fire, for they muſt have it *de novo* for this extraordinary Uſe; but then this refuſal of the Sun to afford his Beams, was look'd upon as a thing of very ill ſignification.

Sacrifices waſted and eat in the Street.

Ceremony of drinking to the Nobles.

The Sacrifices were all Roaſted, and eaten openly in the afore-mention'd Streets; and 'twas ſolemn at their Drinkings here, for the *Inca* to drink to ſome of the principal Grandees and Men of War, and ſend the Cup about to them by ſome one or other of his Kindred. The *Inca* which brought the Liquor us'd this form, *The* Capa Inca *ſends thee this Banqueting Cup, and I am come to drink to thee in his Name*; and 'twas receiv'd with Eyes lifted up to the Sun, and devout thanks for the favour, and even the Cups were eſteem'd as Sacred things, ſince the *Inca*'s Lips had touch'd them. As for the reſt, who were not thus honour'd, the *Inca*'s of the Blood drank to them in their own Names, and not in the Emperors.

Magnificence of the *Inca's*.

From what has been repreſented hitherto of the Riches and Splendor of this Empire, 'tis not hard to gueſs how the Princes liv'd, and in what manner they were ſerv'd. Their Palaces were built of Stone finely wrought and carv'd, but 'tis in vain to pretend to tell how much Silver and Gold went to the adorning of them; 'tis enough to ſay, that all things that cou'd be of thoſe Metals were ſo; and cou'd golden Servants have attended them and done their Work, no doubt they had had their Domeſticks and Retinue of the ſame. Yet had they in their Palaces and Gardens an Epitome of the Creation in Gold and Silver, having Men and Women in Effigie, all the Animals and Vegetables of the Country in their exact Shapes and Proportions. 'Tis needleſs after this to ſay of what Materials the Veſſels and Utenſils of common Service about their Houſes were.

The *Inca* never wore any Garment (tho' the richeſt) twice, but gave them to his Kindred; and we may ſuppoſe he had leſs need of this ſort of change than that of the Furniture of whole Palaces, which, as our Author aſſures, was never remov'd from one Palace to another, but was new and freſh in every one throughout all the Provinces.

Officers and Servants.

As for all ſorts of Domeſtick Servants and Officers, they were not a few particular Perſons taken in uncertainly to ſuch or ſuch a Place or Office, but there were whole Towns aſſign'd and laid out for thoſe purpoſes; and 'twas their buſineſs to furniſh out Men of ability and fitneſs for thoſe Truſts, and after they had ſerv'd their appointed Times and Courſes, to ſend others in their room.

Huntings.

The *Inca's* had at certain times of the Year their Set Huntings, but they always went with a ſweeping Train; ſeldom leſs than 30000 Men attended them upon theſe Occaſions, half of which went upon one hand, and the other upon the other, compaſſing in 20 or 30 Leagues, and ſo taking all ſorts of wild Beaſts in great numbers, of which, when they had kill'd what they wou'd, they diſmiſs'd the reſt.

For quick Diſpatch and Advertiſement of all manner of Occurrences, they had their Poſts planted up and down at 4 Leagues diſtance throughout all the Parts of the Empire likely to afford any News; neither was there any thing remarkable that paſs'd, but what was preſently brought to the *Inca*'s ear at *Cuſco*.

Inca's marry their Kindred.

The *Inca's*, as they perform'd the Office of Chief Prieſts at the Feaſt of the Sun, (they being the firſt Solemnizers and Beginners of the Ceremony) ſo did they do the Work of common Prieſts in the buſineſs of Marriage to all of their own Lineage, and that once every Year or two.

Inca to marry his Kindred.

The *Inca* himſelf having aſſembled them before him, did call out the Couples, and join their hands; after which he deliver'd them to their Parents, who ſolemniz'd the Wedding with a Feaſt of four, five or ſix Days.

The *Curacas* do the like.

The *Curacas*, in the Provinces, did the like Offices for the young Men and Maidens within their reſpective Juriſdictions, as the *Inca's* did at *Cuſco* to thoſe of their own Blood. Every Man was free to make his own Choice, how and where he pleas'd, but having done ſo, the Woman he had choſen cou'd not be his lawful Wife till the Civil Power (not the Eccleſiaſtical) had by that Ceremony made her ſo. When the buſineſs was to be done, the way was for the Bridegroom to go to the Bride's Houſe, and having put a Shoe on upon her foot, to lead her away to the place where either the *Inca* or the *Curaca* of the Province perform'd the Ceremony of Marriage.

Concubines.

Beſides this Wife, the Law and Cuſtom of the Country allow'd a variety of other Women, who were taken without any thing of the formality and publick notice; neither did the Magiſtrate at all concern himſelf in thoſe Matters.

Puniſhment of Adultery.

If the Lawful Wife diſhonour'd her Husband's Bed, by admitting any other into it than himſelf, both ſhe and the Cuckold-maker were puniſh'd with Death; that is, in caſe the Husband obſtinately inſiſted upon having Juſtice done him, and wou'd not give his Pardon. On the other hand, ſuppoſing he was kind and compaſſionate, and by his forgiveneſs ſav'd their Lives, yet the Law wou'd not let them go without ſome marks of its Severity, and therefore they were ſure to be puniſh'd, tho' by the Indulgence and Goodneſs of the injur'd Man they ſcap'd the fatal ſtroke. The Concubines were not liable to theſe rigours of the Law, they might uſe the liberty of converſing with other Men without being thought guilty of any great crime.

Marriages with near Kindred.

The *Peruvians* allow'd no Marriages with thoſe that were near in Blood; and even the *Inca's* themſelves did not venture upon it till towards the latter end of that Monarchy, as *Acoſta* ſays. The Cuſtom of marrying Siſters was firſt brought in, according to that Author, by the *Inca Tupangui*, the Grandfather of *Atabalipa*, who authoriz'd it both by Precept and his own Practiſe. He married his Siſter by the Fathers ſide, and decreed it lawful for the *Inca's* his Succeſſors ſo to do; nay, at his Death, he commanded his Children to follow his Example, and the Emperor *Atabalipa* was the fruit of one of theſe Inceſtuous conjunctions. On the other hand, *Garcilaſſo Divego* ſays, without reſtriction of time, or any other circumſtance, that the *Inca's* had the Privilege of marrying their Siſters, and did often do ſo; and the truth on't is, it ſeems probable enough that the Cuſtom was much ancienter than *Acoſta* will have it to be, and perhaps as old as the Empire it ſelf. For according to the *Peruvian* Antiquities (as we ſhall ſee in its place) the firſt *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and his *Coya* or Empreſs, were Brother and Siſter, being, as they feign'd, the Children of the Sun, which Example in the Founder of the Empire, and the moſt immediate Off-ſpring of their Deity, was ſufficient to introduce the like practiſe amongſt his Succeſſors. In common Marriages, thoſe of one Province might not marry with them of another, but all within and amongſt themſelves. Neither might they go to live out of the Provinces and Towns where their Habitations were at firſt ſetled; and if any did ſo, 'twas by ſtealth or particular favour.

Laws of Marriage obſerv'd.

The nature of the Government.

The *Peruvian* Monarchy was from the firſt Eſtabliſhment of it Hereditary; neither was there ever any ſuch thing known as an *Inca* choſen amongſt them. And the reaſon of this Conſtitution is clear enough, for the firſt *Inca* (as we ſhall ſee afterwards in the account of their Pedigrees and Succeſſions) giving himſelf out for the Son of the Sun, his Off-ſpring were accordingly in the Opinion of the People of the ſame Divine Race; ſo that this high Deſcent, this Relation to the Sun, (of all viſible Beings the moſt ador'd amongſt them) muſt of neceſſity keep the Imperial Crown upon the Head of that Family.

The *Inca's*, beſides their multitudes of VVomen, had one which bore the Character of Wife and *Coya*, that is, The Succeſſion.

Sovereign Queen or Empreſs, and in caſe of defect of Children by her, the Succeſſion was devolv'd to the next of the Legitimate Blood, the Baſtards being totally excluded from all intereſt or concern in it. The mark of Inveſtiture in the Supreme Power, was a Roul of fire red Wooll hanging upon the Forehead. This Enſign was peculiar to the *Incalapa*, and as much his ſpecial Ornament as a Crown of Gold is that of other Princes; the Princes of the Blood might wear it indeed on one ſide, near the Ear, but the *Inca* only upon the Forehead. At this Ceremony there were great numbers of Sacrifices offer'd, and rich Oblations made, and an infinite throng of People from all Parts of the Empire. *Acoſta* ſpeaks of a ſolemn Invocation of the Deity by the Chief Prieſt, and a ſort of Prayer made in the Publick Aſſembly for the new *Inca* and the Empire in general; but we don't find *Divega* takes any notice of it, who, 'tis probable, wou'd not have omitted ſuch a thing had it been ſo.

The Laws.

All their Laws, both Civil and Sacred, were attributed to *Manco Capa* the firſt *Inca*, who receiv'd them from his Father the Sun; thus he gave out to the People, according to the Policy us'd by *Numa*, and ſeveral other Heathen Lawgivers in the World. And notwithſtanding that ſeveral of the *Inca's* made a great many excellent Laws themſelves, yet all went by the Name of *Manco Capa's* Laws, to give the more force and authority to them.

Policies of the Governors.

The Policies of the *Inca's* in their Government, were ſuch as no Nation in the World need deſpiſe, and a great many perhaps may imitate.

Officers to provide for the Welfare of the Subjects.

Their Duty and Buſineſs.

They always plac'd an *Inca* of their Blood as Supreme Governor in every Province, to whom all Cauſes there were ultimately referr'd, and who had a Yearly Account from all the Inferiour Governors of all that paſs'd, of all that were Born or Dead, of the ſtate of all the Troops of that Province; of the Corn, and other profitable Commodities. Whenever a new Province was conquer'd, the Inhabitants were reduc'd into certain Bands and Commonalties, and committed to the charge and care of Officers who had the inſpection, ſome of 10, others of 100, others of 1000; and ſome, (which was the higheſt Charge of all) of 10000. This according to *Acoſta's* account, tho' our *Peruvian* Author tells us that they went no higher than 1000. Theſe Perſons were to provide them with Corn, Wooll, and other neceſſaries of Life, to give an account to the Superiour Governors or Judges of their way and manner of Living, that 'twas regular, and according to the *Inca's* Laws; to ſee that there were no idle Vagabond Perſons amongſt them, and eſpecially to take care about the Education of their Children. If theſe Inſpectors neglected their Duty, the faults that were committed were their own, and they puniſh'd accordingly.

The Judges and Subordination of Courts.

Every Town in the Empire had a Judge appointed to determine all ſorts of Cauſes and Debates that were of leſs moment, and theſe conſtantly ſent in their Sentences and Determinations to the Superiour Judges in the Capital City of the Province every Month. Neither did the Matter reſt there, but went on from theſe to the more Superiour ones at Court, and if there was any thing of Injuſtice or Partiality found in any of their Sentences, they were ſure to be ſeverely puniſh'd.

Four great Vice-Roys.

As the Empire was divided into four General Parts, (which they vain-glorioully call'd the four Quarters of the World, and were reckon'd E. W. N. & S. as they lay from *Cuſco*, which was the Centre of all) ſo the Vice-Roys or Preſidents of theſe Quarters, were the Supreme Miniſters in the Government, and had the laſt Determination of Matters, the next remove being to the *Inca Capa* himſelf. If any Provincial Controverſie cou'd not be decided either by the ordinary Miniſters there, or by any Deputation from Court for that purpoſe, 'twas ſuſpended till the *Inca* viſited thoſe Parts in his Progreſs, and was to be brought to an iſſue by a Sentence from his own Mouth.

Council of State.

The four great Vice-Roys before-mention'd, and they alone, compos'd the Grand Council of State; with theſe the *Inca* adviſ'd about his Affairs, and they made Reports of all Matters to him.

Way of making Reports to the Court.

The way of ſending theſe Reports out of the Provinces (ſince they had not the uſe of Letters) was by Lines that had ſeveral knots made in them: Thoſe knots were of various colours, and ſhew'd what crime or treſpaſs was intended; and then certain threads of ſeveral colours too, faſtned to the Lines, declar'd what puniſhments were due according to the Law. The ſame Order and Subordination of Courts and Officers were eſtabliſh'd for Military Affairs; as for Civil, the ſame variety, and the ſame ſtrictneſs of Diſcipline, every where obſerv'd. Another piece of Policy practis'd by the *Inca's*, was always when a Province was conquer'd, to diſpoſe of the greateſt part of the Inhabitants into other Provinces up and down, thereby taking away from them all manner of opportunities and advantages for Revolts or Conſpiracies. Then no Towns that were taken by force at any time, were ever Sack'd or Plunder'd, or any ſort of violence offer'd to the Inhabitants, but on the contrary, they had all manner of good treatment, and by eaſie and gentle methods they were brought to ſubmit quietly and peaceably to the *Inca's* Government. And becauſe they held it for a ſure Maxim, that 'twas the beſt and ſafeſt courſe to keep their Subjects always in action, and well employ'd, therefore they put them upon works of long time and great labour; part of which were the large Cawſeys made up and down in ſeveral parts of the Country, beſides ſome other more ſtupendious ones, which we ſhall afterwards give the Reader an account of.

Gentleneſs to the conquer'd.

Officers to provide for the People.

Farther, when a Country was reduc'd to the Obedience of the *Inca*, Officers were preſently ſent to ſurvey the Lands, and mark out what was fit for the production of Maize, or other uſeful Grain; to improve and cultivate what was barren, and to order the conveyance of water to places which wanted. When the Land was thus ſurvey'd and made improveable, they divided it, allotting to each Town its proper ſhare, that is, ſo much for the Uſe and Service of the Inhabitants; beſides which, there were two ſhares more, one for the Revenues of the Sun, and another for the *Inca* himſelf, and each of theſe equal to that which was allow'd to the People.

Diviſion of Lands.

But proviſion was always made, that the Inhabitants ſhou'd not be ſtraitned, and therefore if their numbers encreas'd very faſt, there was ſome taken out of the ſhares of the *Inca* and the Sun, to make up the deficiencies of the other; in ſhort, every Man had a portion aſſign'd him according to the greatneſs of his Family, if he were a poor Man, or his Occaſions and Expences, if he were a *Curaca* or ſome Officer of the State. The Order obſerv'd in the Tillage and Husbandry of theſe Lands was this; in the firſt place they did thoſe that belong'd to the Sun, this was a piece of Religious reſpect, and they concluded they ought to ſerve their Deity before themſelves.

Care for Widows and Orphans.

Next to theſe they took care of the Lands of Widows and Orphans, of old and ſick People, and of all the Poor in general; of them that were in the Wars, whoſe Wives they look'd upon at that time as Widows, and particularly of thoſe that were really ſo, and had actually loſt their Husbands in the *Inca's* Service. Of all theſe there was ſpecial care taken, and they were farther allow'd (if at any time they wanted Corn or Seed) to have it out of the Publick Store-houſes. There were particular Officers appointed for managing the Lands of all theſe ſorts of People, and they were oblig'd to ſerve them firſt, before they did any thing for themſelves. In the time of the *Inca Huyana*, there was one of the Officers hang'd for Tilling the Land of a certain *Curaca* his Kinſman, before he had done that of the Widows and Orphans; and to make it the more exemplary, the Gallows were ſet up, and the Execution done, upon that Noblemans Land where the Law had been tranſgreſs'd. Laſt of all the *Inca's* Lands were look'd after, thoſe Princes building their own Proſperity upon that of their People, and endeavouring in the firſt place to render them eaſie and happy. When the Lands of the Sun and the *Inca* were Tilled, there was a great deal of pomp and ſolemnity in the buſineſs, they appear'd in their beſt Accoutrements, and broke up the ground with Songs of Joy and Triumph.

Ceremony at Tilling the Lands of the *Inca*.

Nay, the firſt piece of ground that was dedicated to the Sun near *Cuſco* was turn'd up by *Inca's* and *Pallas* (the Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood Royal) in all their beſt Robes and Jewels. The Spades they us'd were of Wood, and about a Yard long, plain before and pointed, but round behind, and near four fingers thick; about half a Yard from the point was faſtned a contrivance of wood like a Stirrop, for them to ſet their feet upon while they thruſt them into the ground. They had their Attendants by them to eaſe them of a part of the burden, and lift up the Turfs of Earth for them; and to refreſh them alſo with chearful Songs, while they were engag'd in this hard work.

The Tributes.

The Government of the *Inca's* was very mild and eaſie too, in reſpect of the Tributes demanded of their Subjects. 'Tis true, their Power was Abſolute and Uncontroulable, and had no manner of Bounds but what were preſcrib'd and ſet by their own Wills, ſo that all the Fortunes of the Subject were entirely in their hands, and at their diſpoſal. Notwithſtanding this, they did not impoſe any heavy pinching Yokes upon them, nor

by

Every *Inca* raiſes his own Treaſure.

Several kinds of Tributes.

by cruel and rigid Exactions, empty their Subiects Coffers to fill their own. This perhaps might have been expected in a Country where ſuch a Cuſtom was obſerv'd, for every Prince, as he came to the Throne, to furniſh his own Palace with ſuch prodigious Treaſures of Gold and Silver as the *Inca's* of *Peru* always had in theirs. And this is ſaid to have been their way; no *Inca* inherited the Domeſtick Riches of his Predeceſſor, but gather'd his own Treaſure himſelf, that of the Deceas'd being the moſt part beſtow'd amongſt his Family, and part laid out upon his Chapel or Shrine, and other ſuch Occaſions, after his Death. And this was one reaſon of the heaping up ſuch extravagant Treaſures amongſt thoſe Princes, for there being an inexhauſtible Fund of Gold and Silver in the Country, every one made it his buſineſs to outdo his Predeceſſor in the Glory and Riches of his Palace. Now this ſuppos'd, it was poſſible that the *Inca's* might have had occaſion to drain their Subjects, and lay very heavy Taxes and Tributes upon them, that all theſe vaſt quantities of Treaſure might be ſupplied. But they have ever gone another way to work, for they always kept the Mines in their own hands, and tho' they paid them very well that did and took care of the work, yet they kept an exact account of all the Profits that were made of them, and the Gold and Silver ſtopt no where after 'twas out of the Mine, till it came into the Imperial Treaſuries at *Cuſco*. As for Tribute, it was paid chiefly in Work and Labour, in Dreſſing and Tilling the *Inca's* Lands, and thoſe of the Sun, in making Arms and Clothes, for which they had Wooll and Cotton allow'd out of the ſame Revenues.

Poor Peoples Tribute.

In general, had the *Inca* a mind to the Products of any particular Province they ſent it him for Tribute, what and in what quantity he demanded it; but no Man ever paid any thing out of his own private ſhare of Land. Sometimes perhaps a Sett of fine Dancers, or Muſicians, paſs'd for Tribute, or ſome choice Virgins for the *Inca's* own Entertainment. And if we may credit the *Inca* our Hiſtorian, all the poor People paid a Tribute, which 'twas more advantage by far to them to be rid of, than to the Emperor or any of his Miniſters to receive, and that was ſuch a quantity of Lice. The chief deſign of this was to lay them under a neceſſity of keeping themſelves clean and wholſome, and at the ſame time by bringing ſomething, tho' 'twas but a Louſe, to acknowledge their ſubjection. Certainly no Prince was ever ſo kind to his Subjects as theſe *Inca's* were to theirs, for this was a ſort of Tribute which (being in Nature a very multiplying thing) the Poor perhaps were always in a condition of paying, and 'twas no hard matter for them to ſcrape together their ſeveral Quota's, every Man out of his abundance helping his Neighbour that might have occaſion to borrow.

Inca's care of their poor Subjects.

But the *Inca's* were kind to their poor Subjects, not only by taking away theſe Cattel from them, but alſo giving thoſe of another ſort to them out of his own Herds, when their neceſſities required ſuch a Supply; and then when the Seaſons prov'd unkindly, and Corn and Grain were ſcarce, there was a liberal Diſtribution made of thoſe things to them out of his Granaries and Storehouſes, of which there were many in every Province.

Perſons free from Tribute.

As for all thoſe of the Royal Blood, all Prieſts, Judges, *Curaca's*, Captains as far as Centurions, they were Tribute-free. So were all Soldiers in time of War, young Men under 25, and old Men above 50; and in general all Females, whether married Women or Virgins, had the ſame exemption.

Time of bringing it in.

At the Celebration of the principal Feaſts (eſpecially that of the Sun) all the *Curaca's* and Governors came to *Cuſco* with the Tribute of the whole Empire; beſides which, they always brought their Preſents for the *Inca* along with them, which were any Rarities or Curioſities whatſoever, or any thing that might be uſeful and ſerviceable to him in his Buildings, or other ſtately Works.

The Government of the *Inca's* was not only very indulgent and favourable to the Subjects, but had alſo a great regard to all Strangers and Travellers that came within the Verge of it: All ſuch Perſons were treated with the greateſt humanity and kindneſs, and allow'd all the decent liberties imaginable.

Inns and Hoſpitals.

There were Publick Houſes built on purpoſe for their Reception and Entertainment, and they had all neceſſaries at free-coſt upon the Road, being furniſh'd at the *Inca's* own Expence. Likewiſe, if any fell ſick, they were not left expos'd without Care and Attendance to all Hazards and Uncertainties, but taken into convenient Lodgings, where they were furniſh'd with all thoſe things their condition requir'd.

Puniſhments only Corporal.

The Laws of this Country denounc'd Corporal puniſhments for all Offences whatſoever; there was no ſuch thing as a Mulct, ſince a Confiſcation of Eſtate or Goods, for the *Peruvians* were of this Opinion, That all puniſhments that tended to impoveriſh the Criminal, and ruine his Fortunes in the World, did but make him ſo much the worſe, and incline him to be more deſperate in doing evil. Neither did the puniſhment of Treaſon and Rebellion extend any farther than the Perſons of thoſe that committed them; their Children and Families did not ſuffer any ways for their Crimes, but enjoy'd all their Privileges and Liberties as before.

Severity againſt Lying.

Way of managing Witneſſes.

Reaſon of Submiſſion to the Laws.

But there was hardly any Crime more ſharply puniſh'd than that of Lying; and if 'twere in a matter of importance, it proceeded to the loſs of Life it ſelf. As for Perjury, there was no ſuch thing amongſt them, for there was no Swearing or taking of an Oath; all they did to come by the Truth in weighty Caſes, was for the Judge, by a ſolemn Demand, to put the Witneſſes upon ſpeaking their Conſciences, *Doeſt thou promiſe in this Matter to tell the Truth to the* Inca? And woe be to them if they were found not to do ſo, for according to the Notions of the Country, they did not Lye to the Judge but to the *Inca*, who, like the Heavenly Sun his Father, had a ſort of Univerſal Preſence through the Empire. And in abundance of other Caſes relating to Points of Common Juſtice and Honeſty, the Tranſgreſſors were call'd to a ſevere account; the Innocent and Oppreſſed were reliev'd, and Juſtice, when demanded, ſpeedily done. Now tho' the Laws were ſtrict, and even a ſmall Offence was often puniſh'd with Death, yet all this Rigour was temper'd with ſo much Mercy and Gentleneſs, that the whole Empire (extending near 1400 Leagues, and conſiſting of ſo many different ſorts of People) was govern'd by one Law with as much eaſe as if they had been all but one Houſe. But it muſt be confeſs'd, the Opinion of the Sacred and Divine Original of thoſe Laws, contributed not a little to this Univerſal Reverence and Submiſſion; they believ'd they all came from the Sun, and were his Ordinances, by the *Inca's*, and therefore the fear of breaking them was ſo much the greater, in that they thought their Deity, as well as their Prince, concern'd in the puniſhment of Offenders.

Titles of Honour.

Knighthood.

The Titles of Honour us'd in this Country, may deſerve to be a little explain'd, tho' many of them have been Occaſionally mention'd up and down already. That of *Inca* was peculiar to the Royal Families, and becauſe all of the Blood by the Male Line had the Title of *Inca* as well as the Sovereign himſelf, therefore by way of Eminence and Diſtinction he was call'd *Inca Capa*, that is, the only Lord or Sovereign. The young Princes of the Blood were call'd *Yntip Churin*, that is, Children of the Sun, till they came to be married, and then they had the Title of *Inca's*. The Sovereign's principal Wiſe was termed *Coya*, and all her Daughters had the ſame Title; other Wives and Concubines of the Blood were called *Palla*. Concubines not of the *Inca's* Family were called *Mamacuna*, that is Mother, by which they were diſtinguiſh'd from the *Coya*, who was ſometimes call'd *Mamanchic*, that is, our Mother. The Royal Daughters were alſo call'd *Nuſta*, that is Nymph; and if not born of Royal Mothers, for diſtinctions ſake was added the Name of ſome particular Province for a Title, as *Colla Nuſta*, *Quitu Nuſta*. This general Title of *Nuſta* continued till they were married, and then they exchang'd it for that of *Palla*. *Curaca* was a term of Honour belonging to the Noble or Princely Subjects not of the Blood, as Vice-Roys, Vaſſal Princes, and the like; but the moſt conſiderable degree of Honour, upon many accounts, was that of their Knighthood. For this, none but young Men of the *Inca's* Blood cou'd ſtand Candidates, or pretend to put into the Election. The deſign of it was, that there ſhould be a Sett of Princes fit and able to bear the weight of ſo great a Monarchy, and to do Actions worthy of their high Original; that they ſhou'd be accompliſh'd and qualify'd with all thoſe Excellencies which Princes appear Great and Heroical in their Countries. In order to this, they had the beſt Maſters that cou'd be found to inſtruct them, and every Year or two they paſs'd a ſtrict Examination by them.

Exerciſes and Trials preparatory.

They generally began to try their Conſtancy in the point of Abſtinence and Faſting, making them for ſeven days together keep to an Allowance of raw Corn and Water, and that a very ſmall quantity of both too. Thoſe that cou'd not hold out in this were quite laid aſide, as unfit for any farther Experiments to be made upon them. When they had gone through this Courſe of Mortification, they heartned them up with rich Food again, to render them fit for ſucceeding trials of Strength and Activity. Being divided into two Bodies, one of them was to keep and defend a Fort, while the other beſieg'd and aſſaulted it; and this they did with ſo much eagerneſs, that forgetting they were in jeſt they ſtirr'd one anothers Blood and came to earneſt, and the ludicrous War ſometimes coſt ſome of them their lives. Then follow'd Wreſtling, Leaping, Vaulting, throwing and flinging great Stones, caſting Darts and Lances. They tried how they could do the Duties of Centinels, and put them upon the Watch for ſeveral Nights together; and if they were ſurpriz'd Napping, they were puniſh'd with ſhame and reproaches. And to ſee whether they cou'd endure Pain as well as Hunger and Watching, they laſh'd them over the Arms and Legs with wands; and if they made any ſigns that they were not able to bear it, the queſtion was preſently put to them, If you can't bear this, how will you endure the weapons of your Enemies? In a word, they were oblig'd to be above ſence and feeling, or elſe they cou'd be no Knights; and how many wou'd curſe that Knighthood that muſt be had upon ſuch conditions? But the moſt unreaſonable trial of all, was for theſe young Candidates (for Knighthood) to be expos'd to all the tricks and poſtures of Fencers. Here they muſt ſtand, while thoſe Fellows pretended to make their thruſts at them, feigning a puſh here and there, and ſometimes of a ſudden making as if they wou'd ſtrike them a blow, and if they offer'd in the leaſt to ſtart or flinch, or by any little motion of their Bodies ſeem'd as if they wou'd avoid a ſtroke or a thruſt, then they had not courage and reſolution enough, and conſequently were not fit for this Honour. Neither did they leave them here, but tried alſo if they had Art and Ingenuity enough to make their own Shoes and Arms; not that they were always to be put upon this, but they thought it requiſite for ſuch Men to be able to know how to ſerve themſelves of every thing they needed. When they had gone through all theſe trials, the Maſters inſtructed them in the points of their Deſcent and Pedigree, and related to them the noble Acts of their Anceſtors, to raiſe in them the ſame paſſion for Glory, and ſpur them on to follow their Examples. They taught them alſo the Duties of Morality, and put them upon the practiſe of Juſtice, Truth, Clemency and Mildneſs, to all Men. During the whole time that theſe Exerciſes laſted, which was a Month, they laid aſide all their Princely Attire, and went in a vile and ſordid Habit, to learn Humility, and how to pity the Poor and Miſerable, that were forc'd to go ſo meanly Cloath'd. Even the Heir Apparent of the Empire ſubmitted to this, and all the reſt, to the utmoſt rigour; one only excepted, which was the Exerciſe of running for a Banner. Afterwards, when their Maſters gave an account to the *Inca Capa*, he attended in Perſon, and made a Speech to them; and then each of the Candidates, on his knees, receiv'd the firſt mark of the Honour, which was to have a hole bor'd in his Ear. The new Knight then kiſs'd the *Inca*'s Hand, and the Perſon that ſtood next him pull'd off his Shoes, and put him on another ſort made of Wooll, which he was not till then allow'd to wear. After this he is led to another place, where the other *Inca's* put him on Breeches, (a piece of Apparel prohibited before) and adorn'd his Head with a Coronet of Flowers. The Princes Royal had the ſame Enſigns, only for a mark of diſtinction; after his firſt trial he was allow'd to wear a Fringe of yellow Wooll, and to carry an Ax, and a Javelin, which weapon, when put into his Hand, they call'd a weapon for Tyrants and Traytors. After this Ceremony of Knighthood, all the reſt of the Royal Blood ador'd him as their Prince.

The Inſtalment.

Trade by way of Barter.

Coca uſed inſtead of Money.

The *Peruvians* had no ſuch thing amongſt them as Trade and Commerce with Foreign Countries, having all things within themſelves, and no occaſion to ſeek the acquaintance of other People upon that ſcore. Neither, tho' they were Maſters of ſo much Gold or Silver, had they any thing of Coin or Money, for thoſe Metals ſerv'd entirely for Pomp and Ornament, and they had no notion of any ſuch Uſes of them as the *Europeans* put them to. Their way of Dealing was to Truck and Barter one thing for another, which they did in all their greateſt Fairs and Marts, for every Man knew very well what Commodities he ſhould have in exchange for thoſe he brought. Indeed they had a thing amongſt them which was valued at a high rate, and with which they cou'd purchaſe any thing as we do with Money, it was only the Leaf *Coca*; which the *Peruvians* ſet as much by as the *Mexicans* did by their *Cacaos*, a little Fruit priz'd at the ſame rate, and us'd for the ſame purpoſes by their People; but the *Spaniards*, who brought the love of Money along with them, have ſince brought the uſe of it alſo into both theſe Countries.

The Language. Accents.

The *Peruvian* Language has peculiar difficulties in it, upon the account of the various ways of pronouncing one and the ſame word, each of which changes the ſignification; for they lay the ſtreſs of the pronunciation either upon the Lips, the Palate, or the Throat. The accent is moſt commonly in the laſt Syllable but one, ſeldom in the Syllable before that, and never in the laſt of all. The *Cuſco* Dialect wants the following Letters of the Alphabet, *viz.* *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *i* conſonant, the ſingle *l*, *x*. Inſtead of the ſingle *l* they always uſe the double, and on the other ſide they never pronounce the double *r*; for which reaſon there are abundance of words in the *Spaniſh* Tongue that they cou'd never be brought to pronounce well. This variety of pronunciation will eaſily be allow'd to involve and render the Language difficult, and together with the heedleſneſs and blunders of the *Spaniards*, has contributed to the falſe naming of abundance of things. They ſeldom minded any more than the noiſe and ſound a word made in their Ears, and took up with the firſt they heard, without taking pains to enquire into it afterwards. Thus the Country is corruptly call'd *Peru*, and it owes that Name to the *Spaniards*, who Chriſten'd it ſo by miſtake. As for the Natives, there's no ſuch word among them, and out of very diſdain they wou'd never ſo much as ſpeak it, even when they were talking to the *Spaniards* themſelves. They had no proper Name for the Empire taken in general, but call'd it only *Tauantinſuyu*, that is, the fourth part of the World.

Miſtakes of the *Spaniards*.

How the Country came by the Name.

But the buſineſs was thus: The firſt *Spaniards* that came upon the Coaſt ſurpriz'd an *Indian* Fiſherman, who having ſpied their Ship, was fallen into a deep wonder what ſort of thing it wou'd prove to be at laſt, and in the midſt of his muſings upon the matter, he was ſnapt by them and brought aboard. When the *Indian* had recover'd, and was able to ſpeak again, they ask'd him by ſigns and words too what the Name of the Country was, but he not knowing what they meant replied *Beru Pelu*, that is, his Name was *Beru*, and if they wou'd know from whence he came, it was out of the River, *Pelu* being a common Name for a River in that Language. From hence it was ſpread abroad, that the Name of the Country was *Peru*, they concluding the *Indian* had underſtood them, which he muſt have been a Witch if he had done. The like careleſs miſtake procur'd that Country (they now call *Yucatan*) its Name; the firſt Diſcoverers ask'd an *Indian* what the Country was call'd, and he (knowing as little *Spaniſh* as a Man may be ſuppos'd to do that never heard of ſuch a Language or People) anſwer'd *Tectetan*, *Tectetan*; that is, I don't underſtand you. But they, it ſeems, were as well ſatisfy'd with the *Indian*'s anſwer as if they had underſtood it, and ſo turning this *Tectetan* into *Yucatan* (by the figure call'd Metamorphoſis) they paſs'd that about for the true Name of the Country.

No Letters.

Their way of Accounts.

By Knots.

But to return from this digreſſion; the *Peruvians*, as Polite as they were in other reſpects, had no Letters at all, nay, not Symbols and Characters as their Neighbours the *Mexicans* had, by which they ſerv'd themſelves (in the want of Letters) with admirable Art and Ingenuity. Yet the contrivance of the *Peruvians* to ſupply this defect was very fine and pretty, and ſuppoſing the abſence of Letters, Symbols, and the like, perhaps not eaſily to be mended. We did before give a hint of this matter, when we ſhew'd how the Reports of the Courts of Judicature, in the Provinces, were convey'd to *Cuſco*. In ſhort, all their Regiſters, Memorials, and Accounts, were made up of theſe ſtrings and knots; in theſe were contain'd their Hiſtories, Ceremonies, Laws, and the whole Syſtem of their Affairs. They call'd theſe contrivances *Quippos*, every one of which was a complex of ſo many knots and ſtrings of ſeveral colours, and as we derive an infinite number of words from the various combinations of the 24 Letters, ſo did they draw a compleat Story or an Account from thoſe varieties of knots and colours. And they manage this ſort of computation with ſo much exactneſs, that they are no more to be cheated and impos'd upon in it, than we are in an Arithmetick.

Acoſta ſays he knew a Woman that had a General Confeſſion of all her Life done in knots and threads, and he declares 'twas ſo nice, that it cou'd not have been better if written or printed upon paper.

By Stones and grains of Maize.

The ſame Author ſays (and herein the *Inca* agrees with him too) that they computed ſometimes by ſmall Stones and grains of Maize, which were rang'd and diſpos'd upon Wheels in ſuch an order, that they wou'd thereby calculate or expreſs any thing with the greateſt readineſs imaginable.. Upon theſe the Chriſtian Converts drew out the *Creed*, the *Pater Noſter*, the *Ave Maria*, and cou'd repeat them as perfectly from thence, as the *Spaniards* cou'd from their Books.

Computation of the Year.

In their Computations of Time, they were ſhort of the *Mexicans* in ſome reſpects, and ſuperiour to them in others. They had not ſuch particular forms and diviſions of Time as the *Mexicans* had, but what they did was more exact and agreeable to the Courſes and Motions of the Heavenly Bodies. Their Year conſiſted of the ſame number of Days that ours does, and 'twas divided into as many Months. But for want of other Methods of Obſervation, they made uſe of one ſomething rude and imperfect to determine the ſeveral parts of the Year, and that was by the Sun's coming to certain Pillars at the time of his Riſing and Setting. Theſe Pillars were twelve in number, and they ſtood in order upon the Mountains about *Cuſco*, and 'twas by the means of theſe that they diſtinguiſh'd the Months.

Notions of Eclipſes.

They had no knowledge at all in Aſtronomy, and attributed the Eclipſes of the Moon to her ſickneſs, believing that ſometime or other, when ſhe was very ill in thoſe Fits, ſhe would die and fall from Heaven, and kill all here below; and the truth on't is, when the Moon tumbles, woe be to them that ſtand in the way. But the Sun (to whom they durſt not attribute any ſickneſs or infirmity) was eclips'd becauſe he was angry, and that hiding of his face at that time was the effect of his reſentment of their Offences. When the Moon was in that ſtate of illneſs, and look'd with ſo dark a face upon them, they were all in a horrible concern till ſhe got well again, and recover'd her former luſtre. They ſounded all ſorts of Muſical Inſtruments, and ſet their Dogs a howling, believing thoſe noiſes would help to recover her if any thing wou'd; for as 'twas ſaid before, they thought ſome ſuch bout or other wou'd make an end of her at ſome time, and they did not know but every Eclipſe that happen'd might be the fatal one. And therefore, when the ſad time is over, (during which the Men and Women howl too as well as the Dogs) they give thanks to the Inviſible *Pachacamac*, that he has cur'd and brought her out of thoſe Diſorders, and thereby continued the happineſs and comfort of the World. Actions ſo fooliſh and ridiculous as theſe, one would wonder at in a People every other way ſo ſenſible; but their Neighbours the *Mexicans* can't hit them in the teeth of it, being themſelves not much wiſer in a certain Cuſtom which they repeated at the end of every Age.

Odd Cuſtom of the *Mexicans*.

That very Night when the Age was expired, they put out all their fire, extinguiſh'd the Lights every where, and broke all the Veſſels about their Houſes; and for what reaſon was all this havock made? Why, the World muſt certainly come to an end ſome time or other, and 'twas their opinion, that that general fate wou'd be at the end of one of their Ages, and they did not know but it might come on with the concluſion of that very Age; and if the World ſhould end that Night, what need ſhou'd they have of Fire or Houſhold-ſtuff next Morning? There wou'd be no dreſſing of Victuals, and therefore no farther uſe of Pots and Pans, and Spits, and ſo they had e'en as good break them all beforehand. But cou'd not the Fools have had a little patience, and ſtaid till next Morning came? What need they have been ſo haſty, and brought the World to an end within doors, before they ſaw 'twas ſo without? For the ſame reaſon they ought to have ſet all their Houſes and Towns a fire at the end of every Age, for when the World was diſſolv'd they wou'd have no more occaſion for them than the Furniture of them. However, they watch'd very diligently all that Night, and when they ſaw Day-light appear next Morning, they bid it welcome with Muſick, Shouting, Drumming; and, in a word, with inexpreſſible Joy, and gave thanks for it in their Temples accordingly. The *Peruvians* diſtreſs about the Moon in an Eclipſe, and the *Mexicans* about the end of the World, are equally pleaſant and comical.

Geography and other Sciences.

Theſe People had a little more Skill in Geography than they had in Aſtronomy, for they made a ſort of Maps and Plats of the Provinces of the Empire. Their Geometry conſiſted only in that practiſe which anſwers to the Etimology of the World, they parted and meaſur'd their Grounds by it, and never troubled themſelves with any Speculations. Muſick they had alſo reduc'd to ſome Rules, and divers ſorts of Inſtruments; and 'twas common amongſt them to have Conſorts of theſe and good Voices join'd together.

Poetry and Plays.

Their Poetry was only Dramatick, and extended no farther than the compoſing ſome Tragedies and Comedies. The ſubject Matter of the former was ſomething or other Great and Memorable done by their Royal Anceſtors, and the Actors were no mean inferiour Perſons, but ſome of the *Inca's* themſelves, and the beſt of the Nobility. In their Verſes they obſerved exact meaſure, but never made them Rhiming; they were always very clean and free from ſmut, neither did their Poets ever ſo much as touch or glance at any thing immodeſt or indecent even in their moſt light and airy Compoſures.

Mechanick Arts.

For Mechanick Arts, they were not very well furniſh'd; they had no ſuch things as Anvils, Files, Chizels nor Bellows, no Saw, no Augre, no Plainer, nor Nails. Inſtead of Anvils they us'd certain great hard Stones, which they made very ſmooth by rubbing one againſt another; and for Hammers, they had a Maſs of Copper in form of a Die, without any Handle, which they graſp'd in their hands to ſtrike with as one wou'd with a Stone. To ſupply the want of Nails, they faſten'd every thing that was to be faſten'd with Lines and Cords. But for all this defect as to the point of Tools, what wonderful Monuments of Art have they left for the World to admire? What ſtately Buildings both in Wood and Stone, and yet Carpenters and Maſons ſo poorly furniſh'd? The Fortreſs of *Cuſco*, in its priſtine Grandeur, wou'd have ſurpriz'd a Man that had look'd o'r all the Wonders of the World. The *Egyptian* Pyramids or *Pharaoh's*, the Walls of *Babylon*, or the Temple of *Diane*, were all wonderful to the laſt degree, but then 'twas eaſie to account for their making, for they were built by People that had not only the beſt Art and Skill, but all manner of Tools alſo fit to do ſuch Works withal. But how the Fortreſs of *Cuſco* came together into that form, 'twou'd puzzle any Man to imagine; and to uſe our *Inca's* own expreſſion, it may ſeem rather a Work of Devils than Men. The Stones, or rather the Rocks of which it conſiſts, being ſo great, and the *Indians* having neither Iron nor Steel to cut and work them, nor no Carts or other Carriages to draw them along, but all done by meer force of Men pulling with great Ropes, and that through rough uneven mountainous Ways, for 10, 12, and 15 Leagues together, 'tis aſtoniſhing to conceive ſuch difficulties as theſe conquer'd by Humane force. There was one Stone particularly which the *Indians* call'd *Saycuſca*, (which ſignifies wearineſs) for the infinite Labour and Toil it coſt them to bring it along. There were 20000 Men employ'd about it, drawing with great Cables, and in one rugged place it kill'd near 4000 Men. 'Twas full 15 Leagues that this huge Mountain of Stone, this Rock, was brought; but which was ſtranger ſtill, in the way they were oblig'd to croſs a certain River not much leſs than the *Guadalquivir* in *Spain*, and what ſort of contrivance they had to waft it over this River one wou'd be glad to know, the Stone to be ſure did not ſwim over of it ſelf, and what Veſſel cou'd be form'd to do it is unconceiveable. But then the ſetting of all the parts of the Building together is not a much leſs Wonder than any of the former, for they had no Rule nor Square, nor no Cranes or Engines to lift up the Stones; inſtead of Mortar they us'd a ſort of Clay, and by the means of this cement alone they made all ſo cloſe and compact, that the Junctures cou'd hardly be diſcerned. A certain Prieſt who went to take a nice ſurvey of this Prodigy of a Building, told the *Inca Garcilaſſo di Vega*, that his Opinion was, the Devil was the principal Architect, and he cou'd not ſee how all the Art and Force of Man cou'd ever lay ſuch unweildy things together in that poſture that they lay; and tho' we are not of his Opinion, yet we can't but admire the mighty Patience, Labour and Induſtry of the *Indians*, to go through with difficulties that appear ſo Invincible to all thoſe that conſider them.

No Tools for Work.

Admirable Fortreſs of *Cuſco*.

Strange Carriage of Stones.

The Stone *Saycuſca*.

Situation and Parts of the Fortreſs.

This Edifice ſtood upon a Hill on the North-ſide of the City, and a Hill ſo ſteep, that there was no poſſible aſſaulting it that way, and therefore there 'twas defended with one Wall only about 200 Fathoms long. On the other part of it there were three Walls, on incloſing the other, each in the form of a Creſcent, and of greater length than the former. The ſpace betwixt them was about 30 foot, and every Wall had in the midſt of it a Gate, which had one Stone elevated the full breadth and height of it. Within theſe Walls were three Forts, the middle-moſt round, and the other two ſquare; all which had Vaults and Subterranean Paſſages from one to the other, perfect Labyrinths they were, with ſo many turnings and windings, that there was no getting out but by the direction of a Clue. In the round Fort was a Conduit of excellent Water brought a vaſt way under ground, but where or from whence was a Secret, and known only to the *Inca Capa*, and ſome of his chief Miniſters. 'Twas here alſo that the *Inca's* took up their Quarters when they came to viſit the Fortreſs, and 'twas adorn'd accordingly with all the Beauties of Gold and Silver, the Effigies of Plants and Animals in thoſe Metals being enchas'd therein. The Governor of the Fortreſs was always to be of the Royal Blood legitimate, and 'twas not lawful for any but *Inca's* to come into it; for this was

Vaults and Labyrinths.

Government of it.

the Houſe of the Sun for War, as the Temple was for Devotion.

Baſe action of the *Spaniards*.

The *Spaniards*, inſtead of repairing this auguſt Building, pull it down as faſt as they can, to build their own private Houſes; and they have made ſuch uſe of it for that purpoſe, that moſt of the Houſes of *Cuſco* have ſome Ornament or other belonging to the Fortreſs in them. By doing thus, they have defac'd the greateſt piece of Majeſty in the Univerſe, and a thing that any Prince upon Earth wou'd have been proud of the pooreſt Ruines of. The beſt of the three Walls were ſtanding in our *Inca*'s time, but the reaſon was becauſe they were too ſtout and ſtrong to be pull'd down; yet he ſays they had begun to make ſome impreſſion upon them, and that for the lucre of a great Gold Chain, which the *Inca Huyana Capac* caus'd to be made, and being hidden ſomewhere, they hop'd to find it here. Here the old Proverb ſays that Hunger will break through Stone Walls, and it ſeems that Covetouſneſs will do the ſame too; and the truth on't is, the Walls of the Fortreſs of *Cuſco* were capable of making a ſtubborn oppoſition to either of thoſe greedy Appetites. But theſe ſorts of Buildings, as Palaces, Caſtles and Fortreſſes, were the chief of what they had; they had none of thoſe other varieties which the *European* World cou'd have ſhewn, even many Ages before the foundation of their Empire.

Ignorance of other Buildings.

Bridges, Arſenals, Towers, Columns, Arches, were things unknown amongſt them; and as to the latter, they took the doing of it to be the effect of a Power and Wiſdom above that of common Men. When they ſaw Arches of Wood rais'd over the River *Xaura*, they were downright aſtoniſh'd, but when the Bridge was finiſh'd, and all the Wood-work taken away, they all began to run for't, expecting that the Bridge it ſelf wou'd fall down into the River; but ſeeing it ſtand firm, and, as they thought, ſupported (by ſome extraordinary Power) in the Air, they then concluded 'twas very reaſonable they ſhou'd be Servants to the *Spaniards*, for without all doubt (ſaid they) theſe Men muſt needs be the Children of the Sun. But it may be they had Reaſons enough afterwards, to alter that Opinion of the Divine Original and Extraction of their Conquerors, and think it Honour enough to allow them to be Men.

We may now take a ſhort view of the Hiſtory of this Empire, the Origine, Succeſſion and Conqueſts of the *Inca's*, and the various ſteps they made towards that heighth of Power and Command they were riſen to when the *Spaniards* came amongſt them.

Original of the *Inca's*.

The *Inca's* (as has been often hinted already) derived their Pedigree from the Sun, which pretenſion of theirs was of the greateſt uſe and ſervice to them in the Eſtabliſhment of their Monarchy. This made the People honour them almoſt like Deities, and yield a blind and undiſputed Obedience to all their Laws and Impoſitions.

Manco Capac's Politick fiction.

They gave out, that their Father the Sun taking pity of the miſerable barbarous Inhabitants of the Country, and willing to reform them to a more Civil and Polite way of living, ſent down a Son and a Daughter of his own to be their Inſtructors, and gave them a Pattern of moſt excellent Laws to govern all thoſe Nations by. And having withal given them a moſt abſolute Sovereign Authority over all they cou'd tame and civilize, but a Sovereignty to be mix'd with ſo much Mercy, Juſtice and Beneficence, as, like the heavenly Sun their Father, to refreſh and do good to all about them; together with this, he Ordain'd the Founding of an Imperial City, where the Majeſty of the *Inca's* (his Race) ſhou'd ſhine forth with the pureſt luſtre. This firſt Pair were the *Inca's Manco Capac*, and the *Coya Mama Oclo Huaco*, Brother and Siſter, and Children of the Sun. Some of the common People of *Peru* bring in the Story of the Deluge here, and make the *Inca* and the *Coya* a Couple ſent by ſome Deity to people and reſtore this part of the World again after that general Deſolation. So that here they were like *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* in the Poet, and *Manco Capac* might ſay as well as the other, *O ſoror & conjux, O Femina ſola ſuperſtes.* But the Inca *Garcilaſſo* mentions nothing of a Flood, and he declares he tells the Story as it was generally receiv'd and believ'd amongſt the *Inca's*, and as thoſe grave Perſons did uſe to relate it at his Mothers Houſe. To proceed therefore with his account, they pretended they were firſt plac'd or ſet down upon this World about the Lake *Titicaca*, which is near eighty Leagues from *Cuſco*, where they were directed to ſettle and lay the Foundations of the Imperial City. And the mark they had to find out this place by, was a Bar of Gold they receiv'd from the Sun, which ſhou'd melt with one ſtroke upon the ground when they were come where the Seat of the Empire was intended to be. And they travelling, according to his directions, Northward from the Lake, had that ſign come to paſs (as they afterwards told the People) in the great Valley where *Cuſco* now ſtands.

Cuſco the moſt ancient City.

However, leaving the *Peruvians* to believe (as now they do) this Hiſtory of the Origine of their Princes and Empire, 'tis certain that the Politick *Manco Capac* (who found this the beſt courſe to ſeat himſelf in a Throne) ſucceeded very well in his Device. He endeavour'd in his Dreſs and Ornaments, as well as by his Words and Pretenſions, to appear to be ſomething extraordinary; and the Savage People, who found him very different from themſelves, believ'd him indeed to be the Off-ſpring of their Deity the Sun. When this Opinion was once fix'd, they were his Subjects and he their Sovereign; they gave him extravagant Honours, and wou'd even have gone through fire and water at his command.

Peoples Credulity.

And the firſt People that thus acknowledg'd him, ſet it about amongſt all their Neighbours, that the Son of the Sun was come to Reign over them, and had brought good and wholſome Laws that wou'd make all Mankind happy that ſubmitted to them. By this means his Fame and Intereſt grew apace together; and having got a conſiderable number of People about him, he ſet them at work upon building Houſes, which he gave them directions how to do, and ſo the firſt rough Lines of *Cuſco* began to be drawn. This was near 400 Years before the *Spaniards* conquer'd the Country, as appears by all their Memorials and Records.

His civilizing them.

All theſe rude People he endeavour'd to Civilize and Inſtruct in his Laws; he taught them the profitable Arts of Life, to Cultivate and Sow their Land, to make Inſtruments for that purpoſe, to Dreſs their Victuals, and eat it after a more Humane manner, and to obſerve ſomething of Order and Policy in their Battels. The *Coya* alſo undertook to perform the ſame part amongſt the Women that the *Inca* did amongſt the Men; ſhe taught them to work in Wooll and Cotton, and make Garments for themſelves and Families, and other Houſhold Offices ſutable to their Sex. Thus, in the ſpace of 6 or 7 Years, the *Inca* ſaw himſelf at the Head of a Nation, and was in a condition to extend the narrow Bounds of his Territories by force, and plant the Sun's Laws by the Sword where they did not meet with a due Reſpect and Submiſſion. But there was little need of force to conquer them that believ'd him to be the Son of ſuch a Father; beſides the allurements of his Government, and the uſeful Arts he inſtructed his People in, were ſufficient to make him new Conqueſts without methods of violence.

His Conqueſts.

In a word, *Manco Capac* reduc'd all the Eaſt Country to the River *Paucartapu*, and Weſtward 8 Leagues to the great River *Apurimac*, and Southward 9 Leagues to *Quequeſana*; and in this whole Region he Peopled, and brought into regular form, better than 100 Towns. Governors were plac'd over every ſeveral Nation that was brought in, and the Religion of the Sun eſtabliſh'd, Temples being built, and Sacrifices appointed to be offer'd to him. This *Inca* likewiſe made ſevere Laws againſt Murther, Adultery and Robbery; he regulated the point of Marriage too, forbidding any thing of that nature till the Parties were come to Years of Diſcretion, and enjoyning that none ſhou'd marry out of their own Tribe or Kindred.

Cuſtoms introduc'd by him.

He introduc'd the Cuſtoms of wearing the Hair Poll'd, of boring the Ears, and (as a ſort of Diadem) wreathing a Riband of many colours, and almoſt a finger thick, 4 or 5 times about the Head. This parti-colour'd Riband was an Ornament peculiar to the *Inca* himſelf, but *Manco Capac* always indulged this to his Vaſſals, as their firſt Privilege, to bind a Riband of one colour about their Heads likewiſe. After ſome time, he allow'd the Polling too as a very great favour, but done in a way diſtinguiſhable enough from his. They had nothing elſe to take off their Hair with but a ſharp Flint, which was very troubleſome; inſomuch, that when the *Spaniards* afterwards brought in Scizzars amongſt them, they were ſo taken with the Invention, that they us'd to ſay, if the *Spaniards* had only come to bring them Scizzars, Combs and Looking-glaſſes, they wou'd have given them all the Gold in the Country.

New *Inca's* made.

When this *Inca* came to die, he dignify'd all the chief of his Vaſſals (whom he aſſembled at *Cuſco*) with the Title of *Inca*, leaving it as his Ordinance, that they and their Deſcendants ſhou'd be *Inca's* without difference, and their Wives ſhou'd be all of them *Pallas*; as if all theſe had been of the Royal Blood, and become *Inca's* and *Pallas*, not by Favour and Privilege, but by Birth and Relation; but the Royal Family then was but ſmall, and the *Inca* was willing to ſee a greater number of the Kindred of the Sun, for the ſupport of new riſen Monarchy, before he died. Beſides, by this Policy, he ſecur'd their Allegiance and Fidelity

His Politick diſpoſals at death.

to his Succeſſor, for having been adopted into the Famil of the Sun themſelves, they wou'd be ſure to expreſs all manner of Duty and Loyal regard to the direct and natural Deſcendant. The *Inca*, for his part, told them that he was returning back to the Regions of his Father the Sun again, where he intended to reſt for the future; but if they endeavour'd to augment the Glory of the Empire, and ſtrictly obſerv'd the Sacred Laws he had brought, he wou'd ſuccour them out of thoſe bright Manſions where he was now going to dwell. He gave both the Vaſſals (or new made *Inca's*) and his own Children, their ſeveral Inſtructions apart; and, in ſhort, having taken all the beſt Meaſures for carrying on the Building, of which he had ſo well laid the Foundations, and acted the ſame Politick part at laſt that he did at firſt, he died, and was ſucceeded by *Sinchi Roca* his eldeſt Son by his Wife and Siſter, the *Coya Mama Oclo Huaco*.

Second Inca *Sinchi Roca*.

He follow'd his Fathers example, and took his own Siſter Partner both of his Bed and Throne; and this they did to keep the high Blood of the *Inca* pure and entire by it ſelf, thinking 'twou'd be a diſparagement to mix it with the beſt Humane Blood in the World. He made great Conqueſts too towards the Southern Parts, and hedg'd in at leaſt 20 Leagues more within the Bounds of the Empire. The Name of *Sinchi* was given him upon the account of his Valour and Dexterity, for he exceeded all in his time at Running, Leaping, Wreſtling, and caſting Darts and great Stones. Beſides his Southern Conqueſts, he reduc'd ſeveral other Nations on each hand of him, and reign'd near as long as his Father, which was 30 Years.

Third Inca.

His Son *Lloque Yupanqui* fill'd the Throne next, who added not a little to the extent of his Territories, ſpreading the Knowledge of the Sun's Laws amongſt a great number of other Nations. He reduc'd a heap of Nations call'd by the general Name of *Pancarcolla* and *Hatuncolla*, which we mention for no other reaſon than that of their particular fancy in the chief Object of their Worſhip, which was a white Ram. They ſaid that the firſt Ram in the World above, had more kindneſs for their Nation than all the other *Indians* beſides, and had bleſs'd them exceedingly in multiplying their Cattel. They wou'd have done very well, if they had alſo told the World how that Ram came to have ſuch a particular kindneſs for them above their Neighbours, and how they came to know they were beholding to him for ſo many Bleſſings. But *Lloque Yupanqui* broke the Horns of this Ram, robb'd him of his Honour, and made his Devoto's turn about to the Sun.

Fourth Inca *Mayta Capac*.

His Succeſſor was *Mayta Capac*, but what Relation the *Inca* does not tell us. He led forth greater Armies than the Princes his Predeceſſors had done before him, and amongſt many Conqueſts, he brought the People *Tiabuanaca* to acknowledge his Supreme Authority. Theſe People deſerve a particular mention upon the ſcore of the famous Buildings that were amongſt them, ſuch that they ſay the wonderful Fortreſs of *Cuſco* was copied out from thence. There were Walls, Porches, Fronts, and other imperfect pieces of Building, made of Stones of ſo large a ſize, that 'twas ſtrange how they cou'd be manag'd and diſpos'd into that order; beſides, there were no Stone Quarries known in all the Country. Particularly in the ſame Region, faſt by the Lake *Chuquivitu*, there was a Houſe that open'd with a fair Court fifteen Yards ſquare, and encompaſs'd with a high Wall three quarters of a Yard thick; on one ſide whereof was a great Hall 45 Foot long, and 22 wide. But the rarity was, that the whole Building was all one entire Rock; the Hall, Court, Porches and Wall it ſelf, were all wrought out of one Stone. Beſides this, there were Sculptures of Men and Women in Stone, ſo natural that they appear'd as if alive; ſome had Cups in their hands, and ſeem'd to be drinking, ſome were ſitting, others ſtanding, and in moving poſtures, with a great many varieties more of this kind. In one Room there were two Giants, with long Garments trailing upon the ground, and their Heads cover'd; which is not the common Cuſtom of that Country. The People cou'd give no other account neither of the Buildings nor the Sculptures than only this, That according to their Traditions, all thoſe monſtrous Buildings were rais'd in one Night, and thoſe Effigies were real Men and Women once, but converted into Stone for their Impieties. The *Inca Garcilaſſo* had this Relation of the Wonders of this Place from one that was born and bred up together with him, and went thither on purpoſe to ſurvey them.

Prodigious Structures.

Fifth Inca *Capac Yupanqui*.

Capac Yupanqui, the Son of the laſt *Inca*, ſucceeded him in his Empire when he went to reſt with his Father the Sun. By the way we may note, that theſe Names *Capac* and *Yupanqui* are not proper ones, but terms of Honour and Dignity, and were given to the *Inca's* for the ſake of thoſe Vertues and illuſtrious Qualities they were endowed withal. 'Tis probable he had the two Names *Capac* and *Yupanqui* join'd together, (which none of his Predeceſſors had) from his extraordinary fortune in his Wars, and the Glory he purchas'd by them; for in his time the Empire ſtretch'd 180 Leagues from *Cuſco* Southward, and Weſtward to the Seawards, 60 Leagues one way and 80 another, to the Eaſtward 13 Leagues, and to the S. E. 40 Leagues, and all this before he had finiſh'd his Conqueſts, for after that 'twas grown to this bulk, he ſwell'd it into larger dimenſions by running it on to *Arequippa* 80 Leagues in length outright, and 14 in breadth. This Prince had occaſion in one of his Enterprizes to tranſport his Army over a great River, and having no Boats nor Bridges ready made, he was forc'd to make a Bridge, and he did it of Bull-ruſhes. They grew in great plenty thereabouts, and ſo they ſerv'd themſelves of them upon this occaſion after the following manner. They made a parcel of great Cables of theſe Bull-ruſhes as big as a Man's Leg, very firmly twiſted, and long enough to reach from one ſide of the River to the other. Some of theſe were extended croſs the River, and upon them were laid huge bundles of the ſame ſtuff tied very faſt together and to the Cables. Over theſe bundles they laid other Cables, and ſo *ſtratum ſuper ſtratum*, Bundles and Cables interwoven with one another, till at laſt they had made it into a firm Bridge. The dimenſions of it were 14 feet in breadth, and 150 paces in length, namely the breadth of the River at that place; and this Bridge of Bull-ruſhes was conſtantly repair'd every ſix Months. This Prince was remarkable for his pious Endeavours to propagate the high Race of the Sun, and ſtock his Family with *Inca's* and *Coya's*, for he left about 80 Children behind him. Yet our *Inca* ſays, that ſome others of them outdid him ſeveral Bars length, bleſſing the Empire with 100, others 200; nay, ſome above 300 of the Off-ſpring of the Sun.

Bridge of Bull-ruſhes.

Strange Deſcent.

This Prince dying made way for the *Inca Roca*, the ſecond of that Name. He added more than 50 Leagues ſquare to the Empire towards the Province *Charcas*, beſides his Northern Conqueſts in the Nation of the *Chanca*, a fierce and valiant People. Theſe *Indians* deriv'd their Deſcent from a Lion, and therefore worſhipp'd that Animal, and frequently cloath'd themſelves in Lions skins. All the Valleys where the celebrated Plant *Coca* grows were taken in too, and beyond them to *Cannachuay*, where there is a deſcent, as our Author ſays, of almoſt 5 Leagues perpendicular, the way all the while going with infinite turnings and windings. Here in theſe Provinces they worſhipp'd the Herb *Coca*, alſo Tygers and great Snakes, of which there are ſome reported to be 25 and 30 foot long, but of no poyſonous nor deſtructive nature at all. This *Inca* has the honour of being the firſt Founder of Schools in *Cuſco*. He us'd to ſay that *Pachacamac* muſt needs be a very great King, that had ſuch a glorious Houſe as the Heavens were to dwell in; and that if he were to worſhip any thing here below, it ſhou'd be a Wiſe and an Underſtanding Man. But he made this concluſion too, that that which begins, grows, and at laſt dies irrecoverably, ought not to be an object of Worſhip; a noble concluſion, for a Man that read no other Divinity than what was printed in the great Book of the World.

Schools founded in *Cuſco*.

Wiſe Saying.

Tahuar Huacac ſeventh Inca.

To this *Inca* ſucceeded *Tahuar Huacac* his Son, he had this Name becauſe 'tis reported of him that he wept Blood at his Birth; and as this was look'd upon to be a preſage of the moſt unlucky and croſs Events, ſo none of all the *Inca's* of *Peru* ever had that fate and thoſe calamities that he had. The beginning of his Reign was proſperous enough, and he carried on the deſign of his Predeceſſors, in extending the Bounds of their Dominions, with no little glory; but as he was forming yet greater projects, and laying out in his own mind other Nations and People to try his victorious Arms upon, his eldeſt Son at home became a plague to him; at leaſt he was jealous of him, and for that reaſon baniſh'd him from Court. And to make the ſurer of him, he confin'd him to the private and obſcure Life of a Shepherd; he made him enter into the Society of thoſe Men that kept the Sheep and Cattel of the Sun in *Chita*. This life he liv'd between 3 or 4 Years, but then (tho' directly contrary to his Fathers command) he came away to Court, pretending a Meſſage of very great importance to deliver to the *Inca*, neither wou'd he go till he had admiſſion. The buſineſs was, that he had a Viſion wherein he was inform'd of a dangerous Deſign againſt the State, that a Rebellion was hatching, and the Imperial City threatned with a ſurprize; and all this from the Mouth of an infallible Meſſenger, even *Viracocha*, the Brother of *Manco*

A Viſion pretended.

A great Rebellion.

Quieted by the Prince.

His Honours.

Old *Inca* retires, and the Prince ſucceeds.

Capac the firſt *Inca*, who came down from the Regions of Light on purpoſe to reveal it, and appear'd to him for that purpoſe as he was feeding his Sheep. The *Inca*, who wou'd not believe any thing of this Story, ſent him away with a good chiding to his Sheep again; however, three Months after the Rebellion broke out indeed, and a great many Provinces altogether threw off the *Inca*'s Yoke, and cut the Throats of the Governors. And as this was the firſt Revolt that ever happen'd in the Government, ſo 'tis very poſſible that the young Prince might foretel it without a Viſion from Heaven, eſpecially if he was any way concern'd in the procuring of it, which is as likely as that he ſhou'd live the Life of a Shepherd contentedly. The *Inca* being much ſurpriz'd, for his part fled away from *Cuſco*, with a deſign to ſecure himſelf in ſome of the remoter Provinces; and the Inhabitants were going to follow his example, but that they thought of the Prince, and ſent for him to come and ſtand by them. The Prince gather'd what Forces he cou'd, and in the firſt place went after his Father, and repreſented to him his Crime and Cowardice in leaving the Houſe and Holies of the Sun, with all the conſecrated Virgins, expos'd to the fury of the Enemies; and then bidding all thoſe follow him, who preferr'd an honourable Death before a Life of Ignominy and Shame, he carried off with him at leaſt 4000 of the Royal Stock, the reſt retiring with the *Inca*. After this, ſome other Forces join'd him out of the Provinces, ſo that a conſiderable Army was made up at laſt, with which he advanc'd towards the Enemy, met, gave them Battel, and after a tedious and bloody conflict entirely defeated them. Neither is this Battel any clear proof at all that the Prince was not concern'd in the Riſing, for People may be (by Orders) teaz'd and oppreſs'd into a Revolt, as well as ſolicited and allur'd to it by Gold; but whatſoever was the cauſe of it, 'tis certain that 'twas a good opportunity for an active Prince to recommend himſelf to the Peoples favour; and 'tis certain alſo, that whether there was deſign or no, it had this effect. For he dealt ſo mildly with the Rebels, and us'd ſo many ſoft Arts in treating them after he had beaten them, that he made them abſolutely his own. But the Body of the People, in whoſe Cauſe he fought, did even adore him; he was receiv'd into *Cuſco* with Triumphs hardly ever known, and as they had given him the Name of *Viracocha* before, upon the account of his Viſion, ſo that now ſeem'd almoſt too little for him. After all theſe Honours receiv'd, he went to viſit his Father in his retirement, who was now grown very melancholly, ſeeing how things were likely to go. In ſhort, the Father and Son conferr'd ſome time in private; the iſſue of which was, that the Prince came out and told the Nobility that the *Inca* wou'd return no more to *Cuſco*; and they taking it for granted that he ſpoke the truth, concluded that a Palace of Pleaſures ſhou'd be built for him in that place, to ſpend the reſt of his Days in.

Temple built by *Viracocha*.

Viracocha upon this return'd to *Cuſco*, and put on the Imperial Diadem himſelf, being receiv'd and acknowledg'd for *Inca Capa*, This was the end of the Viſion; in remembrance of which, (ſo lucky a one as 'twas) the new *Inca* built a ſtately Temple, but without a Roof or any Covering, becauſe the Viſion was ſeen in the open air, and he made it his buſineſs to imitate the place where it appear'd as much as was poſſible. This Building the *Spaniards* pull'd down (as they did abundance of other noble ones in ſeveral places) to ſearch for Treaſure under it; for Gold being ſo ſcarce in this poor Country, they were forc'd to demoliſh Temples and Palaces, or any thing to come at a little of it.

Boundaries of the Empire.

Great Water-Courſes cut through the Mountains.

This Prince began and continued to be a Conqueror all his time; he ſubjected the Nations Eaſtward to the *Sierre*, and Southward to the fartheſt Province of *Charcas*, 200 Leagues from *Cuſco*. So that the Sea and the Hills on each hand, and Southwards the Deſarts betwixt them and *Chili*, bounded the Empire; neither did he do all there, but turn'd and went Northward, where he impos'd his Laws upon a great many Nations more. But he did one thing which was of more fame than all his Wars, and that was the cutting great Water-channels, which might be rank'd amongſt the Wonders of the World, conſidering the Rocks and Cliffs they were forced to break through, and that without any Iron Tools. There was one that went betwixt *Parcu* and *Picuy* to *Ricanas*, which was 120 Leagues in length, and 12 Foot broad; and another was cut in the Weſtern Parts of the Empire, that run full 150 Leagues even from the high *Sierras* to the *Quechuas*. The *Spaniards* ſuffer'd all theſe uſeful and coſtly Works to run to ruine and decay, as they have alſo above one third part of them that were to water the Corn-grounds.

Bodies of the *Inca's* Embalm'd.

The *Inca Garcilaſſo Divega* ſays, that in *A. D.* 1560. he ſaw the Body of this *Viracocha* with that of *Tapac Yupanqui*, and *Huayna Capac*; alſo the Bodies of *Mama Runtu*, Wife to *Viracocha*, and *Mama Oclo*, Mother to *Huayna Capac*, at *Cuſco*, which had then the very hair of their Eye-lids and Eye-brows continuing entire and unblemiſh'd, and all their Robes and Diadems as while they liv'd. They were ſet with their hands a-croſs their Breaſts as the *Indians* uſe to do, their Eyes turn'd downwards, as if looking upon the ground; and their whole fleſh and dreſs appear'd ſo lively and fine, that they made a figure not at all like dead Corps, but rather like ſo many living Princes ſhining in their Royal Ornaments. The main difference (next to the want of ſpeech and motion) was the exceeding lightneſs of thoſe Bodies, which was tried by the weighing of them; but this ſecret of Embalming was a thing which the *Spaniards* cou'd never by any means whatſoever get out of the *Peruvians*. As they were carried along the Streets, the *Indians* were paſſionate to the laſt degree, they kneel'd down before them, and pour'd out ſighs and tears in abundance; in this manner reverencing their earthly Suns, tho' under the total Eclipſe of Death.

Pachacutec the 10th *Inca*.

Strong Towns in the Province *Sauſa*.

Publick Triumphs.

This *Inca* left his Throne to his Son *Pachacutec*, who, by ſome of the *Spaniſh* Authors, is confounded with his Father, and the Acts of both wrapt up confuſedly together, or that attributed to one which was paſt all doubt done by the other. This Prince enlarged the Empire 60 Leagues N. & S. in one Expedition, and reform'd the People to the Religion of the *Inca's*; particularly the Province of *Sauſa*, corruptly called by the *Spaniards Xauxa*, which was inhabited with a ſtout and valiant People that had their Towns more like Fortreſſes than any thing elſe, but they had fix'd upon a ſordid Creature a Dog for the chief Object of their Worſhip, and upon the ſame ſcore made Dogs-fleſh their chiefeſt dainty. But *Pachatutec* was no leſs intent upon the improving his Country, than the augmenting it by Conqueſts, and therefore buſied himſelf in making Laws, building Temples, Palaces, Store-houſes, and Fortreſſes to defend his Frontiers. After this manner he ſpent ſome Years doing good to his Subjects and Empire, and then ſpurr'd on with the inſatiable deſire of more Victories and Glory, he went out to the making of new Conqueſts, which he did with an Army larger than moſt that had been ſeen, and took in ſeveral Nations in that Expedition. The Victories gotten at this time were ſo great, that the Triumphs and Rejoycings in *Cuſco* upon that ſcore laſted a Month; and there were Solemnities, which till that time had hardly been known. There were of all the ſeveral conquer'd Nations there to grace the Ceremony, and bear a part in the Entertainment; they all appear'd in their ſeveral different Habits, and with the Martial Muſick us'd in their reſpective Countries; they were divided into ſo many diſtinct Bands and Troops, which march'd in order, after the Inca and the Generals, to the Temple of the Sun; all the reſt put off their Shoes when they came to the Boundaries of the Temple, only the Inca himſelf kept his on till he came to the very door, where he made his feet bare, and then went in and gave thanks for the mighty Victories he had gain'd. After this Religious Service, the whole Train return'd to the great Market-place, where they began the other Entertainments of Feaſting, Singing and Dancing, which held for that ſpace of time before-mention'd.

Valleys conquer'd.

And this Expedition was follow'd with another into the Valleys of *Piſco*; yea, and *Chincha*, which proved of as great conſequence for the Enlargement of his Territories. Theſe Countries, for the ſpace of 500 Leagues together, worſhipp'd the Sea, and particularly the Whale, the biggeſt Monſter of the ſame.

Other Valleys ſubdu'd.

Pachacamac worſhipp'd.

Rites different from the *Peruvian*.

After this he ſubdued the Valleys of *Runa*, *Huarcu*, *Malla* and *Chilca*, which were all ſubject to one Prince. From hence he paſs'd to the Valleys of *Pachacamac*, *Rimac*, *Cancay* and *Huaman*, at which time all the Country about *Lima* was taken in, which was alſo all of it under the Dominion of one King. *Rimac* the *Spaniards* now call *Lima*, very corruptly and abuſively, as they do a great many other places and things beſides; and they gave it the Name of the City of *Kings*, becauſe they founded it on the day of the *Epiphany*. In this Country the *Inca* found a Temple dedicated to the Inviſible *Pachacamac*, who was ſerv'd here with a Worſhip much more inhumane and cruel than any known and practis'd in all the Parts of *Peru*, for here were Men, Women and Children, offer'd in Sacrifice; and 'twas no uncommon thing to ſee that more valuable Blood mix'd with the Blood of Brute Animals at their Altars. But they differ'd from the Rites of the Religion of the *Inca* their Conqueror, not only in the point of Humane Sacrifices, (of which there were none publick at leaſt in his Dominions) but alſo in this, that they had an Image to repreſent *Pachacamac* to their Sences, which the others alſo proteſted againſt. This Image both the King and the Prieſt reverenc'd ſo highly, that when they enter'd the Temple they always went backwards, not daring to preſume to caſt an Eye upon him. Beſides this, they had alſo an Oracle (as they call'd it) from which they had (as they gave out) the Knowledge of things to come.

Treaty of that King and the *Inca*.

Now when the *Inca* brought his Army into this Country, he ſent to *Cuyſmancu*, the King of it, to demand Subjection in the Sun's Name, whoſe Kinſman and Deputy he was: But *Cuyſmancu* refus'd to yield upon theſe Summons, and ſent word that his *Pachacamac* was greater than the Sun, being the Maker of him and all other Beings, and that 'twas to this Deity that he paid all his Religious Devoirs. The *Inca* replied again, That he and his Country did worſhip *Pachacamac* as well as he, but they did it without Temple or Sacrifice, honouring him only with a Mental Service, becauſe they knew him not, nor what he wou'd be pleas'd with: And whereas they were afraid to look upon the Image of *Pachacamac*, he and his People dreaded even to pronounce his awful Name.

Conditions of Peace.

In ſhort, after many Parleys and Debates, Peace was concluded upon theſe terms, That they ſhou'd worſhip the Sun as the *Inca* did, and make him a ſeparate Temple like that of *Pachacamac*. That they ſhou'd take away all their Idols, and worſhip the Creator of the World without an Image or a Statue. That they ſhou'd leave off their ſhedding Humane Blood, and acknowledging the *Inca's* Sovereignty, ſhou'd obey his Laws. And thus *Cuyſmancu* was ſtill to remain in his Kingdom, only paying the impos'd Tribute, or doing the appointed Homage to his Sovereign.

But this reſtleſs Prince **Pachacutor** cou'd not ſit down quiet with all theſe great Conqueſts, but muſt ſtill go on to promote the Religion of the Sun amongſt his Neighbours: His next and laſt Expedition was to *Truxillo*, as 'tis now call'd, and the Valleys of *Parmunca*, *Hualmi*, *Huarapu*, and ſome others. But here he met with a certain ſtubborn Prince that wou'd not hear of any new Deity, nor be obliged to worſhip the Sun in Complement to the *Inca*, tho' he was not ſo fortunate as to maintain his Reſolutions handſomly by the Sword, but loſt both his Liberty, Country and Religion together, in one great Battel.

And now **Pachacutec** turn'd to Domeſtick Affairs again, founding Towns, Temples, Granaries, Schools, in greater numbers; enlarging the City of *Cuſco* it ſelf, and obliging all the *Curaca's* to learn the *Cuſco* Dialect. The whole that he added to the Empire was at leaſt 130 Leagues, N. & S. and in breadth from the Hills to the Sea about 60 or 70; but he ſat upon the Throne not a little while to do all this Work, not much leſs than 50 Years, which was alſo about as much as his Father before him had kept it.

Tupanqui the 10th *Inca*.

This Prince dying, his Son *Tupanqui* ſucceeded him, who having ſpent ſome time in Surveying his large Empire, and not finding it large enough to ſatisfie his Ambition, reſolv'd upon the deſign of making it yet greater. His firſt Army was employ'd to reduce the Country on the other ſide the ridge of Mountains that lie Eaſtward from *Cuſco*, and becauſe there was paſſage along thitherwards by certain Rivers that have their Riſe from thoſe Mountains, therefore he ſent his Men to cut a great deal of that ſtuff which the *Spaniards* call *Higuera*, to make Boats; in which Work they ſpent two Years, and then proceeded in the Expedition.

Boats made.

The River the Army enter'd by was call'd *Amammayu*, which is divided in thoſe high Mountains into 5 others; and the People they reduc'd at that time were the *Chauchu*, which liv'd on the Banks of the River, a painted feather'd ſort of *Barbarians*, and little acquainted with any of thoſe Laws or Cuſtoms that the *Inca* came to teach them. The Tribute impos'd upon them was ſo many Popenjays and Monkeys, ſo much Wax and Honey, which they continued faithfully to pay to the time of the Empires fate.

Tribute of Monkeys.

Country of *Muſu*.

They proceeded from hence till they came into the Country of *Muſu*, 200 Leagues from *Cuſco*. Theſe People had heard too much of the *Inca*'s Fame and Power to pretend to cope with him, and therefore were very willing to have his Friendſhip, but they did not care to acknowledge Subjection, and become his Vaſſals: However, the *Inca* admitted them upon theſe terms, and ſent a Colony of *Peruvians*, who planted amongſt them, as alſo the *Muſuans* ſent an Embaſſy to *Cuſco* to bring from thence the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Inca's* Religion.

Chiribuana an unprofitable Country.

The deſign upon the great Province *Chiribuana*, which is upon the Mountains Eaſtward from the Province of *Charcas*, had worſe Succeſs. The Country indeed was enough to diſcourage an Army, being all Marſhes, Lakes, Bogs, and wild mountainous Tracts, every where unfit for Husbandy and Cultivation; and the People were a ſort of Animals as rude and barbarous as one cou'd well ſuppoſe to be bred in ſuch horrid places. They eat the Fleſh, and drink the Blood of Humane Creatures with eager delight, and for this purpoſe often ravag'd the Neighbour Provinces, that they might have their fill; but their Cuſtom was, when they had eaten the Fleſh of any that died amongſt themſelves, (for they made no ſcruple of doing ſo likewiſe) to lay all the Bones together, and mourn over them awhile, and then bury them. They made no diſtinction in Womankind, but us'd all promiſcuouſly, lying with Mothers, Siſters or Daughters, according as the brutiſh Appetite hurry'd them. The *Inca* was the more deſirous to reduce this Country, becauſe the Inhabitants were ſuch arrant Beaſts as they were, and needed ſo much more than all the reſt of the Nations known in thoſe Parts to be Civiliz'd and brought into good Order: But however, the charitable Deſign did not proſper, and an Army of 10000 Men were fatigu'd there two whole Years to no purpoſe, being forc'd to return without making their Lord the *Inca* Maſter of the Country.

Inca's Forces repuls'd.

The *Spaniards* alſo afterwards, in *A. D.* 1572. made the like attempt with the like ſucceſs, and the Vice Roy was forc'd to return without any other Satisfaction than only that of having ſeen the *Chiribuanas*, who follow'd him, and threaten'd to eat him if they cou'd catch him.

Conqueſt of *Chili*.

This Project failing, the *Inca* reſolv'd to try at the Conqueſt of the noble Country of *Chili*, and ſent out Spies to diſcover it, and the difficulties of the ways. Theſe Men found 80 Leagues of Deſart from *Atacama* to *Copayapu*, which is a little Province well Peopled, and were forc'd as they went to make Marks by the way, that they might find it at their return; from *Copayapu* to *Coquimpu*, which is 80 Leagues more, they found it all deſtitute of Inhabitants. The *Inca*, having gotten ſome account of the Country, ſent out an Army of 10000 Men well furniſh'd, and quickly after them 10000 more; which ſudden pouring in of Forces ſo daunted the *Copayapuans*, that tho' they refus'd at firſt to obey the *Inca's* Summons, yet they afterwards bethought themſelves, and came to a Compoſition. This good Succeſs made the *Inca* ſend another 10000 Men to purſue the Conqueſt yet farther, and they march'd (tho' with infinite toil and difficulty) as far as the Province of *Coquimpu*, which they ſubdued alſo; and ſo all the Nations till you come to the Valley of *Chili*, from whence that Kingdom takes the Name.

River *Maulli*.

After this they went farther Southward ſtill, about 50 Leagues, and croſs'd the River of *Maulli* with 20000 Men; here they met with a moſt valiant and hardy ſort of Enemies, and ſuch as wou'd be by no means perſwaded to do as the reſt had done, that is, lay down their Arms, and declare themſelves Vaſſals to the *Inca*. In ſhort, they diſputed his Sovereignty with ſo much warmth and fierceneſs, that they kill'd above half his Army, and let him know by that, that the Conqueſt of their Country wou'd coſt him dear. The Battel was renew'd three days ſucceſſively, and the bigger part of both ſides being kill'd, they then ſat down to reſt, expecting what wou'd be attempted farther; but neither Party being much diſpos'd to a ſecond Action, they withdraw as it were by conſent, the *Peruvians* being ſatisfied to have gone thus far.

Valiant People.

Southern Boundary.

The Southern Boundary of the Empire now was the River *Maulli*, it being extended above 260 Leagues beyond *Atacama*, from whence the Spies firſt ſet out. All this Work was 6 Years in hand, and the *Inca* had upon this Occaſion an Army of above 50000 Men in *Chili*.

Beſides this Southern addition to his Territories, he enlarg'd them to the Northward in all at leaſt 1000 Leagues in extent. He alſo took a great deal of care to adorn and improve his Country; and beſides many other publick Edifices, ſome for Pomp and Majeſty, and others for Religious and Civil Uſes, he carry'd on the Building of the wonderful Fortreſs of *Cuſco*, for which his Father had laid in a great ſtock of Materials.

Fortreſs of *Cuſco*.

Tupac Tupanqui the 11th *Inca*.

To him ſucceeded the Prince *Tupac Tupanqui* his Son, who having beſtow'd himſelf ſome time at home, prepar'd to follow the Example of his Forefathers. For 'tis to be noted, that the *Inca's* being mounted the Throne, did always firſt ſolemnize their Predeceſſors Obſequies, next to that their own Coronation; and then before they went upon any Foreign Enterprizes, ſpent ſome time, Slingers.

Worſhippers of Snakes.

more or leſs in viſiting their own Country. Being at leiſure for War, he firſt conquer'd the *Chacapuyans*, a fierce and valiant People, their Arms moſtly Slings, and their Deity a Snake, and the Bird call'd *Cuntur*; this Province lies Eaſtward from *Caſſamarca*. Next to theſe he pierc'd into the Country of the *Huacrachucu*, a People as untoward and crabbed as their Name is: Theſe worſhipp'd Snakes as well as the former, and kept them always pictur'd in their Temples and Houſes; on their Heads they wore a roul of black Wooll, and inſtead of a Feather, the Spike of a Deers Horn. The *Inca* loſt a great many Men by medling with theſe untractable Fellows, and tho' by Policy and Perſwaſion he did reduce them at laſt, yet it coſt him time and pains, for he was forc'd to ſend for another Army out of *Peru*, as well to keep them in awe, as to work at draining their Lands for them, that they might be fit for Plowing and Sowing.

Pretexts of the *Inca's*.

Theſe Princes, we may note by the way, when they enter'd a Country that they intended ſhou'd be their own, always began firſt to try gentle Methods; they inſinuated that they did not come to take away their Country from them, and make themſelves Maſters of their Wealth and Poſſeſſions, but to civilize them, and do them good, to teach them the Laws of the Sun, and aboliſh all their barbarous Rites and Cuſtoms. With ſuch pretences as theſe did they palliate their greedy Ambition and Deſires of Sovereignty, which is no new Story in the World; and it has been often enough ſeen, that Religion has been made uſe of as an Engine to move and turn about a Secular Intereſt.

Chachapuya.

The next Province the *Inca* attempted, notwithſtanding all his fine words and pretenſions, gave him a very rough reception; and were ſo far from hearkning to a Propoſal of being civiliz'd, that they exerted the laſt degree of their barbarity and fierceneſs to entertain him that made it. This Country was call'd *Chachapuya*, and was at leaſt 50 Leagues long, and 20 broad; the Hills were ſteep and craggy, the Ways very bad, and in many places unpaſſable, and the *Inca* loſt abundance of his Men. But at laſt he brought all into ſubjection, and whether they wou'd or no Eſtabliſhed his Laws amongſt them.

Huancapampa.

Wide Religion.

From hence he march'd to *Huancapampa*, a great Country, but conſiſting of ſeveral Nations divided, and at Wars amongſt themſelves; whom therefore he had a very fair opportunity of conquering all together. Theſe People were the moſt licentious in their Religion and Worſhip of any in that part of the World; for whereas moſt others had ſome particular Object that they paid more religious Honour and Reverence to than the reſt, theſe worſhipp'd every Man what he lik'd beſt, one a Beaſt, and another a Bird, and a third Man a Plant; ſo that their Deities, in ſhort, were whatſoever the Earth, or any Animals upon it, produc'd.

War for Women.

And then as to their Wars, they fought one with another not for Wealth nor Glory, nor greatneſs of Command, but for Women; upon whoſe account, a great many other Men in the World go together by the Ears as well as they. The *Inca* having ſubdu'd them, gave them Inſtructors to teach them the Arts of Husbandry, building Houſes, and making Clothes; he eſtabliſh'd Houſes of Prieſts and Religious Virgins amongſt them, and made that Province in a little time one of the beſt and moſt flouriſhing in his Empire.

Huanucu.

After he had well ſecur'd this, he went and reduc'd three Provinces more, but ſuch as put him to no manner of trouble about the civilizing and regulating of them, the Inhabitants being a People of excellent Policy and Government, and living in as good Order as the Subjects of the *Inca* themſelves cou'd pretend to: Theſe were the Provinces of *Caſſa*, *Ayahuaca*, and *Callua*, which deſerve particular mention for a Politeneſs they had in the midſt of all the brutiſh and barbarous Nations round about them. The Province of *Huanucu*, that lies Northward from *Cuſco*, was the next that follow'd the fate of the former; 'twas a rich and fertile Country, and the *Inca* endeavour'd to render it a very Religious one, building therein a Temple for the Sun, and a Houſe for the Sacred Virgins, with at leaſt 20000 *Indians* to perform the Offices of both thoſe Manſions.

Cannari.

The like he did alſo in *Cannari*, a neighbouring Province; the Inhabitants of which, before the *Inca* came amongſt them, worſhipp'd the Moon, but were then oblig'd to quit her Service for that of the Sun, and adore what their Maſter the *Inca* did.

Quillacu.

Lowſe Tribute.

The People of *Quillacu*, who were the next that put on the *Inca's* Yoke, were abſolutely the moſt miſerable and ſordid in the whole Empire; it was a piece of charity and kindneſs to conquer them, that they might be brought to ſomething of Humanity in their Manners and Converſation. Beſides the natural Poverty and Barenneſs of their Country, they had nothing of Art or Induſtry, or ſo much as diſpoſition towards any thing that might improve and render them happy. They were ſlothful and naſty to ſuch a degree, that the *Inca* impos'd a Tribute of Lice upon them, that they might be under a ſort of neceſſity of keeping themſelves clean. In a word, there was nothing to be found that cou'd tempt a Prince to come and make a Conqueſt of this Country, having neither Water, Air nor Land, that was any way good or agreeable.

Other Provinces were capable of ſome Improvement, and the *Inca* adorn'd them with noble Buildings, as he did in the neighbouring one of *Cannari* lately mention'd, where the Temple of the Sun, and his own Royal Houſe, had all the extravagancy of Riches in the make of them that cou'd well be imagin'd almoſt; but as for *Quillacu*, the *Inca* did not think it worth while to do any thing of that nature there. 'Tis to be ſuppos'd he taught the ſtupid Inhabitants as much of his Religion as they cou'd learn, but ſeeing them fit for little elſe, he ſet them to catch Lice, and ſo pay Tribute that way, they being ſo poor in every thing beſides, that no other was to be expected of them.

Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Quito*.

People of *Quillacena*.

The *Inca's* next Expedition was an Introductory ſtep to his Conqueſt of the rich and pleaſant Kingdom of *Quito*, for he took in ſeveral Provinces that lay upon the Borders of that Country: And having thus open'd his way pretty well, he began the attempt upon *Quito* it ſelf, with an Army of 40000 Men, and ſpent two Years there without making any great progreſs in his Deſign. Upon this account, becauſe he ſaw the War wou'd be long and tedious, and his preſence was neceſſary at home, he therefore went back to *Cuſco*, and left his Son the Prince *Huayna Capac* to compleat the Reduction of the Country. And this, according to the *Inca's* preſage, prov'd to be a tedious Work, for the Prince ſpent three more before he cou'd do it; but then the King of *Quito* dying, the People were the more eaſily perſwaded to ſubmit themſelves to a new Sovereign. And thus was that noble Country, at leaſt 70 Leagues long, and 30 broad, made a Province of the mighty Empire of the *Inca's*. But the young Prince puſh'd on his fortune farther ſtill, and made the Country of *Quillacana*, with ſeveral other barbarous Nations, ſtoop to his Fathers Yoke at that time. All which Conqueſts made, he return'd to *Cuſco* with a great deal of Triumph, taking care at the ſame time about the refining theſe barbarous People a little from their dregs. And the truth of it is, they were ſome of them almoſt as great Objects of compaſſion as thoſe of *Quillacu*. The People of *Quillacena* were as near akin to them in their naſty Qualities as they were in their Names, they devour'd any thing that came to hand, the worſt of Carrion was eaten by them, and they themſelves eaten up by Lice; the Province had the Name of *Quillacena*, that is, *Iron-noſe Province*, from a cuſtom theſe Barbarians had of boring their Noſtrils, and wearing Iron, or any thing they fancied there.

The *Inca Yupanqui* having ſerv'd himſelf to this good purpoſe by his Wars, now gave himſelf up, for the remainder of his Days, to all the ſweets and pleaſures of Peace. He mightily enrich'd and improv'd his Country, and particularly carry'd on the building of the Fortreſs of *Cuſco* with a great deal of vigour, employing conſtantly 20000 Men at the common work of it, beſides what were taken up upon extraordinary Services.

The *Inca's* Cuſtom of making Speeches when they die.

This Prince, at his Death, kept up the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, which was to call all their Children and Nobles about them, and make a ſolemn Diſcourſe to them, which was in the nature of a Laſt Will and Teſtament; eſpecially not forgetting to intimate, that they are call'd away from this World by their Father the Sun, to reſt in his bright Region above, and that from thence their Succeſſors are to expect an aſſiſtance ſutable to their neceſſities. By theſe ways the *Inca's* kept up the Opinion of their Divine Extraction in the Minds of all about them, and conſequently confirm'd their Families in that Sovereignty and Power which this Opinion at firſt gave them.

Huayna Capac the 12th *Inca*.

Huayna Capac, the eldeſt Son of this Monarch, ſucceeded after his Death; and now the Empire being at its full heighth of Glory and Greatneſs under this Prince, his Life and Actions will require ſomething more of a particular account. This Prince was married to his eldeſt Siſter in his Fathers life-time, but having no Children by her, he was married afterwards to his ſecond Siſter, the former being yet alive; and 'twas eſtabliſh'd by a particular Decree of the *Inca* and his Council, that both the Siſters ſhou'd be lawful Wives and

Coya's,

Strange Chain of Gold.

Coya's, and not reputed as Concubines. But 'twas not only in this point, but almoſt every reſpect, that *Huyana Capac* appear'd to be, and to do ſomething extraordinary above his Predeceſſors: At the birth of his firſt Son, beſides all the extravagancies of Feaſting, and thoſe things which are uſual upon ſuch Occaſions, he ſet himſelf to accompliſh ſome very great Projects, ſuch as the whole World, that heard of them, ſhould wonder at. One of them, particularly, was the making of that famous Golden Chain, which our Author *Garcilaſſo Dilavega* ſays, an old *Inca* (one of his Mothers Brothers) affirm'd was the length of the great Street of *Cuſco*, which is 700 foot, and every link was as big as a Man's Wriſt. Another Author (*Auguſtine de Zarate*) gives it the Name of *Maroma*, that is, a great Cable, and from the report of ſome *Indians* living at that time, ſays that 'twas as much as 200 Men cou'd well lift from the ground. The *Spaniards* made old ſearching and enquiring after this Chain, but were never ſo happy as to find it, being laid up ſafe in ſome dark Repoſitory or other, amongſt thoſe other rarities which the *Peruvians* were reſolv'd ſhou'd never fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*. This Chain was made for the ſolemn Dance in the Ring, in which they held hand by hand, and ſo danc'd round a matter of 300 together; and the deſign of it was, that all holding by this Chain might dance in the Ring, according to the Cuſtom, without joining hands. The young Prince that was born was call'd *Huaſca*, in Memory of this great Chain made to honour his birth; for the word *Huaſca* ſignifying a Rope, and they having no diſtinct word for a Chain in their Language, his Father thought fit to give him that Name. Yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that 'twas a very ſcurvy one, and of as bad a ſound as any in the World; and one can't avoid concluding it very odd for a Man to have ſuch a Name, that he can never hear it mention'd at any time but it muſt lead him to think of ſo ugly a thing as the Gallows. However the Prince was call'd *Huaſca* for two Years, and then to avoid that ill ſound of the Rope, his Father order'd an *r* to be added to it, and made *Huaſcar* of it; ſo that both the ends were obtain'd, the Chain preſerv'd, and the Rope loſt.

Odd Name for a Prince.

Way of breeding the Inca's Children.

The *Inca Huayna Capac* made as mighty doings at the Feaſt of his Sons weaning and polling as he did at his birth; for 'tis to be noted, that when the young Princes were two Years old, they were taken from the Breaſt, (and not till then) and their hair was cut off with a ſharp flint Razor, the *Inca* himſelf beginning that Ceremony. At the ſame time alſo their Names were finally determin'd, and then it was that the young *Inca* had that decent alteration made in his Name.

The Nobility and the Commonalty follow'd the ſame method in treating their Children, believing the example of the *Inca* to be moſt perfect, and every way worthy of Imitation; neither did this paſs for preſumption, or ſaucy aſpiring in them, but was look'd upon as a piece of reſpect, and an honouring of their Prince. And upon the whole, the *Inca*'s examples in thoſe matters did deſerve Imitation, for the Royal Babes were nurs'd and brought up (tho' not without a ſtate and pomp ſutable to their Dignity) yet without any thing of that over-niceneſs and delicacy which only tends to render them ſoft and effeminate, and very often vitiates a good Conſtitution, or hinders it from exerting it ſelf as otherwiſe it wou'd.

The Commons care in breeding their Children.

The Nobles and the People took the ſame courſe in the Education of their Children likewiſe; as ſoon as they were born they waſh'd them all over in cold Water, and then wrapt them in Blankets. They gave them Suck but three times a day, let them cry as long or as much as they wou'd; for to do more than this, they ſaid would be to breed them up to Gluttony.

But to return to the *Inca*: When the Ceremony of weaning his Son was perform'd, he march'd away with an Army of 40000 Men into the Kingdom of *Quito* to look after his new Conqueſts there, and in this Expedition he took for a Concubine the Daughter of the laſt King of that Country, by whom he had (amongſt ſeveral other Children) *Atabalipa*, who afterwards got into the Imperial Throne, and ſat there when the *Spaniards* enter'd the Country. He carried his Arms at this time much farther too, conquering the Valleys of *Cacma*, *Cintu*, *Tucmi*, and ſeveral others; together with the Country of *Tumpiz*, where the People worſhipp'd Lions and Tigers, and offer'd the Hearts and Blood of Men in Sacrifice to them. Theſe People were very vicious many ways, and particularly horribly addicted to Sodomy; for the preventing of which, the *Inca* took ſome precautions, and eſtabliſh'd the Rites of his own Religion amongſt them.

Pulling out of Teeth.

From theſe he paſs'd to the Province *Huancavilca*, where there had been a ſort of a mutinous Riſing, and all the Teachers and Inſtructors that the old Inca *Iupanqui* had ſent to bring them to the practiſe of his Laws, and of good Manners, had been Sacrific'd in that popular ferment. And when the Criminal *Curaca's* and Governors, that ſhou'd have hinder'd or puniſh'd that Outrage, appear'd before him, and expected every Man to hear the Sentence of Death, the Inca choſe rather to ſurprize them with an unexpected act of Mercy and Clemency, giving all the reſt their Pardons, and adjudging one only, and that by Lott too, for the Honour of Juſtice, to be made an Example in that caſe. But tho' he did not take the Lives of theſe Men, he thought fit to mark them, as Perſons that had been guilty of very great Treachery and breach of Faith, and for that purpoſe he made every Man of them loſe four of his Teeth, two out of the upper, and as many out of the under Jaw; and this puniſhment he decreed ſhou'd not be Perſonal only, but deſcend to their Poſterity after them. This gentleneſs (where all look'd for the ſevereſt torments imaginable) affected the whole Country in ſuch a manner, that the common People wou'd needs bear a part in the puniſhment inflicted upon the Grandees; the Inca did not require it of them, but they wou'd thruſt themſelves upon it, and ſo all, both Men and Women, loſt four of their Teeth apiece, and made their Sons and Daughters ſubmit to the ſame too. This paſſage the Inca *Garcilaſſo* tells us he had from one of the Natives of that Country, who had loſt ſome Teeth upon that ſcore.

Puna Iſland conquer'd.

Policy of the Rebels.

The Inca after this began to make his Conqueſts upon the Sea as well as the Land, and took in the Iſland of *Puna*, which is 12 Leagues in compaſs; which he had not done long, but a Rebellion amongſt the *Chacapuya's* call'd him into thoſe Parts. When he came with a ſtrong formidable Army, the hearts of the Rebels began to faint, and they who before inſulted and abus'd his Meſſengers, now ſhook for fear as his revenging power approach'd them. And the Inca indeed had form'd a Deſign of exterminating and rooting them all out, but they diverted that Storm by a clever policy of their own, and pacified the Inca before he was aware, and contrary to his intentions. This Prince had the Character of a Man of extraordinary good Nature, very Merciful, and gentle and eaſie of Acceſs. Particularly, he was infinitely Complaiſant and Civil to all the fair Sex, gave them always, when he ſpoke to them, the familiar and gentle compellations of Mother, Siſter, or Daughter, according to their Ages; and which was ſtill greater than all, he never denied a Woman any Sute or Requeſt that ſhe made him.

Women plead the Rebels Pardon.

The ground enclos'd where the Inca forgave the Rebels.

This Character of the Inca's good Temper being (as it may well be ſudpos'd to be) pretty generally known, and the Rebels believing a Female Advocate wou'd plead their Cauſe for them if it were not impoſſible to be had, they accordingly reſolv'd to try if by this Method they cou'd not appeaſe the high Indignation of their Prince, the effects of which wou'd otherwiſe very quickly lie heavy upon them. And the Perſon they made choice of for this purpoſe was a Lady that had been Miſtreſs to the Inca's Father, one well skill'd in the Arts of Inſinuation and Addreſs, and that knew how to ſooth up a Prince, and work him into good humour. But becauſe the Oratory of a ſingle Perſon might poſſibly fail, and a whole Chorus of Women, acting their ſeveral Parts of the Paſſion, might do that which one alone cou'd not, therefore ſhe went forth attended with a great number of Female Supplicants, and preſented her ſelf with her Train before the Inca. Neither cou'd that Prince withſtand the Aſſault they made upon him, but found himſelf quickly charm'd out of all his angry and revengeful thoughts, into an indulgent, merciful, forgiving humour. For whilſt the Speaker, at the Head of this fair Troop, was making an eloquent and moving Speech on the behalf of the poor Rebels, the others broke out into varieties of paſſionate actions and geſtures; they fell into the moſt humble poſtures imaginable, ſent forth the moſt melting affecting cries, they wept and ſigh'd, till the Inca was no longer able to contain himſelf, but came off from his Seat, and took up the charming Oratreſs that lay at his Feet, and granted her all the Favours ſhe deſired. This was ſo welcom a grace to the *Chacapuyans*, that they immediately conſecrated the Place where the Inca granted their Pardon, and made holy Ground of it. And that no foot of Man or Beaſt might tread there for the future, to pollute and profane it, they encloſ'd it with three Walls, the innermoſt of which was of poliſh'd Stone; but the *Spaniards*, when they came, believing there was ſome Treaſure hid in this place, entirely deſtroy'd theſe Walls, and laid open the hallow'd Ground again.

Vaſtly great Emerauld.

The Inca having ſet things in good order in this Province, went into the Country of *Manta*, in which it is that the Port call'd by the *Spaniards Puerto Vicio* ſtands. The People here worſhipp'd the Sea and Fiſhes, Lions, Tigers, and great Snakes, but more particularly a certain precious Stone, an Emerauld it was, and reported to be little leſs than an Oſtriches Egg. This Jewel was always ſhewn publickly at their Solemn Feaſts, and the *Indians* came from all Parts about to ſee and adore it, and make Offerings of other Emeraulds to it; for this the Prieſts told them was the moſt acceptable of all they could make. But the *Indians* were not alone in this their Devotion to the Emerauld, for upon the Conqueſt of *Peru*, the *Spaniards* hearing of the Fame of this Goddeſs, came to worſhip her alſo. But, alas! ſhe had left her Temple, and was gone before they came; and tho' they made a violent ſearch after her, yet ſhe cover'd up her Divinity ſo cloſe that they cou'd never find her. Perhaps ſhe was gone along with the great Gold Chain which *Huyana Capac* made, which ſlipp'd away after a very ſtrange manner too, and lay for ever inviſible, as was ſaid before.

Barbarous Cuſtoms.

The *Mantans* had ſeveral very odd Cuſtoms amongſt them, which the Inca (now become their Lord) obliged them to leave off, and take up others more humane and civil in the room of them. They flea'd all the Captives they took in War, and filling the Skins of them with Aſhes, they hung them up at their Temple-gates, and in all their Feaſting and Dancing-places. In their Marriages the Bridegrooms Kinſmen ~~and Friends~~ had always the firſt handſel of the Bride; but beſides this, the Men burnt in lewd and moſt unnatural Fires towards one another.

Together with theſe, the Inca ſubdued the *Apichiqui*, and ſeveral other Nations that lay upon the Coaſt, which were in ſome reſpects more brutiſh and barbarous than the *Mantans*. From theſe Countries he paſs'd to *Saramiſſu* and *Paſſau* under the Equinoctial, where he found a ſort of People ſo very ſavage and rude, that he thought 'twou'd be a reflection upon his Dignity to be call'd the Lord of ſuch ſorry Wretches as they were. They had neither Houſe nor Town, nor Temple, no Law, nor no Religion; they liv'd like Owls in hollow Trees, went ſtark naked, and had all their Women in common. Their faces were painted with four ſeveral ſorts of Colours, one quarter with one, and another with another; and this, with their black buſhy hair, made them ſuch Figures, that the Inca *Garcilaſſo* (who had ſeen them himſelf) ſays nothing Humane ever look'd like them. The Inca therefore left them to be their own Maſters, and turn'd away to quiet an Inſurrection amongſt the *Caranques*; theſe he puniſh'd ſeverely, cutting off the Heads of 2 or 3000 of them, tho' very much againſt his humour, which was all for Goodneſs and Mercy.

Severe Juſtice.

Inca's love to be call'd *the Lovers of the Poor.*

The Inca's, amongſt their many Glorious Titles, took delight in none more than that of *Lovers of the Poor*, and *Fathers and Defenders of their Vaſſals*; and this, to be ſure, they did not fail to recommend to their Succeſſors at Death, always putting them in Mind that they ought to preſerve that Title, and by the Juſtice, Clemency, and Eaſineſs of their Government, to ſhew that they deſerv'd to wear it. And therefore they never proceeded to any rigorous treatment of their Subjects, but when the higheſt neceſſity compell'd them to it, chuſing rather to endear themſelves to them by Indulgence and eaſie Forgiveneſs of their Crimes, than by ſevere and cruel Puniſhments to make themſelves fear'd. This Example of the Inca *Huayna Capac*'s ſeverity, was perhaps the only one of any conſequence known ever ſince the Foundation of the Empire, and 'tis plain that there was good reaſon for't; and the Inca very well knew, that a Government without ſome Puniſhments is as likely to be deſpis'd by the Subjects, as one that is all Rigour and Unmercifulneſs is to be hated and not endur'd. This great Prince having thus far enlarged his Empire, now laid aſide all thoughts of making any more Conqueſts, and employ'd his time in the ſetling and well-governing of what he had got. Not to mention the Temples, the Palaces, and other Publick Edifices which he rais'd, he accompliſh'd two Works which were of as great difficulty as they were of no uſe and ſervice to his Country: Theſe were the making of two Highways, each at leaſt 500 Leagues in length, the one within Land, croſs the Mountains and ragged Cliffs, and the other along by the Sea-ſide; both theſe run from *Cuſco* to *Quito*, and were deſign'd for the opening a more free and eaſie Communication between thoſe two great Cities, the Metropolis's of the Empire, in their reſpective places. That which was cut through the Mountains was almoſt ſuch another piece of Work as the ſtupendous Fortreſs of *Cuſco*, conſidering the heighths that were to be levell'd, and the deep and hollow places to be fill'd up, ſometimes of 15 or 20 times a Mans heighth, (as the Inca ſays) and all to be made ſmooth and even, ſo that Carriages might paſs along upon them, as they did. The Road to the Sea-ſide was 40 foot broad, with a high Cawſey, and Walls of each ſide to hold in the Way, and all this both in the Valleys and the Sands; ſo that travelling, which before was unpleaſant in many places, and it may be impracticable or dangerous in others, was now rendred very ſafe and eaſie in all places. It was hinted before, that when *Huayna Capac* conquer'd the Kingdom of *Quito*, he took the King's Daughter for one of his Royal Concubines, by whom he had, amongſt other Children, the unfortunate *Atabalipa*, who ſwayed the Imperial Scepter when the *Spaniards* came in here. This young Prince, by his noble Qualities, ſtrongly engaged his Fathers love and eſteem; and therefore tho' the Prince *Huaſcar* was the Heir, and to wear the Title of *Inca Capac* after himſelf, yet ſuch was his fondneſs of *Atabalipa*, that he reſolv'd to make him no leſs than a Sovereign too, and therefore did in his Life-time fix him in the Throne of *Quito*, making that rich Kingdom his Portion and Poſſeſſion; and becauſe he wou'd be ſure to have him ſit faſt and firm there, he gave him ſome of his beſt Captains, and a part of his Army, with this farther conceſſion too, That all that he cou'd conquer anew ſhou'd be added to his Kingdom of *Quito*. And the old Inca did all this with the free Conſent of his Son the Prince *Huaſcar*, ſo that *Atabalipa* ſat very eaſie upon his new Throne as long as his Father liv'd, tho' Matters prov'd (as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of the Story) far otherwiſe afterwards. The whole Empire and Emperor too enjoy'd a profound Peace and Tranquility, and all things went as well as cou'd be, when all of a ſudden thoſe bright and ſerene days were gone, and every body apprehended a black Cloud gathering over the Country, that threatned ſome fatal Storm. That which ſtruck them with theſe fearful apprehenſions was the ſight of ſome Ships upon the Coaſt, which were the *Spaniards* ſent out by *Nunnez de Balboa*, for the diſcovery of the South-Sea. This was in *A.D.* 1515. and whether before or after *Atabalipa* was made King of *Quito* is not very clear, nor much material; however 'tis certain, the Inca *Huayna Capac* liv'd eight Years after this diſmal Alarm, but never pretended to offer at any farther Conqueſts; he had no ſtomach to that, having once heard ſuch News as this was. But that which made the impreſſion the deeper and ſtronger, was an old Propheſie which they pretended to have amongſt them, which foretold, That when 12 Inca's had fill'd the Throne, the Line of the Sun ſhou'd ſtop there, and a ſtrange Nation ſhou'd come in and ſubdue the Empire to themſelves. Beſides this, ſome time before the *Spaniards* Ships were ſeen upon the Coaſt, there were ſeveral prodigious Appearances in all the Elements, and odd Changes of the common Courſe of Nature, which their Superſtition turn'd into Omens and Prognoſticks of ſome great Alterations in their Nation and Government. One was, that the Moon in a very clear Night had three Circles about her, the outermoſt of a bloudy colour, the middlemoſt black, and the innermoſt like ſmoke. Now this *Phenomenon*, a certain Diviner amongſt them thus expounded the ſignification of to the Inca: The redneſs of the outer Circle (ſays he) ſignifies the War and Bloodſhed that ſhall be in thy Country after thou art gone to reſt with thy Father the Sun; the blackneſs of the middle one denotes the Deſtruction of our Religion and Empire, that they ſhall diſſolve and vaniſh away as ſmoke; which (adds he) is clearly foreſeen by the inmoſt Circle that had the ſmoky Appearance. And this Interpretation was not his own fancy neither, (he told the Inca) but came from the Moon, the Mother of the Imperial Family. The Inca made him no other reply than this, That he dreamt theſe Fooleries the Night before, and then came and told him his Mother the Moon had ſent him that Intelligence. However, tho' he ſeem'd to deſpiſe this Fellows predictions, he was deeply concern'd at what he had ſaid, and therefore made Applications by Sacrifices and Offerings to his Father the Sun, in hopes he wou'd be more favourable to him, and divert this Storm; that is, make his Mother the Moon a Liar and a falſe Propheteſs. This great Monarch *Huayna Capac* died at *Quito*, ordering his Heart and Entrails to be buried there, but his Body to be carried to *Cuſco*, and laid amongſt thoſe of his Anceſtors. In his Teſtamental Diſcourſe to his Children, (of which he had above 200 Sons and Daughters) he alſo recommended to them the love of their Brother *Atabalipa* his Darling Son, and to all the

Great Highways from *Cuſco* to *Quito*.

Atabalipa made King of *Quito*.

Empire confus'd at the appearance of Ships on the Coaſt.

Prodigies, Oracles, and Propheſies, foretel the ruine of the Empire.

The Circles about the Moon interpreted.

The Inca's fear and concern.

Officers and Curaca's he gave a ſtrict charge that they ſhou'd ſerve him with a perſevering Loyalty and Duty; and finally, to the Prince himſelf, to be mindful of his Illuſtrious Deſcent, and maintain the Title of the *Lover of the Poor*. He told them alſo of the approaching Diſſolution of the Government of the Inca's, and ſince the Strangers that were to come and poſſeſs the Country ſhou'd be a People ſo much every way their Superiors, he adviſ'd them to obey and ſerve them quietly, and rather patiently ſubmit to, than ſtrive againſt the common fate. And indeed, the *Peruvians* have pretended to give this Account of the reaſon why the Conqueſt of their Country was ſo very cheap and eaſie to the *Spaniards*; They alledged ſo many Propheſies and Prodigies had foretold the deſtruction of their Empire, that it appeared plainly to be their inevitable fate. Beſides, the Inca upon his Death-bed (and his Dying words they infinitely reſpected, and muſt obſerve to a tittle) commanded them to receive the Foreigners when they came, as their Lords, and yield to them as a People whoſe Excellencies entitled them to reign over them; 'twas this, (ſay they) and not the Arms of the *Spaniards*, that made us reſign our Empire upon ſuch eaſie terms. Tho' by the way, Mankind will not eaſily be perſwaded that their Obedience to a dead Prince cou'd ever carry them ſo far, and that if they cou'd have defended themſelves againſt the *Spaniards*, they wou'd not have done it, in complement to any Oracle, Propheſie, or Death-bed Speech whatſoever.

Friendſhip between the two Brothers at firſt.

Huaſcar's firſt Propoſal which broke the Peace.

Atabalipa's Diſſimulation.

Huaſcar preſſes *Atabalipa* farther.

But to return to the courſe of our Story: *Huayna Capac* being dead, *Huaſcar* was now *Inca Capa*, all the Empire acknowledging him as ſuch, the Kingdom of *Quito*, and Dominions thereto annex'd, only excepted, which paid Homage to *Atabalipa*. Theſe two Brothers liv'd in Peace and good Underſtanding of one another, for the ſpace of four or five Years after the old Inca's Death; but then *Huaſcar* began to think with himſelf, that he had acted very imprudently in conſenting to place his Brother upon the Royal Throne of *Quito*. And beſides other damages done to himſelf by this Conſent, he was quite lock'd up from making any farther Conqueſts, by the Sea on one ſide, the Mountains on the other, and his Brother's Dominions on the other, which was to the part of *Chili*; ſo that *Atabalipa*, (whoſe Arms were at more liberty than his) by adding new Countries ſtill to thoſe of which he was already in Poſſeſſion, might in time make himſelf as great a Prince, and his Empire as large as his. Theſe thoughts growing very troubleſome to him, he ſent to his Brother to let him underſtand, That by the ancient Conſtitutions of the Inca's, the Kingdom of *Quito* ought not to be ſeparated from the main Body of the Empire, and that his Father had wrong'd the Imperial Crown of *Cuſco* in making ſuch a Diviſion as that was; and therefore, tho' his Conſent to that buſineſs had been extorted by the Authority and Command of a King and a Father, yet he ſhou'd not ſtand to the Bargain but upon theſe two Conditions: Firſt, That *Atabalipa* ſhou'd not extend the Bounds of his Territories, nor add the leaſt Spot of Ground to what the Inca had allotted him. Secondly, That he ſhou'd acknowledge himſelf his Vaſſal, and do him Homage accordingly. This Meſſage, as diſpleaſing as it was to *Atabalipa*, was yet receiv'd by him with a great deal of ſeeming Humility and Compliance with his Brothers Will; and therefore he return'd Anſwer to this purpoſe, That what was now requir'd of him, was not much more than he had done already, for in his Heart he had always been his Brothers Vaſſal, and now, ſince he demanded it, ſhou'd not refuſe to be ſo in outward Sign and Action. The Inca *Huaſcar* was ſo pleas'd with this ready Submiſſion of *Atabalipa*, (when there was reaſon to have expected he wou'd not ſo eaſily have parted with his Sovereignty) that he preſently ſent again to confirm him in the poſſeſſion of his Royalty at *Quito*; but at the ſame time to let him know, that he come and do the Duty of a Vaſſal at *Cuſco* by ſuch a limited time.

Atabalipa's Plot.

He raiſes an Army.

Inca ignorant of his deſign.

Notice ſent to the Inca.

Army for defence of the Empire.

Thus far did the *Huaſcar's* imprudent heat, or ill counſel, carry him; prompting him to urge his Brother on to ſuch extremities, that he muſt of neceſſity either reſign his Power and Sovereignty, or elſe lay Plot for Plot, and endeavour to take his that demanded it of him. But *Atabalipa* was not behind-hand with him in this Matter, he had Policy enough to form a good Plot, and Diſſimulation enough to cover it handſomly, and manage it with an air of Seriouſneſs and Humility when he had done. In ſhort, he reply'd to the Inca's laſt Meſſage, That he wou'd conform himſelf to his Will, and come to *Cuſco* at the time appointed: but for the greater ſolemnity of the buſineſs, (becauſe he intended a Work of Piety and Devotion, as well as Loyalty and Duty, to his Prince) he crav'd Leave of the Inca that he might bring all the States of the Provinces of his Empire along with him, for he had a deſire to celebrate his Fathers Obſequies in *Cuſco* according to the Rites of his own Country; and this Ceremony perform'd, he and all his wou'd do their Homage. All this *Huaſcar* eaſily granted, and *Atabalipa* had it proclaim'd through all his Provinces, that all Men of Service ſhou'd be ready at ſuch a time (and with their beſt Equipages) to attend him to *Cuſco*. But this was only to amuſe the People, for at the ſame time he gave private Orders to all his Captains to raiſe an Army of the very beſt Soldiers he had; to make them carry their Arms ſo cloſely that they ſhou'd not be diſcover'd, and to match them 5 or 600 together, each Company 2 or 3 Leagues behind the other, and then all to join in one Body when they were come within ten or twelve days Journey of *Cuſco*.

Thus was an Army of above 30000 Men got together, conſiſting moſtly of thoſe old Weather-beaten Soldiers that had ſerv'd his Father *Huayna Capac* in his Wars; Men that had gotten a habit of conquering, and now conducted by thoſe Experienc'd Captains that had led them on to Victory ſo many times before. *Huaſcar* was ſo far from apprehending any treacherous Deſign in his Brothers head, that he order'd his Army to be ſupplied with all neceſſaries as they march'd through his Territories: But ſome of his old Governors and Officers, who made a nicer Obſervation of them as they paſs'd along, did not like the aſpect of them, and ſent the Inca word, with all ſpeed, that they ſuſpected ſome Treaſon going on, and therefore deſired him to raiſe what Forces he cou'd with all the haſte imaginable. But alas! ſome of the Provinces were a great way off, others were indiſpos'd to War, by the long enjoyment of an idle and peaceable Life, and thoſe Parts where the beſt Soldiers were lay in the way of *Atabalipa's* Army; yet however, the Inca and Empire being in ſo apparent a danger, they made a ſhift to form an Army of 30000 Men, which was all that cou'd be got together upon ſo ſhort a warning. *Atabalipa's* Men paſs'd the River *Apurimac* without oppoſition, and march'd on in 3 great Squadrons to *Villacuna*, which is within 6 Leagues of *Cuſco*; as for himſelf, he ſtaid upon the Confines of his Country, to ſee what wou'd be the iſſue of this Undertaking, being in a poſture ready to move towards *Cuſco* if it prov'd well, or towards *Quito* if the contrary.

Atabalipa's Army marches towards *Cuſco*.

The Battel and Victory.

Huaſcar made Priſoner.

Atabalipa's treachery.

He cruelly murders all the Royal Stock.

Tho' the Enemy was thus near the Imperial City, yet was there none that appear'd yet to diſpute their nearer approach to it, ſo that they continued their march till they came within 2 or 3 Leagues of it, and there they found the Inca's Forces ready to give them battel. Here then was the great Controverſie decided, which of the two Brothers ſhou'd remain final Poſſeſſor and Maſter of the Empire of the Sun. In ſhort, the Lott fell to *Atabalipa* to be ſo, for his old hardy Soldiers quickly cruſh'd the more ſoft and undiſciplin'd ones of the Inca, and (which is more, and the crowning part of all their Succeſs) they took him Priſoner too. This was the miſerable fate of *Huaſcar* to fall into his Brothers hands, and now to have his Life at his diſpoſal, of whom but a little before he had demanded Homage. This News was preſently ſent to *Atabalipa*, and proclaim'd alſo through the whole Empire, to diſcourage all the *Curaca's* from attempting to raiſe Forces for his Relief. *Atabalipa* (who was ſecond to none in the Arts of feigning and diſguiſe) made the moſt politick uſe of his Victory that cou'd be: He pretended that his Deſign was to ſet *Huaſcar* upon the Throne again, but ſince the Chance of War had given him this advantage over him, he wou'd make uſe of it ſo far, as to ſtand upon ſome better terms with him for the future, as to the point of his Sovereignty in *Quito*. For this end he wou'd go to *Cuſco*, where he demanded all the Inca's in the Empire to meet him, together with all the Curaca's and Governors, to be Witneſſes to the Solemn League and Contract between *Huaſcar* and himſelf. But what was the iſſue of this Convention? the barbarous Prince Sacrific'd every one of the Inca's that came thither, and all did come at the time appointed, that Age, Sickneſs, or remoteneſs did not hinder. In a word, he ſtuck neither at Age nor Sex, at half or whole Blood, but deſtroy'd all that fell into his hands, Baſtards or Legitimate, Uncles and Couſins, Brethren and Siſters, to the number of 200, the undoubted Offſpring of the great *Huayna Capac*. And he did not ſatisfie himſelf barely with their Deaths neither, but executed them with cruelty, and that ſeveral ſorts of ways; but the heighth of his barbarity, was to bring forth his miſerable Brother the Inca *Huaſcar*, and force him to be an Eye-witneſs to all theſe diſmal Executions, that he might

die

Uſage of *Huaſcar*.

Murder of the Nobles.

The Inca's that eſcap'd.

Their Names and Pedigree.

The hatred born to *Atabalipa*.

A Story of it.

die in the Death of every one of his Kinſmen. Yea, he made him paſs in Mourning Weeds, and with a Rope about his Neck, through a whole Lane of his Nobles and Officers that were fallen into the ſame woful Bondage with himſelf; and then thoſe unhappy Men ſeeing their Sovereign Lord the Inca in that forlorn condition, burſt out into paſſionate cries, bewailing his lamentable fate; and fell down adoring him as they us'd to do, the cruel *Atabalipa* made them all to be chopp'd in pieces with Hatchets, or knock'd in the Head with Clubs before that wretched Prince's face. After this he turn'd his fury upon the Women and Children of the Royal Blood, ſhewing as little mildneſs and compaſſion to that tender Sex and Age, as he had before ſhew'd to the other; and this his cruelty he renew'd every Quarter of the Moon, till he had made away with all that came within his reach. Notwithſtanding this raging Perſecution of the Blood and Progeny of the Inca, and the diligent ſearch made to find out all, yet ſome there were that eſcap'd it, and liv'd to tell the Story to the next Generation. Amongſt theſe were two young Boys, Sons of *Huayna Capac*, and ſome remoter Kindred; in the number of which were the Mother and Brother of the Inca *Garcilaſſo de Lavega*. But including theſe, of the whole Race of the Inca's in general there remain'd 567, in *A. D.* 1603. according to our Author's computation, and theſe all of the Male Line of every Inca, for they made no account of thoſe of the Female Line till after the Conqueſt. They reckon'd the Sons of *Spaniards*, by Women of the Royal Stock, for Inca's alſo, becauſe they thought the *Spaniards* to be a People ſomething akin to their Father the Sun; and they had good reaſon to believe ſo, becauſe the *Spaniards* were ſo very kind to them. Now the exact account of the number of the Inca's, was ſent to our Inca Don *Garcilaſſo*, and another to the Grandſon of *Huayna Capac*, in that foremention'd Year, in order to be ſent to the King of *Spain*, together with a Petition for their exemption from thoſe heavy Impoſitions of Taxes and Tribute which they lay under. There was the whole Stock, the Royal Tree with all its Branches, from *Manco Capac* to the Poſterity of *Huayna Capac*; it was drawn upon white Taffety, with the Names, proper Habits, and Pictures of all the 12 Inca's, and under each Inca all thoſe of his Poſterity. The deſtruction that *Atabalipa* made amongſt the Progeny of the Inca's, rendred him ſo odious to all the Survivors, that his very Name was an abomination to them, and they never gave him any other Title than that of Infamous Tyrant and Traytor. The ſame rancour too they expreſs'd againſt all his Race, tho' they were no way guilty of his Crimes; and therefore when a Grandſon of *Atabalipa*'s (the Son of his Daughter by the Marqueſs *Pizarro*) was dead, and our Inca's old Uncle came to his Mothers Houſe in *Cuſco*, rejoycing that he had lived to ſee the confuſion of that Family, he demanding of his Uncle why he ſhou'd be ſo glad of the death of a Kinſman, and one of their own Blood; The old Inca, biting his Mantle, (which is with them a token of the higheſt Indignation) 'And what, ſays he, woud'ſt thou be the 'Kinſman of a Traytor? the Son of him that kill'd our 'Inca, deſtroy'd our Empire, and conſum'd the Sacred 'Stock? I cou'd eat him raw without Sawce now he is 'dead; his Father, the Traytor *Atabalipa*, cou'd never 'have the noble Blood of *Huayna Capac* in him, for if he 'had, he cou'd not poſſibly have committed ſuch Bar'barities; ſay not therefore that he is our Kinſman, for 'thou doeſt Injury to thy Houſe, to make ſo vile and 'cruel a Perſon a Member of it. Yea, this hatred went ſo far, that they were beyond meaſure pleas'd with the *Spaniards* (tho' the Ravagers of their Empire) for the Execution they did upon *Atabalipa*, and for this reaſon particularly they eſteem'd them as Men ſent from their Deity the Sun, becauſe they took ſo ſevere a Vengeance upon the Grand Enemy and Deſtroyer of the Cœleſtial Race.

Cauſe of *Atabalipa's* Cruelty.

The Principle that carried *Atabalipa* to all this Murder and Deſtruction, was that of State-intereſt and Policy, for he knew that he was not of the Legitimate Blood of the Inca; that is, tho' the Inca *Capa* were his Father, yet the *Coya* or Siſter of the Inca was not his Mother, as it muſt have been to render him capable of ſitting in the Imperial Throne of *Cuſco*; while ſo many others liv'd therefore, that had more right than he, he knew himſelf not to be ſafe, and ſo took this courſe to free himſelf from the trouble and danger of potent Rivals.

A Brother of *Huaſcar* left.

But this he cou'd not do compleatly neither, for as there were ſeveral of the Royal Blood ſurviving, ſo particularly there was the Inca *Manco*, Brother of *Huaſcar*, and Son of *Huayna Capac*, who deeply reſenting the Cruelties committed by *Atabalipa*, took up Arms to revenge his Family, and do right to himſelf in getting poſſeſſion of the Throne which the other uſurp'd. As for *Huaſcar* himſelf he was yet alive, but kept under cloſe Confinement; and whether *Manco* believ'd him to be dead, or thought the contrary, 'tis certain that he aſſerted his own pretenſions to the Crown, and endeavour'd by force to pull it off from the Head of his Brother *Atabalipa*.

Wars between *Huaſcar* and *Atabalipa*.

And the buſineſs ſtood between theſe two Pretenders in this manner, That *Manco* fortified himſelf in the Mountainous parts of the Country, and ſat as Lord there, while *Atabalipa* kept all the Lower parts, and thoſe that lay to the Sea, which was the richeſt and pleaſanteſt part of the Empire. Neither cou'd either of them obtain his deſire in the compleat Expulſion of the other, tho' they endeavour'd it vehemently, and the War grew hot betwixt them. But while they were thus contending, there came one to do the Office of an Umpire in deciding their Quarrel, which was *Francis Pizarro* with an Army of *Spaniards*, who brought the buſineſs to the ſame iſſue that the Kite did in the Battel betwixt the Frog and the Mouſe; but 'tis neceſſary, before we come to treat of thoſe Matters, to diſcourſe a little of the firſt entrance of the *Spaniards* into this Country, and how they came about to find their way hither.

Account of the *Spaniards* firſt coming to *Peru*.

Perſons that firſt undertook the Voyage.

Firſt Attempt.

Second Attempt.

Third Attempt.

Pizarro's Diſtreſs.

The *Spaniards* had been a conſiderable time upon the Continent before they knew any thing of *Peru*; they had built the Towns of *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, diſcover'd the Coaſt along *New Spain*, and traded quite croſs the Country, but from *Panama* to the Parts of *Peru*, they cou'd not accompliſh a Trade by Sea, becauſe the Southerly Winds blowing along the Coaſt almoſt all the Year long, Sailing was very difficult and toilſome, and by Land the paſſage was impoſſible, in regard of the Mountains and Rivers. Yea, 'twas 15 Years before they got beyond the Iſland of *Pearls*, which is but twenty Leagues from *Panama*. However there were ſome Perſons that liv'd in *Panama*, whoſe Minds giving them that theſe difficulties might be conquer'd, and having a great deſire to ſee what the Country (that lay along the Coaſt) wou'd prove, they made preparations for the Diſcovery on't: Theſe were *Diego Almagro*, *Franciſco Pizarro*, and *Fernando Luques* a Prieſt, the Men that ſet up for the Triumvirate of the Southern Diſcoveries, and enter'd into an agreement to ſhare equally both the Loſſes and the Gains, the Care and the Trouble of it. There are ſome that ſay *Pizarro* was a very poor Man, and cou'd contribute nothing towards this Deſign but his Labour and Pains, and there are others that ſay the contrary; but it matters not much whether he was poor or rich, and we ſhall in this part of the Story principally follow * *Jerome Benzo*'s Account, who may be preſum'd to have been acquainted with theſe Matters very intimately, being engag'd in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Service for fourteen Years together. According to this Author, 'twas in the Year 1526. that *Pizarro* and *Almagro* made their firſt Attempt; they both ſet out that Year one after another upon the ſame Deſign; and as for the Prieſt, 'tis to be ſuppos'd he ſtaid at home to pray for a Bleſſing upon their Endeavours. *Pizarro* had at this time no very good luck, for after having ſail'd about 100 Leagues he landed, and was repuls'd by the *Indians* with ſo much reſolution and vigour, that abundance of his Men were ſlain, and himſelf wounded; and with this baulk he was fain to come back to *Panama* again. As for *Almagro*, he went up a River in another part of the Counrry, where he met with People of a milder Diſpoſition, and (which very highly recommended them to his liking too) they had Gold in plenty amongſt them, of which he got at that ſhort viſit to the value of 3000 Ducats. But in his way home, having a mind to put in at the place where *Pizarro* had met with ſuch rough Entertainment, he found the *Indians* ready to give him the like; and when he landed they fought with him, kill'd him a good many Men, and in the Battel beat out one of his Eyes. But *Almagro* had yet heart enough to reſolve to find his way to ſome of the golden Countries once more, this in this ſecond Attempt they ſucceeded worſe than in the former; for then they were beaten, but yet got ſome Gold, whereas now they got Blows and Wounds, and miſs'd the Gold too. But the covetous Appetite being not half ſtarv'd with this diſappointment of its Food, renew'd its urgent cravings again, and hurried them out upon a third trial. Here we are to obſerve, they did not come back again to *Panama* (both of them) after their ſecond repulſe, but put in at the Iſland *Gorgon*, a ſmall Deſart that lies about 6 Leagues from the Continent, where *Pizarro*, and a part of the Men, were ſet aſhore, whilſt *Almagro* and the reſt went home to *Panama* to fetch Supplies. 'Twas a miſerable Life that

* He writ a Hiſtory of the *Indies* in 3 Books.

Pizarro and his Company led here in the mean time; and *Almagro*, when he return'd, found them almoſt ſtarv'd. However, being refreſh'd, they ſet ſail once more, and attempting to Land, were beat off with conſiderable loſs again, and now were forc'd to go ſeek out another Iſland for a Refuge to lie cloſe in, till they had put themſelves in a capacity for farther action. And here was the ſame Scene almoſt over again that was before; *Pizarro* was ſet aſhore upon the barren Iſland, and *Almagro* with the Ships went away for *Panama*.

Spaniards weary of the Voyage.

But his Men were in general ſo tired, that they wou'd e'en have gone home too, and left the Diſcoveries to them that were more fortunate, but that *Almagro* forc'd them to ſtay, and for fear they ſhou'd do miſchief by writing, wou'd not ſo much as let them ſend Letters to their Friends at *Panama*, now the Ships were going thither. However, there were ſome of them too cunning for him, and ſent ſuch Accounts of the Country where they had been, of their Captains, and their confounded covetous Humour and Deſigns, that the Governor of *Panama* preſently ſent Orders to *Pizarro* (to *Cock-Iſland* where they ſtaid) to detain none of thoſe Men there with him by forcible methods, but let them uſe their liberty whether they wou'd go or ſtay; and truly, they did uſe their liberty to pretty good purpoſe, for they all went away except 14. Neither cou'd *Almagro* add to their number when he came again, for there had gone about ſuch ugly Reports, that every body was afraid of the Service, and he cou'd get no Recruits.

Fourth Attempt.

With an Army therefore of 14 Men, half for Land-Service, and half for the Sea, they ſail'd towards the New World they intended to conquer; but now they took a wiſer courſe than before, for they reſolv'd to ſail along the ſhore, and ſee if any rich proſpects preſented themſelves, and not run headlong, Landing their Men at all Adventures, whether there were Gold to pay them for their hazards and loſs of Blood or no; the Army was now reduc'd to a Bakers-dozen, and ſuch a one that 'twas very tenderly to be manag'd. Thus then they ſail'd 500 Miles along the Coaſt, and came to *Chira* a Province of *Peru*, where ſome of them going aſhore (what number is uncertain, but however to be ſure leſs than 40) they got ſome Cattel, and a few *Indians*, to whom by degrees they taught a little *Spaniſh*, and of them reciprocally learnt as much of their Tongue, as wou'd ſerve them to have a little conference with the *Indians* where they came.

They learn the Language.

Having got this neceſſary aſſiſtance of the Language they ſail'd back to *Tumbez*, which ('tis to be ſuppos'd) was the place where they had been ſo often beat off from the Coaſt before, or ſomewhere thereabout.

Come to *Tumbez*.

When they came hither, all the *Spaniards* being afraid to venture, a certain *Greek*, a Native of *Candie*, undertook to go aſhore, which he did with a broad two-handed Sword mounted upon his ſhoulder. The *Greek*, with his great Beard and Muſtachoes, was no little wonder to the Natives, who flock'd about him, ſtaring upon him with an eagerneſs, which well diſcover'd their ſurprize at the ſight of ſuch a Creature. The *Indian* Governor us'd him very kindly, and led him to the Fortreſs, in which was a Temple dedicated to the Sun full of Riches, which were as great a wonder to the *Greek*, as he was to the Natives.

Policy of the Spy.

At his departure the Governor wou'd have given him ſome pieces of Gold, but he ſeem'd utterly to deſpiſe ſuch trifles as thoſe, and made Gold a very ſorry baſe ſort of a thing, that the *Indians* might not think that was the bait that drew them thither, nor treat them like hungry covetous wretches as they were. But, in ſhort, he told ſuch a ſtory of the Riches of the Country when he came aboard again, that the hearts of all of them were reviv'd with the News; and *Almagro*, with his one Eye, cou'd very clearly ſee that this was the place they muſt come to look for the ſatisfaction of their Deſires in.

Go back to *Panama*.

One may eaſily imagine with what joy they return'd to *Panama*, and related their Succeſs to the Prieſt their Copartner in the great Affair in hand; there's no doubt but they bleſs'd the Saints all round, and pour'd out rapturous Prayers to Heaven, under the hopes and proſpect of ſuch Treaſures on Earth as were now coming into their Coffers.

Pizarro goes to *Spain* and tricks his Partners.

But ſince there was nothing to be done ſecurely without the King of *Spain*'s Licence, (and 'twas *Charles* the Fifth that was ſo at that time) they agreed that *Pizarro* ſhou'd make a Voyage into *Europe* to obtain it; which he did, but plaid the Knave ſo far, that he got the King's Commiſſion only for himſelf, making Sute only in his own Name for the Conqueſt of the Country. Upon this, at his return into *America*, there grew a mighty quarrel between him and his Partners, they upbraided him with his perfidiouſneſs, and unfaithful management of an Affair wherein they were equally concern'd with himſelf. However, the matter was made up between *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, and they ſwore and took the Sacrament upon't, that they wou'd ſtick by each other, and have one common Intereſt. But the poor Prieſt was quite excluded, and trick'd out of all concern and ſhare in the buſineſs, which was one ſign that he was not a Man of this World, otherwiſe he had never been impos'd upon in theſe Matters, and by the Laity too. Perhaps he was the only Man of his Coat that had been ſo ſerv'd for a long while; but 'tis but juſt and reaſonable that the Laity ſhou'd take their turn too, and as the Clergy had put a thouſand tricks upon them, they ſhou'd alſo put one trick upon the Clergy. But whereas *Pizarro* and *Almagro* bound their Bargain with the Sacrament, 'tis a queſtion whether they took it at the hands of that Prieſt they had made ſuch a Fool of; for ſince the efficacy and virtue of it (according to them) depends upon the deſign and intention of the Prieſt, he had lain under a ſhrewd temptation to make Fools of them, and deſign nothing at all to their advantage. But they were Soldiers, and cou'd (probably) take the Sacrament in the ſence that the old Pagan *Rome* adminiſtred it, without any great regard to the Inſtitutions of the Popiſh *Rome*. Having thus ſetled the point, *Pizarro* ſet out of *Panama* with three Ships, in which were about 180 Foot and 40 Horſe, leaving *Almagro* to come after. In 13 days he arriv'd at the Port of St. *Matthew*, (which was as much as he cou'd do before in two Years) and here he found all the Country up in Arms.

Coacli.

Notwithſtanding this, he march'd on to *Colonchia* or *Coache*, a great Town, which he aſſaulted of a ſudden and took, and got a large Booty of Gold, Silver and Emeraulds. From hence ſending back to *Panama* for more Soldiers and Horſes, he proceeded with what he had to the Iſland of *Puna*, where he was kindly entertain'd, till the Rapes and Robberies committed by the *Spaniards* made the Natives take Arms in their own Defence; but they ſtirr'd to their own prejudice, and the diſciplin'd Forces of the *Spaniards* eaſily put thoſe rude and untaught ones to the Rout.

Iſland *Puna*.

From hence *Pizarro* went over to *Tumbez* upon the Continent, about 50 Miles diſtant from *Puna*, where the People refus'd his Friendſhip, and endeavour'd to oppoſe his paſſage; but he enter'd the River by Night, and having good Guides ſurpriz'd the City, plunder'd it, and the Temple of the Sun, a Repoſitory of Treaſures not eaſily computed.

Tumbez ſpoil'd.

And now he advanc'd farther and farther apace into *Atabalipa*'s Dominions, being in moſt places very well receiv'd, tho' the *Peruvians* look'd upon him and his Men as a very ſtrange ſort of People..

Pizarro's Manifeſto.

As he march'd along, he publiſh'd to the Country that he came to teach them the Holy Catholick Faith, and to bring them to the knowledge of moſt excellent Laws and Cuſtoms; and the truth on't is, whatever the *Spaniards* did as to the Inſtruction of the *Indians* in the Faith, they did bring them to the knowledge of ſeveral very excellent Cuſtoms, particularly thoſe of Swearing, Blaſpheming, Perjury, Gaming, and a great many others as good as them, which were never ſo much as known in the Country before. The *Indians* did not believe theſe things of the *Spaniards* at their firſt arrival, if they had they wou'd have given them a leſs innocent Name.

Name given to the *Spaniards*.

When they ſaw them firſt come upon the Coaſt, they call'd them (in a Fit of Wonder) *Viracha's*, that is, the fome or froth of the Sea; but afterwards they believ'd them to be bad enough to deſerve the Name of the froth or ſpawn of a worſe Element than that, and they left off the Name of *Viracha's*, as containing too much of complement in it for ſuch People as they.

Caciques ſubmit.

But there were ſeveral of the *Caciques*, or *Curaca's*, that ſubmitted themſelves to this Catholick Faith, upon *Pizarro*'s aſſurance that 'twas ſo excellent a one; and were willing to acknowledge themſelves alſo the Subjects of the Emperor *Charles* V. whoſe Power and Sovereignty *Pizarro* preach'd along with that of Jeſus Chriſt. He continued his march to *Chira*, a conſiderable City, and the firſt place where he (as the Emperor's Miniſter forſooth) pretended to exerciſe Authority over the Lives and Fortunes of the People he was come amongſt.

Pizarro's ſeverity.

The *Cacique* of this City and of another, had conſpired to kill ſome of the *Spaniards*, which 'tis not unlikely they had very well deſerv'd, for ſome Villany or other; and for this, *Pizarro* condemn'd them both to be burnt alive, and ſeveral of their principal Men to keep them company in the ſame puniſhment. Only, out of his great Grace, he was pleas'd to ſpare the *Cacique* of *Chira*, as being the leſs guilty of the two; and not only ſo, but to give him the government of the other alſo. At this place (to encourage his Men in the Enterprize he was leading them on to) he divided the Gold amongſt them which the *Caciques*, and the People of *Tumbez*, had brought him; and now he march'd directly towards

His ſmall Army.

Preſents from the Inca to *Pizarro*.

Caxamalca, where he had Intelligence *Atabalipa* was at that time. 'Tis a ſign how much the *Spaniards* deſpis'd the Forces of the Inca, when they enter'd his Country with ſo very ſmall an Army. *Pizarro* did not bring above 220 Men along with him, and out of this number he drew a detachment of 55 for a Colony which he planted by the way, (which was at St. *Michaels*, a Port they gave that Name to, about 6 Leagues from the Sea, in the Country of *Tumbez*) and with the little remainder he adventur'd to go and meet *Atabalipa*. This Prince had had notice of *Pizarro*'s entrance into his Country, and had ſent him Preſents by the way as he march'd, and withal deſired to know what buſineſs he had in his Territories, or what he look'd for. 'Twas more than once that he was viſited by theſe Meſſengers of the Inca, by whom ſometimes he ſent very ſoft and kind Meſſages back again; but as he drew nearer, he diſcover'd himſelf more plainly, and chang'd his Stile.

Pizarro's Meſſage to *Atabalipa*.

Atabalipa having one time ſent him a Preſent, he order'd them that brought it to tell their Lord, That he was the Servant of a very mighty Prince, (whom he did not ſcruple to call Lord of the whole World) and was ſent to bring this Country to the Knowledge of the true God, and to the Obedience of his Emperor; that with as ſmall an Army as he had now with him, he had conquer'd Princes that were Superiour to *Atabalipa*, who now was at full liberty to make his choice. If he wou'd accept of Peace upon the Terms propos'd, he wou'd help him in his Wars, and leave him in the free poſſeſſion of his Empire, but if he choſe War, he would give him enough of it, and ſerve him as he had ſerv'd the *Caciques* of *Puna* and *Tumbez*.

'Tis probable that *Atabalipa* was not much frightned at this hectoring Meſſage, in that he ſent *Pizarro* word he wou'd be glad to ſee him, and would ſtay for him at *Caxamalca*: But yet 'tis pretty clear, that all together ſtirr'd his Indignation not a little, for as no Meſſenger that *Pizarro* ſent cou'd ever be admitted to ſee his face, but always was referr'd to his Uncle, ſo he was once or twice about to take off the Heads of them, and had done it, but that he was reſtrain'd by the fear that his own Meſſengers wou'd be ſerv'd the ſame ſawce.

He ſtays for *Pizarro* at *Caxamalca*.

Before we draw the Scene for the *Spaniards* at *Caxamalca*, it will not be amiſs to digreſs a little into ſome particulars of the Journey and the Way, and eſpecially to touch upon the deſcription of the City of *Caxamalca* it ſelf.

Valley from St. *Michael* to *Chincha*.

Spaniſh Forgeries.

All the way from the River of St. *Michael* to the City of *Chincha*, is a delightful Valley, very well Peopled, beat through with a fine High-way made with no little coſt and labour, and ſhaded on both ſides with Trees. The People of this Valley were ſaid by the *Spaniards* to offer Humane Blood to their Idols, yea, the Blood of their own Children, to ſprinkle it upon their Tombs and Sepulchres, and to daub the faces of their Idols with it; and the *Spaniſh* Writers do generally tell the ſame ſtory after the Soldiers. But the Inca *Garcilaſſo Divega* utterly denies all this, and declares no ſuch Cuſtoms as theſe were practis'd under the Government of the Inca's; but on the other hand, that the *Spaniards* invented theſe ſcandalous Stories of the *Indians*, that they Sacrific'd their Children, were guilty of Sodomy, Buggery, and the like, to give the more plauſible colour to their own cruel treatment of them, and to leſſen the heinouſneſs of the injuries they did them, when it ſhou'd be told to the World they were worſe than Brute Beaſts that were ſerv'd in that manner. And Don *Bartholomeo de Caſas*, the Biſhop of *Chiappa*, who convers'd no little while with theſe People, is entirely of the ſame Opinion, as he has publickly told us in his Book of the *Spaniſh* Cruelties in the *Weſt-Indies*. Now both theſe Teſtimonies are the more remarkable and convincing, in that they are the Teſtimonies of *Spaniards* againſt *Spaniards*, the one a zealous *Dominican* Friar, a Native of *Spain*, tho' a Biſhop in *America*; and the other a *Spaniard* by his Fathers ſide, tho' a *Peruvian* by his Mothers, eſpecially ſince the Inca *Garcilaſſo*'s Hiſtory of his own Country was examin'd and licens'd for the Preſs by the Friars, who to be ſure wou'd not have fail'd correcting what made ſo much againſt their Countrymen, had it not been too true to be denied.

Difficult paſſage up the Mountains.

Cold Region.

Strong Fort.

The *Spaniſh* Troops turn'd out of this pleaſant Road to *Chincha* to go into that of *Caxamalca*, and here they met with Rocks and Mountains; they went up Stairs as it were, and were forc'd to lead their Horſes in their hands. As they aſcended theſe elevated places they found the air exceeding cold; the Waters on the top were cold to that extremity, that they cou'd not drink them without warming, neither cou'd they hold out themſelves againſt the violence of it, when they ſet up their Tents to reſt, without the help of good Fires. Upon theſe places they found a mighty Fortreſs, that might deſervedly be call'd a huge Maſs of Stone, for 'twas built of Stone founded upon the Rocks, and wall'd in with the ſame; and if *Atabalipa* had thought fit to put himſelf in here, the queſtion is what *Pizarro* or *Almagro*, or any *Spaniard* of them all, cou'd have fetch'd him out.

Deſcription of *Caxamalca*.

Inca's Palace.

Rare Fountains.

It was in *November*, *A. D.* 1532. that the *Spaniards* finiſh'd this tedious march, and came to the City of *Caxamalca*. This City was ſeated 30 Leagues from the Sea, it was four Miles in Circuit, and to be enter'd but by two Gates. The Walls were of very ſtrong Stone, and at leaſt three fathom high, and the Streets as ſtrait and even as a Line. There were abundance of delicate Fountains up and down in the Streets, and all the Houſes in general very neat, but ſome appear'd extremely fine and beautiful. Through the middle of the City ran a Street larger than any in *Spain*, and inclos'd on both ſides with a particular Wall. Before it ſtood a ſtrong Fortreſs of Stone, up to which they aſcended by ſteps from the Street; and on one ſide was the ſtately Palace of *Atabalipa*, with varieties of Lodgings and Gardens belonging to it. All the Apartments of this Palace were painted with ſeveral colours in the outſide, but all that gaudineſs was nothing in compariſon with the ſubſtantial beauties and riches of the inſide, which may be partly imagin'd, conſidering how extravagant the Inca's generally were in adorning their publick Buildings with all the embelliſhments that Gold and Silver cou'd put upon them. In one Room particularly were two large Fountains adorn'd with Plates of Maſſic Gold; one of which run with water ſo hot, that a Man cou'd not endure his hand in it, and the other with that which was as intolerably cold. And, no doubt, but the Magnificence and Curioſities of the other Apartments were proportionable to this; and therefore, *ex ungue Leonem*, by this part we muſt gueſs the reſt. Upon one ſide of the City was a ſtately Temple walled about, with a great Court before it planted with Trees; this was dedicated to the Sun, who was worſhipp'd here with the ſame Solemnities and profound Devotion, that he was in the Imperial City of *Cuſco*. Hither then it was that *Pizarro* came to find *Atabalipa*, who waited for his coming, having a great deſire to ſee thoſe ſtrange Men, of whom he had heard ſo many ſtrange reports, tho' he had no little reaſon to look with indignation upon them, having receiv'd ſo many injuries from them. The Inca was not in the City it ſelf, but in his Camp, a little diſtance from it, where he lay with an Army of 30000 Men; as for *Pizarro* and his Men, they went into the City, and took up their Quarters there. As ſoon as he was come, *Atabalipa* ſent Meſſengers to him, with Preſents, to bid him welcome; to return which civility, *Pizarro* ſent his own Brother, with another *Spaniſh* Captain, that ſame Evening to the Camp. Theſe two were admitted into the Inca's Preſence, and deliver'd their Meſſage to him, but he ſat upon his Throne with an unconcernedneſs that beſpoke him to imagine there was no body there; he did not vouchſafe once to caſt his eyes upon them, nor by any word or motion diſcover any regard to them, but when they had ſaid what they had to ſay, one of the Princes that ſtood by made a reply for his Sovereign. But the *Spaniſh* Captain having ſignified that his Companion was the Brother of *Pizarro*, this coming to *Atabalipa*'s ear he then lifted up his eyes upon him, and in a few words let him know, That his Brothers boldneſs in pretending to puniſh his Subjects was very diſpleaſing to him; however (he added) that for his part, he wou'd be a Friend to the *Spaniards*, and not deal with them as they had (without any juſt cauſe) dealt with his People. *Fernando Pizarro* then told him, That his Brother was willing to aſſiſt him in his Wars with the Forces he had brought: To which the Inca replied, That he wou'd employ them againſt a certain *Cacique* in his Country, who had taken up Rebellious Arms againſt him, and diſturb'd the Peace of his Empire. 'Twas his Brother *Manco* that he meant, and thus in ſcorn call'd a *Cacique*, as if he had been one of his ordinary Vaſſal Princes, and his Riſing no other than a Rebellion.

Pizarro come to *Caxamalca*.

Meſſengers ſent to the *Inca*

His ſcorn of the *Spaniards*.

Pizarro offers to help the Inca.

Proud boaſt.

Pizarro gave him to underſtand, that if the *Spaniſh* Forces were employ'd in his Service, he wou'd ſoon ſee an end of all his Enemies; and (according to the modeſty of that Nation) told him, that ten Horſemen of their Troops wou'd be ſufficient to do the whole buſineſs, without any aſſiſtance from his Army at all. *Atabalipa* at this fell a laughing, and ſaid no more upon that point, but bid the two *Spaniards* drink, which when they wou'd have excus'd, he preſs'd them ſo earneſtly that they cou'd not defend themſelves any longer; ſo the Women

brought

Spaniards entertain'd and ſent away.

brought Liquor of Maize in large Veſſels of Gold, which was as great a Cordial to the *Spaniards* as the Wine it ſelf they drank. *Atabalipa* bid *Pizarro* tell his Brother he wou'd ſee him the next day; and ſo diſmiſs'd them.

Some of the *Spaniſh* Writers (*Benzos* particularly) make matters to have been manag'd quite otherwiſe on the part of *Atabalipa*; that he was all along more ſtern and rough in his Meſſages to *Pizarro*; that he ſcoffed at the Forces of the *Spaniards*, derided their ſmall Numbers, and ſent them word, if they lov'd their Lives they ſhou'd be gone out of his Territories. On the other hand, they own nothing of *Pizarro*'s threatning Meſſages to the Inca, but only make him preſs pretty earneſtly to come to an Interview with him, treating him otherwiſe in all reſpects very civilly.

Pizarro prepares for *Atabalipa*'s coming.

But we chuſe in this Matter rather to ſtick to the Account of *Franciſco de Xeres* (which was that we gave before) than to *Benzo*'s, for tho' the latter Perſon was concerned in the *Spaniſh* Service, yet the former was Secretary to *Pizarro* himſelf, and ſo may reaſonably be allowed to underſtand more of the truth of the Affair. The next Morning being come, a Meſſenger came from *Atabalipa*, to tell *Pizarro* that he wou'd come and ſee him and his Soldiers in their Arms that Day, which the other deſired him to do, and immediately went to the diſpoſing and placing his Forces up and down in the great Street of *Caxamalca*, giving them Orders not to ſtir till the Signal was given, and the great Guns were diſcharg'd. And now *Pizarro* having all things ready, and fitted up a Trap for *Atabalipa*, was ſo impatient till he had got him in it, that he ſent a Meſſenger for him to haſten his coming. But for all this, the Inca made it almoſt Sunſet before he mov'd out of his Camp, but then he came on with all the pomp and jollity in the World. His Army appear'd more like a Company of Stage-players than Men of War; they came ſinging and dancing along, and ſhone glorioſly, what with their Ornaments of Feathers, and the Gold and Silver that was about them. *Pizarro* did not move a ſtep forwards to meet him, but kept his Station in the great Street, expecting him to paſs through that. Accordingly *Atabalipa* came thither, and made a ſtand in the middle of the Street; he was carry'd upon Mens ſhoulders in a moſt Majeſtick Seat of Gold, and having not a little degree of Majeſty and Comelineſs in his own Perſon, that and his Ornaments together made him appear like the Prince he was.

Inca's march to *Caxamalca*.

Friar's Speech to *Atabalipa*.

As ſoon as the Inca ſtopt, (which 'tis to be ſuppos'd was to ſee and ſpeak with *Pizarro*) there marches up to him the Friar *Vincent*, with a Croſs in one Hand, and a Breviary in the other, and according to his Inſtructions (by the help of an Interpreter) made a Speech to him to this purpoſe: 'That he was a Servant of God, and 'twas his 'buſineſs to teach the Chriſtians things Divine, and that 'he came to inform him in ſuch Matters as wou'd be to 'his Advantage every way if he wou'd attend to them. Then he began with the old ſtuff, 'That the Biſhop of '*Rome*, according to the Power Heaven had intruſted 'him with, had given to their Sovereign Lord the Emperor all theſe Lands and Countries which were before 'unknown; and that for this end and purpoſe, that he 'might ſend Godly Men thither to preach the moſt Holy 'Goſpel, and turn the Infidels from their Errors and 'Idolatrous Worſhip. And that the Prince might underſtand his terms, and know what Goſpel, Pope, and Idolatry meant, the Friar converted his Oration into a Sermon, and run over all the Fundamentals of Religion. But if the Doctrine was fine, the Uſe and Application was coarſe, and cou'd not avoid making a very ugly jangle in the Ears of a Sovereign Prince, and one ſo great as *Atabalipa* was too. This, as the Inca Don *Garcilaſſo Divega* relates it, ran in this Stile —— 'For 'which reaſon his Imperial Majeſty has ſent this Captain, that your Realms might receive this benefit, and 'that he might begin the Alliance and Confederacy be'twixt the Majeſties of the Emperor and the Inca. But 'this is to be done in ſuch ſort, that your whole Em'pire become Tributary, and you your ſelf a Subject, 'renouncing the Sovereign Adminiſtration of all your 'Countries, as divers other Kings and Lords have done. 'And that after ſuch ſubjection to the ſublime Majeſty 'of the Emperor, you yield Obedience to the Pope, and 'receive the Faith of Chriſt, utterly abandoning your 'Idols, and all your Superſtitions, which were inven'ted by the * Devil. Theſe things, O King, thou art 'well to conſider, as being very profitable to thee and 'thine; but if thou refuſeſt, thou ſhalt be compell'd 'by War, Fire and Bloodſhed, and all thine Idols ſhall 'be thrown to the ground. We will conſtrain thee 'with the Sword, to leave thy falſe Religion whether 'thou wilt or no, and to embrace our Catholick Faith, 'and pay Tribute to the Emperor. Thou may'ſt do this 'freely and of thy own choice; but if thou doeſt per'ſiſt in thy obſtinacy, know for a certainty, that as of 'Old, *Pharaoh* * and all his Army periſh'd in the Red 'Sea, ſo God will ſuffer that thou, and all thy *Indians*, 'be deſtroy'd by our Arms. A very pretty Speech of a Friar to an Emperor! This Father *Vincent* was ſome modeſt, baſhful, ſhamefac'd Fellow or other, that had not courage to look a Prince in the face, and ſpeak to him roundly; 'tis a wonder *Pizarro* pick'd him out for this Office, for he talk'd as if he were moſt ſadly out of countenance all the while. As for *Atabalipa*, he had patience enough to hear the Man out, and then made a Reply as full of modeſt Wit and Ingenuity, as the others was of blunt Impudence and Sawcineſs. He ſigh'd at the words *Deſtruction* and *Confuſion*, and beginning with *Atac, Atac*, (which is an Interjection that expreſſes the higheſt ſorrow) he told the Friar, 'That this Meſſage was very 'different from what *Pizarro* had formerly ſent him. 'That it appear'd very ſtrange to him that the Empe'ror ſhould be Lord of the World, and yet the Pope 'have Power to beſtow new Kingdoms upon him. 'That he was not unwilling to accept the Friendſhip of 'ſo great a Monarch, but he ſaw no reaſon why he 'ſhould pay Tribute to him; for a free Prince to do 'Homage to another whom he had never any concerns 'with, was a piece of Injuſtice; and if the Emperor 'cou'd pretend any Right or Title upon him, he ought 'to have ſignified as much, before he had gone to 'threatning Fire and Deſtruction, and to ſeize his Coun'try by force. Beſides he cou'd not ſee (if he muſt pay 'Tribute at all) why he ſhou'd not pay it to *Pachacamac*, 'who was the Creator of all things, and had the beſt 'Title to ſuch an acknowledgment; or if it muſt be to 'any other beſides him, why it ſhou'd not be to Jeſus 'Chriſt, who was the beſt Man, or to the Pope *, who 'was a greater Man than the Emperor by his own 'confeſſion? And as to the Concerns of Religion, he told the Friar, 'The Pope might be as wiſe and good a 'Man as he repreſented him, however it appear'd to him 'that he was a Fool, and a Man of no modeſty, to of'fer to give away that to another that was none of his 'own. Neither ſhou'd he change the Faith of his Coun'try for that new one which he propos'd, and the Chri'ſtians were at liberty to believe in Chriſt which (they 'own'd) died upon a Croſs, whilſt he believ'd in the 'Sun that never died at all. Laſtly, As for themſelves 'and the Prince that ſent them, whatever pretences of 'Right and Juſtice they made, they ſeem'd to be Men 'of Uſurping and Tyrannical Principles, in going about 'to diſtreſs other Nations, and rob and plunder thoſe 'that had done them no wrong. But if they were the 'Servants of *Pachacamac*, and the offended Deity had 'ſent them to puniſh his Country for its Offences, he 'and his were ready to ſubmit themſelves to what they 'ſhou'd think fit to impoſe upon them, but not at all for 'fear of their Threatnings, or their Arms, but to fulfil 'the dying Command of his Father *Huayna Capac*, who 'enjoin'd them to ſerve the bearded Nation that was 'more valiant than themſelves, and ſhou'd bring them 'new Laws and Cuſtoms.

* Who was the Superſtition invented by?

Precious preaching of the Goſpel.

* If the Inca were Pharaoh, the Spaniards were not the Children of Iſrael, that's certain.

Atabalipa's Reply.

* The Pope certainly had more Title than the Emperor; becauſe being Chriſt's Steward, he ought to receive his Rents here below.

Various Reports of the aſſault the *Spaniards* made on *Atabalipa*.

What follow'd immediately upon the concluſion of this Speech of *Atabalipa*'s, is differently related by the Authors that write of this Matter. The Inca *Garcilaſſo* ſays, that the *Spaniards* impatient of ſo tedious a Conference between the Inca and the Friar, fell to rifling the *Indians*, and to plundering the Temple of the Sun; that ſome of them drew themſelves out into Battalia to charge upon *Atabalipa*'s Men, whilſt the Inca himſelf, with a loud voice, commanded all of them to lay down their Arms, and make no reſiſtance; for this they were going to do, and in order to it had turn'd upon their Enemies with a great ſhout, according to their Cuſtom. Alſo that the Friar *Vincent* made a favourable Speech to the *Spaniards* on the behalf of the *Indians*, and was ſo far from inſtigating them to fight, that he endeavour'd to cool their heat, and perſwade them from it. But the *Spaniſh* Writers tell the Story ſomething differently, and relate ſome circumſtances which the Inca *Garcilaſſo* is imagin'd to have forborn mentioning out of reſpect to the Friars, becauſe they ſeem to caſt an Odium upon their Order.

The Inca's queſtion to the Friar.

They ſay that *Atabalipa* demanding of the Friar how he came to know ſome of thoſe points of Religion which he had pretended to teach them; and the other replying, that his Book (the Law of God which he held in his hand) told him ſo, the Inca aſk'd to ſee his Book, which the Friar gave him into his hand, but had not the Senſe or the Manners to open firſt, but offer'd it ſhut. *Atabalipa*

Throws the Book to the ground.

Friar provokes the *Spaniards* to Revenge.

Atabalipa's Army confounded by the *Spaniards* Guns and Horſes.

And himſelf made a Priſoner.

A great Miracle.

lipa trying a while, and not being able to open it, the Friar reach'd out his Hand to do it for him, but the other diſdaining his help, hit him a ſound blow on the Arm, and at laſt open'd it himſelf. They ſay he look'd upon the Paper and Letters without any thing of that wonder that the *Indians* ordinarily expreſs'd at things they had never ſeen before; but having look'd a little while, he threw it away from him with a great deal of indignation, and told the Friar, that it ſaid not a word of thoſe things that he ſpoke of to him. And now the Friar was all in a flame at this horrid contempt of the Goſpel, he ran away with open mouth to the *Spaniards*, proclaiming the heinouſneſs of the Fact, and calling for Vengeance upon the profane Prince. *Come forth, come forth Chriſtians* (ſays he) *and ſet upon theſe Enemies; Dogs which will not accept the things of God; the Goſpels are derided, their Prince has thrown the Sacred Book on the ground; come forth and make them ſmart for ſo wick'd a Deed..* The Friar having thus Authoriz'd all the Murder, Bloodſhed, Rapine and Raviſhments, the *Spaniards* had a mind to commit, the Drums preſently beat, and the Trumpets ſounded; the great Guns were diſcharg'd upon the *Indians*, and the *Spaniards*, both Horſe and Foot, fell on with an incredible fury. 'Tis eaſie to imagine that the Troops of *Atabalipa* (tho' much ſuperiour in number) were not able to ſtand this ſhock; the *Spaniards* made what havock they wou'd amongſt them, and kill'd 5000, ſome ſay half as many more, without the loſs of any one Man. And no wonder neither, for the *Spaniards* themſelves confeſs, that not an *Indian* lifted up his hand againſt them, their Prince's command to the contrary having tied them all faſt. *Pizarro* himſelf preſs'd up to *Atabalipa*'s Litter, and ſeiz'd him by the arm, making him a Priſoner; in which action he got a wound, and that from one of his own Men, who were hacking and hewing the poor *Indians* that carried their Emperor upon their ſhoulders. In a word, the Army was all diſpers'd, and the Inca left in the hands of his Enemies; and this whole action was done in ſo little time, that tho' the Sun was ſetting when it began, he had not been down more than half an hour before 'twas ended. An inglorious Action, without doubt all Poſterity will call it, if at leaſt it be ſo, for Men to cut the Throats of ſo many thouſands that ſtood ſtill and made no reſiſtance. After all was over, *Pizarro* finding he had obtain'd ſo cheap a Victory, cry'd out a Miracle, gave God thanks for it, and had Maſs ſaid, as if 'twas a work of ſpecial and extraordinary Providence for God to preſerve the lives of the *Spaniards*, when the *Indians* never ſtruck a ſtroke in order to the taking of them away. 'Twou'd be much ſuch another Miracle, for a Man to fall into a dry Ditch and ſcape drowning; and as reaſonable a Devotion as *Pizarro*'s, for him to give God thanks for't when he came out again.

Atabalipa promiſes a vaſt Treaſure for his Ranſom.

Spaniards ſent to *Cuſco*.

Plenty of Gold.

Atabalipa being now a Priſoner, was (as may eaſily be imagin'd) very much afflicted at his hard fate, under which however *Pizarro* endeavour'd to comfort him, and gave him reaſon to hope at leaſt for very good and honourable treatment at his hands. The Prince promis'd extravagant Ranſoms and Rewards in caſe he wou'd ſet him at liberty again; that he wou'd fill a Room half again as high as a Man, 22 foot long, and 17 wide, up to half the heighth of it with Veſſels of Gold, and the whole content twice over with Silver, and all this in the ſpace of two Months. And it ſeems to be paſt all doubt, that *Pizarro* upon this condition promis'd to ſet him free; but yet ſo much as what was promis'd, not coming in within the limited time, the *Spaniards* began to grumble at *Atabalipa*, and (as ſome ſay) then took up the reſolution of diſpatching him out of the way. He excus'd the Matter by alledging the great length of the way to *Cuſco*, and told them, that if they wou'd ſend ſome of their company thither, they wou'd ſee enough to convince them that he had promis'd no more than was in his power to perform. Accordingly ſome were ſent to *Cuſco*, not to look about them, and make Obſervations upon the place, but with directions to take poſſeſſion both of the City and Treaſures. And they quickly began to ſearch into thoſe Treaſures when they came thither, and to Anatomize the Royal Houſes and Temples, and diſcover the rich Parts of them. In ſhort, ſo many Burthens of Gold and Silver came from thence to *Caxamalca*, that beſides the Emperor's fifths, every Horſeman had to his ſhare 8880 Caſtilians in Gold, and 362 Marks in Silver, each Mark being 8 Ounces; the Footmen had half ſo much, or more or leſs according to their Merits.

Huaſcar offers more to be freed.

Atabalipa's Treachery.

Huaſcar killed.

Atabalipa's Generals.

Rich Booty brought from *Cuſco*.

In this plenty of Gold in the *Spaniſh* Camp, one may imagine the Rioting, the Gaming and Prodigality that was there. They paid their Debts by the lump, not ſtanding to tell Money, but giving the Creditor a good wedge of Gold or Silver, and if 'twant twice as much as the Debt came to they did not care. Nothing was ſo cheap, ſo common, ſo eaſie to be got as Gold and Silver, and therefore the Prices of all things were according. A Horſe went at 1500 Caſtilians of Gold, a Quart of Wine for 10, a pair of Shoes for 40, a Sheet of Paper for 10; and ſo of other things proportionably. The State of the World otherwhere was here inverted, Money wanted Commodities, not Commodities Money. The Officers that were ſent to *Cuſco*, had a ſight of *Huaſcar* at *Sauſa*, in their way thither. That miſerable Prince had lain under a woful Confinement ever ſince his Brother *Atabalipa* had deprived him of his Crown; and now when the *Spaniards* came to viſit him, he tamper'd with them for his Releaſe and Reſtoration. He promis'd three times as much Treaſure as *Atabalipa* had done, and told them he was better able to perform it than the other was, becauſe he knew all the Repoſitories of the Riches of his Anceſtors, and where their vaſt hoards were to be found, which the other was wholly ignorant of. But they cou'd give him no other anſwer but this, that they muſt firſt go to *Cuſco*, whether they were ſent, and then conſider of his Affairs afterwards. In the mean time *Atabalipa* had intelligence of theſe Propoſals of *Huaſcar*, and therefore ſaw now that he muſt e'en make ſure work with him; and therefore to ſound the *Spaniards*, and ſee how they wou'd take *Huaſcar*'s death, he pretended that one of his Captains had kill'd him, and he was in a mighty deal of affliction upon that account. *Pizarro*, that knew nothing of the trick, comforted him under his loſs, and promis'd him to ſee the actors of that Murder ſeverely puniſh'd. This was juſt what *Atabalipa* wanted; and ſeeing the *Spaniards* took his Brothers death ſo quietly, he diſpatch'd a Poſt with all ſpeed and privacy in the World to deſtroy him, ſo that the *Spaniards* ſhou'd not know but 'twas really done before. And this was executed accordingly, and that formidable Rival remov'd out of the way. Tho' *Atabalipa* was a Priſoner himſelf in the hands of the *Spaniards*, yet he had a couple of Generals that were free, and lay abroad in the Country, one in one Part, and the other in another; and tho' they had Forces at their command, yet they attempted nothing againſt the Invaders of their Country. The Names of theſe two great Captains were *Chilicuchima* and *Quizquiz*, the former of which the *Spaniards* (that were ſent to *Cuſco*) met at *Xauxa*, where *Huaſcar* was confin'd, and the latter they found at *Cuſco* with an Army of 30000 Men. And 'tis a ſurprizing conſideration, that three *Spaniards* (for no more were employ'd upon that firſt Errand to *Cuſco*) ſhou'd plunder a rich and glorious City that had ſuch a power of Men to guard it. That they ſhou'd rifle the Temple of the Sun, take down the Maſſie Plates of Gold from the Walls, and bring at leaſt 200 Mens load of Gold away, while no body offer'd in the leaſt to hinder them, or ſo much as to ask them what they did. The Pots, the Tankards, and all ſorts of Veſſels of Gold and Silver, were ſo numerous, that the *Spaniards* were ſtruck with the deepeſt aſtoniſhment when they ſaw thoſe Treaſures; there were ſome golden Veſſels ſo big, that 12 Men had much ado to bring one of them; and one of the Inca's Thrones of Maſſie Gold, and a Receiver for a Fountain of the ſame Metal likewiſe, were to be ſure no light and eaſie Carriage. But the Generals were ſo far from endeavouring to ſecure theſe Treaſures, that they willingly reſign'd them to the *Spaniards*; and tho' 'tis certain, that the reaſon of it was becauſe they knew the Inca's Ranſom was to be paid with it, yet 'tis much that all ſhou'd keep ſo quiet, and none ſhou'd be apt to think the *Spaniards* had gone beyond their Bounds, when the Sacred Houſes themſelves were not ſpared by them, tho' there was no need of emptying them for the payment of what was promis'd.

Atabalipa reverenc'd by his Officers.

The *Spaniards* returning from this firſt Ranſack of *Cuſco*, brought the General *Chilicuchima*, and ſeveral other great Men, along with them, to ſee their Lord *Atabalipa* in his Captive ſtate. Theſe Men cover'd their Bodies with very coarſe Cloth before they went into his preſence, and as ſoon as they ſaw him, lift up their Eyes and Hands to the Sun, giving thanks that they had ſeen their Inca again; then they approach'd him by little and little, and kiſs'd his Hands and Feet, and, in a word, did him all the Honours that cou'd be expected in the heighth of his Glory and Proſperity. He alſo kept his Majeſty as much as ever, and as he was prouder than any of the Inca's before him, ſo alſo now he wou'd not ſo much as vouchſafe to look upon any of theſe his faithful Servants. But the Tragical end of this unfortunate Prince now haſten'd apace, and he that had ſhed ſo much of the Blood of his own Family, was to have his

Full payment of the Ranſom.

Charges brought in againſt *Atabalipa.*

His Condemnation.

The Generals death.

own ſhed by Foreigners for the expiation of thoſe Crimes. 'Tis true he had paid his Ranſom to the full, and *Pizarro* ſolemnly and publickly acquitted him in *Caxamalca* of having ſo done, and order'd it to be ſignified by ſound of Trumpet, and by an act in writing drawn up by the Notary: But notwithſtanding this he was not to be diſcharg'd yet; *Pizarro* told him he muſt be detain'd a while under a Guard, till more Forces of the *Spaniards* were come up to him for his Security from all attempts, for he had been inform'd that *Atabalipa* had given Orders for the levying an Army to aſſault the *Spaniards*, and drive them out of the Country, and this he thought to prevent (at leaſt the miſchievous conſequences of it) by keeping him and his General cloſe Priſoners. Whether this were true or no, ſome of his own People (the *Spaniards* ſay) affirm'd it; they reveal'd the whole Plot to *Pizarro*, who perhaps was not unwilling to believe it, nor backward to lay hold of any fair Occaſion for the making away with his Priſoner. Matters in ſhort run to that extremity, that *Atabalipa* was openly accus'd of this Fact, and tho' we hear nothing of his Defence, yet we do of his Condemnation and Sentence; which was to be burnt alive. But becauſe they had made a ſort of a Chriſtian of him, that is, had baptiz'd him, in conſideration of that the Sentence was ſomething ſoftned, and he had the favour of being ſtrangled. When *Atabalipa* heard his Doom, he exclaim'd moſt bitterly againſt *Pizarro*, for the breach of his ſolemn Oath and Promiſe to ſet him at liberty; and not only ſo, but to depart peaceably out of his Country upon the payment of his Ranſom. Then turning about with his Devotions to the Sun, he renew'd his exclamations, calling as it were his Deity to witneſs of the Infidelity and Treachery of the *Spaniards*. But *Pizarro*, who matter'd none of thoſe things, (tho' he was preſent all the while) commanded his Negroes to ſtop his mouth, which they did by wringing a Cord with a Stick about his Neck, and ſo diſpatch'd him. The good Friar *Vincent* conſented to this Murder alſo, and voted for the old Catholick way of Execution by the Fire. This Chriſtian Mufti knew very well the Mind and Deſigns of his Grand Seignior *Pizarro*, and no doubt having ſounded his Inclinations to deſtroy *Atabalipa*, eaſily proved it lawful by the Goſpel, and found out that God would have it ſo. The Sentence thus executed, his Corps were Interr'd, as ſome ſay, in the Church at *Caxamalca*, or as others, in a Royal Tomb amongſt the Kings of *Quito*, in that City. His General *Chilicuchima* was more ſeverely handled, being tied to a Stake, and tormented with flaming Brands thruſt to his Body, to extort a confeſſion from him of all the Treaſures that were yet undiſcover'd. He endured theſe pains a long time, and at laſt told them, That *Quizquiz*, the other General, had all *Huayna*'s Treaſures in his keeping. But beſides theſe, he diſcover'd where another Maſs lay, which *Pizarro* afterwards ſeiz'd upon. His death was ſome time after his Maſters; but 'twas no little eaſe to *Pizarro* to have him out of the way too, for he was a Man of great Valour and Courage, and equal Truth and Fidelity to his Maſter. The Inca *Garcilaſſo* ſays, that *Chilicuchima* was murder'd by one of *Atabalipa*'s Captains, together with the own Brother, and all the Sons and Daughters of that miſerable Prince, that were then at *Quito*; and this at the Solemnization of his Obſequies, when the Corps was brought to be buried there. That this ſame Captain had an ambition to ſet himſelf up in the Kingdom of *Quito*, and in order to that (imitating his Maſters example) took an opportunity to cut off all thoſe that might prove hinderances to him in that deſign. 'Tis to be noted, the *Spaniards* in their Arraignment of *Atabalipa* accus'd him of Treaſon; which was, if well conſider'd, a very pretty ſort of a Charge, and had as much ſence in it as all their proceedings had, of Juſtice and Reaſon, and common Honeſty. For what was his Treaſon? were his Endeavours, to free himſelf and his Country from a parcel of Men that came to rob him, to be call'd ſo? And who was he a Traytor to? was it to *Pizarro*, or to the Emperor? If the Emperor was never his Rightful Sovereign, he cou'd be no Traytor to him; and that he was never ſo is as infallibly true, as that the Pope never had any power to give to him, or any body elſe, the Lands and Dominions of other Princes. In ſhort, *Pizarro*'s Deſigns (of ſitting as Monarch himſelf in that glorious Country) made it neceſſary for all the old Inca's Race to be remov'd, and conſequently for *Atabalipa* to die. And this *Herera*, the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, and others of the ſame Nation, don't ſcruple plainly to ſpeak out; ſaying alſo, that *Pizarro* pretended a fear of Mutinies and Troubles where there was little occaſion for't, and that *Atabalipa* endeavour'd to anſwer all thoſe Objections, and wou'd have clear'd himſelf, but that the *Spaniards* had no mind to be perſwaded of his innocency.

How things proſper'd with them afterwards, we ſhall ſee in its due place; but we muſt proceed in order with the Events that happen'd upon *Atabalipa*'s death.

The new Inca.

Quarrels between *Cuſco* and *Quito.*

Atabalipa the Second dies.

Pizarro marches for *Cuſco.*

Mountainous Stairs.

Snowy Mountain.

Deſcription of *Cuſco.*

Pizarro, to oblige the Country the more, gave them a new Inca after he had taken away the old one. This was alſo a Son of *Huayna Capac*, and they gave him the Name of *Atabalipa*; but he was a meer Tool of the *Spaniards*, and entirely at their diſpoſe. He (having faſted three days for his Predeceſſor according to Cuſtom) publickly acknowledged the Sovereignty of the Emperor, and perform'd the Rites of Vaſſalage to *Pizarro* as his Repreſentative. The principal Ceremony was the Offering of a white feather, which he did, as alſo all his Caciques did to him; they afterwards own'd the Emperor for their Supreme Lord, (and next under him the new *Atabalipa*) by the Ceremony of holding up the Royal Standard, which every Man did in his turn. Now tho' this Action of *Pizarro*'s was pleaſing enough to the one part of the Empire, that is, to the *Cuſcoans*, yet 'twas very ungrateful and diſpleaſing to the *Quitonians*, and all thoſe of the firſt *Atabalipa*'s Faction; for as that Prince was of the Royal Line of *Quito*, ſo his Generals *Chilicuchima* and *Quizquiz* were for advancing that Houſe, and fixing the Imperial Crown there. Upon this Occaſion therefore, there grew very great Jealouſies and Diſcontents between them; yea, *Quizquiz* openly declar'd himſelf, and took Arms to Aſſert the Rights of the *Quitonian* Houſe; and *Chilicuchima*, tho' he did not appear bare-fac'd, yet was as deep in the Deſign, and gave private Encouragements to thoſe Troubles. But *Atabalipa* the Second did not long enjoy his new Dignity, for he died before *Pizarro* got to *Cuſco*; and the common Report was, that he was poyſon'd by *Chilicuchima*, which together, with other more important Reaſons, drew on the fate of that General we mention'd but now. He had (before he died) propos'd a Son of the firſt *Atabalipa* to ſucceed the Second of that Name, but *Pizarro*, and the *Spaniards* in general, rather enclin'd to *Manco*, the Son of the Inca *Huama Capac*, who was contending for the Empire with his Brother *Atabalipa* when the *Spaniards* firſt invaded the Country. But the buſineſs not being yet determin'd, *Pizarro* continued his march to *Cuſco*, and in the way thither he was met by *Quizquiz*, who commanded a good Army, and gave him Battel; but his Forces cou'd not withſtand the fury of the *Spaniſh* Horſe, nor abide the terror of the great Guns; ſo that being entirely routed, in him the Family of *Atabalipa* loſt their laſt great Champion and Defender. So that the *Spaniards* were forc'd as it were to cut their way into *Cuſco*; and the truth on't is, 'tis no ſmall wonder that they were able to accompliſh it; they themſelves were not a little ſurpriz'd to find themſelves Maſters of that place. Had it not been for the Emulations and Quarrels between the two Imperial Cities of *Cuſco* and *Quito*, in all likelihood it had been impoſſible for them to have done it; and thoſe Powers firmly united together, wou'd have been an invincible Bar in their way. But they ruin'd the Common Intereſt by their Inteſtine Diviſions; and 'twas *Spaniſh* Policy perhaps, to throw that Bone of Contention betwixt them, at leaſt not to take it away from them. Beſides, the difficulties of the Way were ſuch, that they might have been fatigu'd to death in their march thither; for the mountainous Paſſes are ſo ſtrait and narrow, that 10 Men may defend them againſt 10000. In ſome places they were wrought like Stairs out of the ſolid Cliffs, and in others Stone-work added by Art, to render them capable of being paſs'd over. But the *Spaniards* having none to oppoſe them, made a ſhift to climb thoſe precipices, tho' abundance of their Horſes broke their Necks; and 'tis a wonder all the Men had not done ſo too. The ridge of Mountains continues from *Tumbez* to *Xauxa*, and from thence to *Cuſco*; and from *Caxamalca* to *Xauxa*, runs a vaſt mountainous Tract cover'd with Snow, which lies there all the Year round. When *Pizarro* came to *Cuſco*, he had the proſpect of a City much finer, and more magnificent, than any he expected to find in that part of the World. The principal part of it ſtands on the top of a Hill, tho' it ſpreads all along the Declivities, and runs down into the adjacent Plain. The Streets were ſtrait and even, tho' narrow, but the beauty of the Buildings made amends for that defect, there being few Houſes but what were made of Stone. The Palaces of the Caciques and Noblemen (of which there were a multitude) made a noble appearance, and eſpecially in that part which lay down in the Valley; the Houſes of Pleaſure of thoſe great Men, the Publick Store-houſes, Magazines, and Repoſitories of the Tributes, were diſcover'd above all

the

Spaniards plunder the City.

the reſt. In the middle was a fair Market-place, ſquare and pav'd with Stone; on the 4 ſides of which ſtood Palaces rais'd by ſome of the Inca's, all of Stone-work, but painted and carv'd after a very agreeable manner. The ſtatelieſt of all theſe was that built by *Huayna Capac*, and in which he himſelf commonly reſided; the Gates of this Edifice were of Marble of ſeveral colours, and the Terraſſes ſutable to all the reſt of the work. Through the middle of the City ran a ſtream of water encloſ'd in a Stone Canal, on each ſide of which a Horſeman might very eaſily paſs; but their main Fund of water were two Rivers which took their courſe along by the City, and over which they had laid Bridges, ſuch as their Skill in that ſort of Building (which was but little) cou'd raiſe. But that which produc'd a real aſtoniſhment in the *Spaniards* was the Fortreſs, that Incomprehenſible Building, ſo Incomprehenſibly built and laid together; in which they found ſo many appearances of extraordinary Art, and yet were puzzled to imagine what the Art muſt be, and who the Artiſt. Having ſurvey'd this Structure, they eaſily concluded that it went beyond all the Buildings of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and many that had ſeen the moſt remarkable Antiquities that ſeveral Nations had to ſhew, confeſs'd there was nothing like this. But then the inſide Furniture was extraordinary likewiſe, for being the grand Magazine of the Inca's, the general Store-houſe for their Warlike Proviſions, which were gather'd here from all Parts of the Empire, there were ſuch Piles of Clubs, Lances, Bows, Arrows, Axes, Targets, Shields, with other requiſites for Soldiers, that had there been but Soldiers to have us'd them, the *Spaniards* muſt have taken leave of *Cuſco* in a little time. In ſhort, the Towers, Terraſſes, Walls, Battelments, Rooms, Apartments, Furniture and Contents of this Fortreſs, were all admirable to them, and the Proſpect and Scituation no leſs pleaſing. What Treaſures the *Spaniards* found in the City and Caſtle of *Cuſco* they themſelves know beſt, only Writers ſay they were ſo great, that what they had before (all thoſe loads of Gold and Silver Plate) hardly bore any proportion to them; but if we remember the general Account of the Riches of the Palaces and Temples of the Inca's, one may gueſs at what they got by coming hither. *Benzos* ſays, that they treated the People of *Cuſco* with the utmoſt barbarity to make them confeſs their Treaſures; that in the midſt of that prodigious Plenty (which might rather have cloy'd a Man, and given him almoſt a ſurfeit of Gold) they rav'd ſo with the hunger of it, that they did any thing to come at their deſired Satisfaction. And whatever might be extorted out of ſome of them by the pulls of a Rack, or the torments of Fire, yet 'tis paſt all doubt that ſome of the moſt glorious Treaſures of the Empire eſcap'd their hands.

Manco comes to *Cuſco*.

He is made Inca.

We muſt now bring the Inca *Manco* (of whom we ſpoke before) upon the Stage again. This Prince hearing *Pizarro* was at *Cuſco* came thither to him, and his Errand was to demand his Right, which was the poſſeſſion of the Imperial Throne. And to encourage the *Spaniards* to yield to him in this matter, he promis'd to promote their Affairs and Religion too, as the Inca *Garcilaſſo* tells us. *Pizarro*, who had ſome inclination to him before, (that is, preferr'd him to any other) accordingly declar'd him *Inca Capa*, and he perform'd the Rights of Vaſſalage as his Predeceſſors had done. But when all was done, he was no more than a meer Titular Prince; he had the Title of Inca, but *Pizarro* was ſo in effect, the *Spaniards* gave Orders, Rul'd, and did what they pleas'd, while he ſtood ſtill, and was bound to ſay as they ſaid, and to like all they did. In ſhort, he was a meer Monarch in Effigie, a State-Pageant dreſs'd up only to be look'd upon.

While Matters ſtood thus at *Cuſco*, the Affairs in other Parts of the Empire grew troubleſome and perplex'd; for *Quizquiz*, who was once routed by *Pizarro*, gather'd more Forces, and made head again. Beſides, *Pizarro* and *Almagro* began to Rival one another, and thoſe Jealouſies and Suſpicions were ſprung upon both ſides, that afterwards heightned into a Bloody War, which prov'd the confuſion of them all, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

Pizarro goes to *Lima*.

Manco Impriſon'd.

His Policy.

Gets his liberty.

He riſes againſt the *Spaniards*.

Cuſco taken from the *Spaniards*.

And retaken.

Spaniards defeated by *Manco*.

Pizarro beats *Manco*.

He retires to the Mountains.

The new Inca *Manco* ſeeing that the *Spaniards* made a meer Cypher of him, and perform'd none of the Articles that related to his real Reſtoration, complain'd of it to *Pizarro*, and demanded that he might have the full Power of an Emperor, as well as the Title and the Honour. But he excus'd himſelf from granting that as yet, as well upon the account of the broils and ſtirs that were in the Country, as alſo that he expected the Orders of the Emperor, to whom he had ſent about that Affair. This Order his Brother *Fernando* was to bring in a little time; however, in the mean while, he himſelf march'd away from *Cuſco* towards *Lima*, (which City was then about being Peopled) and left the Inca *Manco* to the keeping of two other of his Brothers, *John* and *Gonſalvo Pizarro*. Theſe Men held the Inca a cloſe Priſoner; ſome ſay they laid him in Chains, tho' 'tis certain that they ſecur'd him in the Fortreſs of *Cuſco*, as a place where they were ſure to hold him faſt. The Inca was a Prince of a very haughty Mind, of great Courage and Reſolution, and they had reaſon to fear all things from him if he were Maſter of himſelf; but he compos'd himſelf under this injurious treatment to a wonful patience and eaſineſs, or at leaſt he diſſembled his reſentments, and forbore all manner of harſh reflections upon the *Spaniards*. When his own Subjects bewail'd his Misfortune, and exclaim'd againſt the Injuſtice and Treachery of his Impriſonment, he wou'd ſpeak ſoft and comfortable words to them, and tell them his Father *Huayna Capac* had commanded, in his Laſt Teſtament, that they ſhou'd ſubmit to the *Spaniards*; and in the mean time, under all theſe Oppreſſions, they ſhou'd be quiet till they ſaw the iſſue of all. However, he did his endeavours not to have occaſion to obey his Fathers Laſt Will and Teſtament very long, for he flatter'd and careſs'd the *Spaniards*, ſweetned them with Preſents, ſpoke honourably of them, and never made any complaints of his Sufferings; ſo that they thought him to be a very eaſie and well-contented Priſoner. In ſhort, he dealt ſo with *Pizarro*'s two Brothers, his Jailors, that he obtain'd a degree of Liberty, for they gave him leave to go to *Yucay*, which was the Royal Garden of the Inca's, to ſpend ſome time for his refreſhment and pleaſure. When he was got there, he ſummon'd his Officers and Grandees privately about him, and aggravating all the foul and baſe treatment he had had from the *Spaniards* to the laſt degree, and ſince he cou'd no longer rely upon their Promiſes, and plainly ſaw that they intended to ſhare the Empire amongſt themſelves, inſtead of reſtoring it to him, he told them he intended to take up Arms to recover his Right by Force, and wou'd truſt *Pachacamac*, and his Father the Sun, with the Succeſs. All his Captains were very glad to hear him make ſo bold and brave a Reſolution, and accordingly promis'd to maintain his Rights to the utmoſt of their power, againſt all the Pretenſions and Encroachments of the *Spaniards*. And now preparations were made for a War, which coſt a vaſt deal of *Indian* Blood, and not a little *Spaniſh*. *Manco* made his firſt Attack upon *Cuſco*, with an Army of 200000 Men, and ſhooting fire along with their Arrows in upon the *Spaniards*, had like to have burnt down the City about their Ears. In this Siege *John Pizarro* was ſlain, and the Defendants every way ſo hardly preſs'd, that the City was taken, and *Manco* now become Lord of *Cuſco* without the *Spaniards* leave. After this the *Spaniards* recruiting their Forces, paid the Inca in the ſame Coin, beſieg'd *Cuſco*, and took it from him; but they had not been Maſters of it very long, before he came with another potent Army, which drove them out, and ſeated him there again. Matters being come to this paſs, *Pizarro* was forc'd to ſend another of his Brothers with freſh Forces againſt the Inca, but he and his Troop were entertain'd after ſuch a rude manner by the *Peruvians*, that not a Man was left to carry News of their ill Succeſs. After this he diſpatch'd 4 or 5 Commanders more, one after another, who had all of them the ſame fate of being routed, and moſt of them of being kill'd. It was therefore high time for *Pizarro* to come himſelf in Perſon, and humble the growing Power of this Enemy; which he did, and what with the terror of his Guns, and arm'd Horſes, the firſt Battel he fought he overthrew the Army of *Manco*. Then to compleat the Work, he ſent about to all the *Spaniſh* Colonies upon the Continent for Supplies of Men and Ammunition, and having made himſelf conſiderably ſtrong, he fought one or two Battels more, by which *Manco*'s fate was entirely decided, for his mighty Army was too far ſhatter'd and broken to be mended up again for another Action. The poor Prince was now driven to his ſhifts, and obliged to retire to ſome cloſe and ſecure Refuges in the Mountains; and 'twas upon the Mountains of *Villaca Campa* that he choſe to ſettle his Abode, whether he made his retreat with 20000 Men, the remainders of his routed Army. *Benzos* makes as if his retreat was not ſo much the effect of his weakneſs as his prudence, and that 'twas to avoid being hemm'd in of all ſides by the *Spaniards*, for the report now went that *Almagro* was coming out of *Chili* with his Forces, who was more likely to join with his Enemies then him. But having brought him to this ſhelter, we muſt leave him here for awhile to take his repoſe, while we look into the Affairs of *Pizarro* and his Companions, and ſee their Fates. We muſt know, that after the taking of *Cuſco*, when *Lima* (the *City of Kings* as it is call'd by the *Spaniards*) was rais'd and peopled, *Pizarro* made his Friend and Partner *Almagro* Governor of that Province. But alſo becauſe he had been an active Man in the *Peruvian* Conqueſt, (and one of the firſt Diſcoverers too) in conſideration of his Services, the Emperor made him Marſhal of *Peru*, and gave him Authority to conquer 300 Miles for himſelf, beginning where *Pizarro*'s Conqueſts ended. As for *Pizarro* himſelf, the greater actions he had perform'd made him *Almagro*'s Superiour; but he alſo now growing great, the other was conſequently jealous of him, as all ambitious aſpiring Men uſe to be of one another. And many Diſputes and Quarrels paſs'd between them, when at laſt *Pizarro*, to rid his hands of ſuch a dangerous Rival in a fair and an honourable way, ſent him into *Chili* to conquer, or to govern, or ſomething of that nature, as the pretence was; but the true deſign was, that he might be knock'd o'th' head there. However, *Almagro* made no ſcruple of going, and in that Country he ſtaid till the time that the Inca *Manco* was finally routed, and forc'd up into the Mountains. But then he had enough of *Chili*, and finding it did not anſwer his expectations, he march'd back into *Peru*, and came directly to *Cuſco*. This place he pretended a Right to the Government of, and wou'd accordingly have enter'd as ſuch, but was oppos'd by *Fernando Pizarro*, who was plac'd in that Station by his Brother, and wou'd not reſign it without Orders from him. But *Almagro* found a way to get into the City in the Night time, and ſurprizing the two *Pizarro*'s that were there, he clapt them both up in Priſon, and the next Day made himſelf be proclaim'd Governor, according to the Imperial Commiſſion. By as good a trick he alſo ſeiz'd *Alvarado*, another *Spaniſh* Commander, who was coming towards him with ſome Forces, and that for no good as he reaſonably imagin'd; and now he Lorded it in *Cuſco* at a violent rate, and threatned *Pizarro*'s Party moſt bitterly. But *Alvarado*, and one of the *Pizarro*'s, that lay there in Priſon, by making uſe of a golden Key, (which will open moſt Locks in the World) got out, and came to the General *Pizarro*, and acquainted him with all *Almagro*'s proceedings. At this he gather'd a conſiderable Body of Men, deſigning to march and drive him out of *Cuſco*, but by the Mediation of ſome, the Matter was ſo far compromiz'd, that both Parties agreed to meet and ſettle the Points in diſpute between them, in a fair and amicable Conference. Notwithſtanding this Contract, *Pizarro* diſpos'd a Company of Men, in a convenient place by the way, to murder *Almagro* as he paſs'd along, but he having timely notice of it avoided the danger. *Pizarro* and he having met together, the iſſue of it was that they were reconcil'd, and Promiſes and Oaths paſs'd on both ſides to bind the Bargain that was made. But which of the two was perjur'd firſt, is as uncertain as 'tis certain that one of them was ſo, for 'twas not long before all theſe Sacred Ties were broken, and the Reconciliation degenerated into the fierceſt Enmity, and the enmity iſſued in a Bloody War, which confounded all the Affairs of the Country. 'Twas *Almagro*'s hard fate to be taken Priſoner in this War, and *Pizarro* no ſooner had him in his Clutches, but he Sentenced him to Death; and that Sentence, no Interceſſion, no Pleading nor Appeal, was able to Reverſe. So he was Strangled, and *Fernando Pizarro* ſent over into *Spain* with the Proceſs. But tho' *Almagro* himſelf was dead, yet he had a Son that ſtill liv'd to be a plague to the Family of the *Pizarro's*. This Young Man, and ſome of his Friends, quickly went to Plotting againſt *Pizarro*, but he looking upon his own Power and Greatneſs, deſpis'd ſuch trifling Enemies as he thought them to be, and that neglect of them coſt him his Life, for they murder'd him in his own Houſe, together with his half Brother *Martin de Alcantara*; how his four own Brothers were diſpos'd of, we ſhall hear by and by. *Pizarro* being dead, the young *Almagro* invaded the Government, making all Swear to him, and acting all the Arbitrary Tyrannical Parts that Power and Revenge join'd together are wont to do. But theſe bonny Days did not laſt long with him, and as the reſt of the Men of Uſurping and Ambitious Principles had ſome or other to pull them down, ſo was he ſhortly after humbled by *Vacca di Caſtro*, whom the Emperor ſent from *Spain* to put an end to thoſe Broils. *Almagro* 'tis true fought one Battel for his Life, but he had better have died bravely in the Field, for making his eſcape to *Cuſco*, he was there betray'd by a Friend, and ſent to *Caſtro*, who cut off his Head. And now the Emperor thought fit to prevent all future Pretenſions of any Pretenders, and to put an end to all Broils and Differences, by ſending over a Vice-Roy into the Country; and at the ſame time a Publick Decree, that all the *Indians* ſhou'd have their liberty, and be no longer treated as Dogs and Slaves by the *Spaniards*. The Vice-Roy was *Blaſcus Nunnez Vela*, who managed things with ſuch a ſeverity, that he put the Country into a ferment; and the *Spaniards*, who had been ſo long us'd to all ſorts of Licentiouſneſs, and to Tyrannize over the *Indians* as they pleas'd, cou'd not endure the ſtrait Reins of his Government, but took up Arms, and broke out into a Rebellion. They choſe *Gonſalo Pizarro* their Captain, and nominated him Procurator-General of the *Peruvian* Provinces, having none but him now to truſt to for the Head of a mutinous Faction; for beſides that *Vacca di Caſtro* ſeem'd to be a Man of more Loyal Principles, he was out of a Capacity of acting at that time, being made a cloſe Priſoner by the rigorous Vice-Roy *Blaſcus Nunnez Vela*. The Animoſities againſt the Vice-Roy encreaſing, he was ſeiz'd and put under Confinement, but had the good fortune to meet with one Friend (amongſt ſo many Enemies) who reſtor'd him to his liberty. After this he gather'd an Army, and tried for the Government of the *Indies* with *Gonſalo Pizarro*, but he was worſted, and taken Priſoner, and kill'd by an Officer of *Pizarro*'s, in revenge of his Brothers death, whoſe Executioner he had been.

Almagro ſeizes *Cuſco*.

Treaty between *Pizarro* and *Almagro*.

Civil Wars.

Almagro Executed.

Pizarro killed.

Young *Almagro* killed.

Nunnez's ſeverity cauſes a Rebellion.

Gonſalo Pizarro routed and kill'd.

To compoſe theſe troubleſome Affairs, the Emperor ſent over *Gaſca*, an Officer of great Policy and Experience, who overcame *Pizarro* in a ſet Battel, took his Head, and the Heads of his chief Adherents, and brought the Country into better order; he eas'd the *Indians* of a part of their heavy Burdens of Tribute, and gave them ſome reſt from the Cruelties of the *Spaniards*, who before hunted them like Dogs.

Gaſca moderates the Tributes.

And thus we ſee the end of all the firſt Diſcoverers and Conquerors of this Country, *Almagro*, *Pizarro* and his Brethren; they all came to violent Deaths, and there was not a Man of that company whom Juſtice did not find out in ſome receſs or other, and by puniſhing ſet a mark upon. And if Matters be well conſider'd, 'twill appear that this recompence was not undeſerv'd as to every one of them; and ſo much Murder and Blood, Perjury and Treachery, Injuſtice and Violence as they were guilty of, was but juſtly revenged in the breaking of them and their Families.

We muſt return now to the Inca *Manco*, whom we left in a ſecure Place upon the Mountains, where he liv'd during theſe Confuſions, much more quietly and happily than he cou'd have done in his Imperial City of *Cuſco*. In the mean time that that ſtern Vice Roy *Nunnez* manag'd things in the Country with ſo much ſeverity, there were ſome of the *Spaniards*, that to avoid falling into his hands, fled to the Inca in the Mountains, who took them into his Protection, and dealt kindly with them. Amongſt others there was one *Gomez Perez*, whom we will name for the extraordinarineſs of his Inſolence and Ingratitude to his Benefactor. This Man the Inca treated very familiarly, and us'd to play at Bowls with him; but one Day, as they were at that ſport, *Gomez* (who was a cholerick haughty Fellow) in the heat of his play was ſo far tranſported about the little niceties and punctilio's of it, that he forgot all good Manners and Reſpect, and talk'd to the Prince as if he had been a Slave, or ſome very baſe and vulgar Perſon. At which the Inca (whoſe ſpirit was not ſunk with his Fortune, nor his Majeſty grown ſo little as not to reſent an Affront) with his fiſt gave him a good ſound blow on the breaſt, but the enrag'd *Spaniard* repaid it again with a mournful Intereſt, for taking up one of the Bowls, he flung it at the Inca, and ſtriking him upon the Head, kill'd him dead upon the ſpot. The *Peruvian* Nobles, and the Guard that were by, preſently ſet upon *Gomez* and the *Spaniards*, who retired into the Houſe to defend themſelves there, but they fired them out, and being all like ſo many Furies, in ſpite of all Arms and Oppoſition they beat and cut them to pieces. Their rage ran ſo high, that they deſign'd at firſt to eat the raw fleſh of the *Spaniards*, to ſhew how much they reſented the horrible Fact, but (whether they were afraid of being infected by it or no, or whatever was the cauſe) they did not do ſo, but expos'd it for Food to ravenous Birds and Beaſts: The Inca *Manco* left two Sons, one the Inca *Sayri Tupac*, which continued in the Mountains too, till the Vice-Roy *Mendoza* perſwaded him to come in and ſurrender himſelf; this he was brought to by the Policies of ſome that were about him, and whether he died by any *Spaniſh* treachery or no we can't ſay. Only this is clear of him, that he liv'd at *Cuſco* ſome time, and was baptiz'd there, and from thence he went to the Valley of *Tucay*, where he continued three Years, and then died. The

The Inca *Sayri Tupac*.

other

The Inca *Tupac Amaru*

Vice Roy's deſire to get him.

Spaniards force him out of the Mountains.

He is Sentenced to d.c.

He is Baptiz'd.

Brought in a Scandalous manner to the Scaffold.

Vice Roy perſecutes the Royal Family.

The Inca's die in their baniſhment.

The only Heir of the Inca's.

His barbarous treatment in *Spain*.

Vice-Roy's Diſgrace.

Loyola's Death.

other Son of *Manco* was the Inca *Tupac Amaru*, who choſe to ſettle in the ſame mountainous Places that his Father and Brother had done. The next Vice-Roy, *Franciſco de Toledo*, had a very great deſire to bring this Prince down from the Mountains, and to get him into his Power, for he was the next direct and legitimate Heir of the Empire, and the *Spaniards* did not care to have any Perſon (that cou'd write himſelf ſo) left in Being. For this end they told the Vice-Roy a great many Stories of him, that his Men robb'd the Merchants, and liv'd by Violence and Depredations, and wou'd ruine the Country thereabouts; all which was to inſtigate the Vice-Roy to fetch him down by force, and to ſerve him as they had ſerv'd his Uncle *Atabalipa*. The Prince had already withſtood all the fair and gentle methods of Perſwaſion and Promiſe, he wou'd not be coax'd and flatter'd into Snares, nor reſign himſelf into the hands of Men, who had forfeited their Truth ſo often already in their Dealings with thoſe of his Family. And in this Reſolution he imitated the Examples of his Father *Manco*, who wou'd never be enticed by the *Spaniards*, tho' his Brother (as was ſaid before) did do it; but he was very young, and his Years excus'd his weakneſs. So that the Vice-Roy, who determin'd to have him whatever it coſt, ſent out 250 Men under the Command of *Martin Garcia Loyola*, to beat about thoſe Mountains, and ſearch out the Inca. And they had much eaſier work of it now than they wou'd have had in the Inca *Sayri Tupac*'s time, for the rough Ways were plain'd, and the narrow Paſſes open'd in many places, by which means the *Spaniards* had no great difficulty to find out their Game. The Inca, who cou'd not defend himſelf long from them (they purſued him ſo cloſely) and knowing himſelf guilty of no crime, yielded to them, with his Wife, Daughter and two Sons, expecting that the Vice-Roy wou'd have dealt no worſe with him (at leaſt) than he had done with his Brother. But the poor Prince was moſt miſerably deceiv'd, a Proceſs was form'd againſt him, and he condemn'd to loſe his Head, as a Traytor againſt the Majeſty of *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, and Emperor of the New World. In this manner was his Crime proclaim'd, and the Charge manag'd againſt him, which had been much truer if it had been inverted. The Inca hearing his Sentence ſeem'd not much concern'd; he ſaid the Vice-Roy might have ſent him into *Spain* to the King, which wou'd have been as good a Security to him as his Death; but that there was no great need for the *Spaniards* to be afraid of his Arms, for his Father *Manco*, with 200000 Men, cou'd hardly beat 200 *Spaniards* out of *Cuſce*, and they were leſs able to do it now than they were then. The Prieſts and Friars were ſent to prepare him; that is, to Inſtruct him for Baptiſm, which he was not unwilling to receive, becauſe he remember'd (he ſaid) the words of his Grandfather *Huayna Capac*, that the Chriſtians ſhou'd bring a Law better than theirs. This Sentence was ſo contrary to all Humanity and Juſtice, and ſo horrible a reflection upon the King of *Spain*, that the *Spaniards* themſelves did not think 'twou'd have been executed, but only imagin'd the Vice-Roy intended, by ſuch a formality, to terrify the Inca, or had ſome other ſuch deſign. However, to the amazement of all People, preparations were made for his Execution, and a Scaffold erected in the great Street of *Cuſco*, to which the unfortunate Prince was brought in the moſt ignominious faſhion in the World. He was ſet upon a Mule, with a Rope about his Neck, and his Hands tied; in the mean while a Man went before him, proclaiming him Traytor and Rebel. He not underſtanding *Spaniſh*, ask'd the Friars that were with him, what that Man that went before him ſaid? And they told him that he proclaim'd him an *Auca*, that is, a Traytor. With that he call'd the Fellow to him, and ſpoke to this purpoſe, 'Say not 'ſo, ſays he, for thou knoweſt it is a Lye, and I never 'thought or practis'd Treaſon in my Life, but ſay that I 'die for the Vice-Roys Satiſfaction, and becauſe 'tis his 'Pleaſure I ſhould do ſo; not for any faults committed 'againſt him or the King, and I appeal to *Pachacamac* 'that what I ſay is true. The multitude follow'd him to the Scaffold with bitter cries and lamentations, and there being no leſs (by moderate eſtimation) than 300000 People gather'd together; they were afraid of ſome Tumult, and ſo made all the haſte they cou'd to mount the unhappy Prince upon the Tragical Stage. When he was there, the Prieſts pray'd him to ſilence the clamours and outcries of the People, which he did with a very well compos'd and majeſtick grace; he ſtretch'd out his Arm, with his Hand open, and laid it on his Ear, and from thence by degrees let it fall to his Thigh, upon which immediately follow'd ſo profound a Silence, that that great Multitude ſtood there like ſo many Statues, and not the leaſt noiſe or ſtir was heard amongſt them. In a word, he died with all the compoſedneſs and greatneſs of Mind that cou'd well be imagin'd, and left the *Spaniards* in as much wonder at his courage, as his own People were in ſorrow for the loſs of him. But the bloody Vice-Roy did not ſtop here, but perſecuted all the remainders of the Family; he tortur'd them in hopes to rack ſome Confeſſions out of them, from which he might have a fair pretence for their Execution. Nay, he did dot ſpare the *Meſtizo's*, (as they call them) that is, the Inca's of the half Blood, the Sons of *Spaniards* by *Peruvian* Women of the Royal Houſe, but doom'd them to the ſame puniſhments with the reſt. Only he was ſtopt as to the point of Execution, by the outragious Exclamations of their Mothers, who made ſuch a terrible noiſe, (and mingled it with threatnings too) that the Vice-Roy was afraid to ſhed their Blood. However, he baniſh'd as many as he cou'd light of, ſome to *Chili*, ſome to *Mexico*, others to the Iſlands; and, in ſhort, ſent them all to ſpend the remainders of an unfortunate Life, in Parts far enough from their Native Country. As for thoſe of the Blood Royal, (the pure unmix'd Race of the Inca's) he confin'd 36 of them to the *City of Kings*, to live in a ſort of miſerable Exile there; and together with them, the Son and two Daughters of the murder'd Inca *Tupac Amaru*, the eldeſt of which was not ten Years old. The Archbiſhop of that Place, out of pity, took the Daughter to breed her up, tho' one wou'd have thought (if his Grace had taken but one) it ſhou'd have been more decent for him to have choſen one of the Sons; but God Almighty took care of them, and 33 more of thoſe Royal Exiles, within two Years time, for they all died, coming out of a cold hilly Country into the hot Plains by the Sea. Now there were but three remaining of the Houſe of the Inca's, and theſe were remov'd from *Lima* and ſent home to their own Houſes, where they liv'd but a little while, being quite overwhelm'd with their own miſeries, and thoſe of their Family. Thus they alſo went away after the reſt, out of the reach of the perſecuting *Spaniards*. One of theſe three laſt was the Grandſon of the great *Huayna Capac*, and he left a Son behind him, the one and only remaining branch of the Imperial Stock, and the undoubted Heir of the Crown. This Prince they were jealous of while he ſtaid in the *Indies*, and therefore he was order'd to remove into *Spain*, where a Princely Equipage and Allowance was promis'd him. So he quitted his private Lands and Inheritance in *Peru*, to come and live upon the King's Bounty in *Spain*, where, in ſhort, his Palace was a Monaſtery, and his Courtiers and Attendants a parcel of Piebald Monks and Friars, and his Revenues a ſorry pittance granted out of the Contractation-Houſe at *Sevil*. This baſe dealing broke the poor Prince's heart, and he died at *Alcala de Henares*, where he was ſhut up; he had a Son which died in his Infancy, and ſo the poor Revenue went back again to the Crown, and the Race of the Inca's was quite extinct. But we are not to forget the Vice-Roy, the Author of all this miſchief and confuſion. This Man having ſcrap'd together a prodigious heap of Treaſure, went back into *Spain*; recall'd, 'tis probable, for his vile Managements of Affairs. When he came home, he went to Court to kiſs the King's hand, but the King refus'd him that honour, and bid him get home to his Houſe, telling him he did not ſend him into *Peru* to murder Kings, but to ſerve Kings. And as great Courtiers, when once they begin to tumble, do fall apace, ſo this Diſgrace was preſently followed with another, for the Grand Council of the *Indies* having receiv'd Informations againſt him, they order'd all his Treaſures to be Arreſted. This broke the wretches Heart, and in two days time ſent him away to anſwer for all the innocent Blood he had ſhed. And *Loyola*, the Tool he had made uſe of to drive *Tupac Amaru* out of the Mountains, the Dog that hunted that Innocent Prince into the fatal Snare, (tho' for an aggravation of the crime, he had married that Prince's Brothers Daughter) he came to an end ſomething worſe than his Maſter. He was ſent General into *Chili*, where the bold and brave *Araucans* having ſet their Spies upon him, took an opportunity to fall upon him, which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that he and all his *Spaniards* were Sacrific'd to their fury.

And now it falls in courſe for us to look a little into the Affairs of the *Spaniards* in that Country; with which, and ſome few Remarks, we ſhall conclude the Hiſtory of this once moſt flouriſhing Empire.

Firſt entrance into *Chili* by the *Spaniards*.

The firſt *Spaniard* that look'd into this Country, in order to a Diſcovery, was *Almagro*, whoſe Army was moſt miſerably harraſs'd in his march hither; for the

Indian Guides that led him along brought him croſs the Snowy Mountains, where they were all like to be ſtarv'd with cold. He went no farther than the Province of *Copiapo*, which is the firſt plain Land in *Chili*, and from hence he return'd again into *Peru*, being weary both of his Journey and his Entertainment too; and he went in good time, for the reſolute *Chilois* were up in Arms, and endeavouring to cloſe the *Spaniards* round, ſo they marched off to ſave their Heads.

Second attempt by *Baldivia.*

The next that went upon this Deſign was *Pedro de Baldivia*, who effected that which *Almagro* durſt not ſtand to attempt; yet 'twas no more than half the Country that he conquer'd, and that part too which had acknowledged the Sovereignty of the Inca's of *Peru* before. As for the nobleſt and richeſt part, inhabited by the *Araucans*, he cou'd do little there; thoſe People, together with the moſt Gold, had alſo the moſt Courage and Valour to defend it.

Baldivia plants the *Spaniards* in *Chili.*

The Inca's of *Peru* cou'd never tell how to manage them, tho' they often tried to do it; yea, by all accounts, they have always held it out againſt all their Neighbours, and never knew what 'twas to be compleatly conquer'd. When the *Spaniards* came firſt upon the borders of this Country, (for they did not dare to enter in) they ſent the Natives word, 'That they were the Children of God, 'and if they would not yield themſelves to be Inſtructed, and Govern'd by them, they wou'd ſhoot fire amongſt them and devour them. As for the *Araucans*, they neither believ'd they were the Children of God, nor that they cou'd ſhoot fire amongſt them, but yet they reſolv'd to try whether they cou'd or no, and therefore met them in the Field, and fought a moſt cruel Battel, in which they found the *Spaniards* were as good as their words, and cou'd ſhoot fire. And by this means *Baldivia* got ſome ground in the Country, for the *Indians*, as valiant as they were, cou'd not tell what to make of, or how to ſtand before thoſe flaming Meſſengers of Death; and they began to think the *Spaniards* were ſomething more than common Men at leaſt, that cou'd ſtrike their Enemies dead without coming near them.

The *Spaniards*, whoſe great Deſign in coming hither was to ſearch out the Gold Mines, quickly began to try what they wou'd yield, and they found them ſo very rich and luxuriant, that he that had leaſt in the company had the value of 20000 Pezo's *per Annum*; and as for *Baldivia* himſelf, he rais'd his Profits to 100000, ſome ſay 300000 Pezo's yearly Income.

Stratagem of the *Araucans.*

Battel with the *Araucans*

Spaniards beat.

Baldivia's death.

The fame of theſe prodigious Riches brought the People flocking over from *Spain*, ſo that now here was a conſiderable Settlement, and the *Spaniards* took up ſix Towns, *viz.* *Villa Nueva*, *St. Jago*, *La Conception*, *La Imperial*, *Baldivia*, and *La Villa Rica*. The General *Baldivia* built alſo a Fort in the midſt of all theſe Plantations, which he furniſh'd with Soldiers and Ordnance; ſo that now they ſeem'd very ſecure, and to have made a good ſtep towards the entire Conqueſt of the Country. But the *Araucans* having convers'd with the *Spaniards* ſome little time, found by many good proofs that they were Mortal Men as well as others, ('tis probable they had knock'd ſome of them o'th' Head to make the Experiment) and therefore reſolv'd amongſt themſelves that they wou'd deliver their Country from them, and drive them all out; for theſe People, it ſeems, were determin'd never to ſubmit to any thing that wore Fleſh and Blood. Having got an Army ready, and poſted with great privacy not far from the Fort, there went 50 of them up to the Fort with Graſs and Straw for the *Spaniards* Horſes, which they were permitted to bring in, and that without the leaſt ſuſpicion, but the ſubtle *Araucans* had wrapt up their Weapons in this Horſe-meat, Clubs, Halberds, Bows and Arrows. As ſoon as they were in they ſeiz'd the Gate, and gave the Signal to their Companions, who marching up preſently, they fell upon the *Spaniards*, kill'd them all, and got entire poſſeſſion of the Fort. The News of this attempt coming to *Baldivia* at the Town of *Conception*, he ſet out preſently with 200 or 300 Horſe, to chaſtize theſe bold and daring *Araucans*. But they did not put him to the trouble of looking after them long, for they were upon the march to look him; and 'twas his unhappy fate to meet them upon a large open Plain, where they had advantages to ſurround him. There's no need to ſay that they fought; both Parties came with a full deſign to do it, and they did it with a vengeance. The reſult was, that the *Araucans* had a compleat demonſtration of the Mortality of the *Spaniards*, for the greateſt part of them were kill'd upon the ſpot, and the reſt ow'd their Lives to the goodneſs of their Horſes, that carried them apace out of the Bloody Field, and the reach of the revengeful *Araucans*. But *Baldivia* was the moſt unhappy of all the Army, for he had his Horſe kill'd under him, and fell into their hands alive. Theſe *Araucans* eaſily knew their good Friend *Baldivia*; he that had Invaded their Country, and endeavour'd to make Slaves and Vaſſals of them. They bid him not be afraid, but pluck up his Spirits and be merry, for they only intended to give him his fill of Gold. So they made a great Banquet for him, and whatever Liquor he had at his Meat, the laſt Cup at the concluſion of all was a Cup of Liquid Gold, becauſe the General was ſuch a lover of that ſame; and whatever ſcruples he made at drinking it off, in ſhort the *Araucans* forc'd it all down, and bid him now glut himſelf with Gold. Here was the Story of *Creſſus*, (as it were repeated again) and that amongſt a People no leſs bold and valiant than the *Parthians* were.

Villa Grande's defeat.

The next that ſucceeded in the Office of General in *Chili*, was *Pedro de Villa Grande*, who quickly rais'd a good Force 10 revenge this Diſgrace of his Friend and Predeceſſor *Baldivia*, but his Army was entirely defeated, and all his Artillery taken; and this defeat was ſo much the worſe, in that the whole ſtrength of the *Spaniards*, then in the Country, was put together to make up this Army.

Vice-Roy's Son quiets them for a time.

Araucans take the City of *Baldivia.*

After this the *Araucans* were never quiet, and tho' ſeveral conſiderable *Spaniſh* Commanders came to reduce them, yet they cou'd never compleatly do it, but they riſe up again as faſt as they were knock'd down. Particularly the Vice-Roy of *Peru*, *Mendoza*, ſent his Son with a ſtrong Army to tame theſe fierce People if poſſible, and tho' in divers Battels he kill'd 40000 or 50000 of them, repairing the Towns and Forts they had demoliſh'd, yet before he was quite got out of the Country they were all up in Arms again, beſieging and burning of Towns, and falling upon the *Spaniards* whereever they cou'd light of them. 'Twas in *A. D.* 1599. that they ſurpriz'd the City of *Valdivia* with a wonderful boldneſs. There came down in the Morning betimes about 5000 of them, of which 3000 were Horſe, 2 or 300 being arm'd in Coats of Mail, and ſome of them with Harquebuſſes; all which were *Spaniſh* Plunder, and the Spoils of the Field. The *Spaniards* having a little before this had ſome conſiderable Succeſſes againſt them, were quite intoxicated with their good fortune, and grown ſo careleſs and negligent upon't, that 'twas pity almoſt but they ſhou'd be ſurpriz'd; they had but four Men in their *Corps du Guard* to walk the Rounds, and the whole City was aſleep. The *Araucans*, who by their Spies had intelligence of this general ſupineneſs and neglect, came up to the Town without raiſing any Alarm, ſeiz'd and ſecur'd the Gates, and ſo march'd into the Place in a full Body. They preſently began to ſet the Houſes a-fire, and to cut the Throats of the *Spaniards*; and within the ſpace of two hours had entirely conſum'd the Town, maſſacred all the Inhabitants, won and burnt the Fort, and left all in Ruines. They carried off to the value off 3 or 400000 Pezo's, beſides all the Artillery of the Fort; and they had likewiſe burnt all the Ships in the Road, if notice had not been given them to be upon their guard.

The Town of *Imperial* ſtarv'd.

From hence they march'd away to *Imperial* and *Villarica*, the former of which places was ſo ſtraitly beſieg'd by them, that all the Inhabitants, except 20, were famiſh'd to death, and thoſe 20 had as hard a fate, being forc'd to yield to the Mercy of the *Araucans*, who wou'd be ſure to have no more Mercy on them than Death and Famine had on their Countrymen. And they went on at ſuch a rate, that the Affairs of the *Spaniards* quickly began to grow deſperate, at leaſt they look'd with a very bad aſpect in the Years 1603 and 1604; for about this time they had Sack'd and Burnt 6 of the 13 Cities which the *Spaniards* had in *Chili*. And by this time alſo they were ſo improv'd in the Art of War, and grown ſo very politick by long Practiſe and Experience, that they were a very formidable Enemy, conſidering how much Valour and Courage they had to mix with that Policy and Skill. Many detachments were made out of the Army in *Peru* for this *Chili* Affair, but thoſe that once came here, ſeldom went back again to *Peru*. All the *Spaniards* look'd upon it as deſperate Service, and reckon'd themſelves as a ſort of Forlorn Hope mark'd out for Deſtruction.

Oſorno and *Villarica* taken by the *Araucans.*

The laſt places we have Accounts of their taking, were the Cities of *Oſorno* and *Villarica*, which they did with a horrible ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*, breaking of Images, and firing of Churches and Houſes, putting even all the Friars and Religious Men to the Sword as well as the Soldiers, and leading the Nuns and other Women away into Captivity. In a word, they became ſo good Soldiers, lov'd their own Liberties (and hated the *Spaniſh* Yoke) ſo heartily, that the *Spaniards* cou'd never be free from moleſtations by them. And but that Gold is a very tempting thing, and People love to be in the way where 'tis to be had, and to have it run through their hands, (tho' they don't hold much on't faſt) or elſe 'twas not worth the *Spaniards* while to keep any Fort or Town at all in this Country; for all the Profits were ſwallowed up by the War, and the Gold that was got was no more than enough to pay the Army that muſt conſtantly be maintain'd there.

The abominable Cruelties of the *Spaniards*.

The Opinion the *Indians* had of them.

A Story to that purpoſe.

Very good Maſters and Teachers of Chriſtianity.

Their own Writers prove all this.

And thus much for the Hiſtory of theſe Countries, and the Entrance, Conqueſts, and Settlement of the *Spaniards* here. How they behaved themſelves amongſt the *Indians*, and what ſort of Examples of Juſtice, Goodneſs and Humanity they ſet, to recommend the Chriſtian Religion which they brought over along with them to theſe People, is another, but a long and a mournful Story. As it was not to promote Religion and Piety, but to ſatisfie their Covetouſneſs and Ambition that they firſt came thither, ſo 'twas not by the Laws of the former, but of the latter, that they liv'd here, exceeding the moſt barbarous *Americans* themſelves in their Savage fierceneſs towards their Fellow Creatures, proud Tyrannick Government, and open violation of all the Rights and Privileges of Mankind. As they lov'd nothing but Gold, did nothing but hunt and ſeek for Gold; ſo they ſtuck at nothing that tended to put them in poſſeſſion of their ſo much deſired prey; not at Treachery and Ingratitude, not at Lying and Perjury, not at Swearing and Blaſphemy, not at Robbing the Orphans and Widows, nor murdering the moſt Innocent in cold Blood. They laid waſte and deſolate ſome of the moſt thriving and flouriſhing Kingdoms in the World; they emptied the Towns of their Inhabitants, whom they either ſlaughter'd without diſtinction of Age and Sex, or forc'd out into the Mountains and wild Places, to be hunted and torn to pieces with Dogs. The *Indians* were always a People of a moſt kind and obliging Diſpoſition, ſo meek and mild, and diſcovering ſo much of a charming Innocence and Sincerity in all their Dealings, that Men that had not wholly diveſted themſelves of all the Vertues of Humane Nature, cou'd not but have been tender and loving to them. They never did any thing to make the *Spaniards* uneaſie, never Plotted nor Conſpired to do them miſchief, till the laſt degrees of cruel uſage had compell'd them to it; nay, ſo far from that, that they ſtudied to pleaſe them, and were glad upon any ſcore to purchaſe a little favour at their hands. But all that they cou'd do, cou'd never ſoften the obdurate tempers of thoſe Men; Humility and Submiſſion cou'd never make them relent, nor ſtrike a damp to the fire of that rage that tranſported them. Nor cou'd all the Riches and Wealth of the Country which the *Spaniards* ſwallow'd every where, procure the miſerable Natives ſo much as a little compaſſion, or a ſmall degree of merciful treatment. No, but their Blood and their Treaſures were both pour'd out together, and the Country fill'd with the mangled Limbs and Carkaſſes of thoſe poor People; ſo that wherever a Man went, he had the proſpect of a Shambles before his Eyes, and found a Field of Blood to travel through. Neither were the beſt and greateſt Men, the Princes and Caciques, excus'd from theſe Barbarities; they ſaw their Palaces rifled, their Wives and Daughters raviſh'd and murder'd before their Faces, and had their own Carkaſſes thrown at length perhaps amongſt the heaps of their Maſſacred Subjects, to feed the Ravens and Vultures. But bare Executions for the moſt part did not ſerve the turn, and the *Spaniards* were not content to put theſe People to death, but they did it with all the circumſtances of Cruelty imaginable; they invented the moſt exquiſite torments for them, and made them die in pains and agonies that wou'd have ſhock'd Humane Nature to have ſeen even the brute Beaſts themſelves ſtruggling under. And where they did not thus diſpatch outright, they drove them away from their Houſes and Habitations, to pine away their lives in Slavery and horrid Bondage in Foreign Countries, or elſe to work and drudge in the Mines; to avoid which miſeries, many thouſands laid violent hands on themſelves and either by Hanging, Stabbing or Drowning, or ſome other wretched Death, put themſelves and their Children out of all their pain at once. As for Baniſhment, the Baſe and the Noble equally ſhar'd that fate, the Mothers and their young Children together; they Tranſported great numbers of Families at a time, to places where they were to be ſold like Beaſts at a Market. In a word, they took away the Lives of ſeveral Millions of People, and all within the compaſs of a few Years; they ruin'd a moſt rich and fertile Country, depopulated Cities and Towns without number, committed all manner of Impiety to the higheſt degree of Licentiouſneſs imaginable, and yet at the ſame time call'd themſelves *the People of God*, and pretended to be ſent to teach the *Indians* thoſe Sacred Laws and Doctrines that wou'd conduce to their everlaſting Happineſs. But was the Majeſty of Heaven ever ſo Blaſphem'd by *Pagans*? Did the fooliſh Rites of Idolatry and Superſtitious Worſhip ever expoſe him ſo much to the contempt of the World, as the mixture of all this flaming Wickedneſs with the Pretenſions to his Service, and a Commiſſion from him? The *Spaniards* reſolving to be ſuch as they were, ſhou'd at their firſt coming over have renounc'd both Chriſtianity and Humanity together; told the *Indians* plainly they came from Hell, were only Devils in Humane Shape, and appear'd on purpoſe to torment them, for a great deal of this had been true, and the Honour of the Chriſtian Religion preſerv'd into the bargain, but the other was an impious Affront to Heaven, as well as a filthy piece of Cheat and Hipocriſie, with reſpect to the People they had to do with. And the Notions the *Indians* had of them and their Religion, were ſuch as were to be expected from ſuch Practiſes. They look'd upon them as a ſort of People entirely eaten up of baſe and covetous deſires, and that wou'd do any thing for ſordid Gain; and therefore they have held up pieces of Gold to them in Mockery. 'Ho Chriſtian, (ſays they) 'here's Gold, here's Gold; intimating, there was the thing they admir'd and ador'd. They knew very well it was the governing Idol of their Souls, and that whatever reſpect they pretended to God Almighty, 'twas this only that they worſhipp'd in their Hearts; and therefore the *Spaniards* have heard them ſay, 'Look 'upon this Gold and behold your God; 'tis for this 'that you have ſubdued us, and done ſo many miſ'chiefs; 'tis for this that you Game, Blaſpheme, Curſe, 'Quarrel, Steal, commit Rapes, and practiſe all man'ner of Luſt and Villany. And 'twas a ſevere and cloſe, tho' juſt reflection, made by one of the Caciques, upon a *Spaniſh* Commander that came to extort his Wealth from him, and us'd ſeveral foul unjuſt practiſes in order thereto: If thy God (ſays he) bids thee Rob, Kill, 'Burn, and do all manner of Miſchief, we can neither 'believe him nor his Law. What miſchief their lewd and wicked Examples did, may be gueſs'd by this Inſtance farther, which was a very remarkable one. There was a Son of one of the Caciques, which, when he was a Boy, was in great towardlineſs and hope, and promiſed very conſiderable things; but having the misfortune to have his Education not amongſt his own Pagan Countrymen, that cou'd have taught him better, but amongſt the *Spaniards* that came to Convert the Country, he grew intolerably Looſe and Debauch'd, and was as good as any of them all at any kind of Villany. Some of his Friends that perceiv'd this change in him, and were ſorry for't, ask'd him one time how he came to grow ſo bad? 'Oh! (ſays he) ſince I have been a Chri'ſtian, and convers'd amongſt the *Spaniards*, I have 'learn'd to Swear by the Name of God, by the Croſs, 'and by the words of the Holy Goſpel; I have learnt to 'Game, and Lye and Diſſemble as they do; I have 'put on a Sword by my Side too, to fight with in my 'Quarrels; and now I want nothing to be compleatly 'like them in my Converſation but a Concubine, and 'her I intend to bring home very ſhortly. A very fine Story to be told by a Heathen of his Chriſtian Maſters! but from this one may imagine what was done in other caſes, and what a monſtrous Offence and Stumbling-block they have been in the way of the Infidels. Theſe, and ſuch like, are the Miracles they have done in the Country, whatever others they pretend to; one may hear them talk of healing the Sick, and doing extraordinary things with their Unctions and Chriſmes, and conſecrated Wafers, but they have gone beyond all that in other Performances, and have done things that the World will for ever wonder at them for. Neither are theſe things to be look'd upon as the bare Surmiſes or Imaginations of other People, or as the Fictions and Stories of thoſe that are Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and are angry with them for ſwallowing up the Riches of ſo large and glorious a part of the World: Let their own Writers, their own Countrymen, be produc'd as Witneſſes in the caſe; let them ſpeak that were there upon the ſpot, that were acquainted with the Country, and ſaw their Management there. Particularly, let the Reader (that is deſirous of the moſt ample Satisfaction) conſult the Writings of *Jerom de Benzos*, and of Don *Bartholomeo de las Caſas* the Biſhop of *Chiappa*, and a zealous *Dominican* Friar. This latter we eſpecially recommend, as a Perſon who ſeems to write with an air of great honeſty and integrity; does not diſcover any thing of Partiality, Prejudice or Deſign, or that he was

An Account of the Controverſie about the *Indians.*

any way biaſs'd in his Writing, but ſeems to be animated all along with a true Religious Zeal, and a compaſſionate Regard to the welfare of the poor *Indians*. He had ſeen a world of theſe Tragedies acted in the *Indies*, where he was Biſhop, and being deeply afflicted at them, and as deſirous to prevent ſuch miſchiefs for the time to come, made a Journey over into *Spain*, to move the Court for that purpoſe. Before he came, there had been a certain Book written by one Dr. *Sepulveda* the Emperor's Hiſtorian, the deſign of which was to Excuſe and Defend the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*; and this he was put upon by ſome of them that had their hands in the Slaughters and Devaſtations there, who ſeeing no way to conceal their Villanies, reſolved to make them appear juſt and reaſonable to the World. *Sepulveda* was a fit Tool for ſuch Work, both as he was a Man of barbarous Principles, and as one, who by his Elegancy and flouriſhing Language, cou'd befriend the worſt Cauſe imaginable, and give Vice and Knavery the Dreſs of Honeſty and good Manners. The ſubſtance of his Book conſiſted mainly in the proof of theſe two Concluſions: *Firſt*, That the Wars of the *Spaniards* againſt the *Indians* were Juſt and Equitable. *Secondly*, That the *Indians* were bound to yield and ſubmit to them, as the Fooliſh are to the Wiſe, as the Baſe and Inferiour to the more Noble and Excellent; and that if they did not do ſo, the *Spaniards* might execute their Pleaſure upon them. But the Book did not meet with any Countenance, and the *Spaniards* themſelves reckon'd it ſo Scandalous, that they wou'd not let it be printed. The Royal Council of the *Indies* refus'd to Licence it; and for all the fulſome flattery of it, in pretending to Aſſert the Right of the *Spaniſh* Monarchs to an Univerſal Sovereignty, they judg'd it unfit to ſee the light. Being repuls'd ſeveral times here, he made his Application to the Emperor by ſome Friends at Court, and got an Order to go to the Royal Council of *Caſtile* for their Approbation of his Book; and 'twas while he was Soliciting here, that the Biſhop of *Chiappa* came upon a very contrary deſign. That Prelate having notice of the Book, and the Contents of it, oppos'd the printing of it with all the vehemence in the World, and repreſented the dangerous conſequences of it ſo effectually to that Council, that they wou'd not venture to determine the Matter themſelves, but referr'd it to the Univerſities of *Salamanca* and *Alcala*, who were deſired to Examine Dr. *Sepulveda*'s Book very nicely. In a word, the Divines of thoſe Academies (after a great many Diſputations) concluded that it was full of pernicious Doctrines, and ought not to be made publick; ſo that the printing of it in *Spain* was abſolutely forbidden. However, the Doctor (who was reſolved to do his utmoſt towards the propagation of Principles of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power) ſcorning, and railing at the Deciſion of the Academies, ſent his Book to *Rome*, the likelieſt place to give a Birth to any thing that was deſign'd to do miſchief. And here it got into the Preſs, tho' the Emperor preſently iſſued out Orders for the ſuppreſſing of it in all his Dominions, and made all the Copies of the Abſtract of it, which were done in the Vulgar *Spaniſh*, (to ſpread the Notions amongſt the People more generally) be gather'd up. In a word, the Biſhop of *Chiappa* now ſet himſelf to write, for an Antidote againſt this Poyſon ſo ſpreading and ſo pleaſing to the *Spaniards* too; in which he ruin'd all *Sepulveda*'s Foundations, and ſhew'd how weak and precarious, as well as contrary to the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, all that he had advanc'd there was. But whether that Piece was then printed or no, 'tis certain that (beſides the Council of the *Indies*) the Emperor ſummon'd an Aſſembly of Divines and Lawyers to *Valladolid*, in *A.D.* 1550. where the Biſhop, and Dr. *Sepulveda*, both appear'd, and had all the liberty and ſcope that cou'd be deſired allow'd them, to maintain each the Cauſe he had undertaken. A full account of which Diſputation, with the Biſhop's Advantages, his cloſe and ſerious Applications to the Emperor, on the behalf of the *Indians*, (with other Matters to the ſame purpoſe) may be ſeen in his Hiſtory of the *Spaniſh* Cruelties in the *Weſt-Indies*.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Voyage to Florida, *made by the Fleet under the Command of* Pamphilo Narvaez: *Written by* Alvaro Nunnez, *an Officer in the ſame.*

Fleet for the *Florida* Diſcovery. *June, A. D.* 1527.

THE Fleet conſiſted of five Ships well furniſh'd, wherein were 600 Men, beſides Friars and Spiritual People: The principal Officers were *Alvaro Nunnez*, Treaſurer; *Agozino*, Provoſt-Martial; *Alonzo Euriquez*, Auditor; *Alonzo de Solis*, Factor and Overſeer for his Majeſty of *Spain*; and *Narvaez* Governor. They ſet Sail from the Haven of St. *Lucar* of *Barrameda*, with full Power to conquer all the Country from the River of *Palmes* to the Cape of *Florida*. Staying at the Iſland of *Cuba* ſome time for a Recruit of their Proviſions, they met with a Tempeſt there that extremely damag'd their Fleet, and ſunk two of the Ships. The Wind at that time was outragious and violent to the laſt degree, and did no leſs miſchief at Land than it did at Sea. It blew down Houſes and Churches; and unleſs 7 or 8 Men went together, holding faſt by one another, there was no ſtanding againſt the ſtrength of it, a ſingle Man cou'd not keep upon his Legs. Thoſe that left their Houſes for fear of being buried in the Ruines of them, were in as much danger in the Woods with the continual cracking and falling of the Trees. The loſſes they ſuſtain'd by this Tempeſt, together with the toil and fatigue it put them to, obliged them to continue here and refreſh themſelves for the ſpace of ſome Months; after which they proceeded in their Voyage towards *Florida*, with four Ships and one Brigantine, in which were about 400 Men and 80 Horſes. In this Courſe they met with dangers not much inferiour to the former, being like once to periſh all together by running on the Sands, and at another time by a raging Tempeſt; tho' at laſt, without any farther loſſes, they came up with the Coaſt of *Florida*, and anchor'd in the mouth of a fair open Road. The Governor *Narvaez*, with ſome others, went aſhore to the *Indian* Town that was near, and took poſſeſſion of the ſame in the King of *Spain*'s Name; which they might very well do, without any manner of oppoſition or diſturbance, for the *Indians* were all gone out in their Canoes the Night before. They coaſted about the Gulph ſome 4 Leagues, and then found ſome *Indians* who brought them to their Village, which was at the head of the Gulph; and here they found Pieces of Cloth, ſuch as comes from *Hiſpaniola*, great *Spaniſh* Cheſts, in every one of which was the Body of a dead Man cover'd with Deers-ſkins, together with ſome fragments of Gold. The *Spaniards* were moſt inquiſitive about the latter of theſe things, how, and where they got it; and the *Indians* gave them to underſtand, by ſigns and words, that it came from a far diſtant Province call'd *Apalachen*, where they might find great quantities of the ſame. And 'twas not long after that *Narvaez* began to ſet out with his Company for the ſearch of this golden Country. They travell'd 15 days without the ſight of Man, Beaſt, or Houſe, meeting in all that Way with no ſort of Proviſion neither but a few Dates. At laſt a Party of 200 *Indians* preſented themſelves to their view, but made ſigns to them that they ſhou'd join their Company to theirs, and go with them to their Villages; and the *Spaniards*, who wanted refreſhment, were willing enough to agree to.

Province of *Apalachen*.

After a little inquiry into the Country that lay to the Sea, they continued their march towards *Apalachen*, and in their Journey a certain Cacique came to pay them a Viſit in his beſt attire, (as 'tis to be ſuppos'd) which was a Deer-ſkin painted, and attended with a great many of

Terrible Lightning.

Town of *Apalachen.*

Spaniards aſſaulted.

Products of the Country.

his People. As they paſs'd through his Country they were kindly us'd, and had Maize, and other things the Soil afforded, freely brought by the Natives. In many Parts of the Country up and down they found Maize, Cedars, Sanine Trees, Holmes, Oaks, and low Palmes like thoſe of *Caſtile.* The Lakes and Pools alſo lie very thick, ſome of which are very difficult to be paſs'd, as alſo ſome of the Rivers, which are ſwift and rapid, and give a great deal of trouble to them that are to paſs them. The Mountains in many places, beſides their own vaſtneſs, were cover'd with huge tall Trees, abundance of which were thrown down with Tempeſts, and the Way quite ſtopt up, ſo that there was no paſſing without fetching a great compaſs; and they obſerv'd that the greateſt part of theſe Trees were cleft from one end to the other, the certain and undoubted effect of the terrible Lightnings to which thoſe Parts are very obnoxious. Having march'd through many of theſe difficulties, they came at laſt to the ſo much deſired *Apalachen.* The Town of that Name they had eaſie acceſs and entrance into, for there were none but Women and Children there, all the Men being gone abroad either for Sport and Paſtime, or out of Policy and Deſign. However, they very quickly after came out in open view, and aſſaulted the *Spaniards* with their Bows and Arrows, but the fight was quickly over, and the *Indians* running away left them ſtill in poſſeſſion of their Town. Theſe People had poor little Houſes, but built very cloſe and ſnug, in Delves and Valleys, for fear of the direful Tempeſts that happen there. Their main Furniture was Skins of wild Beaſts, and little Mills to grind their Maize; they had alſo ſome Garments made of Thread, which were us'd only by the Women, but very mean and ſorry like all the reſt. The Province abounded with Maize, but we hear of no other ſort of Grain, nor not a word of the Gold which the *Indians* promis'd. The Beaſts they ſaw here were chiefly Conies, Hares, Bears, Lions, and one that carried all her Young in a great Bag or Pouch, which Nature had provided for that purpoſe, till they were able to ſtand upon their own Legs, and ſhift for themſelves. The Fowl were Geeſe, Ducks, Herons, Faulcons, Sparrow-hawks, Black-birds, and ſome others; but of neither ſort of Animals any great rarities. The Country was capable of maintaining Flocks and Herds, there being a great deal of good Paſturage in many places. The *Indians* that had quitted the Town, and left their Wives and Children in their poſſeſſion, came again to demand them of them, and the *Spaniards* deliver'd them all; only they detain'd a certain Cacique, which offended the Natives ſo, that the next day they return'd and aſſaulted them with a great fury, and ſet fire to the Houſes where they were. But they did not care to ſtand to the trial of a Battel when the *Spaniards* came out to fight them, but retired into their ſhelters, and offer'd no more ſuch diſturbances. Another ſort of *Indians* came alſo to make the like experiment upon them, but they cou'd do no good, and were forc'd to fly as the others had done.

Spaniards go to *Aute.*

The *Spaniards* now began to be weary of ſtaying here, for the Country ſeem'd to be poor and meanly Peopled, and travelling very difficult by reaſon of the many Lakes and Mountains. Beſides, by the account of their *Indian* Guides, the Province of *Apalachen* was the beſt of all thereabouts, and farther they wou'd meet with Lakes and Mountains that were more unpaſſable, and a Country worſe Peopled by far than that where they were. As for the Country that lay towards the South, they were inform'd it yielded Maize and Pulſe, and ſome Fiſh, but they cou'd hear no tidings, much leſs ſee any ſigns of Gold all this while. However they reſolv'd to ſee this Country which the *Indians* (that brought them hither, and ſtill went along with them) call'd the Country of *Aute.* As they march'd thither, the *Indians* perplex'd them moſt grievouſly in their paſſage over one of the Lakes, taking that opportunity to aſſault them; for the *Spaniards* were forc'd to wade through the water, and were very near Breaſt high, and when they were all in, the *Indians* that lay cloſe amongſt the Trees that were tumbled down into and about the Lake, ſent a ſhower of Arrows upon them, and wounded a great many, both Men and Horſes. After this they paſs'd the other Lakes quietly enough, for their Enemies had ſpent the greateſt part of their Ammunition upon them; but when they came out upon the Plains, they follow'd them ſtill at a diſtance, and made their march as troubleſome and fatiguing as they cou'd. Theſe People were very tall and ſtrong of Body, and wonderful dextrous Archers; their Bows were as thick as a Man's Arm, and 11 or 12 Span long, and their Arrows fitted to do the worſt of Executions. They wou'd ſhoot at the diſtance of 200 Paces, and ſo very exact and level, as never to miſs the Mark they aim'd at. And with what a ſpring their Bows deliver an Arrow may be gueſs'd from hence, that ſome of the *Spaniards* ſaw an Arrow ſticking in a great Elm-Tree that pierc'd above a handful into the body of it; and another of them in the fight was ſtruck with an Arrow in the Head, that (notwithſtanding his Head-piece) almoſt made its way through from one ſide to the other.

Aute. People gone.

Sorry Boats.

Dangerous Voyage.

Miſerable caſe of the *Spaniards.*

The Cacique kind to them.

When they came to *Aute,* they found no People nor Houſes neither, for the former were fled, and the latter burnt, only ſome Stock of Maize, Gourds and Pulſe was left, which the *Indians* ('twas to be ſuppos'd) cou'd not carry away with them. 'Twas to no purpoſe for them to ſtay in ſuch a Country, where the People treated them like Enemies, and no Proviſion hardly to be had neither; having therefore made ſome Obſervations of the Sea-Coaſts that lay near, they reſolv'd, if poſſible, to deliver themſelves out of ſo barbarous a place, and do their endeavours to find the way homeward. But how or which way was this to be put in practiſe? There was no going back again by Land the ſame way they came, for this wou'd be to run into the ſame dangers and difficulties, which with ſo much loſs and trouble they had juſt ſurmounted; beſides their Horſes were moſt of them dead, and the reſt ſo feeble as not to be able to ſtand upon their own legs, much leſs to carry them that cou'd not travel afoot. And as for their Ships, they were diſcharged long before, and Boats they had none, nor knew not where to provide themſelves with any; but the caſe was deſperate, and ſo muſt have a deſperate remedy, and they muſt run any hazard rather than ſtay there and ſtarve, or be deſtroy'd by the *Indians.* They ſet therefore to making of Boats, but having no Nails nor Tools, they us'd the old Iron of Croſs-bows, Stirrops and Spurs, inſtead of them; their Cordage and Tackling was Horſe-hair twiſted, and the Rinds of Trees, their Sails old Shirts, and in the rooms of Pitch and Tar they daub'd their Boats with the Gum of Pine-Trees; as for Oars, there was Wood enough to make them, as alſo the bodies of the Boats themſelves. But they were worſt of all put to it for Veſſels to carry their freſh Water in, to ſupply which defect they flead ſome of their dead Horſes, and ſow'd their Skins together into convenient forms, and ſo us'd them inſtead of better things for that purpoſe. There were five of theſe ſorry Boats made in all, which were ſufficient to contain their whole Company, that was now conſiderably leſſen'd, partly by Sickneſs and Famine, and partly by the *Indian* Arrows; there was no more than half the number that firſt landed in the Country. They committed themſelves to Divine Providence, and undertook one of the moſt hazardous Voyages that ever was undertaken by Men; but neceſſity (which obliged them to it) has no Law. After 7 days Sailing (with no little danger by reaſon of the many Gulphs) they arriv'd at an Iſland that lies near the Land, where ſome of the company landed, and got ſome little Recruits at the Houſes of the *Indians* upon the ſame; they ſaw ſome of thoſe People too in their Canoes, but they wou'd not ſtay till the *Spaniards* came up to them, but made off, and left the Canoes at their diſpoſe. They Sail'd along the Coaſt for above 30 days, being ſtill in the ſame Labyrinth that they were at firſt ſetting out, as to the knowledge of the Country, and their right way home. Hunger and thirſt prevail'd grievouſly amongſt them all this while, and they had no ſight of any People but ſometimes a few *Indian* Fiſhers, a poor and miſerable ſort of wretches that were not able to relieve them, nor wou'd not come near them. Some of their Men died with drinking large draughts of Salt Water, which they cou'd not forbear, the thirſt that poſſeſſed them was ſo great. In this diſtreſs, and when they were almoſt at the point of giving up all for loſt, they Weather'd a point of the Land where there appear'd to be ſafe and eaſie going aſhore, and ſeveral Canoes of *Indians* came out to ſee them. But the Barbarians having juſt look'd upon them, went away again; however the *Spaniards* follow'd them aſhore to their Houſes, before the entrance of which they found great quantities of Fiſh, and Pots of freſh Water. The Cacique, a Prince of theſe People, had more civility than his Subjects, and offer'd all this Fiſh and Water to *Narvaez* and his Company; and more than that, invited them to his Houſe. The *Spaniards* were not ungrateful to theſe People for their hoſpitable treatment of them, but entertain'd them with the Bread of Maize, and ſome Trifles which they had brought. The Cacique's Houſe was neatly made of Mats, and he was cover'd with a Mantle made of the Martinets Sable, which ſmelt like Musk, or rather like Ambergreeſe; ſome others had Furr Mantles too, but none like that.

Indians aſſault them.

While the *Spaniards* that came aſhore were enjoying themſelves here, the barbarous *Indians* got together and aſſaulted the Houſe, took away the Cacique, wounded *Narvaez*, purſued them to their Boats, and attack'd the Troop (that ſtaid aſhore to favour the retreat of the reſt into their Boats, and to protect them there) with ſo much fury in the Night time, that there was not one of them that eſcap'd wounding. 'Twas but a poor refreſhment they got here, yet ſuch as 'twas they were forced to be contented with it, and go to ſeek their Fortunes ſomewhere elſe.

After a few days Sailing they met with more *Indians* in their Canoes, who promis'd to give them freſh Water enough if they wou'd furniſh them with Veſſels to bring it in; ſo they left two *Indians* for Hoſtages, and two of *Narvaez*'s company went aſhore along with them to fetch the Water.

Perfidious People.

At Night theſe perfidious Wretches brought back the Veſſels, but not a drop of Water in them; neither did they bring the Men with them according to promiſe, nor wou'd they give any account what was become of them. But inſtead of that, the next day came a conſiderable number of them in their Canoes, together with 5 or 6 of their Caciques, dreſs'd in their Mantles of Martinet Furr, and they were ſo impudent as to demand their two Men left for Pledges, tho' thoſe of the other ſide were ſtill detain'd (perhaps Sacrific'd) by them. Theſe Caciques wou'd fain have had the *Spaniards* gone aſhore with them, but they ſaw too much of their treachery already to venture themſelves any farther amongſt them; beſides the Canoes ſtill coming in thick and threefold upon them, they had reaſon to ſuſpect ſome Villanous Deſign was then in hand. When the *Indians* ſaw they cou'd do no good, and that the *Spaniards* peremptorily refus'd to reſtore their two Men, they threw off the Mask, and appear'd with the bare face of Enmity; they began to fling great Stones at them, and wou'd have done more miſchief, but that a freſh gale of Wind blowing at that time made them keep off, and invited the others to go on with their Voyage.

Extreme hunger.

Their want of Proviſions upon theſe Inhoſpitable Coaſts continued very ſharp and preſſing, and they were now come to the poor Allowance of half a handful of raw Maize a Day.

Tempeſt ſcatters all their Boats.

But they had not ſail'd many days in this diſtreſs before a Tempeſt riſe upon them, that ſcatter'd that ſorry Fleet of Boats from one another, driving them they knew not where themſelves; but however, they had no reaſon to expect ever to ſee each other again.

Alvaro caſt upon an Iſland.

The Boat in which *Alvaro* (our Author) ſailed, happily recover'd ſhelter in a certain Iſland whether it was driven, but it was after they had endured the laſt extremities by hunger, cold, and the violent toſſings of a rough and raging Sea. The violence of hunger made them ſearch for Food in the Cottages of the *Indians* that were near, as ſoon as ever they came aſhore; and happening to find all clear and open, (for the *Indians* were abroad in the Field) they took ſome few Neceſſaries and return'd to their Boat. But in a very little time the *Indians* had got the ſcent of them, and came with a matter of 100 Archers upon them; they were very large ſtout Men, and the weak and weather-beaten *Spaniards* looking upon them with the Eyes of fear, imagin'd them to be Giants. However, they did not offer to let fly any of their Arrows at them; ſo that *Alvaro* ſeeing them appear ſomething mild and gentle came up to them, and with a few Toys won their Friendſhip ſo effectually, that every one of them gave him an Arrow in token of it, and told him by ſigns that they wou'd return in the Morning, and bring ſome Proviſions with them.

Indians entertain him and his company.

And they were as good as their word, coming at the time appointed with Fiſh and Roots; and they repeated their Viſits thus conſtantly for two or three days, the *Spaniards* ſtill requiting their kindneſs with ſome odd things or other, which were not a little pleaſing to them. When they thought they were pretty well provided with Neceſſaries, they reſolved to go on with their Voyage, and for that end went into their Boat, but one boiſterous wave overturn'd the Boat, drown'd three of them, and beat all the reſt back again upon the ſhore.

Beat back to the ſhore again.

They were now in a miſerable condition, whatever they had being loſt, and themſelves quite naked, for they had ſtript off their Cloaths before to launch the Boat into the water; beſides twas the Winter Seaſon, and the Weather extremely cold, and a long courſe of hard living had taken away all the covering of fleſh from their Bones, ſo that they appear'd like ſo many frightful Images of Death. But 'twas their good luck by ſearching about, to find ſome of the Brands which they had juſt made a fire with before they embark'd, and as Providence wou'd have it, thoſe Brands not quite extinguiſh'd neither; ſo that here they quickly blew up a fire, which in ſome meaſure comforted them under the piercing blaſts of the North wind.

Indians frighted at them.

They were in this forlorn ſtate not expecting to live, when the *Indians* (who knew nothing of their misfortune) came as they were wont, to bring them more Supplies; but when they ſaw a parcel of naked Skeletons ſtanding about a fire, believing them to be ſome very horrible things, they took up their heels and run away as faſt as they cou'd. But *Alvaro* made after them, and ſtopt them at laſt, with many fair words and perſwaſions, and told them the Story of their ſad Adventure, which they believ'd when they came back and ſaw one or two of the dead Bodies upon the ſhore. At the hearing of this they fell a weeping and lamenting after their manner, bewailing the *Spaniards* in very moving terms upon the ſcore of their misfortunes, and expreſs'd a great deal of tenderneſs and humanity.

Indians take them to their Houſes.

This encouraged *Alvaro* to deſire them to take them into their Houſes for ſhelter, which they readily conſented to; and becauſe their Habitations were a good way off, they made ſeveral great fires by the way, at which they ſtopt to rub and chafe the benummed Limbs of theſe poor Men, and carried them all the way upon their backs, not ſuffering any one of them to touch the ground with his feet. They alſo made good fires for them when they brought them home, gave them Food and a warm Lodging, and Sung and Danced all Night for their arrival.

Deſcription of the People.

Theſe People (like moſt of the reſt they had hitherto ſeen) were of ſtrong well compacted Bodies, and of good courage. The Men had one of their Paps pierc'd from one ſide to the other, and in the hole a little Cane was thruſt acroſs, about two or three ſpan long, and two fingers thick; ſome had both their Paps ſerv'd thus. The like they did to the under-lip, in which they carried a piece of Cane about half a finger thick.

Way of living.

They make this Iſland their habitation from *October* to the end of *February*, feeding moſtly all that time upon Fiſh, and a ſort of Root which they dig out from under the water with much labour and trouble. When that time is expired, they remove into the Continent to ſeek other Food, for thoſe Roots do then but begin to grow, and are not in their perfection till *November* and *December*. Their Houſes are made of Mats, and they have the Hides of Beaſts for Beds and Couches to ſleep upon; their Weapons are only Bows and Arrows.

Love to their Children.

They are the fondeſt lovers of their Children in the World, and uſe them with as much tenderneſs; if one dies, not only the Family and Kindred, but the whole Village laments the loſs; and they keep up their Mourning for a whole Year, performing the Ceremony of Lamentation three times a day, before Sun-riſing, at Noon, and at Sun ſet; firſt the Parents, and then all the reſt of the People. When the Year is up, and the laſt Funeral Rites accompliſh'd, they waſh themſelves, and ſhift all their Mourning Apparel, and appear in their wonted Guarb.

Diſreſpect of Old Age.

Old Age they never bewail in this manner, for they don't pay any great reverence to it, as many, yea, moſt other *Indians* do. They ſay the old ones are good for nothing but to conſume the Maintenance that the Children ſhou'd have; and that ſince they have lived their time, 'tis fit they ſhou'd die to make room.

Honour to Phyſicians.

They bury all the other Dead except their Phyſicians, whom they burn, and turn their bones into a Powder, which (at the Years end, when the Funeral Rites are conſummated) they give to their Kindred to drink up in a draught of Water; the deſign of this, 'tis to be ſuppos'd, is to turn them into Doctors too, for a ſupply of the others Mortality. Theſe Phyſicians have wonderful Privileges above all other People, for they may marry two or three Wives, whereas all the reſt are allowed but one. They have farther this advantage, that thoſe whom they cure do eſteem them ſo much, as many times to give them all they are worth in the World, and to procure their Friends to make them Preſents beſides.

Practiſe of Phyſick.

Their methods of practiſe are only to cut and gaſh the Part affected, let it ail what it will, and then to apply their Mouths and ſuck out the diſtemper; then inſtead of a Plaiſter, they Sear it with a hot Iron; and for the concluſion of all, blow upon the place, to blow away all the remainders of the grief that wou'd not come out by Suction. And they are ſo much for propagating the Faculty of Phyſick, that they wou'd needs have the *Spaniards* their Gueſts turn Doctors too, and pretend to cure by blowing and ſucking as they did. Neither wou'd they admit of their Excuſe, that they had no ſuch Skill or Vertue to carry off a diſtemper after that unaccountable manner:

Good Argument.

For (ſay they) all manner of Stones, and Plants that grow in the Field, have a vertue and a goodneſs in them that is profitable for ſome diſtemper or other, and is not Man a more excellent Creature than a Stone, or a Plant, and ſo has more healing and reſtoring Vertues in him than they? However, Cures wrought with Spiritual Phyſick.

ever, *Alvaro* ſays they did not go that way to work that the *Indian* Doctors did, but rather by Spiritual Methods of Prayer and Invocation to recover the Sick that way; their Plaiſters and Cordials were *Pater Noſters* and *Ave Maries*, Benedictions and Doxologies, which he reports did wonderful Cures, and gain'd them a mighty reputation in the Country. Yet he confeſſes they were forced to comply with the *Indian* practiſe ſo far, as to blow over the Patient like them; but whether the blaſt was upwards or downwards he does not tell us, but 'tis no great matter, ſince both are of the ſame vertue.

Malhado Iſland.

While they made their abode with the *Indians* of this Iſland, (which they call'd the Iſland of *Malhado*) fortune brought ſome more of their Companions to them, who had been caſt here likewiſe as they were: And being all together, they determin'd to trim up a Boat, and as many of them as were ſtrong and well to go in it, and endeavour to find ſome way to come where Chriſtians liv'd, and the reſt ſhou'd ſtay there till they were recover'd, and their Friends cou'd order Matters ſo as to remove them alſo. But juſt as they were putting this Project in execution, their Boat fail'd and diſappointed them; it was no ſooner Launched but it ſunk to the bottom, and ſo fruſtrated their deſign of eſcaping for that time. However, four of them that were the beſt Swimmers undertook to paſs over to the Main Land, and ſo travel till they came to ſome Town inhabited by *Spaniards*, to give them notice of the diſtreſs their poor Countrymen were in here. After theſe Meſſengers were diſpatch'd, *Alvarado* and his company ſuffer'd very great hardſhips and miſeries upon the Iſland.

Spaniards die.

The Weather prov'd bad and unſeaſonable, and they were ready to ſtarve for want of Proviſions; there was a ſad Mortality amongſt them too, and of 80 Men which there were in all, there were no more left remaining but 15.

Indians alter their Opinion of them.

And which was worſe ſtill, a Sickneſs happening amongſt the *Indians*, which ſwept away great numbers of them, their Superſtitious fancy perſwaded them the *Spaniards* were the cauſe of that Mortality; and now, inſtead of Phyſicians, they made Negromancers and Murderers of them. In ſhort, this fancy prevail'd ſo far, that they began to conſult about the Sacrificing of them, and this they had certainly done, had not one wiſer than the reſt argued his Companions into a belief of the Innocency of the *Spaniards* from this conſideration, That if they had a power to take away Men's lives, they might be as reaſonably ſuppos'd to have a power to preſerve them, which if they had had, to be ſure they wou'd not have ſuffer'd ſo many of their own Men to die as had done before their faces. This Reaſon ſav'd their lives, but they liv'd an uneaſie life here afterwards; both the *Indians* and they too ſuffer'd great extremities for want of Proviſions, and made a very hard ſhift to avoid ſtarving. Upon this, ſome of the *Indians* remov'd over to the Main Land, where they cou'd have a better Subſiſtance, and carried ſome of the *Spaniards* along with them; and having liv'd there ſome time, they return'd to another Iſland about two Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, for the convenience of the freſh Water that was there. *Alvaro* was alſo tranſported over to the *Terra Firma* by ſome other of the *Indians*, who went, 'tis to be ſuppos'd, upon the ſame account of ſupplying themſelves with the Neceſſaries of Life. And thus all were releas'd from the Priſon of *Malhado Iſland*, but ſtill 'twas but a remove from one Priſon to another, and they were as far as ever, in their own Opinions, from getting away from thoſe Heatheniſh People.

Alvaro and ſome of his company meet.

Whilſt *Alvaro* was here, his Companions, at the Iſland lately mention'd, had notice of the place of his Abode, and got an opportunity to come over to him; the number that came was 12, and two were left ſick behind in the Iſland. Theſe Men reſolv'd to travel along the Coaſt homewards, but *Alvaro* being weak, cou'd not pretend to bear them company in ſuch a Journey; ſo they went on and he ſtaid.

Alvaro flies

After they were gone, he obſerv'd his time when the *Indians* were out of the way, and got over to the Iſland where his two Countrymen were left, and ſtaid there a Year at leaſt, till he recover'd his health a little better. But then he reſolv'd to bid farewel to them too, for they us'd him ill, and put him to the painful drudgery of digging under Water for the Roots they liv'd upon. This deſign he executed, and convey'd himſelf over to the Main Land again amongſt the *Indians* of *Carruco*.

Lives with other *Indians* as a Merchant.

Here he had a much eaſier Life in all reſpects, for he pretended himſelf a Merchant, which was a ſort of Vocation very grateful to them, and procur'd him both good uſage and liberty too. For now his buſineſs was to travel up and down from one place to another with Wares; he went where he pleas'd, and return'd when he wou'd, and the People every where made much of him, and deſired his company. The Merchandize he carried was Shells, Hides, red Oker, Canes to make the bodies of Arrows, and Flints to make heads, and ſuch like trifles. But that which was the greateſt advantage to him by this courſe of life was, that by this means he had an opportunity of viewing the Country, and contriving his eſcape, for he travell'd at leaſt 40 or 50 leagues along the Coaſt.

After this manner he ſpent 6 Years amongſt theſe *Indians* of *Carruco*, and went naked all the while as they go; but the 7th and laſt Year of his Apprenticeſhip coming on, he found a way to give his *Indian* Maſters the ſlip, and came to another People upon that ſame Coaſt.

Spaniards meet again.

While he was here, by a ſtrange turn of Fortune he met with two of his Countrymen again, ſome of them that had been with him before at the Iſland of *Malhado*, and that had parted from him at the other Iſland, 12 of them in company, to make their way homeward. But 'twas their hap to fall into the hands of ſome of the *Indians*, who kept them with them; and as 'tis the cuſtom of thoſe People to rove from one place to another for Suſtenance, and to go and eat the Fruit or the Grain that ſuch or ſuch a place affords, at the time when 'tis in ſeaſon, ſo it ſeems thoſe *Indians*, who had theſe Men in keeping, came upon the ſame account to the place where *Alvaro* was, and ſo gave him and his Countrymen an opportunity of meeting together.

All the Fleet ruin'd.

Here *Alvaro* had a full account of the ruine of their Fleet of Boats, when the violent Storm ſeparated them from one another; how *Narvaez* himſelf, and all the reſt were loſt, ſome drown'd, ſome ſtarv'd aſhore, and reduc'd to the miſerable neceſſity of eating one another; others murder'd by the barbarous *Indians*, who found them ſtraggling up and down in their Country. Theſe few that were now left being thus happily met together, made it their buſineſs to conſult about ways and means how to get out of the clutches of theſe *Indians*; and they concluded, that the only way wou'd be to ſtay till they went to eat *Tune* in a neighbouring Country, as their conſtant cuſtom was, tho' it were 6 Months to that time.

The Fruit *Tune*.

This *Tune* is a Fruit of the bigneſs of an Egg, 'tis red and black, and of a very good taſte; the *Indians* eat them three Months in the Year, and live entirely upon them in the Seaſon, eating nothing elſe.

The *Indians* in this part of the Country (particularly the Nations of the *Marians* and *Jagavans*, amongſt whom the *Spaniards* convers'd) were a People of a ſordid Life, and brutiſh and barbarous Cuſtoms. Their Paps and Lips were pierc'd like thoſe at the Iſland of *Malhado*, their Food Roots, and any ſort of Animal almoſt that they can catch; Frogs, Worms, Lizards, Serpents, go down like good ſavoury Victuals with them, nay Earth, Wood and Beaſts dung (when they can get nothing elſe) will ſerve the turn.

Barbarity towards Children.

They neither reverence Old Age, nor love their Children as the other *Indians* do, but will kill them with their own hands many times, becauſe they ſhall not (as they impertinently alledge) be ever ſerviceable to their Enemies.

But one Wife.

They don't take any Wives amongſt themſelves, nor any Husbands for their Daughters neither, for they ſay they are all Kindred, and 'tis a ſhame for them to marry their own Relations. So that what Women they have in that way, are either taken from their Enemies in War, or bought of ſome of the neighbouring People;

Price of a Woman.

and the price they generally give for a Woman, is either a good Bow and a couple of Arrows, or elſe a large Net. They put all the old People to carry burdens, and do ſuch other Drudgery as their feeble Age is capable of.

Induſtrious Women.

The Men don't much trouble themſelves about any Work or Labour, but throw moſt of it upon the Women, who are generally ſtout and ſtrong, and both fit for it, and us'd to it. They are ſo buſie about their Houſhold concerns, that they allow not above 6 hours of the 24 for reſt; they ſpend the greateſt part of the Night in heating their Ovens, and drying the Roots they eat; and then as ſoon as the Day begins to appear, they go to drawing of Water, and fetching of Wood into their Houſes. Their Houſes are made of Mats, and ſtand upon four Arches, and are contriv'd ſo, that they can take them up and remove them into any place where the conveniency of Food calls them.

Ill qualities.

As to their Temper and Moral qualities, the *Spaniards* give but an ill account of them; they ſay they practiſe unnatural Luſts one with another, are very Sottiſh, will Lye and Diſſemble monſtrouſly, Thieve and Steal, not only from Neighbours, but even Fathers and Children from one another. They neither Till the Land, nor Sow any ſort of Seed, but leave all to the care and bounty of Nature; yet, notwithſtanding their Poverty and uncertainty of Food, they live merry and jocund, and never ceaſe their Sports and Dancings.

Great Runners.

They are ſo very ſwift of foot, and every way ſo well made for running, Veniſon and Beef.

The Flyes.

Their eſcape.

Sad Life.

running, that they'll follow a Deer from Morning to Evening till they have quite run him down, and made him ſo weary as to be taken alive. The beſt of all their living is when they go to eat *Tune*, for then they do nothing but eat almoſt all Day and Night too, and ſpend their time in Dancing and Revelling while that Fruit laſts. When they have done eating the *Tunes* in the Country where they grow, they take ſome and open and dry them, to eat by the way as they return home. In ſhort, this *Tune* time is a Feſtival of the ſame quality and great expectation amongſt them that *Chriſtmas* it ſelf is amongſt the *Europeans*. As for fleſh, the moſt they have of that is Veniſon and Beef; ſome Deer there are about the Country, and even too in ſome places. Theſe Cattel are of the bigneſs of the *Spaniſh* Oxen, have little Horns like thoſe of *Barbary*, and very long hair, and thicker than uſually in other Parts. Of the Hides they make Garments to defend them from the cold of their Climate, Shoes alſo, and Targets for the War. The greateſt plague in this Country is the multitude of Flyes that breed here; and to defend themſelves from which, the Natives very frequently go with a flaming Brand in their hands, and ſometimes burn down the Trees where they are, that the Flyes being depriv'd of their ſhelter may be forc'd to go away. And indeed, *Alvaro* ſays that they are ſo miſerably vex'd and tormented with them, that it may be compar'd with the moſt troubleſome thing in the World. The Country contains a great deal of excellent Paſture-Land, which wou'd maintain mighty Herds and Flocks of Cattel; and wou'd certainly be a very fruitful and profitable one, if the People had but ſence enough to manage it as it ſhou'd be. There's hardly any Mountain to be ſeen in all that Part where the *Spaniards* were, but all plain and open. There are Rivers of good clear wholſome water too, but the Natives having no certain ſetled place of Abode, depend more upon the Rain water for their conſtant Drink than that of the Rivers. When the time was come for the *Indians* to go and eat *Tune*, the *Spaniards*, who had laid their Plot for an eſcape, were unhappily prevented in the execution of it; for the *Indians* happening to fall out amongſt themſelves, and they being diſpers'd in ſeveral Houſes, one with one *Indian*, and another with another, they were by this means parted from one another, and cou'd not put their deſign in practiſe. And ſo once or twice after this the *Indians* hinder'd their running away, but whether by chance or contrivance, ſuſpecting their purpoſe, is uncertain. However, theſe diſappointments forc'd them to ſpend at leaſt a Year more amongſt thoſe wretched People, to their no little ſorrow and vexation; as for *Alvaro*, he declares he liv'd ſuch a curſed Life amongſt them, and they us'd him ſo ill, that he was neceſſitated to change his Maſters by running away three or four times, and narrowly eſcap'd with his Life, they purſuing him with a deſign to Sacrifice him if they cou'd have found him. But as they were ſeparated from one another by the Diviſions and Quarrels of the *Indians*, ſo they were brought to each other again, by the Reconciliation and new Friendſhip of the ſame Parties. So that now they had an opportunity of executing that deſign which had been form'd ſo long, and baulk'd ſo often. They order'd matters ſo as to give the *Indians* the ſlip all together, and begin their Journey out of that Savage Country where they had liv'd more like Beaſts than Men for ſo long time. The *Indians* either did not purſue them, or at leaſt did not take the right way, for they went on without diſturbance, and came to ſome other *Indians* call'd *Ananares*, whoſe Language they underſtood, having traded with them before, and were very kindly receiv'd by them. They liv'd amongſt theſe People about 8 Months, feeding upon ſuch wild Fruits and Roots as they did, and (which is no little wonder in Men that had been us'd not only to a warmer Climate, but to wearing of Cloaths too) going naked for the moſt part like them, except at any time they cou'd procure a few Skins to cover themſelves withal. Here they pretend too, that they did a great many miraculous Cures upon ſeveral ſorts of Sick, and that the *Indians* flock'd into them upon that ſcore from the neighbouring Parts; but when all's done, the greateſt Miracle is their own living in a cold bleak Country, where they went as naked as ever they were born, their keeping ſo many long Faſts, and going for Months together without eating any thing elſe than a little Fruit, and all this join'd with hard Labour and Travel, and yet coming off with life and health at laſt. *Alvaro* ſays farther, that they chang'd their Skins twice a Year as the Snakes do, that their Bodies peel'd all over from head to foot; and what with the impreſſion of the Weather, with carrying heavy Burdens, with travelling through Woods and Thickets, where the Thorns and Briers tore their fleſh, they were in a very miſerable condition, and their Carkaſſes ſo mortified, that 'twas the greateſt wonder Men, who had been us'd to another way of living, cou'd ever go through with it. From theſe People they remov'd to the *Maticones*, and the *Arbadoes*, with whom they liv'd ſome time after the ſame poor and hard rate that they had with the former. When theſe People firſt ſaw them before their Houſes they withdrew, and reaſon'd a while amongſt themſelves, ('tis to be ſuppos'd about their reception) which conſult being over, they came in a very friendly manner, taking them by the hands, and leading them into their Houſes. The next People they came to ſeem'd to be ſtruck with a mighty fear and aſtoniſhment at the firſt approach of theſe ſtrange Men. 'Twas a good while before they wou'd venture to come near them, and when they did, they came and laid their hands upon the Faces and Bodies of the *Spaniards*, and afterwards upon their own, bidding them welcome by that kind of action.

An account of the People in general.

Marriages and Divorces

Composing quarrels and differences.

Effeminate Men.

Of theſe People (as of all the reſt in general, from the Iſland of *Malbado* hither) they obſerv'd that they give their Children Suck till they are 10 or 12 Years old, and this becauſe of the great ſcarcity of Victuals in their Country; for Nature having made a proviſion for them in the Mothers Milk, they rather chuſe to let them depend upon that for a Maintenance, than upon the uncertain Products of the Earth, or their uncertain getting of them. They part from their Wives whenever (quarrels and differences ariſing between them) they can no longer enjoy Domeſtick peace and quietneſs; this is very common among the younger ſort, but 'tis not cuſtomary for thoſe that have had many Children to turn off the Mothers of them, and abandon them totally. When any Couple is thus divorc'd from each other, they both uſe their liberty to marry when or whom they pleaſe. When a quarrel happens between two Families, you ſhall have them ſeparate from the reſt of the Community, and withdraw with their Women, and whatever belongs to them, into ſome place in the Fields by themſelves; and here they ſtay till either the Neighbours make peace, or they have mutually digeſted the Matter on both ſides, and are diſpos'd to a Reconciliation. If a difference amongſt them ever proceeds ſo far as to come to blows, they take care never to uſe any dangerous Weapons. They commonly take pretty handſome Cudgels and thraſh one another with them, till they have ſufficiently vented their Choler on both ſides; but as for their Bows and Arrows, they reſerve them for their Enemies, and no paſſion ever makes them turn upon each other with thoſe Weapons, or any other that may prove fatal. They are Soldiers good enough, hardy, us'd to Labour, and able to endure it; cunning, and preſently perceiving the fear or cowardice of their Enemies, and taking all the advantage by it imaginable. In ſhort, an Enemy muſt uſe them the worſt that can be, and fear them without any diſcovery of it. Amongſt ſome of them *Alvaro* ſays, there are a ſort of impotent effeminate Men, of much larger and greater Limbs than ordinary, who go in Womens dreſs, and are devoted to Womens work; they carry no Bows nor Arrows, but inſtead of them Burdens of Wood and Water, and within Doors other Domeſtick Offices; and of theſe he declares he ſaw ſeveral.

Strange Cuſtom in drinking.

They have a ſort of Drink made of the Leaves of a Tree like the Mulberry Tree, which they boil very well, and work it up into a froth, and ſo drink it as hot as ever they can ſuffer it to come into their Mouths. All the while this is over the fire the Veſſel muſt be cloſe ſhut; and if by chance it ſhou'd be uncover'd, and a Woman ſhou'd come by in the mean time, they wou'd drink none of it, but fling all away. Likewiſe, while they ſtand cooling and pouring it out to drink, a Woman muſt not ſtir nor move, for they wou'd throw it all to the ground, or ſpue it up again, if they had drunk any; and ſhe her ſelf wou'd incur the Baſtinado. All this time they continue bauling out aloud who will drink? And when the Women begin to hear theſe exclamations, then 'tis that they ſettle themſelves in their poſtures; and were they ſitting, or ſtanding, tho' it were a tiptoe, or one leg up and t'other down, they muſt continue ſo till the Men have cool'd their Liquor, and make it fit to drink. The reaſon of this is every whit as fooliſh and unreaſonable as the cuſtom it ſelf; for they ſay, ſhou'd not the Women ſtand ſtill when they hear their voice, ſome bad thing wou'd be convey'd into the Liquor, which they ſay wou'd make them die; and if ſuch a Generation of Aſſes were all poyſon'd, 'twere no great loſs to the World. Our *Spaniards* continued travelling on thro' this hungry barren Country; the next *Indians* they came to, entertain'd them with a ſort of Food which they had

Meal of the Fruit *Meſquiquez*.

Odd way of eating.

met with none of before; it was a kind of Meal made of a Fruit call'd *Meſquiquez*, which is like the *Carobe*, and *Alvaro* ſays of the ſame kind. As it hangs on the Tree it is very bitter, and as they prepare it one wou'd think it ſhou'd not be mended, tho' they are of another Opinion, and therefore proceed accordingly. They make a Trench in the ground of a conſiderable depth, and throw the Fruit into it, bruiſing and ſtirring it about with a great piece of Wood. When they have done this to the purpoſe, they take this Hodge-podge of Earth and Fruit and put it into a Veſſel, pouring as much Water upon it as will juſt cover it; then they taſte whether it be ſweet enough or no, if not, they take more Earth and mingle with it, till they have wrought it up to that degree of ſweetneſs that pleaſes their Palates beſt. When this is done, they all ſit round the Trench, and every Man thruſts in his hand and takes out a lump to eat; and ſo they eat on in this way of good Fellowſhip, till their Bellies ſometimes are ready to burſt. The Liquor they uſe to waſh down this dirty Meat, is made of the Seeds or Kernels of the Fruit and the husks together; for they take theſe and put them into a Veſſel of Water, and after they have lain ſteeping there a while, they come and ſqueeze them, and the Liquor that is thus preſs'd out, is without any farther preparation fit to be drunk by the beſt of them all.

Divers Languages.

Theſe Nations the *Spaniards* were now got amongſt were of a much more civil and hoſpitable temper than thoſe they paſs'd through at firſt; but there were ſuch varieties of them, that they don't pretend ſo much as to give us their Names, much leſs cou'd they learn the Language of every one of them. They were pretty well acquainted with ſix ſeveral Tongues, but before they came into thoſe Parts of the Continent where the *Spaniards* dwelt, they had met with above a thouſand ſorts of Languages; ſo that all along they expreſs'd their Minds to the *Indians* by ſigns and motions, which they found no great trouble to make them underſtand the ſence and meaning of.

Kindneſs of the *Indians*.

For the remaining part of their Journey they had (for the moſt part) better travelling in all reſpects: The *Indians*, with whom they Abode, wou'd at their departure accompany them to the next Nation, and ſee them well receiv'd; and *Alvaro* ſays, that ſometimes they had thouſands to attend them, neither was it an eaſie matter to get rid of ſome of them. Many times the People, whoſe Country they came into, wou'd march out in a full body to meet them, and bid them welcome; and according to their various Cuſtoms and Manners, ſuch was their Reception and manner of Entertainment amongſt them.

Rude ſort of Reception.

Silent entertainment.

One Nation particularly *Alvaro* makes mention of, where the People run out of their Houſes ſhouting and hollowing, and ſtriking their hands upon their Thighs at ſuch a rate, that they frightned them moſt bitterly; and then they throng'd and crouded about them with ſo much eagerneſs, every Man ſtriving to be foremoſt, and come as near them as poſſible, that he ſays they were like to be ſqueez'd to death. The Multitude wou'd not let them touch the ground with their feet, but got them up upon their ſhoulders, and carried them away to their Houſes. Others of them, as ſoon as they had brought the *Spaniards* into their Houſes, wou'd offer them all their Goods, and the very Houſes themſelves too; and tho' there were no great Treaſures there, yet they were not a little pleas'd to ſee the free and open humour of thoſe People. Some again wou'd not come out of their Houſes into the Fields and High-ways to meet them, but ſit at home, and ſtay till they came; and 'tis comical enough what *Alvaro* relates of theſe ſilent People, (who were yet as hearty and kind as the noiſy ones before mention'd) that when they came to their Houſes, they found them all ſitting with their faces turn'd towards the Wall, their heads hanging down, and their long hair dangling over their eyes, as if they had been aſleep, and afterwards were entertain'd by them in a very frank and hearty manner. They commend theſe for the moſt comely and ſenſible People of all that they ſaw; their Women, and all the old People in general, wear a Covering of Deers Skins, the reſt go naked, here and there a Man only excepted. Their Country abounds with Kine, and they have alſo ſome ſtore of Maize.

Indians ſerve them with Food.

Opinion the *Indians* had of them.

The *Indians* were generally very ſerviceable to the *Spaniards*, in getting them Proviſions as they travell'd along with them; and in Countries that yielded Deer, Hares and Fowl, (as ſeveral that they paſs'd did) they wou'd go out with their Bows and Arrows, and kill what was neceſſary for the company. And certainly, if we may give credit to their reports, never were any Men ſo much reverenc'd, (ador'd one may ſay) ſo obſequiouſly ſerv'd, ſo diligently attended and waited upon, as they were by the *Indians*. Thoſe poor People thought nothing too good for them; they believ'd they knew even the moſt ſecret things which they had a mind to conceal from them; that they cou'd heal all their Sick, and inflict diſtempers upon them that were well if they did provoke them, and therefore took care to pleaſe them in every thing, and to do what ever they commanded. And tho' we ſhall hardly take *Alvaro*'s word for the cures they did in the ſeveral Nations they paſs'd through, yet we may, when he tells us, that he and his company made very good uſe of this ſtrange Opinion the *Indians* had of them, and ſerv'd themſelves of it to many conſiderable purpoſes.

Metals in the Country.

In ſome places there were ſigns of Metals and Minerals to be found upon enquiry in that Country; thus they ſaw ſome appearances of Iron, and ſome of the Natives gave them pieces of Antimony, and ſmall Plates of Silver. In another place they found a great Copper Bell with a face engraven upon it; and the *Indians* told them, that where that thing was made a great number of Plates of the ſame Metal were hid under ground.

Fruitful Country.

Women made much of, and well habited

The *Spaniards* having travell'd a vaſt tract of Land, and ſeen great varieties of theſe Nations, (of which they tell us hardly any thing more conſiderable, than the kind reception and great reſpect they gave and paid to them) came at laſt to the South Sea. After they had the welcome ſight of this, they travell'd many days in great diſtreſs for want of Proviſion; ſometimes they fed upon the fat of Deer, (a thing which they had ſome quantities of by them) but the worſt of all was their being reduc'd to powder of Straw, which *Alvaro* ſays they did eat for ſeveral days, having nothing elſe that was eatable to pretend to, as neither had the *Indians* in whoſe Country then they were. But out of this miſerable place they came into a Land that might be call'd happy, beautiful and fruitful in compariſon; for here they had Maize, Pulſe, Gourds, and Veniſon for the Belly, Deer Skins alſo and Cotton Mantles for the Back. Going farther, they had not only the continuance of theſe Neceſſaries, but ſuperfluities too, the Natives gave them Turquoiſe Stones, ſome Emeraulds, and pieces of Coral, and told them they had the Emeraulds in exchange for Quills and Parrots feathers, from a certain People that dwelt in very high Mountains to the North. Theſe *Indians* were a polite People, in reſpect of a great many others they had met with; they had Houſes more large and handſomely built than was common, their Women were us'd with great reſpect and regard to their Sex, they wore Shifts of Bombazine Cotton which reach'd below the Knee, and a ſort of Sleeves made of Deer Skins which touch'd the ground, and were perſum'd very ſweet with certain Roots; and all in general, both Men and Women, were ſhod.

Poiſonous Trees.

From theſe they travell'd to others, who liv'd a much more poor and miſerable Life; and from theſe again through another large and populous Country, where the Natives ſow'd Maize and Pulſe three times a Year, and had alſo plenty of Deer. They found here a ſort of poyſonous Tree, which the Inhabitants make uſe of for poyſoning their Arrows, and that either with the Fruit or the milky Juice that drops from the boughs when they are broken off. There are ſeveral of theſe Trees that are ſo ſtrong a poyſon, that the leaves of them bruis'd, and caſt into any Pool or ſtanding Water, will certainly kill the Beaſts that drink of it, according to their report.

Theſe poor Travellers now at laſt came to have ſome notice of their Countrymen the *Spaniards*, and that by ſeeing amongſt the *Indians* the Buckle of a *Spaniſh* Girdle, which aſſur'd them they muſt have been in thoſe Parts. Upon examination, the *Indians* told them ſome Men with long Beards, like them, and with Horſes and Armour, had been there; but they ſaw ſad demonſtrations of it as they paſs'd farther into the Country, for the People had left their Towns and Villages, and hid themſelves in Woods and Mountains, the fruitful Lands lay neglected, and a whole rich and pleaſant Country appear'd to be ſpoil'd.

Cruel marks of the *Spaniards* Tyranny.

Some of the *Indians* that had ſuffer'd thus being at laſt got out of their holes and hidden places, told them that the *Spaniards* had been there, had deſtroy'd and burnt their Towns, laid the Lands waſte, and carried away vaſt numbers of the People for Slaves; yet were theſe a moſt innocent and courteous People, and made *Alvaro*, with his company, as welcome as poſſible, tho' they had reaſon to expect other treatment at their hands, their Beards diſcovering them plainly enough to be ſomething a kin to thoſe Men that had ſo grievouſly injur'd them. In ſhort, they went on with a great body of

Notion the *Indians* had of the other *Spaniards.*

Indians attending, till they came where the firſt *Spaniſh* Colony was, having all along trac'd the *Spaniards* in their marches, by thoſe marks and footſteps of their Cruelty, which were viſible every where. Here they diſmiſs'd their laſt *Indian* Guides, but thoſe honeſt People were not willing to go, till they had (as the cuſtom was) deliver'd them ſafe into the cuſtody of another *Indian* People. And as the *Spaniards* were very kind to them in propoſing to ſeize them all, and make Slaves of them, ſo they were as kind to the *Spaniards* in the Opinion they had of them, for they wou'd not be perſwaded by any means that they were the ſame ſort of Men with *Alvaro* and his company; for, ſaid they, theſe Men heal us, but the other kill us; theſe are bountiful and kind, the others rob and are covetous; the one go naked, and without Horſes, as we do, the others have Iron Coats and Lances, and ride on Horſeback. In ſhort, the former came from the Eaſt, and the others from the Weſt; for which reaſon alſo, as well as the reſt, they wou'd not believe they were the ſame People. However *Alvaro*, with much ado, perſwaded them to return to their Houſes, to Till their Land, and Inhabit their Towns as before, and endeavour to make all their Countrymen join together, to do their beſt to reſtore the Country to its former flouriſhing ſtate. *Alvaro* and his Friends travell'd on till they came where more of the *Spaniſh* Officers reſided; but the *Spaniards*, who were now their Guides, led them through barbarous deſolate Ways, and dealt very unkindly with them. They wanted Heathens to receive kindneſſes from, for Chriſtians, and their own Countrymen, had none to ſhew them. They us'd farther endeavours to reduce the *Indians* from the Mountains, and bring them down to Inhabit the plain Country again, promiſing them upon thoſe terms, and their embracing Chriſtianity, that they ſhou'd be free from all future moleſtations, and enjoy their Country in peace. The *Indians* agreed to do this, both to become Chriſtians, and to Till their Land; but how the *Spaniards* perform'd their part of the Covenant is uncertain. *Alvaro* and his Companions, after this, proceeded to *Compoſtella*, where the Governor receiv'd them kindly, and from thence to *Mexico*, where the Vice-Roy gave them a noble Entertainment, after their long, tedious and hazardous travel.

Alvaro comes to *Mexico.*

'Tis to be obſerv'd, that *Alvaro* in this march came quite croſs the Continent from the North to the South-Sea; and the diſtance between theſe two, according to the beſt of his obſervation, he judges to be at leaſt 200 Leagues. Farther 'tis remarkable what this Perſon ſays of himſelf, when he was come back amongſt the *Spaniards* again, that he cou'd not endure any Cloaths upon his back for a great while together; the reaſon of which was, partly the tenderneſs of his body by ſo much ill uſage of it, and partly perhaps his long cuſtom of going naked amongſt the *Indians*, which had now made it almoſt natural to him. It was in *A. D.* 1527. that this unfortunate Voyage commenc'd; and 'twas in *A. D.* 1536. that a period was ſet to the Travels of *Avaro* and his little company; little indeed, for tho' he went out of *Spain* with a great number, yet by that time he return'd thither again, he had no more than three Men left, and their Lives and his own were all ſo many Miracles.

CHAP. XVI.

A Voyage to Florida *by* Fernando de Soto, *with his Diſcovery of the Countries in that Part of the Continent; Written by a* Portugueſe *who went in the ſame Expedition.*

Soto one of the Captains in *Peru.*

THis Captain *Fernando de Soto*, was one of thoſe who had ſerv'd in the Wars of *Peru*: He had been at the taking of *Atabalipa*, and all the Sieges of *Cuſco*, and had a large ſhare of the Plunder of that rich City. He was alſo one of the number of thoſe that opreſs'd and pinch'd the *Indians* for their Gold; and as there were very few of them Men that came to a good end, ſo by tracing the courſe of his Fortunes too, we ſhall find they had not ſo happy an iſſue at laſt as perhaps he might expect.

The Fleet.

April, A. D. 1538.

They go aſhore.

This Perſon having the Emperor's Grant for the Conqueſt of *Florida*, furniſh'd a Fleet at his own charge, or rather at the charge of *Atabalipa*, for 'twas *Peruvian* Gold that paid for all, and bore him out in that vaſt expence. The Fleet conſiſted of five great Ships, 2 Carvels, and 2 Brigantines, and had aboard 600 Men, ſome ſay near 1000, but that's no great matter. They went firſt of all to the Iſland of *Cuba*, where they ſtaid ſo long, that the Year was come about before they ſet out from thence for the Coaſt of *Florida*. Being arrived ſafe there, they went aſhore about two Leagues from a Town which was the ordinary Reſidence of a certain Prince called *Ucita*. The *Indians*, for their parts, having diſcover'd them, gave notice to one another, by making great fires along the Coaſt, that an Enemy had invaded their Country; and ſo they kept out of the way, and left their Towns for the *Spaniards* to take poſſeſſion of.

Ucita's Town.

Ucita's Town ſtood juſt upon a Bay, ſo that the Ships might be brought quite up to it; the Cacique's Houſe ſtood upon a very high Mount hard by the ſhore, and at the other end was the Temple, on the top of which was fix'd the Image of a great Fowl carv'd in Wood, with gilded Eyes, the only appearance of Gold they ſaw as yet. The Houſes were all Timber, and neatly cover'd with Palm leaves. Here they found ſome ſmall quantities of Pearl, but thoſe of no great value; the *Indians* pierce them and ſtring them like Beads, to adorn their Necks, Hands and Legs, with them.

They find one of *Narvaez* Men.

History.

Kind Woman.

A good Caſt.

Ortiz ſaves his life by killing the Wolf.

As a Party of the *Spaniards* were one day beating about the Country to find ſome of the People, they happen'd to ſee 10 or 12 of them, and in their company a certain Man that plainly appear'd to be an *European*, but was running about wild and naked like them, and was ſcorch'd with the Sun, and had his Arms rac'd and pink'd after the manner of the *Indians*. The *Indians* no ſooner ſaw the *Spaniſh* Horſe but they run away towards the Woods, and the *Spaniards* purſuing overtook ſome of them, and were going to kill them, and amongſt the reſt this *European-Indian* was going to have a Lance thruſt into his Guts; but he cried out for Mercy for himſelf and them, telling the *Spaniards* he was a Chriſtian, and theſe *Indians* had ſav'd his life. Upon farther Examination, it appear'd that this Man was one of *Navarro*'s miſerable company, moſt of which had met with their fates upon this Continent. He had now liv'd 12 Years amongſt the *Indians*, and was at firſt taken Priſoner by ſome of *Ucita*'s Subjects, and brought before him, by whom he was condemn'd to be broil'd to death over a ſlow fire, but that his Daughter begg'd his life; and not only ſo, but brought him into ſome degree of favour too. He was then made Keeper of the Temple, and his principal Work was to watch at Night, that the Wolves did not come and ſteal away the dead Bodies. But in this Poſt *Ortiz* (for that was the *Spaniards* Name) was very like to loſe his life, for a Wolf one Night, in ſpite of all care, ſtole away the Corps of a Child of one of the principal *Indians*; and as there were ſeveral of thoſe ravenous creatures together, *Ortiz* threw a Dart amongſt them, and happen'd to ſtrike that very Wolf that had got the Child, which went a little way with his prey, and then fell down and died, without any defacing or tearing of it. But all this while it being dark, *Ortiz* knew nothing of his good luck in killing the Wolf; and ſo the next Morning, when the Corps was miſs'd, *Ucita* was ſo enrag'd that he reſolv'd to put him to death. But the Wolf being found dead, and the Body juſt by it whole and entire, *Ortiz* got not only his life, but more eſteem than ever he had before. After this a certain neighbouring Prince, call'd *Mococo*, came and fell upon *Ucita*, burning that Town where he then was, and forcing him to retire to another. This made the *Barbarian* have a mind to Sacrifice *Ortiz*, to appeaſe the anger of

He flies to *Mococo*.

his Deity, as they do very often (it ſeems) make ſuch Sacrifices both of Natives and Strangers too. But this danger the kind young Woman prevented, (ſhe that ſav'd him from the fire) by diſcovering her Fathers bloody deſign to *Ortiz*, and perſwading him to make his eſcape to *Mococo*, who was a generous Man, and wou'd uſe him very well. This ſeaſonable Advice he took, and becauſe he did not know the way, ſhe went out of Town with him a matter of half a League in the dark Night, and having ſet him in the right way, left him to the Influence of his good Stars for the reſt of his Journey. Such a compliment as this one ſhall ſeldom hear of, and *Ortiz*, whatever he thought of it himſelf, had no little obligation to this young Woman.

Mococo comes to ſee *Soto*.

Paracoſſi a great Cacique.

Province *Cale*.

Gold.

Soto comes to *Cale*.

Cale.

Plenty of Maize.

Being come to *Mococo*, he was receiv'd with a great deal of Joy, and that Cacique ſwore, according to his way, to treat him with all kindneſs, and give him his liberty to go away with any Chriſtians when they came into that Country; exacting of him at the ſame time an Oath after his own manner, that he ſhou'd never run away from him to any other Lord. And here he liv'd 9 Years more, with as much content as he cou'd expect amongſt a People no politer than they; and 'twas now that *Mococo* hearing of the *Spaniards* arrival, ſent *Ortiz* (according to his promiſe) accompanied with theſe *Indians* to their Camp, and was like to have been kill'd by his own Countrymen by the way (as was ſhown before.) *Mococo* himſelf came alſo to the Camp to ſee *Soto*, who eſteem'd him much for his kindneſs to *Ortiz*, and made him ſome Preſents. But *Ortiz*, who had liv'd ſo long in the Country, cou'd not give *Soto* any intelligence of what he chiefly wanted, which was rich Mines, only that about 30 Leagues from *Puerto de Sprito Santo*, (as they call'd the Port where they had taken up their abode, and which was *Ucita*'s Town) that there was a great Cacique nam'd *Paracoſſi*, to whom both *Mococo* and *Ucita*, and all the reſt upon that Coaſt paid Tribute, whoſe Country was much more fruitful than that which border'd upon the Sea, and might perhaps afford ſomething elſe, at leaſt the News of it. So a Party was ſent to *Paracoſſi*'s Country to ſee what was to be done there, and they diſpatch'd a Meſſage to *Soto* again with this News, That according to the report of *Paracoſſi*'s Subjects, there was a Province call'd *Cale*, lying towards the Weſt, from whence they might draw plenty of Gold; and that ſome People that had made War with thoſe of *Cale*, had declar'd that they came into the Field with Gold Head-pieces, or at leaſt ſome Defence for their Heads of the ſame nature. Upon this *Soto* left a certain number both of Horſe and Foot, for the keeping of *Puerto de Sprito Santo*, and march'd away with all the reſt of his Men into the Country of *Paracoſſi*. From thence he went on to *Cale*, the Town of which Name was quite emptied of all its Inhabitants by that time he came to it. His Men were fatigu'd with a miſerable march hither, through Woods and Bogs, and over Lakes and Rivers, pinch'd for want of Proviſions too, tho' they got a cure for that diſeaſe when they came to *Cale*, for they found a good ſtock of Maize ripe in the Field, which *Soto* ordered to be gather'd for the uſe of his Men. But we hear not a word of the Gold which thoſe *Indians* before ſpoke of, ſo that 'tis likely enough they told the *Spaniards* a fine golden Story of a Country a good way off, to carry them out of their own Country, where they might have been troubleſome Gueſts.

Spaniards afraid of the Journey.

Napetuca.

Indians run into the Lake.

They aſſault the *Spaniards*.

Ochus.

Tupacha a rich Country.

Indian Houſes.

Habits.

From *Cale*, *Soto* march'd towards *Apalache*, a very large and fruitful Province, as he was inform'd; but one part of his Army ſtaid at *Cale*, with Orders to continue there till they heard from him. Upon his way thither he heard that the Country he was going to was the ſame where *Narvaez* had been before, and the ſame where he made his Boats for that fatal Voyage, becauſe he cou'd go no farther by Land. This made all the company very melanchollly, and they begg'd the General not to proceed in that deſign, leaſt they all had the ſame fate that *Narvaez* and his Men had; but he was abſolutely ſet upon it, and wou'd have Ocular demonſtration of what was told him of the Country, and not rely altogether upon reports. The greateſt diſtreſs the *Indians* ever put him to in this Journey (indeed he had no direct oppoſition in the way of fighting but this) was that which happen'd at a certain Town call'd *Napetuca*, where the Inhabitants thought good to make head againſt them, and ſo ſome of them were kill'd, and the reſt took ſhelter in two Lakes that were there by. The *Spaniſh* Horſe encompaſs'd the Lakes to keep the *Indians* in, who alſo endeavour'd to creep out cunningly when the Day was ſhut in, but being diſcover'd they were forc'd to plunge into the Water again. However, at laſt they were perſwaded to yield to the *Spaniards*, and all came out of the Lake, 12 only of the nobleſt excepted, who choſe rather to die than to fall into their hands, and were forc'd to be drawn out by the hair of the Head by other *Indians*. But, in ſhort, this did not quell their courage, for tho' they were all made Slaves of, and were divided amongſt the *Spaniards*, yet they found ways to meet together to plot and conſpire a Riſing; neither did they fear to put it in execution, and that with a wonderful deal of fury and reſolution. *Soto* himſelf was the firſt Man that was aſſaulted by them; the *Indian* that was his Interpreter was appointed to begin with him, and while he was diſcourſing to catch him by the Throat and choak him. This he had well nigh accompliſh'd, and all the reſt fell upon their own Maſters with what Weapons came next to hand. In a word, there being above 200 of theſe Deſperadoes, and the *Spaniards* not aware of them, it coſt them ſome trouble (not much blood) to reduce them, but that was effectually done at laſt, and the greateſt part of them executed for what they had done. This ſlaughter at *Napetuca*, made the *Indians* more cautious of their coming within the reach of the *Spaniards*, and *Soto* found ſome conſiderable Towns empty of People upon that ſcore. But what *Indians* they took they us'd cruelly, that is, made them ſerve with intolerable rigour, and the *Indians* did not fail to requite them for't whenever they cou'd file off their Chains, or get their Keepers in the Woods alone. *Soto* had a Journey otherwiſe well enough to *Apalache*, being not ſo much ſtraitned as at ſometimes for Proviſions, but meeting good ſtore of Maize, French-beans and Pompions by the way. When he came to *Apalache*, he found likewiſe ſtore of theſe ſorts of Food in ſeveral Towns about, ſo that here was living good enough for his Army. And now he thought good to ſend for all the reſt of his Troops from *Port Spirito Santo*, to come to him to the Province of *Apalache*; which accordingly was done, moſt part of the Foot coming by Sea, and the reſt travelling along the Land. The *Indians* ſometimes ſallied out upon them by the way, but they cou'd not do them any great miſchief, much leſs hinder their march to *Apalache* to their General. *Soto* now reſolved to proſecute the diſcovery of the Country, ſent out one of his Captains to ſearch the Weſtern Coaſt, who brought him News of a Province call'd *Ochus*, that lay ſome 60 Leagues to the Weſtward from *Apalachen*, where was a Port capable of giving Ships a very good ſhelter and defence from the Weather, and ſome other things, which made *Soto* reſolve to go and find out that Country. And that he might be ſure of Supplies, he ſent away to the Iſland of *Cuba* for a Stock of Proviſions, and appointed thoſe that went with the Veſſels to come to him there, at that Port, in the Province of *Ochus* beforementioned. But the love of Gold made him change the project of a Weſtern Journey into an Eaſtern one; for a certain Slave, who was a Native of a certain Country lying to the Sun-riſing, told ſtrange Stories of the Riches of it, how great his Queen was, and how great her Capital City; all which enflamed *Soto* with ſuch a deſire of ſeeing this fine Queen and Country, that he reſolved immediately to march thither. The Name of this Country was *Tupacha*, and ſince 'twas a long march, they were oblig'd to carry a good ſtock of Proviſions, to ſerve in caſe of any uncertainty by the way. They found going this way *Indian* Towns much handſomer than they uſe to meet with, and which inſtead of Thatch Coverings, were done with Reeds ſo prettily, that they look'd almoſt as if they had been Til'd. They have their Summer and their Winter-Houſes; the latter of which are daub'd with Clay within and without, and made very warm; the former have Kitchins adjoining to them, where they make fires, and do their domeſtick Work. They have alſo their Barbacoas where they keep their Maize, which are little Houſes ſtanding upon Stakes, and floor'd with Cane Hurdles. The difference between the Houſes of the Lords and the vulgar People, lies not only in the largeneſs of them, but alſo the Ornaments of great Galleries in the fronts of them, and under them Benches made of Cane, and all round about them high Lofts, where they lay up what the *Indians* bring them for Tribute, which is Maize, Deer Skins, and Mantles made of the inner rind of the Barks of Trees, or of a ſort of Graſs like Nettles, which being beaten reſembles Flax. The Women wear two of theſe Mantles, one put about them from the Waſte downward, and another over their ſhoulder, with the Right Arm out, according to the ancient cuſtom. The Men have no more than one Mantle, which goes over their ſhoulder too, but they wear a Deer Skin to cover the Privy Parts. Theſe Skins are admirably well dreſs'd, and colour'd (red or black) to perfection, which colours they give their Mantles alſo; they make their Shoes of the ſame Leather. *Soto* paſs'd

through

The *Caciques* kind to *Soto.*

through the Countries of divers great Caciques, ſome of whom came to him, and brought him conſiderable Supplies of Proviſion, and all in general treated him very civilly; they alſo furniſh'd him with *Indians* to carry his Proviſions and Baggage for him. Theſe were the Caciques of *Acheſe*, *Ocute* and *Patofa*, of whoſe Countries, People and Government, we have no particulars, the *Spaniards* being upon a march, and not making many Obſervations by the way. Some parts of the Country were very fruitful, beautiful and pleaſant, as others (particularly out towards *Port Spirito Santo*) barren, full of Lakes, Thickets and Woods of wild Pine-Trees. But *Soto* having now travers'd a great deal of ground, was miſerably blunder'd to find out the golden Country, neither cou'd the *Indian* that firſt inform'd him, and now was his Guide, well tell how to extricate the *Spaniards* out of this Labyrinth. They paſs'd Rivers that were deep and dangerous, and cou'd hardly find any open Way; no Towns neither cou'd they ſee for ſeveral days together, and their Horſes grew weak for want of Fodder, only the Men had ſtill ſome Proviſions left for themſelves. At laſt, after much ſearching, they happen'd to find a Town, which tho' left by all the People almoſt, yet yielded them good ſtore of Maize, a thing they ſtood greatly in need of. Some ſeverities alſo made two or three ſtraggling *Indians* tell them of a great Province call'd *Cutifachiqui*, which lay but two days Journey off; ſo they continued their march thitherwards, and upon the Way met ſome *Indians*, who told them that the Queen of that Country had notice of their arrival, and ſtaid to ſee them in a certain Town of hers. However, as *Soto* march'd, ſhe came on to meet him, and brought him Preſents of what her Country afforded, which were fine Skins, Furrs and Mantles, not to mention Proviſions. She gave him alſo a rich Chain of Pearl, which ſhe took off from her own Neck and put about his. Her Country Soil was rich and fat, had a great deal of good Paſture-ground, fair Meadows, delicate Rivers, and Woods, not ſuch unpaſſable ones as they had met with in other Parts, but pleaſant and eaſie to be travell'd through, and full of Wall-nut and Mulberry Trees: The People were of a handſomer Make, and more civil Manners, than any they had yet ſeen in *Florida*, and all Shod and well Cloath'd too. There were ſeveral great Towns quite void of Inhabitants, and over-run with Graſs, which was occaſion'd (as the *Indians* ſaid) by a Plague that rag'd there, and forc'd them to remove to other Places.

Province of *Cutiſachiqui*

Queen comes to *Soto.*

Store of Pearl.

The Queen ſeeing the *Spaniards* were very fond of Pearl, directed them to ſearch ſome of the Graves of thoſe diſpeopled Towns, and here they found 392 pound weight of them. The Country being ſo good, and likely to afford ſuch plenty of Pearl, the *Spaniards* were willing to take up their Reſidence here, and perſwaded their General to yield to it; but he, who was for finding another Treaſure like that of *Atabalipa*'s, was bent not to make any thing of a Settlement here, till he was ſure he cou'd find no richer Country. The Sea was not above two days Journey from the Town where the *Spaniards* were quarter'd, and they found by ſeveral tokens that ſome Chriſtians had been here before them, which the *Indians* confirm'd as a truth. This was Don *Lucas Vaſquez de Allyon*, who came hither as Governor in *A. D.* 1525. and died here; and his company was entirely diſſolv'd, as well as the deſign fruſtrated, by their own private Quarrels and Diſſentions.

Tho' the Queen of *Cutifachiqui* had us'd the *Spaniards* ſo civilly, yet they cou'd not forbear wronging and oppreſſing her Subjects; which ſhe reſented ſo far, that ſhe reſolv'd to go away, and not furniſh the *Spaniards* with any Guides or Slaves to carry Burdens, as otherwiſe ſhe had deſign'd to do. For this reaſon *Soto* made a Priſoner of her; and going on upon his deſign of finding out Golden Countries, he carried her along with him, uſing her more like a Slave than a Princeſs. But upon the Road ſhe prov'd too cunning for him, and gave him the ſlip; for pretending to go aſide into a Wood to do her Occaſions, ſhe (in company of two or three of her Women) run quite away, never ſtanding to put the complement of a Farewel upon the General. And that which made it ſo much the worſe was, that ſhe took care to take with her a little Cheſt of Pearls, which *Soto* had intended to beg of her if ſhe had ſtaid a little longer, but now ſhe prevented his asking for them. They paſs'd through her Country for 100 Leagues together, through all which way, becauſe ſhe was a Priſoner, ſhe made her Subjects ſerve the *Spaniards*, tho' much againſt their inclinations, after the injuries they had done them; but the Queen was Abſolute, and all her Subjects paid her a moſt profound reſpect. *Soto* having loſt this Prize, proceeded in his march to find out the Province of *Coca*, which he had heard News of while he was in *Cutifachiqui.* And the Provinces he paſs'd in his way thitherward were thoſe of *Chalaque*, a poor and barren Country, the People of which fed upon Roots and Herbs: *Xualla*, one every whit as bad as the former: *Chiaba*, a very fruitful one, abounding with Maize, Mulberries, Nuts, Plumbs, Wall-nuts and Honey. The Cacique entertain'd him with all the freedom in the World, and offer'd himſelf, and his whole Country, to his Service. The Town of *Chiaba* ſtood in an Iſland between two arms of a River, and was ſeated very near to one of them. The River divides it ſelf into theſe two branches, two Croſsbow-ſhot above the Town, and they both join again about a League below the ſame. The Plain between both the branches, is in ſome places one, and in others two Croſsbow-ſhots over; the branches themſelves are broad, but both of them may be waded over. There were all along the ſides of them very good Meadows and Fields ſown with Maize; the Country being ſo fruitful, the *Spaniards* and their Horſes both recruited their ſtrength very well, and became fit for farther travel. The next Province was that of *Coſte*, the *Cacique* of which received the *Spaniards* civilly, but by their own rude Manners they had like here to have run themſelves into danger; for as *Soto*, with 7 or 8 of his Men only went up to the Town to ſee the *Cacique*, ſome other *Spaniards* from the Camp went to ſearching and ranſacking the Houſes, which the *Indians* took ſo ill, that they got good Cudgels and bang'd thoſe Fellows pretty handſomly.

Province of *Chalaque.*

Xualla.

Chiaba.

Coſte.

Spaniards thraſh'd by the *Indians.*

In ſhort, they were all in an uproar, and *Soto* having ſo few Men with him, thought the beſt way to quiet them wou'd be by uſing ſome piece of policy, and therefore he got a Cudgel too, and ſeeming to take the part of the *Indians*, he fell a beating his own Men; and this took ſo with them, that they laid down their Weapons and were quiet. In the mean time he ſent private Orders for ſome more of his Men to march that way, and ſo giving the *Cacique* good words, and holding him in diſcourſe, he drew him on till he had him out of the Town, and within the bounds of the Camp, and then made him and his attendants Priſoners; yet he releas'd them afterwards, without any farther damage, upon their furniſhing him with Guides and Burden-carriers. The next Province was that of *Coca*, the *Cacique* of which came out to meet him, ſitting upon a ſort of Throne carried upon the ſhoulders of ſome of his principal Men; he was cover'd with a Garment of *Marterns*, and had a Crown of Feathers upon his Head, ſeveral *Indians* went about him ſinging and playing upon Flutes. This Country was fat, and rich in Fruits and Corn; and beſides what they uſe to find in other places, here they met with Grapes very large and ſweet. Some of theſe Vines were tall, and run up the Trees abroad in the Fields; others very low, which bore the beſt Grapes, but they were all wild, and for want of digging and dreſſing the Grapes had large kernels in them, very different in that reſpect from what is commonly obſerv'd of that Fruit. *Soto* having ſtaid here ſome time, without finding any thing of what he came to look for, march'd on for the Province of *Taſcaluca*, and as 'twas his cuſtom (moſt commonly at leaſt) to carry the *Cacique* of one Province with him till he came to the next, that they might command their People by the way to come and ſerve the *Spaniards*, ſo he did now, carrying the *Cacique* of *Coca* along with him, and diſcharging him, as he did the reſt, when he had no farther occaſion for them, or reaſon to confine them any longer. The Provinces he paſs'd now were thoſe of *Ulibahali* and *Talliſe*, the principal Towns of which bearing the Names of their reſpective Provinces, were large and populous, and the former fortified with an odd ſort of a Wall which was made of great Poſts driven deep into the ground, and long Rails laid a-croſs them, and daub'd all over with Clay in the inſide and outſide; they ſaw many Towns wall'd after this manner afterwards. Both theſe Countries were fruitful, and the *Caciques* very friendly to the *Spaniards.*

Cacique ſeiz'd.

Soto's way of dealing with the Caciques.

Soto's Journey.

Now they enter'd into the Country of *Taſcaluca*, and march'd till they came within two Leagues of the Town of that Name, where the *Cacique* reſided. The courſe of *Soto*'s Travels thus far lay thus: From *Port Spirito Santo* to *Apalache* 100 Leagues E. & W. from *Apalache* to *Cutifachique* 430 Leagues S. W. & N. E. from *Cutifachiqui* to *Xualla* 250 Leagues N. & S. from *Xualla* to *Coca* 190 Leagues E. & W. from *Coca* to *Taſcaluca* 60 Leagues N. & S.

This Cacique of *Taſcaluca* was a great Prince, Lord of a very large County, and one that very well knew his own Power. *Soto* firſt of all ſent an Officer, with ſome few Horſe, to ſee him: The Cacique ſat in great State under a Canopy, upon an elevated place before his Houſe, and a Circle of his great Men encompaſs'd him round about. He was a Man of heighth and bigneſs more than ordinary, and in ſpite of all his barbarouſneſs diſcover'd a Majeſty that procur'd him reſpect. He ſeem'd not to take much notice of the *Spaniards*, and while they pranc'd their Horſes before him, he look'd upon them with a countenance that ſpoke Scorn and Diſdain. Afterwards, when *Soto* himſelf came to him, he never offer'd at all to ſtir from his Seat; but he made bold to take his Majeſty by the Hand, and ſo they both ſat down together upon a Seat that was under the Cloth of State. In ſhort, for all his Pride and Greatneſs, *Soto* made bold a little farther with him too, and that was to carry him along with him, as he had done others before.

Soto enters *Manilla.*

Spaniards aſſaulted.

Spaniards take the Town.

They were now travelling to *Manilla*, the Capital Town of a Province belonging to a Cacique ſubject to this great one of *Taſcaluca*. This ſubtle Prince pretended to *Soto*, that he wou'd ſend Advice to the Cacique of *Manilla*, that he might provide Victuals and Carriages againſt they came thither, but in reality he order'd him to aſſemble as many Soldiers as he cou'd to fight the *Spaniards* that held him thus a Priſoner. However, the Cacique of *Manilla* came out to meet *Soto*, with his Muſick, and receiv'd him with great ſhews of Joy and Friendſhip; and *Soto*, attended with 10 or 12 of his Men, ventur'd to go into the Town with the two Caciques. Here the Cacique of *Taſcaluca* deſired of *Soto* that he might ſtay in that Town, and not be obliged to go any farther; which he refuſing to grant, the Cacique, upon ſome pretended occaſion, went out of *Soto*'s preſence and got into a Houſe, where he ſtood upon his Guard, and told *Soto* poſitively that he wou'd not go any farther; and more than that, bid him be gone out of his Territories. But it ſeems there was one of the *Spaniards* Captains there by, who hearing the Cacique talk ſo boldly to his General, took hold of the Gown or Mantle he had on, but he ſlipt it over his Ears, and ſo got out of the *Spaniard*'s hands. With that the *Indians* began to ſtir, and the *Spaniard* ſeeing them do ſo, drew his Curtlaſs, and gave the Cacique ſuch a chop along the Back, that he had almoſt laid him open. This put all into an Uproar, and tranſported his Subjects into all the fury and greedy deſire of revenge imaginable. In ſhort, the *Indians* came out, and preſently began to pour ſuch plenty of Arrows upon the *Spaniards*, that *Soto*, with the reſt, were forc'd to endeavour with all ſpeed to make their way out of the Town as well as they cou'd; but ſome of them were kill'd, and all the reſt (even the General himſelf) grievouſly wounded. The *Indians* purſued them too, and light of their Baggage all in a lump, which they brought back into the Town; and here was all their Pearl, and all the fine things they had pick'd up throughout the whole Journey loſt at one ſtroke. To revenge this affront, *Soto* brought up all his Army, both Horſe and Foot, to aſſault the Town; and tho' the *Indians* defended it with as much Valour as the others did attack it with Fury, nay, ſeveral times drove the *Spaniards* out again after they had forc'd their way in, yet at laſt they were run down by the *Spaniſh* Horſe, and the Town fired about their Ears, the Sword and Flames together devouring at leaſt 2500 of them. Of the *Spaniards* there were 18 kill'd, (ſix of which were Men of account) and 150 wounded; but they loſt irrecoverably all their Baggage in the flames that conſumed the Town. All the Trumpery us'd in the Celebration of Maſs was burnt too, but they ſav'd a Prieſt and a Friar that had got into the Town when *Soto* went firſt thither, and cou'd not make their retreat back again to the Camp when he did; and here the *Indians* ſhut them up in the Houſe where they were, and wou'd certainly have practiſed a new ſort of Mortification upon their Carkaſſes, but that they cou'd not get into the Room where they were, for they had barricado'd up the Door, and the Prieſt and the Friar ſtood each with a good luſty Bar in their hands, one of one ſide the Door, and the other of the other, ready to knock down the firſt Man that entred; and the *Indians* that cou'd not come in there, were got to uncovering the Houſe to fall upon them that way, when the *Spaniſh* Troops (in very good time) came to their reſcue. As for the Cacique of *Taſcaluca*, the *Indians* had perſwaded him to retire out of danger, and ſo had conveyed him away before *Soto* came to take his revenge. The Country about *Manilla* is rich and well inhabited, and there are ſeveral great Wall'd Towns lying up and down in it. As ſoon as all the wounded Men were cur'd, *Soto* departed from *Manilla*, and paſs'd through the Province of *Paſallaya*. At ſome places in this, the *Indians* made a brisk oppoſition as they paſs'd the Rivers, and wou'd by no means accept of their Friendſhip, or have any thing to do with them. In the Province of *Chicaca*, to which they came next, they met with a far worſe Entertainment. The Cacique was to all appearance very kind and friendly to them, and ſo were a couple more which he brought to *Soto*, and preſented him with what their Country afforded; but in reality they were their inveterate Enemies, and waited only for an opportunity to fall upon them. But what theſe cou'd not do, their Friend the Cacique of *Chicaca* did for them; for the *Spaniards* lying at that Town, and (tho' they had juſt reaſons of ſuſpicion) neglecting their Watch, the *Indians* came in three or four great Squadrons privately in the Night time, and entring the Town, ſet it on fire in a moment almoſt, and put all into a moſt lamentable confuſion. The *Spaniards* run out without Cloaths or Weapons, their Horſes were ſome of them burnt in the Stables, and others broke their Halters and got looſe; they were ſtunn'd with the noiſe, and ſo blinded with the ſmoke, that they knew not which way to run or go, neither were they capable of obeying any Orders at that time. In a word, had the *Indians* purſued the buſineſs cloſe, and made the fighting part of the Attack anſwerable to the firing part, the *Spaniards* had been quite ruin'd; but they thought the *Spaniards* Horſes that run looſe about had had Men upon their backs, that were driving about to encompaſs them in, and ſo they run away as faſt as they cou'd, having done the firſt part of the miſchief. The *Spaniards* loſt 11 Men, 50 Horſes, and 400 Hogs, in this fire, beſides a great deal of their Cloaths and Warlike Furniture; but to repair the loſs of the latter, *Soto* ſet up a Forge, and made what was neceſſary in that reſpect. The *Indians* made another general Aſſault upon them ſome time after this, but then the *Spaniards* were well encamp'd in a Plain, and keeping a better Watch, they eaſily diſpers'd thoſe *Indian* Squadrons that came to diſturb them. From hence he went through the Province of *Quizquiz*, and came to the Banks of the noted River *Rio Grande*, where he encamp'd, and made Barges for the paſſing of that River; and here they had Maize in plenty. While they lay here, a certain great Cacique that liv'd on the other ſide of the River, came with 200 Canoes full of *Indians*, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and Shields; their Bodies were painted, and they had Plumes of Feathers of ſeveral colours. This Fleet of Canoes came within a ſtones caſt of the ſhore, and there the Cacique and *Soto* enter'd into a Conference; and tho' the former ſaid he came to ſubmit himſelf, and to receive *Soto*'s Commands, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, yet 'twas plain that he came to aſſault him cou'd he have found an opportunity. For he wou'd not be courted to come aſhore; and farther, when he ſaw *Soto* and his Men in ſo good order, and ready for an aſſault, he made all his Canoes give back of a ſudden, and retire from the ſhore, without any thing of compliment or farewel. But the *Spaniards* were civiller than they, for they took leave of them with their Croſsbows, and kill'd ſome of them. Their Canoes were furniſh'd with Tilts, Flags and Plumes, that made a very fine ſhew. *Soto* after this paſs'd over *Rio Grande*, and marching into the Country of this treacherous Cacique he found all the Towns empty of Inhabitants.

Province of *Chicaca*

A dreadful aſſault.

Another aſſault.

Treacherous Cacique.

Caſqui.

Pacaha.

The next Province he came into, which was called *Caſqui*, he met with much better treatment; the People attended his coming peaceably in their Towns, and freely gave him what Proviſions they had. The Country was full of great Towns, and they ſtood ſo cloſe together, that from one Town one had the proſpect of two or three more. 'Twas fruitful too, and yielded abundance of Wallnuts, Plumbs, (many ſorts of them better than thoſe in *Spain*) Mulberries, and Fiſh. The Cacique came forth to receive him with all his principal Men, and offer'd him a ſincere Service, which he did upon all Occaſions as ſincerely pay him. His *Indians* made a Bridge of Trees over a Lake that communicates with the *Rio Grande*, for *Soto* and his Army to paſs, without which they had been at a ſad loſs, becauſe of the depth and ſtrong current of the Water. By this means he was let into the Country of *Pacaha*, the Cacique of which wou'd not ſee nor come near them. Here were alſo abundance of great Towns, and thoſe defended with Walls; the chief Town had ſtrong Walls beſet with Towers, and Loopholes both in the one and the other; it was alſo encompaſs'd very near all round with a Ditch, that was ſupplied with Water from a great Lake adjoining. From this Lake the Cacique had cut a Gut that

opened

Coligoa. Cayas. Salt made.

opened into the *Rio Grande*, and brought the Fiſh from that River into the Lake, where the Cacique kept them for his Recreation; and there was both a vaſt number, and a great variety of Fiſh in it, moſt of which were different from the freſh water Fiſh in *Spain*. *Soto* travell'd from hence Southward, and entred the great and plentiful Country of *Quigante*. The Cacique ſent him Preſents, but wou'd not venture to ſee him; his chief Town was the greateſt they had yet ſeen in *Florida*. From hence he went to the Province of *Coligoa*, which lies to the North Weſt of the former, in the way to which he paſs'd Woods and Deſart places, in many of which there were Lakes and Pools infinitely repleniſh'd with Fiſh, which was the main of their Diet in this Journey. The People of the Country fled from the *Spaniards*; and the Cacique, who was making his eſcape with the reſt, happen'd to be taken by them, together with ſome of his Subjects, of whom *Soto* notwithſtanding demanded no more than Guides and Intelligence. Here was vaſt plenty of Maize, French-beans (better and larger than thoſe in *Spain*) and Pompions, which were alſo extraordinary good. Theſe People informing him of the fruitful Province of *Cayas* that lay to the South, *Soto* proceeded to find it out, and in the way paſs'd through that of *Paliſema*, which afforded him but little Entertainment; there was but very little Maize, neither was the Cacique, or hardly any of the People, to be come at. The Cacique (who run away not out of enmity but pure fear) left his Houſe hung with Deer-skins curiouſly colour'd and wrought, and the floor cover'd with the ſame, for *Soto* to lodge in; and this as a token that he deſired his friendſhip. When they came into the Province of *Cayas*, they found little of that plenty (that was ſpoken of) in any reſpect, except Maize, and that indeed was extraordinary. There was no appearance of ſuch numbers of People neither as the *Indians* of *Coligoa* had hinted. *Soto* found in the way parcels of Deer-skins laid up and down, which the Cacique had order'd to be left there as a ſign of Peace, according to the cuſtom of his Country; this Prince being catch'd by the *Spaniards*, gave a good account of the Province as to the well-peopling of it, but their Eyes did not tell them ſo, and they were forc'd to take the Caciques word for't. This Country yielded them one thing beſides Maize, which they had all along wanted, and that was Salt, which the Natives drew great quantities of from the water of a certain Lake that was warm, of a very brackiſh taſte, and plentifully impregnated with this Mineral; 'tis one of their beſt Commodities, and they exchange it with other People for Skins and Mantles.

Soto's Travels thus far are to be computed in this manner, beginning at the Province of *Teſcaluca*, where the laſt account of them ended. From *Taſcaluca* to *Rio Grande* 300 Leagues, a low Country, and full of Lakes. From the Province on the other ſide *Rio Grande* to *Pacaha* about 50 Leagues, and the Country more open, airy and champion, and the beſt Peopled in *Florida*. From *Pacaha* to *Quigante* 100 Leagues. From *Quigante* to *Coligoa* 40 Leagues. From *Coligoa* to *Cayas* as many; and in moſt of theſe places 'tis a plain Country, the Woods not thick and troubleſome, and the Fields fruitful and pleaſant.

A tiamque.

Soto having ſtaid ſome time at *Cayas*, went away to find out the Province of *Autiamque*; this lies to the South Eaſt of the former, and is a fruitful and plentiful Country, at leaſt in all thoſe reſpects that any Countries in *Florida* have had a character already. The *Indians* voided the Town of *Autiamque* before the *Spaniards* came into it, and the Cacique abſented himſelf and wou'd not appear. *Soto* found this ſo good a place, that he took up his Winter Quarters here, and fortify'd his Camp ſo as to lie ſecure from all attempts of the *Indians*. The great Game they had while they lay here was catching of Conies, of which there were a vaſt number, and one ſort particularly as large every way as the greateſt Hares, but of the ſame colour and make with the *Spaniſh* Conies. Here *Soto* had the misfortune to loſe *Ortiz* (of whom we ſpoke before) which was no ſmall loſs, becauſe having liv'd ſo long in *Florida*, he knew a great many of the Languages, and ſerv'd for an Interpreter wherever they came. Upon this account he was confin'd from travelling far into the Land for the time to come; his Troops alſo were ſadly ſhrunk, and all the Horſes almoſt dead, and thoſe that were alive but in ill caſe, having gone a Year unſhod for want of Iron.

Nilco. Ayas.

From *Autiamque* therefore he march'd towards the Country of *Nilco*, deſigning to come to the Sea as ſoon as poſſible, in order to the getting ſome Supplies of Men and Horſes from *Cuba*. He paſs'd through the Province of *Ayas*, where he had a bad Journey on't, partly by the great Snows that fell, and partly by the Lakes and Watery Roads and Ways through which he was obliged to go. In the Territories of *Nilco* they found ſeveral great Towns, and moſt of them well repleniſh'd with Maize, French-beans, Wall-nuts and Prunes. The *Indians* wou'd not come at them any where in the Country, nor ſerve them with any Proviſions; and in the chief Town where the Cacique us'd to reſide, they ſet his Houſe afire, becauſe the *Spaniards* ſhou'd not lodge in it, and ſo run away. As for the Cacique himſelf, he ſent *Soto* a Preſent of Pearl, and a Mantle of *Marterns* Skins, but did not think fit to come and bid him welcome into his Country.

Guachoya. Quigalta. Bold Anſwer of the Cacique. Soto's death.

Soto endeavouring now to find out the Sea, came next to the Province of *Guachoya*, and to that part of it that is waſh'd by the *Rio Grande*. The Cacique of this Country came to *Soto*, and brought Proviſions with him; but he of the neighbouring Territories of *Quigalta* was a Man of ſtiffer Humour and higher Mettle. *Soto* having a mind to make this Cacique pay him the ſame reſpect that the others generally had done, ſent to tell him that he was the Son of the heavenly Sun, and that all the Caciques as he came along ſerv'd and obey'd him; but he requeſted his Friendſhip, and therefore wou'd have him come and bring ſome of the good things of his Country with him for a token of that Friendſhip. The Cacique return'd for Anſwer by the ſame Meſſenger, That whereas *Soto* ſaid he was the Son of the Sun, if he wou'd command the great River to dry up he wou'd believe him; and as for all the reſt, for his part he did not uſe to make Viſits to any, but rather all thoſe that had any notice of him came to viſit him, and ſerv'd him too either willingly or by force. And therefore, if he had a mind to ſee him, he muſt come to that Town where he was, which if he did in a peaceable way, he ſhou'd be receiv'd in like manner; but if he came to fight, he wou'd attend him in his Town, being never us'd to ſhrink or turn his back for any Man whatſoever. Had *Soto* been in a good caſe, and wou'd the River have ſuffer'd him to paſs over, he wou'd have gone and tried to cool the courage of this bold Cacique, who ſpoke words to him that he had never heard from any *Indian* before. But Matters were otherwiſe, his Forces were ſadly diminiſh'd, he himſelf was now dangerouſly ill, and the River (in thoſe Parts) was near half a league broad, 16 fathom deep, and run with a very ſwift current. This fretted him extremely, and 'twas a great diſturbance to him that he cou'd no way find out a paſſage to the Sea, nor had no proſpect of coming well out of this Country again. In ſhort, with theſe diſtempers of his Mind, and that of his Body, (which to be ſure was not a little heightned by the other) *Soto* was quite overwheml'd, and died in this Province of *Guachoya*, nominating *Luys Moſcoſco de Alvarado* his Camp-Maſter General and Governour, in his ſtead. There was ſomething to do to conceal his Death from the *Indians*, becauſe 'twas probable they might take ſome advantage by it, for *Soto* had made them believe (at leaſt perſwaded them to it) that the Chriſtians were Immortal; the contrary of which, when they had found by experience, and that in the caſe of the greateſt Man of them all too, they would have been the more encourag'd to make ſome farther Experiments upon their Mortality. The account therefore they gave of the Matter to the *Indians* that enquired after him was this, That he was gone to Heaven, as he us'd to do ſometimes, and becauſe he was to ſtay there a few days about buſineſs, he had for that reaſon ſubſtituted another to govern during his abſence. But, in ſhort, they eaſily gueſs'd the truth, and diſcover'd that his Body was impriſon'd under ground, hard by one of their Town-Gates, inſtead of mounting above the Clouds, and flying up into Heaven; for they obſerv'd the Earth turn'd up there, and made ſigns to one another, intimating they knew who lay there. Upon this account *Moſcoſo* was fain to remove him, and inſtead of the Earth, to give him a burial in the Water; ſo his Body was thrown into the River, and that without any thing of the Ceremony due to ſo great and valiant a Commander.

Indians diſcover the death of Soto.

It ſeems 'tis the Cuſtom in this Country, (as well as in many others both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Worlds) for the Deaths of Lords and Caciques, to be attended with thoſe of Slaves and inferiour Men; for the Cacique of *Guachoya* ſent two *Indians* to *Moſcoſo*, on purpoſe to be Sacrific'd upon the Occaſion of *Soto*'s Death, and to attend and wait upon him where he was now gone, but *Moſcoſo* did not ſend them upon that Errand. The *Spaniards* had now nothing elſe to do but to find their way out of the Country as faſt as they cou'd, ſince he that brought them hither, and kept them here, was gone. They reſolv'd to travel by Land, not putting themſelves to any farther trouble about looking after the Sea, eſpecially ſince they were ſo ill provided for a Voyage, as having neither Ships, Compaſs, Chart, nor Pilot. In purſuance of this reſolution, they march'd through the Provinces of *Aguacay*, *Amay*, *Nagateux*, *Niſſoon*, *Nondacao* and *Soacatina*, even as far as the River of *Daycao*; in which march they were exceedingly harraſs'd and fatigu'd, the *Indians* that they ſeiz'd for Guides leading them many times purpoſely out of the way. And here when they came to this River, they found a poor and a barren Country, cou'd get no Intelligence, nor had no proſpect of continuing their Journey with any manner of ſafety through the Land; ſo that now they were reduc'd to very great diſtreſſes, and cou'd not tell what courſe to take to deliver themſelves. The Journey they had made of it from *Cayas* (where the laſt computation broke off) hither was thus: From *Cayas* to *Autiamque* near 200 Leagues, hilly ground: From *Autiamque* to *Aguacay* 230 Leagues, plain even ground: From *Aguacay* to the River of *Daycao*, where they now were, 120 Leagues, all hilly Country. When they ſaw that there was no going on by Land, they determin'd even to go back again to the Province of *Guachoya* to the *Rio Grande*, (made remarkable by *Soto*'s Death and Burial in it) and there build them ſome Veſſels, ſuch as the Materials they cou'd get wou'd allow, and ſo venture at laſt to Sea. So they travell'd Eaſtward back again, from the River of *Dacayo* to the Country of *Guachoya*, where they had been before, a long and tedious march, eſpecially to be gone twice over to no purpoſe.

They come back to *Rio Grande*.

At a certain place upon this River call'd *Minoya*, they ſpent their Winter, and improv'd it in making ſeven Brigandines, which they had Timber enough for, but were forc'd to caulk with Hemp and Flax: However, as it happen'd, they had ſome good Workmen amongſt them, without which this Project alſo had been of an impoſſible execution, (they muſt have Winter'd in *Florida*) perhaps for ever.

Indian Plots.

While they ſtaid here, 18 or 20 of the Caciques about them form'd a Deſign of aſſaulting them, and had a great force of Men ready for that purpoſe; but *Moſcoſo* diſcover'd the Plot in good time, and letting the *Indians* know as much, they were afraid to give them any diſturbance.

When the time of Year was come for ſailing, they went aboard their Veſſels, and ſail'd down the *Rio Grande* from *Minoya*, and were 17 days before they came to the Sea, the diſtance run being about 250 Leagues. Near the Sea that River is divided into two arms, each of them a League and half broad; it runs with a violent ſtream into the Sea, and the Coaſt is ſo ſhallow and gentle, that the freſh Water enters a great way into the ſalt. Providence favour'd them in their Voyage ſo, that after 52 days ſailing they came ſafely into the River *Panuco*, the number of them then living being 311, and the time that they were out, from *A. D.* 1539. to *A. D.* 1543.

Thus we have ſeen how unfortunate *Florida* has been to the *Spaniards*; but *Peru* and *Mexico* were ſo very kind and fortunate to them, that they might eaſily forgive this for being otherwiſe.

CHAP. XVII.

A brief Account of ſome of the firſt French *Voyages to the Northern Parts of* America.

Firſt Expedition.

IN *A. D.* 1524. one *John Verrazano* a *Florentine*, was ſent out by King *Francis* the Third, and the Queen Regent his Mother, who is ſaid to have made Diſcoveries from the 28th to the 50th degr. N. L. upon which ſcore ſome of the *French* Nation have pretended a Right to all that Coaſt, and made their *New France* almoſt as big as all *Europe* beſides. Wherein 'tis certain, that they are very greatly miſtaken, ſince all that Land, and much more, had long before been diſcover'd by Sir *Sebaſtian Cabot* for the King of *England*, and he was without doubt the firſt that ſet foot upon the *American* Continent on the behalf of any Chriſtian Prince; and this he did *A. D.* 1496. or, as others will have it, in 1497.

Cabot the firſt Diſcoverer.

Second Expedition.

In *A. D.* 1562. that famous Admiral of *France* Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, ſent Monſieur *Ribalt* to diſcover the Coaſt of *Florida*, and the adjoining Parts. He arriv'd at *Cape Francis* in *Florida*, which lies in 30 degrees; to which *Cape* he gave that Name, as alſo to the River there the Name of *May*, and to ſeveral other Rivers the Names of ſome known in *France*. He built a Fort and furniſh'd it with Proviſions, and ſo leaving a Colony there he came home again; but thoſe left behind, tho' the *Indians* were kind to them, cou'd not be kind to one another, but mutiny'd and fought, and at laſt all came away, being like to be famiſh'd ere they reach'd *England*, where they went aſhore.

French fall out.

Third Expedition.

The ſame Admiral procur'd the King to ſend three Ships more to the ſame Coaſt, in *A. D.* 1564. under the command of Monſieur *Laudonniere*, who went aſhore about 10 Leagues from *Cape Francis*, and the *Indians* received him with a great deal of kindneſs.

Silver.

Some Parts or other of this Country affords Silver, for *Laudonniere* had a wedge of Silver preſented him, which was ſaid to come from the Province of *Thimogoa*; tho' we hear of no particular diſcovery made of that Province. Only this is ſaid too, that ſome of the *French* Soldiers aſſiſting one of the Savage Kings in his Wars, brought away with them ſome quantities both of Gold and Silver, but how much, or from whence, they don't tell us.

Strange Lightning.

A great Lightning happened here, which burnt up 500 Acres of Land, and kill'd all the Fowl thereabouts; and after it follow'd ſo violent a heat, that the Fiſh in the River of *May* died with it by whole Cart loads, and from the putrefaction of them proceeded ſeveral grievous diſeaſes. The Savages believed the *French* had done all this miſchief with their great Guns, and that that was the Lightning that killed the Fowl in the Air, and made the Fiſh die in the Rivers.

Old Man.

They ſaw here a Wonder of Old Age that deſerves to be remember'd, a Man with ſix Generations deſcended from his own Loins, he himſelf being almoſt 300 Years old, and his immediate Son near 250. The *French* ruin'd their Deſigns here again by Mutinies, Diviſions and Quarrels amongſt themſelves; ſome run away to the *Spaniards* at *Cuba*, and others ſtaid where they were, living in great diſtreſs for want of Proviſion, even to the next degree to downright ſtarving. But Sir *John Hawkins* happening to come thither with 4 *Engliſh* Ships, was ſo charitable as to afford *Laudonniere* and his company one for their Tranſportation home. But as they were preparing for their Voyage, in comes Monſieur *Ribalt* with 7 Sail from *France*, which the Admiral had ſent for the recruit and maintaining of the Colony there. This put a ſtop to the Voyage, and the *French* were now in hopes of getting the Gold Mines of *Apalatci* into their hands, (ſome proofs of which they had ſeen) when a Fleet of 7 *Spaniſh* Ships, guided by one of the runaway *Frenchmen*, came to drive them all away. As for *Laudonniere*, he made his eſcape, and came home ſafe to *France*; but *Ribalt* was firſt wrack'd, and afterwards Maſſacred, with all his company, by the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* ſtrengthned themſelves here with three Forts, one begun by the *French*, and two others built by themſelves; but they horribly exaſperated the Natives here, as they do every where, and prepar'd them for revenge. But this kindneſs of the *Spaniards* was well requited by the *French* in *A.D.* 1567. under the Command of Monſieur *Gourges*, who coming with three Ships, made a League with ſeveral of the Savage Kings, took all the Forts, and kill'd all the *Spaniards*. And to obſerve the *Lex talionis* in all points, he hang'd abundance of the *Spaniards* upon the very ſame Tree on which the *French* had hung a Year or two ago: And the *Spaniſh* Admiral had written over the *French* in great Letters, *I do not this*

French quarrels.

Fourth Expedition.

Spaniards drive them out.

Fifth Expedition.

French drive out the *Spaniards*.

Lex talionis.

as to Frenchmen *but as to* Lutherans; ſo *Gourges* likewiſe writ over the *Spaniards* Heads, *I do not this as to* Spaniards, *but as to Robbers and Murderers.* He raz'd all the Forts, not having Men to keep them, and ſo came home to *France*, where he was ill rewarded by his Prince, tho' the Voyage was undertaken at his own, not the publick Coſt; he was forc'd to hide himſelf, (the King of *Spain* had ſo poſſeſs'd the *French* King in his prejudice) but in *England* he met with good Entertainment from Queen *Elizabeth*.

Cartier's Voyages.

One *Jaques Cartier*, in *A. D.* 1534. ſet out from St. *Malo* with two Ships, and came to *Newfoundland* and *Bird-Iſland*, which receives its Name from the incredible multitude of Birds of ſeveral ſorts found there. *Cartier* ſeems to have done no more this time than the finding out theſe two Iſlands; however, the next Year, he went out again with three Ships, and came to *St. Lawrence's Bay*, to *Canada* and *Hochelaga*. After this the King of *France* ſent him again, in *A. D.* 1540. as alſo *Francis de la Roche*, Lord of *Robewall*, to be his Lieutenant in *Canada*. This latter went in *A. D.* 1542. but only built a Fort and Winter'd there, and then came back; ſo that the *French*, as yet, had little or no footing in theſe Parts of the World.

CHAP XVIII.

An Account of a Voyage to Canada, *by* Samuel Champlain: *Dedicated to* Charles de Montmorencie *Lord High Admiral of* France.

A.D. 1603

THE Voyage thither contains no remarkable Occurrence, except that only of the vaſt Banks of Ice they met with. They were indeed rather ſo many floating Iſlands, being big enough for the Habitations of many thouſands of Animals, and many Iſlands in the World are well inhabited that are leſs than they. There were two of them particularly that were above 8 Leagues long; one of which they ſaw when they were between 44 and 45 degr. N. L.

Tadouſac Port.

The Port they firſt anchor'd in the Country was that of *Tadouſac*, which is form'd like a Creek in the entrance of the River of *Saguenay*. It is but a ſmall Port, and lies open to the S. and S. S. E. Winds; but there is Water enough to the Eaſtward, towards the opening of the River of *Saguenay*, along by a Hill, which is almoſt cut off from the Main by the Sea. At the entrance of it there are two Points, the one on the Weſt-ſide, which runs a League into the Sea, called *St. Matthews Point*, the other on the S. E. ſide, containing a quarter of a League, which they call the *Point of all the Devils*. Theſe two Points are very near a League aſunder, and are dry at Low water. They brought along with them a couple of Savages, which had formerly been carried from this Country into *France*, and very well uſed there; for this end particularly, that they might commend the bounty and kindneſs of the *French* Nation to their Countrymen at home, and ſo make way for their Settlement in the Country.

Great Feaſt.

The great *Sagamo*, or Savage King, was at their arrival engaged in a great Feaſt at the *Point of St. Matthews*, and there 'twas that the *French* had their firſt Conference with him. The Savage that was to tell the ſtory of their good uſage in *France*, and of that Prince's deſires to plant his Subjects amongſt them, did it ſo effectually, that *Anadabijou*, the Grand *Sagamo*, was dighly pleas'd, and eaſily granted all; and all the reſt of the *Sagamos* expreſs'd their good will and liking of it too. They were at this time celebrating a Feaſt for an advantage lately obtain'd over the *Iroqueze* their Enemies, about one hundred of whoſe Heads they had brought along with them, the better to grace the Ceremony. In the great Cabbin where they were met together, they had 8 or 10 ſeveral Fires about 6 paces diſtant from one another, over every one of which were hung a Kettel full of ſome ſort of fleſh, either Wild Fowl, Bever, Bear, Seal, or Orignac, which is like an Ox. While Dinner was dreſſing, one took a Dog and danc'd with it about the Kettels, which ſtood in the middle of the Cabbin; and when he came by the great *Sagamo*, he threw the Dog down upon the ground, at which all, with one conſent, cried ho! ho! ho! Which done, that Man went and ſat down in his place again, and another riſe up and did the like; and thus they ſpent the time till their Victuals was ready. When they went to eating, every Man had his Diſh before him made of the Bark of a Tree, and a certain Perſon that Carv'd gave to every one his Portion. When their hands were greaſie, they wip'd them either upon the hair of their own heads, or that of their Dogs backs. After Dinner they went out to dancing, and to expreſs the greater joy, did it with the Heads of their Enemies in their hands. In theſe dances they uſe no great motion, but do more by odd geſtures and turnings of their Bodies than any thing elſe. When the Men began to ſing, all the Women and Maids, which ſat down in ranks by one another, ſtarted up of a ſudden, and threw off their Mantles of Skins, ſtripping themſelves as naked as ever they were born; and when the Song was ended, and the Men with one voice cried ho! ho! ho! the Women and Maids ſat down again in their places, and cover'd themſelves with their Mantles; and theſe odd actions they repeated ſeveral times. Theſe People are of an Olive colour, more by reaſon of the paint they uſe than by Nature; they are generally of very good ſhape and well-proportion'd. Their Habit is Skins and Furrs, with which they are entirely cover'd in the Winter, but in Summer only a part of their Bodies. At that time alſo they make a ſort of Rackets, which they faſten to their feet, that they may go over the Snow without ſinking. In the ſevere Winter-Seaſons they are bitterly pinch'd for Proviſions, becauſe abundance of the Animals they live upon retire themſelves into warmer Climates. They have much more Senſe and Ingenuity than many of the *Americans* have, but are revengeful, falſe and treacherous. In their Conſults and Debates, only the Ancients are preſent; and 'tis a cuſtom with them to ſtop in their Speeches, and think a while, and then go on again. As for Religion, they believe one God, one Mother, one Son, and one Sun in the Firmament, but that God is above all the reſt. There's little ſign of any external Worſhip or Devotion amongſt them; and the great *Sagamo* gave this account of the matter, That every one pray'd in his Heart what he thought good. And concerning the Original of Mankind, their Faith is, That when God had made all things elſe, he took a bundle of Arrows and ſtuck them into the ground, from whence grew Men and Women.

Diverſion before Dinner.

Habit.

Manners and Religion.

Devotion.

Marriage.

Marriage amongſt them is a Woman's making choice of that Man for her conſtant Companion and Bedfellow that ſhe has made trial of before, for 4, 5, or 6 Years, more or leſs as ſhe pleaſes. And as ſhe has the liberty of trying a great many, ſo 'tis paſt all doubt that ſhe takes him whom ſhe finds the moſt agreeable Companion during the time of his Probation.

Funerals.

In their Funerals they do no more than put the dead Body into a great hole in the ground, together with all the Goods and Houſhold-ſtuff belonging to them; ſo that this is not only a burial of Bodies, but of Pots, Pans, Kettles, and the like Lumber. When their Friends are dead, they ſay they are gone into far diſtant Countries, to rejoice with their Relations and Acquaintance. Monſieur *Champlain* preach'd the main Points of the Chriſtian Religion to them, and tho' they were patient hearers, and approvers of that Law, yet he does not tell as that any of them proceeded ſo far as to be doers of it, and to renounce their own barbarous Rites and Cuſtoms.

Houſes.

The Cabbins or Houſes theſe People dwell in are low, made like Tents, and cover'd with the Bark of a Tree, only they leave an open place in the Roof, about a foot wide, to let the light in upon them; they make ſeveral fires in the middle of them, and there are many times eight or ten Houſholds together in one Cabbin. They lie upon Skins promiſcuouſly by one another, and the Dogs lie by their Maſters ſides upon the ſame Couches.

Their Canoes are made of the Bark of the Birch-tree, and are ſtrengthened within with ſeveral little circles of Wood; we ſuppoſe they mean Hoops, or ſomething of that nature. They are ſo very light, that a Man may carry one of them eaſily, and the Natives very frequently do ſo, when they have occaſion to paſs any Land from one River to another. They are 8, 9 or 10 paces long, and half broad in the middle, but they grow narrower towards the ends; there are but two that row in them, and thoſe are the Man and his Wife.

River of *Saguenay*.

As for the actions of the *French* in the Country this time, they made ſome diſcoveries both of the River of *Saguenay*, in the mouth of which the Town of *Tadouſac* ſtands, and alſo of the great River of *Canada*. As for the former, they went no farther than 10 or 12 Leagues up it, and ſo came not near the great fall, which by report is between 40 and 50 Leagues from *Tadouſac*. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that beyond the great fall there are various others, and then ſeveral Lakes communicating with one another by intermediate Rivers; the fartheſt of all which Lakes are properly the head of this River *Saguenay*. As far as they went they found the Country mountainous and rocky on both ſides the River, the Soil unpleaſant, and all the Iſlands in the River meer deſart ground, and inhabited by nothing but a few ſmall Birds. But their Voyage in queſt of the fall of the great River of *Canada* was more conſiderable, in order to which they ſet out of *Tadouſac* and paſs'd by *Hare-Iſland*, the *Iſland of Filberds*, and the *Iſland of Orleans*; the former of theſe is about 7 Leagues from *Tadouſac*, and contains nothing remarkable. The ſecond is pleaſant and wooddy, has ſtore of Slate, and a good gravel Soil; it's within two Leagues of *Hare-Iſland*. The *Iſland of Orleans* is a ſmooth level, and delightful ſpot, and about 8 Leagues long; 'tis dangerous paſſing by the North-ſide of it, becauſe of the Banks of Sand and Rocks that lie between it and the main Land, where 'tis almoſt dry at low Water.

Iſland Orlean.

Quebec.

After this they came to an Anchor at *Quebec*, which is a Streight of the ſaid River of *Canada*, which is ſome 300 paces broad. Excepting one very high Mountain on the North-ſide of the Streight, the Country is plain and level, full of fine grounds beſet with Oaks, Birches, Firrs, Cypreſſes, Wild Vines, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruit-bearing Trees.

Diamonds.

The *French* ſay alſo, that along the Coaſt of *Quebec* there are Diamonds in the Rocks of Slate, which are better than thoſe of *Alonſon*; from *Quebec* to the Iſland of *Filberds* are 29 Leagues. Beyond *Quebec* the River grows wider and wider, in ſome places a League broad, in others a League and half, in others two Leagues, which is the moſt. The proſpect of the Country grows alſo pleaſanter ſtill, and you ſee all low Champion grounds, which promiſe ſomething of Fruitfulneſs conſiderable.

The North Coaſt is full of Rocks and Banks of Sand, and therefore ſailing that way you muſt take the South-ſide, and go about half a League from the ſhore. From *Quebec* they ſail'd to St. *Croix*, which is 15 Leagues farther, and the Country continues ſtill the ſame pleaſing proſpect, the ground level, and abundance of good Fruit-trees, beſides plenty of Woods which ſtand well to the eye; the Soil is black and ſoft, and only wants Art and Induſtry to improve it to very good purpoſe.

River of the *Iroqueze*.

They kept ſtill Coaſting on by the North ſhore, and came to the mouth of the River of *Iroqueze*, in which courſe they had a view of various little Iſlands, Lakes and Rivers, too many to claim a particular deſcription; but this is obſervable, that the Land for the moſt part yielded much the ſame pleaſant proſpect as before, and the Vines and Wallnut-trees, which were in abundance, made it manifeſt 'twas not a barren Soil.

The River of the *Iroqueze* runs with a very rapid Current, inſomuch that their attempts to go up it were fruſtrated; it is at leaſt 3 or 400 paces broad, and has ſeveral Iſlands in it. Proceeding on towards the fall of the great River of *Canada*, they diſcover'd abundance of Iſlands, many of which were extremely pleaſant and fruitful, eſpecially them towards the South Coaſt, where they found in ſome of them moſt ſorts of the ſmaller Fruits, as Strawberries, Rasberries, Gooſeberries, with many others they did not know: As alſo for Animals, Does, Conies, Bears, Bevers, Otters, with a great many other kinds they had not ſeen before. When they came to the entrance of the fall, they found an Iſland almoſt in the very middle of that entrance on the South-ſide of which they paſs'd, and tho' they quickly began to find the ſwift current of the Water, yet they found it withal extremely low and ſhallow, ſometimes not exceeding 5, 4, or 3 foot: Abundance of Rocks and little Iſlands alſo lie ſcatter'd about in the River, many of which are juſt even with the water. Upon all theſe accounts they ſaw there was no going farther in the Pinnace, and ſo the Skiff was made ready, in which the Author, with one or two more, and a few of the Savages for their Guides, attempted to purſue the diſcovery of the fall: And they went ſo far as to be able to give this account of it, That the water runs with a force and ſwiftneſs that is very ſurprizing, yet the fall is as it were ſtep by ſtep, and the depth ſometimes not above one or two fathom, and never above three fathom. The breadth is about a League, and there are abundance of Rocks and Iſlands up and down in it, particularly in the middle there are ſeveral long narrow Iſlands, that make the fall divide it ſelf into two others, one to the North, and the other to the South-ſide, both which are very dangerous for any Skiff or Boat, tho' ever ſo ſmall, to paſs, and nothing but the light Canoes of the Savages can poſſibly do it. The *French* went aſhore and travell'd a while by the River, to ſee if they could find the end of the fall, and having gone about a League, they found no more Rocks, nor any thing of ſuch a fall as before, but the water continued running with a ſtrange ſwiftneſs, and that current (as the *Indians* ſaid) held on for 3 or 4 Leagues.

Great fall of the River of *Canada*.

Account given by the Natives.

The Savages alſo inform'd them, that after this firſt great fall, there are ſeveral others to be paſs'd, and ſo through a continuation of Falls and Lakes, (many of which communicates with one another by Rivers, and are vaſtly large and wide) ſome of them had paſs'd a great way in their Canoes, but they had not ſeen the end of it, nor how far they cou'd have gone that way. The firſt fall to which the *French* came lies in 45 degrees N. L. and according to all that they cou'd gather from the deſcriptions of the Savages, they found it muſt be near 400 Leagues from thence to the South Sea.

Other Voyages of the *French*.

After this they return'd to *Tadouſac*, from thence they ſet out again ſailing to *Gachepay*, the *Bay of Cods*, the *Iſland of Percee*, and the *Bay of Heat*, but in this Courſe they made no remarkable Obſervations nor Diſcoveries. *Gachepay* is ſcituated about 100 Leagues from *Tadouſac*, in a fair Bay about 7 or 8 Leagues long, and 4 broad in the mouth. Theſe Bays are not very far diſtant from one another, and all of them (as alſo the *Iſland Percee*) are places for green and dry Fiſh.

They ſaw nothing of Gold or Silver in all their progreſſes, at leaſt they would not tell of it if they did, only there were ſome ſuſpicions of a Silver-Mine near a certain Bay in about 44 degrees S.L. within 5 or 6 Leagues of the South Coaſt. Copper-Mines there certainly were in the Country, as particularly near the River of *Souricoua*, where their Countryman Monſieur *Prevert* had been to make trial of them, as he himſelf inform'd them at the *Iſland of Percee*, from which place 'tis not difficult to find the way to the River of *Souricoua*. With this Perſon they return'd back again into *France*, where whatſoever Diſcoveries they made to their own Prince, they do not think to tell the World any more.

Copper-Mines.

CHAP.

Chap. XIX.

Monſieur Monts's *Voyage into* New France; *Written by* Mark Leſcarbot.

The French *King's Patent granted to Monſieur* de Monts, *for the Planting of* Canada, *&c.*

‘Henry, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarre*. To our dear and well-beloved the Lord of *Monts*, one of the ordinary Gentlemen of our Chamber, greeting. As our greateſt care and labour is, and hath always been, ſince our coming to this Crown, to maintain and conſerve it in the ancient dignity, greatneſs and ſplendour thereof, to extend and amplify, as much as lawfully may be done, the bounds and limits of the ſame. We being, of a long time, informed of the ſituation and condition of the Lands and Territories of *La Cadia*, moved above all things, with a ſingular zeal, and devout and conſtant reſolution, which we have taken, with the help and aſſiſtance of God, Author, Diſtributer, and Protector of all Kingdoms and Eſtates, to cauſe the People, which do inhabit the Country, Men (at this preſent time) Barbarous, Atheiſts, without Faith or Religion, to be converted to Chriſtianity, and to the Belief and Profeſſion of our Faith and Religion; and to draw them from the ignorance and unbelief wherein they are. Having alſo of a long time known by the Relation of the Sea Captains, Pilots, Merchants and others, who of long time have haunted, frequented and trafficked with the People that are found in the ſaid places, how fruitful, commodious and profitable may be unto us, to our Eſtates and Subjects, the Dwelling, Poſſeſſion, and Habitation of thoſe Countries, for the great and apparent profit which may be drawn by the greater frequentation and habitude which may be had with the People that are found there, and the Traffick and Commerce which may be by that means ſafely treated and negotiated. We then for theſe cauſes fully truſting on your great Wiſdom, and in the Knowledge and Experience that you have of the quality, condition and ſituation of the ſaid Country of *La Cadia*, for divers and ſundry Navigations, Voyages and Frequentations that you have made into thoſe Parts, and others near and bordering upon it, aſſuring our ſelves that this our reſolution and intention, being committed unto you, you will attentively, diligently, and no leſs couragiouſly and valorouſly, execute, and bring to ſuch perfection as we deſire, have expreſly appointed and eſtabliſhed you, and by theſe Preſents, ſigned with our own hands, do commit, ordain, make, conſtitute and eſtabliſh you, our Lieutenant-General, for to repreſent our Perſon, in the Countries, Territories, Coaſts and Confines of *La Cadia*, to begin from the 40th degree unto the 46th, and in the ſame diſtance, or part of it, as far as may be done, to eſtabliſh, extend, and make to be known our Name, Might and Authority. And under the ſame to ſubject, ſubmit and bring to obedience, all the People of the ſaid Land and the Borderers thereof: And by the means thereof, and all lawful ways, to call, make, inſtruct, provoke and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the Faith and Chriſtian Religion, to eſtabliſh it there: And in the exerciſe and profeſſion of the ſame, keep and conſerve the ſaid People, and all other Inhabitants in the ſaid places, and there to command in peace, reſt and tranquillity, as well by Sea as by Land: to ordain, decide, and cauſe to be executed all that which you ſhall judge fit and neceſſary to be done, for to maintain, keep and conſerve the ſaid places under our Power and Authority, by the forms, ways and means preſcribed by our Laws. And for to have there a care of the ſame with you, to appoint, eſtabliſh, and conſtitute all Officers, as well in the Affairs of War, as for Juſtice and Policy, for the firſt time, and from thence forward to name and preſent them unto us, for to be diſpoſed by us, and to give Letters, Titles, and ſuch Proviſoes as ſhall be neceſſary, *&c.*

Given at Fountain-bleau *the eighth day of* November, *in the Year of Our Lord* 1603. *and of our Reign the fifteenth. Signed* Henry, *and underneath by the King,* Potier. *And ſealed upon a ſingle Label with yellow Wax.*

Monſieur *de* Monts *not alone in the Voyage.*

THO' Monſieur *de Monts* Name be only mentioned in this Title and Patent, yet we muſt know that ſeveral others were concern'd in the Voyage as well as him, and as they were all Men of ſome note, ſo the courſe of the Story will make it appear that what he did, as to the point of Diſcovery, was but little in compariſon with what they did.

March, A. D. 1604.

There went along with him Monſieur *Poutrincourt* and Monſieur *Champlain*, he whoſe Voyage was deliver'd juſt before. They had no more than two Ships, and tho' they ſet out at a time of Year when contrary Winds were hardly to be expected by thoſe that ſail to thoſe Parts, yet they were diſtreſs'd with them ſo far, as to render their Voyage much more long and tedious than otherwiſe it wou'd have been.

Cape de Sable.

Being come as far as *Sand-Iſland*, they ſail'd to the South of it, and came to *Cape de Sable*, and from thence to the *Bay of St. Mary*, which they commend for a very commodious place to dwell in, and ſay alſo that there are both Iron and Silver Mines there.

Port-Royal a fine place.

From hence they proceeded to a great Bay which is 40 Leagues long, and 14 at leaſt broad, and which they call'd *La Bay Francoiſe*, or the *French Bay*. Here they found a moſt delectable Port, to which they gave the Name of *Port-Royal*; 'tis 8 Leagues in Circuit, defended with Mountains on the North-ſide, and on the South with ſmall Hills which pour out a thouſand fine ſtreams, that renders the place extremely pleaſant. On the Eaſt, between the Mountains and the Hills, is a River in which the Ships may ſail 15 Leagues and more, and on the Banks on both ſides is nothing but fair Meadows all the way; this they call'd the River *Le Equille*.

Copper-Mine.

From *Port-Royal* they ſail'd to the Copper-Mines, mentioned in Monſieur *Champlain*'s Voyage. This was a high Rock between two Bays; the Copper appear'd very fair and pure, and the *French* Goldſmiths fancied a Golden Mine might be at the bottom. There was ſome ſtore of Diamonds too about theſe Rocks, tho' not warranted for fine; and a certain ſort of blue Stones, which they reckon'd not leſs valuable than Turqueſes.

River of *St. John*, and the conveniency of it.

From the Copper-Mines they came to the River of *St. John*, the Country along by which is very fruitful and pleaſant, full of Vines, and other good Plants and Trees. This River affords a good conveniency for a Correſpondence between *Port-Royal* and the great River of *Canada*, for People may hear of one another this way in 16 or 17 days, which they can't do by the way of the Sea in a Month, nor then neither without danger; for in 6 days time they go to *Gachepay* by the Bay or Gulph of *Chaleur*, and in 8 days they may go to *Tadouſac* by a branch of this River coming from the N. W.

St. Croix.

Leaving the River of *St. John* they ſail'd to *St. Croix*, which is 20 Leagues diſtant, and here they reſolv'd to make their abode for ſome time. This Iſland is half a League in compaſs, and the mark to diſcover it is three or four Mountains topping one another upon the ſides, but at the North end only one ſharp pointed one, from whence the River runs down. Right over againſt the Iſland are ſtore of moſt pleaſant freſh water Brooks, and the Soil there is very rich and fat, and needs little Tillage to make it yield fair crops of Corn; for Monſieur *Monts* ſow'd ſome Rye, which he was forc'd to leave there ungather'd, but two Years after ſome of the company found a glorious crop there, which had ſprung up from the grains that had fallen into the ground.

Monſieur *Poutrincourt* ſail'd away from hence into *France*, leaving Monſieur *Monts* and his company here; but terrible illneſſes forc'd him and them to remove from hence alſo into other Quarters, which they ſet out to ſeek as ſoon as the rough Seaſon was over. They wanting a more warm and temperate Dwelling, went to the Southern Parts to find it out. The Voyage they made in order to it was 120 Leagues, from *St. Croix* to the River *Kinnibeki* 60 Leagues, the Coaſt lying Eaſt and Weſt; and from *Kinnibeki* to *Malebarre* 60 Leagues more, the Coaſt lying North and South. The People that lie from *St. Johns* River as far as *Kinnibeki* are called *Etechemins*, and thoſe from *Kinnibeki* to *Malebarre* go by the Name of *Armouchiquois*, an odd ſort of People, as we ſhall ſee afterwards.

Voyage to *Malebarre.*

Tho' the Country hereabouts was more agreeable and temperate than that from which they remov'd, yet they ſtaid here but a ſmall time; for Monſieur *du Pont*, who had been with Monſieur *Champlain* in theſe Parts before, arriving from *France* with Recruits of freſh Men for Monſieur *de Monts*, they agreed all to return back to *Port-Royal*, and make that their Reſidence, till they had carried on the Diſcovery of the Country farther, and found ſome more profitable or inviting place. This deſign they put in execution; and being come thither, Monſieur *de Monts*, and ſome of the company, return'd in the Ships to *France*, leaving Monſieur *du Pont* and the reſt, amongſt whom the chief were Monſieur *Champlain* and Monſieur *Champdore*, Men acquainted with the Country, and very uſeful in the conduct of the Affairs of the Colony. At parting Monſieur *de Monts* made Monſieur *du Pont* a promiſe, that he would ſend him the following Year new Supplies from *France* to *Port-Royal*, where he was to ſtay the limited time in expectation of them. And here it may be ſaid that they had a pretty good Correſpondence and Traffick with the Savages for Otters, Bevers, Stags, and ſuch like things. But he cou'd hardly fadge here any more than Monſieur *Monts* had done at *St. Croix*, for ſome of his Men died, and what with one diſaſter or another, having ſpent the moſt part of the appointed time here, he built him a Bark, and one or two Shallops, with which he reſolv'd to go to ſome of the places where the *French* uſe to dry their Codfiſh, to get a paſſage by thoſe Ships into *France*, if his Recruits did not come in due time.

Come to *Port-Royal* again.

Monſieur *Poutrincourt*'s Voyage to *Canada* a ſecond time.

Now Monſieur *de Monts* had taken care the mean while to furniſh out a Ship for this Voyage, into which Monſieur *Poutrincourt* alſo put himſelf, reſolving to try this Country once more; the Writer of this ſtory too (Monſieur *Leſcarbot*) came over at the ſame time. Their Voyage contain'd nothing remarkable in it, but only the account of the mighty Banks of Ice which are brought down from the North to the Seas of *Newfoundland* and *Labradore*. That which they call the great Bank is (as the Author affirms, but more from common eſtimation than his own particular knowledge) 200 Leagues long, and 18, 20, or 24 Leagues broad; and here 'tis that the great fiſhing for Cods goes on. The mark by which the Seamen know they are near it is a multitude of Birds, the chief of which are thoſe call'd by the *French* Hapfoyes, or Liver-catchers, becauſe they ſo greedily devour the Livers of the Codfiſh that are thrown into the Sea; and 'tis certain that they are ſo fond of that ſort of Meat, that they will venture into any danger for it; nay, tho' a Poll were lifted up over their Heads to knock them down, yet they wou'd have a pull at their beloved Liver.

Monſieur *du Pont* was gone from *Port-Royal* before they came thither, having left two *Frenchmen* only for the preſervation of the Stores of Meat and Merchandize repos'd there; neither did they ſcruple to venture themſelves there, amongſt a Nation of Savages, to do this Service to their Country. Before they had been here long, Monſieur *du Pont* (who was gone to find out ſome *French* Ships, and had had tidings of their being at *Port-Royal*) came hither to them; and after ſome time ſpent together, the two companies parted again, Monſieur *du Pont*, and ſome with him, for *France*, and Monſieur *Poutrincourt* in queſt of ſome Southern Region beyond *Malebarre*, where they might meet with all conveniences for a Plantation.

Du Pont goes to *France*.

The Author, and ſome others, were left at *Port-Royal* in the mean time, where they liv'd in very great plenty, having Bread-Corn, Peaſe and Beans, Rice, Raiſins, Oil and Butter, of their own; and the Country afforded Wild-geeſe and Ducks, Larks, and other good Fowl, Deer, Sturgeon, Salmon; and, in a word, any Fiſh or Fleſh that the Savages cou'd procure, for whatever Game came into their hands they wou'd commonly bring the *French* half of it.

Monſieur *Poutrincourt* ſailed to the Iſland of *St. Croix*, and from thence to *Kinnibeki*, and ſo on to the Bay of *Marchin*. Here many kindneſſes paſs'd reciprocally between the *French* and the Savages, and Monſieur *Poutrincourt* made a League with the Prince of them.

Leagues with the Savages.

From hence they ſail'd to the Bay of *Chouakoet*, at the entrance to which is an Iſland full of Vines, the Trunks of which they found to be three or four foot high, and as big as ones fiſt in the lower part; the Grapes were ſome of them as big as Plumbs, but the juice ſo thick that it left a ſtain behind it upon whatſoever it came. They proceeded to a certain Port of *Chouakoet*, where the Savages entertain'd them kindly, and brought Merchandize to truck with them.

From hence they came to another Port which was farther than Monſieur *de Monts* had ever been, tho' he had (as was ſaid before) been as far as *Malebarre*, which is beyond the Bay of *Chouakoet*. This Port was a very delightful one, and now they were in the Country of the *Armouchiquois*, a thieviſh, ſly ſort of People, and who muſt be narrowly watch'd by all that have any Dealings with them. They are much fear'd by many of the neighbouring Nations, and with reſpect to their treachery and reſolution, as well as their thieviſh qualities, they ought to be fear'd by all People, for there's nothing that hinders them from the accompliſhment of any deſign they have a mind to but only meer Impoſſibility, or accidental Fruſtration; yet they carried it civilly enough to the *French*, and were ready to contend with one another who ſhou'd bring them in moſt Proviſions.

Armouchiquois.

The *Armouchiquois* wou'd not let any of their People, that were wounded, be touch'd by a *French* Chirurgeon, till they had firſt ſung and baul'd over them a while, and then they willingly reſign'd them up to be cured. Monſieur *Poutrincourt* continued not long amongſt them, yet neither did he proſecute that Southern Diſcovery, but returning to *Malebarre*, proceeded from thence back again to *Port-Royal*. 'Tis to be noted, that the entrance to *Malebarre* is exceeding difficult, by reaſon of the great ſtreams and ſhoals that are there. The adjacent Country is well Peopled, and affords great ſtore of Grapes. Being come to *Port-Royal*, they paſs'd the Winter there pleaſantly enough, having plenty of all ſorts of Proviſions, and Sports and Recreations in the Woods and Fields, that help'd to take off the burden of the time that lay upon their hands; but that Seaſon over, and no Recruits coming from *France*, but on the other hand a Meſſenger, ſignifying, That all the Projects about Planting the Country were broke to pieces, and nothing farther (now at leaſt) was to be expected, upon this ſcore Monſieur *Poutrincourt* was now oblig'd to think of a ſpeedy return, which was not a ſmall grief to moſt of them, the Country being ſo fine and charming, and the People ſo good humour'd about *Port-Royal* where they reſided. The Savages expreſs'd no leſs concern (than they) at their departure; yea, they wept heartily, having been always in hopes that ſome Settlement wou'd have been made amongſt them, ſince the aſſiſtance of the *French* was ſo uſeful to them in their many and frequent Wars with their enemies. However Monſieur *Poutrincourt*, tho' he came away, yet did it with a firm reſolution to return thither again as ſoon as matters cou'd be brought to bear; yet he ſtaid long enough, before he ſet ſail, to ſee a noble crop of Corn come up, ſome Samplers of which (of ſeveral ſorts) he brought along with him, to let the *French* Nation ſee that Country was not to be neglected upon ſlight and trivial Occaſions. Theſe few tokens of the fruitfulneſs of the Country, obtain'd the end they were deſign'd for ſo far, that the King was very much pleas'd with what he had ſeen, and confirm'd Monſieur *de Monts* Privileges to him afreſh. Upon this, he quickly made Proviſion for the laſt Improvement of the King's favour, in ſending ſeveral Families thither to begin the Plantation, and lay the firſt Foundations of a *French* Government. This was *A. D.* 1608. and 'twas but two Years after that (the *Canada* Affairs going on now more proſperouſly) Monſieur *de Poutrincourt* went over again, as well to diſcharge himſelf of his promiſe made to the Savages, as to ſatisfy his own inclinations which were ſtrongly bent to that Country. He carried over a conſiderable number of People with him, particularly Artificers of ſeveral ſorts, who were very uſeful Members of a new Plantation.

Bad entrance to *Malebarre*.

Poutrincourt returns to *France*.

Privileges confirmed.

New Colony.

Poutrincourt comes over again.

The place he fix'd on for his Settlement was *Port-Royal*, as being that he had always admired, and was alſo granted him by Monſieur *de Monts* by the King's Order. Monſieur *Poutrincourt*, preſently upon his arrival, ſet himſelf to the Improvement of the Land, by Plowing and Sowing, and Dreſſing, for the following Year. After which neceſſary care for the Bodies of his own

People,

Savages baptiz'd.

People, he began to take care of the Souls of the Savages, and after Inſtructing of them in ſome Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, he proceeded to Baptiſm, which Sacred Rite was Adminiſtred to ſeveral of the chief of them. Particularly there was baptized the great *Sagamo* or Prince of the Savages, that inhabited about *Port-Royal*, his Wife and his two Sons, he himſelf being honour'd with the King of *France*'s Name, ſhe with the Queens; and the two Sons, one with the Pope's, and the other with the Dauphin's. The Spirit of Popery was gotten into this Savage King by that time he was baptiz'd; he was no ſooner out of the Font almoſt, but he began to breathe defiance againſt all the World about him that wou'd not be of his Opinion. He threaten'd his Savage Neighbours with Fire and Sword, and was reſolv'd to carry all the Plagues and Terrours of War into the Bowels of their ſeveral Countries, if they did not follow his Example, and become Chriſtians as well as he. But his Spiritual Fathers, had they been themſelves in the right Spirit, wou'd have told him he was in the wrong, and let him know 'twas the way to make the other Savages afraid of Chriſtianity, to ſee him come all of a flame out of the Water of Baptiſm. What Monſieur *Poutrincourt* did after his Settlement here we cannot inform the Reader, but we can ſay ſomething of Monſieur *Champlain*, that moſt Induſtrious and Indefatigable Diſcoverer of Countries.

Champlain's Diſcoveries

This Perſon made two Expeditions with the Savages of *Quebec*, one againſt their old Enemies the *Iroqueze*, and the other to diſcover the People beyond the Falls of the great River of *Canada*. The former had no more conſiderable in it than this, That the *Quebeckers*, by the help of the *Frenchmen* arm'd with Guns, routed the *Iroqueze*, and came back with a great deal of Triumph.

In the latter Expedition, Monſieur *Champlain* did ſomething remarkable, for he paſs'd above 80 Leagues beyond the Falls of the great River, as far as a certain great Lake which is 100 Leagues long. The Country hereabouts was extremely fine and fruitful, abounding in all the beſt of thoſe things that have hitherto been mentioned as the Products of any of theſe Parts. The People were valiant, and bold fighters too, and put *Champlain* and his company hard to it to defend themſelves. Their Villages were fortified with ſtrong Barricadoes of Pales, and their Houſes two or three Stories high. Their Houſes were themſelves like ſo many Forts; in the lower parts were planted huge great Bows that diſcharged Arrows big enough to knock a Man down; in the higheſt they had Murdering holes and Battelments, from out of which they flung and caſt great Stones, that annoy'd their enemies at a diſtance. In the middle Story they lay up their Corn, and other Proviſions; and hither their Women retire themſelves in the time of action, where they are not idle neither, but do all the Service their Sex will allow them to do.

There is a vaſt ſtore of Bevers along this great Lake, but 'tis in vain to come hither to drive a Trade for the Skins of them, for the People burn their Bevers as we do our Hogs, and ſo effectually prevent all Trade that way. Monſieur *Champlain* was ſo ſet upon the buſineſs of diſcovering this Country, that he reſolv'd not to leave off till he had pierc'd as far as the Weſtern Ocean, or that of the North, and ſo to open the way to *China*. But as many a one in this caſe has fail'd of being as good as his word, ſo we believe Monſieur *Champlain* did the like, for without all doubt had that paſſage been open'd, the performance had been taken notice of in the World.

CHAP. XX.

An Account of the firſt Engliſh *Plantations in* Virginia.

1ſt Voyage

THE famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* had firſt of all a Patent for theſe Diſcoveries, granted by Queen *Elizabeth*. *A. D.* 1584. he ſet out two Barks for that purpoſe, which arriving on that part of *America* ſince call'd *Virginia*, took poſſeſſion of the Country in Her Majeſties Name, and return'd after taking a ſhort view of it.

2d Voyage.

A. D. 1585. Sir *Richard Greenvile* was ſent by Sir *Walter Raleigh* with 7 Ships, and came to *Virginia*, where he left a Colony. Theſe Men diſcover'd from *Roanoak* to the Country of the *Cheſepians*, above 130 Miles; and to *Chawanock* N. W. as far. The Savages form'd a Conſpiracy againſt them, and made them uneaſie; ſo that Sir *Francis Drake*, who had been plundering *Spaniſh* Towns, coming thither with his victorious Fleet, they all went back with him to *England*. This unexpected return of the Colony, was the reaſon why a good large Ship, ſet out by Sir *Walter Raleigh* the ſame Year, coming thither, and finding all the *Engliſh* gone, preſently return'd again. Sir *Richard Greenvile* alſo, who was abroad with three Ships, arriving at the ſame place, and ſeeing no Colony ſtaid not long there, but leaving 15 Men well furniſh'd for two Years, to keep poſſeſſion in the Iſland of *Roanoak*, came back to *England*.

3d Voyage.

A. D. 1587. Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſent another Colony of 150 Perſons, with a Governor, and 12 Aſſiſtants, to whom he gave a Charter, and Incorporated them by the Name of Governor and Aſſiſtants of the City of *Raleigh* in *Virginia*. Their directions were to plant at the Bay of *Cheſepiak*, and erect their Fort there. Enquiring after the 15 *Engliſh* left lately in the Country, they were informed by *Manteo* (a Chriſten'd *Virginian*, and who had been in *England*) that ſome were kill'd by the Savages, and the reſt fled for Refuge into the other Parts of the Country. This Colony cou'd not tell how to ſettle neither, but growing uneaſie under their wants, perſwaded their Governor to return home.

4th Voyage.

A. D. 1590. Mr. *John White*, the late Governor, put to Sea with three or four Ships and Pinnaces, and came to *Hatorask* in *Virginia*, but the bad Weather wou'd not permit any farther ſearch into the Country, ſo they ſail'd for *England* without doing any more.

Chap. XXI.

A Relation of a Voyage to the Northern Part of Virginia; *perform'd by Captain* Goſnoll. *Written by Mr.* Gabriel Archer, *who went the ſame Voyage.*

A. D 1602.

A Savage in *European* Dreſs.

Copper Ornaments.

Elizabeth Iſland.

A Fort begun.

CAptain *Goſnoll* arrived firſt at the Northern Parts of this Country, where finding a proſpect of things to his liking, he did not trouble himſelf to undertake the diſcovery of the Southern. They went along the Coaſt a conſiderable way, ſeeing many pleaſant Iſlands, but for the moſt part uninhabited, and yet by their fruitfulneſs capable of maintaining a great number of People. The firſt Savages they met with, after ſigns of Peace made on both ſides, and a long Speech made by their Commander, (which the *Engliſh* to be ſure underſtood a great deal of) came boldly on board their Ship. The Commander himſelf was dreſs'd with Waſtcoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockins, Hat, and all the Accoutrements of an *European*, but all the reſt had only Deer-skins about their ſhoulders, and Seal-skins tied about their middles. They were painted, tho' their natural ſwarthy colour was eaſily diſcern'd; their hair very long, and tied up with a knot behind. They had certainly convers'd with ſome *Europeans*, as appear'd by ſeveral of their words, and wou'd fain have had the company of the *Engliſh* longer. The next they met were more finely deck'd than the former, having all of them Copper Pendants in their Ears; but one had a Breaſtplate of the ſame Metal a foot long, and half broad; and another had his Head all ſtuck with Feathers, that rendred him a very frightful Figure. They brought little trifles to Barter, but they were a ſhy, ſly, thieviſh ſort of People. 'Twas in the Latitude of little more than 42 degr. North, that they firſt came upon the *Virginian* ſhore; and 'twas in the Lat. of 41 degr. 10 min. that the Captain fix'd his Reſidence. It was in an Iſland which he call'd *Elizabeth Iſland*, that lies 4 Leagues from the Main, a ſmall unpeopled Spot, and over-run with Trees, but fertile and pleaſant enough to engage Inhabitants. On the N. W. ſide is a Lake of freſh Water almoſt a League in Circuit, and very near the Sea; in the midſt of which is another little Iſland about an Acre in compaſs, and this they thought the moſt convenient place for the building of a Fort, and therefore began it here. About this Lake there was an infinite number of Tortoiſes, ſeveral ſorts of Fowl and Fiſh too, ſo that thoſe that liv'd here might have a fair proſpect of Proviſions enough.

Strange Cherry-trees.

Minerals.

Fine Earth.

Elizabeth Iſland it ſelf, as it abounded with Trees of many kinds, which we ſee here in theſe Parts of the World, ſo the moſt remarkable of all were the Saſſafras and the Cherry-trees, as they call them. The former are well known for their uſe in Phyſick, and are no rarities in this Iſland; the latter have this extraordinary in them, that together with the Leaf, Bark, and bigneſs, not different from ours in *England*, the Fruit grows at the end of the Stalk 40 or 50 in a cluſter. The Vines were very numerous here too, and the more common Garden and wild Fruits in great abundance. The Animals, both Terreſtrial and of the Water, are ſuch as are common every where in theſe Parts, and great plenty of them all. The Minerals were Copper, Emery-ſtones, Alabaſter, together with ſome others of a blue Metaline colour, which our Author knew not what to make of; ſome there were that ſaid 'twas Steel Ore, but they ought to have conſider'd that tho' Gold Mines are very ſcarce, yet Steel Mines are certainly much ſcarcer, and they are never found but where a Braſs Mine lies either at the top or the bottom. There is alſo Stone for all ſorts of Building, and an Earth which they ſuſpect may prove of the ſame nature with the *Terra Sigillata*.

Tobacco.

The Iſland affords alſo Materials for Dying, and for Smoking; and no place yields finer Tobacco than this. The main Land adjoining, which they viſited alſo, was in all reſpects as charming, as curious Meadows, Groves, Brooks and Rivers cou'd make it. They had ſome communication with the *Indians* of the main Land, who came and Barter'd with them for ſome of their *European* rarities; and there was nothing hardly but what was ſo to thoſe People. The Commodities they gave in exchange for Knives, and other Toys, were Bevers, Lucerns, Marterns, Otters, Foxes, Conies, Seals and Deer-skins. They were all deck'd with Chains, Collars, Ear-rings and Bracelets of Copper; their complexion Olive-colour'd, their ſtature much higher than the *Engliſh*, their hair very black and long, tied up behind in knots, in which they ſtick feathers, and ſo make them look like Coronets. Thoſe to whom Nature has denied good Beards, borrow the hair of other Animals to make falſe Beards, and ſo ſupply that defect.

Good humour of a Savage.

One of the *Engliſh* Sailors having a Carrot-colour'd Beard, a certain Savage thought it was not natural, becauſe not of the colour of the hair of his Head, and having a great mind to one of that colour, he offer'd the Sailor to change Beards with him, pretending to give a very good one of his own making for that bunch of Carrots which grew upon the others Face; but the *Engliſhman* did not care to have the hair of a Bear, or a wild Cat perhaps, planted upon his Cheeks, and therefore told the *Indian* he would make no ſuch bargain with him. Theſe People (the Women eſpecially, to whom the Men are wonderfully obſervant) are commended by them as ſome of the handſomeſt of *America*, and very gentle and courteous too, not much fearful of harms from others, becauſe not ſeeming to deſign any themſelves; but we doubt this good character will not agree to all the *Virginians*. They ſtrike fire with a flat piece of Emery-ſtone and ſort of Mineral, which they can't tell us the name of, but they have a piece of dry Touchwood ready, which receives the ſpark they knock out between the other two. The Affairs of the Plantation might have gone on very well, had all the Planters been unanimous and eaſie in their Settlement here, but they were intent upon their private Intereſts, and contriv'd only to make a profitable Voyage. The Captain labour'd againſt it, but to no purpoſe; ſo having gotten good ſtore of Saſſafras, Cedar-wood, Furrs, and other good Commodities, they ſet ſail for *England*, leaving their little Fort, which 10 Men, in about 19 days, had made fit to harbour a conſiderable number, together with their Proviſions.

Capt. *Pring's* Voyage.

The ſucceeding Year, *A. D.* 1603. there was a *Virginian* Voyage, with a ſmall Ship and a Bark, ſet out at the charges of ſome Merchants of the City of *Briſtol*, and perform'd by Captain *Pring*. They fell in with the ſame Parts of the Country that Captain *Goſnoll* had been at before, but they tell us nothing new of the Country or People, but what we have heard already from the others, Neither did they make any new Diſcoveries, or meet with any remarkable Occurrences of any ſort; upon which account, we ſhall not trouble the Reader with any particular account of their Voyage.

Capt *Gilbert's* unfortunate Voyage.

The ſame Year, *A. D.* 1603. a Voyage was made to *Virginia* in the *Elizabeth* of *London*, under the Command of Captain *Gilbert*, in which nothing conſiderable, or valuable, occurs neither. They traded with the Savages at *Santa Lucia*, *Dominica*, *Mevis*, *St. Chriſtopher*, and from thence proceeded to the *Virginian* Coaſt, coming to the Bay of *Cheſepiak*; from whence going farther Eaſtward, they went aſhore, where in the Woods the *Indians* ſet on them, and Captain *Gilbert* himſelf was one amongſt 4 or 5 that had the misfortune to fall by their Arrows. The Voyage thus broken, the reſt return'd to *England*.

Chap.

Chap. XXII.

An Account of a Voyage to Virginia, *ſet forth by the Right Honourable* Henry *Earl of* Southampton, *and the Lord* Thomas Arundel; *performed by Captain* Waymouth *in the* Archangel. *Written by Mr.* James Roſier.

March, A. D. 1605.

False Charts.

THE way to *Virginia* was pretty well known, and the Commerce with thoſe Parts in ſome meaſure advanc'd, when this Ship the *Archangel* was ſent thither. She ſail'd on proſperouſly till ſhe came towards the deſired Coaſts, and found her ſelf in the Latitude of 41 degrees and half, where the company aboard her began to wiſh extremely for a ſight of the Land to recruit their waſting ſtock of Wood and Water. And whereas their Charts gave them reaſon enough to expect it, and they bare in directly with it according to their preſcriptions, yet they found none in almoſt 50 Leagues running. But after much expectation they got a ſight of Land, which prov'd an Iſland of no great compaſs, and very wooddy along the ſhore, but by the Fruits that appear'd, no barren nor deſpicable ſpot; there were ſtreams of freſh water running down the Cliffs in great plenty, and vaſt numbers of Fowl about them too, and Fiſh enough all along the ſhore. From hence they cou'd diſcern a great many other Iſlands, and the main Land it ſelf, from the W. S. W. to the E. N. E. Several of theſe Iſlands adjoining to the main Land they viſited, and found them all very full of Trees, both Timber and Fruit, and thoſe of ſeveral ſorts. Some of them afforded at a little depth, Clay red, blue, white, proper for making Brick or Tiles. And what the Soil of another was, may be gather'd from this experiment of it, that Peaſe and Barley, a ſmall quantity of which they ſet in a little Plat, grew 8 Inches in 16 days time, and ſo continued growing every day more than half an Inch, and yet this was no more than the very cruſt of the ground that was thus rich and good.

Pentecoſt-Harbour.

Amongſt theſe Iſlands they found a Harbour in which Ships of any burden might lie defended from all manner of Winds, in 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 fathom, upon a tough Clay Oze; and this they call'd *Pentecoſt Harbour*, becauſe 'twas at that time that they found it.

Turpentine.

The Firr-trees were the moſt numerous about theſe Iſlands, and the Turpentine they yielded was the beſt and ſweeteſt our Sailors pretend ever to have ſeen.

Pearl.

The Muſcles found about the Rocks afforded ſmall Pearl in abundance, nay, they found ſome that were large and orient; the ſhells of theſe Muſcles look'd like Mother of Pearl in the inſide.

Manners of the Savages.

Several Canoes of the Savages came off from the Main to traffick with them, as they lay at this excellent Harbour, and the chief Commodities that paſs'd were Knives, and other like trifles, on one hand, and Skins and Furrs on the other. Theſe Skins were the Apparel of the Savages, they hung down to their Knees, and were made faſt upon the ſhoulder with a leather Strap. Some of them wore Sleeves, others Buskins and no Sleeves; ſome the hair of their Skins outward, others turn'd it inwards; and beſides all this, they had a piece of Skin tied about their Waſte, and coming between their Legs to cover thoſe Parts which Nature bids conceal. Theſe People wore no Beards, but the hair of their Heads very long, and tied up behind, tho' many of them were curlpated, and needed no ſtring for their hair. Their Faces were all painted with ſome colour or other, and Nature had form'd them with good Features, tho' miſerably diſguiſed by that baſe practiſe of painting. What Women they ſaw (which were but few, for either they were modeſt, or their Husbands jealous) were handſom, fat, and well made, only ſomething too ſhort. They ſtood behind their Husbands, and wou'd hardly be ſeen. Their Children were very comely, but all naked except their Legs, which were cover'd with thin Leather-buskins faſten'd with Straps to a Girdle about their Waſte; this Girdle is hung all round with ſmall pieces of Copper. Their Bows, Arrows, and Canoes, had nothing but what is common enough amongſt the Savages: Their Tobacco-pipes were ſometimes made of Earth, ſometimes the Claw of a Lobſter, but 'twas always ſomething that wou'd hold as much as 10 or 12 of ours.

Barbarous Cuſtom.

The Savages and our Men growing pretty well acquainted, ſome of them lay aboard the Ship while one or two of the *Engliſh* went and lay aſhore to ſee the Manners of them; but they ſaw nothing that Night or two they lay aſhore, but an impertinent Cuſtom, in which, while one of the company riſing up of a ſudden, and crying bough, wough, all the Women fall flat upon the ground, and the Men repeat the ſame words, ſtamping with both feet till they make the ground ſhake again; which noiſe is not half ſo bad as that they make with their Mouths at the ſame time. They hold on ſtamping and ſtaring about till ſome of the younger ſort fetch ſome Stones from the ſhore, which they take every one one, and fall a beating (firſt of all) the Fire-ſticks, and next the ground, with all their might, in which frantick geſtures they continue for two hours; after which they all retire with their Wives to their ſeveral ſeparate Manſions in the Woods.

Treacherous Diſpoſition.

A noble River, and the ſeveral conveniences of it.

The Savages, tho' they ſeem'd to be very honeſt-minded, and to have a great Friendſhip for our Men, yet in reality they had nothing leſs, but rather form'd Deſigns to betray them. They wou'd have drawn them into an Ambuſcade, under a pretence of Traffick, at a certain place, but they happily diſcover'd the Plot, and avoided the ill conſequences of it. As for the qualities of the Main Land, they were (as far as they diſcover'd it) ſuperiour in goodneſs to thoſe of the fruitful Iſlands before-mentioned, and therefore to be ſure very fine; but the diſcovery of which they ſeem to be proudeſt was that of a River, which they do upon many accounts prefer to any known *American* River. They went up it with their Ship ſeveral Leagues, and give this account of it: That for a matter of 40 Miles it keeps a good breadth, as it runs up into the Main; in moſt places it is a Mile, ſometimes three quarters, but never leſs than half a Mile broad. It flows 16 or 18 foot at high Water, and at low Water you have from 6 to 10 fathom depth. There are abundance of Harbours for Ships of all Burdens, and which will ſecure them better from any Wind or Weather than any known in *Europe*. On both ſides there are at a ſmall diſtance from each other ſeveral gallant Coves, ſome able to contain 100 Sail, where the ground is ſoft Oaze, with a tough Clay underneath for Anchor-hold: Nature alſo has made ſeveral excellent Places, as Docks to Grave and Careen Ships of all Burdens, and ſecure from all Winds. The neighbouring Land trends along on both ſides in a ſmooth Plain, and inſtead of Rocks and Cliffs, one ſees borders of green Graſs and tall Trees, Firr, Oak, and the like. The ground in a word is ſuch, that with a little labour it might be converted into good Paſture; in many places 'tis all clear Meadow already. The River yields vaſt plenty of Fiſh, and is every way as delightful, as perhaps the beſt Rivers of Old, deſcribed by the Poets, have been. On both ſides there are various branches of it that run into the Main Land, which afford a very eaſie and convenient tranſportation of Goods from one place to another. Thoſe that come to *Pentecoſt-Harbour* before-mention'd, will find this River without any difficulty; but this company ſeem to be the firſt *Europeans* that were ever here, for they cou'd not diſcover in all their paſſage up the River, by any ſigns whatſoever, that any had been here before them. And whereas 'tis uſual amongſt all Chriſtian People to erect Croſſes in thoſe Newfound-places, they found none hereabouts, but yet left one or two to ſignifie they had been here.

They leave the Country.

The Company cou'd all have ſat down chearfully upon the Banks of this River, and planted there; but their Commiſſion now ran otherwiſe, and they were obliged to leave the farther diſcovery of this, and the reſt of the Country, till another time. The Captain having finiſh'd all his Traffick with the Savages ſet Sail for *England*, carrying 4 or 5 Savages along with him, together with all their whole Eſtates of Bows, Arrows and Canoes.

The Reader may pleaſe to expect larger and more particular Accounts of the Country and People, in a full Diſcourſe to that purpoſe.

CHAP. XXIII.

An Account of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia, A. D. 1606. *Written by Mr.* George Percy. *To which is prefix'd the firſt Patent for the Plantation of* Virginia, *granted by K.* James *that ſame Year.*

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‘JAMES by the grace of God, *&c.* Whereas our loving and well-diſpoſed Subjects, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, Knights; *Richard Hakluyt*, Clerk, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, *Edward Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hannam*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, Eſquires; *William Parker*, *George Popham*, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that we would vouchſafe unto them our Licenſe to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of ſundry of our People into that part of *America* commonly call'd *Virginia*, and other Parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which now are not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince or People, ſituate, lying, and being all along the Sea-Coaſt between 34 degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and 45 degrees of the ſame latitude, and in the main Land between the ſame 34 and 45 degrees, and the Iſlands thereunto adjacent within one hundred Miles of the Coaſt thereof. And to that end, and for the more ſpeedy accompliſhment of the ſaid intended Plantation and Habitation there, are deſirous to divide themſelves into two ſeveral Colonies and Companies, the one conſiſting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our City of *London* and elſewhere, which are, and from time to time ſhall be joined unto them, which do deſire to begin their Plantations and Habitations, in ſome fit and convenient place between 34 and 41 degrees of the ſaid latitude, all alongſt the Sea-Coaſt of *Virginia*, and Coaſt of *America* aforeſaid. And the other conſiſting of ſundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter*, and of our Town of *Plimouth*, and other places which do join themſelves unto that Colony, which deſire to begin their Plantations and Habitations in ſome fit and convenient place between 38 and 45 degrees of the ſaid latitude, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, as that Coaſt lieth. We greatly commending, and graciouſly accepting of their deſires, to the furtherance of ſo Noble a Work, which may by the Providence of Almighty God hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majeſty, in propagating of Chriſtian Religion, to ſuch People as yet live in Darkneſs, miſerable Ignorance of the true knowledge and worſhip of God, and may in time bring the *Infidels* and *Savages* (living in thoſe Parts) to humane civility, and to a ſetled and quiet Government, do by theſe our Letters Patents graciouſly accept of, and agree to their humble and well-intended deſires: And do therefore for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, grant and agree that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, *Richard Hakluyt*, and *Edward Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of our City of *London*, and all ſuch others as are or ſhall be joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the firſt Colony, and they ſhall and may begin their ſaid firſt Plantation and Seat, of their firſt Abode and Habitation, at any place upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* or *America*, where they ſhall think fit and convenient, between the ſaid 34 and 41 degrees of the ſaid latitude. And that they ſhall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation, by the ſpace of 50 Miles of *Engliſh* Statute-meaſure all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Weſt and South-weſt, as the Coaſt lieth, with all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea Coaſt: And alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation, for the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Eaſt and North-eaſt as the Coaſt lieth, together with all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea-coaſt. And alſo all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſame 50 Miles every way on the Sea-coaſt, directly into the main Land, by the ſpace of 100 like *Engliſh* Miles. And ſhall and may inhabit and remain there, and ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their beſt diſcretions, and the direction of the Councel of that Colony. And that no other of our Subjects ſhall be permitted or ſuffered to plant, or inhabit behind or on the backſide of them towards the main Land, without the expreſs licenſe or conſent of the Councel of that Colony, thereunto in writing firſt had or obtained. And we do likewiſe for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe preſents, grant and agree that the ſaid *Thomas Hanham*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the Town of *Plimouth*, in the County of *Devon*, or elſewhere, which are or ſhall be joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the ſecond Colony, and that they ſhall and may begin their ſaid firſt Plantation and Seat, of their firſt Abode and Habitation, at any place upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, where they ſhall think fit and convenient, between 38 and 45 degrees of the ſame latitude, and that they ſhall have all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation, by the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, as is aforeſaid, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America* towards the Weſt and South-weſt, and towards the South as the Coaſt lieth: And all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea-coaſt. And alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation, for the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Eaſt and North-eaſt, and towards the North as the Coaſt lieth, and all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over againſt the ſame Coaſt, and alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſame 50 Miles every way on the Sea-coaſt, directly into the main Land, by the ſpace of 100 like *Engliſh* Miles; and ſhall and may inhabit there, and ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame, for their better Safeguard, according to their beſt Diſcretions, and the direction of the Councel of that Colony, and that none of our Subjects ſhall be

The firſt Colony to be planted betwixt 34 & 41 degrees of N. latitude. They to have all the Lands, &c. for the ſpace of 50 miles W.S.W. from the place of their firſt plantings, and all Mines, *&c.* The like E. N. E. with all Iſlands for 100 miles in the Sea over-againſt them, 100 within the Land, *&c.* None to inhabit on the backſide without their ſpecial Licenſe in writing, *&c.*

permitted

ſet Sail for *England*, carrying 4 or 5 Savages along with him, together with all their whole Eſtates of Bows, Arrows and Canoes.

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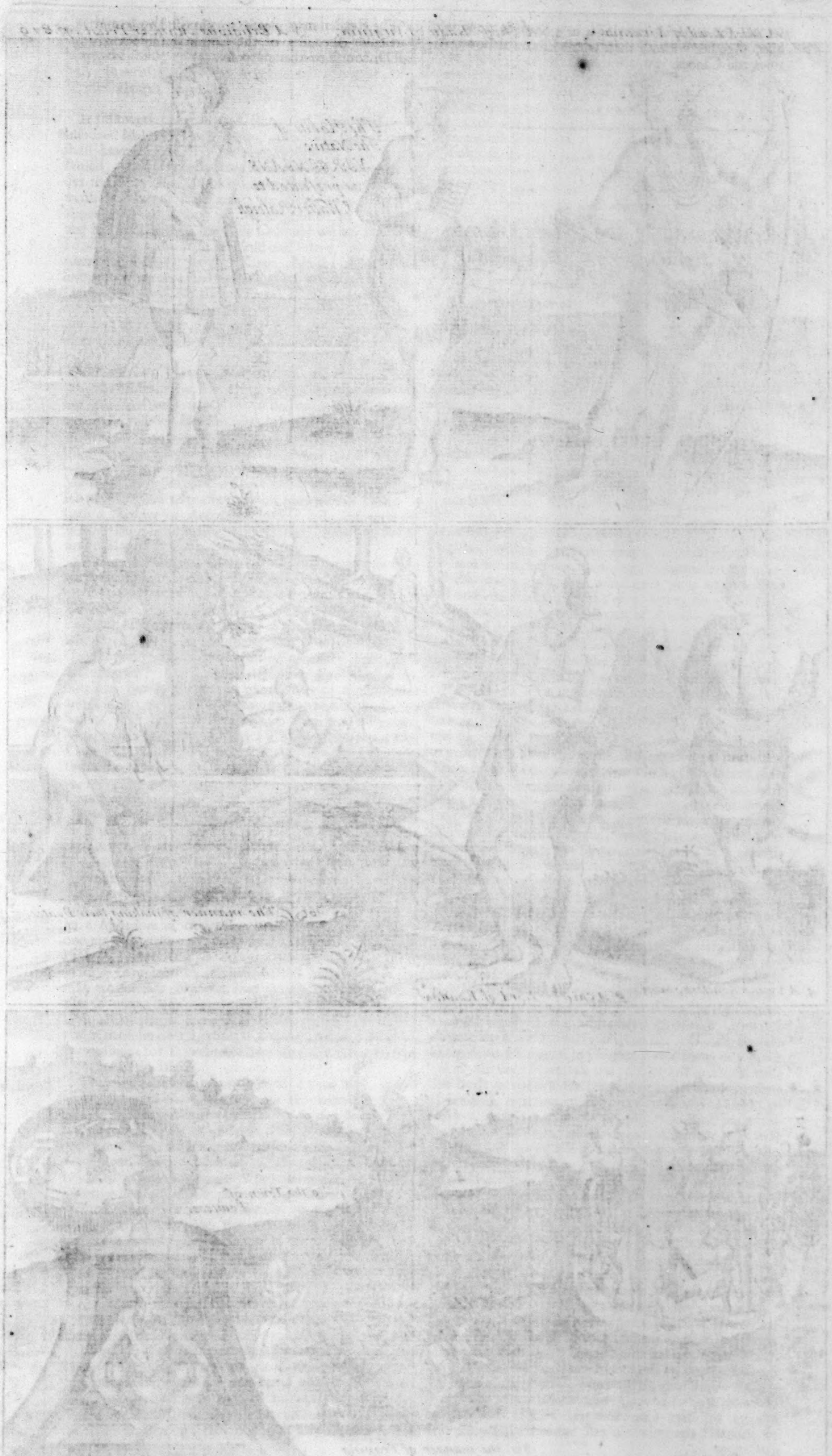
And to that end, and for the more ſpeedy accompliſhment of the ſaid intended Plantation and Habitation there, are deſirous to divide themſelves into two ſeveral Colonies and Companies, the one conſiſting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our City of *London* and elſewhere, which are, and from time to time ſhall be joined unto them, which do deſire to begin their Plantations and Habitations, in ſome fit and convenient place between 34 and 41 degrees of the ſaid latitude, all alongſt the Sea-Coaſt of *Virginia*, and Coaſt of *America* aforeſaid. And the other conſiſting of ſundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter*, and of our Town of *Plimouth*, and other places which do join themſelves unto that Colony, which deſire to begin their Plantations and Habitations in ſome fit and convenient place between 38 and 45 degrees of the ſaid latitude, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, as that Coaſt lieth. We greatly commending, and graciouſly accepting of their deſires, to the furtherance of ſo Noble a Work, which may by the Providence of Almighty God hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majeſty, in propagating of Chriſtian Religion, to ſuch People as yet live in Darkneſs, miſerable Ignorance of the true knowledge and worſhip of God, and may in time bring the *Infidels* and *Savages* (living in thoſe Parts) to humane civility, and to a ſetled and quiet Government, do by theſe our Letters Patents graciouſly accept of, and agree to their humble and well-intended deſires: And do therefore for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, grant and agree that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, *Richard Hakluyt*, and *Edward Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of our City of *London*, and all ſuch others as are or ſhall be joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the firſt Colony, and they ſhall and may begin their ſaid firſt Plantation and Seat, of their firſt Abode and Habitation, at any place upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* or *America*, where they ſhall think fit and convenient, between the ſaid 34 and 41 degrees of the ſaid latitude. And that they ſhall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation, by the ſpace of 50 Miles of *Engliſh* Statute-meaſure all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Weſt and South-weſt, as the Coaſt lieth, with all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea Coaſt: And alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation, for the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Eaſt and North-eaſt as the Coaſt lieth, together with all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea-coaſt. And alſo all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſame 50 Miles every way on the Sea-coaſt, directly into the main Land, by the ſpace of 100 like *Engliſh* Miles. And ſhall and may inhabit and remain there, and ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their beſt diſcretions, and the direction of the Councel of that Colony. And that no other of our Subjects ſhall be permitted or ſuffered to plant, or inhabit behind or on the backſide of them towards the main Land, without the expreſs licenſe or conſent of the Councel of that Colony, thereunto in writing firſt had or obtained. And we do likewiſe for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe preſents, grant and agree that the ſaid *Thomas Hanham*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the Town of *Plimouth*, in the County of *Devon*, or elſewhere, which are or ſhall be joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the ſecond Colony, and that they ſhall and may begin their ſaid firſt Plantation and Seat, of their firſt Abode and Habitation, at any place upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, where they ſhall think fit and convenient, between 38 and 45 degrees of the ſame latitude, and that they ſhall have all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation, by the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, as is aforeſaid, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America* towards the Weſt and South-weſt, and towards the South as the Coaſt lieth: And all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea-coaſt. And alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation, for the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Eaſt and North-eaſt, and towards the North as the Coaſt lieth, and all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over againſt the ſame Coaſt, and alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſame 50 Miles every way on the Sea-coaſt, directly into the main Land, by the ſpace of 100 like *Engliſh* Miles; and ſhall and may inhabit there, and ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame, for their better Safeguard, according to their beſt Diſcretions, and the direction of the Councel of that Colony, and that none of our Subjects ſhall be

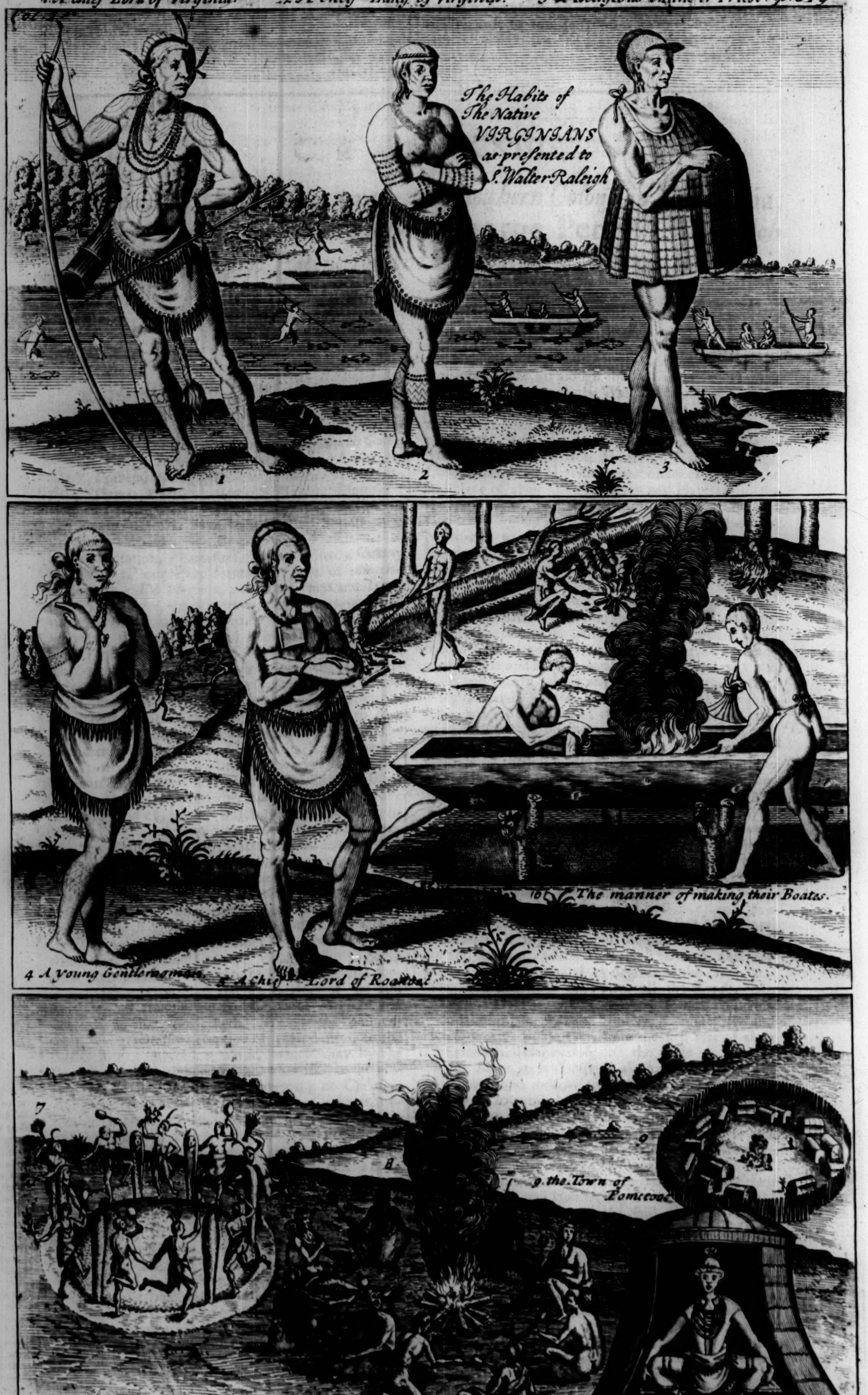
The firſt Colony to be planted betwixt 34 & 41 degrees of N. latitude. They to have all the Lands, &c. for the ſpace of 50 miles W.S.W. from the place of their firſt plantings, and all Mines, *&c.* The like E. N. E. with all Iſlands for 100 miles in the Sea over-againſt them, 100 within the Land, *&c.* None to inhabit on the backſide without their ſpecial Licenſe in writing, *&c.*



The manner of making their boats

Plate 14 & last

1 A Chief Lord of Virginia. 2 A Chief Lady of Virginia. 3 A Religious Man or Priest. p. 819


The Habits of
The Native
VIRGINIANS
as presented to
S. Walter Raleigh
1
2
3
6 The manner of making their Boates.
4 A young Gentlewoman.
5 A Chief Lord of Roanoac
7
8
9
9. the Town of Pomeiooc
7. their Danceing.
8 the manner of Praying to their Idol.

their Pagod or Idol.

‘ permitted or ſuffered to plant or inhabit behind, or on ‘ the back of them towards the main Land, without the ‘ expreſs licenſe or conſent of the Councel of that Colo‘ny, in writing thereunto firſt had and obtained. Pro‘vided always, *&c.*

It followeth that neither Colony ſhall plant within one hundred Miles of each other; alſo that each Colony ſhall have a Councel of thirteen Perſons to Rule and be Ruled, according to Articles ſet down and confirmed under the Privy-Seal, (which I have, but for brevity omit, as alſo the reſt of this Patent) the Seals of each Colony appointed, the digging of Mines granted in the ſame, and on the backſide of their Colonies within the main Land, paying the fifth of Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth of Copper, to the King; liberty to carry all Subjects (not reſtrained) which will go with them. Of Coining for the Colonies uſe there, of repelling Enemies, of ſtaying Ships which trade there without leave, were too long to rehearſe, ſeeing this Patent hath been often altered and renewed.

THis Account appears to the World with the Name of the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, who was Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*; yet to do Juſtice to all, we are oblig'd to tell the Reader, that he will find here the Remarks and Obſervations of ſeveral Perſons of the Plantation put together, but particularly thoſe of the worthy Captain *John Smith*, who was a principal Agent and Manager in theſe Parts. There being ſo many of them, it's not irregular to prefix the moſt Honourable Name to ſuch a Medley of Accounts, having only inform'd the World that it is a Medley, and not the Compoſure of one ſingle Man.

A. D. 1606.

Council of *Virginia.*

The number of Planters that went over at this time was conſiderable, being better than 100; the moſt noted of whom were the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, Capt. *Goſnoll*, Capt. *Smith*, Capt. *Ratcliffe*, Capt. *Martin*, Capt. *Kendall*, Mr. *Wingfield*; theſe were of the Councel all except Mr. *Percy*. But beſides theſe, and a whole Train of Gentlemen, there were Men of all neceſſary Trades and Occupations; Bricklayers, Blackſmiths, Carpenters, Taylors, Barbers, Surgeons to take care of their Bodies, and a Reverend Divine to provide for the health of their Souls. The Fleet conſiſted of two Ships and a Pinnace, commanded and conducted by Capt. *Newport*. Our Planters fell in with ſome of the *Weſt-Indian* Iſlands by the way, and went aſhore upon moſt of them they came to, either to make ſome Obſervations, or to procure ſome Refreſhment.

Iſland *Dominica.*

Dominica (which was the firſt) they commend for a fine and pleaſant Iſland. They praiſe the lovely Woods, the ſweet ſmelling Trees, and the wholſome Fruits that grow there; but the People they repreſent as ſome of the moſt brutiſh and degenerate of Mankind, ſlovenly to a Prodigy, and, in a word, of much ſuch a nice and ſqueamiſh compoſition as the *Hottentots* are.

Sordid People.

They will let a Man ſpit in their Mouths as long as he pleaſes; one may ſerve them as we do Dogs, and they'll ſwallow thoſe favours with as much pleaſure as the Curs do, licking their Lips as if they wanted more. Now one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that thoſe that are ſo much pleas'd with a Man's ſpitting in their Mouths, wou'd not be much diſpleas'd if he ſhou'd do ſomething elſe there; and it muſt be own'd, that this wou'd be a very great convenience for Travellers, ſuppoſing Cloſe-ſtools to be wanting in the Iſland.

Their Habit.

They wear their hair a matter of a yard long, and of an equal length every where, only 'tis plaited or parted before, ſo that it does not hang down to that length over their Faces; for if it did, a Man wou'd find himſelf pretty much puzzel'd to gueſs what ſort of Animals they were, whoſe upper and more noble part was ſo abſolutely loſt in a Wood of hair. They paint and work their Skins, which is all the Apparel they have, and all the Ornament too, except a few Beads, or pieces of Copper hung at their Noſtrils, Ears and Lips. They are as barbarous as the moſt barbarous of the Cannibals, not knowing either how to live quietly by one another, or to treat Strangers with any thing of Courteſie and Humanity.

Hot Bath.

At the Iſland *Guadalupa*, our Men found a Spring ſo ſo hot, that it boil'd a piece of Pork perfectly well in the ſpace of half an hour.

Moderate Bath.

They paſs'd the Iſland of *Monſerrat*, and St. *Chriſtopher*, (both then uninhabited) and anchor'd at *Mevn*. Here they found a Bath in a Valley betwixt two Hills, of the ſame Nature and Uſe with thoſe in *England*. The Conies, Fowl and Fiſh, this Iſland abounded with, enabled them to keep a good Table as long as they ſtaid here, but they were obliged to be always upon the watch for fear of the treacheries of the *Indians*, who yet never came near them; and to ſpeak the truth, were more careful about hiding themſelves in places of ſecure ſhelter, than contriving how to give the others any diſturbance.

The freſh water of *Mevis* has the ill character of growing putrid and ſtinking in a very little while, ſo that 'tis of little uſe to Seamen.

Virgin-Iſland affords no Water.

From hence they paſs'd to the *Virgin-Iſlands*, famous for an excellent Bay capable of harbouring 100 Ships; but here the Seamen are at a loſs again about water, for that of *Mevis* is not good, but at this place there is none neither good nor bad. Beſides Fiſh and Fowl in abundance, they met with a ſort of Trees at this Iſland whoſe Bark taſted like Cinnamon, and was hot in the mouth like that.

They proceeded to the Iſland *Mona* and *Monetta*, at the latter of which there is a terrible rocky landing, but the Iſland at the top is all ſmooth fertile ground, and ſo full of Fowls, that our People found it a hard matter to ſtir without treading upon Birds or Eggs.

Engliſh aſſaulted by the *Indians.*

Having had ſight of the main Land of *Virginia*, (the firſt of which that appear'd they call'd *Cape Henry*) they enter'd *Cheſepiak*, where ſome of them landing for a little diverſion, were aſſaulted by the Savages, which ſtole ſuddenly and cunningly upon them; they track'd them indeed, but cou'd never find them.

The adjacent Country was very charming and inviting; thoſe that love to ſee fine rows of Cypreſs and Cedar-trees, might here have had their fill of ſuch proſpects; and thoſe that love to pick Strawberries, might here have loaded themſelves with thoſe that were four times bigger, and as much better taſted, than ours in *England*. However, there were no good depths of water here for their Ships, upon which account they quitted this lovely place, and paſs'd over to a certain point of Land which they call'd *Cape-Comfort*, becauſe thereabouts they had the conſolation of a good depth of water.

Cape Comfort.

Savages entertain them.

And this was *Cape-Comfort* to them in another reſpect too, for here they found People that wou'd converſe with them; the Savages, tho' ſhy at firſt, yet invited them afterwards to their Town *Kecoughtan*, where they entertain'd them with the beſt of their Proviſions, and afterwards with their Dances. Theſe People had their hair an Ell long on the left ſide of their Heads, and ſhaved on the right; but on that ſide where it is permitted to grow, they tie it up in a knot and ſtick feathers in it. Their Bodies were painted, ſome with one colour, and others with another; their Privy-parts cover'd with Skins beſet with the teeth and little bones of Beaſts. Inſteud of other Ornaments, they had thruſt whole legs of Fowl through their Ears; which was very proper, for Nature had furniſh'd a Drum in that part, and 'twas natural enough for them to add a pair of Drum-ſticks.

King of *Paſpiha* treats them.

King of *Rapahanna.*

Our Planters were now roving about to find out a good place for a Settlement, in which enquiry they came to the Town of *Paſpiha*, and the King of that place treated them kindly. While they were here, the King of *Rapahanna* came himſelf in a Canoa, on purpoſe to invite them to his Town. He went before, and when they came (which they did in their Shallop well guarded with Muſqueteers) he receiv'd them with an extraordinary deal of ceremony. He came down to the Waterſide with all his Train, at the head of which he walk'd playing upon a Pipe made of a Reed. His Head was adorn'd with a ſort of a Coronet in the form of a Roſe, but of no finer Materials than Deers hair colour'd red; this ſtood on one ſide his Head, faſten'd upon the knot of his hair, whereas on the other was a large Plate of Copper, and in the middle of all ſtood up ſtaring a couple of great feathers, which made his Majeſty look as if his Wife had introduc'd him into the moſt Noble Order of Knights of the Horn. His Body was painted crimſon, and his Face blue; he had plenty of Pearl in Chains and Bracelets about him; and which was very particular, through each Ear was thruſt a Birds claw. In ſhort, this Savage King, tho' dreſs'd like a Jackanapes, yet behav'd and carry'd himſelf like a Man, and a Man of much civiller Education than any his own Country could afford him.

Town of *Rapahanna*

After they had all reſted awhile, he led them away to his Town, and they ſay the Walk thither was it ſelf one of the fineſt Entertainments that cou'd be deſired. Sometimes they paſs'd through goodly Corn-fields, at other times through Woods, ſo delicately water'd with Springs and Brooks, that if the King had had no Town nor Palace to go to, he might well have been allow'd a great ſhare of happineſs only by living in thoſe ſweet rural Manſions. His Palace was ſeated upon the top of a very ſteep Hill, and the *Engliſh* being come thither, he

entertain'd

Colony ſettled.

entertain'd them with all the beſt Proviſions it afforded. When this Viſit was finiſh'd they went on, purſuing their deſign of finding out a proper place for the Colony to ſettle in, and after ſeveral places view'd, they fix'd upon a ſpot in the King of *Paſpiha*'s Country, about 8 Miles from *Cape-Comfort*, where the Ships had been brought.

Archer's-Hope.

Nature of the Government of the Colony.

Capt. *Smith's* ill Uſage.

Fort built.

There was another point of Land which they call'd *Archer's-Hope*, where the advantages of a rich and fruitful Soil, an eaſie ſatisfaction, and plenty of Proviſions, wou'd have invited them to ſettle, but their Ships cou'd not ride there near the ſhore as they cou'd at *Cape-Comfort*, where they were Moor'd to the Trees in ſix fathom water. And now the little Government began to model it ſelf into the Figure which the Sovereign Authority of *England* had appointed. The Boxes being open'd, and the Orders read, the Preſident was ſworn, and the Council likewiſe. This Preſident was to be but an Annual Archon, and to concert all his Meaſures of Government with the Council, without whoſe Approbation and Conſent nothing was to be done. All Matters of moment were to be examin'd by a Jury, but determin'd by the major part of the Council, in which the Preſident had two Voices. 'Tis to be noted that Captain *Smith*, tho' nominated in their Orders for one of the Council, was yet at the firſt opening of the Government here excluded from being ſo; neither was that all, but they had laid him under confinement too, and 'tis to be ſuppos'd intended to make him the firſt example of Juſtice in the new Commonwealth. This wou'd have been done, cou'd his Enemies (which envied his fair Reputation and Character) have made good their Forgeries againſt him; but they were ſo happy as to diſcover themſelves, and the Captains Innocency too, by thoſe very Perjuries which they intended to ſtain and render it ſuſpected by. When the Villains had done him this kindneſs as to clear him, he was, according to his Merit, and the Orders of his Country, receiv'd a Member of the Council. The next buſineſs to be done after the Settlement of the Colony, was to raiſe ſome Fortifications for its Defence; ſo they began a Fort, and follow'd it with ſo much diligence, that in the ſpace of a Month they had finiſh'd it. The form of it was Triangular, having three Semilunar Bulworks at every Angle, with 4 or 5 pieces of Cannon mounted on every one of them. They ſet themſelves alſo to cultivate the Land, and ſowed a great deal of Corn, which in a ſmall time ran up to a very conſiderable heighth; ſo rich and good was the Soil where they had planted themſelves.

Savages of *Paſpiha* treacherous.

The Savages of *Paſpiha* in the mean time were oftentimes hankering about the Fort, and plainly ſhew'd that they wanted only an opportunity to put ſome very ill deſigns, which they had formed againſt them, in execution. The King himſelf came once to ſee it, with 100 Men arm'd well after their faſhion, and wou'd fain have perſwaded the *Engliſh* to have laid aſide their Arms, and entertain'd him in a friendly manner, without thoſe frightful tokens of War in their hands; but they were wiſer than to be impos'd upon by his ſmooth words, and were more than ſufficiently convinc'd that they ought to expect all degrees of enmity from him, where he cou'd have the advantage of expreſſing it in a way of treachery and ſurprize.

River *Powhatan* diſcover'd.

The Preſident (which for this firſt Year was Mr. *Wingfield*) employ'd ſome of his Men to diſcover up the River of *Powhatan*. This River they repreſent under a very advantageous character; it ebbs and flows 160 miles, and Ships of great burthen may ride in it with ſafety. In ſix days ſailing the Diſcoverers came up as high as a Town call'd *Powhatan*, which is ſeated pleaſantly upon a Hill, having fine Corn-fields about it, and good Defences granted by Nature. The Prince of the circumjacent Country was call'd *Powhatan* alſo, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more afterwards.

King *James* proclaim'd.

As far as this Town the River is Navigable, but higher within a mile, by reaſon of the Rocks and Iſlands, there is not paſſage even for a ſmall Boat; and this is what they call the Falls of the River. The Diſcoverers ſay, that wherever they landed upon it, they ſaw the ſweeteſt Woods in the World; Cypreſs, Cedar, Wallnut Trees, and Vines in abundance, under which a Man might find a delightful ſhelter at any time. The ground alſo in moſt places was cover'd with fragrant Flowers of ſeveral ſorts; and the Strawberries, Raſberries, and Mulberries, were as numerous as the Flowers. The River divides it ſelf into ſeveral branches that ſcatter through the Woods, and yield good ſtore of excellent Fiſh. They went up to the Head of the River and erected a Croſs, proclaiming *James*, King of *England*, Lord of that Country and River; as a memorial of which they nam'd it *Kings River*. And now they return'd back again to the reſt of the Company at the Fort, which was alſo dignify'd with the Name of their Sovereign, and call'd *James Fort*.

Ill State of the Colony.

K. of *Rapahanna* their friend.

Paſpihas their enemies.

Unworthy Preſident.

Captain *Newport* having ſeen theſe beginnings of the Colony (which hitherto were not over promiſing) ſail'd back for *England* with the Ships that tranſported them. But it was not long after he was gone, that their Affairs began to be in a very ill condition; and whereas before there were not many happy ſigns that promis'd much good, now there appear'd a great many unlucky ones that ſeem'd to threaten no leſs than the ruine of the whole Plantation. One thing was, the Savages began to grow troubleſome, and continually plagu'd them either with Alarms, Aſſaults, or one ſort of treachery or another. The King of *Rapahanna* indeed continued their Friend, yea, he bound himſelf to be ſo for ever, by a ſolemn lifting up of his hands to the Sun, which is the ſublimeſt act of Devotion known or practis'd in the Country. But the King of *Paſpiha*, who lay nearer to them, was a thorn in their ſides, and tho' he dar'd not pretend to wage open War with them in the Field, yet, as he cou'd not be their Friend, ſo he did not fail to make them ſenſible of the effects of his enmity whenever he had a fair opportunity. Theſe diſtreſſes however were not the greateſt that came upon them; they had Wants, Sickneſſes, Diſcontents, and treacherous Practiſes amongſt themſelves. The Preſident was a Man of Self-intereſt and Deſign, fond of his own Eaſe and Pleaſure; both which he preferr'd before the good of the Community, and did not care how it went with them, ſo he had his own private Contents and Satisfactions. All the beſt Proviſions both for eating and drinking he engroſs'd to himſelf; he had Sack, Oil, Aquavitæ, Beef, Butter and Eggs, while the reſt of the company had the Kettle, with a little Wheat or Barley Meal in it, to Dine and Sup upon. If their own Pains and Induſtry ſupplied them with any thing from abroad; if they cou'd catch Fiſh or Fowl they might, and waſh it down with cold water when they had done, otherwiſe they were oblig'd to take up with his ſcanty Allowances, which was much beneath what the pooreſt *Indians* in the Country were reduc'd to.

Preſident depos'd.

Capt *Smith* manages Affairs.

In ſhort, what by their continual hard Labours, and this pinching of their Bellies, a great many fell ſick and died, the Preſident himſelf living all the while in Eaſe, Health and Plenty, and not ſeeming to be any ways mov'd or affected with thoſe Calamities. But the Company, who had ſuffer'd after this manner for the ſpace of three or four Months, pluck'd up their Spirits, and took pity upon themſelves; and did themſelves that act of Juſtice and Kindneſs, as to depoſe this infamous Preſident, and put him out of a Capacity of tyrannizing for the time to come. The Perſon ſubſtituted in his room was Captain *Ratcliffe*, who, if he had more Honeſty and Goodneſs than his Predeceſſor, yet had not Spirit nor Judgment enough for ſuch a Charge; ſo that the main ſtreſs of all buſineſs lay upon Captain *Smith*'s ſhoulders, who cou'd have made the Plantation happy (at leaſt prevented many of their misfortunes) had he ſooner been entruſted with the Management of their Affairs. The Savages about this time (when 'twas leaſt expected from them, and no body can tell what motives induc'd them to be ſo kind and charitable) came and brought in a good Supply of Proviſions; a Supply not only to Plenty, but Superfluity, they pour'd in more than the *Engliſh* wanted for that preſent, tho' they knew there was no harm in having a ſtock by them.

James's Town begun.

Capt. *Smith* goes to the Savages.

They abuſe him.

He drives them away.

Captain *Smith* began his Superintendency with laying the foundation of a little Town about the Fort; he employ'd ſome in one Office, and ſome in another, but ever did the largeſt ſhare of Work himſelf. And this buſineſs he puſh'd on ſo vigorouſly, that in a ſhort time he had rear'd Houſes for the moſt part of the Plantation to beſtow themſelves in; and this was the beginning of *James's Town*. The next thing was to ſearch the Country for Trade, and to fix a ſure and laſting Correſpondence with ſome of the Natives that might turn to ſome account. In order to this he went down the River to the Town of *Kecoughtan*, where the Savages looking upon him and his Company as Men half ſtarv'd, derided him; and to expreſs their ſcorn, offer'd him to exchange a handful of Corn for the Swords and Muskets they had brought with them, and propos'd to buy their Clothes off their backs alſo upon the ſame terms. But the Captain, to requite this Inſult of theirs, ſince he cou'd not by fair means bring them to more civil carriage, us'd his Muſkets in another ſort of exchange; that is, he gave them 10 or 12 good thumping Bullets out of them, which put an end to their jeſting, and made them run away into the Woods in good earneſt to ſave their lives.

The *Engliſh* preſently upon this fell to rummaging their Houſes, and ſearching over their Stores of Proviſion, for as that was all they wanted at this time, ſo they did not expect to find any hoards of Gold and Silver here. While they were thus engag'd, in came the Savages again, making moſt horrible outcries as they march'd along, and carrying their *Okee* before them, whoſe preſence was to give them courage in the aſſault they were going to make: This *Okee* was an Idol made with Skins, and ſtuff'd out with Moſs, and hung all over with Chains and pieces of Copper. They were well arm'd with Targets, Clubs, Bows and Arrows, and charg'd the *Engliſh* with a great deal of fury; but they on the other ſide having once fired their Muskets upon them (which fetch'd down the Idol, and laid ſeveral of his Worſhippers ſprawling upon the ground) ſo effectually routed them, that they thought of nothing ſo much as making every Man the beſt of his way into the Woods.

They aſſault the *Engliſh*.

They ask for Peace.

And the next thing was (as ſoon as they were recover'd from the horrible fright) to ſend an Ambaſſador to beg Peace, and redeem their Gun-ſhot Idol, which Captain *Smith* was free enough to grant, upon condition of a Boats lading of Corn. The Savages did not boggle at thoſe terms, but comply'd with them, and brought Corn, Veniſon, Wild Fowl, which they deliver'd with Muſick and Dancing into the bargain.

Capt. *Smith* prevents their going away.

The Captain return'd juſt in time to prevent the execution of a baſe and ſcandalous Project, which was that of abandoning the Country, and running away from all their pretenſions there. The Plotters were juſt ready to be gone, and had gotten into the Pinnace for that end, but Captain *Smith* fired ſo briskly at them with his Muſkets and Faulcons, that he brought them to this Dilemma, either to ſink in the River, or to ſtay; the latter of which they choſe, tho' the action coſt ſome blood, and Captain *Kendall* loſt his life by it.

Not long after, the mean ſpirited Preſident, and Captain *Archer*, had form'd ſuch another deſign, and were in like manner baffled by the ſame courageous Perſon. But the reſtraints he laid them under were quickly taken off, by an unhappy accident that happened to himſelf; and beſides the Winter now coming on, the Rivers were ſo cover'd with Swans, Geeſe, Ducks and Cranes, and ſo many ſorts of Game were to be had in the Woods, that the Mutineers, who feaſted their Carkaſſes to ſatisfaction here, began to lay aſide all thoughts of their own Country.

Capt. *Smith* taken by the Savages.

As for Captain *Smith*'s misfortune, it was thus: He went out upon the Diſcovery of the *Chickahamine* River, and having gone as far as he cou'd go in his Barge, he quitted that, and went on in a Canoe, having only two or three *Engliſhmen*, and as many Savages, with him. His Men that ſtaid with the Barge went (ſome of them) aſhore, contrary to his expreſs Orders, and one of them being ſnapt by a Party of Savages, they forc'd him to tell where his Maſter Captain *Smith* was gone, and immediately they march'd after him, to the number of three hundred Men, under the command of *Opechankanough* the King of *Pamanuke*. And tho' 'twas his ill fortune to be found out by them, and conſequently aſſaulted, yet he reſolv'd to ſell his Life as dear as was poſſible, and in purſuance of that reſolution dealt his Bullets ſo freely amongſt them, that he kill'd three in a little time, and made all the reſt keep their diſtance. They follow'd him in the mean while with their Arrows, and the Captain wanting a Target to defend himſelf, tied one of the Savages, that came in the Canoe with him, on to his Arm, and ſo made uſe of him to guard his own Body from their Arrows. In this manner he endeavour'd to make his retreat to the Canoe, but keeping his Eye more upon his Enemies than upon his Way, he happened to ſlip into a ſort of a Quagg, and as the Savage and he were now very cloſe together, he pull'd him in along with him, and there they both ſtood up to the Waſte in Mud and Water. The others did not dare to come near him till he had thrown away his Arms, which he did, when he had ſtaid ſo long that he was almoſt dead with cold. So at laſt, when they had compounded the matter, the Savages pull'd him out, and carried him to a fire, where they rubb'd and chaf'd his benumm'd Limbs, and recover'd his vital Warmth that the cold Quagmire had conſiderably abated. His Men were all kill'd, and he himſelf was going the ſame way, being bound to a Tree, and the Arrows of the Savages ready mounted upon the String to let fly at his Breaſt: But in the very interim the King forbad it by a ſign to the contrary, which ſign was the lifting up a little Compaſs-Dial which the Captain had given him juſt before. The Savages wondred extremely at the playing about of the Needle in the Box; and the more, becauſe they cou'd ſee it move through the Glaſs that cover'd it, but cou'd not come to touch it with their fingers. But 'tis not eaſie to expreſs their admiration, when the Captain explain'd ſomething of the Uſes of it to them, and launch'd out into a ſort of Coſmographical Lecture; this Diſcourſe knock'd them all in the head, and they gap'd and ſtar'd like Men that had Convulſions in their faces. After this they led him away with all the Savage Triumph imaginable to *Oropaxe*; the King march'd in the middle, having the Muskets and Swords, taken in this action, carried before him as ſo many honourable Trophees of his Victory. The Captain came next him, being led along by three great Lubbers, and a guard of 6 Bowmen on each hand of him. When they had brought him to *Oropaxe*, the Women and Children came ſtaring about him with as much earneſtneſs as if he had been ſome Monſter, which when they had their fill off, preparations were made for a ſolemn Dance.

Savage ſimplicity.

He is led to *Oropaxe*.

This was a ſort of Thankſgiving for the great Victory obtain'd by 300 Men over 3, and owing more to fortune too than their own Courage; for if Captain *Smith* had not ſlipt into the Bog, and ſo loſt the uſe both of his Arms and Legs, they might e'en have gone home again as ſimply as they came. The Men of War threw themſelves into a Ring, in the centre of which ſtood the King and Captain *Smith* with a Guard; the others danc'd about them, making all the odd poſtures and horrid noiſes imaginable, their Clubs and Quivers of Arrows hanging at their backs, and their Bows in their hands all the while. But their Dreſs was as remarkable too as their Poſtures, for over their Arms they had thrown Foxes and Otters Skins, upon their Heads the Wings of of a Fowl extended to the full length, with pieces of Copper, Shells, and the Rattles of Snakes; their Faces and Shoulders were painted red, to make all look the more agreeable. When they had finiſhed three Dances they led him into a Houſe, and feaſted him with no worſe Meat than good Veniſon, of which they gave him as much as he car'd for every Day; and not only then, but in the Night time alſo did they follow him with this ſort of Victuals. This made the Captain believe they had a deſign upon his Carkaſs, and fatted him up only to eat him at laſt: But he was comfortably miſtaken, as the ſequel prov'd; for when he had ſtaid awhile here, they carried him to ſeveral of the neighbouring Nations of the Savages to ſhew him, and ſo at length to the King's Habitation at *Pamanuke*. At this place he had very civil Entertainment, eſpecially from the King's Brother: but he obſerv'd both here, and at other places, that his Hoſts would never eat a bit with him, nor none of the company whatſoever, but he always eat alone by himſelf; the reaſon of it he cou'd not know, and conſidering what a parcel of Slovens they are, he had no great reaſon to care for their company.

Capt. *Smith* feaſted.

While he ſtaid at *Pamanuke*, he was witneſs to ſome of their Ceremonies, which for their oddneſs one may call Conjurations but for what reaſon they were perform'd ſhall be ſaid by and by.

Savage Cuſtom.

Early in the Morning a great fire was made in a long Room, and a Mat ſpread on each ſide, on one of which the Captain was plac'd. The Guard being gone out of the Room, in comes a huge grim Fellow, leaping and skipping, that a Man might well enough have miſtaken for the Devil, he made ſo deviliſh a figure. That of his Face that could be ſeen, was as black as Coal cou'd make it, but the greateſt part was hidden, by a parcel of Snake and Weazel-skins that hung down all about his Head, Shoulders, Back and Face, and were tied together Tail to Tail upon the crown of his Head; but beſides all this, the pretty Image had a Coronet of Feathers too, and a Rattle in his Hand. The voice and geſtures, the paſſions, were all ſutable to the Dreſs and outward Figure, that is helliſh, frightful and abominable. Shaking his Rattle he began his Invocation, and encompaſs'd the fire with a Circle of Meal. Upon this there ruſh'd into the Room three more ſuch Figures, and a little while after three more, which all danc'd, and ſhew'd the ſame Tricks and Poſtures that the firſt had done. At laſt they all ſat down right againſt the Captain, three of one ſide, and three of the other, and the Arch-Devil in the middle. Then beginning with their Rattles they ſtruck up a Song, which ended, the chief of them laid down five Wheat-corns, and ſtraining himſelf with ſuch violence that he ſwell'd again, he made a Speech, at the concluſion of which they all gave a groan, and then laid down three grains more. To this impertinent action ſucceeded another Song, and to the Song an Oration, laying down between whiles as many grains as before, till they had encircled the fire twice with them. All this done they took a bundle of Sticks, and began their Songs and Orations again, at the end of every one laying down a Stick between the Diviſions of the Corn; when the whole bundle was exhauſted, the Ceremony was concluded. For three Days together did they eat after this ridiculous manner, and faſted every one of them till Night, and forced the Captain to do ſo too, but at Night they eat and drank ſoundly for't.

Now if the Reader's curioſity will not be ſatisfied without knowing the deſign and ſcope of all this, and he asks what was all this buſtle for? We anſwer, It was to find out whether Captain *Smith* was really their Friend or no, and whether he did not deſign them ſome miſchief. For (as they expounded the Myſtery) the Circle of Meal ſignified their Country, the Circle of Sticks Captain *Smith*'s Country, and the two Circles of Corn the Sea-bounds betwixt them; and ſo from thence, by a very natural Method, they found out whether any evil was like to come from the Country of Sticks into that of Meal. The reaſon is very clear, and is eaſily made out by *Prop.* 5. *Cap.* 2. of *Hiccius Doccius*, about cutting the *Heco-Poco* Curves at right Angles.

Savage Geography.

A good thought about Gun-powder.

Theſe People believe the Earth to be round and flat like a Trencher, and their Country to be the very middle ſpot of all. Having alſo ſeen the great Uſes, and many ſtrange Effects of Gun-powder, they got a little quantity of it together, which they kept very carefully, intending to ſow it the next Spring, in expectation of a Crop of the ſame. They had a mighty deſire to have ſome of that rare ſtuff growing amongſt them; particularly they had a curioſity to ſee the Seeds on't, which they fancied were mighty pretty things. 'Twas pity but they had had a Plantation of Gun-powder: they ſhou'd have ſow'd one Field with that, and another with Muskets and Piſtols, and ſeen which wou'd have been ripe firſt; ſuch a Harveſt as that once in two Years, would have made them a horrid plague to all the Country round about them.

Capt. *Smith* brought to *Powhatan*.

But Captain *Smith* had not yet run through the worſt of his dangers, for they carried him away at laſt to *Werowocomoco*, to appear before *Powhatan* the great Prince of the Country. When he came to make his Entrance he was ſtaid, till *Powhatan* and his Attendants had put themſelves into their beſt Dreſſes and Poſtures; all which time he was the Object of the very great Wonder of the gazing Croud without doors.

Powhatan's State.

Powhatan himſelf was ſet by a Fire-ſide on a Seat like a Bedſtead, and cover'd with a Robe of Skins, the tails of which hung down in ſight very pleaſantly. On each hand of him ſat a young Girl of 16 or 18 Years old, as on each ſide the Room was a row of Men, and behind them another of Women; and all, both Men and Women, painted red, with feathers (or ſome Spoils or other of Birds) about their Heads, and Chains of Beads about their Necks. This was the pomp the Savage Aſſembly appear'd in at this time, and this was the Splendour that they had made ſo much preparation to equip themſelves into.

The Captain's reception.

His danger and reſcue by the King's Daughter.

The King of all Trades.

At the Captain's Entrance they all gave a great ſhout, and without any other Ceremony water was preſently brought him to waſh his hands, and a bunch of feathers to wipe them; and then the beſt Meats King *Powhatan*'s Pantry cou'd afford were ſerv'd in, and the Captain eat heartily. After this they conſulted together awhile, the iſſue of which was, that two great Stones were brought in and laid at the King's feet, and as many of the Savages as could lay hold of the Captain dragg'd him thither, and forcing him to lay down his Head upon the Stones, ſtood ready with their Clubs to beat out his Brains. But the King's beloved Daughter *Pocahunta* having conceiv'd a reſpect for the Captain, diverted the Execution for a moment, and humbly entreated her Father to ſpare his Life: Which requeſt, when ſhe found him no ways at all inclinable to grant, but ſeemingly fix'd in his reſolution to ſacrifice him, ſhe ſtept of a ſudden towards the Captain, and got his Head into her Arms, declaring by that action, that either his Life ſhou'd be ſav'd, or hers loſt together with his. In ſhort, the arms of this Lady was ſo good a Protection to the Captain that he got his life by it; and *Powhatan* ſeeing his Daughter as much bent the one way as he was the other, was at laſt contented he ſhou'd live, and live to make little Toys and Baubles for his Daughter, who had now a Title to him, and had purchas'd his Service for ever. But the buſineſs is, how did the King come to know, or what made him think, that Captain *Smith* had been us'd to any Handycraft Trade, and was capable of doing any of that ſort of Work? Why he judged of the Captain by himſelf, and believ'd him to be ſuch another *Jack of all Trades* as he was.

Powhatan made his own Robes, Shoes, Pots, Bows and Arrows, and did all Offices like the meaneſt of his Subjects; and he reaſonably preſum'd, that ſince he did thus, Captain *Smith*, who had no Majeſty to pretend to, might have been brought up to the ſame.

A ſtrange Ceremony.

A few days after this Deliverance, *Powhatan* made the Captain be brought to a great Houſe in the Woods, and there ſet upon a Mat by the fire, and left alone; which could be no great matter of terror to him that had ſeen all thoſe deviliſh Rites perform'd at *Pamunk*. When he had ſtaid there ſome time in expectation, he heard a moſt frightful noiſe, and preſently in comes *Powhatan* moſt horribly diſguis'd, and 20 more with him. He came up to the Captain, and told him that now they were made perfect Friends together, and all grudges were remov'd; that to teſtify the truth of the Friendſhip on his part, he wou'd give him his liberty immediately, and ſend him back to *James-Town*, deſiring only in requital a Grind-ſtone, and a couple of Guns. So the Captain return'd with a Savage Guard, whom he entertain'd at *James-Town*, and inſtead of a Grind-ſtone ſhew'd them a Mill-ſtone, which they were ſenſible they could not carry to their Maſter; and ſo inſtead of a couple of ordinary Guns, he ſhew'd them two Demi-culverins, which the Savages found likewiſe too heavy for their ſhoulders. But beſides, they did not care to meddle with them, for the Captain loading them with Stones, diſcharg'd them againſt a great Tree; the boughs of which they brought down with ſuch a horrible noiſe and fury, that the Men were half dead with fear, and were very well pleas'd to be charg'd only with a few Toys for their Maſter, in the room of the other things that he demanded. The Captain's conduct in this was not any way blame-worthy, for 'twas not politick to put Fire-arms into the hands of the Savages; and if he had never a Grind-ſtone to ſpare, the beſt way was to ſhew them a Mill-ſtone inſtead on't.

Capt: Smith's return.

He ſends Preſents to the King.

We can't ſay whether the Company was glad to ſee Captain *Smith* return from his Captivity amongſt the Savages or no; but this is certain, that he was glad to come juſt at time that he did, for he broke the Neck of another Project of deſerting the Fort and Town, and running away to *England*.

A 3d Plot diſcovered and prevented.

Quickly after his return came Captain *Newport*, with freſh Supplies from *England*, which put them all in good heart again: The Savages alſo, who had been wonderfully pleas'd with Captain *Smith*'s Converſation amongſt them, brought in ſtore of Proviſions; part of which were Preſents from *Powhatan* to him, and part to be ſold at the rates he ſhould determine.

Trade with the Savages ſpoil'd by the Company

Thus there began a very good Commerce with theſe People, but the ill-natur'd Preſident and Council ſpoil'd it; for they envying Captain *Smith*'s great Intereſt and Reputation amongſt the Savages, and to poſſeſs them with a notion of their own Authority and Greatneſs, wou'd give four times as much for Commodities as he had agreed with them for, and ſo ſacrific'd the Common Good of the Plantation to their own ambition and baſe humour.

The Seamen alſo, that came with Captain *Newport*, being allow'd to trade at Pleaſure with the Savages, wou'd, according to their extravagant ways, (whenever they come aſhore) part with their Commodities upon ſo eaſie terms, and give ſo much for ſo little, that by degrees, a thing which might have been had at firſt for an Ounce of Copper, cou'd not be purchas'd under a Pound; and ſo proportionably of other things that went in Barter. But this liberality (or fooliſh extravagancy rather) of Captain *Newport*'s Men, wrought in *Powhatan* ſuch an Opinion of the Maſters greatneſs that he deſired to ſee him; ſo he and Captain *Smith*, with a good Guard, went to *Werowocomoco*, where the Savage King entertain'd them with all the pleaſures and the good things his Court and Town were capable of yielding. As much a Savage as he was, he had Pride and Majeſty in him; and tho' he was his own Taylor and Shoemaker, yet he cou'd put on the King when he pleas'd, and when 'twas fit for him to appear ſo to others. Our *Engliſh* found it ſo at this time, not only in his putting his wild Court into the beſt poſture for their reception, but alſo his ſcorning to trade and barter with them for ſuch little trifling matters as the common People did. ‘ Captain *Newport*, (ſays he addreſſing himſelf to him) it is not ſutable to my Greatneſs to drive a Trade for trifles in this Pedling manner, I eſteem you as a great Prince, therefore lay me down all your Commodities together, what I like I will take, and in recompence I'll give you what I think fitting their value. In ſhort, *Powhatan* ſet ſuch extravagant prices upon his Commodities, that they cou'd come to no terms with him at all, till a parcel of blue Beads charm'd him, and he

Capt. *Smith* and Captain *Newport* go to *Powhatan*.

Powhatan's State and Pride.

he agreed to give two or three hundred Buſhels of Corn for a pound or two of them.

Their trade with him.

The King of *Pamanuk* alſo was bewitch'd with a paſſion for the ſame trifles, and allow'd the ſame good rates for them that *Powhatan* had done.

Quickly after their return there happen'd a grievous Fire at *James-Town*, which did a great deal of damage in burning their Palliſadoes, Store-houſes, the Church, beſides private Houſes.

More Supplies.

Captain *Newport* being gone back with his Ship for *England*, there came in another Recruit of Men and Proviſions for the Plantations; a Ship that ſet out from *England* with Captain *Newport*, but had been forc'd by contrary Winds to take up for ſome time in others Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*.

Town repair'd.

By the care and diligence alſo of Captain *Smith*, and Mr. *Scrivener*, (an honeſt and underſtanding Gentleman that came along with Captain *Newport*, and was admitted one of the Council here) the Buildings both publick and private were repair'd, the Town put into a good poſture again, the Fields dreſs'd, and the Corn ſow'd; all which buſineſs lay neglected by the lazy Preſident, and his as ſloathful Managers. But now there happen'd an unlucky difference between the Savages and them, which was an introduction to the after-diſorders and calamities of the Plantation.

Quarrel with *Powhatan.*

Powhatan had preſented Captain *Newport* with a parcel of Turkeys; to requite which kindneſs, the Captain very indiſcreetly made him a Preſent of Swords, number for number with the Turkeys. The Savage expecting to have always the ſame advantageous returns for his Fowl, ſent Captain *Smith* ſuch another Token, (after *Newport* was gone back to *England*) which he receiv'd, but ſent back no Swords, to the very great diſappointment of *Powhatan*, and raiſing of his choler and indignation. He ſaw the Swords did not come, but he was reſolv'd to fetch them; and therefore firſt of all, tried to bring them by tricks and policies, afterwards he proceeded to open force and inſolence, coming up to the very Walls, laying Ambuſcadoes for the Workmen, and ſurprizing them in their buſineſs, with many more affronts of the like nature. The Preſident and Council ſaw all this, but wou'd not meddle to right themſelves, and curb theſe inſolent People, but let them run on in a trade of doing miſchief, pretending the Orders from *England* were very ſtrict in this Matter, and ſeverely prohibited the doing any thing to affront and provoke the Natives. But Captain *Smith* underſtood the Orders after another manner, and therefore one Day, when the Savages came up and abus'd ſome of his Men, he fell upon them to rights, and thraſh'd them handſomly; and taking ſome of them Priſoners, he drove the reſt home well cudgell'd, to tell their King how they had been entertain'd. This brought no leſs than an Army of them up to *James-Town*, where they threaten'd terrible things, if their Priſoners were not preſently deliver'd to them. But the Captain, to try their Mettle, with a ſmall force went out and attack'd them, and reduc'd them in a very little while to a condition of begging Peace, and receiving it upon his own terms. Examining his Priſoners too, they confeſs'd that *Powhatan* had ſet them at work to get their Weapons from them, and then cut their Throats; with all the particulars and circumſtances of the Plot.

Inſolence of the Savages.

Capt *Smith* corrects them

Powhatan's ſubmiſſion.

As for *Powhatan* himſelf, his courage was ſo far cool'd, that he ſent his dear *Pocahunta* (as the fitteſt Perſon he cou'd pitch upon to mediate with Captain *Smith*) to excuſe the injuries that had been done, to deſire his Mens liberty, and to aſſure the *Engliſh* of his friendſhip. The Captain, who ow'd his Life to this Savage Lady, was ſo grateful and complaiſant as to diſcharge the Priſoners at her requeſt; but it was not before he had both given them ſuch a correction as might make them take care how they fell into his hands again upon the like Occaſion, and afterwards us'd them ſo well, that they might know they had to do with a Perſon that cou'd be very kind and civil.

The Council wou'd fain have pick'd a hole in the Captain's Coat, upon the ſcore of this breach with the Savages, but there was no room for't; for he had ſhed no Blood, but done the Plantation very good Service in unpluming the Savages a little, who elſe wou'd have been very troubleſome. And 'tis certain this made them ſtand ſo much in awe, that the very Name of Captain *Smith* was almoſt enough to fright them.

Capt. *Smith* goes out to diſcover.

When this Squabble was over, Captain *Smith* was ſent out by the Preſident and Council to diſcover the Country of *Monacan* beyond the Falls, which Deſign he went upon in a little Barge, and with no more than ten or twelve Men: The Diſcoveries made were very inconſiderable, the Savages in many places treated them as Enemies, and wearied them with Ambuſcades and other Treacheries; again, in other places they were kind and friendly, and did their beſt to obtain the good-will of the *Engliſh*. But they were effectually convinc'd, by an accident that happen'd, that *Powhatan* was their Mortal enemy, whatever fair ſhews of the contrary he made; for a certain Ambuſcade of Savages being put to the rout, when they came to parley, made a Confeſſion that *Powhatan* had order'd them to lie there, and he was encourag'd by the Malecontents at *James-Town*. A fine Project, for *Engliſhmen* to ſet Savages at work to cut the throats of *Engliſhmen!* The Captain narrowly eſcap'd with his Life this Expedition, he was given over for a dead Man, and his Burying-place provided. 'Twas not the Savages that brought him into this extremity, but a certain Fiſh which had a Sting of two or three inches long: They ſay it was like a Thornback, but had a longer tail, and a weapon in the end of it as long as was ſaid, which went into the Captain's fleſh very near an inch and half. The effect was a violent ſwelling, and a tormenting pain, which ſymptoms were notwithſtanding carry'd off by good applications of the Chirurgeon, and all made well again. This Fiſh was good to eat, for the ſick Man that was ſo like to die in the Morning, was able to make a Supper of it in the Evening.

Treachery of *Powhatan* and the Company at *James-Town.*

Venemous Fiſh.

Preſident Depos'd.

At their return they found the company at *James-Town* in an uproar againſt the Preſident, and ready to Depoſe him; his unfitneſs for buſineſs, and eſpecially his riotous manner of living, (when their Stores were low, and all the reſt muſt pinch that his extravagant appetite might be glutted) provok'd them to take thoſe violent courſes after a great deal of tame forbearance. The deſire likewiſe of the Company was, that Captain *Smith* wou'd take the Preſidency (at leaſt the Adminiſtration of it) upon himſelf, which he did, and making honeſt Mr. *Scrivener* his Subſtitute in that Affair, he went out a ſecond time to purſue his Diſcovery. But the reſult of both theſe attempts put together, amounts to no more than the diſcovery of a few Nations of Savages, and ſome Rivers, the Names of either of which wou'd be of no great Service to the Reader, ſince there's nothing of importance relating to either of them; and eſpecially too, ſince what is material upon either of thoſe heads, ſhall be brought into our General Account of *Virginia*, which will be added in its due place. Only this may be ſaid, that they had the ſame fortune amongſt the Savages now as in the former Expedition, ſome of them being very friendly and hoſpitable, others as full of treachery, and ready to aſſault them upon all opportunities of doing it with advantage.

Capt. *Smith's* 2d attempt.

A. D. 1608. Capt. *Smith* made Preſident.

Captain *Smith* at his return upon the Election of the Council, and the unanimous requeſt of the whole Society, receiv'd the Letters Patents, and actually enter'd upon the Preſidentſhip. Quickly after this, Captain *Newport* arriv'd from *England* with freſh Supplies, and with Preſents for *Powhatan*, which Prince they thought to oblige the more by ſending for him to *James-Town*, where they intended to entertain him with ſome pomp, and were willing too to let him ſee ſomething of the *Engliſh* Grandeur and Magnificence. The new Preſident was thought the fitteſt Perſon to undertake the delivery of this Meſſage to *Powhatan*, and he very willingly accepted of the Office, and went with four Perſons only in his company. When they came to *Werowocomoco*, *Powhatan* was not there, but about ſome thirty Miles off, and in the mean while the Captain had this comical Entertainment from ſome of his Women. He and his company were without the Town in a fair Field, juſt by the ſide of a Wood, where they were ſitting upon Mats by a fire, and a great many of the Inhabitants, both Men, Women and Children, were about them, as they always gather about Strangers. While they were in this poſture, they heard a moſt diſmal ſhrieking and howling in the Wood, ſuch a noiſe, that the Captain believ'd no leſs than *Powhatan*, with his whole Army, was come to ſurprize them, and therefore he and his Men accordingly ſtood to their Arms. The People however aſſur'd him there was no danger, and deſired him not to diſturb himſelf, and by that time they had done this, the enemies ruſh'd out of the Wood and ſhew'd themſelves. They were a Troop of young Women, about 30 in number, as naked as ever they were born (only a few green leaves before, and their Skins painted, ſome red, ſome black, ſome green, ſome blue;) in a word, there were Girls of all colours. One had a Quiver of Arrows at her back, another a Bow and Arrows in her hand, a third a Club, a fourth a Sword; and, in ſhort, every one ſome weapon, or ſome device or other. But their Head-attire was the moſt charmingly fine and pretty, for each of them had a large pair of Stags-horns planted

He goes to *Powhatan.*

A comical Adventure.

upon her Forehead, ſo that here was *Acteon* and *Diana* in one Perſon. They made moſt fearful cries as they came out from among the Trees, and inſtead of running to puſh the Captain and his Men with thoſe horns they had got, they all joyn'd hands and caſt themſelves into a Ring, and fell a dancing about them, being themſelves their own Muſicians all the while.

This wild Scene continued for near an hour, and then they all ſcuttl'd away again into the Wood, where having put themſelves into a handſomer poſture, they came and made Captain *Smith* a ſolemn Invitation to go and ſee their Lodging: He accepted of the civility, and followed them into the Houſe, but he was no ſooner got within Doors, but they all came crouding and preſſing about him in ſuch a manner, that a Man of leſs courage than the Captain wou'd have been afraid of a Rape. One hung about his Neck, and another caught hold of his Arms, and all cried out, *Don't you love me? Don't you love me?* So that no body cou'd be anſwer'd firſt, becauſe every body ſpoke at the ſame time, and 'twas a wonder if they were all worth loving. Here was a Man hardly beſtead, this was a very unequal Match; two to one we commonly ſay is great odds, but thirty to one was a very hard caſe indeed.

Fine Courtſhip.

How the combat ended we can't ſay, but we ſuppoſe the Captain came off very well, and diſengag'd himſelf handſomly. This Salutation ended, they gave him a Treat of Fiſh, Fleſh and Fruits, ſome of them waiting, others ſinging and dancing all the while. At the concluſion of the Treat, they conducted him to his Lodging, and it being dark night, and the Country affording no Torches, they lighted him along with Fire-brands.

His Conference with *Powhatan.*

Powhatan coming the next day, the Captain told him of the Preſents that were prepar'd for him at *James-Town*, and the general deſire there was of ſeeing him there, in order to the concluding of the common League againſt the *Monacans.* But the ſubtle Savage made him this Reply: ' If your King (ſays he) has ſent me Preſents, ' I am alſo a King, and this is my Land. I will ſtay here ' eight days to receive thoſe Preſents; and I expect that ' your Father (that is Captain *Newport*, whom *Smith* cal' led Father amongſt the Savages) ſhou'd come to me, ' and not I to him; neither will I go to your Fort, nor ' bite at any ſuch bait. As for the *Monacans*, I can re' venge my own Injuries; and if my People have told ' you of any Salt water beyond the Mountains, their ' relations are falſe.

Powhatan's Pride and Craft.

This was all the Anſwer the Captain cou'd get, and was forc'd to return with this to *James-Town*. Too much good uſage had made *Powhatan* proud and inſolent; and 'tis plain, that he valued himſelf and his Commodities vaſtly more, upon the account of that regard that he ſaw the *Engliſh* had to both. There was nothing of Trade now to be had with him, and the more he ſaw the others preſs for it, the more backward he ſhewed himſelf. One wou'd have thought that the Plantation ſhou'd have been too ſenſible of this baſe humour of the Savage, to do any thing afterwards to gratify it; and that it ſhou'd have been their care rather to mortify it, and take ſuch courſes that he might ſee they were not really fond of his Friendſhip, tho' they ſeem'd to court it. But on the contrary, they were ſo weak as to blow up his Pride and Vanity yet more, and under the pretence of obliging and winning him, to make themſelves and their favours ſo cheap, that the conſequence of it was the rendring of both deſpicable.

The folly of the Plantation.

Powhatan crown'd.

Amongſt other extravagancies of this nature, *Powhatan*, forſooth, muſt be crown'd, and proviſion muſt be made to do it with ſome ceremony too. And becauſe he wou'd not come to *James-Town*, to receive his Crown there, it muſt be ſent him to *Werowocomoco*; and Captain *Newport* was the Man that went upon this goodly Errand. The Preſident, 'tis true, oppos'd this fooliſh Deſign, or at leaſt never approv'd it, but there were others that thought 'twou'd help (together with the Preſents that were to be carried at the ſame time) to joyn him faſter to them in the Band of Friendſhip. In a word, that to receive a Crown from the *Engliſh*, wou'd diſpoſe him to proſtitute his Kingdom to them. But the Jeſt of all was, that *Powhatan* himſelf was not at all fond of this fine thing call'd a Crown; he had no ambition to have ſuch a ſplendid Bauble ſet upon his Head, and wou'd eaſily have excuſed them from the trouble of coming thither to do it. He knew well enough the meaning of the Preſents they brought him, but when they came to the Ceremony of the Coronation, the Man was ſurpriz'd; he did not underſtand what they pretended to do with his Head, and was afraid of ſome deſign againſt his life. And whereas, when the Crown was going to be put on, Captain *Newport* told him he muſt kneel; he was ſo obſtinately reſolv'd not to kneel, that all the company was tired with perſwading him to it, neither wou'd he take his own Peoples word for't that there was no danger in ſo doing. At laſt, with much ado, by leaning hard upon his ſhoulders, and ſo forcing him to ſtoop a little, they got him into ſomething of a decent poſture, and the Crown was ſet upon his Head, and he receiv'd the Complements of the *Engliſh*. Juſt at this time, when the buſineſs was done, according to appointment, all the Guns were diſcharg'd from the Ships, the noiſe of which frighten'd his Majeſty ſo effectually, that he ſtarted away out of their hands, and look'd about him to ſee if the Enemies were coming to knock him o'th' Head. But he recover'd, after ſome time, and to expreſs his Royal Bounty, he gave Captain *Newport* his old Shoes and Mantle; for we muſt know, they had brought him an entire Coronation Suit, even a Scarlet Cloak, which ſerv'd at that time for a Robe. But his gratitude to the Plantation for theſe favours, was no more than a Preſent of ſeven or eight Buſhels of Wheat, not a conſiderable quantity to ſerve for a Supply of their Wants, nor ſo much as the Offer of Promiſe of Trade for that purpoſe; as to any thing of this he ſaid not a word, neither would he (at Captain *Newport*'s requeſt) lend him either Men or Guides to make the diſcovery of *Monacan*.

His comical frights.

Powhatan's Ingratitude.

This was the Generoſity of the Savage King, and if the Plantation found him afterwards Inſolent and Domineering, or deſpiſing the *Engliſh* Commodities, and over-valuing his own, they may e'en thank themſelves for't: For what need was there of ſetting a Crown upon this barbarous Head? And what need of ſuch coſtly Preſents, as Scarlet Cloaks, Bed and Furniture, Baſon and Ewer, and the like, where a few Glaſs-Beads, or pieces of Copper, wou'd have done as well? To Court and Complement Savages at that extravagant rate, is only to teach them to deſpiſe thoſe that do it; and our Men never found it better Dealing with that ſort of People, than when at the ſame time, together with Civilities, they ſhew'd them good Reaſons why they ſhould fear and ſtand in awe of them.

Captain *Newport*, preſently after his return to the Town, ſet out for the Diſcovery of *Monacan*; all the Council, with at leaſt 120 Men, went upon this Deſign, the Preſident, with about 80 more, ſtaying behind at the Fort. The Preſident had foretold the ill ſucceſs of their Enterprize, which they were as ſadly ſenſible of at laſt, as they were far from believing at firſt: for, in a word, they ſaw only two Villages of the *Monacans*; that was their Diſcovery, and they had their labour for their pains, and that was their reward.

Capt. *Smith* goes to *Powhatan.*

Powhatan's treacherous pretences.

Capt. *Smith's* ſharp Diſcourſe to him.

The Savages now pretty plainly diſcover'd their Deſigns of ſtarving the *Engliſh*, for they made it their buſineſs to keep their Corn and Proviſions from them: and the Preſident was forc'd to go out and lay ſome of their Country under Contribution to get neceſſary Supplies; the People he ſerv'd thus were the *Chickahamines*, the *Nauſamunds*, with ſome others. But this ſort of way wou'd never hold long, and therefore the Preſident reſolv'd to endeavour to force ſomething out of *Powhatan*, who had not the gratitude to ſerve his Benefactors of his own accord. And that which the rather induc'd him to it was, that *Powhatan* had about this time ſent him word, that if he wou'd come to him and bring a Grindſtone, a parcel of Swords, Guns, Beads, and other trifles, he wou'd give him a Ship's lading of Corn. The Captain ſubſtituted Mr. *Scrivener* in his place, and ſet out for *Werowocomoco*, with the Pinnace and two Barges, having in all no more than 46 Men, tho' he order'd more to be ready at home in caſe of need. An honeſt Savage by the way perſwaded him not to ſee *Powhatan*, or at leaſt to give him no manner of opportunity of ſeizing their Arms, becauſe his deſign was only to cut their Throats. When they came thither, he entertain'd them with the ſame freedom that he us'd to do, but pretended he had no Corn to diſpoſe of, and that he did not ſend for Captain *Smith* to come upon that ſcore; yet he added, that for 40 Swords he would procure them 40 Buſhels. But the Captain confronting him with the very Meſſengers that brought him that word, the Savage, when he ſaw he cou'd not deny it any longer, turn'd it off with a laugh. Then he ask'd to ſee what Commodities they had brought; none of all which wou'd pleaſe him without Guns and Swords, valuing ſtill a Basket of Corn above a Basket of Copper, ſaying he cou'd eat the one, but not the other. Upon this, Captain *Smith* was oblig'd to tell him in pretty ſmart terms, That he was not inſenſible of his Artifices in delaying and whiling off the time at that rate; that he had always aſſur'd him he had no Guns nor Swords to ſpare, and ſhou'd be ſorry to be compell'd to employ what he had againſt him, as ill Uſage and Affronts might ſome time or other make him do, otherwiſe he wou'd preſerve entire the good Correſpondence that had been hitherto cultivated betwixt them, with all the zeal in the World. Many other Diſcourſes paſs'd between Captain *Smith* and *Powhatan* at this time, in which the Savage mightily inſiſted upon his laying aſide his Arms, and for his Men to come aſhore like Friends, without thoſe formidable Weapons, Guns and Swords, which did ſo vehemently fright his People, that (as he pretended) they were unwilling to come near the *Engliſh* upon that ſcore. The Captain perfectly well underſtood the meaning of all this, and ſince he manifeſtly ſaw that *Powhatan* intended nothing elſe than the murdering or making a Priſoner of him, he reſolv'd not only to ſtand the more nicely upon his guard, but alſo, if a favourable opportunity offer'd, to put a trick upon the Plotter, and ſnap him firſt. They both now had the ſame deſigns upon one another: *Powhatan* waited but till more Men (which he had ſent for) came to the Houſe; and Captain *Smith* but ſtaid till his Men landed under pretence of Trade. But *Powhatan*'s being come firſt, he himſelf ſlipt cunningly away, leaving two or three of his Women to hold the Captain in talk; in the mean while the Houſe was beſet with arm'd Savages, and the Captain had but eight of his own Men with him in this diſtreſs. As ſoon as he was ſenſible of the treachery, he preſently open'd the Doors and ruſh'd out amongſt them, and with his Sword and Piſtol open'd himſelf ſuch a paſſage amongſt thoſe naked Raſcals, that he was quickly got out of their reach. They fled from him like ſo many Hares before a Hound, and ſeeing the Plot had miſcarried, quickly began to excuſe the matter, and pretend there was no harm deſign'd. *Powhatan* alſo ſent a Preſent of Pearl, and Meſſengers to excuſe his own abrupt going away, and the coming of that multitude without his knowledge. In ſhort, they were now ſo officious, that the Captain eaſily got all his Corn into his Barges, and ſo went away to *Pamanuk*, intending to call upon *Powhatan* at his return. But here he fell into the hands of as treacherous a Wretch as *Powhatan*, namely *Opechancanough* King of *Pamanuk*, one ſet at work by *Powhatan* to do what he could not yet do himſelf. This Savage, to colour his Deſigns the better, ſtruck preſently into a Trade with him, and proviſion was made for a much greater Traffick to be carry'd on one day at the King's Houſe. The Captain, with about fifteen or ſixteen very well arm'd went thither, *Opechancanough* entertaining them with a great deal of ſeeming friendſhip and heartineſs; but they had not been there long, before they diſcover'd that the Houſe and adjoyning Fields were beſet with Savages, well furniſh'd with Weapons too. One may imagine they were ſhock'd at this News, but the brave Captain heartned them up with an Oration, and they all vow'd to follow him wherever he led them. Being ſure of the Courage and Fidelity of his Men, he was now not afraid of the Savage Army, tho' they had been a greater number, and they were at leaſt 700. But turning to *Opechancanough*, he told him he was ſenſible of his deſign to murder him, but before the Men of both ſides begin to ſhed one anothers Blood, let you and I (ſays he) have a trial by our ſelves. Take your Arms, and I'll take the ſame, and ſtrip off my Cloaths and be as naked as you, and the Conqueror of us two ſhall be Lord and Maſter of both Troops. If you don't like this, draw your Men into the Field, and if they ben't enough, go fetch more, but let every one bring a Basket of Corn, and I'll take the value in Copper, and ſo let the conquering ſide take all. The Savage was daſh'd at this bold Challenge, and inſtead of accepting on't, endeavour'd by good words to abate the Captain's choler, and bring him into better temper. In order to this, he told him that there was a conſiderable Preſent for him at the door, which he intreated him to ſtep forth and receive: The meaning of which was, that by that bait he ſhou'd be drawn out to the door, where there was an Ambuſcade of above two hundred Men, ready to ſalute him with their Arrows, as ſoon as he came. But being aware of the deſign, and having ſet a Guard upon the door, he comes up to *Opechancanough*, (whoſe horrid treachery had now tranſported him beyond all bounds of patience) and in the very midſt of his Guard ſeizes him by his Fore-lock, and clapping a Piſtol to his Breaſt, made him inſtantly reſign his Bow and Arrows. Holding him ſtill in this poſture, he dragg'd him out before all his Men, who were aſtoniſh'd to ſee that any Man dar'd uſe their King in ſuch a manner: however, the Captain called to them, and commanded them all to fling away their Bows and Arrows, and come and hear what he had to ſay to them. The Savages very readily obey'd him; down went the Weapons, and about him they throng'd to hear his Speech, rejoycing to ſee their King alive, to whom the Captain now had given a little liberty again. As for his Diſcourſe to theſe People, he only charg'd them, in ſhort, with their Villainous Deſigns and Treacheries, and threaten'd them ſeverely in caſe they made him loſe his labour, and did not bring him Corn as they had promis'd. 'You promis'd (ſays he) to fraught my Ship 'ere I departed, and ſo you ſhall, or I'll load her with 'your dead Carkaſſes: But ſtill, if you'll come and 'trade as Friends, you ſhall never be moleſted or griev'd 'by us. And they did preſently go and fetch in ſuch heaps of Commodities, that the Preſident was quite weary'd with looking them over; ſo that he was forc'd to retire himſelf into the Houſe to take a Nap, leaving his Men to manage that Affair. But ſome of them were weary too, and fell aſleep, and part of the Guard that ſhou'd have attended the Captain were careleſly diſpers'd up and down; all which advantages being perceiv'd by the quick-ey'd Savages, forty or fifty of the ſtouteſt of them, arm'd with *Engliſh* Swords, preſs'd into the Houſe, and there were two or three hundred more marching after to ſecond them. But the Raſcals made ſuch a noiſe a crouding in, that the Captain was wak'd with it, and preſently taking up his Sword and Target he flew in amongſt them, and ſome few of his Men (that were by him) charging at the ſame time, they quickly rid the Houſe of them, and made them ſqueeze out a little faſter than they did in. The Plot being thus fruſtrated, according to their way they came to beg Pardon; but the Captain diſſembled his reſentments, and ſo having ſpent ſome time in Mirth and Feaſting with the King, came aboard ſafely again with all his Company that ſame Night. The next Morning they wou'd have trepann'd them into an Ambuſcade on ſhore, under pretence of trading, but theſe old Birds were not now to be taken in ſuch Snares. The following Night the Savages thought that the *Engliſh* had ſecretly ſent away one of their Barges, which they concluded muſt be to fetch more Men and Arms, and that muſt be in order to the executing of that Vengeance which Captain *Smith* had threaten'd, for their trifling thus with him in the Matters of Trade: Very early therefore the next Morning the King ſends the Captain a good Chain of Pearl, begs him not to ſend for any more Men, upon which condition he wou'd load him with Corn; and to take away all ground of ſuſpicion, bring it a Ship-board too. And he was as good as his word; fear made him honeſt, and the Corn was punctually deliver'd. It's plain all this was the effect of no good-will, for the Captain, with ſome others, (particularly Mr. *Weſt* the Lord *De la Ware*'s Brother) was like to be poyſon'd by them before they went away; that is, they actually took the Doſe, but it was not ſtrong enough to kill, and only made them ſick. *Powhatan* was the cauſe of all theſe attempts againſt the Life of Captain *Smith*; and all the reſt of the Petty-Kings hereabouts being his Vaſſals, he cou'd command them to go upon what Deſigns he pleas'd. As for *Opechancanough*, he was his Brother, and conſequently every way his Tool.

Savage diſſimulation.

Plot againſt Plot.

Capt. *Smith* drives the Savages.

The treacherous deſign of the King of *Pamunuk*.

Capt. *Smith* challenges him to fight.

A Plot againſt Capt. *Smith*.

Bold attempt.

He Harangues the Savages.

They bring in their Commodities.

Capt. *Smith* in danger.

Another Plot.

They bring Corn.

The Captain returning homeward, call'd (as he had reſolv'd) at *Werowocomoco* again, intending, if he had opportunity, to ſeize *Powhatan*, with his Stores of Corn; but he was fled, and had remov'd all before they came, and thoſe that went aſhore were like to be kill'd for their pains too. The cauſe of this (and a great deal of miſchief more) were ſome *Dutchmen* which the Captain in kindneſs had lent to *Powhatan* to build him a Houſe. Theſe horrid Villains betray'd all the Secrets of the Plantation to him, and ſome of the Ammunition of it too, in the Preſident's abſence. In ſhort, they put him upon moſt of his curſed projects, and did what they cou'd to ruin the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Virginia*.

The *Dutchmens* Villany.

Captain *Smith* return'd to *James-Town* with 270 Buſhels of Corn; but there had been this further misfortune in his abſence, that Mr. *Scrivener* and Captain *Walde* (both Perſons of Courage and great Uſefulneſs) going out upon a ſmall Expedition, were with all their little Company over-turn'd in their Skiff and drown'd. The Plantation however was now in poſſeſſion of a pretty Stock of Proviſion, and might have enjoy'd ſome proſperous days had it not been for thoſe deviliſh *Dutchmen*, and their Accomplices; for a Party of Raſcals they had at *St. James-Town* that ſided with them, and help'd to convey Ammunition out of the Fort to them. The place of their Rendezvous was at the Glaſs-Houſe, which is about a Mile from *James-Town*, in the Woods; and near this place they had planted an Ambuſcade of Savages to take Captain *Smith*, who was gone out one day to ſearch this

Mr. *Scrivener* loſt.

Rendezvous of the Traytors.

Neſt

An Adventure of Captain *Smith* with a Savage King.

Neſt of Rogues. The Bird he wou'd have taken (one of the Traytors) was fled, and having ſent all the Muſketeers he brought out with him after this fellow, he walk'd home alone. Upon the way he meets the King of *Paſpaheigh*, one of *Powhatan*'s Tributaries, (or Allies at leaſt in the War againſt Captain *Smith*) and a wonderful ſtrong ſtout Man. The Savage wou'd fain have drawn him into his Snares, but the Captain wou'd not go; ſo that ſeeing no other way, he endeavour'd to ſhoot him, but *Smith* prevented him there, for he preſently clos'd in with him, and endeavour'd to diſpatch him with his Faulchion. But here again the Savage prevented him, for finding his deſign to ſtab him, he catches *Smith* up in his arms, and runs away with him to the River (juſt by) into which he plunges both himſelf and him. Here they tried to drown one another as faſt as they cou'd, for Swords and Guns ſignified nothing in the water. Whilſt they were ſtruggling in this Element, there came two of the Captain's Men upon the ſhore, which ſight loſt the King of *Paſpaheigh* all his courage: However the Captain had him faſt by the Throat, and held him ſo, till the Men came in and took him off; and then his Majeſty begg'd his Life very heartily, but notwithſtanding was carried Priſoner to *James-Town*, from whence afterwards, by the negligence of his Guards, he made a ſhift to eſcape.

Capt. *Smith*'s reputation amongſt the Savages.

The Factions of the Company.

Captain *Smith*, after this, by his prudent and politick managements, reconcil'd the *Paſpaheigh*'s to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and bound them by a ſolemn Treaty to bring in Proviſion. By a lucky hit alſo of bringing a Savage to himſelf, that was almoſt ſtifled with the fumes of Charcoal, he got the name of a Man of extraordinary Power, and one that cou'd raiſe the Dead to Life. This over-aw'd *Powhatan*, and all his Allies, ſo that they deſired Peace, and brought Preſents; yea, many of them that had ſtolen things from the *Engliſh*, came and made Reſtitution of their own accord, believing that Captain *Smith*, who cou'd reſtore the Dead to Life, cou'd alſo diſcover their Villanies. When the ſtock of Proviſions grew low, and the Rats (which came in for the beſt ſhare of it) had, together with other accidents, done their worſt towards the deſtroying it, the Captain ſet the Company at work to trace the Country, and find their own Proviſion, and Billetted them about upon the Savages in the neighbouring Parts; theſe courſes ſtirr'd the Gall of the lazy droniſh People, and ſet them a murmuring. In ſhort, tho' the Captain did all that cou'd be expected from a brave Governour, and a Man of an Heroick temper and courage, yet he could not pleaſe theſe Malecontents, but was ever obnoxious to their ill-natur'd Cenſures and Reflections. But a ſudden turn of Affairs now came on, which promis'd quickly to remove this Preſident from them, that was by his Honeſty and Bravery become ſuch a burden to Knaves and Cowards: For the Council in *England* hearing of the diſturbance in the Plantation, fix'd upon the Lord *De la Ware* to go and govern there, who ſent, as his Deputy, Sir *Thomas Gates*, with Sir *George Summers*, together with 9 Ships, and at leaſt 500 Perſons. What was the ſucceſs of this Voyage, we ſhall ſee by and by: thus much only is to be ſaid now, that the Admiral Ship of this Fleet, wherein were the two Knights, and the new Commiſſion, was ſeparated from the reſt, and forc'd away by bad Weather to the *Bermuda* Iſlands, and one or two more were driven another way; the reſt came ſafe to *Virginia.*

Mutinous People return'd to *Virginia.*

Their Deſigns againſt Capt. *Smith.*

New Plantations.

The ſucceſs of that at *Nauſamund.*

Along with theſe Ships return'd ſome of the troublers of the Peace of the Plantation, who had gone back to *England*, and now came again to be a freſh plague to Captain *Smith*. 'Tis not eaſie to deſcribe the Diſorders they were the occaſion of, and the extravagancies they committed; as likewiſe the Plots and Snares they laid for his Life, and the many Dangers he went through. However, being Preſident ſtill, (tho' his Year was well nigh expired) he exerted his Authority, reſtraining ſome, and puniſhing others, and diſpoſing of others into places where they might be capable of doing the leaſt miſchief. The chief Heads of the factious People were Captain *Ratcliffe*, Captain *Martin*, and Captain *Archer*; and their main quarrel againſt the Preſident ſeem'd to be this, That he was a Man of far more Merit than they, and that his Vertues attracted the love of all People that had Eyes to ſee them, even the Savages themſelves. In theſe confuſions the Honourable Mr. *Weſt* went, by the Preſident's leave, to Plant at the Falls of the River of *Powhatan*, with 120 Men; and Captain *Martin*, with near as many, to *Nauſamund*. But this latter Plantation was preſently blown up, for *Martin* muſt needs ſeize the King of *Nauſamund*, and rifle his Houſes and Country: all which Villanies he did with ſo much fear and conſternation too, that he encourag'd the Savages to fall upon him, which they did with ſo good ſucceſs, that they redeem'd their own King, kill'd ſeveral of the *Engliſh*, and carry'd off above 1000 Buſhels of their Corn; tho' the weak-ſpirited Captain had a Reinforcement of Muſketeers ſent him by the Preſident, yet he dar'd not attempt any thing with them, but left his Company to ſhift for themſelves, and ran away to *James-Town*, loaden with all the honour of theſe noble Actions.

How they at the River *Powhatan* manag'd Matters.

Capt. *Smith*'s care to ſettle them better.

They refuſe to go.

They riſe againſt him.

Their Oppreſſions of the Savages.

The Savages riſe.

They plant at *Powhatan.*

They leave it again.

Capt. *Smith*'s misfortune.

As for the Company at the Falls of the River *Powhatan*, Mr. *Weſt* left them as ſoon as he had ſeated them; but whether he had fix'd them in that place, or they had remov'd themſelves as ſoon as he was gone, this is certain, that the Preſident (who went preſently after to overlook them in their new Seat) found them in a place of moſt intolerable inconveniences. Upon that he preſently ſent away to the Savage King *Powhatan*, to buy of him the Town ſtanding upon this River, both which bore his Name *Powhatan*, which was not only yielded to, but alſo very good terms were made for the *Engliſh* with the Savages; they were to bring in conſtant Supplies of Corn, in lieu of which the *Engliſh* were to give them a trifling Matter of Copper, and to be their Protectors againſt the *Monacans* their Enemies. But theſe Furies wou'd not hear neither of the place he had provided, nor the good terms he had made for them; they began to run into downright Tumults, and to make uſe of their Arms. Captain *Smith* had but five Men with him, and 'twas an imprudently bold action of him to truſt himſelf with ſo ſlender a Guard amongſt 120 of ſuch outrageous Mutineers. However, they forc'd him to retire from the ſhore into a Boat, by which means he got to their Ship that had all their Proviſion aboard her, and the Mariners proving Honeſt and Loyal, he made himſelf Maſter of it, and now had them at his Mercy. The diſorderly Company fell now to plundering the Savages, breaking open their Houſes, and ſtealing their Corn; nay, that was not enough, but they beat and abus'd thoſe poor wretches moſt unmercifully, and rais'd their fury and revenge to the higheſt degree. They came in their Canoes to Captain *Smith*, and complain'd that the *Engliſh* he had brought them for Protectors, us'd them more barbarouſly than their Enemies the *Monacans*, and therefore, as for his ſake they had patiently endur'd it a great while, ſo now, if they did not mend their Manners, they ſhou'd take up Arms in their own Defence, and revenge the Injuries that had been done them. The Preſident ſpent eight or nine Days in vigorous endeavours to reclaim this licentious multitude, but all being in vain, he reſolv'd to leave them and ſail away to *James-Town*. The Ship was no ſooner under Sail, but the Savages immediately fell upon them aſhore, gave a brisk aſſault to the Fort, and cut off as many as they found ſtraggling about in the Woods. This put them all into the dreadfulleſt fright imaginable, and the Captain being yet within hearing of all came back again, and found them ſo ſear'd with this accident, that they were ready to ſubmit to his Mercy upon any terms whatſoever. He made ſome of the Heads of them examples for their crimes, and then remov'd the whole Company to *Powhatan-Town*, where they were moſt gallantly Seated, had good Houſes, a pretty Fortification, and able to ſecure them from all the Savages in *Virginia*, and 300 Acres of very good Land ready to plant; beſides, a moſt pleaſant and healthful place, and well deſerving the Name they gave it, *Noneſuch*. The Savages alſo were appeas'd and ſatisfy'd, and new Officers appointed; thus all being Friends, and every thing ſetled in good order, Captain *Smith* was going a ſecond time for *James-Town*, but juſt at that inſtant arriv'd Mr. *Weſt*, who had indiſcreetly planted them at the Falls of *Powhatan*, and tho' that Honourable Perſon was no way concern'd in, or any encourager of their Diſorders, yet his arrival undid all again, the Factions grew as high, and the inſolent Mutineers talk'd as loud as ever, and nothing wou'd ſerve their turn, but they muſt quit this fine Town where the Captain had planted them, and return to their old Seat at the Falls of the River. And ſo they did, and Mr. *Weſt*'s good humour was govern'd by them: as for the Preſident, he determin'd to ſtrive no longer with them, but e'en let them take their own courſe, and brew as they bak'd; ſo he left them, and ſail'd away for *James-Town*. But in the way a terrible misfortune befel him, for ſleeping in his Boat, his Powder-Bag accidentally took fire and blew him up, ſcorching and tearing his fleſh after a moſt fearful manner; and the Captain frying as it were in his own Cloaths, to quench the fire that tormented him immediately leap'd over-board, and plung'd himſelf into the River, where he was very like to be drown'd before they cou'd recover him again. In this miſerable caſe (having no Chirurgeon to dreſs him) he was forc'd to travel to *James-Town*, where, notwithſtanding his illneſs, he wou'd not be excus'd from publick buſineſs.

They conſpire againſt his Life.

The Soldiers ſtand up for him.

Capt. *Smith*'s departure.

The mutinous Captains, *Ratcliffe*, *Martin* and *Archer*, were quickly to be brought to their Trials, according to the Laws of the Plantation; to prevent which, they endeavour'd to diſpatch the Preſident as he lay upon his his Bed ſo extremely ſick, that cou'd they have had patience enough, they might reaſonably have hop'd his malady wou'd have done it for them in a little time. However, the Villain that ſhou'd have Piſtol'd him had not courage enough to do it; ſo that this Plot being baulk'd, they thought the beſt way was to Uſurp the Government, and ſo make their Power ſerve to vindicate their own Innocency, and ſtain his that had made them guilty. Captain *Smith*'s old ſtaunch Soldiers wou'd fain have taken off the Heads of theſe Plotters againſt his Life, and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, but he wou'd not yield to any ſuch Deſign, but got himſelf convey'd a Shipboard, and took Orders for his preſent return to *England*. This (next to his Death) was the thing that pleas'd the malignant Party the beſt, and now all their care was to get the Commiſſion from him; but the Captain wou'd never ſurrender it to them, tho' he conniv'd at their ſtealing it away. Then taking his farewel of them, with many ſevere reflections and reproaches for their baſe Practices, and calling all to bear witneſs that 'twas not long of him that the Plantation was left thus expos'd without a Governour, he came away from a Country of which he cou'd ſay thus much, That he had been more barbarouſly us'd there by his own Countrymen than by the wildeſt of the Savages.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Continuation of the Virginian *Affairs, from* A. D. 1610. *to* A. D. 1620.

State of the Colony when Capt. *Smith* went away.

They accuſe him when he is gone.

His enemies ſpeak well of him in *England*.

Capt. *Ratcliffe* and the *Dutchmen* kill'd.

WE concluded the laſt Chapter with Captain *Smith*'s departure, who left the Colony in a miſerable confus'd ſtate, tormented with a parcel of factious Uſurping Spirits, that ſtudied nothing leſs than the Publick Good, nor more than their own Private Advantage. At his going away the whole number was very near 500, their Store-Houſes full, their Arms, and all Military Furniture, in good caſe, and as much Powder and Shot as they needed. They had all ſorts of uſeful Animals about them too, from Horſes even to Hens and Chickens; yet neither all the Captain's former Benefits, nor theſe his laſt Cares for them, to leave them in ſo good a condition, cou'd ever perſwade them into any ſoft and kind thoughts of him, or to afford him the leaſt degree of generous treatment. He was no ſooner gone, but all thoſe turbulent People, with one conſent, began to rail at him; eſpecially thoſe whom he had any way chaſtis'd for their Inſolencies, and who now had full liberty to invent whatever Scandals they wou'd, and ſwear to all they invented. There were as many ſeveral Stories told of him, as there were Perſons that envied and maligned him, and the degrees of their Malignity were very well diſcover'd by the magnitude of their Lyes. One ſaid this, and another that, and a third another thing; and ſo they had their Says all round. As for thoſe whoſe Inventions were dull, and they had not Sence enough to patch up a plauſible Story themſelves, the good Council help'd them out at a dead lift, and advis'd them what they ſhould Swear. The Ships waited upon them all this time, while they were laying their Accuſations together, for they were ready to ſail back to *England* before, but they were compell'd to ſtay till the Witneſſes were all furniſh'd, that they might go and teſtify Captain *Smith*'s crimes to his face. But the Jeſt of it was, that the beſt of all his Friends cou'd not give him a better Character, than ſeveral of thoſe very Men did who had made ſuch a confounded noiſe in *Virginia*, and were ſent over on purpoſe to do the ſame in *England*. As to the reſt of them that ſtuck to their Principles, their Accuſations had ſo evidently all the Characters of Malice and Forgery ſtamp'd upon them, that all People, who were not blinded by prejudices, clearly ſaw that it was ſo, and the Captain's Vertues did ſhine but the lighter, for all their violent endeavours to eclipſe them. There were ſeveral of his moſt virulent Adverſaries, that by unexpected events came to receive a juſt recompence for their unreaſonable enmities and treacheries againſt him: The *Dutchmen* were knock'd in the head by *Powhatan*; for when the talk was firſt of my Lord *De la Ware*'s coming over, thoſe fellows highly commended that Lord to him, and promis'd to do mighty things for him, if he wou'd give them leave to go to him when he came. 'No, (ſays the Savage) you have betray'd Captain *Smith* to me already, 'and you'll betray me alſo to this Lord: for being 'falſe to your own Maſter, you cannot be true to me; and ſo commanded his Men to beat out their Brains.

Savages at War with them.

Captain *Smith*'s enemies repent the loſs of him.

Captain *Ratcliffe* alſo, with a Company of Men, attempting to trade, were ſurpriz'd and ſlain by *Powhatan*; and ſo were ſeveral more of the *Engliſh*, that went out under the command of Mr. *Weſt* and Captain *Martin*. For as ſoon as ever the Savages heard that Capt. *Smith* had quitted the Country, they revolted every where, and took all the opportunities that cou'd be, both to ſtarve them and cut their throats. *Powhatan* abſolutely denied them Trade, and the Savages in all places refus'd to repleniſh their decaying Stores with freſh Supplies of Proviſions. And now they began to find the want of Captain *Smith*; yea, his greateſt enemies were then ready to curſe the loſs of him. In a word, the 500 that Captain *Smith* left, were within ſix Months reduc'd to 60, and thoſe forc'd to live upon the wild Products of the Fields, or ſometimes a little Fiſh; yea, the Living ſometimes liv'd upon the Dead. The cauſe of theſe Diſtreſſes was not to be attributed to the barrenneſs of the Country, but their own Riot and Luxury, their want of good Government, and prudent Care in laying up Proviſions; and laſtly, their ill Conduct in making the Savages their enemies. 'Twas in theſe ſtraits that Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers*, found the miſerable remainders of the Plantation when they arriv'd at *James-Town*.

Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers* Voyage.

Caſt up on the *Bermudas* Iſlands.

The Reader was inform'd in the laſt Chapter, that the beſt part of this Fleet came to *James-Town* without the two Knights: The buſineſs was, that they were ſeparated from one another by one of the moſt violent ſtorms that was ever known. For a matter of four days continually, they did nothing but pump and toil themſelves, to keep the Ship from ſinking; they threw out 100 Tun of water every four hours, and yet for the moſt part of the time, when the Ship had leaſt in her, ſhe bore ten foot deep. They had no leiſure to eat, drink or reſt; ſo that now they were upon the point of committing themſelves to the Mercies of God, when Sir *George Summers* happily diſcover'd Land. This prov'd to be the *Bermuda-Iſlands*, which from this excellent Perſon had afterwards the Name of the *Summer-Iſlands*. Here they came all ſafe aſhore, and tho' theſe Iſlands had formerly had a very ill name, and were ſaid to be fit for nothing but Devils to dwell in, yet they found them a very commodious Habitation for Men, and bleſs'd the Providence that caſt them here.

Mutinies.

The deſcription of theſe Iſlands ſhall not be given here, but remitted to its proper place, where we treat of them profeſſedly. As for the Colony, they did not want Proviſions, but there were no Inhabitants for them to converſe with. The Governour had the plague of ſeveral Mutinies too, ſome of which were ſtopt by ſeverities, and others by gentle treatment of the Offenders. They exercis'd all Religious Duties during their ſtay, and had

opportunities

Chriſtian Service perform'd there.

Come to *Virginia.*

opportunities of performing all the Rites of the Chriſtian Religion, in a place where perhaps never any Religion was practis'd before. Beſides Preaching and Praying, they had Marriages, Births, Baptiſms and Burials here. They ſet up a Croſs as a Memorial of their wonderful preſervation and ſafe arrival at this place; a ſhort account of which was engraven in a Copper Plate, in Engliſh and Latin, and plac'd upon the ſame Croſs, together with his Majeſties Picture in Silver. They alſo built a good Pinnace to help them on in their Voyage to *Virginia*, which was at leaſt 140 leagues from the *Summer-Iſlands*; and, in a word, having every way fitted up themſelves for ſuch a Voyage, they ſet ſail, and had a proſperous Voyage on't thither. They came firſt to the famous Bay of *Cheſepiack*, and then to *Cape Comfort*, where they had the comfort of hearing that all the reſt of the Fleet were come in ſafely the Year before; but the affliction of hearing at the ſame time, that the Colony at *James-Town* was in a moſt lamentable condition. The Preſident then in being was the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, at that time over-looking the Affairs of the Fort, which they had built at *Cape Comfort* the Year before. This Fort was very advantageouſly ſituated, and by reaſon of the Shoals which lie of the Sea-ſide, it eaſily commanded the mouth of the River, tho' it be as broad as the *Thames* between *Greenwich* and the *Iſle of Dogs*.

The ſad ſtate of the Colony in want of Proviſions.

They reſolve to go away.

The Lord *De la Ware's* arrival *A. D.* 1610.

They ſettle at *James-Town* again.

An unfortunate Voyage to the *Bermudas.*

Sir *George Summers's* death.

The Savages continue their violences.

When they came up to *James-Town*, they were ſad Eye-witneſſes of the deplorable ſtate of the Colony there; all things were out of order, their Stores exhauſted, and themſelves upon the point of ſtarving. And that which made the diſtreſs yet far more terrible was, that here were no Supplies brought to their relief; all that was in theſe Ships being no more than ſufficient for 150 Men for a little while. Neither was there any hopes of getting any in the Country; for beſides that, the Savages were all at Daggers draw with them, it was now their Seed-time, and their Corn was but juſt, or ſcarce put into the ground. That little matter however which Sir *Thomas Gates* brought with him from the *Bermudas*, he generouſly reſolv'd ſhou'd be divided amongſt them all; which when it came to be calculated, was found not poſſible to laſt longer than 16 days, tho' husbanded to the beſt advantage, and each Man's ſhare no more than wou'd ſuffice juſt to keep him from being famiſh'd. All theſe things put together, were reaſons ſtrong enough to introduce a general reſolution of quitting the Country, and there was a neceſſity of doing it preſently, for after they were all ſtarv'd there was no running away. Accordingly they beſtow'd themſelves as well as might be in the Pinnaces then in the Road, and thoſe they brought from the *Bermudas*, and ſo the whole Plantation went off together, having buried all their Ordnance before the Fort-gate, and by the particular care of Sir *Thomas Gates* the Town was left ſtanding, tho' ſome diſcontented People had a great mind to have ſet it afire. But they had proceeded but a little way down the River, when they met the Right Honourable the Lord *De la Ware*, who was then unexpectedly arriv'd to enter upon his Government of *Virginia*. So that now they all repair'd to *James-Town* again, with no little Joy at ſo pleaſant a diſappointment, and the care of the Deputy in preſerving the Town from the flames, appear'd to have been to ſome purpoſe. His Lordſhip brought three Ships with him exceedingly well furniſh'd with all neceſſaries, and enough to enable the Plantation to hold out for ſome time. All things were now regulated, his Lordſhip's Commiſſion read publickly, the Council nominated, and all the Officers appointed to their ſeveral Truſts and Charges. The Lord *De la Ware* had the Title of Lord Governour and Captain General: Sir *Thomas Gates* Lieutenant-General: Sir *George Summers* Admiral: The Honourable *George Percy* Commander of the Fort: Sir *Ferdinando Weinman* Maſter of the Ordnance: Captain *Newport* Vice-Admiral: *William Strachey* Eſq; (the Author of this account) Secretary and Recorder. The other Inferiour Officers were alſo nominated, and the uſual Oaths adminiſtred to all. Tho' his Lordſhip had brought a Stock of Proviſions, yet ſince that wou'd quickly require to be ek'd out with further Supplies, Sir *George Summers* therefore propos'd a Voyage to the *Bermuda-Iſlands*, from whence he wou'd fetch 6 Months Proviſion of Fiſh and Fleſh, and accordingly he and Captain *Argoll* were diſpatch'd thither for that purpoſe. But the effects of this Voyage prov'd very unhappy, for theſe two worthy Perſons loſt one another at Sea, and Captain *Argoll*, inſtead of the *Bermudas*, fell in with the Coaſt of *Sagadahoc*, where refreſhing awhile, he return'd with a ſmall quantity of Codfiſh to *James-Town*. As for Sir *George Summers*, he alſo fell in with the ſame Coaſt, miſſing the *Bermudas*, but having refreſh'd there awhile, he continued his ſearch of thoſe Iſlands, and at laſt found them, and his Death there, the effect of his over-toiling himſelf upon a Surfeit. His Heart and Bowels were buried upon the ſpot, and his Body brought back to *England* in his own Ship, which, without any Iron about her, one Bolt only in her Keel excepted, endur'd the Voyage through that mighty Ocean. In the mean time, the Affairs of the Plantation went but badly on; the Savages did nothing but inſult them, coming up to the very Works, and aſſaulting the Men there, and knocking all o'th' head that they found at any time unarm'd or ſtraggling in the Woods. The *Engliſh* had from ſeveral conſiderations hitherto forborn to chaſtize them any thing rigorouſly for theſe Inſolencies, but now they ſaw there was no end on't, and they grew but the bolder and ſawcier for being thus let alone, and therefore they began to treat them after another manner, and teach them good Manners by a little uſe of the Sword.

The *Engliſh* correct them.

Powhatan's proud anſwer.

And demands.

Sir *Thomas Gates* went and plundered the Town of *Kecoughton*, more to frighten the Savages than to get any great Spoil. The Lord Governour alſo ſent a ſort of an Embaſſie to *Powhatan*, to demand the reſtitution of all *Engliſh* Priſoners, and ſatisfaction for all Injuries done, promiſing all Friendſhip and Kindneſs in caſe of his compliance, and on the other hand threatning to take a ſevere revenge, and pay all the old Scores, if he refus'd to do Juſtice. But he (who had now loſt all fear of the *Engliſh* together with Captain *Smith*) let them know he ſhou'd yield to none of their Propoſals, but bid them all depart his Country, at leaſt confine themſelves to *James-Town*, and not rove about ſearching his Towns and Rivers, and making his Property their own; and if they did not, he wou'd make his People do them all the miſchief they fear'd. As for the Meſſengers, he commanded them never to preſume to appear before him any more, unleſs they brought him a Coach and Horſes, for he had heard that the great Lords in *England* us'd to ride in ſuch ſtate to ſee one another.

Engliſh reſolution.

Lord's ſickneſs.

Lord *De la Ware's* care of the Colony.

Some of his *Indians* had been in *England*, and having ſeen Coaches, had told him what things they were, otherwiſe a handſome Wheelbarrow might have ſerv'd well enough; and what a pretty figure wou'd his *Virginian* Majeſty have made, with his Copper Crown and Scarlet Cloak on, (the *Engliſh* gave him) in this one wheel'd wooden Coach? After this, *Powhatan* ſtill kept on his old way of intriguing and watching the Colony; his Spies went prouling about in every Quarter, and his Ambuſcades lay up almoſt to the very Paliſadoes. The *Engliſh*, when they catch'd any of them, gave them Martial Law, and reſolv'd, if *Powhatan* did not alter his courſe in a very little while, to carry Fire and Sword into the Bowels of his Country. But this accident happen'd in favour of him, that the Lord Governour (who otherwiſe wou'd have been as good as his word) quickly after his arrival loſt his health, and by degrees came to ſo ill a habit of Body, that in 8 Months time he was conſtrain'd to return to *England*, having no proſpect of any compleat cure but his own Native air. His Lordſhip ſubſtituted the Honourable Mr. *Percy* Deputy-Governour in his room, who was to remain in that Poſt till farther Orders from *England*. He left the Colony upwards of two hundred, in good ſtate as to health, and furniſh'd with ten Months Proviſion at leaſt. Before his Lordſhip's departure, Sir *Thomas Gates* was ſent for to *England* by the Council for the *Virginian* Affairs there, to give a true account of the Country, and to let them know in plain terms, whether it were ſuch as was ever likely to anſwer all the coſt the Society had been at, in their Contributions towards the Support of the Plantation there. The anſwer of which worthy Gentleman was ſuch, as gave them every way ample Satisfaction, and Encouragement to go on with their Deſign; the Reaſons of which being drawn moſtly from the nature of the Country it ſelf, the Reader will eaſily ſee in the Deſcription of *Virginia*, which we ſhall preſent him with afterwards.

His account to the Council.

When the Lord *De la Ware* came to *England*, he did himſelf in Perſon give the Council a large account of the Affairs of the Colony, which was publiſh'd by Order of the ſaid Council. For the better ſecuring of the *Engliſh* Plantation there, he had order'd three Forts to be built; two of which were ſeated near *Cape-Comfort*, and the third near the Falls.

Sir *Tho. Dale* ſent.

A. D. 1611.

The Company being encourag'd by what they had heard from the Lord Governour, and Sir *Thomas Gates*, ſent over a freſh Supply by Sir *Thomas Dale*, who bore the Title of Marſhal in the Country, and was to command there in chief till Sir *Thomas Gates's* arrival from *England*. This Gentleman found the Plantation labouring under their old Diſtempers of Idleneſs and Lazineſs,

having

Henry Town.

Patowomeek.

Capt. *Argoll's* Diſcoveries.

Sorts of Earth.

having thrown no Corn into the ground, but truſting to the Stores the Lord *De la Ware* had left, and what the Bounty of the Fields would afford them. He preſently ſet to repairing the Town, and having made a Diſcovery of *Naſamund*-River up to the very Head, and after that of the River of the Colony, he fix'd upon a place, (towards the Falls of this latter, near an *Indian* Town call'd *Arſabattocke*) a high Land, encompaſs'd with the main River, and about 18 Miles from the Falls, where he intended to plant a new Town. He had done no more than preparing his Materials for this new Building, when Sir *Tho. Gates* arriv'd from *England*, who came in the Quality of Governour, and brought ſix Ships well-furniſh'd with Men, Cattle and Proviſion. Sir *Tho. Gates* approv'd of the deſign of erecting a Town at the Falls of the forementioned River, ſo that Sir *Tho. Dale* preſently went about it, and in four Months ſpace had form'd ſomething that might (in *Virginia* at leaſt) be called a Town, to which (in honour of the noble Prince *Henry*) he gave the Name of *Henry-Town*. After the arrival of theſe two Knights, the worthy and brave Captain (afterwards Sir *Samuel*) *Argoll*, open'd a trade with the *Indians* of *Patowomeek*, and meeting with a very friendly reception amongſt them, he deliver'd in at *James-Town*, as the Fruits of this Expedition, 1100 Buſhels of Corn. He diſcover'd this time up the River which they call'd *Pembroke*-River, that runs up into the Land about 65 Leagues, being Navigable for any Ship. They ſaw great ſtore of a ſort of Cattle as big as Kine, that prov'd very good and wholſome Meat; they were a very heavy, ſlow ſort of Creatures, and tho' Inhabitants of the Woods, had nothing of that wildneſs in them that other Beaſts have. The Captain likewiſe diſcover'd a Mine, a trial of which he ſent into *England*, and ſeveral ſtrange kinds of Earth, one that the *Indians* of that Country always us'd to eat for Phyſick, and ſaid that it cured all diſorders in the Belly; another like a Gum, white and clear; another red, like *Terra ſigillata*; another very white, and ſo light, that it wou'd ſwim like Corn at top of the water.

Capt. *Argoll's* contrivance to force *Powhatan* to make reſtitution.

Pocahunta ſeiz'd.

Powhatan complies.

Sir *Tho. Dale* goes to *Powhatan*.

Pocahunta's [illegible] upon her Father.

Captain *Argoll*, in this Expedition, perform'd alſo another very good piece of Service, which was the redemption of the *Engliſh* Priſoners that liv'd an uneaſie life with *Powhatan*, partly upon the account of their Slavery, and the continual apprehenſions of ſome cruel death they ſhould be put to at laſt. And he brought it about by this pretty Stratagem: *Pocahunta*, the Beloved Daughter of *Powhatan*, reſided about this time with the great King of *Patowomeek*, which Captain *Argoll* having notice of, he apply'd himſelf to the King of *Paſtancie* Brother to the former, and propos'd to him to get this young Princeſs deliver'd into his hands. Now tho' the King of *Paſtancie* was the Captain's very good friend, yet he was afraid of having his hand in ſuch a buſineſs as that, for fear of drawing *Powhatan*'s anger and revenge upon himſelf, as there was juſt reaſon enough to expect it. However, the Captain telling him (that if he did not do it) it wou'd be a breach of the Friendſhip and good Correſpondence that was between them, and promiſing at the ſame time to ſtand by him with a good force in caſe *Powhatan* ſhould ever aſſault him, he conſented, and went away to his Brother the King of *Patowomeek*, to perſwade him to reſign her. And he having deliberated upon the Matter a little while, choſe rather to oblige the *Engliſh*, and loſe *Powhatan*'s Friendſhip, than the contrary, and ſo deliver'd up *Pocahunta* into the Captain's Cuſtody. Upon this, word was preſently ſent to *Powhatan*, that if he ever intended to have his Daughter again, he muſt diſmiſs the *Engliſh* Priſoners, with all the Arms and Tools that his People had ſtolen from the Colony at *James-Town*, and give a good quantity of Corn into the bargain. The Savage was bitterly perplex'd at this News, but not knowing how to help himſelf, he ſent word back, That if the Captain wou'd bring his Ship into his River, he wou'd ſatisfie his Demands, and there make Friends with him and the *Engliſh*. With which anſwer, Captain *Argoll* return'd to the Plantation, and deliver'd *Pocahunta* to Sir *Tho. Gates* the Governour, by whom ſhe was treated with all the civility and reſpect in the World. As for her, ſhe was ever a lover of the *Engliſh* Nation, and was ſo far from eſteeming this as a Captivity, that ſhe reckon'd it a Freedom. She was young, being not above twelve or thirteen Years old when ſhe preſerv'd Captain *Smith*'s life; and in all points the Pride and Flower of her Country. In order to the managing this Affair with *Powhatan*, it was reſolv'd that Sir *Tho. Dale* ſhould go inſtead of Capt. *Argoll*; ſo he ſet out in his Frigot, with 150 Men, taking *Pocahunta* along with him, and came into the *Pamankie*-River, where *Powhatan* then reſided It was ſome time (notwithſtanding all the former pretences) before the buſineſs cou'd be accompliſh'd. The Savages pretended not to know what Sir *Tho. Dale* came about, and wou'd have referr'd him for diſpatch to *Opechancanough* inſtead of *Powhatan*, who was, they ſaid, three days Journey off. In ſhort, they made ſo many delays, that the *Engliſh* were forced to quicken them by ſome Hoſtilities, and threatnings of more; ſo that at laſt *Powhatan* ſent his Men, but he ſent them in ſuch numbers, that it look'd as if he deſign'd ſomething elſe beſides the redemption of his Daughter. *Pocahunta*, for her part, wou'd hardly vouchſafe to talk to any of them, at leaſt ſhe did it only to a few of the chief; and them ſhe told, That ſince her Father lov'd her no better, as appear'd by his preferring a parcel of old ruſty Tools before her, ſhe wou'd e'en dwell with the *Engliſh* ſtill, who ſhew'd her all manner of kindneſs.

Powhatan's Propoſals.

Powhatan, preſently after this, ſent a Meſſenger to aſſure Sir *Tho. Dale*, that all the Guns, Swords and Tools, together with ſome Corn, ſhou'd be ſent to *James-Town* in 15 days time, and the Priſoners alſo ſhou'd come along with them. He promis'd alſo, that all Deſerters from the Colony ſhou'd be ſent back; and any of his Subjects that did miſchief, ſhou'd be reſign'd to them to be puniſh'd as they thought fit. Laſtly, he nam'd ſeveral of his Neighbour Kings, whom he deſired ſhould be included in the Peace; and as for his Daughter, he freely conſented ſhe ſhould live among the *Engliſh*, deſiring Sir *Tho. Dale* to treat her as his own Child.

Pocahunta baptiz'd and marri'd.

With theſe conditions they return'd to *James-Town*, and *Powhatan* was as good as his word, and perform'd them all by the time limited. *Pocahunta* was very well pleas'd with her life amongſt the *Engliſh*, and by the care of Sir *Tho. Dale* was throughly Inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, which after ſome time ſhe made an open and ſolemn profeſſion of, and was thought fit to be enter'd into the Viſible Church by Baptiſm, which accordingly was adminiſter'd to her. After this (with her Father's and Friend's approbation) ſhe was married to an *Engliſh* Gentleman of the Plantation, and her Uncle gave her in the Church.

The *Chickahomanies* ſubmit to King *James*.

Capt. *Argoll* routs away the *French*.

But to go on with Captain *Argoll*'s happy Managements in this Country: The Nation of the *Checkahomanies* having ſignified their deſire of a Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, Captain *Argoll* went to them to conclude it. They had no King amongſt them, but were govern'd by eight great Men: They were a very ſtout and warlike People, and wou'd never upon any terms acknowledge the Sovereignty of *Powhatan*. Yet now they were very willing to own King *James* of *England* for their King, and ſaid they wou'd be call'd the *Chikahominy* Engliſhmen. The Captain promis'd them aſſiſtance againſt their Enemies, and made each of their Governours a Preſent of Copper, which pleas'd them highly. The Conditions were, That every Harveſt they ſhould bring Corn to *James-Town*, two Buſhels and a half for every Man that carried a Bow: in requital of which, they ſhould receive every one a portion of Copper, and each of their Governours a Suit of red Cloth; and with theſe the Savages were very well ſatisfied. Their Country is a delicate ſpot, and yields them Corn enough to pay their Tribute, without pinching or ſtraitning themſelves. Captain *Argoll*'s Induſtry and Zeal for the good of the Plantation, did not reſt in theſe performances neither, but put him on upon making ſome uſeful Diſcoveries Northward towards *Sagadahoc*, and beyond; to *Port-Royal* and *Santa-Crux*. In which latter Adventures, if he had brought no other advantage to the Colony than the diſplanting and driving out the *French*, (who had begun to fortify within our Limits) taking their Ships, and bringing them away to *James-Town*, this had been ſufficient to have Intitled him to a large ſhare of praiſe; but this benefit did not come alone, but together with it ſuch quantities of Victuals, Apparel, and other Neceſſaries, as prov'd a very ſubſtantial help to the Colony in the circumſtances it was in. And now we muſt go on with the Series of thoſe Publick Affairs.

A. D. 1614.

Sir *Tho. Gates*, the Governour, had return'd to *England* before all theſe laſt Events happen'd, and gave the Company ſuch an account of the Affairs in *Virginia*, as encourag'd them to go on with their honourable Deſigns of cultivating that Country.

Sir *Tho. Dale* preſides.

A. D. 1616.

Powhatan's Daughter comes into *England*.

Sir *Tho. Dale* preſided upon his going away, and under his good Government matters were brought to that good paſs that we have heard; and then he alſo came away for *England*, leaving Captain *Tardly* Deputy-Governour in his room. Along with him came *Pocahunta* the Daughter of *Powhatan*, (by her Chriſtian Name *Rebecca*) together with her Husband, into *England*. *Tomocomo* alſo, one of *Powhatan*'s Counſellors, came over at the ſame time. Thoſe that ſaw theſe Perſons at *London*, give this Character of *Pocahunta*, That ſhe behav'd her ſelf in all reſpects like the Daughter of a King, and was treated as ſuch, not only by the *Virginia* Company, but all the Nobility that converſ'd with her. She intended to have return'd to her Native Country again with the next Ships, but being come as far as *Graveſend*, in order to it, 'twas her fate to die there, giving very good proofs of her ſincerity in embracing the Chriſtian Religion, and a ſound progreſs therein.

As for *Tomocomo*, he ſtubbornly perſiſted in his Paganiſm, notwithſtanding all endeavours to bring him off; he preferr'd the God his *Virginians* worſhipp'd, far before him the *Engliſh* ador'd, and told ſeveral ſtories of the manner of his Deity's appearance amongſt them. This Savage was ſent over by his Maſter *Powhatan*, chiefly to ſee whether *England* was ſo fine a Country, ſo well ſtock'd with Men, and ſo fruitful of Corn, as was reported in *Virginia*; for they were inclin'd to believe, that the poverty and barrenneſs of their own Country had brought the *Engliſh* over thither. As ſoon as he came firſt aſhore at *Plimouth*, he got a Stick and made a notch in it for every Man he met, thinking that way to keep an exact account: but his method of computation fail'd him, and he found a whole Tree might quickly be notch'd out in that manner, yea, tho' he ſhou'd carry home a Cart load of that Arithmetick to his Maſter, he ſhou'd not make him much the wiſer; ſo he laid it down, and contented himſelf only to ſee and wonder, for reckon he cou'd not.

Good way of Caſting Account.

Capt. *Yardly* governs. *A. D.* 1617.

Captain *Yardly* applied himſelf in his Government to the advancement of Tobacco in the Plantation, but was oblig'd to force the *Chekahomanies* to pay the Tribute of Corn they had agreed for with Captain *Argoll*; yet many other Nations of the Savages ſupplied them with Proviſions, and all liv'd peaceably with the Colony during his ſtay. He returning for *England*, Capt. *Argoll* was ſent to ſupply his place. The Lord *De la Ware* alſo went away quickly after, intending to fill up the ſame place that he had formerly done, but he had the misfortune to die at Sea, and never reach'd *Virginia*. *Powhatan* died not long after this, and was ſucceeded by *Itopatan* his ſecond Brother, who, together with *Opechancanough*, confirm'd the League with the Colony.

A. D. 1617.

Lord *De la Ware's* death. *A. D.* 1619.

Captain *Argoll* being call'd over into *England*, Captain *Yardly* (then Sir *George Yardly*) return'd to take the Government upon him, which was highly to the ſatisfaction of all the Plantation. Many Supplies and Recruits came over at ſeveral times, to encourage and carry on the buſineſs here. The Tobacco-planting went on briskly, and one induſtrious Man cou'd very well manage four Acres of Land with a thouſand Tobacco-plants upon it, tho' many out of greedineſs wou'd have more, and ſuffering too many leaves to grow upon one Stalk, had, together with their much greater quantities, much worſe Tobacco. The Tobacco of the growth of this Country was ſo acceptable in *England*, that the beſt of it was ſold by the Tobacconiſts for the product of another Country, and the very worſt and coarſeſt traſh of all went under the Name of *Virginian*. This was a double Robbery; and if *England* ſuffer'd in the Commodity, buying that for other Tobacco which indeed was *Virginia*, *Virginia* ſuffer'd in its Reputation, and was little oblig'd to thoſe Knaves, that repreſented it as a Country producing Tobacco fit only for Porters and Carr-men to take. But there are ill Practiſes and Deceits in all Profeſſions, and the Cheat runs along from the Matters of Souls, to Bodies and Eſtates, and even down as low as Pipes and Tobacco.

Tobacco planted.

Cheat of the Tobacconiſts.

CHAP. XXV.

An Account of the State of the Virginian *Affairs, from the latter part of* A. D. 1619. *till* A. D. 1624.

ONE wou'd think by the large Accounts of Ships, Men and Goods now ſent over into *Virginia*, that all things there ſhou'd be in a very proſperous State, and the Plantation out of all Danger of being ever Inſulted by its Enemies, for before the Year 1619. was expir'd, there were no leſs than eight Ships diſpatched by the Company, beſides four more by private Adventurers, carrying at leaſt 1260 Perſons, who found in *Virginia* near 1000 remaining of them that had gone before. And there were great quantities of the moſt uſeful Commodities of all ſorts tranſported in theſe Ships; Iron, Cordage, Pot and Soap-aſhes, Timber, Salt, Silk, Vines, all ſorts of Tools, Armour, Powder, *&c.* The Colony now began to put on the face of an orderly Government, and to appear like ſomething able to Defend and Maintain it ſelf. It was diſtinguiſh'd into Boroughs, the Lands were ſhar'd and laid out, the Publick ones, and thoſe belonging to private Societies. There was a Colledge erected, and Publick Houſes for the Entertainment of new *Virginian* Gueſts. The Laws were reduc'd into form according to the *Engliſh* Model, and Juſtice ſat Enthron'd with an awful Majeſty here, in ſome proportion to what it did at home. The ſame Year alſo there were eleven or twelve private Patents granted for particular Plantations, the Undertakers in all which were to bring over ſufficient numbers of People for the management of their reſpective Lands. Several well-diſpoſed Perſons alſo gave rich Gifts, towards the promoting ſo good a Deſign as the cultivating of this Country, eſpecially towards the building of Churches, and the Endowment of them; and Publick Schools for the Education of the Children of the Infidels in the Chriſtian Religion, and good Learning. *A. D.* 1621. theſe Encouragements ſtill went on, for what by the Earl of *Southampton*, the Company, and by private Adventurers, there went over 21 Ships, in which were 1300 Perſons; and the private Patents granted this Year were twenty ſix, upon the Fund of each of which a conſiderable number of People were to be Tranſported. This Year was alſo a Year of great hopes, as to the Improvement of the Commodities brought thither: Their Iron-workers aſſur'd them, no Country in the World was fitter for that buſineſs than *Virginia*, both for Wood, Water, Wine and Stone. The *Frenchmen* alſo that belong'd to the Plantation were as poſitive, that none was properer for Vines, Olives, Rice and Silk; and 'tis certain there was good Wine made, which was the product of the Country. The Salt-works went on together with the reſt, and there was a proſpect that enough would be made to furniſh them for all the great and profitable Fiſhings upon that Coaſt. The Cotton-plants that came out of other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies* proſper'd exceeding well; yea, the *Eaſt-Indian* Vegetables thriv'd here too, the famous Plant *Nill*, from whence the Indigo is made, wanted only Skilful hands to manage it. In ſhort, it was not only theſe, but Sugar, Hemp, Flax, Woad, Mulberries, Oranges and Lemons, Corn, and various other uſeful Vegetables, that the Plantation ſet themſelves to the Improvement of, and eaſily ſaw that their Labour was not in vain. But the two principal Commodities that they reſolv'd particularly to attend the encreaſe and improvement of, were Silk and Wine, which alſo they were eſpecially directed to by an Order from his Majeſty to the Earl of *Southampton*, Treaſurer, and to the Council and Company of *Virginia*, and from them to the Governour and Colony reſiding in that Country.

Large Supplies ſent to *Virginia*, *A. D.* 1619. & 1620.

The Colony ſettled like a State.

Private Patents.

New Supplies in *A. D.* 1621.

Orders for improving Silk and Wine.

The Governour in this Year 1621. was Sir *Francis Wyatt*, who, by his Letters to *England*, certify'd the Company of the happy and flouriſhing State of the Colony: All things were in a profound Tranquility, the Savages were quiet in every Quarter of the Country about them, and there was no noiſe or clamour of War to be heard; every Man ſat ſecure under the ſhadow of his own Tree, and eat the Fruits of his Land without diſturbance. There ſeem'd to be an entire Confidence, a friendly Truſt (without any tincture of jealouſie and ſuſpicion) repoſ'd in one another mutually, by our

Sir *Fr. Wyatt* Governour in 1621.

People and the Natives. Their Houſes ſtood open to each other of both ſides, and the *Engliſh* (who of the two were capable of giving the better Entertainment) very commonly fed the Savages at their Tables, and lodg'd them in their Bed-chambers. The Planters were ſcattered up and down the Country in ſeveral little Companies, and follow'd their rural Labours with alacrity, being under the ſure guard of a Peace. The great Prince of all the Country at this time was *Opechancanough*, the Brother of *Powhatan*, and now his Succeſſor, and the ſame Perſon too whom the brave Captain *Smith* dragg'd along by his Forelock in ſight of all his Army, none of whom durſt ſtir to relieve him. All manner of injuries, and rough dealings of both ſides, ſeem'd to be perfectly forgotten; and this Prince was enter'd into the ſtricteſt League with the Plantation, not only for reciprocal Defence, but as one concern'd with them in the profits of Mines, or any other Diſcoveries made in his Country. And whereas his Majeſty (*Opechancanough*) us'd to dwell in a ſort of a Manſion, that might without injury be compar'd rather to a Hogſty than a Houſe, to oblige him the more, they built him a Houſe after the *Engliſh* faſhion, and put ſome Furniture in the inſide, ſo that he was now ſeated after another manner than ever any of his Predeceſſors had been. Of this Houſe he was ſo exceſſively proud, that he did nothing but walk in and out, ſhewing it to all the ſtrangers that came, who admir'd the ſtrange pomp he liv'd in as much as he did himſelf. But that which moſt particularly pleas'd his Savage fancy, was the Lock and the Key of the Door; he was ſurpriz'd to ſee that the turning of a little piece of Iron one way ſhou'd make the Door open, and the contrary motion ſhou'd ſhut it as faſt. This Engine was ſo wonderful to him, that he was never weary of making Experiments upon it, and 'twas a thing that he ſpent a good part of the day in to lock and unlock his Doors. He was no ſooner up in the Morning, but to work he went with his Keys; and if neither the Locks nor they were broke and ſpoil'd, it was none of his fault. The place of a Turn-key in ſome Jail wou'd have fitted him to the life, and if the Colony had any ſuch to beſtow, they wou'd have done well to have preferr'd him to it.

This wiſe King admiring Gun-powder as much as he did Locks and Keys, laid out a good piece of ground for a Gun-powder Plantation; and having Manur'd it in ſuch a manner as he thought moſt agreeable to the nature of that Seed, he threw it liberally into the well-prepar'd Soil, not doubting but he ſhould reap the Fruit of his Labours in a rich and plentiful Crop. But the *Virginian* Soil not being apt for Gun-powder, he cou'd never bring it to any thing, nor have the pleaſure of ſeeing it ſhoot up into the Blade, tho' he very much deſired it.

But we muſt turn our Eyes now to a more melancholy Scene, and ſee the Plantation (after theſe happy days) involv'd in the greateſt miſeries and confuſions; all this Peace and Quietneſs was but the Savages preparation for Murder and Bloodſhed. They wound themſelves thus into the greateſt familiarities and freedoms with the *Engliſh*, to accompliſh their ruin with the more ſecurity, and to be the leſs ſuſpected while they were contriving of it. Nay, ſo perfect was their diſſimulation, that but two days before the Maſſacre, they guided a Company of the *Engliſh* ſafe through the Woods, and return'd thoſe that had been amongſt them upon buſineſs in a very friendly manner, and all this to encreaſe their confidence in them, and take them off from their guard; that ſo, when the ſurprize came, it might be the more effectual, and the ſtroke given do a compleat and full execution. They had aſſembled themſelves in great numbers together, and being divided into ſeveral Bodies, reſolv'd to fall upon all the Plantations at one and the ſame time.

Friday Morning, *March* 22. *A. D.* 1621. was the fatal time, and the Cut-throats, in purſuance of their deſign, came about the *Engliſh* Houſes, having no manner of Weapons with them, but inſtead of them bringing Furrs and Proviſions to truck for Glaſs-Beads, as they uſe to do at other times. And the *Engliſh* entertain'd them with their accuſtom'd freedom, and in many places ſet them down at their Tables to Breakfaſt with them, little imagining what a ſort of Breakfaſt the others intended to give them. When they ſaw their opportunity they ran to all the Weapons they ſaw lying about the Houſes, all the Tools and Inſtruments by which miſchief might be done, and fell a killing as faſt as they could drive: And what ſome did in the Houſes, others did abroad in the Fields, and other places, amongſt the Workmen and Labourers that were at their ſeveral Employments. They ſpar'd neither Age nor Sex: they treated their greateſt Benefactors with the ſame cruelty and rigour that they did others whom they might have a pique againſt; nay, if there were any difference, they us'd them the moſt barbarouſly, and ſpurn'd their mangled Carkaſſes with the greateſt malice and contempt. The number that fell by their hands was near 400, taking Women and Children into the account; and amongſt the Men were ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Figure in the Colony, and of the Council too. The Slaughter had certainly been Univerſal, and the *Engliſh* entirely Extirpated this time, had not the merciful Providence of Heaven open'd the Mouth of a Savage, to tell of the Plot before 'twas put in execution. By this means, timely notice was given to *James-Town*, and they ſtood upon their guard; and ſo they did in ſeveral other places that were within the reach of this Intelligence, and where 'twas poſſible to give warning of the danger. And wherever the Savages found them in that poſture, they march'd off as faſt as they cou'd, never venturing to ſtand the trial, tho' in ſome of the Plantations there were but a few Men together, and but ſlender arm'd and fortify'd neither.

The next Year the *Engliſh* reveng'd this Outrage in *A. D.* 1622. ſome meaſure, marching into the Country, and burning the Villages and Corn-fields of the Savages: They turn'd the Town of *Pamanuke* alſo (which was *Opechancanough*'s chief Seat) topſy-turvy, and left him a lively Image in his Country, of that Ruin and Deſolation he had ſpread through the Plantation. What mov'd the perfidious Savage to treat the *Engliſh* thus is uncertain, neither cou'd they ever know any other cauſe for it, than the killing of a Savage who had baſely murder'd an *Engliſh* Gentleman in the Woods: But he was a politick ſly Raſcal, fit to manage an Intrigue, and *Opechancanough* was ſaid to be highly Incens'd for the loſs of ſo uſeful a Tool, and to Vow this Revenge upon that ſcore. He prov'd ever afterwards a moſt inveterate Enemy to the *Engliſh*, and practis'd with a King upon the Eaſtern ſhore, to furniſh him with ſome quantities of a Vegetable poyſon, to deſtroy all them that ſurvived the Maſſacre; but that honeſt Savage refus'd it, and came and diſcover'd the whole Matter to the *Engliſh*, offering to juſtify the truth of it, with five or ſix of his great Men, at any time. *Opechancanough* had the fate of a miſerable death, and 'tis believ'd ſome of the *Engliſh* gave him that for his Reward.

The Colony, after this dreadful ſhock, came into a ſetled State again, and his Majeſty of *England* not a little concern'd at it, order'd them a ſtock of Arms and Ammunition out of the *Tower*, that they might be able to defend themſelves from the like Inſults for the future; and alſo appointed a Commiſſion to examine the Affairs of *Virginia*, and find out the letts that had hitherto hindred her from anſwering the Coſt that had been beſtow'd upon her.

Chap. XXVI.

The Hiſtory of Virginia, *drawn from the Writings of Captain* John Smith.

Boundaries.

WHat the Boundaries of this Country are, will be more eaſily ſeen by ſurveying a Map, than deſcrib'd by our writing down the Names of the Countries: That part of it which the firſt Plantations took up, was from 37 degrees to 39 degrees North Lat.

Entrance.

Great Bay of *Cheſepiack.*

The entrance to it by Sea is at the mouth of a very fine Bay call'd *Cheſepiack*-Bay, which is eighteen or twenty Miles wide. The Cape on the South-ſide was call'd *Cape-Henry*, in honour of the Prince; and that on the North-ſide *Cape-Charles*, in honour of the Duke of *York*. The adjoyning Country is as ſweet and pleaſant as moſt that the World can ſhow; and there are all the Beauties that Mountains, Valleys, Plains, Brooks, and large Navigable Rivers can add to a Country. Theſe Navigable Rivers are five in number; they lie on the Weſt-ſide of the Bay, and have their Falls within 15 or 20 Miles of one another.

Navigable Rivers

Powhatan River.

The firſt of theſe, and which is next to the Mouth of the Bay, is called *Powhatan*-River, from a very conſiderable Country that lies upon it: It has its Courſe from the W. & by N. its Riſe from certain Rocks in the Country of *Monacan*, its Mouth near three Miles broad, and is Navigable 150 Miles, but not to be paſs'd any farther by reaſon of Falls, Rocks and Shoals. There are abundance of other Rivers of leſſer note, that loſe themſelves in this great one; and upon all, or moſt of them, dwell ſome little Nations (or large Families of the *Virginians*) under their reſpective Werowances or Petty Kings.

Pamanuke.

About 14 Miles Northward from the *Powhatan* is the River *Pamanuke*, which is Navigable ſixty Miles, and with ſmall Barges thirty Miles farther.

Toppahanock.

The third is the River *Toppahanock*, Navigable 140 Miles. The fourth *Petawomeck*, which is ſix or ſeven Miles broad, and navigable as many Miles as the former.

Pawtuxunt.

The fifth *Pawtuxunt*, inferiour in magnitude to the reſt, but the Channel 16 or 18 fathom deep in many places.

Bolus.

To which may be added another large and navigable River, 30 Leagues to the Northward, which the *Engliſh* call'd *Bolus* upon the account of the Soil reſembling *Bole-Armenick* thereabouts. All theſe (the laſt only excepted) have varieties of People inhabiting about them, many other leſſer Rivers alſo falling into them; the Names of either of which wou'd be of little conſequence for the Reader to know, unleſs ſo far as the Colony was concern'd with them, and in that caſe, as there is occaſion, they may be mention'd. The temper of the Country is ſuch, as very well agrees with the Conſtitutions of *Engliſh* Bodies, being once a little us'd and ſeaſon'd to it.

Seaſons.

The Summer is as hot as in *Spain*, and the Winter at leaſt as cold as in *France* or *England*. The heats of the former Seaſon are very comfortably mitigated by cool Breezes, and the extreme cold of the other continues not long. There are uncertain viciſſitudes of Droughts and rainy wet Weather;

Thunder.

and the Thunder and Lightning is more terrible here than in any parts of *Europe*, at leaſt 'tis ſo for the moſt part.

Winds.

The Winds are no more reducible to certain Rules here than in other parts, only frequent Obſervations have confirm'd and recommended theſe. That the S. W. Wind blows the ſtrongeſt guſts, and brings Thunder and Heat. The N. W. is very cold, and is attended with fair Weather. The N. exceedingly ſharp; and the E. and S. E. foggy and rainy.

Length of Summer and Winter.

The main of the Summer is in *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*; and the Winter half *December*, *January*, *February*, and half *March*.

The Soil.

The Soil (take it all together) is ſuch as may well enough bear a part in compoſing the Character of a happy Country.

Sorts of Earths.

In ſome places you meet with a black Mould, in others a fat ſlimy Clay, in others a Gravel; but 'tis not uncommon to light upon Marble, Fullers-earth, Bole, or at leaſt a thing ſo very like it, that the *Engliſh* gave it the Name of *Bole-Armenick*, and believed it might be as good as the *Lemnian* (tho' here 'twas to be called *Virginian*) Earth. What Mines there are is uncertain, only there were ſome indications of Copper and Antimony: The diſſolving Snows waſh off alſo from the Mountains (about *Cheſepiack* Bay) a certain glittering Matter which they cou'd not well tell what to make of, but in a Country that had had a reputation for Gold, would perhaps have been taken for ſomething of that nature.

No Graſs.

In all the Country there is little or no Graſs but what grows in low marſhy Grounds, for 'tis all over-run with Trees, that by their continual droppings, and the ſtrength of the Soil together, turn all into high rank Weeds; which, notwithſtanding, is a diſtemper that might be cured by good Husbandry.

Trees.

The principal Wood of this Country is Oak and Wall-nut, tho' there is plenty alſo of moſt other ſorts of Trees. Of the former ſort you ſhall meet with abundance, ſo tall and ſtrait, that they will bear two and a half foot ſquare of good Timber for twenty Yards together. There are two or three kinds of them; and one of thoſe kinds, whoſe Bark is much whiter than the reſt, yields an Acron which is ſweet, and being boil'd half a day in ſeveral Waters, affords a very ſweet Oil, which the Natives keep by them to anoint their Heads and Limbs. The Aſh and Elm are very good for making Soap-aſhes, but the large Trees always make the beſt. The Cypreſs-trees (for ſo our *Engliſh* call'd them, becauſe the Wood, the Fruit and the Leaf, did moſt reſemble it) are many of them three fathom in compaſs about the Root, very ſtrait and tall, and running up fifty, ſixty or eighty foot, without a branch ſhooting out of either ſide. Neither are Firr, Cedar and Saſſafras-trees, ſtrangers to this Country, but on the other hand very plentiful, as the many Ships lading of the two latter, which the *Engliſh* have carried from hence, will ſufficiently prove. And beſides the Gums which theſe Trees yield plentifully, there is another like a white Poplar, from whence comes a clear odoriferous Gum reſembling Turpentine, and for its excellency call'd by ſome a Balſam.

Fruits.

In many parts of the Country there are Cheſnuts, equal to the beſt that any *European* Country produces. The Plums are of three ſorts; the red and white are like our Hedge-plums, but the others, which they call *Putchamins*, grow on a Tree as high as the *Palmeto*: the Fruit is like a Medlar, 'tis firſt green, then yellow, and when ripe 'tis red; if it be not fully ripe, it will draw a Man's Mouth awry, and put him to pain in the eating of it, but when 'tis in its perfect ſtate, 'tis as delicious as an Apricock. The Cherries are ſhap'd like Damzens, however, for the ſake of the Cherry, colour and taſte, the *Engliſh* gave them that name. The Vine is a ſort of a wild Plant here, but with care and dreſſing might be made to turn to good account: In many parts you ſee them climbing up to the tops of the higheſt Trees, yet theſe bear but few Grapes. But by the Rivers-ſides, and about the Dwellings of the Savages, where they are not robb'd of the Sun's heat, they are laden with Fruit, tho' it be not the effect of any Art or Care in pruning and manuring, but purely the bounty of Nature. Theſe they call Hedge-grapes, but there is another ſort near as big as a Cherry, which they call *Meſſamines*, which yield a thick heavy juice, and not of ſo pleaſing a taſte when made into Wine.

Chechinquamins.

The *Chechinquamins* are a Fruit in much eſteem amongſt the Natives, it is husked like a Cheſnut, but reſembles an Acron other ways; it is but ſmall, as alſo is the Tree it grows upon.

Rawcomins.

The *Rawcomins* are like our Gooſeberries in moſt reſpects, and they eat them either raw or boil'd.

Putchamins.

The *Putchamins* do as much reſemble Medlars, and theſe, together with Wall-nuts, Cheſnuts, Acrons, and *Chechinquamins*, the Natives dry and keep; and at any time when they pleaſe to have that Liquor, they beat them very ſmall, and mixing Water with them, after they have let it ſettle, and pour'd off the clear Liquor, they have a Drink which they value not a little. Of the Cheſnuts alſo and *Chechinquamins*, boil'd about three or four hours, they make both Bread and Broth too; either of which is an Entertainment for their greateſt Men. In the watery Valleys grows a Berry which they call *Ocoughtanamins*, which are very like Capers. Theſe they dry in Summer, and when they have a mind to eat them they boil them near half a Day, which it ſeems they require, being otherwiſe very unwholſome. The *Matteumes* are a Fruit that grow as our Bents do in Meadows; the Seed of which is not much unlike Rye, tho' ſmaller. This they uſe for making a dainty ſort of Bread, upon which they ſpread Deers Suet as we do Butter. Strawberries, Raſberries, Currans, Hurtleberries, are as common here as in *England*.

Roots. *Tockawhoghe.*

Their chief Root for Food is that which they call *Tockawhoge*, which grows like a Flag in low muddy places, the Root it ſelf being of the bigneſs, and having the taſte of a Potato. They are forc'd to give them a ſubſtantial waſhing over the Coals, or at leaſt to ſlice and dry them well in the Sun, and to eat them with Sorrel and Meal, or ſomething elſe, to qualify the extream heat and acrimony of them, or elſe they wou'd be very prejudicial, for eaten raw they are as bad as poyſon.

Wighſacan.

Their other main Root, which they call *Wighſacan*, ſerves for Phyſick, as the former did for Food; they bruiſe it, and apply it to the part affected.

Pocone.

Pocone is a Root, which being dried and pulveriz'd becomes red; this they uſe for painting their Bodies, as well as curing them of pains and ſwellings.

Roots for colouring.

Of the like uſe is the *Muſqualpene*, which is as red as Blood, and with which they paint their Mats, Targets, and the like. Abundance of the *European* Plants are found here, as Saxifrage, Pellitory of *Spain*, Angelica, with ſeveral others. The increaſe of their Corn is very conſiderable, every Stalk commonly bears two Ears, many three, and ſome four; and every Ear has ordinarily from 200 to 500 grains. The Stalk, while it is green, has a ſweet juice in it, which they ſuck very greedily when they gather their Corn; for 'tis to be noted, that as we gather our Peaſe green, ſo do the *Virginians* their Corn when it is green, and then they roaſt (that is ripen) it afterwards by a good Fire, chuſing rather to do it that way themſelves, than to let the Sun, by a kindly heat, do it for them.

Planted Fruits.

Peaſe and Beans they have alſo amongſt them, but theſe are in the number of their dainties, and they plant them amongſt their Corn. The only planted Fruits they have are Pumpions, Macokes, which are like Musk-melons, but leſs, and not ſo well taſted, ripening in the beginning of *July*, and continuing till *September*: and Maracokes, a Fruit like a Lemon, which begin to ripen in *September*, and continue till the end of *October*; both theſe increaſe infinitely.

Animals.

As for the Animals, the principal are their Deer, which differ not at all from ours. The Bears are very ſmall in compariſon with them in *Muſcovia* and *Tartary*. The Beavers are as big as an ordinary Dog, but their legs exceeding ſhort, and the two fore-feet as much like a Dogs, as the hinder are a Swans; the tail is quite void of hair, and 'tis one of the choiceſt bits the Savages deſire to eat. The Otters are very numerous, and much ſuch as ours are, and the Savages eat them as heartily as they do Fiſh. The Foxes are very ſmall, and like our Silver-hair'd Conies, but wholly without that rank ſmell that they have in theſe Parts. Their Dogs ought rather to be call'd Wolves, ſince they never bark but howl; yet are they really diſtinct from the Wolves, which are in this Country no bigger than our *Engliſh* Foxes. Martins, Polecats, Weazels, and other Animals of that Tribe, they have, but they are ſeldom ſeen; and 'tis obſervable of them, that they are not near ſo ravenous as they are with us, and the Hen-rooſts lie very quiet as for any thing they do to diſturb them.

Other ſtrange Beaſts.

The *Aroughcan* is a Beaſt much like a Badger, but lives much up in Trees as Squirrels do. Squirrels here are almoſt as big as our ſmaller ſort of Rabbits. The *Aſſapanick* the *Engliſh* call a Flying-Squirrel, becauſe by ſpreading their legs, and extending their bodies to the full ſtretch, they will as it were fly along for 30 or 40 Yards together. The *Opaſſam* has exactly the Head of a Swine, and a Tail as much reſembling that of a Rat; the Female has a Bag under the Belly, wherein ſhe lodges, carries and ſuckles her young. The *Muſſaſcus* is a ſmall Creature like our Water-Rats, but ſmell extremely ſtrong of Musk, which ours are far enough from doing. The *Virginian* Hares are none of them bigger than our Conies, and very few of them to be found.

Fowl.

For Fowl, *Virginia* affords plenty of the Nobler and more Princely ſort, as well of the Vulgar. There are Eagles, and all ſorts of Hawks, but (which is odd) they prey moſtly upon Fiſh. Partridges are little bigger than our Quails, but the wild Turkeys are every way as large as our tame ones. Black-birds, Thruſhes, with a great many ſorts of ſmall Birds of various colours, are in great plenty too. In the Winter there come vaſt numbers of Swans, Cranes, Herons, Geeſe, Ducks, Widgeons, Dotterels, Ox-eyes, Pigeons and Parrots, with many other kinds which the *Engliſh* were ſtrangers to.

Fiſh.

For Fiſh, you have there Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seals, Stingrays, (whoſe tails are ſo dangerous, as Captain *Smith* found to his coſt) Salmon, Trouts, Soals, Plaiſe, Herrings, Cony-fiſh, Rock-fiſh, Eeles, Lampreys, Cat-fiſh, Shads, Perch, Crabs, Shrimps, Craw-fiſh, Oyſters, Cockles, Muſcles. They tell us alſo of a very ſtrange Fiſh, which for the reſemblance may be call'd the Dragon-fiſh, of which we have no other deſcription than only this, that 'tis a very odd ſpectacle.

Inhabitants.

But let us now come to the Inhabitants: This large and happy Country is not ſtock'd with People at all in proportion to the goodneſs and greatneſs of it.

Virginia not full of People.

The greateſt numbers are of Women and Children; the Men but few, eſpecially the Warriours, for within ſixty Miles of *James-Town* there were about 7000 People, and of Men fit for War no more than 2000. And in one reſpect 'tis well enough that there are no more People, for not taking care to make any conſiderable profit of their Lands, (tho' the fruitfulneſs of the Soil does ſtrongly ſolicit their diligence in that caſe) did they ſwarm ſo here as they do in ſome Countries they muſt be half ſtarved, at leaſt they muſt be forc'd to take another courſe to maintain themſelves.

Their different ſizes.

But tho' the People lie ſo thin, yet they differ as much both in language and ſtature, as can well be ſuppos'd in ſo little a compaſs of ground; for ſome are very ſhort and little, as the *Wighcocomocoes*, others again are extremely large and tall, and but one remove from Giants, as the *Seſqueſahanecks*, to whom our *Engliſhmen* appear'd but as little puny Fellows, and as ſo many mouthfuls for them.

The People.

They are generally tall and ſtrait, and well-proportion'd, of comely features enough, and of a brown complexion; tho' 'tis certain that they are born white. They are black-hair'd, and Nature has ſcarce given the Men any Beards at all; thoſe that have any thing conſiderable are very few. A Barber therefore wou'd hardly live amongſt the People of *Virginia* by ſhaving faces, ſince he may go half a ſcore Mile before he meets with a Beard; yet by frequent practiſing with the Soil, a Crop of that kind might be made to ſpring up, and Beards come to thrive in *Virginia* as well as Tobacco.

Their Cuſtom in managing their hair.

Theſe Savages have alſo that ungainly Cuſtom of ſhaving the hair off their Heads cloſe of one ſide, and letting it grow long of the other; but the Women are their Barbers, and cut it into varieties of ſhapes for them according to their fancies. As for themſelves, they clip and ſnip their own as beſt pleaſes them; however, they always obſerve this Rule, to leave ſome part of it long as the Men do.

Their Apparel.

The Apparel of both Sexes is no other than the Pluſh and Velvet that comes off from the backs of wild Beaſts. Theſe Skins are dreſs'd in Winter-time with all the rough hair upon them, and in Summer without it. The better ſort wear Mantles of Deers-skins, not much different in faſhion from the *Iriſh* ones, ſome embroider'd with white Beads, others with Copper, others painted after their manner. There are ſome alſo that have Mantles made of feathers, ſo well wrought and woven with threads, that nothing but the feathers cou'd be diſcern'd. The Ornaments belonging to them are Beads, and pieces of Copper in their Ears, Bracelets about their Arms, and Chains of the like nature about their Legs.

Womens finery.

The Women are not contented with theſe, but have the forms of Birds, Beaſts and Serpents, wrought upon their Skins; and to theſe they ſometimes add various paintings.

Ear Jewels of the Men.

But the Men have ſome of them the moſt extravagant fancies imaginable in the choice of their Ear-ornaments. How wou'd it make any Man laugh to ſee a *Virginian* with a dead Rat hanging by the tail in his Ear? To ſee another with a living Snake thruſt through the hole made in that part, and twiſting it ſelf about his Neck, or flapping him ſometimes in the Face? Neither wou'd it be leſs pleaſant to behold them with the ridiculous attire of their Heads: The Wing of a Bird, with the Tail of a Rattle-Snake faſtned to it; the Skin of a Hawk (or ſome ſtrange Fowl) ſtuffed out, and the Wings extended to their full length: The Hand of ſome dead Man (ſome Enemy ſlain in the Wars) dried and ſet bolt upright. What gay folks theſe are now? And how much neater any of theſe Dreſſes are than our Hats and long Perriwigs?

Painting their Skins.

Their faces and ſhoulders are often painted red with the pouder of the Root *Pocone* mix'd with Oil; this they do to preſerve their Skins from the parching heat in Summer, and the pinching cold in Winter. The figures they paint upon their Bodies are various; but this is a general Rule, that he is the greateſt Gallant that has the uggliest forms, and looks moſt like a Devil. That the Women, inſtead of Topknots, have appear'd in *Virginia* with Stags-horns upon their Heads, Captain *Smith* was an Eye-witneſs in one of his Journeys to *Weramocomoco*; but that being only a Luſory Scene, and the deſign of thoſe young Women being manifeſtly to ſurprize him, one can't from thence eſtabliſh the certainty of the Cuſtom of Womens wearing horns in that Country.

They were then in Maſquerade, and being naturally as wild as Bucks, thought fit to appear in Diſguiſe like Stags. Yet this is to be ſaid of the *Virginian* Women, that they are modeſt and can bluſh; and there is this particular effect of their modeſty very viſible beſides, that they always take a nice care to hide the obſcene Parts.

Habit of *Saſqueſahanocks*.

Strange voices.

The *Saſqueſahanocks*, who differ very much from all the reſt of the *Virginians* in their bulk and ſtature, are alſo much more formidably dreſs'd; they look like ſo many *Hercules*'s arm'd with mighty Clubs, and cover'd with the Skins of Bears and great Wolves, the compleat Heads of which were on to the Hides, and ſhew'd their horrible Teeth, ſeeming yet to threaten deſtruction. The Paws alſo were on as well as the Teeth, and made the Monſters that wore them appear as fierce as thoſe to which they belong'd. Their way of ſpeaking was ſuch as might naturally be expected from ſuch huge Bodies. The voice in the wide cavities of their Throats, ſounded like a noiſe coming out of ſome hollow Cave or Vault; and were thoſe Men to talk in ſolitary places through Speaking-trumpets, a credulous Mob might eaſily be impos'd upon, and made believe they heard the voice of ſomething more than Humane. 'Tis a wonder this Generation of Men were not all Prieſts, ſince Nature has form'd them ſo well for Impoſture, and ſince thoſe Men, in all theſe Countries, cheat the People with far leſs advantages for doing it. Our *Engliſh* were viſited by ſome of this Nation, and therefore are the more bold in giving us this particular account of them. They had much ado to defend themſelves from being ador'd and worſhipp'd by them, ſo many excellencies did the *Saſqueſahanocks* find in their ſmall proportions, which they cou'd not ſee in their own Gigantick ones.

Saſqueſahanocks good condition'd.

Character of the *Virginians* in general.

As for their Women, they don't tell us they ſaw any of them, but 'tis more than probable they are of the ſame ſize with their Husbands, and ſo are their Matches in a double reſpect. Now the worſt part of theſe People is that which is viſible to the Eye; their outſides are rough and coarſe, but their tempers are more honeſt and innocent than the reſt of their Neighbours, for the *Virginians* are generally ſly, crafty, treacherous, ſeldom conſtant and true to their Word, but where fear or compulſion makes them ſo. They don't want ſence and quick apprehenſion, but they want honeſty and ſincerity, which is the worſe want of the two, and renders them that lie under it the worſt Neighbours to them that are about them. If they don't ſteal and thieve from one another, 'tis not becauſe their fingers don't itch at it, but becauſe they are afraid their Conjurers ſhou'd diſcover them: For they have a ſort of Men amongſt them that pretend to be Revealers of Secrets, and whether they are ſo or no, the common People believe them to be ſo, and conſequently are honeſt, becauſe they are afraid to play the Rogue.

Their Houſes.

The *Virginian* Women we ſaid before were modeſt; but ſome of our Authors ſay, That *they are careful not to be ſuſpected of Diſhoneſty without the Leave of their Husbands.* From whence a Man might infer, that when their Husbands gave their conſent they cou'd let that care drop, and be ſuſpected of Diſhoneſty; or (which amounts to the ſame) do ſomething to give cauſe to that ſuſpicion. For when the Man gives leave, if the Woman ſhould go no farther than bare ſuſpicion, 'twou'd be a very ſtrange thing. As for the Habitations of theſe People, they build their Houſes for the moſt part by the Rivers, or at leaſt not far from ſome freſh Spring. Theſe Houſes are built like our Arbours, of ſmall young ſprigs bow'd down and tied together, and cover'd very cloſe with Mats, or the Barks of Trees, which, as they order the Matter, defend them ſo well, that in ſpite of Rain, Wind or Snow, they are as warm as Stoves. At the top, right againſt the Fire-place, there's a hole to let the ſmoke out, but yet ſo much ſtays in (for all the hole) that 'twill make a Man that is not us'd to it cry to ſtay there.

Their Beds and way of ſleeping.

Their Beds are little Hurdles made of Reeds, and cover'd with Mats, and ſupported about the Floor by ſtrong Hurdles of Wood. Here they lie Heads and Tails by one another, round about the Fire, ſome cover'd with Mats, others with Skins, and others ſtark naked. And 'tis no little number that thus huddles together while they take their natural reſt, for if in one Houſe you ſee eight or ten, in the next perhaps you ſhall find twenty or thirty in this poſture. Adjoyning to their Houſe are their Gardens, or Fields, for the Service of their Families, nay, for the moſt part they ſtand in the middle of them; and not far off is ſome little Wood or other that ſupplies them with firing.

Their Labours.

Planting the Fields and ſowing their Corn.

The Men beſtow their time in Hunting, Fiſhing, and other ſuch Exerciſes, while the Women are employ'd in making Mats, Baskets, Pots, providing Victuals, planting and gathering the Corn, and lugging it home upon their ſhoulders: For the *Virginians*, we muſt know, ſcorn all thoſe kinds of Labours, and look upon them as too ſordid and effeminate for their Sex, and therefore throw them upon their Women. But yet the Men don't think it beneath them to make their own Cloaths, and certainly the work of a Taylor is much more Womaniſh than that of a Husbandman; and a Man looks more ſilly with a Needle between his fingers, in the Chimney-corner, than with a Spade or a Pickax in his hand abroad in the Fields. The hardeſt of all their Work is indeed the planting and dreſſing of their Fields, for which reaſon one wou'd think the Men ſhou'd have taken it upon themſelves. In order to the preparing of the ground, they do thus: As the Country is naturally over-run with Woods, ſo they come and bruiſe, and beat the Barks of the Trees, to make them burn the eaſier; then they make Fires all about the Roots, and ſcorch them ſo effectually, that they grow no more. The next Year they do, with a very little labour, pull theſe ſcorched Trees up by the Roots, and in that Mould where they ſtood they plant their Corn. The way is, making a hole in the ground with a Stick, to put 4 grains of Wheat, and 2 Beans, into the ſame hole: Theſe holes are made about 4 foot diſtance from one another. 'Tis the buſineſs of the Women and Children to keep all clean and clear of Weeds; and when the Corn is grown middle high, they hill it about like a Hop-yard.

Seaſons for planting.

Odd piece of Husbandry.

Way of managing their Food.

The beginning of their Plantation is in *April*, but the chief is in *May*; and ſo they continue till the midſt of *June*. What they ſow in *April* they reap in *Auguſt*; in *May* in *September*, in *June* in *October*. 'Tis one piece of Husbandry practis'd here, which is not common in other Countries, to ſow or ſet other things amongſt their Corn. 'Twas ſaid juſt now that they bury Wheat and Beans together in the ſame hole; but this is not the only inſtance of it, for you ſhall ſee them plant Pumpions, and other Fruits, amongſt their Corn, neither do they believe that either of theſe will do the other an injury by its neighbourhood. 'Twas hinted before that they don't let their Corn ſtand upon the ground till 'tis ripe, but gather it green, and roaſt it by the Fire. Many times they bruiſe it in a Mortar, and lapping it up in the leaves of the ſame, boil and eat it as a great dainty. They make a ſort of Meal or Flower of their roaſted Corn, of which they make Cakes; and theſe they ſometimes Bake and ſometimes Boil, eating the Broth together with the Bread. And they do in general eat the Broth of all things they boil, whether Fiſh or Fleſh, and this indeed one wou'd not ſo much wonder at, when one hears they eat that made of Meal alone; yet Porridge made of Shell-fiſh, a Man wou'd think ſhou'd be but poor ſtuff.

How they live at ſeveral times of the Year.

According to the various Seaſons of the Year, ſo does their Diet alter and change. In *March* and *April* they feed much upon Fiſh, Turkies and Squirrels. In *May* and *June* they live upon Acrons, Wall-nuts, Strawberries, Mulberries, Oyſters, Crabs and Tortoiſes. In *July* and *Auguſt* they eat Roots, Fiſh and green Wheat; and at other Seaſons live upon their roaſted Corn, and what they get by Hunting. This diverſity of feeding makes a ſtrange alteration in the ſtate of their Bodies; ſometimes they are round and plump, at other times as lean as Rakes. They change juſt as the wild Beaſts themſelves do, that at certain Seaſons have their Ribs well lin'd and cover'd, and quickly after appear ready to ſtart out of their Skins.

Their Fiſhing.

Their Hunting.

The whole Buſineſs and Sport of the *Virginians* (the Men I mean) is to Fiſh and Hunt; and theſe they may be allow'd to underſtand very well, ſince they are brought up to them from their Cradles, and concern themſelves about nothing elſe. Their Fiſhing is for the moſt part in their Canoes; their Lines are made of the ſinews of Deer, or a ſort of Graſs they call *Pemmenaw*, or elſe of the Barks of Trees, either of which the Women very dextrouſly Spin into a thread. Their Hooks are ſome ſharp crooked Fiſh-bone, tied on to the end of the Line. But ſometimes they uſe certain long Arrows, with which they ſhoot the Fiſh in the River. And there is one Nation of the *Virginians* that always uſe long Javelins, headed with bone, which they dart into the Water, and ſtrike their Prey ſwimming. But Hunting is an Exerciſe of much more toil, as well as profit to them, and 'tis this that they mainly value themſelves upon. 'Tis a matter of Glory with them to be well accompliſh'd in this Sport; the Young Men raiſe their Reputation, and recommend themſelves to Wives, by their dexterity and good management here. Their Bows and Arrows do a double Execution, and kill the Women as well as the Deer. At theſe times they leave their Habitations for a conſiderable while together, and march out ſometimes 200 or 300 in a company. They know all the Haunts and lurking Places of the Game they ſeek, and diſcover no little Art in traverſing their ground, and bringing their Deer up into the Pounds where they are ſure to have them. Up by the Heads of the Rivers they find plenty of Sport, and there's hardly any thing comes in thoſe narrow Paſſes that eſcapes them.

How they ſurround and catch the Deer.

When they have ſight of a parcel of Deer, they compaſs them round about with Fires, and betwixt thoſe Fires (which are at no great diſtance from one another) they take their own ſtandings. When this is done, they begin to ſet up a moſt fearful cry, which ſcares the Deer, and makes them run for their lives; but finding themſelves ſurrounded with Fire, they are forc'd to run about in that Circle, from one quarter to another, till the Hunters Arrows have pierc'd them. The Hunters ſometimes drive them into ſome narrow point of Land, and from thence they force them into a River, where their Ambuſcade-Boats preſently deſtroy them.

Their policy in Hunting alone.

But they have another ſort of Hunting, wherein one Man alone attempts a Deer, and this is done by a peculiar policy. 'Tis true, there's no great matter of Craft in ſhooting or catching a Deer, but as the *Virginians* manage it, there is a trick in it which ſcarce any but themſelves practiſe. When a Savage goes out a Hunting alone, he dreſſes himſelf up in the Skin of a Deer: His arms come through holes that are fitted for them, as likewiſe his legs; and the Head, which is preſerv'd entire upon the Skin, comes upon his Head. Thus the Man appears like a Deer; and to appear the more ſo, he crawls upon all four, and places himſelf behind ſome Tree, till he ſees ſome of his fellow Bucks come in view. When he has his Sport in ſight, he ſtalks along towards it, and takes care as he marches to keep his Horns right upon his Forehead, that the Deer may be ſure to ſee them ſtand in the ſame place that his own do. If the Deer ſtarts, and ſeems to diſcover any thing that does not belong to his own kind, the Man compoſes himſelf into a decent poſture, and looks as Deeriſh as poſſible; he ſets his Head in order, and ſtretches out his Cloven foot, and goes to work upon the Graſs as thoſe Creatures do. In ſhort, what by one imitation and another, he trepans the Animal into a Security, and ſo ſhoots him; for this Buck (we muſt know) carries a Bow and Arrows with him, which the others do not.

How they ſtrike fire.

Thus much for their ways of getting Proviſion; in order to the dreſſing of it they muſt have Fire, and that they procure after this manner. They don't uſe Flint and Steel as we do, which are Heterogeneous Subſtances, but go a more compendious way to work by Homogeneous ones. They rub Wood upon Wood, in order to the getting of Fire; for having made a hole in a thick ſquare piece of Wood, they take another pointed Stick which fits that hole, and by a continued ſwift motion heat it ſo far, that at laſt it takes fire. And having gotten a ſpark, they quickly make a blaze, for they have always their Tinder ready at hand, which is Moſs, Stubble, or any ſort of dry Rubbiſh.

Their Cuſtoms.

Having now taken a ſhort view of the State of Nature, and their way of living, we ſhall in the next place come to Moral Conſiderations, and ſee how they manage themſelves as Societies, and what ſort of Laws and Cuſtoms they are under the power of.

Their Conſultations for War.

In Matters of War and Peace they always conſult their Sages, and moſt commonly their Friends and Allies. 'Tis very ſeldom that they determine to fight another Nation, without having the conſent of the Prieſts for't, thoſe Men conducting them by their Opinions in all caſes of importance. And when they are come to the concluſion of fighting, they go regularly to work, appointing ſuch Men to command and lead their Troops as they know to be of a well-tried Valour.

Why they make War.

Their Reaſons for making War, are very different from thoſe which make moſt People in theſe Parts of the World fall together by the Ears: They don't fight for Lands or Goods, for meer Dominion, or for fighting's ſake, but chiefly to purchaſe Women and Children; which, if they get a good ſtock of, they have all the Succeſs that they deſire their Arms to be bleſs'd withal. If ever they begin a War upon another Nation, 'tis upon this account, or that of ſome Wrong and Injuſtice done: For as there are few of them that are not ſome way or other Enemies to one another, ſo any little Injury or Affront whatſoever is a ſufficient ground for fighting. If a Savage of one Nation ſhould beat, or ſcuffle with one of another, this is enough to engage the whole *Poſſe* of both ſides.

The *Virginians* Enemies to one another.

'Twou'd be endleſs to reckon up all the Nations in *Virginia* that are declar'd Enemies to one another: The moſt conſiderable are the *Powhatans* and the *Monacans*; the *Maſſowomeeks*, and their implacable Adverſaries the *Saſqueſahanocks*. Theſe are moſt of them populous Nations, and are continually plaguing and tormenting one another. The *Engliſh* were many times ſolicited, with great importunity, by the *Powhatans* and *Saſqueſahanocks*, to eſpouſe their Cauſe, and undertake the Protection of them againſt their reſpective Enemies; 'twas ſo in Capt. *Smith*'s time, and it might have been done with a few Men, a little trouble, and to very great advantage, but the perverſe Council (at that time ruling the Roaſt, and envying the Glory of that brave Man) wou'd not give way to it.

Their Treacheries.

As the *Virginians* are naturally treacherous and full of deceit, ſo they abound in ſtratagems and tricks to ruin one another in their Wars. There's no People under the Sun that underſtand Trap better than they; that can lay a Snare more artificially, and bring an Adverſary into it more cleverly. They do more by Surprize (by far) than by fair and open fighting, and pleaſe themſelves more with a Victory, when they pop out of a Wood upon an Enemy, than when they meet him handſomly in the Field, and fight upon equal terms.

Manner of their pitch'd Battels.

The manner of their Engagements our *Engliſh* learnt, by an Entertainment which the Savages themſelves gave them; in which Scene they repreſented their way of fighting. The Spectators being plac'd in their reſpective Stations, the Combatants appear'd, painted and diſguiſed in the fearfulleſt manner they cou'd invent. They were about 100 of a ſide, one part repreſenting *Powhatan*'s, and the other *Monacan*'s, the two moſt contending Nations upon the Continent. Being led on by their Captains, they took their Stands at the diſtance of a Musket-ſhot from one another, and rank'd themſelves fifteen a breaſt; the Ranks being 4 or 5 Yards diſtant, and ſtanding ſo upon the ſlope, that the Rear cou'd ſhoot as conveniently as the Front. While they ſtood thus, Meſſengers paſt betwixt them, carrying theſe Conditions, (to be mutually obſerv'd) That which Party ſoever had the Victory, thoſe of the vanquiſhed that eſcaped ſhou'd have their Lives, upon a ſubmiſſion to Mercy within two days, but their Wives and Children ſhou'd be a Prize for the Conquerors. With all theſe formalities was the ludicrous Scene carry'd on; and now the Meſſengers being return'd to their reſpective Parties, both ſides addreſs'd themſelves to action. They march'd towards one another in good order, with their Sergeants in Flank, and Lieutenants bringing up the Rear, but they came on leaping and ſinging their War-Tune; for all which mirth and merry poſtures, they did not at all break their Ranks, nor put themſelves out of their due places. Upon the firſt diſcharge of Arrows they gave ſuch horrible ſhouts, and made ſuch ſcreechings, that (our People ſay) a Troop of Infernal Hounds cou'd ſcarce have made more terrible ones. When they had ſpent their Arrows, they clos'd together prettily enough, charging and retiring, every Rank ſeconding the other. As they got advantage, they catch'd their Enemies by the hair of the Head, and pulling out their wooden Swords, made a ſhew of beating out their Brains. The *Monacan* Party decreaſing, (for abundance lay for dead, that were alive enough to run away) the *Powhatans*, to get a compleat Victory, charg'd their Enemies in form of a Half-moon, which they finding to be a deſign to incloſe them, fled towards their Ambuſcades, upon which they drew the others very cunningly, and here the Battel was renewed with vigour. In ſhort, the *Powhatans* now did their beſt to get out of this Snare, and retir'd towards their old Quarters; and here was an end of the Battel, which coſt much leſs Blood than thoſe between theſe two Parties uſe to do.

Martial-muſick.

Their Martial-muſick is ſomething Analogous to Trumpets and Drums: Inſtead of the former, they have Pipes made of Canes or Reeds; and for the latter, a great deep Platter of Wood, the hollow of which is cover'd with a Skin. But their main Inſtrument is the Rattle, which is made of Gourd or Pumpion-ſhells; and of which they have Baſe, Tenor, Counter-tenor and Treble. The Pipes, the Wooden-platters, the Rattles, and the Voices, all put together, do make ſuch a charm, that a Man that had once heard it, wou'd never deſire to hear it more.

Weapons.

What their Weapons are will eaſily be gueſs'd; they have no Notion of any others than Bows and Arrows, Targets and Swords, or at leaſt a Weapon that ſtands them in the ſtead, and does the Work of a Sword.

Their Arrows how made.

Their Arrows are made of ſtrong Wood, headed with Bone, and thoſe heads are ſome of them two or three

Inches long. But they have another ſort of Arrows made of Reeds, piec'd with Wood, and headed with Splinters of Cryſtal, or ſome ſharp Stone; or perhaps with the Claw or Bill of ſome Bird. To make the Notches of their Arrows, they uſe the Tooth of a Beaver ſet in a Stick, with which he grates it by degrees. Their Targets are round, and made of the Barks of Trees; their Swords of Wood: Tho' many times, inſtead of Swords, they uſe other contrivances, as the ſharp Horn of a Deer put through a piece of Wood, or a great Flint ſet after the ſame manner. But after their Acquaintance with the *Engliſh*, they grew leſs fond of their own contrivances of this nature, becauſe they found better amongſt them; and 'twas hinted before, that ſome of our People were ſo ſilly as to make them very familiar with Swords and Hatchets, and not only them but Fire-arms too.

Their Knives.

What they commonly us'd to help themſelves with inſtead of a Knife, was only a Splinter of a Reed, with which a Man wou'd wonder to ſee how very cleverly they'll cut their Feathers, and their Leather for making Shoes and Buskins; alſo how they will open a Deer, and joint him, and divide him into his ſeveral Parts.

A Glew.

With the Sinews of Deer, and the tops of the Horns of the ſame Creatures, they make a very tenacious Glew that will not diſſolve in cold Water. Theſe People, as barbarous and unpoliſh'd as we reckon them, have yet not a ſmall number of Ceremonies in their Viſits and Entertainments of one another. If any great Man comes to ſee another that pretends to any degree of State and Power, in the firſt place the Mats are ſpread upon the ground for them to ſit on; for the *Virginians* make juſt the ſame uſe of theſe, that the *Turks* do of their Carpets.

Ceremonies of Entertainment amongſt the *Virginians.*

The Viſitant, and the Perſon viſited, being ſeated upon their Mats oppoſite to one another, the latter, with all his Company, do in a ſort of a Muſical way (or betwixt ſinging and ſhouting) bid him welcome. After this, two or three of the chiefeſt of the Hoſt's Company make Orations to him, the ſence and ſcope of which, is to let the Gueſt know how acceptable his preſence there is, and how much he is belov'd. But this they do with ſuch vehement paſſion, and ſuch an intenſe ſtraining of their Bodies, that the drops of ſweat run down their faces apace; and they run themſelves quite out of breath, and pant as if they were ready to die. A Man that ſhou'd ſee this Scene, and was ignorant of the Cuſtom, wou'd think them to be raving all the while, and either downright mad, or expreſſing a violent indignation againſt their Gueſts. When the pathetick Speeches are done, the Victuals comes in, which is by far the better part of the Entertainment. Whatever they have in the Houſe they bring out, and are pleas'd to ſee thoſe they entertain eat freely. Towards Night they provide his Lodging; and to make the whole kindneſs compleat, bring him a Woman very well dreſs'd (according to their faſhion) to be his Bedfellow. This is a ſort of Civility not ſo commonly practis'd in other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*; but the *Virginians*, it ſeems, wou'd hardly think themſelves made truly welcome at their Friends Houſes, if the Joys of the Woman were not added to thoſe of eating and drinking. Their trading is too inconſiderable for a deſcription, for as they aim at no higher things than Beads and pieces of Copper, ſo they have nothing.

Their Phyſicians.

There are ſome People in *Virginia* that profeſs themſelves Doctors, and by certain odd unaccountable Methods pretend to cure diſtempers. They gabble out a deal of ſtrange ſtuff, and accompany their words with actions ſo horrible, that ſome People who are fearful of Witchcraft, wou'd conclude, inſtead of being cured, they ſhou'd be bewitch'd. What they wou'd make the World believe is, that they cure the diſtemper by ſucking away the cauſe of it, for they apply their Mouths to the part affected for that purpoſe. The *Braſilians* (we have heard in its place) take the like courſe, and are for drawing away the diſtempers of their ſick People into their Mouths; and we believe the *Braſilian* and *Virginian* Doctors have both the ſame degree of Skill and Succeſs in this Affair. They go a much more direct and natural way to work, when they make thoſe fearful noiſes, and put themſelves into ſo many Deviliſh poſtures, for perhaps this may frighten away the diſtemper, or at leaſt the Patient out of his Wits, and that's as good as curing of him. Yet theſe Diſeaſe-ſuckers had ſo high an Opinion of our *Engliſh* Surgeons, that they believ'd any Plaiſter of theirs wou'd cure any hurt; and that what was intended for a broken Bone, or an Ulcer, wou'd ſerve as well for a Fever or a Dropſy, if it were but a Medicine of theirs, and adminiſtred by them. The common People notwithſtanding, are for the moſt part their own Phyſicians.

Their way of curing diſtempers.

For a Dropſy, they go into a little Hut built like our Dove-houſes, and made as cloſe as a Stove, and making a little Fire here they ſit and ſweat it out; the ſame they do for any pain or ache. Swellings they cure by Inciſion with a ſharp Flint, or ſometimes burning the Part, and ſucking out the Corruption (a parcel of naſty Whelps) with their Mouths. But if the ſwelling happens to be in a place out of their reach, (as ſuppoſe it to be juſt behind) then their own Mouths are excus'd, and ſome bodies elſe performs the cleanly work for them. Every Spring they conſtantly Purge themſelves with the Juice of the Root *Wighſacan*; they pour down a vaſt quantity of it mix'd with Water, and continue loading their Guts in that manner till it works moſt furiouſly with them, and makes them a little weak and maukiſh for three or four days after. Horſes perhaps, ſhou'd they be ſerv'd ſo, wou'd be purg'd to death, or at leaſt quite off their legs; but the *Virginians*, who are not of ſo infirm and puny a Conſtitution as thoſe Animals, are only a little out of order upon't, and after 100 or 200 Stools can't be briſk again, till Nature has reſted her ſelf upon the hurry for three or four days.

Strong Purge.

Conjurations and Laying of Storms.

They have a ſort of Men alſo amongſt them, that pretend no leſs to cure diſtempers in the Elements than theſe others in Humane Bodies. They have Methods for quieting the Sea, and ſilencing the Winds, when they rage in a Storm. When the Waters begin to run high, they haſte away to the Sea-ſide, or the Banks of the Rivers, and after ſeveral Invocations and Outcries made, they throw Tobacco, Copper, and other traſh, into the Water; this is in order to appeaſe that Power which they believe to be very angry upon ſuch occaſions, and muſt have ſome ſuch Offerings made him before he will be quiet again.

Funerals.

When they have any dead People to diſpoſe of out of the way, they take, inſtead of Shovels and Pickaxes, great Stakes made ſharp at one end, and ſo dig a hole of conſiderable depth in the ground, in which they lay a parcel of Sticks acroſs, and lapping up the Corps in Skins and Mats, they lay them upon thoſe Sticks, and ſo cover them up with Earth. But all their Jewels (that is their Beads, pieces of Copper, and the like) go under ground along with them; neither is there any Man buried without his Treaſure.

Funerals of their Kings.

The Burials of their Kings differ from thoſe of the common People in many reſpects: The Bodies are firſt Embowell'd, and then dried upon Hurdles, till they are very dry. About their Necks, and every Joynt, are hung Chains of Beads and Copper, (the Toys they us'd to wear) nay, their very inſides are ſtuff'd with ſome traſh or other. Being wrapt very carefully in curious white Skins, and then roul'd in Mats, they are laid in their Sepulchres (which are Arches made of Mats) in very great order. In all Burials, the Body being laid in the ground, the Women preſently appear with their faces in deep Mourning; that is, they black them over with a mixture of Cole and Oil, and then they go to their noiſy Lamentations in the Houſes, which commonly laſt for 24 hours, and is much ſuch a ſort of Muſick as a Man may hear at a Catterwauling. But when Kings die, the Mourning is much deeper, all the Paſſions more intenſe, and the noiſe conſequently more intolerable.

Women Mourners.

Their Religion.

The Religion of the *Virginians* conſiſts principally in this, That whatſoever is above them in Power, and able to do them any hurt, is an Object of their Worſhip. Any thing that may do them miſchief, in ſpite of all the care they can take to prevent it, is a ſort of a Deity to them, and they expreſs a reverence for it accordingly. Therefore Fire, Water, Thunder and Lightning; nay, even the Horſes, the great Guns and Muſkets of the *Engliſh*, were at firſt worſhipp'd by them. But that which they ſtand moſt in awe of, is a Being they call *Okee*, and which the *Engliſh* Interpret the Devil. They confeſs themſelves they don't ſerve him out of Love, but fear of his Power and Malice, and that they have oftentimes Conferences with him. In their Temples they have his Image ſtanding up, a loathſome and deformed Object to look upon, but dreſs'd up with all the fineries of Chains and Bracelets that their Invention can add to him. Cloſe by this Image are the Sepulchres of their Kings, who, it ſeems, reckons it a felicity to lie by his ſide.

Okee their Deity.

Their Temples.

The *Virginians* have peculiar Edifices conſecrated to their Deities, and devoted to the Exerciſes and Ceremonies of their Religion. In the Territory of every Werowance there is one Temple at leaſt, and one Prieſt (perhaps two, three or four) for the Service of that

The great ones at *Pamanuke.*

Priests.

Temple. The Principal and moſt Sacred place of all for their Devotion is at *Uttamuſſack* at *Pamanuke*; here, upon the tops of certain Hills in the Woods, are three great Temples, or Houſes, fill'd with the Images of Kings and Demons, and with the Tombs of the deceaſed Werowances. They imagine ſo much Sanctity in theſe places, that none but the Prieſts and Kings themſelves dare to come into them. The Savages, as they go up the River in Boats, at a little diſtance from it, throw pieces of Copper, Beads and Roots, into the Water, when they come over againſt it, as a ſort of Sacrifice or Offering to the Divinity of the place; neither do they dare to paſs along without paying this Acknowledgment. In this place are always Reſident 7 Prieſts, the chief of whom differs from the Inferiours in this chiefly, that he is more filthily dreſs'd than they, and what that Dreſs is, may be known from the Relation made by Captain *Smith*, concerning their Conjurations done in his preſence at *Pamanuke*. That Story gives a full account of their Dreſs and their Proceedings too, both of which the Reader will find to be as well ridiculous as deviliſh.

Notions of a future State.

The common People have no Notion at all of any Immortality with reference to themſelves; but their Kings and their Prieſts they believe ſhall be Immortal. They ſay they go, when they die, beyond the Mountains towards the ſetting of the Sun, and remain there for ever, not in the form they appear in here in this World, but in the ſhape of *Okee*; that is, like ſo many Devils. For they pay the Object of their Worſhip this Complement, to believe the form he appears in to be handſomeſt, and to think they are never ſo beautiful as when they are likeſt him. All their Notions of the felicity of theſe Kings and Prieſts, in the pleaſant places beyond the Mountains, are ſutable to the groſs delights they enjoy and converſe with here. Thus they ſay that their Heads ſhall be painted there with fine Oil and Pocones; that they ſhall be delicately trimm'd with feathers, and have plenty of Beads, Copper, Axes and Hatchets; that they ſhall be continually ſmoking Tobacco, and Dance and Sing with their Anceſtors in the Flowry Fields of that Region. As for themſelves, (as was ſaid before) they don't expect to live any where, when once they die in this World, and conſequently ſmoke, and dance and ſing, like Perſons that are to take their leaves of them for ever. There does not ſeem to be any diſtinction of Time into common and ſacred amongſt them, their conduct ſpeaking for them, that all Time is alike to them, as far as it cou'd be obſerv'd. Yet this Cuſtom is taken notice of, that in times of very great Want and Scarcity, or when they have triumph'd over their Enemies, or gather'd in the Fruits of their Fields, that they all meet together, Men, Women and Children, in order to a certain Solemnity. What they do at this time, is to make a rouzing Fire, for the moſt part in the Fields, and all to ſing and dance about it for four or five hours together; and what with their ſhouting, and noiſe of their Rattles, 'tis a moſt fearful clatter they make upon this Occaſion. Sometimes, inſtead of dancing round a Fire, they ſet a Man in the middle and dance round him, he all the while clapping his hands, and making as if he kept time to their Songs. All this ended, they go away to the far better Sport of Feaſting.

Strange Cuſtom.

But once every ſeven or ten Year, they have a ſort of a Solemnity much more ſtrange than this; 'tis practiſed amongſt all the Nations of *Virginia*, and the *Engliſh* ſaw it amongſt thoſe that were their Neighbours at *James-Town*. They take 15 of the moſt likely Boys they can find, between 10 and 15 Years old, and paint them all white: And when they have put them into this trim, they bring them out to the People, who ſpend all the Forenoon in ſinging and dancing about them with their Rattles. In the Afternoon they lead them under a great Tree, and ſet them cloſe about the Roots of it, where all the Men ſtand by them like a Guard, every one having in his hand a great Rod made of Reeds, tied up in a bundle together. Now all the Men with theſe Rods in their hands, being in exact order, and making a Lane by their Ranks, in come five young Fellows to fetch away theſe Boys, which they did one after another in their reſpective turns, ſo that each of theſe five had five Boys apiece to lug out. But that which was the oddeſt part of the Scene was, that theſe Fellows all the while run the Gaunlet, and were whipp'd by the Guard after a moſt ſevere manner, while they were going for, and carrying out the Boys. And ſince they did not fetch their Boys all together, but went in order one after another, each for his five, it's certain that this cou'd be no little puniſhment; for here were a multitude of hands, and every hand had a Rod, and every Rod was heartily applied to the naked Backs of thoſe poor Fellows, and they had not the advantage of miſſing a laſh from one and another, as they wou'd have had if they had run all together. And yet they endured all very patiently, and carefully skreen'd the Boys with their naked Bodies, that none of the laſhes fell upon them. After the Boys were paſs'd, the Guard fell upon the Tree, rent the very Body, and tore off all the branches of it, adorning their Heads with the leaves. But what became of the Boys afterwards the *Engliſh* cou'd not poſitively affirm; only this they ſay, that they were all laid of a heap in a Valley as if they were dead, and there was a great Feaſt made for the Company there upon the ſpot. It ſhou'd have been obſerv'd before, that all the while the Guard were a laſhing the young Men, the Women wept, and cried out moſt paſſionately, and employ'd themſelves in providing Mats, Skins and Moſs, as things fitting for the Funerals of their Children. Yet the King of *Quiyoughcohanock*, in whoſe Territories this Solemnity was perform'd, told the *Engliſh* that the Children were not dead when they lay there in the Valley; but that the next day after they were to drink the Liquor of the Root *Wighſacan*, which wou'd make them all mad, and that *Okee* wou'd come and ſuck the Blood of ſome of them that fell to his ſhare.

Severe Diſcipline.

He gave alſo this account farther of the matter: That theſe Boys were to be kept in the Woods for the ſpace of nine Months, by another Sett that had gone through this Diſcipline the laſt Solemnity; and that here they endure the greateſt hardſhips, and are ſo abſolutely under the Government of theſe Keepers, that they do the moſt unnatural things in the World at the leaſt word of Command from them. If they bid them lie down naked in the Snow, they'll lie there till they have leave to riſe again; or if they Command them to go and take Proviſions from their Parents, they are ſo afraid of the Malediction they threaten them with in caſe of refuſal, that they'll tear their Mothers throats out, but they will have what they were order'd to bring. In ſhort, they are documented at ſuch a rate by theſe deviliſh Tutors, and made ſo fierce and wild, that they very often do miſchief to People they find ſtraggling in the Woods. When the nine Months are expired, thoſe that ſurvive all theſe difficulties come to their laſt Probation, which is, amongſt ſeveral Diſhes of Broth that are ſet before them, and ſome of which are poyſon'd, to diſtinguiſh and find out them that are not poyſon'd. What becomes of thoſe that do not hit upon the right we can't ſay, 'tis probable the poyſon ends their days; and conſidering the life they had liv'd, a Meſs of ſuch Broth wou'd have done them a kindneſs nine Months before. As for thoſe that happen upon the wholſome Meſſes, they have done enough to eſtabliſh their Reputation in this Country for ever. They are now conſummated Prieſts and Conjurers in the Opinion of the common People; and this any body elſe wou'd readily allow them to be, if 'twant by hap-hazzard that they did what they did. We muſt ſuppoſe the poyſon to be ſuch, as not any way ſenſibly to have alter'd the qualities of the Broth; for if it did, where wou'd be the trial of Skill in diſcerning one Diſh from t'other? And certainly, he that can tell when his Meat is poyſon'd, without being firſt told ſo by his Meat, does very honeſtly deſerve the Name of a Conjurer. The *Virginians* look upon this Solemnity as ſo important a piece of their Devotion, that if they ſhou'd omit it, they ſhou'd expect to incur the higheſt diſpleaſure of *Okee*, and he wou'd revenge it upon them, not only by with-holding the Neceſſaries of Life from them, but alſo by making a horrible Slaughter amongſt them, and deſtroying far more than they deſtroy themſelves by theſe Methods. In ſuch Bondage do theſe poor Wretches live, under that Cloud of Ignorance of the true God, that over-ſpreads their Country; yet we can't but do our Countrymen the Juſtice, to own that they us'd their hearty endeavours to diſpel this Cloud, and give them the true Light.

An odd trial of Skill.

The *Virginians* Notion of the God of the *Engliſh*.

The King of *Quiyoughcohaneck* (before-mention'd) was one they made many trials upon, and tho' not with the great and moſt deſired ſucceſs, yet not without any at all; for he made no ſcruple to own, that the God of the *Engliſh* exceeded his, as far (to uſe his own homely compariſon) as their Guns and Piſtols did his Bows and Arrows. When he wanted Rain, he wou'd ſend to *James-Town* to deſire the *Engliſh* to pray to their God for it, alledging that his own were unkind, and wou'd not ſend him any.

This Prince, as he was a Man of the fineſt Sence, and beſt Diſpoſition the *Engliſh* ever convers'd with in all that Country, ſo 'tis probable he had gone farther had he been free from reſtraints: But where People are ſo infinitely ſuperſtitious in their Way, and ſo tenacious of their Notions, as all the *Americans* are, and where the Prieſts ride and govern at that rate as they do amongſt them, 'tis hard for a Prince to make any Innovation upon the Religion of his Country.

Their Government.

The Succeſſion.

Laws.

The *Virginian* Government and Policy is next to be conſider'd: The Succeſſion is Hereditary, tho' not in the firſt place to Sons and Daughters, but to Brothers and Siſters. All the Brothers being dead, the Siſters mount the Throne, in order according to their Age; and when they are gone, the Children of the eldeſt Siſter ſucceed, and ſo thoſe of the ſecond, and ſo on. But it never comes to the Heirs of the Males, unleſs in caſe of defect of the others; and never to the Children of the Body, but in caſe of defect of all the others beſides. There are no written Laws in the Country, becauſe no Writing nor Letters; but Cuſtom is the main Rule they go by, next to the abſolute and uncontroulable Will of the Prince. This is indeed the great Law by which all theſe People are govern'd; but this is to be underſtood of a Sovereign Prince, ſuch a one as *Powhatan*, for as for all the Tributaries, they are tied entirely to the Meaſures of Cuſtom. There are none more Arbitrary in their Government than theſe Princes are, and all their Vaſſals pay them as much reſpect. They lay their Tributes and Preſents at their feet, with the humbleſt Adorations imaginable, and look upon the leaſt frown that ſits on their brow, with as much awe as Death it ſelf. And there is not a little reaſon for't, for they puniſh Offenders with a moſt cruel rigour, and hardly ſpare any that they ever ſuſpect.

Memorials.

Inſtead of Records, and other Memorials, they ſet up certain Stones (which they call *Pawcorances*) in the places where, and at the times when they have had any extraordinary accident or encounter. And they are very careful to teach their Children the meaning of them very exactly, and ſo ſee that they underſtand thoſe accounts of the Hiſtory of their Country. 'Tis not uncommon for them alſo to Offer Blood, Tobacco and Deer-Suet, upon theſe *Pawcorances*, at their return from Wars and Hunting, when things have ſucceeded well with them.

An account of *Powhatan* and his manner of living.

Before we finiſh this account, it may not be amiſs to add a few things more particularly relating to that Prince of ſo great a Name and Power in theſe Countries, and ſo often brought upon the Stage in the foregoing Scenes; *Powhatan* we mean. His natural Name was *Wahunſcnacock*, but he took the Name of *Powhatan* from the Country and Town ſo call'd, and ſometimes his principal Reſidence. Several of his Countries came to him by Inheritance, but the greateſt part were Conqueſts. He was a tall well-proportion'd Man, with a ſowre thoughtful look, gray-headed, and little or no Beard at all, (as is uſual in thoſe Parts) and about Sixty when the *Engliſh* firſt knew him. Any one wou'd have thought him as ſubtle as he has been repreſented to be, by the ſight of ſo politick a face; but beſides, he had the aſpect of a Soldier, and was hardy and able to endure any Labour or Travel. A Guard of 40 or 50 of the talleſt Men in his Country conſtantly attended him by Day; and every Night, at the four Quarters of his Houſe, four Sentinels were plac'd, who anſwer'd in their reſpective Stations to one that hollow'd from the *Corps du Guard* every half hour. And if any of the Sentinels fail'd in this point of Duty, an Officer came forth preſently that beat him ſoundly. His Houſe at *Oropacks* (at the head of the River *Chickahamine*, to which place he retired from *Werewocomoco*, for fear of the *Engliſh*) ſtood in a Thicket, and at the four corners of it were the Effigies of a Dragon, a Bear, a Leopard, and a Giant. 'Twas here that moſt of his Treaſure was laid up, and here none but the Prieſts came near him. He always kept a multitude of Women; one generally lay on the Bed by him, another ſat at his Head, and a third at his Feet; but when he ſat upright, he always ſat between two, one of each Hand of him. Before and after his Meals, ſome of his Women bring him Water in a Wooden Diſh to waſh his Hands, and others wait with a bunch of Feathers (inſtead of a Towel) to wipe them. When he is weary of any of his Women, he beſtows them as ſo many ſpecial favours upon thoſe of his great Men that have moſt Merit. Herein he falls in with the practiſe of other Princes in the World; for crown'd Heads will ever have that variety, to think that other Men will be proud of their Leavings. Here we ſhall take our Leave of *Virginia*, and paſs to the *Bermuda* Iſlands.

CHAP. XXVII.

An Account of the firſt Plantation of the Bermudas *or* Summer-Iſlands, *with the Natural Hiſtory of the Country; Extracted from the Memoires of Captain* Smith, *Mr.* Richard Norwood, William Strachie, *Eſq; with ſome others.*

WE have heard before, that an *Engliſh* Fleet under the conduct of Sir *Tho. Gates*, and Sir *Geo. Summers*, put into theſe Iſlands; but this was not the firſt time an *Engliſhman* had ſet footing here, for the Diſcovery of theſe Iſlands, by thoſe two Worthy Knights, was made *A. D.* 1609. but one of our Countrymen had been here in *A. D.* 1593. The Name of this Perſon was *Henry May*, one of Captain *Lancaſter*'s Company, who had been in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and in his return put over to *Trinidado*, and ſo to *Porto-Rico* and *Hiſpaniola*, for refreſhment. Here Captain *Lancaſter* deſiring a certain *Frenchman* (Monſieur *de Barbotiere*) to give this *Henry May* a Paſſage home in his Ship, by the way they were wrack'd upon the *Bermuda-Iſlands*. This Man came home to *England* in *A. D.* 1594. and to be ſure told of his Adventure; yet we don't find that there was any motion made towards the ſending a Colony to thoſe Iſlands till ſome Years after. But Sir *George Summers* (as was related before) dying at the *Bermudas*, and his Men going not from thence directly to *Virginia* according to his laſt Command, but to *England*, whither they brought his Body, theſe Perſons at their return gave ſuch an account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to eſtabliſh a Correſpondence between *England* and it. Accordingly they ſold theſe Iſlands to 120 Perſons of the ſame Company, who obtain'd a Charter from his Majeſty, and became the Proprietors of it.

A. D. 1612. a Ship call'd the *Plough* was ſent thither with 60 Perſons, and one Mr. *Richard Moor* for Governour, an honeſt and induſtrious Perſon. He ſpent the moſt part of his time in fortifying the Iſlands, and training the People ſent over to Martial Exerciſes; he built nine or ten Forts, and furniſh'd them all well with Ammunition. During his Government, there began that grievous and moſt tormenting plague of Rats, which continued for near five Years. The Original of it was a ſmall Troop of thoſe Vermin that came out of a Ship, that multiplied ſo prodigiouſly aſhore, that ſuch numbers were hardly ever ſeen in the World. They had their Neſts about in every Tree, and all the ground was cover'd with them; neither cou'd a ſpot hardly be found where they had not Hous'd themſelves. They devour'd Fruits, and the Trees too that bore them; when the Corn was ſown, they wou'd come in the Night-time and dig it up, or to be ſure as ſoon as it began to grow it ſhou'd not 'ſcape them. When 'twas gather'd and laid up within Doors, they made a moſt fearful deſtruction of it. They tried all ways and means imaginable to rid the Country of theſe peſtilent Creatures, as by breeding up abundance of Cats, teaching their Dogs to kill them, ſetting up Traps, and laying Poyſon up and down in all places for them; and yet, in ſpite of all theſe Methods, (which notwithſtanding ſwept away multitudes of them) they encreas'd to that degree, that the Country was reduc'd to the laſt diſtreſſes by them. For two Years together they were ſo deſtitute of Bread, that afterwards, when they came to have it again, they had forgot the Uſe of it ſo far, as not to mind to eat it with their Meat. Neither was it the main Iſland alone that was thus plagued by them, for they ſwam the Salt Water, and ſpread into all the neighbouring ones thereabouts, inſomuch that there was not one of them, for many Miles round, but what had a ſhare in the Calamity. Cou'd the *Engliſh* have planted the Iſland as faſt as the Rats did, they wou'd quickly have made a very ſurprizing Figure in that part of the World: But this diſtreſs wore off by degrees, tho' 'twas ſome Years firſt, and the Rats went away as ſtrangely as they came; by what Cauſes they can't tell, but at laſt it came to this paſs, that the Wild Cats and the Dogs, that us'd to live upon them, were abundance of them famiſh'd for want of their accuſtomed Food, and others left the Woods, and came down to the Houſes, to get a Maintenance there. There's no reaſon to imagine a greater encreaſe of the Cats and Dogs at one part of that time than another; and ſince the Rats encreas'd as well as they, and were too many for them all along, 'tis not probable that the entire deſtruction of them was owing to thoſe Creatures. But this Obſervation they made, which was odd enough: That about the time when this Plague of Rats began, there was a conſiderable number of Ravens came to the Iſland, which ſtaid there all the time the Rats ſtaid, and departed again upon their going away; and as there had been none of thoſe Birds ſeen there before that time, ſo neither have there been any obſerv'd ſince. Now what connection there is between Ravens and Rats, the Philoſophers muſt enquire: but there is a Maxim amongſt them, that will prove the former to have been, ſome way or other, the cauſe of the latter, for they both came and went together; now that's the Cauſe of an Effect, (ſay they) *quâ poſitâ ponitur effectus & quâ ſublatâ tollitur.* Mr. *Moor* having fill'd up the 3 Years of his Government, was ſucceeded therein by Capt. *Tucker*, who alſo was very induſtrious in improving the Country, and doing all things for the benefit of the Plantation. Before he left it, he ſaw it reduc'd into a very flouriſhing condition again; there were good Houſes built, Fruits planted, Grounds clear'd of Woods and Rubbiſh, and an Orderly form of Government eſtabliſhed. He reſign'd his Charge in *A. D.* 1618, and was ſucceeded in it by Capt. *Butler*, who came over *A. D.* 1619, bringing four good Ships, with at leaſt 500 People along with him, and there being 500 more there before, the Body was now pretty conſiderable. Capt. *Butler*'s 3 Years being expired, one Mr. *Bernard* was ſent by the Company to ſupply his place, which within 6 Weeks after was vacant again, Death bringing that Gentleman a *Quietus eſt*. And now, till farther Orders came from *England*, one Mr. *Harriſon* took the Charge upon him. And thus we have brought the *Bermuda* Affairs to *A. D.* 1623, in all which time there being no memorable Occurrents in the Colony, and our Authors going no farther than this term of Time, we ſhall now come to the Deſcription of the Country.

Deſcription of the *Bermudas.*

The *Bermudas* are a cluſter of ſmall Iſlands, which may be reckon'd at leaſt 500. There are none of them of any conſiderable compaſs, yet ſome much larger than others, as Time and the Sea, continually waſhing upon them, has worn them away in different proportions. They lie as it were in the Figure of a Croiſſant, and within the Circuit of 6 or 7 Leagues at moſt; ſo that being ſo many in number, and lying in ſo ſmall a compaſs, 'tis plain they can't be very large. The main, or great Iſland of all, is 16 Miles in length from E. N. E. to W. S. W. and lies in 32 deg. 20 min. N. L. It is beholding to Nature for a very conſiderable Fortification of Rocks, which do every way round extend a great way, only leſs to the E. than to any other point of the Compaſs. There are no more than two places where Shipping may come ſafely in, and it is not eaſie for a Man to find thoſe places out; but then thoſe places are ſo well fortify'd, that if an Enemy ſhou'd light of them, he wou'd be eaſily kept out. Theſe Rocks in moſt places appear at low Water, for it ebbs and flows there not above 5 foot. The very ſhore it ſelf is for the moſt part a Rock, inſomuch that 'tis not eaſie to find out an Iſland ſo entirely ſurrounded, and ſo well guarded by them as this is.

The Soil.

The Mould is of divers colours and tempers; the red, which reſembles Clay, is the worſt of all; the whitiſh, (which is like Sand) and the blackiſh, is good, but the brown between them both is beſt of all. Under the Mould, ſome two or three foot deep, lies a ſolid white body, which they call the Rock, but with very little reaſon, for 'tis not harder than Chalk, and 'tis as full of Pores as a Pumice-ſtone, and thoſe Pores contain abundance of Water. Nay, as much Rock as 'tis, the Trees uſually faſten their Roots in it, and draw their nouriſhment from it. In many places there is a Clay found under it. The denſeſt and hardeſt kind of this Rock, is commonly that which they find under the red Mould; this has but very little Water in it, and lies in the ground in Quarries, as it were thick Slates one upon another. All the Water finds a paſſage out by the chinks and creviſes that are between the ſeveral Lares, ſo that 'tis very ſeldom that any freſh Water is found in thoſe places;

The freſh Water.

for 'tis to be noted, that all (or at leaſt the far greateſt part of) the freſh Water they have in this Iſland, comes either out of the Sea, being ſtrain'd in its paſſage through the Sand, or elſe from the rocky Body juſt now mention'd, in which the ſaline Corpuſcles are left, as they are in the march of the Water through the Sand. The *Engliſh* digg'd ſeveral Wells within four or five paces of the Sea, and theſe held ſuch a correſpondence with the Sea, that they ebb'd and flow'd as it did, and yet the Water was freſh and good.

Weather.

The Weather is for the moſt part fine and pleaſing here; and abating ſome extraordinary Storms and Tempeſts, the Air is generally calm, and of a moderate temper. But it muſt be confeſs'd, that the Thunders and Lightnings at theſe Iſlands are more terrible than any where, and the latter oftentimes ſplits the Rocks aſunder, tumbles mighty pieces down, and buries them in the Sea.

Strange Storms.

Once every New Moon theſe Storms have their round for the moſt part; and 'tis particularly obſerv'd, that if a Circle be ſeen about the Moon, a prodigious Tempeſt does not fail to follow.

Circles about the Moon.

And theſe Circles are taken notice of at the *Bermudas*, to be vaſtly larger than they ever appear any where elſe: Thus, when the *Engliſh* lay there, in order to their Voyage to *Virginia*, there was an extraordinary *Halo* ſeen, and the Thunder and Lightning that follow'd upon it, was ſuch as almoſt frighted them out of their Wits.

Winds.

The N. and N. W. Winds are the moſt predominant, and always turn Summer into Winter when they blow. The Rains that are, are more frequent in Summer than Winter, and tho' they don't laſt long, yet when they do fall, they fall with a ſtrange violence, and the Heavens are as black, as if 'twou'd never hold up and be clear any more.

Corn.

The Product of the Iſle for Corn is Maize, that common Grain, all the *Weſt-Indies* over; and of this they have two Harveſts in a Year, for what they ſow in *March* they gather in *July*, and ſo again in *December* they have the Fruits of their *Auguſt* Labours.

Trees.

When the *Engliſh* firſt came thither, they found the Country over-run with Woods and Plants of ſeveral kinds; Cedars, Palmetoes, Pepper-Trees, Lawrel and Olive-Trees, Mulberries, and many others they knew not the Names of, were the Natural growth of the Iſland.

Bermuda Palm-Trees.

But the Palms here are not the true *Indian* Palms, ſuch as at *St. John de Porto Rico* are full of a ſmall Fruit like Almonds, and of the bigneſs of the grains in a Pomgranate, nor of that kind of Palms neither which bear Dates, but a ſort of Simeron, or wild Palm, that yet does, as to all viſible reſemblances, (except that of the Fruit) come as near to the true Palm as can be. They were high, ſtrait, ſappy Trees, no branches but in the uppermoſt part, and at the very top or head of all grow leaves, which ſpread and fall down upon the Tree like a Coronet; theſe leaves are ſo broad, that one of them alone will ſerve for an Umbrella, and a Man may well enough defend himſelf with it from a good ſhower of Rain. The inmoſt part of the head a top they call the Palmeto, it is white and thin, and will peel into a great many Plates which are very ſmooth and fine, and a Man may uſe them inſtead of Paper. They dreſs the Palmeto after various manners, and the *Engliſh* commend them for very good Meat. Theſe Trees bear a Berry which is black and round, and as big as a Damſon, being ripe about *December*; they are then very luſcious, but ſcalded when green they eat much like our Bullaſes. The leaves don't continue on all the Year round, but fall off in the cold Winter Months, being quite blaſted by the rough North Winds.

Silk-worms in the Palm-leaves.

They obſerv'd abundance of Silk-worms Hous'd about theſe leaves, and it being a matter of frequent Obſervation with them, one may conclude they were not miſtaken, and that ſome profits of that nature alſo might redound from hence.

Cedar-Berries.

Of Cedar-Trees there is no ſmall ſtore, and the Berry that they yield is very pleaſant and good for eating. The Olives are not many, and the Pepper is much ſhort of the *Indian*.

Colour'd Woods.

There are abundance of odoriferous Woods, and Woods of divers colours, black, yellow, red;

Medicine for the Flux.

and ſome of theſe coloured Trees bear a round blue Berry, which has both the rough taſte, and the ſtyptick quality of a Sloe, and much us'd by the *Engliſh* for the Flux, which the greedy eating of the luſcious Palm-Berries wou'd bring them very

Prickle Pear.

ry frequently into it. Upon the Rocks there grows a ſort of Fruit in ſhape and bigneſs like a Catharine-Pear, full of prickles all round, and for that reaſon the *Engliſh* call'd it the prickle Pear. It is green in the outſide, but being opened is of a deep murry; 'tis full of Juice like a Mulberry, and juſt of the ſame taſte and ſubſtance. They are very good eaten either raw or bak'd.

Other Fruits.

In Parts near the Sea-ſide, there is found a kind of Wood-bind (as the *Engliſh* call'd it) that runs up upon Trees like a Vine; the Fruit of which is ſomething like a Bean, but only flatter. If it be eaten any way whatſoever, 'twill purge a Man vehemently, but without doing any farther harm. There is a Plant like a bramble, bearing a long yellow Fruit, with a hard ſhell within, which is a hard tough Berry; this ſtamp'd and taken inwardly, will purge gently.

Red Pepper.

Several Plants.

Poyſon-Weed, *&c.*

The red Pepper there is like our Barberies, and beaten or bruis'd with the Teeth, ſets all the Mouth and Tongue of a violent heat; but if ſwallowed whole, has the ſame effect with black Pepper. But now beſides theſe, which are the natural Products of the Country, there are moſt of the ſerviceable and ſubſtantial Fruits of other Parts of the *Indies*, and of *England* too, tranſplanted thither, and thrive exceedingly well. The moſt remarkable ſtrange Plants are theſe; theſe at leaſt are what our People obſerv'd. The Poyſon Weed, ſo call'd from its venemous Nature. It is in ſhape like the *Engliſh* Ivy, but the very touch of it cauſes a redneſs in the Part, itching and bliſters, which notwithſtanding go all away of their own accord in a little while, without any other ill effects. The red Reed is a tall Plant, whoſe Stalk is cover'd with a red rind; the Root of it ſteep'd in a ſmall quantity of the Juice of it drunk alone, is a forceable Vomit, and commonly us'd there for Indiſpoſitions of the Stomach, and that to very good purpoſe. The Sea-feather is a Plant that grows upon the Rocks at the bottom of the Sea, it's almoſt in the form of a Vine-leaf, but far more ſpread, with Veins of a paliſh red ſtrangely interwoven and mixt with one another; the Vertues of it are unknown. Excepting this Poyſon Weed, there is not any venemous thing known in the Country; no, not amongſt the Animals as well as the Vegetables. But 'tis obſerveable, that here is a ſort of a perpetual Spring, and tho' the Trees throw off their old leaves, yet they are always ſeen with freſh green budding out at the ſame time. There is the like continuity in the Animal-line too, as to the Seaſons of the Year; the Birds breed all the Year round, or at leaſt moſt Months in the Year, as a Man that walks the Fields will be abundantly ſatisfied by ſeeing their Young ones.

Animals at the *Bermudas.*

Wild Hogs.

Feeding of the Hogs.

Sorts of Fowl.

The Cohow.

Their way of breeding, and the manner of catching them.

In the ſurvey of the Animals of this Iſland, the account of the Quadrupeds will take up but little room. Theſe Authors tell us nothing of Lions, Tygers, and other the ravenous Inhabitants of the Woods; nor of Kine and Sheep, the more tame and gentle ones of the Fields. But wild Hogs they do affirm are Natives of the place, at leaſt the *Engliſh* found them there, when they came with Sir *George Summers* the firſt time. Theſe Creatures were a very comfortable Supply to them, and the numbers they took of them ſo conſiderable, as to leave it paſt all doubt that the Iſland was plentifully ſtock'd with them. The way by which they came to diſcover their being here, was the ſending ſome few of their own Swine out into the Woods to feed; for when they rambled home again, a huge wild Boar kept them company, and paid for this his Complement to the ſtrange Hogs with the loſs of his life. The ſame decoy that brought this wild Boar into their clutches, afterwards brought ſeveral more; and then when they ſaw that there was Sport abroad, they made a Trade of going a Hunting in the Woods, and always return'd with Boars and Hogs enough to make it well worth their while. Abundance of theſe they brought home alive, where they put them in Sties, and fatted them with the Palm and Cedar-Berries that dropt from the Trees in the Months of *Auguſt*, *September*, *October* and *November*. But when the time came about that thoſe Berries fail'd, and the Hogs conſequently grew poor and low, the main part of their ſubſiſtence then was Tortoiſes, of which they had multitudes not to be computed. Very few Iſlands can pretend to greater ſtore (and perhaps variety) of Fowls, than the *Bermudas* can; for here you have Hawks of all ſorts, Herns, Bitterns, Offpreys, Cormorants, Bald-coots, Moor-hens, Swans, Teal, Snipe, Duck and Widgeon. Bats and Owls are alſo very common here, with multitudes of ſmall Birds, Wood-peckers, Sparrows, Robins, (or at leaſt Birds very like them) tho' the beſt part of theſe have been deſtroy'd by the wild Cats. But for Birds not ſo common, here is the Tropick Bird, as 'tis uſually call'd; the Pemblico, a Bird ſeldom ſeen by day, and an unwelcome foreteller of ſtormy tempeſtuous Weather; the Cohow, another Bird of the Night, and whoſe Muſick is not much more pleaſant, tho' not ſo fatal as that of the former. It is of the bigneſs of a Sea-mew, and is hardly ever ſeen by day, but in the darkeſt Winter or Autumn-nights comes forth of its Neſt, and hovering about in the Air, makes a very odd and harſh noiſe. The colour of it is inclining to a Ruſſet, their Bellies all white, and the long feathers of their Wings ruſſet and white. They breed moſtly in thoſe Iſlands which are high, and ſo far alone in the Sea, that the wild Hogs can't ſwim over to them, for it ſeems they do either diſturb or devour them; and the Cohows are as much expos'd to them as can be, for their Neſts are not in Trees, or upon the high Clifts of the Rocks, but upon the plain ground, where they live and breed like ſo many Conies in their Burrows. The way the *Engliſh* took to catch them, was to ſtand upon the Rocks in the Night-time, and there hollow and ſcream, and make all the ugliеſt noiſes they could poſſible, which wou'd bring the Cohows flocking about them, and fixing themſelves upon their Heads and Arms, and all the while anſwering the note of the Men, and hollowing as faſt as they. At this rate they took with eaſe more than 20 dozen in two hours frequently; and when they wanted other Proviſion, 'twas but ſending out their Cock-boat to ſome of theſe Iſlands, which in a very little time wou'd return with enough to ſerve the whole Company. They are a very well reliſh'd ſort of Meat, as fat and plump as a Partridge; their Eggs are as large as a Hens-egg, and differ other ways very little from them; only that they are ſomething ſpeckled.

Fiſh.

The *Bermudas* have not leſs plenty of Fiſh than they have of Fowl; moſt of thoſe that are common here our Author tells us of, both the Scaly and the Shell ſort, but then vaſt numbers of others beſides, to which they cou'd give no Names, frequently occurr'd. The Whale, with his everlaſting Enemies the Sword-fiſh and the Threſher, are no uncommon ſights upon this Coaſt; but the Tortoiſes do abound ſtrangely there, and they are as good and great too as any where in the whole Univerſe beſides.

No venemous Creatures.

As for venemous and dangerous Creatures, this happy ſpot has none; at leaſt as far as the *Engliſh* had then diſcover'd. Here are no Toads nor Adders, Scorpions nor Crocodiles; Lizards there were, before the wild Cats deſtroy'd deſtroy'd them all, but neither the Character of venemous nor hurtful otherways agrees to them.

Spiders.

Neither do the Spiders ſeem to deſerve either of thoſe Names, ſince they cou'd not find by any Obſervations that they were at all pernicious; yet they are of a very large ſize, but withal beautifully colour'd, and look as if they were adorn'd with Pearl and Gold. Their Webs are in colour and ſubſtance a perfect raw Silk, and ſo ſtrongly woven, that running from Tree to Tree like ſo many Snares, ſmall Birds are ſometimes catch'd in them; this Captain *Smith* reports, upon whoſe Credit as great an improbability as this may be ventur'd to be related.

Flies, Ants and Worms, the hurt they do.

The moſt troubleſome Animals of all upon the Iſland are ſome Inſects: The Musketoes and Bugs creep into their Cheſts and Cupboards, and beſides what they devour, by their moſt ill-ſcented Excrements defile all about them. The little Ants are ſo troubleſome in Summer time, that they are forc'd to dry their Figs on high Frames, and beſmear all the feet of them with Tar, to ſtop the paſſage of thoſe Creatures, which elſe would ſpoil all. Neither are the Worms leſs pernicious to their Corn and Tobacco; and they are forc'd to take a deal of pains every Morning to deſtroy them, or elſe they had as good quit their Plantation.

Ambergreeſe found at the *Bermudas.*

It may not be amiſs here at the concluſion, to take notice (tho' out of its place) that this Iſland has afforded good ſtore of Ambergreeſe, which ſome of the Plantation made a good Market of. This is encouragement enough to hope, that what once came into the hands of theſe Men, may alſo ſometimes light into the hands of honeſter than they, who are there in the way to find it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

An Account of ſome of the firſt Attempts towards the Diſcovery and Plantation of New-England.

THE firſt Perſon that went out upon this Affair, was that Worthy Gentleman Mr. *Henry Challons*, in a Ship call'd the *Richard* of *Plimouth*, his Company not being in all above 30, and his Veſſel but ſmall, tho' the Deſign was great.

A D. 1606. Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham* promotes the Diſcovery.

This Voyage was undertaken at the Charges of the Right Honourable Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governour of *Plimouth* Fort, together with ſeveral other Gentlemen and Merchants of the Weſt Country.

Firſt diſappointment.

They ſet out in *Auguſt, A. D.* 1606, but the iſſue of this Attempt was unfortunate; for being gotten as far as the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Iſlands, they fell in with a Fleet of *Spaniſh* Ships, by whom they were taken, and after a great deal of ill Uſage, carried into *Spain*, where their treatment alſo was very cruel and inhumane.

Another trial.

This Misfortune did conſiderably damp the Courage of the firſt Adventurers; however, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham* quickly after ſent out another Ship, under the Command of Captain *Hanam*, whoſe buſineſs was not ſo much to Plant, as to make Diſcoveries in order to it. And when they came back, they gave ſo good an account of the Country, that all People were as much encourag'd as they had been the contrary by the firſt Miſcarriage, and thoſe that fell off before, now came boldly on to be Adventurers again.

A 3d Attempt.

Hereupon Captain *Popham* and Captain *Gilbert*, were ſent away with 2 Ships and 100 Men, Ordnance, and all neceſſary Proviſions for their Uſe, till farther Supplies could be ſent.

Many diſcourag'd.

But before theſe Ships cou'd come back again, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham* died, the ſtopping of which ſo principal a Wheel in this buſineſs, made abundance of the reſt ſtand ſtill.

Freſh Ships ſent.

Yet Sir *Francis Popham*, his Son, encourag'd the Affair with his moſt zealous Endeavours, and contributed liberally towards the ſending forth a freſh Supply, which accordingly the next Year was performed.

The Plantation diſcourag'd.

Theſe Ships arriving there, brought the uncomfortable News of the Deaths of the Lord Ch. Juſtice, and Sir *John Gilbert*, (Brother to the Captain, and Preſident of the *New-England* Council) and had alſo, as ſoon as they came, the ſad News from the Planters that Captain *Popham* was dead, a Man in whom a very great Confidence was repos'd, and from whom no little Matters were expected. Captain *Gilbert* alſo (his Brother being dead) was obliged to return to *England* to take poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, ſo that there was no conſiderable Man left upon the ſpot to ſtand at the head of the Company. All theſe Misfortunes, together with the loſs of their Stores, which they had ſuffer'd that Winter by Fire, ſo diſpirited the whole Plantation, that they unanimouſly reſolv'd to go back to *England* with theſe Ships.

They come away.

This Reſolution they accordingly put in practiſe, and at their coming home ſo diſcourag'd all the firſt Undertakers, that here ſeem'd to be a full ſtop ſet to the *New-England* Affair, and there was now no longer ſo much as any diſcourſe about ſettling a Plantation there.

The *French* take their places.

The *Engliſh* thus as it were quitting their pretenſions to that Country, the *French* preſently came and made theirs, fixing themſelves within our Limits: But the *Virginian* Plantation taking notice of this, and not liking their Neighbourhood, (had there been no other reaſons for the removal of them) immediately diſpatch'd Sir *Samuel Argall* to diſplace them, which he perform'd with a great deal of courage and dexterity.

Sir *Sam. Argall* drives them out.

For having ſeiz'd the Forts they had built at *Mount Manſell, St. Croix*, and *Port Real*, he carried away all their Ordnance, Proviſions, and Ship it ſelf, to *Virginia*, and ſo effectually fruſtrated their whole Deſign of Seating themſelves there. The *French* being expell'd, ſome there were who (not willing to part with *New-England* upon ſo eaſie terms, at leaſt not till one trial more had been made) ſent out another Ship under Captain *Hobſon* and Captain *Herley*, to make ſome Diſcovery that ſhould revive the Deſign of Planting again.

A.D. 1611. More Ships ſent.

Along with them went a couple of Savages of the Country, who had been here in *England*, and were likely to do ſome good Service. But a little before this Ship came, there had been one *Hunt* an *Engliſhman* upon the Coaſt, a Manager for ſome private ſordid ſpirited People of our own Nation, that were for ſeeking their own Profit by any Methods, how prejudicial ſoever to the Common Intereſt of their Country.

Hunt's Villany.

This Fellow having enticed ſome of the Natives into his hands (and they came, confiding in the ſincerity of his promiſes) clapp'd them under Hatches, and carrying them away, ſold as many of them for Slaves as he cou'd, the reſt being taken from him by the contrivance of ſome honeſt Friars, who pitied the poor Savages, and deſired to Inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Religion. But this Villanous practiſe ſour'd the Natives, and enrag'd them againſt the *Engliſh* to a high degree; and theſe two Savages that came over in the Ship, as ſoon as they underſtood it from their Countrymen, reſented it as deeply as they, and bent all their thoughts upon revenge.

Engliſh aſſaulted.

In ſhort, they plotted to cut the Throats of the *Engliſh*, and taking a fit time for't, made a furious aſſault upon them; but our People, who had ſome notice of their indignation, and the cauſe of it, were ſo wiſe as to be always upon their guard, and ſo were not ſurpriz'd, yet the Action coſt them ſome wounds, but no lives at all, tho' many of the Savages were cut off. 'Twas to no purpoſe now to ſtay in the Country, the Natives being all in Arms againſt them; ſo Captain *Hobſon* e'en ſail'd home again to *England*, bringing the ſad News of a War with him. However, 'twas thought convenient to try if Peace and Trade cou'd be by no means obtain'd with this Country, which by the intervention of ſo many unlucky accidents had ſo often ſeem'd to refuſe them: And therefore two good Ships were ſet out at the Charge of Capt. *Reyden*, Capt. *Langham*, Mr. *Bully* and Mr. *Skelton*, and committed to the Conduct of Captain *Smith*.

A.D. 1614. Capt *Smith's* ſucceſsful Voyage.

The Captain being come to *New-England*, fiſh'd, traded with the Inhabitants, and with 8 Men alone ranged the Coaſt, and took a Plot of the Country. In a matter of 6 Months he made his Voyage out and home, and got near 1500 *l.* in his Pocket by the advantage he made of Otter and Beaver-Skins, Salt-fiſh, Train-Oil, and ſuch like groſs Commodities.

Another Voyage. A.D. 1615.

The next Diſpatch was of 4 good Ships, by the *Virginia* Company, which Captain *Smith* not undertaking, they entertain'd the Men that had been with him the former Voyage, and underſtood the buſineſs. Theſe return'd alſo within 6 Months, with Fiſh, Train-Oil and Furrs. The ſame Year Captain *Smith* ſet out a ſecond time for *New-England*, with two Ships, and ill Weather breaking his Maſts, he was forc'd to return to *Plimouth* again, where, rather than loſe all, he preſently put to Sea again only with a Bark.

Capt. *Smith's* unfortunate Voyage, and taking by the *French*.

But now this brave Man was to have his ſhare of Misfortunes as well as others; for ſailing in amongſt 8 or 9 *French* Men of War, his little Bark was taken, but made a ſhift to eſcape again out of the enemies hands, while the Captain himſelf was left aboard them, and entirely at their diſpoſe. By this means he was carried Priſoner into *France*, and beſides all the extremities that he ſuffer'd during his confinement there, when he came home again, he was little better than ruin'd by theſe ſad Misfortunes which fruſtrated the Voyage.

A.D. 1615.

But notwithſtanding the Captain's Perſonal Misfortune, a certain Ship (one of 4 that was intended for him) went that Voyage, and came home again very well laden; and this the very ſame Year that he was thus lamentably baulk'd.

A.D. 1616.

The next Year, from *London* and *Plimouth*, there went at leaſt 8 more, and got good quantities of Fiſh and Train-Oil, which they ſold at *Spain* and the *Canary-Iſlands* for conſiderable profit.

A.D. 1618.

The next Year to this, none went out upon any Publick account; but the ſucceeding Year, there was ſet out from *Plimouth* two luſty Ships, that made a proſperous and profitable Voyage of it (out and home) in 5 Months time.

A.D. 1619.

The next Year, tho' ſeveral Ships were ready to ſet Sail from the ſame place, yet one only went, but made ſo good work of it in 6 or 7 Months time, (from the time they went out to the time they return'd) that every Sailor that had but a ſingle ſhare, had beſides his Charges 17 *l.* clear Money in his Pocket. Along with this Ship, there

went

Capt. *Darmer's* Diſcoveries and Death.

went for *New-England* the Worthy Captain *Darmer*, who did very good Service in *Virginia* and *Newfoundland*, as well as *New-England*. He proſecuted a Northern Diſcovery with excellent ſucceſs, finding out many goodly Rivers, and very pleaſant fruitful Coaſts and Iſlands, for the ſpace of 80 Leagues from E. to W. for ſo that Coaſt ranges along from *Hudſon's* River to Cape *James*. But while he was proſecuting theſe Diſcoveries with more zeal for the Publick Intereſt than care for himſelf, he was betray'd by the Savages, and wounded in 14 or 15 places by them; of which wounds, upon his return to *Virginia*, he died. The three ſucceeding Years Matters went on ſtill better; more Ships went, (to the number at leaſt of 50) and more profit was made both by the Fiſhing-trade and Furrs. And now we have ſeen the Correſpondence between the two *Englands* thus open'd; we muſt come to Accounts ſomething more particular, and then to a Deſcription of the Country.

CHAP. XXIX.

A Relation of a Plantation ſettled at Plimouth *in* New-England, *with the Proceedings thereof.*

IT was in *September*, *A. D.* 1620, that this Voyage was undertaken; with what number of People and Ships, or with what quantities of Proviſion, we can't ſay, only ſince they call themſelves a Plantation, neither ſhou'd be very inconſiderable.

The excellent Bay at *Cape-Cod*

Good fiſhing for Whales.

'Twas the beginning of *November* before they arrived at *Cape Cod*, the moſt remarkable Point of the *New-Engliſh* Land. Coming to an Anchor in the Bay, they found it a very good and commodious one, capable of entertaining 1000 Sail, and giving ſufficient Recruits of Wood and Water. The entrance is about 4 Miles wide, and 'tis encompaſs'd all round, even to the very Sea, with Oaks, Pines, Juniper, Saſſafras, and other ſweet Woods. They declare they ſaw here the greateſt plenty of Fowl that ever they ſaw, and had they had Tackling for the Whale-Fiſhery, they might have made a very rich return from hence, for they ſaw thoſe monſtrous Fiſhes playing hard by them every day.

Attempt to diſcover the Land.

Indian Graves.

The contents of a great Grave.

Their buſineſs now was to make ſome Diſcovery of the Country, and find out a convenient place to ſeat themſelves in; and in order to this, they made ſeveral Attempts by Companies ſent out for that purpoſe. The firſt conſiſted of about 16 Men well arm'd, who quickly ſaw ſome of the Natives, but they run away from them, and hid themſelves in the Woods, while the *Engliſh* follow'd them from one Thicket to another, and endeavour'd to trace them through Valleys and over Hills, but cou'd neither overtake them, nor light of any of their Habitations. They found indeed in this Ramble a great deal of ground fit for the Plow, and ſeveral Fields where Corn had actually been ſown; alſo ſome of the *Indian* Sepulchres, which were certain heaps of Sand cover'd over with Mats, and had Bows and Arrows buried in them, but they did not deface them much, for fear of affronting the Natives. In another of theſe *Tumuli* they found a good quantity of *Indian* Corn, part of which they brought away for Seed, intending to pay the Natives when the Soil paid them. Strawberries and Wallnuts they met with great plenty of, and ſome Vines. There were ſome marks alſo of Chriſtians that had been there before, as a Ship-kettle in the remainders of an old Houſe, and the Ruins of a Fort, which to be ſure was not built by the Savages; their Fortifications (of Poſts and Stakes knock'd into the ground) are as eaſie to be known from the *European*, as their rude Houſes of Leaves and Mats from the others of Brick and Stone. The next time 24 were diſpatched in the Shallop, to make a farther Diſcovery of the Country and the Rivers. Thoſe that were landed ſearched about, but cou'd find no People; yet they light upon ſome quantities of Wheat, Beans and Oil, which the *Indians* had buried, and ſtood the Revivers in very good ſtead. Happening alſo upon ſome more of thoſe Graves but now mention'd, they reſolv'd to dig up one of them which appear'd much larger than the reſt: The outſide covering was Boards, under which was a Mat; next to that were Bowls, Trays, Diſhes, and then another Mat, under which was a Board about three quarters long, finely painted and carved. To this ſucceeded another Mat, under which were two Bundles that promis'd ſomething more curious. The greater of theſe Bundles being open'd, diſcover'd a large quantity of a very fine and perfectly red powder, (of a ſtrong, but no offenſive ſmell) and in this were the Bones and Skull of a Man, the latter of which had fine yellow hair ſtill upon it, and ſome of the fleſh unconſum'd. Together with theſe Relicks, was made up in the ſame Bundle a Knife, a Pack-needle, and 2 or 3 old Iron things, and all was pack'd up in a Sailors Canvaſs Caſſock, and a pair of Cloth Breeches. In the leſs Bundle there was the ſame ſort of powder, and the Head and Bones of a Child; about the Legs, and other Parts of which, were Strings and Chains of white Beads, and by it was laid a Bow about three quarters long, with ſome other odd Nicknacks. Our Men continuing their Search, found ſeveral Graves more, but no more Corn. But it was the luck of ſome of them to fall in with two or three of the *Indian* Houſes; the Neſts were there indeed, but the Birds were fled, ſo that the *Engliſh* were at liberty to take and look what and where they pleas'd. Theſe Houſes were made of young tender Trees bent down Arbour-wiſe, and cover'd from top to bottom with thick and well-wrought Mats. The Doors were about a Yard high, and made only of Mat; the Chimneys were wide holes left open at top, to be cover'd with Mats when they pleas'd. All was as warm and cloſe as cou'd be, for the Houſes were not only Matted in the outſide, but in the inſide alſo. In the midſt of them were four little Stakes knock'd into the ground, with Sticks laid acroſs them, upon which they hung their Pots. Their Beds were ſo many Mats ſpread round about the Fire-place; for as the Fire keeps them warm in the Day, ſo 'tis a Principle with them to keep that warm in the Night. Had the *Engliſh* wanted Baskets, Bowl-diſhes, Trays, Earthen-pots, or any Lumber of that kind, they might have had enough in theſe Houſes.

Indian Houſes

Houſhold-ſtuff.

The other things the Houſes afforded were Corn, ſome ſorts of Seed, Proviſions, and the like; ſome of the beſt of theſe they took away, intending (as before) to pay their Debts another time when they were able.

The third Attempt they made upon a Diſcovery was with their Shallop again. Now they happen'd to have a ſight of ſome *Indians*, who wou'd not come near them, nor ſtay till they came near, but run away and ſhelter'd themſelves in the Woods.

More Graves

Another large Burying-place was the moſt conſiderable thing that entertain'd them in this Ramble; the Graves here were more ſumptuous than thoſe they ſaw before, and the whole ground was encompaſs'd with a Palliſadoe, but they did not ſtand to enquire into the contents of them, but left the Bones to their repoſe.

Aſſaulted by the *Indians*.

One Night while they were out, the *Indians* came in a good Body and aſſaulted them, but keeping a ſtrict Watch, they received no damage by them. The proſpect they had of the Country this time, gave them very good ſatisfaction as to the ſucceſs of the Deſign of Planting here. They found an excellent Soil in moſt places, and both Timber, Fruit-trees, and good Herbs in abundance.

They go to view the place where they planted.

The Company now having ſo good an account of the Country from thoſe that had been ſent to view it, they went all together to make a Judgment of it, and to come to their laſt Reſolutions about a place to ſettle in; ſo they pitch'd on a Spot upon the Main Land, a high ground, where there was a great deal of Land clear'd that had been us'd to Corn, and was well water'd with Springs and Brooks. There was alſo near to it a good Harbour for Shipping, and other conveniences ſufficient to encourage a Settlement there. This Harbour was a Bay larger than *Cape-Cod*, and afforded ſtore of excellent Fowl and Fiſh; and two fine uninhabited Iſlands that lay within it, were as well repleniſh'd with all ſorts of Timber. This place was alſo ſo near to *Cape-Cod*, that from a certain Hill adjacent (on which they deſign'd to raiſe their Fort) *Cape-Cod* might eaſily be ſeen. Here then they went to building as faſt as they cou'd, and in 3 or 4 Months ſpace the firſt rudiments of a Town appear'd; for 'twas the whole buſineſs of the entire Company, (them excepted that watch'd) and every Family had their proportion of Work allotted them. By that time ſo many Houſes were built, that it might be call'd a little Town, the Savages began to make Viſits to them. And firſt of all came one Savage alone, marching boldly into the Street, and ſaluted the *Engliſh* in their own Language, bidding them welcome into the Country. He was one of the Sagamores or Lords of the *Moratiggon*, a Country about 5 days Journey by Land from their Town; he had convers'd amongſt the *Engliſh* that had come thither, and was a Perſon of a free eaſie Carriage. Notwithſtanding his (Savage) Dignity, he was as naked as the Child juſt born, excepting only his Waſte that was cover'd with a Leather; he was a tall ſtrait Man, with long black hair, (but no Beard) and came Soldier-like with his Bow and Arrows in his hand. The *Engliſh* treated him with good Victuals and ſtrong Liquors, which made him like their company ſo well, that he did not care to leave it. He inform'd them, that the place where they were ſeated was call'd *Patuxet* by the *Indians*, and that all the former Inhabitants were dead of a Plague; ſo that by this account, it ſeems the *Engliſh* diſpoſſeſs'd no body.

Houſes built.

A Savage comes to them.

Patuxet the *Indian* Name of the place.

More Savages come.

They diſmiſs'd him at laſt with ſome Preſents, which pleas'd him ſo far, that he came again quickly after, and brought 5 or 6 more along with him. Theſe had Deer-skins on, and the chief of them a wild Cats-skin upon his arm; moſt of them too had a ſort of long Hoſe that reach'd up to their very Groins, and pieces of Leather wrapt about their Waſtes. Their hair hung long behind, and was cut ſhort before much like his that came firſt; only this difference, that ſome of theſe had it truſs'd up with feathers, and after ſeveral other antick faſhions. They were of a dark complexion like the *Engliſh* Gipſies, and were very tall proper Men. Theſe eat and drunk very freely with the *Engliſh*, and to make them amends for their kindneſs, entertain'd them with ſome of their *Indian* Dances.

The great Sagamore of the *Indians* comes to ſee the Governour.

Quickly after News came by ſome of the Savages, that *Maſſaſoyt*, the great Sagamore of the Country thereabouts, was come to a place hard by, to have an interview with the Governour; but the Governour thought fit, firſt of all, to ſend ſome other Perſon to ſpeak with him, and know his mind, and accordingly diſpatch'd one Mr. *Winſlow* with a few Toys (Preſents) for the King and his Brother. *Maſſaſoyt* receiv'd the Meſſenger civilly, and liking the Propoſals he made of Peace and Friendſhip, and of his being taken into the number of King *James* of *England*'s Allies, he march'd on to go meet the Governour, leaving Mr. *Winſlow* in the Cuſtody of his Brother *Quadeqqina*, and giving a ſufficient number of Hoſtages for his Security. He came towards the Town with 20 Men only, and thoſe unarm'd, and was met by the Way by Captain *Standiſh* (the chief Manager of the Military Affairs) with a File of Muſqueteers. They conducted him into a Houſe, where a Seat of State was prepar'd for him, which was three or four Cuſhions pil'd up upon a green Rug.

The Ceremony of his Reception, and the Treaty of Peace.

The Governour came in with a Drum and Trumpet before him, and a Guard; and *Maſſaſoyt* having kiſs'd him, they ſate down together. Preſently an Entertainment was brought in, the chief of which was Strong-Waters (a thing the Savages love very well) and the King having once ſet the Pot to his Noſe, drunk ſuch a ſwinging draught, as made him ſweat all the time he ſtaid there.

The next thing was to enter upon a Treaty, which the Strong-Water was a very good preparative to: And what the Governour propos'd was to this effect. 'That 'Reſtitution or Satisfaction ſhou'd be made in caſe of 'any Injury or Damage on either ſide, and Offenders 'duly puniſh'd. That they ſhou'd mutually aſſiſt each 'other in their Juſt Wars. That all *Maſſaſoyt*'s Allies 'ſhou'd be comprehended in this Treaty, and notice given thereof by him accordingly. That whenever the 'Savages came amongſt the *Engliſh*, they ſhou'd leave 'their Weapons behind them, and the *Engliſh* ſhou'd 'likewiſe free them from all Jealouſie and Suſpicion in 'like manner. Theſe Propoſals were readily embrac'd, and ſo the League of Friendſhip ſolemnly concluded.

The deſcription of him and his Company.

Maſſaſoyt was a luſty tall Man of a middle Age, of a grave demure Countenance, and ſparing of Speech. His Dreſs was little different from that of his Men, (the ſame with that before-mention'd) only he had a Chain of Fiſh-bones about his Neck, in which Ornament all the Majeſty of his Guarb was compris'd; for without that, the others look'd as much like Kings as he, tho' with that, he look'd more like a Jackanapes than they. His Face was painted with a Murry-red, and both that, and his Head, were well lick'd over with Oil; ſo that it may eaſily be imagin'd what a greaſie figure he made. He had a long Knife hanging in a String at his Boſom, and behind at his Back a little Pouch of Tobacco; this was Furniture he never was without, but the Chain perhaps was only for high Days, and ſelect Company, or when ſomething of the King more than ordinary was intended to be ſhewn. His Men had alſo their Bags of Tobacco at their backs, and their faces painted with varieties of colours; ſome ſhew'd an outſide of Deer-skin, others of Badgers, and others of Aſſes-skins, theſe laſt being ſtark naked.

Maſſaſoyt's Return.

After this Interview, the King retir'd with all his People into the Woods, about half a Mile from the Town, where the Women and Children came to them, and they lodg'd that Night. This Entertainment *Maſſaſoyt* ſhortly after requited in the beſt manner he cou'd, to a couple of *Engliſh* Gentlemen that went to ſee him while he ſtaid in thoſe Woods; and it appear'd by all tokens, that he had a real deſire to maintain a Friendſhip with the *Engliſh* Nation.

Engliſh ſent to him.

But the Company having let him digeſt and pauſe upon the League for the ſpace of 3 or 4 Months, thought fit to try (by a ſort of Embaſſy ſent for that purpoſe) how it ſat upon his Stomach. And there was another, and a more politick Deſign in this too, which was to make ſome farther Diſcoveries of the Country, to ſee where their ſtrength lay; and ſince they were Allies, to know where to find them if occaſion required. Mr. *Winſlow*, who had already convers'd with *Maſſaſoyt*, was thought to be the fitteſt Perſon to undertake this Employ, wherein he was accompanied by one or two more, and particularly a Savage, that ſpoke good *Engliſh*, for an Interpreter. This Savage was one of thoſe that had formerly been betray'd, and carried away by *Hunt* the *Engliſhman*, and ſince he acts a conſiderable part upon this *New-England* Stage, we are obliged to name him; the *Indians* called him *Tiſquantum*, a ſly crafty Knave he was, and tho' the *Engliſh* did not know him now, yet afterwards they came to have a true notion of him, and plainly diſcover'd his treacherous practiſes.

A.D. 1621. Kindneſs of the *Indians* to them in their Journey.

Well, our *Engliſhmen*, in company with him, ſet forward for *Pakanokick*, the ordinary Reſidence of the Great Sagamore *Maſſaſoyt*. The *Indians*, all along by the Way, treated them with a great deal of courteſie, and plain honeſt freedom. They willingly gave them of their Proviſions to eat, wou'd carry any Baggage for them; yea, take them themſelves upon their backs, and wade with them through the Rivers.

Deſolate Country.

Reſolute Savages.

In ſome places they found the Country almoſt depopulated; there were fine Corn-fields and Paſture-grounds, without either Cattle or Inhabitants. 'Twas a great Plague it ſeems that had ſwept away theſe People, and left the Country in ſo mournful and deſolate a ſtate. About one River (where formerly abundance of People had dwelt) there were then but two Savages remaining, and thoſe both Old Men, unfit for the hazards of War, or to ſtand the Champions and Defenders of their Country. Yet as ſoon as they ſaw the *Engliſh* entring the River, they ran to the oppoſite Bank, and ſtood charged with Bow and Arrow in their hands; with a vaſt deal of courage, they demanded who and what they were, intending, if they had found them enemies, to have expos'd their old Carkaſſes to all manner of dangers, rather than ſuffer them to have paſs'd the River, but hearing them declare themſelves Friends, they freely permitted them to land, and welcom'd them with the beſt Food they had.

Maſſaſoyt continues a Friend.

Scarcity of Proviſions at the time they viſited him.

When they came to *Maſſaſoyt*, they found him the ſame Man, as to his Reſolutions of maintaining an inviolable Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, that he was at *Plimouth* Town. Abundance of the Sachems, or Petty-Governours, came about them while they were there; but the jeſt of all was, that they cou'd get no Victuals at Court. *Maſſaſoyt* himſelf had none to entertain them with; it fell out ſo at that time, for they live from Hand to Mouth, and go with a full or an empty Belly, according as they have, or have not ſucceſs at their Sport. Our *Engliſhmen* had been very free of their own Proviſions by the Way, and had beſtow'd it all upon the *Indians* they met with, not doubting but at *Maſſaſoyt*'s Houſe they ſhould meet with a Belly full; but it ſeems they were ſadly diſappointed, and had not the Savages beſtirr'd themſelves, and got a few Fiſh, and a Partridge or two, they had come away without making one Meal there. *Maſſaſoyt* was heartily aſhamed of his being ſo ill provided, but could not help it; however, he made up thoſe defects with other kindneſſes and tokens of his good will, for he lodged the two *Engliſhmen* upon the ſame Bed with his Wife and himſelf, tho' for want of room, two more of his Grandees were forc'd to ſqueeze in upon the ſame Mat; ſo that all things conſider'd, our People were in as ill a caſe, as to the point of Lodging, as with reſpect to their Diet, and neither their Bellies, nor their Bones, cou'd reproach each other, with any luxurious Pleaſures or Satisfactions. Yet all this had been perhaps tolerable, had they had no other company upon theſe hard Beds but the King and the Queen, and the two Grandees, but there were abundance of other Intruders that came without asking leave from his Majeſty, and 'tis to be ſuppos'd were pretty much us'd to the Houſe; what the *Indian* Name of theſe may be we don't know, but in *Engliſh* we call them Fleas and Lice, ſome of thoſe Animals that formerly plagu'd *Egypt*, and were no ſmall plague now in *America*. Upon all theſe accounts, they hurried away as faſt as they cou'd, and tho' *Maſſaſoyt* earneſtly preſs'd them to ſtay longer, yet they remembred their Lodging, and thanking him for his kindneſs came away.

Fleas and Lice.

Jyanough King of *Cummaquid*.

'Twas no ſmall ſatisfaction to the Colony, to find that *Maſſaſoyt* ſtood ſo firm and tight to the Articles of the League, and that he diſcover'd ſo much Fidelity to the *Engliſh* Intereſt. Their Satisfaction was alſo encreas'd by a new Friendſhip with a neighbouring Prince, contracted much about this time: It was *Jyanough*, the Sachem of *Cummaquid*, a moſt affable, courteous, and well-accompliſh'd Perſon, and in nothing Savage but the rudeneſs of his Habit. He and his People ſtudied to do the *Engliſh* all the good Offices imaginable, and as they had occaſion to come into his Territories, ever treated them with the utmoſt Civility, and the beſt Proviſions he had.

The *Narraghanſets* enemies to the *Engliſh*.

Their bold Defie.

But there were another ſort of Neighbours call'd the *Narraghanſets*, that were much otherwiſe affected towards the Plantation, and in plain terms breath'd Defiance, threatning no leſs than the utter Deſtruction of it. The *Indians* of all ſides talk'd of this Expedition of the *Narraghanſets* againſt the *Engliſh*, and that which render'd it the more probable was, that they were a numerous People, and as bold and daring as they were great and ſtrong: And that all this was more than meer talk, appear'd convincingly ſhortly after, for there came a Meſſenger from *Conauacus*, the great Sagamore of the *Narraghanſets*, who brought a bundle of new Arrows wrapt up in a Rattle-Snakes Skin. As for the *Engliſh*, they knew not the meaning of this Preſent; the Arrows and the Snake-skin were equally a Myſtery to them, but *Tiſquantum*, their Interpreter, unfolded the Riddle to them. He knew the Cuſtoms and Manners of thoſe *Indians*, and aſſur'd the *Engliſh* that this was no leſs than a formal Challenge, and that the *Narraghanſets* did by theſe Symbols defie them to Mortal Battel, and proclaim themſelves their everlaſting Enemies.

The Inſolence of the *Narraghanſets*

The *Narraghanſets* appear'd the bolder in this Defie of theirs, in that it was given juſt upon the coming of a Ship with Recruits to the Colony. But they knew well enough what they did, and underſtood by their Spies that the *Engliſh* had only an addition made to their Numbers, but none to their Arms nor Proviſions, (which are equally the Support of a War) by the coming of this new Ship. However, they took this advantage to let the *Engliſh* ſee how little they fear'd them; and the truth of it is, 'twas an Inſult big enough, conſidering they had no means of being ſure that the *Engliſh* knew upon what grounds they made ſo light of them, and that the reſt of the World round about, who did not know the true State of the Caſe, wou'd judge it an effect of pure Reſolution and Bravery.

The Governour ſends Powder and Shot.

The *Indian* King wont receive it.

But the Governour having conſulted upon the point, took the Arrows out of the Skin, and having ſtuff'd it full of Powder and Shot, ſent it back again to the King of the *Narraghanſets*. This was to let him know that his Challenge was accepted, and that whenever his People came with their Bows and Arrows, the *Engliſh* wou'd be ready to receive them with Powder and Shot. When the Meſſenger deliver'd this Preſent to *Conauacus* he was extremely ſurpriz'd, and having found 'twas Powder and Shot, he wou'd not ſo much as touch it, nor ſuffer it to ſtay in his Houſe: ſo that 'twas e'en brought back again as it went. The Savage King, 'tis probable, thought the *Engliſh* had ſent that Powder and Shot to do him a miſchief beforehand; to murder him before the War began, and ſo prevent the ſhedding of more Blood, for he knew that Men were kill'd with ſuch things as thoſe were, (tho' he did not know how nor which way) and therefore he did very wiſely in not ſuffering the Powder and Shot to lie within doors, leſt it ſhou'd have gone off of its own accord, and ſo a blown him up to rights. This was a Judicious conſideration; and the *Engliſh* Plot was thus entirely defeated. However, the *Engliſh* took care to fortify their Town, and put themſelves into the beſt poſture of Defence, that in caſe the *Narraghanſet* King came (to revenge that horrid Deſign upon his Life) they might be in a condition to receive him. This done, they proceeded with ſome Deſigns of Trade.

A cunning Plot of *Tiſquantum*.

The Town alarm'd.

They had a long time promis'd the *Maſſachuſet Indians* to come and Traffick for their Furrs, and now notwithſtanding theſe rumours of Wars, they reſolved to be as good as their Word; ſo Captain *Standiſh*, accompany'd with 10 Men, together with *Tiſquantum*, and *Hobbamock* (which was one of *Maſſuſoyt*'s greateſt Captains, and liv'd now with the *Engliſh* at *New Plimouth*) ſet out upon this Deſign. But they had not gone far, before a certain *Indian* comes to the Governour, and tells him that the *Narraghanſets* were marching towards the Town, and that *Maſſaſoyt*, the great pretended Friend of the *Engliſh*, was joyn'd with them, and he muſt therefore prepare for an aſſault. And the Rogue told this Story with ſo much paſſion, and ſo many other appearances of truth, eſpecially a Bloody face, which he ſaid he got by ſpeaking for the *Engliſh*, that the Governour believ'd him, and therefore ſhot off 2 or 3 pieces of Ordnance for a warning to Captain *Standiſh* and his Company to return, if they were not out of hearing; which they not being, came back again, and put themſelves into a readineſs to fight. But in vain did they expect the Enemy, who never came, having no ſuch Deſign at that time. And *Hobbamock*, who was more nearly concern'd for his Maſter *Maſſoſoyt*, aſſur'd the Governour of his Fidelity, and that all this Report was a Scandal upon him. To be ſure of this, the Governour diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *Puckanokick*, the place of *Maſſaſoyt*'s ordinary Reſidence, which found him at home quietly minding his own Affairs, and thinking of no Plots nor Wars; but he was highly concern'd, when he heard how he had been miſrepreſented to the *Engliſh*, and it work'd ſo far upon him, that he went away to the Plantation ſhortly after, on purpoſe to clear himſelf, and wipe away thoſe aſperſions that had been caſt on him. This was the firſt diſcovery of *Tiſquantum*; for the Savage that had acted that part before, and alarm'd all the Plantation, was one of his Creatures, and was ſet awork by his Maſter.

Maſſaſoyt abus'd.

Tiſquantum's Deſigns.

Now this Fellows deſign in all this under-hand dealing, was not ſo much to expoſe the *Engliſh*, as to purſue his own Reputation and Advantage, and make his Country-men think him a mighty great Man: For he us'd to tell them, that he cou'd manage the *Engliſhmen*, and perſwade them to Peace or War as he pleas'd; and by this means, they entertain'd a high Opinion of him, and us'd to make him large Preſents in the quality of a Mediator. He undertook to procure them Peace or Protection, Trade or Commerce, or any other favour from the *Engliſh* that they deſir'd. And on the other hand, when the Gifts did not come in faſt enough, he wou'd denounce War againſt them, and threaten to ſet the *Engliſh* upon their backs; ſo that he was much more look'd upon than many of their Sachems, yea, *Maſſaſoyt* himſelf was grown an inſignificant Perſon in compariſon with *Tiſquantum*. For whereas the Savages us'd to apply themſelves to the former, to mediate with the *Engliſh* on their behalf, now the latter was all in all; and who forſooth, but he, had Power at *Plimouth* Town? And the Tricks he had put upon the *Indians* round about were ſo many, and had proceeded ſo far, that the *Engliſh* having now found out the Raſcal, were obliged to expoſe him as ſuch to thoſe *Indians* he had deceiv'd, and to aſſure them of their Friendſhip and conſtant Reſolution to maintain Peace with them, upon other Terms than *Tiſquantum* us'd to repreſent.

A. D. 1622. A pleaſant Story.

But one of this Fellows deceits was ſo Comical, that we will divert the Reader with the account of it. 'Twas his buſineſs to ſtrike his Country-men with a very awful fear of the *Engliſh*, and by repreſenting them as a People ſomething more than ordinary, to make himſelf (who was very familiar with them) to be taken for ſomething extraordinary too. He told them therefore, that the *Engliſh* had the Command of the Plague, and cou'd diſpenſe it about in the Country as they pleas'd. He ſaid that they kept that Fury buried in a certain hole in the ground juſt by their Store-houſe, and cou'd let it out at any time upon their Enemies, and ſo kill them without the trouble of fighting. And as a conſequence of the former, that by keeping that hole faſt ſtopt, they cou'd keep the diſtemper a Priſoner under ground, and hinder the malignant Contagion from flying abroad to diſturb the Country. Now the *Indians* who had had the Plague raging amongſt them, and ſo had known the terrible effects of it, cou'd not poſſibly hear any thing more aſtoniſhing; and therefore (not knowing the Knave they had to do with) thought the *Engliſh* a very ſtrange ſort of People, believ'd it was their intereſt upon all accounts to keep the Peace with them, and for that end courted *Tiſquantum*, by whoſe means alone they hop'd to have the fatal hole kept cloſe ſtopt. But in the late alarm, it happen'd that certain Barrels of Gun-powder, that were buried under ground, were dug up, and *Hobbamock* ſeeing the great hole where the Barrels lay, chanced to ask *Tiſquantum* the meaning of it: Why (ſays he) this was the place where the Plague was buried; which ſo ſurpriz'd the other, that he went immediately to ask ſome of the *Engliſh* themſelves, who told him, They had not (but the God they ſerv'd had) the command of the Plague. Thus all *Tiſquantum*'s Roguery came out, and the *Indinns* were ſatisfied they were liable to no ſuch Perſecution from their Neigbours as that came to. 'Tis poſſible the Raſcal might mean the Gun-powder all the while, for that was a raging Plague amongſt the *Indians*, and a great many of them dy'd on't. The politick King of the *Narraghanſets* we know, wou'd not ſuffer the Infection to lodge under his Roof, but threw it out of doors with all imaginable haſte; and 'tis probable he had ſeen ſome Men drop down very ſuddenly of it, or elſe he wou'd not have been in ſuch a hurry. But whether *Tiſquantum* meant that or no, 'tis certain he impos'd upon the *Indians* to as great a degree, as if the Plague had been actually Impriſon'd in that Cavern he ſpake of; and like the Winds, cou'd have been let out and call'd in, at any time when the Keepers pleas'd.

Maſſaſoyt diſpleas'd.

'Twas hinted before, how *Maſſaſoyt* was repreſented to the *Engliſh* as a Confederate with their Mortal enemies the *Narraghanſets*, and this by the ſly inſinuations of *Tiſquantum*: Now this abuſe provok'd *Maſſaſoyt* ſo far, that he ſent to the Governour to have the ſcandalizing Slave reſign'd to him, and the rather, becauſe being one of his own Subjects, he had a Right to demand, as well as a Power to puniſh him; but the *Engliſh* found, or made ſome excuſes for not delivering him up, and tho' Peace was afterwards made for him, yet this refuſal in ſome meaſure ſour'd that Prince: and the truth on't is, it ſeems hardly worth their while to have loſt the leaſt degree of his Friendſhip for the ſake of a deſigning Villain, allowing him to have been an Interpreter.

Their Trade with ſeveral *Indian* Towns.

NewPlante s oppreſs the *Indians*.

Nauſet and *Mattachieſt*.

No Wars coming on, the Colony improv'd their time in trading with the *Indians*: They went that Voyage to the *Maſſachuſets*, from which they had been once hindred by the noiſe of the coming of the *Narraghanſets*, and their Trade with that People turn'd this time to very good account. A while after, the Governour in Perſon going out upon the diſcovery of a paſſage within the Shoals of *Cape Cod*, (which attempt prov'd ineffectual) and having ſome expectations of Corn from the *Maſſachuſets*, he went thither; but a Sickneſs had been amongſt that People, and hindred their Country Affairs. They complain'd alſo to the Governour of the *Engliſh* that were ſeated in the Bay hard by them; of their prouling about, and ſtealing their Corn. Theſe we muſt know were a little Plantation by themſelves, lately come over, upon one Mr. *Weſton*'s account, and who thought fit to Seat themſelves in this place. They ſpent and ſpung'd upon the Colony at *Plimouth*, and robb'd the Savages too; and which was worſt of all, they had enter'd into a ſort of a Partnerſhip, as to ſome points of Trade, with them of *Plimouth* Town, which ſeem'd to give them Partners ſhares alſo in the ſcandal of the abuſes and injuries offer'd to the *Indians*. The Governour found there was no good to be done here, thoſe new Planters having indeed quite ſpoil'd the Trade both for Corn and Furrs, giving as much for a Quart of Corn as the *Plimouthians* us'd to give for a good Beaver-skin; ſo that he return'd into the bottom of the Bay of *Cape-Cod*, to a place call'd *Nauſet*, where the Sachem us'd the Governour very kindly, and furniſh'd him with 8 or 10 Hoſheads of Corn and Beans. The ſame uſage they met with at *Mattachieſt*, together with a good quantity of Corn. And tis obſervable, that being under a neceſſity of leaving a conſiderable Stock of Corn, which they had bought here, behind them one Winter, at their return to fetch it they found it perfectly untouch'd, and not only ſo, but well guarded and preſerved by the *Indians*; ſuch an awe had they of the *Engliſh*, and ſo readily did the Sachem (who was commanded by the Governour to look after the Corn) obey the Orders laid upon him.

Namasket and *Manomet*.

After this they traded at *Namaſket* and *Manomet*, Inland Towns, and got good ſtore of Corn. That latter place ſtands upon a fine River that yields abundance of excellent freſh Fiſh, and runs into the *Narraghanſet* Bay. It lies S. W. from *Plimouth*-Town about 20 Miles. The Sachem of this Country us'd the Governour with very great civility, and was one of thoſe that had acknowledg'd the Sovereignty of King *James* of *England*.

Another Voyage.

The next Voyage about this Corn-trade was to *Mattachieſt*, and Captain *Standiſh* undertook it. Here the *Indians* diſcover'd much another ſort of temper than they had done before, for they pilfer'd and ſtole away ſeveral things from the Company, which tho' in themſelves but Trifles, yet the Captain was reſolv'd not to loſe, and therefore threaten'd the Sachem till he had made him take Orders for the reſtitution of them again.

Treachery of the *Indians*.

But this was not all, for the Captain plainly diſcover'd that they had a deſign to murder him and his Men, but he kept a good Watch all the while he was there, and ſo defeated them. Neither was this the firſt time the *Indians* had been fingering the *Engliſh* Commodities; for before this, when they were trading at *Nauſet*, they ſlily got away ſome things, and the Captain was forc'd at that time to give them ſome rough words before he cou'd have them reſtor'd.

Capt. *Standiſh* at *Manomet*.

The *Indians* falſe there.

The carriage of a bold *Indian*.

But to proceed: Some time after, when their decaying Stores requir'd a freſh Supply, Captain *Standiſh* went to *Manomet*, to fetch home a parcel of Corn that the Governour had contracted for. The Sachem of this place had given the Governour, when he was here, a very kind Entertainment, but he treated the Captain now not near ſo well. In ſhort, he very evidently ſaw that they had the ſame treacherous Minds with them of *Mattachieſt*, and this paſſage alone was enough to have perſwaded him of it, had there been no others grounds for ſuſpicion. While he was at the Sachem's Houſe, in comes a certain *Maſſachuſet Indian*, by Name *Wituwamat*, a proud inſulting Fellow, and one that had imbrued his hands in the Blood both of *Engliſhmen* and *Frenchmen* more than once. He was a luſty ſtrong Man, and had Courage enough, and knew it ſo well, that he leſſen'd it wonderfully by his extravagant braggs of it. This ſawcy Savage cou'd not forbear jeering the *Engliſh* and *French* before the Captain's face, and laughing at their weakneſs and puſillanimity: For (ſays he) they never die like Men, but like Children, crying, and making a parcel of ſoure faces, when they are Mortally wounded. But he did not content himſelf with this piece of Inſolence, but taking a Dagger from about his Neck, (which Weapon he had gotten from ſome of the *Engliſh* of *Weſton*'s Plantation) he preſented it to the Sachem, and afterwards made a long Speech, accompanied with a World of impudent geſtures and actions; and 'twas very evident, that he intended not only to affront Captain *Standiſh*, but alſo to let him know that he deſign'd to do ſo. The Captain indeed, tho' he underſtood the Language in ſome meaſure, yet not well enough to make ſenſe of a tedious Speech; however, he underſtood enough to make him ſenſible what the Man wou'd be at, yet being fearful of beginning to open a wide breach, he let them alone, and reſolv'd to ſee what they wou'd make of it themſelves.

The ſcope of his Meſſage to the Sachem.

Now (as they came afterwards to be inform'd) *Wituwamat*'s Speech to the Sachem was to this effect: That the *Maſſachuſets* had formerly deſign'd to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Colony planted by them in the Bay, but they conſider'd, that if they did that, they muſt cut off them at *Plimouth* too, or elſe they ſhou'd lie expos'd to a ſevere revenge. But then finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to carry on both thoſe deſigns, they endeavour'd to engage their Neighbours aſſiſtance, and came now to beſpeak him to joyn with the other Sachems round about, who were reſolv'd to do their utmoſt towards the Extirpation of the *Engliſh*. Farther he told him, That ſince Captain *Standiſh* was thus luckily fallen into their hands, they ought not to ſlip the opportunity, but make him and his Men the firſt Examples. After this Meſſage, *Wituwamat* was mightily careſs'd by the Sachem, and there was a manifeſt difference between his Entertainment and the Captains. This was a plain Declaration of his Mind, and 'twas as much as to ſay that he was reſolved to joyn in the Confederacy againſt the *Engliſh*. The Captain eaſily ſaw the difference made between *Wituwamat* and himſelf, but however digeſted that, as long as they did not come to other extremities. Now the number of Men he had with him was very inconſiderable, they were not above 6 in all, whereof one half was with the Shallop, and the other aſhore with him;

Captain *Standiſh's* dangers.

Maſſaſoyt ſick, and the Viſit made to him.

yet they did not dare to come to open violence tho' he had ſo few, and the Captain having got all his Corn ready, made the *Indians* carry it down to the Shallop, according to their promiſe, and ſo came off clear. At this time there was a notable Raſcal (an *Indian* of *Cape-Cod*) very officious about the Captain, and wou'd needs help him in getting his Corn aboard, and doing other pieces of Service, almoſt whether he wou'd or no. He had been acquainted ſome time with the *Engliſh*, and now being got into the Plot, appear'd more courteous and diligent to pleaſe than ever; but his true deſign was to kill Captain *Standiſh*, and being to lie amongſt the *Engliſh* that Night, promis'd the Sachem that he wou'd Stab him before they parted, and then his Men might fall upon the reſt of the company. But as it fell out, that Night the Captain cou'd not ſleep, and did nothing but turn to and fro (and ſometimes walk about by the Fire-ſide) all Night long; ſo that the Aſſaſſinate fail'd of his purpoſe. The next day the Wind ſerving, they ſail'd back for *Plimouth*, and this *Indian* with them, who wou'd fain have perſwaded the Captain to have gone to a certain place along with him, where he had (as he pretended) large Stores of Corn to furniſh him with; and Capt. *Standiſh*, who ſuſpected nothing of his treachery, wou'd have accompany'd him thither, but Providence prevented it, and the Wind turning ſuddenly about, oblig'd them to lay aſide thoſe thoughts, and ſail home. Thus the ſecond Plot was baffiled too, and the Life of a brave Man happily ſpar'd. In the interim that Capt. *Standiſh* was at *Manomet*, News came to *Plimouth* that *Maſſaſoyt*, their Old Friend and Allie, was very like to die, which was no ſmall trouble to the whole Plantation, for they had always found him punctual, juſt and ſincere in all his Treaties and Dealings with them. Now ſince 'twas the cuſtom amongſt the *Indians*, when any (eſpecially a great Man or a Sachem) are ſick, for all that profeſs a Friendſhip for them to ſend to viſit them, the Government determin'd to pay that Civility to *Maſſaſoyt*, and Mr. *Winſlow* (accompanied with the truſty *Indian Hobbamock*, and one *Engliſhman* more) was diſpatch'd upon that Errand. By the Way they had News that the good Prince *Maſſaſoyt* was dead, (which had almoſt ſpoil'd their Journey) but conſidering the uncertainty of Reports at a diſtance, they went on.

Hobbamock's ſorrow for his Prince.

Mr. *Winſlow* cures him.

Maſſaſoyt's gratitude to the *Engliſh*.

Coubatant receives them.

But *Hobbamock* burſt out into a bitter Lamentation, for the ſuppoſed death of his beloved Lord and Maſter: He went on crying, *Neen womaſu Sagamus*, *Neen womaſu Sagamus*, My Sachem, my Sachem, many have I known, but never any like thee. Then he wou'd turn to Mr. *Winſlow*, and run into a long harangue upon the Praiſes of his Maſter, and bid him depend upon it, that he ſhou'd never find any other *Indians* ſo Juſt and Honeſt, and Good as he. However, when they came to *Puckanokick*, they were ſurpriz'd with the joyful tidings of his being yet alive, tho' in a condition in which his life was not long to be expected. He had not quite loſt his Senſes, only his ſight was gone, when Mr. *Winſlow* came to his Bed-ſide, and *Hobbamock* telling him there was his good Friend *Winſlow*, he put out his Hand, and faintly repeated thoſe words, *Keen Winſnow*, that is, *Art thou* Winſlow? for they can't pronounce the Letter *l*, but always uſe *n* in the room of it. To which Mr. *Winſlow* replying, *Ahhe*, Yes, he return'd, *Matta neen wonckanet namen Winſnow*; that is, O! Winſlow, *I ſhall never ſee thee again.* And the truth on't is, the noiſe and buſtle that was about him was enough to have kill'd a Man almoſt without a diſtemper; for being mightily belov'd amongſt the *Indians* for his Vertues, there was a vaſt concourſe of Viſitants about his Houſe and Chamber. Several of theſe were at their Charms and Incantations for his recovery; that is, making loud noiſes and clamours, and diſturbing the Sick Man inſtead of doing him good. Beſides, there were 6 or 8 Women employ'd to chaſe his Arms and Legs, in order to the keeping of the natural heat in them; and what with the gibble-gabble of theſe, and the wild noiſes of the Charmers, our *Engliſh* Viſiters declare that their Heads were diſtemper'd. *Maſſaſoyt* yielded to all theſe Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of his Country, but in ſpight of all the Means, concluded himſelf a dead Man. But Mr. *Winſlow* comforted him in the beſt manner he cou'd, and began to act the part of a Phyſician towards him, adminiſtring ſome Cordials which he brought from *Plimouth*, and found that they were not without their ſucceſs. This encourag'd him to go on in his practice, and the ſucceſs ſtill attending the endeavour, the iſſue was, that in a few days time the Patient was ſo far recover'd, as to be out of danger of dying this bout. But 'tis hardly to be expreſs'd how kindly he took this Viſit from the *Engliſh*; to make ſome returns, he diſcover'd all the whole Plot of the *Maſſachuſets*, how many of the Sachems they had drawn in, and what applications they had made to him to joyn with them too. But withal, he earneſtly adviſ'd the *Engliſh* not to wait till the *Maſſachuſets* began with them, but to begin firſt themſelves, and cut them all off; otherwiſe, if they ſpar'd them upon thoſe Principles of tenderneſs that they had hitherto done, they wou'd have cauſe to repent it hereafter. With infinite thanks, and freſh aſſurances of true love to the *Engliſh*, they departed from *Maſſaſoyt's* Town, in company with *Coubatant* the Sachem of *Mattapuiſt*, who entertain'd them at his Houſe. This was a ſort of an unſettled (if not a hollow-hearted) Friend of the *Engliſh*; however, he entertain'd them civilly, and diſmiſs'd them without any wrong, tho' Mr. *Winſlow* and *Hobbamock* both had been employ'd in a Service againſt him.

Reſolution to puniſh the *Maſſachuſets*.

Miſerable Caſe of the other Colony.

At their return home, the Affair of the *Maſſachuſet*-Plot was taken into publick conſideration, and ſince the Evidences that prov'd that bloody and barbarous Deſign were ſo many and ſo clear, that there was no room for doubt of it, it was determin'd Capt. *Standiſh* ſhou'd go and prevent them. Matters were now come to that paſs with the *Engliſh* of *Weſton's* Plantation, that they cou'd hardly live there for the continual Violences and Inſults of the *Indians*; they wou'd come and take their Proviſions out of their very Fort, and eat it before their faces, and if any body ſpoke a Word to gainſay them, they wou'd draw their Knives and hold them to their Breaſts. In ſhort, they were in a very miſerable condition, and cou'd not poſſibly hold out (between want of Proviſions and of Strength) much longer. It muſt be own'd, that their own Unjuſt treatment of the *Indians* brought all theſe Miſeries upon them, and they were ſo far from being not acceſſary to their own Miſfortunes, that if the Savages had executed their Deſign upon them, it muſt have been allow'd they had receiv'd but a Juſt recompence.

Deſign upon the *Indians*.

Careleſneſs of the new Plantation.

The Inſolence of the *Indian* Hectors.

However, ſince they had plotted to carry their revenge ſo far, and to deſtroy the innocent with the guilty, to Maſſacre them at *Plimouth* as well as the others, 'twas but reaſonable for the *Engliſh* to attempt ſomething in their own Defence. And they concluded it the beſt way to go to Work in ſuch a manner, that the *Indians* might not have any frightful alarm given them, and ſo fly and hide themſelves from their Juſt indignation; but rather, ſeeing no ſigns of any impending Storm, might be left to their full liberty, and ſo diſcover themſelves with the more plainneſs. For this reaſon, Capt. *Standiſh* took no more than 8 Men (of which *Habbamock* was one) along with him; but whatſoever other action was forborn at this time, he had poſitive Orders to bring the Head of that daring Savage *Wituwamat* along with him at his return. Being come to the Plantation among the *Maſſachuſets*, he found the People careleſly diſpers'd up and down the Country, like Men that neither knew nor fear'd any danger; they had neither Swords nor Guns amongſt them, and they ſuffer'd the Cut-throat *Indians* to lodge and live together with them, as if they had been their Friends and Countrymen. But when the Captain told them their danger, and the horrid deſign of the *Indians* to murder them all, then they cou'd reflect upon former paſſages, and find out ſome grounds of ſuſpicion that all was not as it ſhou'd be, and that there was ſome wicked deſign in hand. 'Tis ſtrange to think what theſe Men had done with their Senſes all this while, that People muſt come from another Country to tell them that their next Neighbours were about to cut their Throats. And moſt certainly, the very reaſon why they were not all diſpatch'd (every Man of them) before that time, was becauſe the *Indians* were not in a capacity to prevent the revenge that was to be expected from *Plimouth* Town; that is, to murder them as well as the reſt. Captain *Stanaiſh* endeavour'd to conceal his reſentments and deſign from the *Indians* as much as was poſſible, but yet a cunning *Indian* Spy diſcover'd ſomething of Revenge in his face, and gave the hint to his Countrymen. Now beſides the hectoring Savage *Wituwamat* before mention'd, there was alſo another among the *Maſſachuſets* whoſe Name was *Peckſnot*, as bold and inſolent a Fellow as the other, and of as much courage and ſtrength; and theſe two were Champions that they repos'd a great deal of confidence in. This *Peckſnot* talking one day with *Hobbamock*, diſcover'd that the deſign of their coming was very well known amongſt the *Maſſachuſets*. *We know* (ſays he) *that Captain* Standiſh *is come to kill us all, and tell him that we know it, but fear him not, neither will we run away from him; let him begin as ſoon as he dares, he ſhall not come upon us unawares.* Notwithſtanding this ſawcy Challenge, the Captain let him alone; yea, tho' they came and whet their Knives before

fore his face, and us'd ſeveral threatning geſtures and actions, yet he would not begin till he had a favourable opportunity. But this came ſhortly after, for the two Hectors being one day amongſt the *Engliſh* playing their rude pranks, as they us'd to do, *Wituwamat* bragg'd of the goodneſs of the Knife he had in his hand, upon the Handle of which there was a Womans face carv'd: *But* (ſays he) *I have one at home that's better than this, which has a Man's face carv'd upon't; and theſe two Knives I intend ſhall be married together. That Knife at home* (he continued) *has done many an Execution both upon* Engliſh *and* French; *and as for this*, hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts, *by and by it ſhall ſee, and by and by it ſhall eat and devour, tho' without ſpeaking a word.*

A Jeſt upon the Captain.

Pecksnot alſo (who was a Man of a very large Stature) thought fit to put his Jeſt upon the Captain, who was but of a ſmall one: *You* (ſays he to Captain *Standiſh*) *tho' a great Captain, yet you are but a little Man; and I, tho' I am no Sachem, yet am a Man of great Strength and Courage.* This was a pretty intelligible way of calling a Man Coward; however, the Captain did not thank him for this Savage Complement till the next day. But then having theſe two Fellows, with two more of their Gang in company, one of which was a Brother of *Wituwamats*, and Villain-like, trod exactly in his Steps; and having juſt the ſame number of his own Men with him, he gave the Signal to have the Door ſhut faſt where they were, and ſo being in a Room by themſelves, and an equal Match for number on both ſides, there cou'd be no foul play. The Captain himſelf began with *Pecksnot*, and after a vaſt deal of ſtruggling got him down, and cut his Throat with his long Knife. The *Engliſhman* that fought with *Wituwamat* kill'd him too, and ſo did the third his Man; only *Wituwamat*'s Brother was taken alive, and preferr'd to a pair of Gallows afterwards. It's incredible how many wounds and ſtabs thoſe two valiant Savages receiv'd before they died; how they ſtruggl'd and catch'd at the Weapons to the very laſt breath, and died without any unmanly noiſes or ſigns of fear. The Captain having done this hardeſt piece of the Work, went preſently away to do the eaſier; that is, to rout the reſt of the *Indians* that were banded together in ſeveral places. Some he and his Men cut off, and another Company of the *Engliſh* of that Plantation fell upon more of them; and had not ſome that eſcap'd given warning to the reſt, the *Maſſachuſets* had that time been ſhrewdly diminiſh'd in their numbers. But there was at length a good body of *Indians* got together, and they had courage enough to come and meet the Captain and his Men in the open Field; but that heat was quickly cool'd, and they retir'd behind the Trees, where they ſtood, and ſometimes ſhot, and ſometimes ſcolded, and gave the *Engliſh* foul Language, never daring to leave thoſe wooddy ſhelters. The Captain call'd to the Sachem to come and decide the Controverſie by ſingle Combat between them two, but he cou'd get no anſwer to it, but Arrows and ill Words. Theſe being diſpers'd, they return'd back to *Plimouth* Town, where the Captain was receiv'd with a great deal of Joy and Triumph, and *Wituwamat*'s Head was ſet up upon the Fort. It is not eaſily conceiv'd what a terror this execution done upon the *Maſſachuſets* ſtruck in the reſt of the Plotters round about; they forſook their Houſes, and ran to and fro in the Woods like diſtracted People, being continually afraid that the Juſt revenge of the *Engliſh* purſued them in all places. Not long after alſo, ſeveral of thoſe malignant Sachems died, and left the *Engliſh* either none, or (at leaſt) leſs virulent enemies in their room. And now it may be ſaid, that the Plantation began to flouriſh ſomething conſiderably, having, beſides the Bleſſings of Heaven in good Corn and Fruit Seaſons, the Encouragements of *Old England* in freſh Supplies from thence.

The *Indians* ſlain by Capt. *Standiſh* and his Men.

They are routed in other places.

The terror of the *Indians*.

Our Authors go no farther with the Hiſtory of the Colony and their Affairs; ſo that we ſhall here break off the thread of this Diſcourſe, and come to that of the Country and People, where, and amongſt whom, they were ſeated.

CHAP. XXX.

An Account of New-England, *with the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Natives.*

New-England ſuppos'd an Iſland.

THis Country (whatever the *Engliſh* ſay of it) the Natives believe to be an Iſland, and go ſo far as to tell the very Name of that Inlet of the Sea that parts it from the Main Land of *Virginia*. This Inlet they call *Moheggon*, and conſtantly affirm that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* paſs that way between the two Countries, and drove a great Trade there. For the confirmation of this Opinion of the Natives, it is alledged that they had no knowledge of the neighbouring Country of *Virginia*, tho' it be not above 150 Leagues from them; that they never heard of *Powhatan* the great Prince of thoſe Parts, nor knew nothing of the *Engliſh* Plantation there, till they were inform'd of it. And the reaſon of this was ſuppos'd to be, becauſe ſome Waters (ſuch as they cou'd not paſs in their Canoes) lay between them and that Country. But they muſt be credulous enough, that will receive theſe things as Arguments to prove *New-England* an Iſland. Perhaps any great Lake they can't find the end of, they call a Sea; at leaſt thoſe that did not underſtand their Language well might think ſo. However, if the *Engliſh* have ever travell'd by Land from *Virginia* to *New-England*, 'twill be as much as is needful to put an end to this diſpute.

The reaſon of it.

Temper of the Air.

For the temper of the Air and the Seaſons, *New-England* differs very little from Old, at leaſt that part where the Plantation was fix'd; altho' in the Latitude of 42 deg. one wou'd expect that from this nearer poſition to the Line, it ſhou'd be much hotter here than in *England*, yet Experience ſhews the contrary, or if there be any difference 'tis next to indiſcernible. On the other hand, the Winters are thought to be both longer and ſharper than in *Old-England*, and Cold more piercing, and the Froſts more ſevere. But this difference, which is contrary to what ſhou'd follow, if one conſider'd meerly the ſituation of places upon the Globe, is not a Phænomenon peculiar to *New-England*, but is obſervable in other Parts of the World.

Great Froſts.

Soil excellent Clay.

As for the nature of the Soil, here is Sand, Gravel, Clay as good as any in the World, excellent for Pots, and that will waſh as well as any Soap. There is alſo great ſtore of Stone, tho' not ſo denſe and hard as in many other Countries. The Products of the Country as to Plants, Fruits, Corn and Animals, are ſo much the ſame with thoſe of *Virginia*, and the neighbouring Parts, that they need not be allow'd a particular deſcription.

Trade.

The main Commodities for Trade are Fiſh and Furrs, of both which there is ſuch plenty, and ſo good, that if great profit upon that ſcore be to be expected from any Country, 'tis from hence.

Natives belief of a God.

The Natives are not ſo groſly ignorant of a Supreme Almighty being here, as they ſeem to be in many other Parts of the World: For as they have a Notion of ſeveral Divine Powers, ſo they conceive of one Superiour to all the reſt, and that created all things. This Power they call *Kichtan*; and they ſay farther, That he made at firſt one Man and one Woman, from whom deſcended all the Nations of the Earth, but how they came to be ſo ſcatter'd about, and diſpers'd into Countries ſo remote from one another, they can't tell. They believe this Power to be good, and pay a ſort of acknowledgment to him for Plenty, Victory, or other Benefits receiv'd. His Habitation they ſay lies Weſtward in the Heavens, and all good Men when they die go thither, where they meet all their Friends, and have their fill of all manner of Pleaſures. As for bad Men, when they die they go to *Kichtan*-Habitation too, and knock at the door, but they have no anſwer from him but *Quachet*, that is, walk away; and ſo they wander about in reſtleſs diſcontent and penury. This Supreme *Kichtan* they hold to be a

Their thoughts of a future State.

Their account of the evil Spirits appearing to them.

The deluſions of the Powahs.

Method of curing the Sick.

The Tricks of the Powahs.

What they tell the Sick of their diſeaſes.

Their Sacrifices.

Power altogether inviſible, and not any of the Prieſts themſelves ever pretend to have ſeen him at any time. But they ſtand in more awe of another Power, which they call *Hobbamocko*, and our *Engliſhmen* the Devil. 'Tis to him they make their application for the cure of diſtempers, and he ſcruples not (as they affirm) to make very frequent appearances to them; ſometimes in one form, and ſometimes in another, like a Man, a Deer, an Eagle, but moſt commonly in the form of a Snake. To ſee him is an Honour that they are vaſtly ambitious of; however, 'tis conferr'd only upon thoſe of the better ſort, and the meaner ſort of People, as much as they long for't, have ſcarce any of his Viſits. But the miſchief of it, theſe better ſort of People, to whom *Hobbamocko* is thus kind, are the Powahs or Prieſts, and the Panieſe or Counſellors of State to the Sachems; that is, Men of Intrigue and Deſign, that love to govern and keep the People in awe about them. And according to the accounts our *Engliſh* give of the Matter, the very Notion of this *Hobbamocko* was put into the Peoples Heads by the Powahs; and the buſineſs of making him, and not *Kichtan*, (whom they believe to be all good) their great Phyſician, ſeems to have been entirely the Device of thoſe (too ſucceſsful) Cheats. One may gueſs at the Original and whole Management of the Impoſture, by this particular part of it. When a Man lies ſick of ſome grievous diſtemper, the Powah (who is the black Power's Agent and Officer) comes to do the good Work of curing him. The adminiſtration is nothing elſe but an Incantation; the Prieſt howls, ſcreams, ſings, jabbers, mutters, makes horrid faces, and looks as ugly as *Hobbamocko* himſelf. He has a thouſand antick tricks and poſtures over the diſeaſed Man, who all the while the Invocation laſts, ſhews his conſent to it by ſome few words dropt ever now and then, and ſometimes breaks out into a ſtrain of Muſick along with the Powah. And if there be a wound in the caſe, after the noiſes and poſtures are ended, he goes to licking the ſame. But the miſery is, that 'tis not the Powah that does this, tho' he ſeems to do it, but 'tis the Snake or the Eagle that ſits upon his ſhoulder that does the buſineſs; that is, (as we are to ſuppoſe) *Hobbamocko* in the ſhape of thoſe Animals. This Spectrum is inviſible to all but the Powah himſelf, who can ſee it very plainly tho' none of the reſt can; and yet they are ſuch Fools as to believe 'tis there, giving the Lye to all their Senſes at once, rather than to the Knave that impoſes upon them. Now for a Man that has his eyes open, and good ones too, to be perſwaded that an Object ſtands before him when he can ſee nothing of it, is no higher a denial of ſenſe, than to believe that an Object which he ſees before him is really not there; and conſequently, ſhou'd an *Indian* catch one of the Powahs in Bed with his Wife, that wou'd be no proof at all of his being there, for the Man's eyes may cheat him one way as well as t'other, and ſee what is not to be ſeen, as well as not ſee what is to be ſeen. So that theſe Fellows may lie with all the Women of the Country, and be taken in the fact too, and yet never provoke the Jealouſie of the Husbands, nor be call'd guilty for't. But to go on with their honeſt practiſes a little farther: When they come to a ſick Man, they generally tell him a very pretty Story of the Cauſe and Original of his illneſs. If they find the diſtemper any way hopeful and likely to be cur'd, they tell him that *Hobbamocko* ſent it for ſome Offence or other, who if he calls upon him in his diſtreſs, will ſtill afford him relief: On the other hand, if the caſe be deſperate, then they ſay that *Kichtan* is angry, and laid that affliction upon the Patient; and all Maladies from this hand they affirm are incurable: Thus they give them a far worſe Notion of God Almighty than the Devil, while they make the former a cruel and inexorable Being, but repreſent the latter as one that by Sacrifices and Prayers may be appeas'd. And our *Engliſh* Planters poſitively tell us, from the Confeſſions of the *Indians* themſelves, that the Worſhip of *Kichtan* was almoſt worn out amongſt them; and that many had ſaid, within their memory, that Power was much more Invok'd than he was at that time. The moſt zealous of all the *Indians*, in their Religious Superſtitions, were the *Narraghanſets*, the inveterate enemies of the *Engliſh*. They have large ſpatious Houſes in the nature of Temples, which are ordinarily frequented only by the Powahs; but at their Solemnities, vaſt Crouds of People reſort thither, and offer the beſt of their Treaſures in Sacrifice, that is Skins, Hatchets, Kettles, and the like. All theſe are thrown by the Prieſts into the midſt of a great Fire, and burnt (as our Authors ſay) to aſhes; which we believe may be true of the Skins, but hardly of the Kettles and Hatchets. Thoſe that offer liberally towards this Sacrifice are eſteem'd (not Fools as they deſerve to be, but) wiſe and devout Men. And 'tis ſuch a matter of reputation to be open-handed in this caſe, that the *Indians* about *Plimouth*-Town told the *Engliſh*, they wiſh'd their Sachems wou'd appoint the like Sacrifices amongſt them too. This is juſt as if they wanted to be rid of their Houſhold-ſtuff, or were ſo overburthen'd that they cou'd not tell what to do with it; but thoſe that look into their Houſes will find it otherwiſe.

The Panieſe, and the Diſcipline thoſe go through that are of that Order.

The Panieſe, or Counſellors to the Sachems, are not only the wiſeſt and moſt courageous Men that can be found, but generally of the largeſt ſize too. The Sachems never make War, or undertake any weighty buſineſs, without their Advice; and when the Armies march, theſe Men are always the immediate Guard of their Perſons. To keep up ſo honourable an Order as the Panieſe are eſteem'd to be amongſt all the *Indians*, they chuſe out the likelieſt and moſt promiſing Boys, and train them up with abundance of care, and in the Obſervation of peculiar Rites and Cuſtoms. 'Tis not a little hardſhip theſe Boys go through while they are under this Diſciple; they abſtain from all curious Meats, drink the Juices of bitter Herbs till they are ready to ſpue themſelves to death; they are beat over the Legs and Shins with Sticks, and made to run through prickly Buſhes and Brambles, to render them hardy, to inure them to Pain and Labour, and (as they ſay) to make them the more acceptable to *Hobbamocko*. For 'twas hinted before, that theſe Panieſe are ſome of them to whom the *Indians* affirm he makes very frequent Viſits, tho' our *Engliſh*, in all their Converſations with them, never had the luck of coming to any of their Houſes when he was there. But this ſeems pretty certain of theſe Men, that they diſcover in all great and dangerous attempts a Boldneſs and Courage beyond that of the other Warriours, and the common People firmly believe them to be above the reach of Swords and Darts, and that no (ordinary Weapons at leaſt) will kill them.

Government of the *Indians*.

Tributes.

The Government of the *Indian* Sachems is altogether Hereditary; and if the Father dies before the Son or Daughter is of Age to ſucceed him, the Minor is committed to the Tuition of ſome able Counſellour, who Manages the Affairs of the Country till the other is fit to take that burden upon his or her own ſhoulders. Some of theſe Sachems are little Tributary Princes that pay Homage, and depend upon ſome greater ones for Protection, without whoſe Knowledge and Conſent they cannot make War nor Alliances. There's none of them all but receive a ſort of an Annual Tribute from their People, which is for the moſt part ſome Baskets of Corn. Theſe they bring and ſet down in order in ſome place near the Sachem's Dwelling, where the Panieſe ſtand ready to give them thanks on the Sachem's behalf; and then going away, and acquainting him with it, he comes out himſelf, and expreſſes his Gratitude to his People, by good Words and ſome Preſents, and ſo diſmiſſes them. Now conſidering the abſolute Dominion of every Sachem in his own Country, this is but a very reaſonable Acknowledgment, for their Territories are their own Inheritance and Property; and if any Man has occaſion for ſo much Land, he goes and takes it of the Sachem, who marks him out as much as he has need for, and ſets him his Bounds. So that the Sachems are ſo many Landlords to their People; and 'tis but Juſt, ſince there is no ſuch thing as Money amongſt them, that the Tenants ſhou'd bring of the Fruits of their ground to make compenſation for the uſe on't. Neither do they pay only in Corn, but if any Man within the compaſs of his own Land kills any Veniſon, the better part thereof goes to the Sachem, or ſometimes the Skin.

Sachems receive all Strangers.

The Sachems generally keep open Houſe for all Strangers and Travellers. Any ſuch People, when they paſs through their Territories, go thither of courſe, where they are entertain'd according to their quality; but the Cuſtom is always, as ſoon as they come, to tell whither they go, and how long they intend to ſtay.

Their Wives and Concubines.

No Sachem will take a Wife that is not of a Birth equal to his; Concubines indeed they chuſe according to appetite and fancy, and ſtick not at the want of Extraction, if other things pleaſe. And tho' they keep a great number of theſe Women of Pleaſure, yet all are ſubject to the Wife, who is the Supreme Governeſs of the Family. The Subjects take the ſame liberty too, and give their Wives the ſame preheminence; beſides which, they keep them during life, but turn away the Concubines at pleaſure. When a Woman leaves a ſingle Life and becomes a Wife, ſhe preſently cuts her hair, and then wears a ſort of a Veil upon her Head till her hair is grown again. The time of War is a time of General Goal-Delivery to all Women that are uncomfortably Yok'd: For if any

Woman has either a bad Husband; or one ſhe can't love, away ſhe runs to the Enemy, where ſhe is ſure to be made welcome; for the *Indians* never think they have Women enough, and fight to gain ſuch Prizes oftner than Sovereignty.

Puniſhments of Adultery.

In the Caſe of Adultery, the Husband puts away the guilty Wife, or ſometimes reſts ſatisfied with baſting her ſides: But what the Wife does with the guilty Husband, we can't inform the Reader; tho' 'tis but Juſt ſhe ſhou'd uſe her Ladle a little about him, in order to his Reformation. While the *Indian* Women have their Monthly Purgations, they retire from their Husbands, and live in a Houſe alone; afterwards they waſh themſelves, and all that they have either touch'd or us'd, and ſo come back to make a part of the Family again.

Of Injuſtice in common dealings.

The Sachem executes Juſtice.

In Matters of unjuſt and diſhoneſt Dealing, they proportion the puniſhment according to the number of times the Delinquent has offended. For the firſt Crime he is reproach'd with his Villany after a very diſgraceful manner; for the ſecond he is beaten with a Cudgel upon the naked back; and for the third, beſides a ſound beating, he has his Noſe ſlit, that all Men may know and avoid him. Now in all theſe Caſes, the Sachem is not only Examiner and Judge, but Executioner too; 'tis he that beats and whips the Malefactors, and (when the Matter requires it) ſlits their Noſes too. Murder is always puniſhed with Death, without the leaſt favour; and the Sachem does this bloody Work himſelf. Indeed, if the Criminal be a great way off, and can't conveniently be brought, the Sachem ſends his own Knife, with which the Execution muſt be done tho' it can't be done by his own Hand. But any other puniſhment that is not Capital, the *Indians* will not receive but from the hands of their Sachems; they won't be beat or whipp'd by an Officer, but their Prince may do it to all extremities, and they'll never offer to run away. Nay, for a Man to cry or flinch during the time of his Correction, is reckon'd a more infamous thing than either the Offence it ſelf, or the Puniſhment.

Mournings for the Dead.

The Burials in this Country have been Occaſionally deſcrib'd before; the moſt remarkable Circumſtances ſucceeding theſe are the Mournings, which continue for ſeveral days Night and Morning, in which all the Friends of the deceaſed bear a part, and make a very doleful wretched noiſe. If a ſick Perſon happens to recover of his illneſs, there is mighty joy; and becauſe Sickneſs is always chargeable, the Friends ſend him Gifts to help to make it up, and come and dance, and feaſt with him.

Reſpect to Old Age.

Labours of Men and Women.

The laudable Cuſtom of paying a reverence to Old Age is ſtrictly obſerv'd by all the *Indians* in theſe Parts; yea, the younger People will do all mean Offices to excuſe the old ones from it, tho' they be ſtrangers to them. And let a Man have as many Years over his Head as he will, yet he is not counted a Man, till he has done ſome action worthy the Place he fills, and the Poſt he ſtands in. The Men employ themſelves in Hunting, Fiſhing, and making Materials for the Wars; but the Women, beſides the burden of the ordinary Houſhold Affairs, (that lies upon them of courſe) manage the Husbandry too, and do all in the Field as well as the Kitchin. The beſt way for the Women to get out of this Slavery, wou'd be to make their Husbands believe they Cuckold them when they are abroad at Work; for the Men can't always watch them, and perhaps they wou'd chuſe rather to be at the trouble of the Tillage of their Land, than have Horns grow without any Tillage. For the Habits of theſe People: Beſides a ſort of Covering next the Pudenda, they wear a Deer-skin looſe about them like a Cloak, which they will turn to the Weather-ſide upon Occaſion; alſo Breeches, Stockings and Shoes, all in one piece, made of the ſame Materials. This is their travelling Habit, but when they are at home, they pull off their Breeches, with all the appendages of them. But for a Habit of extraordinary warmth and defence, they have the Skin of that Beaſt which they call a Moſs in their Tongue, and ſeems to be the only rarity of the Country, that is, in compariſon with other Animals, which are common with this, to other *American* Countries. This Beaſt is as big as an Ox, and has a Head and Neck like a Red Deer, but his hair is long like an Elk, and he has a ſhort Mane that runs down his back a conſiderable way. Under the Throat hangs down a great bunch, which is of a dark colour. The Legs are very long, and ſo is the Tail, which reaches down almoſt to his heels; and the Feet are as large every way as an Oxes. The fleſh is excellent good Meat, and the Natives Barrel it up, and keep it all the Year round. The Skin makes a very ſubſtantial Buff, and will ſerve a Man for all the ſame uſes and purpoſes. But to return to the People. The *Indians* are a ſenſible ingenious People; they keep Account of the Time by the Moon, and know divers of the Conſtellations by name. They have Proper Names for the Winds alſo, and by conſtant Obſervation have very good Skill in judging of the changes of the Weather. Their Language is very copious and difficult to be attain'd; but they have nothing of the Uſe of Letters, or any ſuch Symbolical ways of expreſſing things as ſome of the *Americans* have. To ſupply this defect, and keep up the memory of ancient things amongſt them, they dig deep holes in the ground, in the place where any memorable action was perform'd, which they take care to preſerve from being ſtopt up, from Generation to Generation. So that as a Man travels the Country, if he can but underſtand his Guide, he may read as it were the Hiſtory of their Affairs, and make his Journey pleaſant and eaſie to him. Theſe are ſtanding Monuments that never wear out; but the Names of Perſons (ſuch is their Cuſtom) are in continual flux and change. Males and Females, when they come to Years of Diſcretion, retain not the ſame Names they had when they were Young; and if they do any remarkable thing, they ſtill aſſume a new Name upon't. Now to augment an old Name by a new Title, upon the account of ſome extraordinary Performance, has been a practice amongſt ſome of the politeſt People in the World; but to quit an old Name entirely, and take up a new one, is what ſeems to be peculiar to theſe People. But the reaſon of no one part of Mankind (in Arbitrary Matters eſpecially) is to be a Standard to the reſt; and if the *Indians* of *New-England* think they have reaſon for ſo doing 'tis ſufficient.

Habits.

The Beaſt call'd a Moſs.

The Uſe made of it by the Natives.

The Learning of the *Indians*.

Language.

Memorials.

Changing Names.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Diſcovery of New-Scotland, *with His Majeſties Patent for the Plantation of the ſame.*

King *James*'s Patent to Sir *William Alexander*, for the Plantation of *New Scotland*.

Jacobus Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ fideiq; defenſor: Omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ ſuæ Clericis & laicis ſalutem. Sciatis nos ſemper ad quamlibet quæ ad decus & emolumentum regni noſtri Scotiæ ſpectaret occaſionem amplectendum fuiſſe intentos, nullamque aut faciliorem aut magis innoxiam acquiſitionem cenſere, quam quæ inexteris & incultis regnis ubi vitæ & victui ſuppetunt commode novis deducendis Coloniis factu ſit; præſertim ſi vel ipſa regna cultoribus prius vacua, vel ab infidelibus, quos ad Chriſtianam converti fidem & Dei gloriam intereſt plurimum, inſeſſa fuerint. Sed cum & alia nonnulla regna, & hæc non ita pridem noſtra Anglia laudabiliter ſua nomina novis terris acquiſitis ſed in ſe ſubactis indiderunt, quam numeroſa & frequens divino beneficio hæc gens, hac tempeſtate ſit nobiſcum reputantes, quamque honeſto aliquo & utili cultu eam ſtudioſe exerceri ne in deteriora ex ignavia & otio prolabatur expediat pleroſque in novam deducendos regionem quam Coloniis compleant, operæ pretium duximus qui & animi promptitudine & alacritate corporumque robore & viribus quibuſcunque difficultatibus, ſi qui alii mortalium uſpiam ſe audiant opponere, hunc conatum huic regno maxime idoneum inde arbitramur quod virorum tantummodo & mulierum jumentorum & frumenti, non etiam pecuniæ tranſuectionem poſtulat, neque incommodam ex ipſius regni mercibus retributionem hoc tempore cum negotiatio adeo imminuta ſit, poſſit reponere. Hiſce de cauſis ſicuti & propter bonum fidele & gratum dilecti noſtri conſiliarii Domini Willielmi Alexandri equaitis ſervitium nobis præſtitum & præſtandum, qui propriis impenſis ex noſtratibus primus externam hanc coloniam ducendam conatus ſit, diverſaſque terras infra deſignatis limitibus circumſcriptas incolendas expetiverit. Nos igitur ex regali noſtra ad Chriſtianam religionem propagandam & ad opulentiam, proſperitatem, pacemque naturalium noſtrorum ſubditorum dicti regni noſtri Scotiæ acquirendam cura, ſicuti alii Principes extranei in talibus caſibus hactenus fecerunt, cum aviſamento & conſenſu prædicti noſtri conſanguinei & conſiliarii Joannis *Comitis de Marr Domini Erskene & Garrioche ſummi noſtri Theſaurarii computorum rotulatoris collectoris ac Theſaurarii novarum noſtrarum augmentationum hujus Regni noſtri Scotiæ, ac reliquorum dominorum noſtrorum Commiſſionariorum ejuſdem Regni noſtri, dedimus conceſſimus & diſpoſuimus, tene-*

reque præſentis chartæ noſtræ damus concedimus & diſponimus præfacto Domino Willelmo Alexandro, hæredibus ſuis vel aſſignatis quibuſcunque hæreditariè omnes & ſingulas terras continentis ac inſulas ſituatas & jacentes in America, intra caput ſeu promontorium communiter Cap. de Sable appellatum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum aut ab eo circa, ab æquinoctiali linea verſus ſeptentrionem, à quo promontorio verſus littus maris tendentis ad occidentem ad ſtationem Sanctæ Mariæ navium (vulgo S. Maries Bay) & deinceps verſus ſeptentrionem per directam lineam introitum ſive oſtium magnæ illius ſtationis navium trajicientem quæ excurrit in terræ orientalem plagam inter Regionis Suriquorum & Etechemmorum (vulgo Suriquois & Etechemines) ad fluvium vulgo nomine Santæ Crucis appellatum. Et ad ſcaturiginem remotiſſimam ſive fontem ex occidentali parte ejuſdem qui ſe primum prædicto fluvio immiſcet, unde per imaginariam directam lineam quæ pergere per terram ſeu currere verſus ſeptentrionem concipietur ad proximam navium ſtationem, fluvium vel ſcaturiginem in magno fluvio de Cannada ſeſe exonerantem. Et ab eo pergendo verſus orientem per maris oras littorales ejuſdem fluvii de Cannada ad fluvium ſtationem navium portum aut littus communiter nomine de Gachepe vel Gaſpie notum & appellatum. Et deinceps verſus Euronotum ad inſulas Bacalaos vel Cap. Briton vocatas Relinquendo eaſdem Inſulas à dextra & voraginem dicti magni fluvii de Cannada ſive magno ſtationis navium & terras de Newfoundland, *cum inſulis ad eaſdem terras pertinentibus à ſiniſtra. Et deinceps ad Caput ſive promentorum de Cap. Briton prædictum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta quinque graduum aut eo circa. Et à dicto promentorio de Cap. Briton verſus meridiem & Occidentem ad prædictum Cap. Sable ubi incipit perambulatio includenda & comprehenda intra dictas maris oras littorales ac earum circumferentias à mari ad omnes terras continentis cum fluminibus torrentibus, ſinubus, littoribus, inſulis aut maribus jacentibus prope infra ſex lucas ad aliquam earundem partem ex occidentali boreali vel orientali partibus orarum littoralium & præcinctuum earundem. Et ab Euronoto (uti jacet Cap. Britton) & ex auſtrali parte ejuſdem ubi eſt Cap. de Sable omnia maria ac inſulas verſus meridiem intra quadraginta leucas dictarum orarum littoralium earundem magnam inſulam vulgariter appellatum Iſle de Sable vel Sablon includen. jacen. verſus carban vulgo South-South-Eaſt, circa triginta leucas à dicto Cap. Britton in mari & exiſten. in latitudine quadraginta quatuor graduum aut eo circa. Quæ quidem terræ prædictæ omni tempore affuturo nomine Novæ Scotiæ in America gaudebunt, Quas etiam præfatus Dominus Willelmus in partes & portiones ſicut ei viſum fuerit dividet iiſdemq; nomina pro beneplacito imponet. Una cum omnibus fodinis tum regalibus auri & argenti quam aliis fodinis ferri, plumbi, cupri, ſtanni, æris, &c.*

In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti Chartæ noſtræ magnum Sigillum noſtrum apponi præcipimus Teſtibus prædictis noſtris conſanguineis & Conſiliariis Jacobo Marchione de Hamilton Comite Arraniæ & Cambridge Domino Auen & Innerdail, Georgio Mariſcalli Comite Domino Keith & alt. regni noſtri Mariſcallo, Alexandro Comite de Dunfermling Domino Fyviæ & urqubant noſtro Cancellario, Thoma Comite de Melros Domino Byres & Bynning noſtro Secretario, Dilectis noſtris familiaribus Conſiliariis Domino Richardo Kockburne Juniore de Clerkington noſtri Secreti Sigilli cuſtode, Georgio Hay de Knifarunis noſtrorum Rotulorum Regiſtrorum ac Concilii Clerico, Joanne Cockburne de Ormeſtoun noſtræ Juſtitiariæ Clerico, & Joanne Scot de Scottiſtaruet noſtræ Cancellariæ Directore, Militibus. Apud Caſtellum noſtrum de Winſore decimo die menſis Septembris Anno Domini mileſimo ſexenteſimo vigeſimo primo Regnorumq; noſtrorum annis quinquageſimo quinto & decimo nono.

SIR *Ferdinando Gorges*, who preſided over the Affairs of *New-England*, conſidering the largeneſs of the Bounds laid out for Plantations in thoſe Parts, and the ſlow progreſs made in Planting, made a motion to Sir *William Alexander*, one of His Majeſties Privy-Council for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to procure a particular Patent for the Planting ſuch a part as ſhou'd be call'd *New-Scotland*; and to be held of the Crown of *Scotland*, and govern'd by the Laws of that Kingdom. Which Patent was accordingly granted by His Majeſty, and the Limits of the Country were thus ſettled, To take in all that lies to the E. of *St. Croix*, compaſs'd with the great River of *Canada* on the N. and the main Ocean on the S. as may be ſeen more at large in the Patent above.

A.D. 1622.

The firſt Ship that went with a Company aboard her to Plant there, was ſent out in *A. D.* 1622. but ſetting out too late, they were forc'd to Winter at *Newfoundland*. The next Year they ſet Sail from thence, and having made *Cape-Breton*, they kept along the Coaſt till they came the length of *Port du Muton*, where they diſcover'd 3 pleaſant Harbours, and went aſhore in one of them, which they call'd *Luke's-Bay*. Here they trac'd for a great way up, a delicate River which was 3 Fathoms deep at low Water; on each ſide of which were flowry Meadows, and a proſpect of a charming Country; Roſes red and white they took notice of, and a ſort of wild Lilly, which, wild as it was, was a Flower of a moſt pleaſing fragrancy. They Coaſted along to the next Harbour, which was but 2 Leagues from the former, and here they found a River more pleaſant than the other, and that had 4 Fathom at low Water, and the Fields and Meadows that lay about it were dreſs'd with Roſes and Lillies like that they had ſeen before. Within this River they found a place very fit for a Plantation; 'twas a fat Soil, well ſtor'd with Fruits and Grain, and naturally apt to be Fortified. The Fruits they obſerv'd growing there were Gooſberries, Huttleberries, Wineberries, Raſberries, and Strawberries: And the Grain, Wheat, Barley, Rye, Peaſe, which latter grow every where in abundance, and are very large and good to eat, only they taſte ſomething of the Fitch. Sailing along to the next Harbour, which was about 12 Leagues diſtant, all the way the pleaſures of the Country continued; and tho' here were allurements enough, yet the place laſt mention'd was concluded on as the moſt commodious for a Settlement. In all theſe Rivers they found plenty of Fiſh, as Cod and others, both great and ſmall; and all along the Coaſt, (as alſo upon the Rivers themſelves) great ſtore of wild Fowl, as wild Geeſe, black Duck, Woodcock, Hern, Pigeon, and many other ſorts which they did not know. The ſorts of Wood the Country afforded were Oak, Firr, Spruce, Birch, and ſeveral other kind of Trees they had not ſeen before. They return'd back to *Newfoundland*, and from thence to *England*, very well ſatisfied with this Diſcovery; but for ſome reaſons did not ſtay there now, but intended to return the next Year early in the Spring, to lay the Foundation of a new Plantation there.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Diſcovery and Plantation of Newfoundland; *with an Account of the Country, and His Majeſties Patent for the Plantation of the ſame.*

THis Country was firſt diſcover'd *A. D.* 1497. by Sir *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who was ſet forth by King *Henry* VII. After this follow'd the Voyages of *M. Rut*, *Albert de Prato*, *M. Hore*, and others, to the ſame place. In *A. D.* 1583. Sir *Humphry Gilbert* went thither, carrying a large Patent granted by Q. *Elizabeth*, and took actual poſſeſſion of the Country in Her Majeſties Name at *St. John*'s Harbour. This Worthy Knight ſailing from thence to *Virginia*, loſt in that Courſe his beſt and largeſt Ship, and in his return towards *England*, himſelf with the other; and all that ſurviv'd the foregoing Shipwrack were overwhelm'd with a Storm. Notwithſtanding all theſe advances made towards a Plantation, yet the Affair was neglected till ſome Publick Spirits thought fit (in *A. D.* 1609.) to put their Country in mind of it. One Mr. *John Guy* of *Briſtol* wrote a Treatiſe on purpoſe to revive the buſineſs, and animate the *Engliſh* to Plant there. This motion took ſo well, that the following Year, *A. D.* 1610. a Patent was granted by K. *James*, and a Colony ſent over, of which the Worthy Mr. *Guy* went Governour.

His Majeſties Patent for Newfoundland.

JAMES, *by the Grace of God, of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith,* &c. *To all People to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come greeting; Know ye, whereas divers Our loving and well-diſpoſed Subjects, are deſirous to make Plantation to inhabit and eſtabliſh a Colony or Colonies, in the Southern and Eaſtern Parts of the Country, and Iſle or Iſlands, commonly called* Newfoundland, *unto the Coaſt and Harbour, whereof the Subjects of this Our Realm of* England *have for the ſpace of 50 Years and upwards, Yearly uſed to reſort in no ſmall numbers to fiſh; intending by ſuch Plantation and Inhabiting, both to ſecure and make ſafe the ſaid Trade of Fiſhing to Our Subjects for ever; And alſo, to make ſome commendable Benefit for the Uſe of Mankind, by the Lands and Profits thereof, which hitherto from the beginning (as it ſeemeth manifeſt) hath remained unprofitable. And for better performance of ſuch their purpoſe and intentions, have humbly beſought Our Regal Authority and Aſſiſtance; We being well aſſured that the ſame Land or Country adjoyning to the foreſaid Coaſts, where Our Subjects uſe to fiſh, remaineth ſo deſtitute and deſolate of In-*

habitants, that ſcarce any one Savage Perſon hath in many Years been ſeen in the moſt parts thereof: And well knowing that the ſame lying, and being ſo vacant, is as well for the reaſons aforeſaid, as for many other reaſons very commodious for Us and Our Dominions. And that by the Law of Nature and Nations, We may of Our Royal Authority, poſſeſs our ſelves, and make grant thereof, without doing wrong to any other Prince or State, conſidering they cannot juſtly pretend any Soveraignty or Right thereunto, in reſpect that the ſame remaineth ſo vacant, and not actually poſſeſſed, and inhabited by any Chriſtian, or other whomſoever. And therefore, thinking it a matter and action well beſeeming a Chriſtian King, to make true uſe of that which God from the beginning created for Mankind; And therefore intending, not only to work and procure the benefit and good of many of Our Subjects, but principally to increaſe the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the propagation of Our Chriſtian Faith, have graciouſly accepted of their ſaid intention and ſuit. And therefore do of Our ſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, give, grant, and confirm by theſe Preſents, unto Our right dear, and right well beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Henry Earl of Northampton, Keeper of Our Privy Seal, and to Our truſty and right well beloved Sir Laurence Tanfield Kt. chief Baron of Our Exchequer, Sir John Dodridge Kt. one of Our Sergeants at Law, Sir Francis Bacon Kt. Our Sollicitor General, Sir Daniel Dun, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Piercival Willoughby, and Sir John Conſtable, Kts. John Weld Eſq; William Freeman, Ralph Freeman, John Slany, Humfrey Slany, William Turner, Robert Kirkam, Gentlemen, John Weld Gentleman, Richard Fiſhburne, John Brown, Humfrey Spencer, Thomas Juxon, John Stokely, Ellis Criſpe, Thomas Alport, Francis Needeham, William Jones, Tho. Langton, Philip Gifford, John Whittingam, Edw. Allen, Ric. Bowdler, Tho Jones, Simon Stone, John Short, John Vigars, John Juxon, Ric. Hobby, Robert Alder, Anthony Haveland, Tho. Aldworth, Will. Lewis, John Guy, Ric. Hallworthy, John Langton, Humfrey Hooke, Philip Guy, Will. Meredith, Abram Jenings, and John Dowghtie, their Heirs and Aſſigns. And to ſuch, and ſo many as they do, or ſhall hereafter admit to be joyned with them in form hereafter in theſe Preſents expreſſed, whether they go in their Perſons to be planted in the ſaid Plantation, or whether they go not, but do adventure their Monies, Goods and Chattels, that they ſhall be one Body, or Commonalty perpetual, and ſhall have perpetual Succeſſion, and one Common Seal to ſerve for the ſaid Body and Commonalty: And that they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall be known, called, and incorporated by the name of the Treaſurer, and the Company of Adventurers, and Planters of the City of London and Briſtol, for the Colony or Plantation in Newfoundland, and that they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall be from henceforth for ever inabled, to take, require, and purchaſe by the name aforeſaid (Licence for the ſame from Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, firſt had and obtained) any manner of Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, within Our Realm of England, and Dominion of Wales, and that they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall be likewiſe inabled by the name aforeſaid, to plead and be impleaded, before any Our Judges, or Juſtices, in any of Our Courts, and in any Actions and Suits whatſoever. And We do alſo of Our ſaid ſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, give, grant, and confirm unto the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, under the reſervations, limitations, and declarations hereafter expreſſed, all that part and portion of the ſaid Country, commonly called Newfoundland, which is ſituate, lying and being to the Southward of the parallel Line to be conceived to paſs by the Cape or Headland, commonly called or known by the Name of Bonewiſt Incluſive, which Cape or Headland is to be Northward of the Bay, commonly called Trinity-Bay, and alſo which is ſituate, lying, and being to the Eaſtward of the Meridian Line, to be conceived to paſs by the Cape, or Headland, commonly called or known by the Name of Cape Sancta Maria, or Cape Saint Maries Incluſive, which Cape or Headland is to be Eaſtward of the Bay commonly called the Bay of Placentia, together with the Seas and Iſlands lying within 10 leagues of any part of the Sea-coaſt of the Country aforeſaid, and alſo all thoſe Countries, Lands and Iſlands, commonly called Newfoundland, which are ſituate between 46 degrees of Northerly latitude, and 52 degrees of the like latitude, and alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Mines, Minerals, Pearls, and precious Stones, Woods, Quarries, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatſoever, together with all Prerogatives, Juriſdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchiſes, and Preheminencies, within any the ſaid Territories, and the Precincts thereof whatſoever, and thereto or thereabouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any ſort belonging or appertaining; and which We by Our Letters Patents may or can grant, and in as ample manner and ſort, as We, or any of Our Noble Progenitors have heretofore granted to any Company, Body Politick, or Corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Diſcovery, Plantation, or Traffick, of, in or into any Foreign Parts whatſoever, and in as large and ample manner, as if the ſame were herein particularly mentioned and expreſſed. Nevertheleſs Our Will and Pleaſure is, and We do by theſe Preſents expreſs and declare, that there be ſaved, and reſerved unto all manner of Perſons of what Nation ſoever, and alſo to all and every Our loving Subjects, which do at this preſent, or hereafter ſhall trade, or voyage to the Parts aforeſaid for fiſhing, &c. April 27. A. Reg. 8.

The Company under Mr. *Guy* ſucceeded very well in the Country, they got acquaintance with the Natives, and gradually won them to a familiarity with them, by doing of them little kindneſſes. Neither do we find that they ever had any diſturbances from them, but offering the Natives no violence, had none offer'd by them. And tho' there were none that liv'd near where they were ſeated at firſt, yet wou'd they come and traffick with them, that is, leave things in a certain place where the *Engliſh* ſhou'd find them, and ſo ſtand to their Courteſie to leave what they thought good in the room of them. This confidence they ſeem'd to repoſe in them, becauſe the *Engliſh* once lighting of ſome of their Houſes when they were all abſent, took away none of their Houſhold-ſtuff or Proviſions; only they put ſeveral things out of their places, and left ſome Trifles there, that the Savages, when they came home, might know ſome ſtrangers had been there. This made them firſt ſearch the *Engliſh* out, and afterwards expreſs ſuch a good Opinion of them. And there's no doubt to be made, but the moſt Savage People in the World might (before they be too much abus'd at leaſt) be brought to a friendly Correſpondence with ſtrangers by gentle Methods, and a juſt and fair Carriage towards them. And there's as little queſtion to be made, but that the contrary deportment has greatly contributed towards the making many People much more barbarous, than Nature and their own Diſpoſitions ever made them. Amongſt thoſe that made Voyages to this Iſland before there was any Settlement there, Capt. *Richard Whitbourn* was one of the chief, who was alſo there at the time that Sir *Humphry Gilbert* was. This Worthy Perſon made at leaſt 5 or 6 Voyages thither, ſome before, and others after the Plantation. And 'tis from his Remarks, and thoſe of Mr. *Guy*, and ſome of the Members of the Colony, that we extract the following Account of the Country.

The Iſland of *Newfoundland* lies between the 46th and 53d deg. of N. L. ſeparated from the neareſt part of the *American* Continent, about as far as *England* from the neareſt part of *France*. It is almoſt as large as *Ireland*, and the greateſt part of it lies above 3 deg. more Southward than any part of *England*. All along the Coaſt are many large and excellent Bays, ſome of them ſtretching into the Land towards one another more than 20 Leagues. On the Eaſt-ſide are the Bays of *Trinity* and *Conception*, which ſtretch themſelves towards the S. W. *Tor* and *Capalin* Bays lying alſo on the E. ſtretch towards the W. The Bays of *Trepaſſey*, *St. Mary*, *Borrell* and *Plaiſance*, which are all on the South-ſide, extend their arms towards the N. The great Bay of *St. Peter* on the S. W. ſide, runs towards the E. and lies E. by S. from the great River of *Canada*, which is about 20 Leagues diſtant. The bottoms of theſe Bays do all meet together within the compaſs of a ſmall Circuit; by which means, paſſing over Land from Bay to Bay, the diſcovery of the whole Country is much facilitated. There are, beſides theſe, many others of leſs Note, and in moſt of them ſmall Iſlands, (none of which are farther than a League from the ſhore) very pleaſant and fruitful. Hardly any Country in the World can ſhew a greater number of ſafe and commodious Harbours than this; but the two moſt remarkable are the Harbours of *Trinity* and *Trepaſſey*. The former lies in 49 deg. and is moſt advantageouſly ſeated for Shipping both to anchor in, and to ſail from thence towards the E. W. or S. It has 3 Arms or Rivers, long and large enough to receive many hundred Sail, which may Moar faſt at Anchor near a Mile from the Harbours Mouth. Adjoyning to the Rivers-ſide, and within the Harbour, is much open Land, that yields Graſs enough both Winter and Summer to maintain great ſtore of Cattle. The *Bay of Flowers* lies to the N. of this Harbour, (not above a League diſtant by Land in many places) but becauſe of ledges of Rocks even with the Water, and very dangerous, no Ships go thither to Fiſh; ſo that *Trinity* Harbour is the moſt Northerly Fiſhing-place frequented by our Nation upon the Iſland. *Trepaſſey* Harbour is alſo a very commodious one, and has the advantage of lying in a more temperate Latitude, as being in 46 deg. very near. It is a fair, pleaſant and wholſome Coaſt, and free from Rocks and Shelves. Of all the Harbours, this is the moſt Southerly, and moſt convenient to receive any Shipping that comes for, and from *Virginia*, the *Bermudas* Iſland, or the great River of *Canada*. The Seaſons here are very temperate, neither are there any extremities of Heat and Cold greater than thoſe in our own Climate; and the often repeated experiences of the *Engliſh* have put it out of all doubt, that 'tis a healthy place, and agrees very well with their Conſtitutions. The Soil is exceeding fruitful, and without any Art or Cultivation produces Plants, Fruits and Grain, profitable for Man and Beaſt. Bilberries, Barberries, Rasberries, Cherries, Gooſeberries, Strawberries white and red, Pears, Filberds, grow in ſuch plenty, that a Man may much ſooner tire himſelf with eating and gathering, than in looking about for Entertainment. And as theſe are of a wild growth, ſo are many good Herbs which one may ſee abroad in the Fields, as Parſly, Sorrel, Alexander, and a great many others beſides. Wheat, Barley, Rye, Peaſe and Fitches, were found in the Country; but the *Engliſh* brought in Oats and Beans, which thrive exceeding well. In a word, there is hardly any ſort of Fruit, Root, Pulſe, or Plant, that flouriſhes in *England*, but will flouriſh here. The proof of this they had in the proſperity of their Lettice, Cabbage, Coleworts, Turnips, Carrats, with the reſt of the common Furniture of Gardens. The high Lands are adorn'd with Woods that keep their charming green all the Winter long; and the Plains are watered with Ponds, Brooks and Rivers, which refreſh the Meadow-grounds, and make the Graſs high and rank. Vaſt numbers of Cattle might be bred up here, and depend entirely upon the Meadows for ſuſtenance; for as there is great plenty of Graſs, (and a Spring of it even in the Winter) ſo it has a good ſpirit and ſtrength with it from the rich Soil where it grows. There is abundance of admirable Timber in this Country; they commend the Firr and Spruce-Trees for Ship-Maſts, and all other Uſes, and don't ſcruple to compare them, in point of Serviceableneſs, to thoſe of *Norway*. And they ſay, that no Country can ſhew Pine and Birch-Trees, of dimenſions every way, ſo ſtately as *Newfoundland*. As for the Animals; the Beaſts are Deer, Hares, Foxes, Squirrels, Wolves, Bears, and the amphibious Beavers and Otters. And whether it were fancy or no we can't ſay, but our People believ'd the Beaſts of prey here to be more tame and gentle than in other places. To this purpoſe :they tell a Story, That being one time a fiſhing, and having a great Maſtiff-Dog with them, there came a parcel of Wolves out of the Woods, and ſeated themſelves pretty near the place where they were at their work, and there they ſate howling and making a moſt terrible noiſe. The courageous Dog went up to them, and inſtead of ſnarling and grinning at one another, (the ordinary Prologue to fighting) they began to wag tails and ſawn, and at laſt went to downright playing; and, in ſhort, lik'd one anothers company ſo well, that they all went away together into the Woods, there the Dog ſtaid amongſt them 9 or 10 days, and then came home ſafe and ſound to his Maſters. And this Comical Scene between the Dog and the Wolves was repeated three ſeveral times; ſo many times did he take his Ramble with them, and when the Frolick was out came home again. This made ſome of our Planters ſurmize, that the Wolves were better natur'd here than other where; and the truth on't is, the Dog's entertainment was odd enough, and we'll allow the Wolves to be Hoſpitable. But a Man wou'd have ſaid a great deal more to't, had one of the Maſters taken the Maſtiff's place, and gone along with the Wolves into the Woods; and after 9 or 10 days ſpent with them, come home again without a hole in his Coat. They ſay too, that tho' the Bears are ſo very numerous here, yet they never receiv'd any hurt by them; the reaſon of which (moſt probably) was, becauſe they never came in their way, for Bears don't uſe to be guilty of that piece of good breeding to any thing that comes within the reach of their paws. As for the Foxes, as cunning as they are, our People cheated abundance of them of their fine Coats; and ſo they did the Martens, Beavers, and the reſt of the Furry Tribe, which (according to the Genius of the *Newfoundland* Animals) were ſo good-natur'd as to be catch'd. The Fowl are (of the leſſer ſort) Sparrows, Larks, Blackbirds, Bullfinches, Thruſhes, Nightingales, Fillidays, and the like. And of the larger, Partridge, Geeſe, Ducks, Pigeons, Snipes, Teal, Curlews, *&c.* And of the Sea-Fowl, Penguins, Murres, Hounds, Sanderlings, Redſhanks, *&c.* Laſtly of Birds of Prey: All ſorts of Falcons, Oſpreys, Ravens, Gripes, Crows, Gulls, Pittereils, Tercells, *&c.* The plenty and variety of Fiſh are not leſs than thoſe of the Fowl: All the World knows the reputation of *Newfoundland* for Cod, and what a rich Trade it yields only with reſpect to that one Commodity. But there's no Harbour or River here but what's well ſtor'd with excellent Fiſh; amongſt which we may mention Salmon, Pearl, Eels, Trouts, Herrings, Mackaril, Flounders, Launce, Capelin, Pales, Dorrel. Then Whale, the Sovereign of Fiſhes, Porpoiſes, Seals, and others of a Royal Character; and to conclude, all ſorts of Shell-fiſh. But the great rarity of all the Animals is the Mermaid, (or call it what you pleaſe, ſo you do but mean a Creature that lives in the Water, and as far as it appears in view of a Humane ſhape) which is infallibly an Inhabitant of theſe Seas, if at leaſt we may believe Capt. *Whitbourn* (the principal Author of this Account of the Country) upon his word. He affirms that at *St. John*'s Harbour, *A. D.* 1610. as he was ſtanding by the Water-ſide one day early in the Morning, he ſpied a Creature making very ſwiftly towards him, which by the Eyes, Noſe, Chin, Ears, Neck, Forehead; and, in a word, by all thoſe upper Parts which were very well proportion'd, appear'd to be a Woman. The Hair indeed was to be excepted; for inſtead of that, there were all round about upon the Head as it were blue ſtreaks, which much reſembled hair, and hung down to the Neck. The Captain ſays he beheld it intenſely, (and ſo did another of his company, that ſtood not far from him) and ſtaid till it came to about the length of a long Pike from him, and then he thought it time to go backwards. When the Creature ſaw that he went from it, it turn'd about alſo and made away, which gave him the opportunity of viewing the ſhoulders and back Parts of it, down to the Waſte, which he declares were as ſquare, ſmooth and white, as the like Parts in Mankind. From the middle to the lower part (to uſe his own words) it went pointing, in proportion like a broad-hooked Arrow; but how it was in the fore part of the Body, from the Neck and Shoulders downwards, he could not diſcern, becauſe it did not advance towards him ſo much above the Water as it went away. This Syren had a mind to the Captain's company, in ſome Palace or other within the Dominions of *Neptune*; but he (tho' otherwiſe a Man of good breeding) refus'd the favour, and ſlighted her. What ſhe wou'd have done with him there the Lord knows; however, he knew there was no good Wine in that Country, but on the other hand, a moſt confounded guzling of Salt Water, ſuch as wou'd no way agree with his Conſtitution. So he retired from her, and thereby perhaps eſcap'd a drinking bout, which wou'd have coſt him his Life, and depriv'd him of Chriſtian Burial too. The Syren let him go, and did not attempt, by any farther diſcovery of her Charms, to reduce him. She had ſhewn him thoſe of her Face, but thought him unworthy of the Charms of her Voice; thoſe, which Poets through all Antiquity have ſo wonderfully extoll'd. However, the ſame Creature came ſhortly after to the ſide of a Boat, in which were ſome of the Captain's Men, and endeavour'd to come into them. Theſe Fellows were ſufficiently ſcar'd at the ſight of it, but ready to leap out of the Boat when they ſaw it attempting to get in; yet one of them recover'd ſo much Spirit, as to manage his Oar, with which he ſtruck the Syren a ſound blow croſs the Head, that made her let go her hold, and drop into the Water. But that it did not kill her was plain, by her coming afterwards to ſome Boats in the Harbour; at which time the Boats being near the ſhore, the Men got all out and run for their lives. This appear'd to be the very ſame with the former, and the ſame it was, unleſs ſhe died with that blow upon the Head and walk'd afterwards. Upon the whole, we can't ſee why this Relation ſhou'd not as effectually perſwade all People that there are ſuch Creatures, as the Voyage it ſelf ſhou'd that there is ſuch a place as *Newfoundland*; for a Man us'd to converſe with the Dangers and Monſters of the Sea, one may very eaſily believe not to be timerous. And a Man can have no Intereſt in forming a Story of a Mermaid, which is not at all adapted to ſerve any Deſign in Church or State. If the Reader won't be convinced by this, there's no way for him but to follow the Captain to *St. John*'s Harbour, and there wait for Ocular Demonſtration. Of the Natives of this Iſland, our Planters tell us but little: But in general, as far as they know of them, that in their Habits, Cuſtoms and Manners, they reſemble the *Indians* of the Continent, but far leſs polite in their Civil Government, as well as leſs Ceremonious in their Religion (if they have any at all) than many other Nations of the *Americans* are. They live altogether in the N. and W. Parts of the Country, which are leaſt frequented by the *Engliſh*; but the *French* and *Biſcainers*, who follow the Whale-fiſhing thereabouts, report them to be a tractable, ingenious People, patient of Labour, and not Mercenary, but ready to work for a ſmall Reward. Our *Engliſh* indeed ſaw ſome of them, and thoſe were all painted with Oker, cloath'd with Stags-skins, (made into ſort of Gowns) that reach'd to the middle Leg, and the Sleeves coming down at leaſt half way the Arm, and Beaver-skins about their Necks. They were bare legg'd, and moſt of them bare footed, only one had Shoes and Mittens on. There was nothing of a Cover for the Head amongſt them; they wore their hair pretty long, a great lock behind plaited with feathers, with a feather in it ſtanding upright by the crown of the Head, and a ſmall lock plaited before. Their hair is of very different colours, tho' they obſerve no proportion, but paint their Cloaths as well as their Bodies red. They are of no large ſize, but are broad breaſted, and of a bold ſtrong make, and ſtand very upright; tho' by the report of ſome, they don't walk ſo, being ſomething inclinable to the Vices of Cheating and Stealing. Their greateſt Art is ſeen in the conſtruction of their Kettles, Canoes and Oars; the former are made of the rinds of Trees very neatly ſow'd together, and the ſeams overlaid with Turpentine, but when they ſet them over the Fire to boil their Meat, how they do to keep the rinds from ſcorching, and the Turpentine from melting, is hard to conceive. Their Canoes are about 20 foot long, and 4 and half broad in the middle, made in the form of a Creſcent, Stem and Stem alike, and both equally diſtant from the greateſt breadth. From the Stem and Stem, there riſes a light Staff a Yard high, whipt about with the long ſtrings of certain Roots that ſerve inſtead of Cords, which they take hold by to bring the Canoe aſhore. They will carry 4 People very well, and yet don't weigh 100 weight; ſo that when they go a Land, they count it no burden to carry their Canoes with them. Inſtead of boards in the making of them, they uſe the outer Bark of the Birch-Tree, and ſow them with the ſame artifices that they do their Kettles. As for their Oars, they are of two ſorts; one is about 4 foot long, of one entire piece of Firr, the other 10 foot, and made of two ſeveral pieces, the firſt as long, big and round as a Half-pike, the ſecond is the Blade of the Oar, and is let into the end of the long one, ſlit and whipt very ſtrongly. The former of theſe they uſe as a Paddle, and the latter as an Oar. This is all that our Planters tell us of this Country, that is remarkable; with this Account therefore of the *Newfoundland*, we ſhall finiſh our Hiſtory of the New World.

FINIS.

AN INDEX OF THE Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Towns, Places, *viz.* in the Firſt Volume of *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.*

Note, For Shortneſs; *k* ſignifies *Kingdoms*, *pr Province*, *c Countries*, *p People*, *ci Cities*, *m Mountains*, *r Rivers*, *s Seas*, *la Lakes*, *i Iſlands*, *f Forts*, *b Bays*, *ca Capes*, *h Harbours*, *t Towns*, *v Villages*, *ſa Sands*, *ha Havens*, *cas Caſtles*, *n Nation*, *d Deſart*, *ſh Shoals*, *ro Road*, *w Women*, *po Ports*, *ſtr Streights*, *pl Plain*, *poi Point*.

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FINIS.